

and experience that would strengthen and improve subsequent regulatory efforts. Perhaps most important of all, they were coming to expect that such efforts should go on and that their imperfect success was a problem that required further action.

At the beginning of the Tanzimat, ideas of this type were to be found, even in inchoate form, among only a tiny handful of men. In some ways the greatest contribution of the Tanzimat to the development of political-bureaucratic life lay in the progressive enlargement of these modernist cadres, the attendant transformation in the sociocultural aspect of the civil bureaucracy, and gradually, through the generalization of new types of educational opportunities, the diffusion of the ideas distinctive of the new elite to larger and larger segments of the society. By 1871, as the altered aspect of the civil bureaucracy shows, what had been the scribal service was well advanced into a sociocultural transformation of almost revolutionary proportions, while the entire society was beginning to undergo a leavening process that would eventually provide the needed basis for a real restructuring of the political system.

How well would Ottoman statesmen be able to defend and extend their gains under the altered conditions of succeeding periods? This remained unclear, but one feature of the behavior of the Tanzimat elite had particularly disturbing implications in this regard. This was the way in which the leading statesmen of the period used the reasserted regulatory power of the state, not so much to create a fully developed rational-legal system, as to extend the range of control exercised by the kind of undefined, discretionary powers typical of patrimonial tradition. Not unknown in the most law-bound of modern bureaucratic systems, this kind of behavior came in a particularly natural way to statesmen working in a context of "split-up modernization" and political imbalance. The gross extent of the reformers' indulgence in such behavior set a dangerous precedent, however. In fact, this kind of neopatrimonialism was to remain a leitmotiv of Ottoman bureaucratic and political history until the end, and the civil bureaucrats who came after the Tanzimat would more often bear the brunt of it than enjoy its benefits.

RESTORING POLITICAL BALANCE: THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD AND RETURN TO SULTANIC DOMINANCE

Sadaretin inhilâli, Âli Paşa'nın irtihali ile dir.

The death of Âli Paşa is the disintegration of the grand vezirate.

Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, on learning of Âli Paşa's death¹

Her memuriyetin vazaifi nizam-ı mahsus ile tayin olunacağından her memur kendi vazifesi dairesinde mes'uldür.

Inasmuch as the duties of every official post will be determined by special regulation, every official is responsible within the limits of his duty.

Constitution of 1876, Article 40²

Milleti ikna ve müessesat-ı ahrarane ihdas edilerek ıslahat icrasına çalışan pederim Abd ül-Mecid'in isrine iktifa etmek istemekle meğer yanlışmış imişim. Ba'dema ceddım Sultan Mahmud'un isrini takib edeceğim. Onun gibi ben de şimdi anlıyorum ki Cenab-ı Hakk'ın muhafazasını bana tevdi ettiği akvamı kuvvetten başka hiçbir şeyle yürütmek kabil olmayacak.

I made a mistake in wishing to content myself with the example of my father, Abd ül-Mecid, who sought to carry out reforms by persuading the people and creating liberal institutions. From now on, I shall follow the example of my grandfather, Sultan Mahmud. Like him, I now understand that it is not possible to move the peoples whom God has placed under my protection by any means other than force.

Abd ül-Hamid to a delegation of Deputies, just prior to proroguing the Ottoman Parliament, 1878³



The death of Âli Paşa in 1871 marked not only a shift in the locus of power, and thus the beginning of a new political period, but also the first of a series of unsettling events that within a few years brought the empire to a state of danger and uncertainty even worse than the one in which the Tanzimat had opened almost forty years earlier. Âli's disappearance contributed to this destabilization by making it easier for the erratic and unbalanced sultan, Abd ül-Aziz, and his favorites to reassert their influence. What this reassertion could mean became apparent rather quickly with the two grand vezirates of Mahmud Nedim Paşa (1871-1872, 1875-1876). A sometime protégé of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, but usually excluded from important position—and wisely so—during the Tanzimat, Mahmud Nedim now had his day. Having won the favor of the sultan, he used his power to break up the bureaucratic system of the Tanzimat by reorganizing key institutions and keeping personnel turnover in high office at such a high rate that the bureaucracy became paralyzed.⁴

Intellectual ferment and a variety of crises arising outside the imperial "center" compounded the resulting confusion. Not only was there mounting effervescence surrounding the Young Ottoman movement, but more conservative kinds of opinion, including an Islamicist current opposed to the cosmopolitan Ottomanism of the Tanzimat and a pan-Islamist strain, also made themselves felt with increasing force. Underlying these developments was a serious deterioration of the economic situation. Agricultural crisis reached famine proportions in Anatolia and other parts of the empire in 1873-1875, while the government of Mahmud Nedim Paşa found itself forced in 1875 to announce its inability to keep up the service of the immense foreign debt that had by then accumulated. The outbreak in the same year of a peasant revolt in Herzegovina and its subsequent spread to other Balkan territories seriously aggravated the situation, raising the threat of foreign intervention and war.

Within the next several years, that threat and several others materialized in fearful conjuncture. In 1876 alone, there were three different sultans. Abd ül-Aziz was deposed, committing suicide a few days thereafter. Murad V, focus of constitutionalist hopes but badly shaken by the events then occurring, soon proved mentally incompetent and was also deposed after only three months. He was succeeded on 31 August 1876 by a little-known prince named Abd ül-Hamid.

The Balkan troubles having continued to mushroom all the while, the new sultan soon found himself entangled in a disastrous war with Russia. As a direct or indirect consequence of this, he lost what remained in the way of practical control, and sometimes of formal sovereignty as well, over a list of territories that included Bessarabia, Rumania, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, parts of Bulgaria and Anatolia, Cyprus, and Tunis.⁵ The British occupation of Egypt in 1882 further extended the list. Thanks in good measure to the economic consequences of the war with Russia, Abd ül-Hamid also saw his government lose control of a major part of its revenues with the creation in 1881 of the international Public Debt Administration, set up to serve the interests of investors in Ottoman government securities.

Never since 1839 so deeply in doubt, the survival of the empire would not again be so threatened before the Young Turk period. In the meantime, there would be some opportunity to work out the implications of two attempts, both inaugurated during the decade following the death of Âli Paşa, to bring the civil-bureaucratic pyramid of the Tanzimat back under effective political control. Both attempts represented responses to the threats that the empire had experienced, but both were also products of the politico-bureaucratic tradition of the empire and in particular of the reforms of the preceding period. One of these attempts aimed at creating controls of a characteristically modern type; one, at controls of a basically, but no longer totally, traditionalistic character. The first attempt appears in the constitutional movement in which the Young Ottomans figured so prominently; the second, in the resurgent sultanic despotism of Abd ül-Aziz in his last years and of Abd ül-Hamid II (1876-1909). Triumphant over the constitutionalists in the short run, Abd ül-Hamid in particular set the tone for the decades immediately following the catastrophes of the 1870s. Even under him, however, the constitutional experiment and the regulatory developments that lay behind it were never totally forgotten.

In the present chapter, we shall first characterize these two attempts at the restoration of political balance. Placing particular emphasis on their significance for the evolution of the bureaucracy, we shall devote special attention to the Hamidian system, since it produced the greater immediate effect down to 1908. We shall then analyze organizational changes at the Sublime Porte and the related regulatory issues, and thus assess the significance

of this complex period for the development of the politico-bureaucratic tradition.

DIVERGENT TENDENCIES IN EFFORTS AT THE RESTORATION OF POLITICAL BALANCE

The First Constitutional Period

The constitutional movement, in a sense, marked the culmination of all that had happened in the development of the politico-bureaucratic institutions of the empire since Ottomans first began to sense the need for a general reordering of the governmental system. The reforms of the Tanzimat contributed to the demand for constitutional government not only in a general way, through the steps taken toward creation of a more rational and regulated administrative system and through the development of institutions with representative and legislative functions, but also in the sense that various of the empire's territories or populations received what were either implicitly or explicitly constitutions during that time. This was true in the tributary principalities, among which Rumania possessed what was officially designated as the Rumanian Constitution of 1866, while Tunisia was under a constitution of its own for a few years in the early 1860s. Constitution or no, four territories—Tunisia, Egypt, Serbia, and Rumania—acquired at least quasi-parliamentary bodies during the same years. Organic statutes were drawn up for the special administrative regimes created in certain provinces or districts, such as Crete and Lebanon,⁶ as well as for the non-Muslim communities of the empire, which thus retained distinct communal institutions even as they began to enjoy the benefits of the newly proclaimed legal equality.⁷ With the general reassertion of the legislative function of the state as background, the promulgation of organic statutes for parts of the imperial system naturally suggested the regulation in similar fashion of the system as a whole.

All the while, the growing awareness among Ottoman intellectuals of Western political ideas, and the continued demands from Western powers for reform as the price of political support, created added pressures for movement toward a constitutional system. With the Young Ottomans, in particular, there appeared an explicitly constitutionalist movement, capable of rousing a significant degree of popular support, if not yet of

creating a genuine mass base. In the light of these facts, the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 seemed a natural response to the crisis of the times, much as the promulgation of the Gülhane Decree of 1839 had been to the Ottoman-Egyptian conflict of that day.

The parlous state of the empire and the still limited acceptance of constitutional principles nonetheless left their marks on the constitution in a variety of senses. First, it was not solely the work of the Young Ottoman intelligentsia. Limited in numbers and influence, they had to compromise with a number of other interests. Those who actually had a hand in the drafting of the final document, whether as members of the official Drafting Commission⁸ or otherwise, included Namık Kemal and Ziya Bey (later Paşa) among the Young Ottomans; a variety of senior civil officials, most notably Midhat Paşa, distinguished by his record as a reformer in local administration and his constitutionalist convictions; a few generals; and high-ranking members of the religious establishment. There were also several anti-constitutionalists, of whom some of the most influential—the future Grand Vezir “Küçük” (“Little”) Said Paşa or Ahmed Cevdet Paşa—could best be described as partisans of reform and legislation under the aegis of a sultanic enlightened despotism. Finally, there was the sultan himself. Not the least fateful circumstance attendant on the preparation of the constitution was the fact that the sultan under whom the Drafting Commission was finally formed was not the reputedly liberal Murad V, but rather Abd ül-Hamid, whose avowals of support for the constitution were no more than a ploy by which to reach the throne. In the event, the constitution also suffered in being drawn up in a hurry, the drafting being sandwiched between Abd ül-Hamid's order of 7 October 1876 for the formation of a Drafting Commission and the beginning on 23 December 1876 of the Constantinople Conference, convoked at British instance to defuse a Russian threat of unilateral intervention in the Balkan crisis. The promulgation of the constitution on the very day that the conference opened was a spectacular but futile attempt to convince the assembled delegates that the empire was capable of reforming itself without outside interference.⁹

Given these pressures and the general state of development of the Ottoman polity at the time, it was only natural that the constitution contain not only an element of vagueness and imprecise-

sion, but also certain provisions that would make it possible for the determined Abd ül-Hamid, eventually dropping his mask, to neutralize it and its partisans. In many ways, it is true, the constitution demonstrated the extent to which concepts such as equality, guaranteed individual rights, and the rule of law had become established in the thinking of Ottoman statesmen. It contained something like a Bill of Rights, a section defining the "general rights of subjects of the Ottoman State" (arts. 8-26). Succeeding sections dealt with the rights and duties of ministers of state, officials, the Parliament and its two houses, and a variety of other questions, regulating many points and, as in the case of article 40 quoted at the head of this chapter, promising that many others would be regulated subsequently.

Scattered through these provisions, however, were a number of critical loopholes. The most important had to do with the prerogatives of the sultan. His sovereignty remained unrestricted and his powers only partially defined. The constitution itself became law only by his sovereign decree.¹⁰ The right to continue legislating by decree was nowhere denied him, and his freedom to veto laws passed in the Parliament, where the power to initiate bills remained essentially in the hands of his ministers, was without check. Most dangerous of all was a provision inserted into article 113 at Abd ül-Hamid's personal insistence. This allowed the sultan, on the basis of information furnished by the police, to exile anyone on grounds of danger to the security of the empire.¹¹

Failing to restrict the sovereignty of the sultan, the constitution fell short of transforming the structural feature of the Ottoman polity that had been the fatal flaw in the system of the Tanzimat statesmen. The constitution did mark a new stage in the drive to create a rational-legal order. The Parliament also displayed a level of independence, capability, and procedural orderliness that astounded contemporary observers and subsequent historians—perhaps unduly, given the prominence among the deputies of the same sort of notables who had dominated the local assemblies created during the Tanzimat and were thus men of some political experience and awareness.¹² But the cards were stacked against the deputies and constitutionalists. Having used article 113 to get rid of Midhat Paşa as early as February 1877, Abd ül-Hamid exercised his right to dissolve the Chamber a year later without setting a date for new

elections, which article 7 of the constitution called for in such cases. The constitution per se was never revoked, and the Senate continued to exist in a vestigial way; but what was to be remembered as the First Constitutional Period (*İlk Meşrutiyet*) was over.

*Reassertion of Sultanic Dominance: The Palace System
of Abd ül-Hamid*

What took its place, though adumbrated in the last years of Abd ül-Aziz, was a system of Abd ül-Hamid's own creation. On a certain level, this system displayed a strong affinity with the constitutional regime, and thus with the reformist legacy. Particularly in his earlier years, Abd ül-Hamid was an avid reformer and legislator, intent in principle on improving the quality of administration. For example, in his Speech from the Throne at the opening of the first session of the Parliament, he identified an impressive series of issues on which bills were then being drafted in the Council of State for submission to the deputies. These included the internal regulations of the Houses of Parliament; the electoral law; a general regulation for the administration of provinces and communes (*nahiye*); a law on municipal organization; bills on civil court procedure, the organization of the courts, and procedures for the promotion and retirement of judges; and a bill on the duties and retirement rights of officials in general (*umum memurin*).¹³

In this as in other periods, it is not usually possible to tell exactly where the initiative for such measures came from. Many of them are attributed, in one source or another, not to Abd ül-Hamid but to such of his advisors as Küçük Said Paşa or Ahmed Cevdet Paşa.¹⁴ It is nonetheless clear that Abd ül-Hamid took close interest, and in some cases actually did take the initiative, in policy matters of this kind. Again to cite the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Parliament, he not only spoke repeatedly of changes in procedures for the selection of officials, but also announced that he intended to use the resources of the Privy Purse (*Hazine-i Hassa*) to found a school for training officials who would be drawn from all classes of the population and promoted on the basis of merit. The immediate sequel to this pronouncement appears not to have been the founding of a new school, but rather the expansion of an existing one, namely, the School of Civil Administration (*Mülkiye Mektebi*, 1859), whose

growth in size and importance began at this time and on the Sultan's initiative.¹⁵

When we compare the short life and limited accomplishments of the Parliament¹⁶ with the volume of legislation ultimately produced during the Hamidian years, we have a measure of the commitment of Abd ül-Hamid and those who worked under him to further elaboration of a rational-legal framework for the imperial system. In particular, the sultan's prompt action in the case of the School of Civil Administration, and the fact that he subsequently promulgated laws on most of the subjects mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, were clear indications that a new period in the regularization of administration was beginning. In the promised steps toward more precise regulation of the conditions of official service, indeed, the redefinition of the collective organizational aspect of the various branches of the bureaucracy again began to receive the kind of attention so conspicuously missing since the death of Mahmud II. The creation of the legislative outlines of something like a civil bureaucracy or civil service, in the sense that those terms were then beginning to acquire in the most up-to-date Western states, was to be a prominent feature of Abd ül-Hamid's efforts to bring the civil-bureaucratic pyramid back under effective political control.

Full appreciation of Abd ül-Hamid's impact on the bureaucracy requires recognition of this fact. This, however, was only one aspect of a reign marked by a dissonance of practice and principle quite as serious as that noted during the Tanzimat. If the Sublime Porte then formed the central element of a politico-bureaucratic machine in which processes of rationalization and systematization were used to extend the power of an unregulated oligarchy, under Abd ül-Hamid the entire Porte and civil bureaucracy were subsumed into a similar but larger mechanism, centered in the palace. In this mechanism, the same kinds of processes were again used in much the same way; but since even the most important of the civil officials were now no more than subordinate members of the system, they felt the impact of this regulatory activity in a way that their predecessors had not. The spirit that dominated the legislative activity of this period was no more in harmony with any Weberian ideal of rational-legalism than was that of the leading figures of the Tanzimat.

Indeed, it was ultimately a great deal less so. While Abd ül-

Hamid was not always as violent as we might infer from some of his statements and actions, he was a strange, complex, and psychologically unsettled man. That he was intelligent, willful, and industrious enough to do as he promised in following the example of Mahmud II is clear. The methodical way he followed government business, his interest in legislation and in plans of reform, and his political survival all reflect this fact. Yet, thanks in part to the unwholesome palace environment in which he was reared, and in part also to the circumstances surrounding his accession, he was distinctly paranoid. Reportedly afraid to handle any documents that had not been specially "disinfected," to drink any coffee or smoke any cigarettes not specially prepared before his eyes by servants who did nothing else, or to eat any food but that prepared in a special kitchen that served him alone, Abd ül-Hamid used the tremendous powers that remained in his hands to protect himself from the objects of his fears. As a result, while major steps were taken during this period toward the creation of the outward forms of a rational-legal order, a quality of the mimetic and insubstantial continued to hang about these measures. As far as Abd ül-Hamid was concerned, indeed, what mattered most was not obedience to the law but obedience to a sovereign will superior to the law.¹⁷

A general description of the political system that Abd ül-Hamid built up to assert his personal dominance would go far beyond the bounds of this study; but it is indispensable to say something about the form that the palace service assumed in this period and about relations between it and its imperial chief, on the one hand, and the civil bureaucracy of the Porte, on the other.

If Abd ül-Hamid stood in personal control of this system, Yıldız Palace formed its center in a larger sense. This palace was not new, but no earlier sultan had used it as his principal residence. The ultimate form of the various compounds and buildings at Yıldız thus bore Abd ül-Hamid's own stamp. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil has left an unforgettable, and perhaps overly negative, picture of what Yıldız was like. He describes the walls—so high that cats could not climb over them, he says—that separated the private part of the palace from the part that dealt with the outside world. An atmosphere of absolute secrecy surrounded all that happened in the former. The part of the establishment that outsiders could visit consisted of a series of nondescript build-

ings, among which considerable experience was required to know one's way.

In this part of the palace, the most important locale was for a long time the office of the marshal of the *Mabeyn* (*Mabeyn müşiri*), chief of the palace service. Gazi Osman Paşa, hero of the Battle of Plevna, held this post until his death in 1897, following which the position remained unfilled. The next most important component of the palace service after the marshal, and the real nerve center of that service after Osman Paşa's death, was what Uşaklıgil calls the "big *Mabeyn*." As opposed to the more traditional "little *Mabeyn*," consisting of the personal servants of the sultan, this was the palace secretariat. Charged with the transmission of communications to and from the sultan, this soon became the most important bureaucratic agency of the Hamidian system, the senior secretaries being among the most powerful officials and among the few with direct access to the sultan. Uşaklıgil depicts the offices of the "big *Mabeyn*" in ludicrous terms. They were furnished with a miscellany of odd pieces from the private apartments, and permeated by the odors emanating from the dinner trays always waiting in some corner to be carried away and from the coffee-making continuously in progress among the servants in the basement. Such was the setting in which Ottoman officials and foreign dignitaries alike formed their impressions of Yıldız Palace as they waited endlessly to see the sultan's secretaries.¹⁸

It was at Yıldız that the palace service reached the high point of its historic development. By 1908, the listing in the government yearbook of its more important members ran to almost forty pages. The listings include more than a score of palace secretaries (*Mabeyn kâtibi*), ten or so chamberlains (*kurena*), the traditional personal servants of the sultan, enough military aides-de-camp (*yaver*) to fill sixteen pages, and a Privy Treasury (*Hazine-i Hassa*) with an organization more complex than those of many ministries.¹⁹ By one contemporary estimate, the palace organization included at least 12,000 people, not to mention 15,000 troops stationed in the vicinity for security.²⁰

The policy for which Abd ül-Hamid sought to use this organization—a policy of which several sources name Küçük Said Paşa as originator and ultimately victim—was one of centralization, carried progressively to the point of "complete stultification of the Sublime Porte and . . . concentration of the en-

tire work of the Administration in his [Abd ül-Hamid's] own hands."²¹ Such was the degree of this centralization, in fact, that ambassadors, provincial governors, and military commanders²² were ultimately corresponding as much with the palace secretariat as with the ministries to which they were nominally attached. Where the conduct of foreign relations was concerned, said the sultan, the Ottoman foreign minister in Istanbul and the diplomats stationed abroad were of slight importance, as he himself, guided by "fixed principles," would conduct the foreign relations of the empire in direct dealings with the foreign envoys accredited to his court.²³ It did not even matter who was the grand vezir, since, in the sultan's opinion, he was the real grand vezir. Abd ül-Hamid once also described the *Mabeyn* and the Porte as operating like two separate states.²⁴ It is not hard to tell which was the more powerful.

In such a system, the character of those close to the throne was of critical importance, especially in the later years, when the sultan no longer ventured outside the palace walls more than a few times a year.²⁵ At times, there were among the advisers of Abd ül-Hamid men of the ability and probity of Küçük Said or Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, or others of the tact and efficiency attributed to Tahsin Paşa, first secretary of the *Mabeyn* from 1894 to 1908.²⁶ The contrary was, however, more often the case, and a few examples will show how much what one ambassador called "the Palace ring"²⁷ ultimately did to discredit both the sultan and his system.

The second secretary in the *Mabeyn* during the later years of the reign was a Syrian known as "Arab" İzzet or İzzet Holo Paşa, who made himself so widely hated that he had to flee for his life at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1908. Once described as "the avatar of the 'Hamidian system,'" he owed his rise to a combination of corruption and cleverness. Repeatedly out of favor, he always found his way back. His greatest inspiration was reportedly the Hijaz Railway,²⁸ a project that combined spiritual with strategic utility in a way that Abd ül-Hamid found irresistible.

Not all "palace creatures" were so clever, and the misdeeds of several caught up with them in spectacular ways even before 1908. One notable case centered on the Bedir Han family, one-time Kurdish chieftains whom a succession of sultans had attempted to integrate into Ottoman officialdom. In 1906, a dis-

agreement arose between the prefect of Istanbul, Rıdvan Paşa, himself a palace protégé, and two members of this family: Abd ül-Rezzak Bey, then on the staff of the *chef de protocole* of the palace, and his uncle, Ali Şamil Paşa, commander of the Selimiye garrison at Üsküdar. Before the matter was settled, two shoot-outs had occurred in Istanbul, Rıdvan Paşa being killed in the second. In response to the pleas of his ministers for legal action, the sultan simply exiled the entire Bedir Han family without following prescribed judicial processes at all.²⁹

Even worse were the incidents that culminated in the fall of Fehim Paşa, one of Abd ül-Hamid's aides-de-camp and the chief of the secret police of the palace. Grandson of Abd ül-Hamid's former wet nurse and son of İsmet Bey, who was a "milk brother" and thus particularly intimate of the sultan, Fehim commended himself most of all for what one observer called "hereditary loyalty." This ascribed quality enabled Fehim, a pudgy, baby-faced psychopath,³⁰ to rise rapidly to the rank of general of division (*ferik*) with special responsibility for maintaining the personal security of the sultan. Fehim placed a broad interpretation on this mission. Recruiting a "black band" of "agents" from the Istanbul underworld and turning his house into a prison where male "offenders" were tortured and females, as likely as not, were subjected to other abuses, Fehim instituted a system of terror and protection rackets. Borrowing a phrase from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Baron Marschall, the German ambassador, called Fehim the "Napoleon of Crime."

Fehim's greatest mistake was in bringing himself to the attention of Baron Marschall. One incident, known as *l'Affaire Marguerite*, had to do with a beautiful circus performer whom Fehim "married," and who was a German subject. A subsequent case arose over whether 10,000 railroad ties belonged to a German merchant who had contracted for them, or to Fehim. Baron Marschall decided to make an issue of the latter question, and confronting the sultan in special audience, extracted the promise of an investigation. This resulted in an outpouring of evidence from government agencies that had been powerless to do anything up to that point, the exile of Fehim, and the dispersion of the "black band." One of the most fearful linkages in the palace system was thus broken.³¹ Among a number of disturbances that troubled the empire in 1906-1907,³² this was one more warning of the upheaval that was about to destroy the Hamidian regime.

The enlarged palace organization at Yıldız, dominated in principle by the sultan, but in fact to a great degree by the "palace ring," was thus the core of the Hamidian machine. In addition, there were a number of mechanisms that served to buttress the sultan's position and extend his control over Ottoman society in general, and over the bureaucracy in particular.

As for mechanisms to control society in general, we can do no more here than allude to some of the more obvious. Clearly included among these was the regulatory activity that assorted so strangely with the real spirit of the system but was nonetheless useful as a means of implementing further reforms and tightening the sultan's grip. In addition, there was a strong reemphasis on the values basic to the legitimation of the sultan's position. With inherited claims to the sultanate and caliphate, Abd ül-Hamid was in a position to claim legitimacy for himself in a way impossible for the Tanzimat oligarchs. He did so very vigorously, but not simply in traditionalistic fashion. Rather, as the mounting volume of innovative legislation and the studied neglect of the official religious establishment indicate, his was a new use of the imperial tradition. In particular, the sultan's exploitation of the pan-Islamist theme was an attempt to appeal in new ways to Muslims everywhere, including non-Ottomans and even the heterodox.³³

There is considerable evidence that this appeal was successful to some degree; but for those who did not respond to it, Abd ül-Hamid had means of coercion at his disposal. The regular military establishment figures less in this respect than might be expected. So great were the sultan's fears of a strong military force that, with the chief exception of the units assigned to the palace, he inhibited most efforts at military improvement.³⁴ Abd ül-Hamid did, however, institute rigorous controls in the field of communications. The extension during his reign of railroad and telegraph lines, the former of obvious strategic value and the latter of comparable utility for the rapid transmission of orders and intelligence,³⁵ was a notable feature of his efforts in this field. Also among the control mechanisms of the period was a rigorous system of press censorship, drawing for its implementation on a number of government agencies, and a system of spies and informers of which Fehim's band was only part. The reports of these spies, known as *jurnal* (from the French *journal*), occupied a great deal of the sultan's attention and, despite the manifest absurdity of many of them, greatly compounded his

anxieties. After the 1908 Revolution, "cartloads" of *journals* were found at Yıldız Palace, representing the work of a thousand informants or more, and ranging in subject as far afield as the alleged amours of a British ambassador.³⁶

In many ways, then, the Hamidian system was a strange hybrid of the traditional and modern. It represents the most highly elaborated expression in Ottoman history of Eisenstadt's "split-up modernization" and thus also the clearest indication of the extent to which the patrimonial tradition could survive into the era of modernization and assume new forms. Still wedded, in its fundamental principles and its assumptions about the political process, to traditional concepts, the Hamidian neopatrimonialism was startlingly close in some of its methods to the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. The way in which Abd ül-Hamid sought to maintain his control over the bureaucracy provides added illustrations of this point.

To maintain this control, Abd ül-Hamid drew on the mechanisms discussed above and others as well. Here again, regulatory processes were of particular importance and will require considerable attention in this chapter. To avoid mistaking their role in the Hamidian system, however, it is essential to recognize how the neopatrimonialism of the period affected the bureaucracy in other ways. The most fundamental point here seems to be that Abd ül-Hamid was trying to seize control of the processes of social and political mobilization already established in the development of the bureaucratic pyramid and use them to maintain or restore the correspondence between polity and servile bureaucracy characteristic of the traditional state, thus eliminating any form of political activity not directly under his control.

The point is nowhere stated in so many words; yet the evidence that this was Abd ül-Hamid's chief goal in the handling of his bureaucracy is voluminous. For example, his approach to patronage and the distribution of honors clearly supports this interpretation. Significantly, the official personnel records accumulated during his reign—these being one of the modernistic controls then instituted—provide the basis for our estimate that 50,000 to 100,000 men held civil-bureaucratic positions, at least nominally, during the years 1876-1908. But that was clearly far more officials than the empire could put to productive use. By the late 1880s, for example, the Foreign Ministry alone was said to have 467 officials, counting unpaid apprentice clerks in the

central offices but not honorary consuls. This was several times the number then serving in the Foreign Office of the German Empire.³⁷ While every office, as in the past, had its core of serious individuals, the rest were underemployed,³⁸ if they showed up at all. By 1908, for example, one of the offices of the Foreign Ministry, that of Legal Counsel, had fifty nominal officials, most of whom did not even know where at the Sublime Porte the office was located;³⁹ and many offices of the period were too small to accommodate all their supposed employees.⁴⁰

As if deliberately to break down bureaucratic discipline and morale, Abd ül-Hamid had padded the payrolls to an unheard-of extent with secret agents, sons, sons-in-law, or protégés of men of influence, and actual or potential members of the opposition, whom he sought by such means to buy off and neutralize.⁴¹ Matters reached the point where even a young man who had the traditionally optimal combination of assets—outstanding personal ability coupled with membership in a family of good and long-standing civil-bureaucratic connections—might encounter severe frustrations in his career.⁴² Meanwhile, ranks and decorations rained in such profusion on those in favor at the palace that such honors gradually began to sink in popular esteem; and a young man who managed by some chance to land a good position was apt to find himself automatically suspect of being a palace agent.⁴³

Having taken for himself the power concentrated at the apex of the bureaucratic pyramid during the Tanzimat, Abd ül-Hamid thus set about enlarging the organizations that composed that structure and filling them with those who had title to his favor or whom he wished to put in debt to himself. To maintain the subservience of all such persons was naturally one of his foremost objectives; and in addition to the means of coercion that he applied to all his subjects, there were a variety of techniques that served him specially, if not always successfully, for this end.

Particularly for those who came close to him, the threat of force was never far from the surface; and the legal guarantees of the security of official tenure, granted in the 1830s, afforded little if any protection. A senior official summoned to the palace never knew when he might be sent from there straight into exile without being allowed so much as to bid his family farewell.⁴⁴ No fewer than three of the men who served Abd ül-Hamid as grand

vezir became so harassed at various points in their careers that they took refuge in European embassies or consulates. These were Midhat Paşa in 1881, Kuçuk Said Paşa in 1895, and Kâmil Paşa in 1907. In the case of Midhat, one of those whom Abd ül-Hamid blamed for the deposition and death of Abd ül-Aziz, consenting to leave this refuge was an ultimately fatal mistake.⁴⁵

To a degree, this kind of high-handedness extended into the lower reaches of the bureaucracy, as well. This was certainly apt to be true for anyone who had the misfortune to be the subject of an informant's *jurnal*, as it was in general for all those whom the sultan regarded, for whatever reason, as his opponents.

In Abd ül-Hamid's treatment of such individuals, there was, however, a recurrent inconsistency. At times, while ignoring long and faithful service, he would heap honors and high positions on men whom he identified as opponents. Others he would "appoint" to serve in "official posts," or simply to reside, in remote provinces under conditions of sometimes fatal hardship.⁴⁶ In explanation of this behavior, Abd ül-Hamid once said of a particular individual, "I know he is not a bad man, and no harm comes to me from him. But I am good to the bad ones, so as to escape their badness."⁴⁷ This was obviously not always true; but it did create the possibility for men who had literary or polemical interests—and usually no other means of support—to turn this aspect of Abd ül-Hamid's behavior to account by fleeing to places beyond the sultan's control and publishing, or threatening to publish, works hostile to the regime. Abd ül-Hamid's sensitivity to the uses of the press made this into a conventional form of blackmail, with which it became one of the chief duties of the Ottoman embassies to cope.⁴⁸

Various observers have noted, without being able to explain, Abd ül-Hamid's vacillation between conciliation and persecution of those of whom he disapproved.⁴⁹ In view of his apparent attempt to reintegrate all aspects of political life into the forms of an enlarged but again servile bureaucracy, the two modes of behavior appear simply as alternatives offered by the patterns of literary activity and of relations between sultanic master and official slave in the patrimonial tradition of the ruling class.

As Abd ül-Hamid pursued his policy of turning the state once again into a patrimonial household, the contrast between the growth of the bureaucracy and the economic resources available for its support added further irony to the fate of the officials of

this period. The state was officially bankrupt, although this did not mean that there were no resources available. The sultan had the reputation of being exceptionally astute in the management of financial affairs, and the Privy Treasury was a well-run as well as a large organization during this reign.⁵⁰ Simultaneously, developments in agriculture led to some increase in revenues, and the credit of the state improved to the point that it could again borrow abroad.⁵¹ This hardly provided the means for solving all the problems of the official salary system; but it did, particularly given the added possibilities offered by nonmonetary forms of reward, enable Abd ül-Hamid to manipulate his officials in economic as well as other ways.

Some examples will illustrate how he did so. While attempts were ostensibly made in the 1880s to systematize salary levels, no large-scale or lasting effect resulted. Not only were officials with certain types of qualifications or ethnocultural characteristics discriminated against, but the range of nominal salaries remained phenomenally wide. For most of the period, even the median nominal salaries in the civil bureaucracy were probably barely above subsistence level for a small family, while the highest salaries were many times the median.⁵² To compound this inequality, only the high-ranking officials received their salaries regularly and in gold, as opposed to the worn and barely identifiable coins of inferior metal that the less fortunate received, when they got anything.⁵³

Nor was there much that the average official could do to protect his economic interests in the face of these problems. Those not close enough to the sultan to benefit directly from his munificence had to try to form "connections" with someone who was. In this sense, the economic policy of the state toward its officials assumed that they had personal and familial relations of the type implied in the model of the patrimonial household. Another thing that could make a difference was the specific agency in which the official served. Since collection and disbursement of revenues were still not centralized in the Ministry of Finance, the luckiest officials were those who worked in revenue-collecting departments such as Finance, Posts and Telegraphs, Customs, or Land Registry; for payment of the salaries of their own employees was one of the first priorities of those departments. For those who served in the provinces, the prosperity of the province made a corresponding difference.

Only in the richer ones, says Uşaklıgil, did the year have twelve months.⁵⁴

There were some problems of the compensation system, however, that could not be escaped; for it is clear that Abd ül-Hamid not only knew about the malfunctional aspects of the system, but actually used them for his own ends. His prodigality with ranks and decorations was one form of *legerdemain* useful in stretching the available economic resources, especially as the recipients had to pay fees, if not also bribes, to get such honors. To officials whom he favored, Abd ül-Hamid often also assigned extra salaries, which were regularly paid, out of the Privy Treasury. The rare man whose conscience became troubled by the supplemental payments would not dare to decline them; for the sultan would regard such an act not as laudable, but rather as a sign of independence—exactly what the extra income was intended to eliminate.⁵⁵ Otherwise, when salary payments were made through normal bureaucratic channels, they were carefully orchestrated so as to have optimal effect in stimulating feelings of gratitude and loyalty. Usually coinciding with major religious festivals or other occasions when the government was anxious to have a show of good will, each payment was treated as “a special act of grace on the part of the Ruler, announced in the newspapers and celebrated almost like a national holiday.”⁵⁶

This futuristic use of salary payments as a form of “mood control” is one of the clearest expressions of the manipulative element in Abd ül-Hamid’s compensation policy, but there were other expressions, as well. Unable or unwilling to pay his officials regularly, Abd ül-Hamid condoned *peculation* among the lower officials, condemning it even verbally only among those of high rank and large salaries.⁵⁷ In practice, as Arab İzzet or Fehim Paşa well knew, he condoned it among the latter, as well. Meanwhile, Abd ül-Hamid also widened the breaches in the traditional, but already battered, immunity of the official class to taxation. This he did through a variety of measures relating to revenue stamps and stamped papers, the use of which he commanded in such purely internal transactions of the bureaucracy as the compilation of personnel files or the issue to individuals of the vouchers (*suret*) used to acknowledge their entitlement to a certain sum by way of salary. At times, he also exacted special salary deductions for purposes such as the building of the Hijaz Railway.⁵⁸

Ultimately, nothing makes the despotic character of Abd ül-Hamid’s relationship with his bureaucrats more apparent than the economic plight in which they found themselves and the way he played on it. It was not reasonable to assume that the bureaucracy that had produced the Young Ottomans would endure this treatment indefinitely without protest. Yet, Abd ül-Hamid’s triumph over the constitutionalists was sufficiently thorough that thirty years passed before his system could be overthrown.

As a result, while the years 1871-1908 were characterized by efforts to restore political balance, these efforts clearly displayed contradictory tendencies. Steps toward rational-legalism and modernization of the polity were more characteristic of the early years and culminated in the parliamentary episode. Efforts at implementation of a neotraditionalist conception of the polity were more typical after 1878. But since the effort at sultanic reassertion was already apparent in the last years of Abd ül-Aziz, and since the promulgation of new laws continued even under Abd ül-Hamid, the two tendencies cannot be neatly segregated out into chronologically distinct subperiods. Rather, as despotic and irrational tendencies became more pronounced under Abd ül-Hamid, legislative activity continued at the same time and began to display, on even grander scale than during the *Tanzimat*, the aspect of a means by which to tighten and extend the control of a dominant and unrestricted power.

Having thus far emphasized the negative side of the badly “split-up” Hamidian polity, we must now go on to a closer examination, first, of the organizational development of the Porte between 1871 and 1908 and, then, of the steps taken in the same period toward further regularization and systematization. The political patterns that we have discussed up to this point will provide us with a perspective for these analyses, which will have as their chief goal to assess the implications of the more rational developments of this period for the long-term evolution of the politico-bureaucratic tradition.

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBLIME PORTE DURING THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD AND THE REIGN OF ABD ÜL-HAMID

The way in which Abd ül-Hamid attempted to seize control of the bureaucratic pyramid and confine within it as nearly as pos-

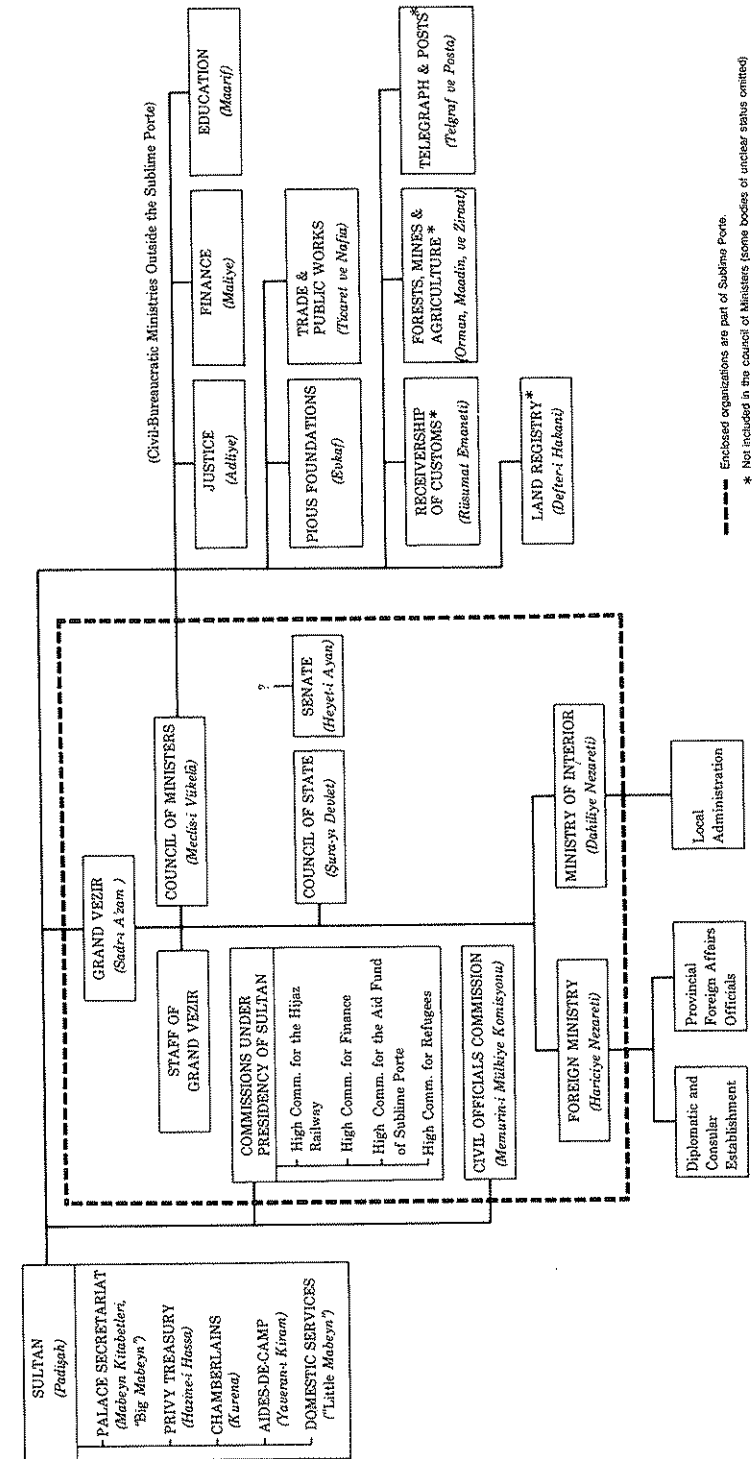
sible the entire politically conscious segment of Ottoman society points to the essential qualitative difference between the growth in the civil bureaucracy during his reign and that which occurred under the bureaucratic empire builders of the Tanzimat. The organizational development of the Porte nonetheless continued after 1871 and to a degree represented one of the more positive aspects of the period. There were gains in the evolution of some of the formal organizational structures and in the growing prevalence of new kinds of organizational concepts first noted on a small scale in preceding decades. More significantly, while this process did not continue to the full extent that the constitution demanded, and while regulatory documents would not supplant the government yearbooks as the principal source from which to reconstruct bureaucratic organization until the Young Turk years, there was a perceptible increase in the extent to which there were formal laws and regulations to govern the structures and define the missions of the various agencies. Under Abd ül-Hamid, the growing elements of rationality had less and less to do with setting the overall tone of official life. Yet those elements formed valuable increments to the political and bureaucratic heritage left to later generations.

A survey of the Porte as it had come to be by 1908 will illustrate these points. Figure VI-1 provides a basic graphic reference for this discussion and, to set the Porte in larger perspective, again includes the palace and the other major civil-bureaucratic agencies.⁵⁹

The Grand Vezir and His Staff

The constitutional episode and the reign of Abd ül-Hamid changed the grand vezirate to varying degrees in both theory and fact. Had the liberals among the drafters of the constitution had their way, the grand vezir as traditionally known would have passed into history and been replaced by a prime minister (*baş vekil*—the same title that Mahmud II used in his attack on the grand vezirate in 1838). This prime minister would then have selected the other ministers, who would collectively have disposed of extensive administrative powers.⁶⁰ As finally promulgated, however, the constitution still designated the highest bureaucratic office in traditional fashion as the grand vezirate (*sadaret*), although without mentioning the concept of "absolute delegacy" (*vekâlet-i mutlak*). The appointment of the other

FIGURE VI-1. ORGANIZATION OF THE CIVIL BUREAUCRACY AND ITS RELATION TO THE PALACE, 1908



ministers was still to be by sultanic decree, with the result that there could be no collective ministerial solidarity; and the powers of the grand vezir and the other ministers were only vaguely described.⁶¹

The constitution thus failed to redefine the grand vezirate in any very thorough way. The liberals did not cease their efforts to effect fundamental changes, and Abd ül-Hamid did appoint prime ministers, rather than grand vezirs, on several occasions. But he lost no time in divesting the newer title of the significance that men such as Midhat Paşa aspired to give it. Abd ül-Hamid's first appointment of a prime minister occurred in February 1878. The Parliament had just been suspended, the Russians were at the gates of Istanbul, the wintry city was swarming with refugees, and Ahmed Vefik Paşa, offered the grand vezirate, would only accept it on condition of the change of title and the adoption of the principle of collective ministerial responsibility.⁶² His successors, however, were unable to maintain either the title or the principle. For example, Hayr ül-Din Paşa, serving with the title of grand vezir, fell in 1879 over his attempt to defend the principle of collective ministerial responsibility. His successor received the title of prime minister, but the composition of his cabinet was largely spelled out, as Abd ül-Hamid was often to do, in the decree of appointment.⁶³ By 1882, when the title of prime minister passed out of use for the last time, it had ceased to make any difference; and the issue of collective ministerial responsibility, which had no basis in the constitution of 1876 anyway, was dead for the remainder of the reign.

These events heralded the progressive decline in the importance of the grand vezirate and of the Porte in general. One expression of this was changing patterns of tenure in the grand vezirate, as in many other offices. Between the death of Âli Paşa (1871) and the Young Turk Revolution (1908), there were thirty-two grand-vezirial incumbencies by nineteen men, most of them still civil bureaucrats.⁶⁴ For about a decade after the death of Âli Paşa, whose last grand vezirate had lasted over four years, turnover was very rapid. From Âli's death until the dismissal of Ahmed Vefik in 1882, there were twenty-three incumbencies by fifteen men. Thereafter, as the Hamidian system became more firmly established, turnover slowed dramatically, and there were only nine incumbencies by five individuals—of whom Küçük Said Paşa had already served as grand vezir before 1882—in the

years before the 1908 revolution. During this interval, there were two grand vezirs with incumbencies of as much as six years each.⁶⁵ Yet length of tenure no longer entailed the kind of power Âli had enjoyed. The job had degenerated so much, indeed, that Ferid Paşa, grand vezir from 1903 to 1908, once said that his situation made him envious of the stevedores (*sırık hamalları*) working on the Istanbul wharves.⁶⁶

As the grand vezirate declined in power, the accumulation of a bureaucratic staff directly subordinate to the grand vezir and distinct from any other ministry nevertheless continued along much the lines noted in the preceding period. By 1908, there were under the grand vezir a number of offices that had already emerged before 1871, some of them having undergone changes or reorganization since, plus one or two others that had either emerged or passed under his authority only more recently.

Of the offices already noted during the Tanzimat, the year-books continue to attest the existence through 1908 of the post of undersecretary (*müşteşar*) to the grand vezir; the receiver (*amedî*), supposedly presiding over almost fifty clerks divided into four classes; the Office of the Corresponding Secretary (*Mektubî*) of the grand vezir; a Cipher (*Şifre*) Office, presumably corresponding to the earlier Telegraph Office; the Records Office (*Bab-ı Âli Evrak Odası*); and the Archives (*Hazine-i Evrak*) of the Sublime Porte. Also still serving under the grand vezir were the master of ceremonies of the imperial Divan (*tesrifati-i Divan-ı hümayun*) and several assistants of his in charge of decorations or medals (*nişan memurları*).

In the field of ceremonial, there had, however, also been a new development reflecting the shift in the locus of power and the consequent organizational elaboration of the palace. In the retinue of the grand vezir, there had emerged something like a supervisor general of protocol (*tesrifat-ı umumiye nazırı*). This post had existed more or less from the beginning of Abd ül-Hamid's reign,⁶⁷ although its relation to that of the master of ceremonies of the imperial Divan is not clear. From the late 1870s on, the new post was held by the same man who served as translator of the imperial Divan (*tercüman-ı Divan-ı hümayun*) and secretary for foreign correspondence in the *Mabeyn* (*Mabeyn-i hümayun tahrirat-ı ecnebiye kâtibi*). The need for a secretary for foreign correspondence in the palace, and the fact that the men who successively held this combination of posts had their actual

offices there, are added reflections of the extent to which procedures for the conduct of official business, especially that of diplomatic character, had changed since the Tanzimat.⁶⁸

In the way of recent additions to the grand vezir's suite, there was now also a staff of military aides (*yaver*)⁶⁹ and a special translator to the grand vezir (*tercüman-ı sadaret-i uzma*).⁷⁰ The military aides are a new sign of the old tendency toward imitation of the sultan's household. The need for a translator must reflect the increasing organizational differentiation at the Porte.⁷¹ For, although its nominal chief now served at the palace, the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte continued to exist where its name implies. It remained under the foreign minister, however, and was the only traditional chancery office that did not eventually become a part of the grand-vezirial entourage.

In contrast, the oldest of the scribal bureaus, referred to by 1908 in the plural as the Offices of the Imperial Divan (*Divan-ı Hümayun Aklâmi*), had in the 1880s made precisely that shift. There were also organizational changes within the office, or group of offices, as it was ultimately more accurate to call it. While all of the component sections remained under the supervision of the *beylikçi*, some of those noted in 1908 were new, at least in form. These include a Registry Section (*Divan-ı Hümayun Kuyud Odası*) and another for Provinces in Privileged Status (*Vilâyat-ı Mümtaze Kalemi*).⁷² In a way both sad and amusing, İnal, who served in the latter, likened it to the colonial office of another state. More nearly, it resembled a foreign ministry for dealing with territories that had yet to consummate their break from the empire.⁷³ Two others of the Offices of the Imperial Divan were old ones: the Section for Important Affairs (*Mühimme Odası*), created in 1797 and now including the officials (*tuğrakeş*) charged with drawing the imperial cipher, and the Office of the Imperial Divan proper.

Following a reorganization of 1900, the traditional subdivisions of this last office also survived within it, with some alterations and additions, as a number of "desks" or "tables." There were six of these, their differentiation providing a measure of the continuing influence in this office of the old, document-oriented conceptions of organization. The roles assigned to the six "desks" were the drafting of documents (*tesvid*, "blackening"); production of fair copies and registration (*tebyiz*, "whitening," and *kayd*); preparation of summaries (*hulâsa*); the keeping

of certain undefined types of registers (*defter*); preparation of brevets of appointment (*rûus*); and assignment of benefices in land (*tahvil*). The total number of clerks provided for in the order for this reorganization is forty-six, and the numbers assigned to the "desks" ranged from the twenty listed for fair copies and registration to the three still occupied at the opening of this century with the vestigial survivals of the traditional Ottoman system of benefices in land.⁷⁴

The political eclipse of the grand vezirate thus did not halt the kinds of organizational development previously associated with that office.

Conciliar Bodies—The Council of Ministers

The same was true of a number of other organizations, including the major conciliar bodies. Among these, the continued convocation in times of stress of special, ad hoc consultative assemblies provided a striking reminder that the early form from which so many of the councils of the Tanzimat had derived was still not forgotten.⁷⁵ On balance, however, what was more characteristic was the further evolution of the conciliar bodies, as shown by the disappearance of some of the smaller ones into bureaucratic agencies, the emergence of the short-lived Parliament, and the adaptation of conciliar forms to serve the functions of control that the Tanzimat reformers had so much neglected.

To look first at the Council of Ministers, the uncertain state of its development during the Tanzimat and the determination of Abd ül-Hamid were enough to keep it from assuming anything like the form that the liberal constitutionalists sought to give it. Not only did Abd ül-Hamid make sure that the grand vezirs did not regain the control that the Tanzimat statesmen had exercised over ministerial appointments, but it has been said that he deliberately appointed ministers who would be unable to get along with one another and then encouraged them to spy and inform on their colleagues.⁷⁶ The degree of cohesion, power, or independence that the Council of Ministers enjoyed during this period thus had narrow limits. Yet, the council did develop in some ways, and it retained some degree of importance.

For one thing, the composition of the council stabilized to a considerable degree, at least after the accession of Abd ül-Hamid. The yearbooks from his reign are remarkably consistent

in showing the council as consisting of the grand vezir or prime minister, the head of the religious establishment (*seyh ül-İslâm*), the chairman (*reis*) of the Council of State, the ministers of foreign and internal affairs, and—from civil-bureaucratic departments outside the Porte—the ministers of justice, finance, education, pious foundations, and the combined portfolio of trade and public works. The undersecretary of the grand vezir was also regularly included. The ministers of the military departments—war (*Bab-ı Seraskeri*), artillery (*Tophane müşiriyeti*), and usually navy (*bahriye*)—were members, as well.⁷⁷ The old practice of swelling the council with ministers without portfolio died out in this period, the last person so mentioned being the elderly Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (d. 1895).⁷⁸ With this stabilization in the composition of the council, there appears also to have gone a reduction, at least after the accession of Abd ül-Hamid, in the rate of turnover in ministerial positions. We have already cited evidence of this in the grand vezirate. In the Ministries of Foreign and Internal Affairs, there were even longer incumbencies.

Given the altered political conditions of the Hamidian regime, this slowing of ministerial turnover was a sign of diminished political importance. Yet the Council of Ministers still had a role to fill. Cevdet Paşa, for example, blamed the fall of Abd ül-Aziz in part on the insistence of Mahmud Nedim Paşa as grand vezir on attributing all government acts, whatever reaction they were likely to provoke, to the sultan. In a way recalling d'Ohsson's comments of a century earlier about the *divan* of the grand vezir, Cevdet said that the Council of Ministers was like a curtain between the palace and the people. The sultan should appear behind decisions that would be well received by the populace; for others, this curtain should be the only visible backdrop.⁷⁹

Abd ül-Hamid was intelligent enough to apply this reasoning, and the Council of State provided him with a procedural system ideally suited for doing so. According to a ruling of July 1872 on procedures for the enactment of new legislation, all laws and all later amendments were to be taken under study first in the Council of State, then in the Council of Ministers, and were subsequently to receive approval in the form of a decree of the sultan.⁸⁰ The constitutional system, had it lasted, would obviously have led to modification of this procedure. And it is no doubt true that Abd ül-Hamid decided the most important matters, as

well as many trivial ones, by himself. But there were large volumes of time-consuming business that had to be left to some lower echelon. The format of the legal acts of the years between the suspension of the Parliament and the Young Turk Revolution makes clear that the system prescribed in 1872 was operative in case after case.⁸¹ The ministers thus may not have enjoyed great power or independence under Abd ül-Hamid, but it does not follow that they had nothing to do or no role in shaping the voluminous legislation of the period.

The Council of State

Where their respective roles in legislation were concerned, the system of 1872 also indicates that the relationship of the Council of Ministers to the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) remained in this period much like that of the ministers to the earlier legislative councils of the Tanzimat. The chief difference was the locus of the higher power that dominated these bodies. Concurring in this interpretation, the British ambassador wrote of the Council of State in 1906 that it retained "almost the scope and functions of a Legislative Assembly," although in practical terms, the fact that it had no legislative initiative and that appointments to it were controlled by the sultan made its independence "very limited."⁸²

Along with these elements of continuity, however, the Council of State also underwent substantial changes. Particularly during the interval between the death of Âli Paşa and the accession of Abd ül-Hamid, it became a political plaything of rival grand vezirs. Mahmud Nedim and others who were opposed to the legacy of the Tanzimat and the constitutional movement would attack the council and try to reduce it in size and functions. Midhat Paşa and other grand vezirs identified either with the Tanzimat elite or the constitutional movement would restore the council to something like its former state. The result was a good deal of thrashing about, but as the opening of the Parliament approached, the council began to assume the role of preparing the bills that were to be submitted for debate in its two houses.⁸³

With the Parliamentary episode past and the Hamidian regime progressively more firmly consolidated, the Council of State began to take on that stability which, as with the Council of Ministers, hinted at loss of power, if not necessarily at a lack of work to do. Under its original regulations, the Council of State

was divided into five sections (*daire*) for Civil Affairs (*Mülkiye*), Reform Legislation (*Tanzimat*), Public Works (*Nafia*), Finance (*Maliye*), and Adjudication (*Muhakemat*). In addition, there was a supporting staff that included a head secretary (*baş kâtib*), who was classed as a member of the council. Under him were a number of what Young refers to in French as *adjoints* (*muavin*) and *auditeurs* (*mülâzım*), as well as a staff of clerks divided into bureaus for purposes such as preparation of minutes and reports (*Mazbata Odası*) or keeping the files (*Evrak Odası*).⁸⁴ In 1880, in an effort at economy, the sections of the council proper were reduced to three for Internal Affairs (*Dahiliye*), Reform Legislation (*Tanzimat*), and Adjudication (*Muhakemat*).⁸⁵

Of these, the Adjudication Section had a complicated list of responsibilities in the hearing of appeals from other tribunals and in administrative justice. These functions appear to have resulted over a period of time in the emergence of a series of Courts of First Instance (*Bidayet*), Appeal (*İstinaf*) and Cassation (*Temyiz*), although it is difficult to tell when these became fully differentiated from one another and from the Adjudication Section itself.⁸⁶

A decree issued in 1897 gave the Council of State and its major component agencies what appears to have been their final form for the period. This provided again for three administrative sections, though not exactly the same three as before. One was to be a Section for Civil Affairs (*Mülkiye*). It corresponded essentially to the earlier Section for Internal Affairs (*Dahiliye*) and also assumed responsibility for investigating complaints about the conduct of administration and for resolving conflicts among administrative agencies. In addition, the Section for Civil Affairs had a kind of second-echelon review over the actions of the other two sections. The responsibilities of these sections were Finance (*Maliye*) and Reform Legislation (*Tanzimat*). The decree did not detail their functions very clearly, although it included indications that the mission of the Section for Finance lay in issuing concessions (*imtiyazat*), making contracts (*mukavelât*), and levying taxes, while that of the Section for Reform Legislation had to do with drafting laws and regulations.

As concerns administrative justice, the decree provided that the Adjudication Section (*Muhakemat Dairesi*) and the existing Court of First Instance (*Bidayet Mahkemesi*) were to become "entirely independent" (*bütûn bütûn mustakil*) from the council, and

that courts of First Instance (*Bidayet*), Appeal (*İstinaf*), and Cassation (*Temyiz*) were to be organized separately. These were to be under the "supervision and administration" of the Ministry of Justice and under the presidency of the chairman of the Council of State. The decree promised the preparation of a special set of regulations for these courts, but nothing of the sort seems ever to have come to light. To judge from the evidence of the yearbooks, the net effect of these changes on the judicial side of the council was the disappearance of the Adjudication Section and the substitution for it of the three courts. Thus, for the remainder of Abd ül-Hamid's reign, the Council of State consisted of three sections for Civil Affairs, Finance, and Reform Legislation, and three administrative courts for each of the echelons of the normal process of trial and appeal.⁸⁷

There were also a number of supporting agencies not mentioned in the decree of 1897. Along with Young's *auditeurs* (*mülâzım*) and the secretarial staff—the *adjoints* (*muavin*) seemingly having disappeared—these included several categories of specialized, technical personnel. Such were the public prosecutors (*müddei-i umumi*) and examining magistrates (*müstahk*) of the administrative courts.⁸⁸ In addition, there was a Conflict of Jurisdiction Council (*İhtilâf-ı Merci Encümeni*), which was made up of representatives of both the Council of State and the regular Court of Cassation and had as its mission the resolution of conflicts of jurisdiction between the regular courts (*mehakim-i âdiye*) and the administrative courts of the Council of State.⁸⁹ There was also a Grand Jury (*Heyet-i İttihamiye*).⁹⁰ Finally, there was an interesting body known as the Statistical Council of the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Âli İstatistik Encümeni*), presided over by the chairman of the Council of State and drawing its members from among his colleagues and from the Ministries of Foreign and Internal Affairs. More than its title implies, the Statistical Council had a part in the Hamidian system of controls in ways that will require further comment elsewhere.⁹¹

The Council of State thus continued its evolution as the chief legislative body of the empire and the central agency of administrative justice. Had its regulations been faithfully observed, it would still have been a relatively small organization. The decree of 1897 provided, for example, that the Section for Civil Affairs include eight members—soon increased to fourteen—with the chairman of the whole council as their head, that the Sections

for Finance and Reform Legislation each have a vice-chairman (*reis-i sani*) and six members, and that the Courts of First Instance, Appeal, and Cassation have their own presidents (*reis*) and four, six, and eight members, respectively. Such was the attitude of Abd ül-Hamid toward bureaucratic appointments that these limits had been exceeded several-fold by 1908.⁹² Even with this featherbedding, however, the council remained a functioning organization, a fact affirmed by the tremendous volume of legislation that emanated from it.

The Parliament

In a sense, the Parliament should have marked both a culmination to the historical evolution of the conciliar bodies and an important step toward fuller implementation of the representative principle first introduced in the local consultative assemblies created during the Tanzimat. Had the Parliament developed in this way, however, both its houses would still have existed in 1908; and they would not have been listed as organizational components of the Sublime Porte, from which they had originally been quite distinct, except perhaps to the extent of drawing secretarial support from that quarter.

In fact, the prorogation of the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Meb'usan*) in February 1878 meant that nothing of the Parliament existed thereafter except the Senate (*Heyet-i Ayan*), and that in attenuated form. The constitution provided that the members of the Senate were to be appointed for life by the sultan and were to receive a salary of 10,000 *kuruş* per month, a handsome sum, though short of ministerial-level salaries. Following the prorogation of the chamber, Abd ül-Hamid continued to make appointments to fill senatorial vacancies until 1880. Since the Senate had nothing to do, however, senatorial positions became mere sinecures for loyal servants of the sultanate. Fifty-one men were appointed to the Senate in all, but their numbers began to dwindle after 1880, and by 1908 there were only three left.⁹³ The listing of the Senate among the components of the Porte is thus a reflection of the atrophy of parliamentary institutions and is otherwise without practical significance.

The Ministry of the Interior

In the last chapter, we noted the discontinuities in the history of the central organization of this ministry during the Tanzimat

and traced them partly to the determination of the reformers to concentrate as much power as possible in the smallest number of hands, partly to the concrete difficulties of projecting a new administrative system over the whole of the empire. After 1871, problems of the same sorts continued and in some cases worsened. The Ottomans saw their control ended, or threatened, in increasing numbers of provinces. The most serious of these problems, the Armenian troubles of the 1890s, created severe disruption not only on the imperial periphery, but in the Anatolian heart of the empire and in the capital itself. All the while, palace domination of internal administration made itself felt to such a point that the Ministry of the Interior ceased to have more than fragmentary authority over provincial administrative cadres.⁹⁴

The extent to which this ministry, like others, became bent to its subordinate role is well symbolized in the character of Mehmed Memduh Paşa, who served Abd ül-Hamid as Minister of the Interior from 1895 to 1908. Author of a number of literary works, some still valued as historical sources, Memduh Paşa had previously been governor general (*vali*) of several provinces. Serving in this capacity at Sivas (1889-1892), he distinguished himself, according to a British account, for "shameless venality" and provocation of the Armenian issue. Memduh had reportedly won the favor of Abd ül-Hamid even before the latter's accession by submitting confidential reports, a practice that Memduh subsequently continued. One of the first of Abd ül-Hamid's informers, Memduh as minister was known for servility toward his superiors and for the hauteur he showed his subordinates. Thoroughly hated, he was persecuted in rare fashion after the Revolution of 1908 as part of the "wreckage of despotism" (*enkaz-ı istibdad*).⁹⁵

The circumstances in which Memduh Paşa flourished naturally had their effects on the evolution of both the general system of local administration and the central organs of the Ministry of the Interior. In local administration, no change of such fundamental character as the Provincial Administration Law of 1871 reached the point of application during this period. The constitution of 1876 did provide for a new regulation of local administration on a basis of separation of powers and decentralization (literally, "broadening of discretion," *tevsi-i mezuniyet*, art. 108). The Chamber then passed a new provincial administration law during its first session, only to have the sultan return

it for reconsideration during the second, which did not last long enough to perform this task. Reportedly, a mixed commission of Ottoman and foreign officials drafted a new provincial administration law in 1880, but it was neither applied nor published in the official series of Ottoman legal texts.

The only reforms actually applied dealt merely with facets of the local administrative system. These included measures on the provincial courts; the institutions to be set up at the fourth and lowest of the administrative echelons (the "commune" or *nahiye*); or the ways and means of eliminating common causes of complaint by the dispatch of judicial inspectors, the inclusion in the local gendarmerie of members from the various ethnoreligious communities, and the restraint of unauthorized fiscal exactions. Many measures had to do with the qualifications of local administrative personnel and the procedures for their appointment and promotion; such matters will require discussion in a later section on personnel policy. The field of municipal administration witnessed further refinements of the system set up for the city of Istanbul, as well as an attempt to create a pattern of urban administration for provincial cities. As time passed, necessarily, there were increasing numbers of acts aimed at the specific problems of such localities as Crete, eastern Rumelia, or the controversial provinces of eastern Anatolia. The irresponsibility of the palace system at the highest level, and the intractability of many of the local problems at the lowest, defined the narrow limits within which such efforts at administrative reform bore fruit in this period.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, in Istanbul, the central organs of the ministry developed in ways reflecting the political tendencies and reformist emphases of the period. After an initial interval during which the post of minister again vanished, references to a minister of the interior reappeared in the yearbooks in 1878,⁹⁷ although the listing of his staff continued through the 1880s to be indicative of small numbers and limited organizational articulation. Of the elements that had emerged within the ministry during the Tanzimat, only the undersecretary (*müsteşar*) and corresponding secretary (*mektubî*) continued to exist, as did the traditional "agents of the gate" (*kapı kâhyası*) or representatives of the provincial governors general at the Porte. The roles of both the "agents" and the corresponding secretary pertained to communications between the ministry in Istanbul and the officials subordinate to

it in the provinces. Given the still limited development of the central organizational structures of the ministry, the existence of two channels of communication between the provincial authorities and the center seems ironic. The weakly developed central agencies of the ministry must have been supplemented to some degree, however, by the Section for Civil or Internal Affairs, which continued to exist in the Council of State. And this is not to speak of the palace secretaries, whose tendency was to bypass the central organs of the ministry entirely and deal directly with provincial authorities.

Between the 1880s and 1908, the central organization of the Ministry of the Interior developed a good bit further, if in curious ways that show how it served the Hamidian system. The yearbook for 1908⁹⁸ lists a number of offices as forming parts of the ministry: the Office of the Corresponding Secretary, which by this time had one or more sections for correspondence by telegraph or cipher; other offices for filing (*Evrak Odası*) and accounting (*Muhasebe Kalemî*); and a branch of the system created in this period for the maintenance of official personnel records (*Sicill-i Ahval Şubesi*). There were also several special commissions, as well as other, miscellaneous institutions or groups of functionaries attached to the ministry. These categories include an otherwise unknown body called something like the Commission for the Expedition of Business and Reforms (*Tesri-i Muamelât ve Islahat Komisyonu*); a "Special Commission" (*Komisyon-ı Mahsus*), whose membership suggests that its mission lay in internal espionage; a Purchasing Commission for the ministry (*Dahiliye Nezareti Mubaayyat Komisyonu*); the "agents of the gate" (*kapı kâhyası*); and the administrative and medical staff of a poorhouse (*Dar ül-Aceze*) that Abd ül-Hamid had founded. In particularly prominent positions were two other agencies of obvious importance in the Hamidian system of controls: the Domestic Press Directorate (*Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdüriyeti*) and what was called the General Administration of Population Registration (*Sicill-i Nüfus İdare-i Umumiyesi*).

Of these last two agencies, the Domestic Press Directorate included by 1908 a director with five assistants; five examining clerks (*mümeyyiz*); more than a dozen inspectors (*müfettiş*) responsible for supervision of newspapers, printing establishments, and theaters; and a couple of file clerks; as well, presumably, as an unlisted phalanx of secretaries. Clearly, this office exercised

the responsibilities assigned to the Ministry of the Interior in the Draconian system of controls, interministerial in scope, set up by the Press Laws of the period.⁹⁹

While it is not always possible to be certain from the yearbooks which offices are simply subsections of others, the General Administration of Population Registration appears to have been even larger than the Press Directorate. There was by this time a welter of legislation on matters of *état civil*,¹⁰⁰ the records-keeping demands of which are reflected in the size and organizational complexity of the agencies at work in that field. What appear to be the subordinate sections of the General Administration of Population Registration run to nine in number. Some of them had geographically defined responsibilities pertaining to Istanbul (*Der Saadet Kalemi*) or the provinces (*Vilâyet Kalemi*); others specialized in specific transactions such as the issue of travel permits (*Mürur Kalemi*),¹⁰¹ passports (*Pasaport Kalemi*), or the compilation of population statistics (*İstatistik Kalemi*).

As of 1908, the central organization of the Ministry of the Interior, with its elaborate systems for population registration and control of the press, and its less-developed and overlapping systems for dealing with local administrative authorities through the Office of the Corresponding Secretary and the "agents of the gate," thus reflects the warping and inhibiting effect of the Hamidian despotism on the development of this branch of administration. Comparison with the even more rudimentary conditions of 1871 indicates, however, that limited progress had been made toward developing a central institutional core for the ministry. Even more significantly, although the Press Directorate and the General Administration of Population Registration were clearly parts of the Hamidian system of controls, they reflect the further progress of a new orientation in organizational development, already noticeable in a few cases in the preceding period. This amounted to a shift of emphasis away from the old document-oriented patterns and toward others defined more in terms of the roles of the bureaucracy in relation to the larger society. Although no really coherent and rational system of internal administration could come into existence until the palace despotism and the composite imperial structure had been replaced, the provincial administration law of 1871 and the small gains perceptible during this period in the Ministry of the Interior did provide some elements for such a system.

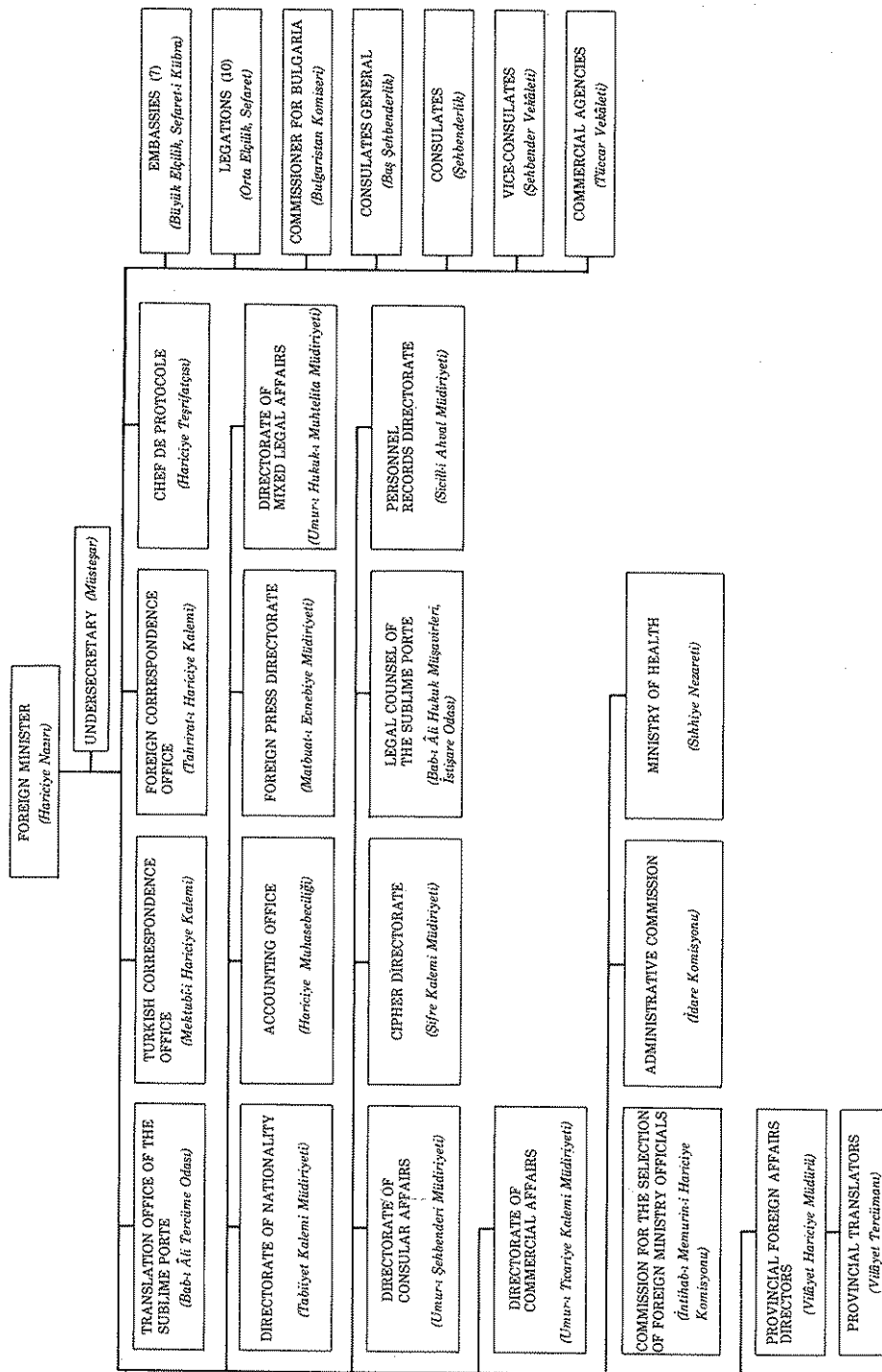
The Foreign Ministry

While the relative prominence that it had once enjoyed in comparison with other civil-bureaucratic agencies had declined in some respects, as of 1908 the Foreign Ministry was still the most highly evolved of the organizational components of the Sublime Porte. By the same token, the new kind of organizational orientation that we have just noted in the Ministry of the Interior, and that had already appeared in the Foreign Ministry to a limited degree during the Tanzimat, had asserted itself there much more strongly with the passage of additional decades. In the process, the central agencies of the ministry began to take on the aspect of a series of directorates, recalling those of modern, Western foreign ministries, with missions differentiated in terms of jurisdictional areas or goals external to the bureaucratic system as narrowly defined. As Figure VI-2 suggests, however, this change was still only partially complete at the time of the Young Turk Revolution, and there were other organizational problems that still awaited solution. Now, even more than during the Tanzimat, this was true of the working relationships among the various agencies of the ministry. Indeed, the proliferation of agencies had begun to imply a need to combine them into functionally related groups through which a more effective control of operations could be maintained. Of course, the ministry, and the Porte in general, would have to reemerge from the state of stagnation into which Abd ül-Hamid had plunged it before it would be possible to solve problems such as these.

Comparison of Figures V-2 and VI-2 shows that the central offices of the Foreign Ministry still included a number of organizations that had already existed in 1871, although changes of various sorts had occurred in all of them. This was true, first of all, of the posts of minister and undersecretary, as they settled into their appointed places in the Hamidian scheme of things.

After more than twenty changes of incumbent between 1871 and 1885, the post of minister was almost entirely monopolized from 1885 to 1909 by two men, Kürd Said Paşa (1885-1895)—so called to distinguish him from the grand vezir, Küçük Said—and Ahmed Tevfik Paşa (1895-1909).¹⁰² Both of them could be described as men who managed to live with the Hamidian system without being tainted by it. With "no great diplomatic talent or profound knowledge of affairs, but possessing a complete com-

FIGURE VI.2. ORGANIZATION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, 1908



mand of his features, unruffled urbanity of manner, and a composure that no crisis has yet been known to disturb," Tevfik Paşa won praise of a sort as "an ideal Minister for Foreign Affairs under a régime which has reduced the rôle of that functionary to that of a buffer between the Palace, whence the foreign policy of the Empire is directed, and the representatives of the foreign powers." A former diplomat, Tevfik was also to serve as grand vezir on a number of occasions between 1909 and 1922.¹⁰³ An even longer tenure of office was to the credit of the perennial undersecretary of this period, Artin Dadian Paşa, who held that post first in 1875-1876, again in 1883-1885, and then continuously from 1885 until his death in 1901.¹⁰⁴

Also surviving from the Tanzimat were the three bureaus that then bore basic responsibility for the written business of the ministry: the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte, the Turkish Correspondence Office, and the Foreign Correspondence Office. These, too, had undergone certain changes. For example, the fact that the translator of the imperial Divan now served at the palace meant that the nominal deputy chief of the office, the first translator (*mütercim-i evvel*), was now its effective head. The Foreign Correspondence Office, in turn, had changed in losing its old character as an Armenian enclave. In addition, Mehmed Nuri Bey, director there from 1892 to 1908, reportedly provided Abd ül-Hamid with what the minister and undersecretary did not, namely, "the window through which the Palace observes and controls all that goes on in the Ministry and, so far as his [Nuri's] influence extends, in the Diplomatic circles of Constantinople." Son of a French renegade named Château-neuf, Mehmed Nuri was by the same account: "a prominent centurion in the legions of Palace spies, amongst whom he ranks high for the quality of his reports, which he has the talent of making both interesting and agreeable to the taste of the Sovereign. Under an agreeable, cultivated and even refined exterior, he is corrupt and unscrupulous in the extreme."¹⁰⁵ In ways such as these, the Turkish and Foreign Correspondence Offices and the Translation Office of the Porte underwent the deforming effects of palace dominance. Nonetheless, their missions remained in principle unchanged; and they continued to grow not only in size but also in internal differentiation, as attested by the appearance in each of a director for important affairs (*mühimme müdürü*).¹⁰⁶

In addition, of the offices known in 1871, those of the *chef de protocole* of the Foreign Ministry, of Nationality, and of Accounts also continued to exist, as did what had been the Foreign Press Office. Now styled a directorate, this last bureau performed functions that are not easy to distinguish from those of the Domestic Press Directorate in the Interior Ministry. An official description of the late 1880s does attribute a distinct mission to the Foreign Press Directorate, namely, to deny harmful statements in the European press and to inform foreign nations about the policies and progress of the Ottoman state.¹⁰⁷ This office nonetheless actually became a part of the Ministry of the Interior for a time in the 1890s, the Domestic and Foreign Press Directorates then being listed one after the other in the official yearbooks. The Foreign Press Office must thus have been useful to the sultan in his efforts to control the press, as the Domestic Press Directorate certainly was.¹⁰⁸

Of the offices that formed parts of the ministry in 1871, two others had disappeared only in the sense of assuming other forms. What had been the Records Office (*Hariciye Evrak Odası*) had been replaced by separate sections in a number of other offices and therefore does not appear in Figure VI-2. The Turkish Correspondence Office had one section, headed by the Foreign Ministry records director (*Hariciye evrak müdürü*), the title borne by the head of the former Records Office of the ministry. There were also records directors, presumably with smaller staffs, in the Translation Office, Foreign Correspondence Office, Directorate for Consular Affairs, Foreign Press Directorate, Directorate of Nationality, and the Office of Legal Counsel. To judge from regulations issued for one of these records sections, their functions lay in controlling the flow, retrievability, and security of documents on current affairs.¹⁰⁹ The organizational decentralization of Foreign Ministry personnel working in records management hints again at the ongoing struggles of the government to cope with the mounting volume of official paperwork.

In one other case, an office mentioned in 1871 was abolished or reassigned to a different ministry, but then replaced by another bureau of seemingly similar character. The office in question was headed by a functionary known in 1871 as the secretary for foreign affairs (*hariciye kâtibi*) and later by the more explicit title of secretary for foreign legal affairs (*deavi-i hariciye*

kâtibi). Evidence from the Foreign Ministry personnel files indicates that this office was either abolished or reassigned to the Ministry of Justice in 1880, but was replaced by something called the Office of Mixed Legal Affairs of the Foreign Ministry.¹¹⁰ This acquired the status of a directorate by 1908. The details are not clear, but these changes are probably related in some way to a general reorganization of the judicial system in 1879.¹¹¹ In any case, the Foreign Ministry yearbooks describe the mission of the Office of Mixed Legal Affairs as production of legal opinions on certain types of cases arising between Ottoman subjects and foreign nationals—thus cases “mixed” in terms of the nationality of the contending parties—and certification and transmission of relevant documents.¹¹²

In addition to these offices, a number of others developed by 1908. To a degree, this occurred predictably by differentiation among the functions of a preexisting bureau, specifically the Foreign Correspondence Office, itself an offshoot of the Translation Office; and it is interesting to note the extent to which the new kind of organizational orientation, mentioned above, came into view as this subdivision of functions progressed.

Such were the origins of the Office, later Directorate, of Consular Affairs, created in 1873 and then described as “dependent on” the Foreign Correspondence Office, which presumably had handled the French-language correspondence of the ministry with both its consular and its diplomatic agencies up to that point. The new office was to be responsible for the correspondence of the ministry with the consular corps, receipt of consular reports, production of semiannual statistical reports on commerce and navigation based on the data contained in these reports, and a political information service. A document of 1880 makes clear that the office did not immediately live up to this program; yet the creation of the agency marked the start of a new effort to organize and regulate the workings of the consular system.¹¹³ By 1908, the office, or directorate as it had become, had acquired a sizable staff, led by supervisory officials of long-familiar kinds. It also had its own records management section, and a special staff of consular inspectors, headed by a European known as Graziani Efendi.¹¹⁴ The inspectors performed a function defined under a regulation for the Ottoman consular service first promulgated in 1881 and amended many times thereafter.¹¹⁵

Probably next in order of emergence among the offices of the Foreign Ministry was what appears in Figure VI-2 as the Cipher Directorate and is almost certainly to be identified with an earlier Telegraph Office. This, in turn, was yet another outgrowth of the Foreign Correspondence Office, in which as late as 1880 there had been simply a head clerk for telegraphy (*telgraf cihetisi ser kalfası*).¹¹⁶

Several other offices also emerged at indeterminate points in the early 1880s. One such is the Office of Legal Counsel (*İstisare Odası*), under the dual headship of two senior juriconsults known as the legal counsellors of the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Âli hukuk müşavirleri*). Under them were a number of assistants (*muavin*, presumably also supposed to have legal qualifications) and a staff of the more familiar clerical types (*hulefa*). In cases involving individuals of different nationalities, the Office of Legal Counsel had responsibilities that are difficult to distinguish from those of the Office of Mixed Legal Affairs. The basic responsibility of the legal counsellors, however, was to provide opinions, when requested, on legal problems arising in the relations of the empire with other states. The role of the legal counsellors thus recalled the traditional one of the *beylikçi* and the Office of the Imperial Divan in checking individual transactions for conformity to the terms of the applicable treaties or grants of concessions to foreign states.¹¹⁷ In more modern terms, however, the legal counsellors were the advisors of the Ottoman government in international law. A good measure of the extent to which Ottomans perceived this as a new role is the fact that the first incumbents of the two legal counsellorships were foreigners. The "nationalization" of these posts only occurred in Abd ül-Hamid's last years, with the appointments of Gabriel Noradounghian, who was to become the empire's only Armenian minister of foreign affairs (1912-1913) and is now remembered as the compiler of a published collection of diplomatic documents, and İbrahim Hakkı Bey (later Paşa), a future grand vezir and a pioneer of modern legal studies among the Turks.¹¹⁸

More or less contemporaneous in origin with the Office of Legal Counsel was the Personnel Records Directorate, another branch of the system set up under Abd ül-Hamid to keep systematic personnel records.

Last to emerge of the offices and directorates that were part of the ministry by 1908 was the Directorate of Commercial Affairs,

first mentioned in the yearbooks in 1896-1897.¹¹⁹ This may have been an offshoot of the Directorate of Consular Affairs, and thus of the Foreign Correspondence Office and the Translation Office; but evidence on this point has yet to come to light.

In addition to these offices and directorates, finally, the central organs of the Foreign Ministry as of 1908 included two special commissions, as well as a body which, though nominally a separate "ministry" (*nezaret*), is perhaps best envisioned as a third organization of similar sort. The Commission for the Selection of Foreign Ministry Officials and the Administrative Commission, the membership of which consisted only of the directors or top supervisory officials of other offices of the ministry, evolved out of a Foreign Ministry Council (*Encümen-i Hariciye*). Created in 1885, this progressively acquired a miscellany of functions: monitoring the conduct of current business, purchasing, and supervision of appointments. About 1900, this council was subdivided into an Administrative Commission, which inherited responsibility for the first two functions of the former council, and the Commission for the Selection of Foreign Ministry Officials, which assumed responsibility for the third.¹²⁰ Like the Personnel Records Directorate, the Commission for the Selection of Foreign Ministry Officials and its counterparts in other ministries figured as branches of the system, centered in the Civil Officials Commission shown in Figure VI-1, for the control of appointments and other personnel actions in the civil bureaucracy.

In turn, what had come to be known as the "Ministry of Health" dated back, as did the history of its association with the Foreign Ministry, more or less to the creation of the quarantine system in 1838. From about 1880 on, the foreign minister also became the "minister of health," presiding in that capacity, at least nominally, over a Board of Health (*Meclis-i Umur-ı Sıhhiye*) made up of Ottoman officials and representatives of the other states that had diplomatic relations with the empire. Under this board, in turn, stood several clerical offices. The Board of Health was the scene of ongoing contention, thanks to the divergence of views among its international membership. The Ottomans wanted strict quarantine measures; the Europeans, animated by more up-to-date medical ideas and a keener sense of the economic costs of delays in quarantine, fought for more lenient terms. These differences gained in importance from the

growth of trade and from the concerns raised, both among Muslims and among Europeans who controlled Islamic territory, by the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.¹²¹

By 1908, then, these were the elements that composed the central organization of the Foreign Ministry. There is no evidence that any particular effort had been made to pattern this structure after any European example. Indeed, there is no documentary evidence that the officials of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry made any close study of the organization of the corresponding agencies of European governments before 1908. This may help to explain both the continued prominence of long-familiar types of personnel—head clerks (*ser kalfa*), examining clerks (*mümeyyiz*), directors of important affairs (*mühimme müdürü*), and so on—and the lack of any discernible system for coordinating the work of the various departments. Yet, it is significant that the more recently created agencies had begun to assume a jurisdictionally defined or problem-oriented character, as opposed to the old pattern of specialization in production of particular types of documents, or, in this ministry, of working in a particular language. Alongside the old, there were now also new types of officials with new kinds of technical expertise and duties extending beyond the old paper-pushing routines. And the new bureaucratic roles were appearing at all levels, from humble cipher clerks, to consular inspectors, to the proud legal counsellors of the Porte. The lengthy evolution that lay behind this ministry makes it possible to see here with particular clarity how much the civil bureaucracy had begun to be oriented away from the traditional, introspective activities, centering on maintenance of the inherited cultural patterns of the imperial tradition, and toward varieties of administrative action that affected the world outside the offices with new intensity and in a variety of new ways.

As in the preceding period, this change should have found particularly clear expression in the agencies of the ministry outside Istanbul, although what was usually in fact more obvious was the subordination of these agencies to the workings of the Hamidian system. The provincial personnel, as before, were the provincial foreign affairs directors and their translators. While officials of this type still did not appear in every province, the Foreign Ministry yearbook for 1888-1889 lists both foreign af-

fairs directors and translators in three provinces in the Aegean region, as well as translators in sixteen other provinces. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, who served for a time as assistant to the foreign affairs director in Izmir, has left his usual vivid picture of the job. Its duties dealt almost entirely with squabbles over the claims, then practically universal among the non-Muslims of the city, to foreign nationality.¹²² From the standpoint of the foreign minister in Istanbul, a subject of almost equal disagreeableness was the relationship of the provincial foreign affairs directorships to his ministry, as opposed to that of the interior. Inadequately defined in the law of 1871 on provincial administration, this question gave rise to a feud that occupied the two ministries on into the Young Turk period.¹²³ The situation of the foreign affairs directors is thus instructive not only of the erosion of Ottoman sovereignty within the empire, but also of the increasing potential for jurisdictional conflicts as the government grew in size and organizational complexity.

Most important of the agencies outside Istanbul, obviously, were the diplomatic and consular missions, which had grown in number significantly by 1908. In the case of the embassies and legations, the reason for the growth was primarily the acquisition of independence by several of the Balkan states—Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro—as well as the accreditation of ministers to some of the smaller western European states—sometimes to more than one at a time. At various times during the period, there was also a variety of something like “commissioners” (*komiser*), representatives of the Porte in places of which it did not acknowledge the independence. The only one of these serving under the Foreign Ministry in 1908 was in Bulgaria.¹²⁴

The diplomatic corps had thus grown, but it is no surprise to learn that the chiefs of some of the missions were really representatives of the palace and therefore neither professional diplomats nor career officials of the Foreign Ministry. These palace diplomats ranged from men of some ability and polish, like Salih Münir Paşa—a quondam associate of the Young Ottomans who for years was concurrently ambassador to France and minister to Switzerland and Belgium—to such unsavory secret agents as Nikola Gadban Efendi, or Necib Melhame—who won the disapproval of more than one of the governments to which he was accredited and eventually found himself ostracized by the corps

diplomatique in Sofia.¹²⁵ Others represented the palace in the sense of being military men appointed to posts that had, from the sultan's point of view, largely military interest. This was the case in 1908 of Tefvik Paşa in Berlin, İbrahim Fethi Paşa in Belgrade, and Ahmed Fevzi Paşa in Cetinje.¹²⁶ All of these were general officers and titular aides-de-camp to the sultan. Still others "represented the palace" in spite of themselves, as virtual exiles. Such were the eccentric Keçecizade İzzet Fuad Paşa, minister in Madrid,¹²⁷ or the great poet Abd ül-Hak Hâmid, to whom European diplomatic posts for years provided suitable—and from the sultan's viewpoint, suitably remote—settings for indulging his tastes for wine, women, and song.¹²⁸

Like the number of diplomatic posts, that of consular positions also increased over the years between 1871 and 1908. Although the impossibility of distinguishing honorary from salaried posts in the listings included in the government yearbooks usually precludes determination of the number of professional consular officials, a more detailed source of 1888-1889 mentions 76 salaried consular officials.¹²⁹ By 1908, the number had risen to over 100 in all grades from consul general down to chancery clerk. This does not count the commercial agents, who corresponded to the ordinary consular officials as the commissioners mentioned above did to the regular ambassadors, and were in 1908 found only in three Bulgarian towns.¹³⁰

It may be questioned if Ottoman interests were adequate to support a consular establishment of this size, and it is clear from a variety of sources that padding had gone on in the consular service, as elsewhere. Still, most of the salaried consuls were in neighboring countries such as Greece, Rumania, Russia, and Iran, where the empire did have considerable interests of commercial and other kinds. These interests fueled a persistent official concern for the improvement of the consular service. One expression of this interest was a series of regulatory acts that will require closer scrutiny in the next section.

With the proliferation of bureaus and commissions at the Porte and the extension of the networks of agents in the provinces and abroad, the organizational development of the Foreign Ministry continued even during the years of sultanic reassertion. Under a sovereign intent on assuming most of its responsibilities for himself, the ministry could hardly reach a state of comprehensive structural rationalization. Yet here, perhaps

more than in other agencies of the Porte, the elements required for any effort to achieve such a state had come into existence.

Commissions under the Presidency of the Sultan

Had the Sublime Porte continued to develop during this period simply along previously established lines, a description of the grand vezir and his staff, of the major conciliar bodies, and of the Ministries of the Interior and Foreign Affairs might well have provided an exhaustive portrayal of its organizational elements. In fact, however, the same force that interfered with the operation of these institutions and thwarted the development of the Parliament also affected the Porte in at least one other significant way, the result of which appears in Figure VI-1 as the Civil Officials Commission and the commissions under the presidency of the sultan. A discussion of these bodies, which, though ostensibly attached to the Porte, were directly subordinate to the sultan and not at all to the grand vezir,¹³¹ must conclude our survey of the Porte as it had come to be in 1908.

To begin with the commissions under the presidency of the sultan: their regulations indicate that they were really inter-ministerial in character and that the sultan himself appointed their members. The origin of all these bodies seems to have lain in the special importance that Abd ül-Hamid attached to their missions. This is most obviously the case of the Hijaz Railway Commission (*Hicaz Demir Yolu Komisyon-ı Âlisi*). The same must also be true of the Refugee Commission, the regulations of which identify it as the High Commission for Islamic Refugees (*Muhacirin-i İslâmiye Komisyon-ı Âlisi*), implying that its mission was resettlement of Muslims fleeing from lost provinces and, perhaps, from other lands under non-Muslim control. The importance of such a function for Abd ül-Hamid's religious policy, as for the maintenance of order, requires no comment.¹³² The fact that İzzet Paşa, the infamous second secretary of the *Ma-beyn*, was a member of both these commissions and also of the High Commission for Finance (*Maliye Komisyon-ı Âlisi*), said to have become a sort of headquarters of the abuses it was supposedly founded to eliminate, provides an added indication of how close these bodies really were to the sultan.¹³³

The Aid Fund of the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Âli Teshilât Sandığı*), in turn, was one of the economic mechanisms through which the patrimonial sovereign manipulated his official servants. Perhaps

the first form of this body was a commission set up in 1890 to administer a fund capitalized by deductions from salaries and used to make loans to officials who had suffered from hardships such as fire and earthquake. One hint of Abd ül-Hamid's attitude toward his bureaucracy and of his possibly special interest in maintaining good will among officials serving in the capital is that while all civil officials were subject to the deductions used to capitalize the fund, loan and repayment transactions could be conducted only in Istanbul.¹³⁴ To the extent that the fund became operative, here, surely, was one more disadvantage of assignment to remote localities.

The terms of two sets of regulations drawn up somewhat later for the Aid Fund of the Sublime Porte are somewhat different. The first of these regulations, dating from 1896, provides that the members and clerical assistants of the commission come only from among the personnel of the Council of State and the Ministries of Internal and Foreign Affairs, that only personnel serving at the Porte be eligible for the benefits of the fund, and that it draw its capital from a list of sources beginning with an ostentatious donation of 2,000 liras in gold by the Sultan. In these regulations, the role of the fund was to assure the making of salary payments. In the last set of regulations issued under Abd ül-Hamid, the fund, still administered and capitalized in more or less the same way, again appears as a loan fund.¹³⁵

In any case, the loan fund resembled the other special commissions in performing a function of particular interest to the sultan. For patronage of the fund offered him a means by which to maintain his image as the benevolent protector of his official servants, even if he could not or would not make the salary system fully operative.¹³⁶

Civil Officials Commission

The most important of the special commissions where the relations of Abd ül-Hamid with his officials were concerned, this body played a central role in the establishment of sultanic control over appointment and promotion in the civil bureaucracy.

Although it did not acquire the form shown in Figure VI-1 until 1896, the Civil Officials Commission was the end product of a development going back to the foundation around the year 1871 of a Commission for the Selection of Civil Officials (*İntihab-ı Memurin-i Mülkiye Komisyonu*). The yearbooks vary for

several years as to whether this commission was simply "at the Sublime Porte,"¹³⁷ part of the staff of the grand vezir,¹³⁸ or under the Ministry of the Interior.¹³⁹ Regulations drawn up in the early 1880s and revised on a number of subsequent occasions make clear, however, that what appears to have been the same body was then under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior and had as its mission the selection of certain types of officials to serve in the three lower echelons of the four-tiered local administrative system.¹⁴⁰

The evolution of this commission seems to have had parallels in other ministries. At least in the Foreign Ministry, as we have seen, there was a Foreign Ministry Council (*Encümen-i Hariciye*) created in 1885 and given supervision of recruitment, among other things, and a more specialized Commission for the Selection of Foreign Ministry Officials, which emerged with the subdivision of the older council around the turn of the century.

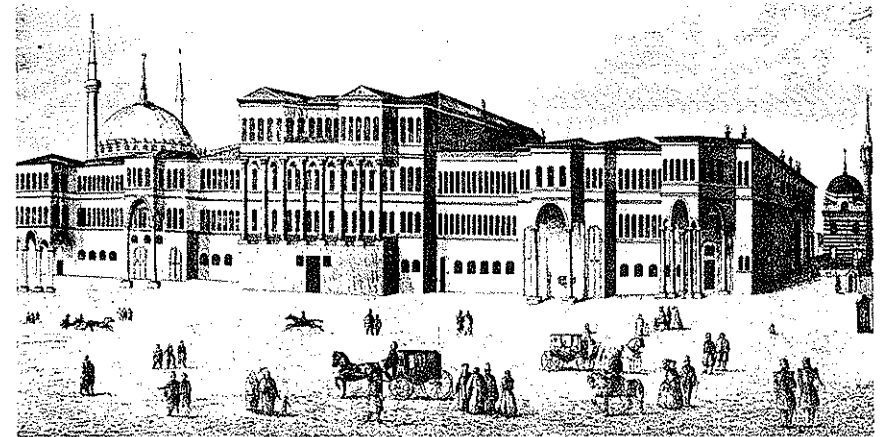
In the meantime, efforts to systematize personnel procedures acquired another dimension with the creation of a modern system of personnel records (*sicill-i ahval*). Cevdet Paşa claimed credit for founding this system in 1877, while serving as minister of the interior. He alluded to what was rather obviously its true function in the Hamidian scheme of things by speaking of it, as do a number of other early sources, not as a "register of biographies" (*sicill-i ahval*) but rather as a register of morals or good conduct (*sicill-i ahlâk*).¹⁴¹ A central commission to supervise this system came into existence at first as an element of the Ministry of the Interior,¹⁴² and branch offices appeared in other departments. By 1891, there were fifty-seven branches, including those mentioned already as parts of the Ministries of Foreign and Internal Affairs.¹⁴³

The Civil Officials Commission, created in 1896, became a central agency to supervise both appointments and the personnel records system. To the extent that the agencies previously in charge of these two functions survived in recognizable form—as the appointments commission of the Ministry of the Interior seemingly did not—they became subordinate elements of the new commission. Its stated purpose made its place in the Hamidian system of controls very clear. It was to process nominations of "civil and financial officials" appointed by imperial decree. As with the earlier commission in the Ministry of the Interior, there were to be cases excluded from the purview of the new body.

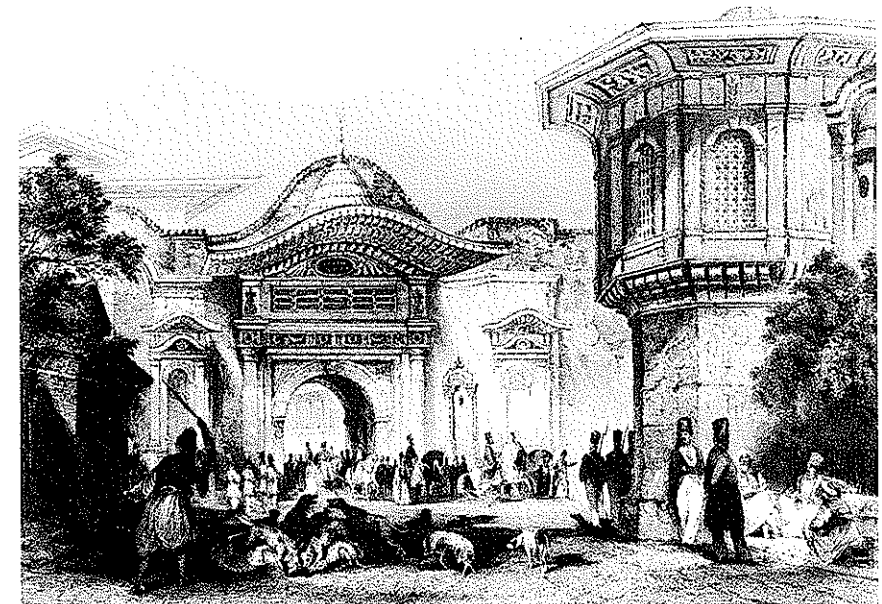
The most important of these were described rather vaguely as the higher central officials and the provincial governors general (*menasib-ı divaniye ricali ve vilayât-ı şahane valileri*, art. 6), whom the sultan would appoint either on his own initiative or on the nomination of the grand vezir. The least important of the excluded cases were defined only by implication: those whose appointments did not require an imperial decree and were thus at the discretion of governors general or other comparable officials. In addition to its role in appointment making, the Civil Officials Commission was also to be responsible for analysis of reports submitted on officials by inspectors and for certain matters related to the trials of officials, although duties of this last kind overlapped powers of the Council of State and were shortly taken away for that reason.¹⁴⁴

An expression in organizational form of the familiar tendency to create new systems, rationally structured and defined by law, to enlarge the span of control of a supreme power that continued to operate in terms of the traditional, patrimonial discretionism, the Civil Officials Commission was thus clearly intended to enable Abd ül-Hamid to extend his direct control over personnel actions falling beyond the range of which he could otherwise have maintained cognizance. This characteristic of the commission forms a natural point of transition from discussion of formal organization to that of new developments in regulation and systematization, particularly in the field of personnel policy. But before we go on, it will be worthwhile to summarize the significance of the organizational changes that occurred at the Porte between 1871 and 1908.

The evolution of civil-bureaucratic institutions had in fact progressed in some noteworthy ways. Some changes were little more than regressive features of the sultanic reassertion, to be sure. These include the fate of the Parliament, the effacement of ministerial power, and the overelaboration of mechanisms for control of the press. In contrast, other changes sorted out previously unsolved problems, or further refined institutional mechanisms created in earlier periods. Here we note the completion of the reassignment of the offices of the traditional grand-vezirial chancery—with the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte as a lone but logical exception—from the staff of the foreign minister to that of the grand vezir. Also to mention are the progressive amendments in the organization of the Council of State and in its roles in legislation and administrative justice,



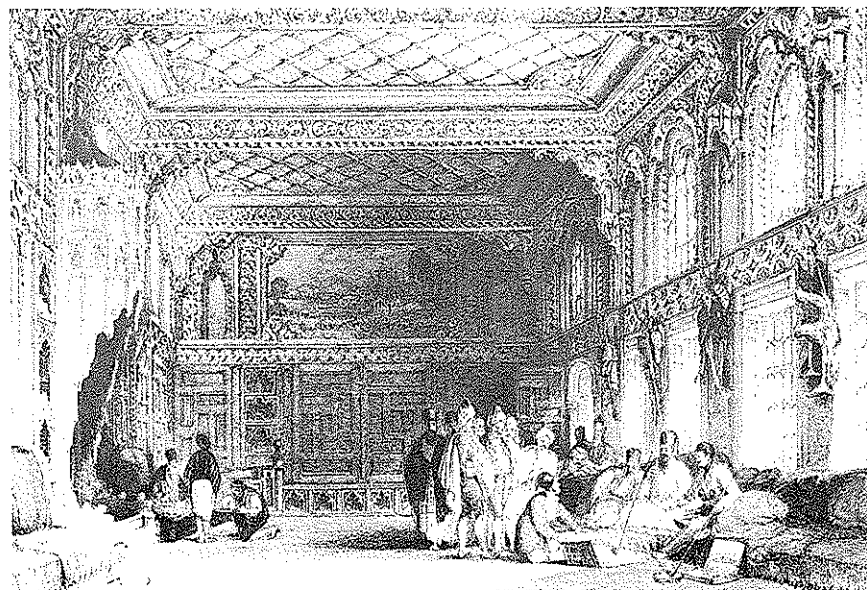
1. Façade of the Sublime Porte on the Side Facing the Golden Horn, an Ottoman View, c. 1867. The "Great Gateway" to the compound enclosing the Porte (Ill. 2) is just beyond the left extremity of the building as shown here. What appears over the left-hand wing of the building as a dome with two flanking minarets belongs to a large mosque in the vicinity, probably Aya Sofya. The small structure to the right is the little mosque known as the *Nallı Mescit*.



2. The *Bab-ı Kebir*, or "Great Gateway," to the Compound Enclosing the Buildings of the Sublime Porte, c. 1830s. The structure at the right is the *Alay Köşkü*, or "Parade Pavilion," built at an angle in the walls enclosing Topkapı Palace so that the sultan or other palace figures could easily observe parades and processions like that shown in the print.



3. Reception of a European Envoy by the Grand Vezir, c. 1790s



4. Interior Scene in the Residence of an Ottoman Dignitary (*Müsellim*) at Alaşehir in Anatolia, c. 1830s

5. Mustafa Reşid Paşa (1800-1858)



6. Keçecizade Fuad Paşa (1815-1869)



7. Mehmed Emin Âli Paşa (1815-1871)



8. Abd ül-Hamid II (1876-1909)



9. Crowd outside the Offices of the Grand Vezir Following the CUP Raid on the Sublime Porte, January 1913. This portico is on the uphill side of the Sublime Porte, the side facing away from the Golden Horn, and belongs to what appears in Ill. 1 as the right-hand wing of the building. This wing still survives and now houses the offices of the governor of Istanbul.

or the limited progress toward elaboration of a central structure for the Ministry of the Interior. Still other changes pointed toward a general modernization of organizational concepts. Lack of coordination among departments was becoming a problem in the Foreign Ministry; but what stood out more, to speak of the Porte as a whole, was the progressive substitution for the old, document-oriented organizational patterns of new ones expressed in terms of modes or areas of interaction between the bureaucracy and the larger society. Of greatest ultimate significance is a change implicit in the variety of regulatory texts which require discussion in consideration of the Council of State, the special commissions, or some of the components of the Ministries of Internal and Foreign Affairs. For what the growing numbers of these documents signify is the gradual closure of the time lag between conceptualization and initial implementation of new organizations and programs, on one hand, and their comprehensive regulation, on the other.

FURTHER STEPS TOWARD REGULATION AND SYSTEMATIZATION

Formal promulgation of laws and regulations was, of course, not enough to make a rational-legal order. Responding to this fact, Osman Nuri Bey, author of one of the more perceptive exposés of the Hamidian system to appear in the wake of the Revolution of 1908, gave succinct expression to a central problem in the evaluation of the laws and decrees of the fallen regime:

Today, if the archives of the Sublime Porte were examined, such comprehensive and detailed decrees would appear on the measures to be taken for the reform and greater prosperity of the state and for the maintenance of order that one would suppose, upon reading them, that Abd ül-Hamid really thought day and night of nothing but assuring the perfect comfort and happiness of the state and its people. Yet, one would also suppose that his orders were not or could not be applied because of the ill will or inability of the authorities at the Porte and in the provinces.

Osman Nuri went on to blame the nonenforcement of these measures, not on the ministers at the Porte, but on the palace and on the practice of direct, secret communication between it and the agencies nominally subordinate to the ministers.¹⁴⁵

Our survey of the workings of the Hamidian political system

indicates the substance behind these observations and enables us to appreciate the resentments which this situation engendered in men such as Osman Nuri. The interference of the palace secretaries and spies, coupled with the way the sultan sought to dominate and use new organizational and procedural systems, did a lot to project the traditional repression of bureaucratic initiative into a new era and, in general, to hamper efforts at more effective administration. Nevertheless, the laws and decrees of the Hamidian years produced a positive impact in some ways that Osman Nuri's interpretation overlooks. As is already clear, the laws and decrees did become at least partially effective where they served the interests of the sultan. Even where they did not become fully operative, they provided a conceptual basis for the eventual transformation of the existing system and an implicit critique of its internal contradictions.

A survey of the regulatory measures of the period, beginning with those on personnel policy and going on to others that regulated and instituted controls over the workings of formal organizational and procedural systems, will yield a fuller idea of how the laws and decrees of which Osman Nuri spoke served the interests of Abd ül-Hamid and, at the same time, contributed to the longer-range development of the administrative tradition. Again, as in the last chapter, it is appropriate to recall that such a survey throws light not just on the condition of the Sublime Porte, but also on the general state of the civil bureaucracy.

Legal Outlines of a Rational Personnel Policy

During this period, routine questions of official discipline gradually ceased to receive as much attention as they did in the personnel policy of the Tanzimat, and concern shifted to more basic issues. Indeed, since Abd ül-Hamid's neopatrimonialism and the liberalism of the constitutionalists shared the premise that the bureaucracy needed to be brought under a kind of political control that had not existed during the Tanzimat, it is not surprising that Abd ül-Hamid and his advisors contributed to the collective restructuring of the civil bureaucracy more significantly than anyone since Mahmud II. It was during this period that the general rules of official service, promised in the Reform Decree of 1856, began to become law in significant quantity; and many of these measures proved worthy of retention or elaboration after 1908. A survey of the civil-bureaucratic

personnel measures of the Hamidian years, including the system for keeping personnel records, the laws on promotion and retirement of civil officials, and those on the compensation system, quickly reveals their significance for the development of the bureaucratic tradition.

To govern the workings of the personnel records system, there were two sets of instructions, the first issued in 1879, the second in 1887.¹⁴⁶ These instructions began by dividing the civil officials of the empire into two imprecisely defined categories. The first consisted of "men of influence" (*sahib-i rey*), holding posts such as ministries, presidencies of councils or courts, or headships of departments. The second consisted of all other civil officials. Probably deriving from the differences in the procedures that Abd ül-Hamid intended to follow in appointment of officials of these two types, this distinction also had an effect on the records-keeping system. Records on officials of the first class were to be submitted directly to the central Personnel Records Commission at the Porte, where they would be examined, verified as necessary, and then registered in special registers. The files of officials of the second class would first be registered—or sometimes, in fact, conserved in the original—in the branches of the personnel records system set up in the various ministries and provinces. Those records would only subsequently go on to the central commission for registration and addition to its registers. The personnel files in the Foreign Ministry archives in Istanbul, and the almost two hundred large registers remaining in the prime ministers' archives from the central commission, give massive evidence of the generally faithful observance of these stipulations.

The instructions also specified the form of the questionnaire that was to be the basic document in each file. This questionnaire was a large sheet of paper divided into boxes. The column of boxes on the right contained the printed questions which the respondent was to answer in the wider boxes running down the middle of the sheet. To the left was another column of boxes intended for "observations" by the individual's superiors. The questions called for the names of the respondent and his father; the rank and position of the father, if an official; the family name if the respondent belonged to a well-known family (*sülâle*); the respondent's date of birth; an account of his education, with certified copies of his diplomas to be attached; a listing of the

languages he knew, with self-rating as to whether he was capable of using the written form of the language for official purposes (*kitabîyet etmek*) or merely of reading or speaking the language; and a listing of any literary works he had written, with a note as to whether they were published or not. Following all this, there was to be a chronological account of the respondent's official service. This was to include dated entries for changes in salary or other forms of compensation as well as for changes of position. Periods out of office were to be listed, with the cause of the loss of the previous position and note of whether or not the respondent received an unemployment stipend (*mazuliyet maaşı*). Those who had worked in private business were to include that experience, as well. Each respondent was to note, appending all relevant documents, whether he had ever been subject to complaint or prosecution and, if the latter, what the outcome was. He was then to sign and seal his questionnaire.¹⁴⁷

The regulations on the personnel records system further specified that utmost care was to be taken, as the records accumulated, to verify and register the information they contained. There were to be no erasures in the registers, and the officials authorized to make corrections were to sign them. The Personnel Records Commission was to undertake any correspondence necessary to verify doubtful points, a responsibility that sometimes generated twenty or more letters on a single file.¹⁴⁸ So that the files could be kept up to date, the Personnel Records Commission and its branches were also to receive notice of all personnel actions.¹⁴⁹

This system was, of course, not without its flaws. So great was the concern for supervision of the records that signatures of up to nine officials sometimes appear below even banal additions to a dossier, whether there are deletions or not. In addition, the procedure for keeping the files current was never adequate for recording events—such as publication of additional literary works, or death—that did not result from initiatives taken within the bureaucracy. Where officials were dismissed or prosecuted for some offense, as occasionally happened, their records usually degenerated into an incomprehensible snarl.¹⁵⁰ Ottoman officials also tended to gloss over the reasons for their loss of position;¹⁵¹ their superiors, to reduce their evaluative comments to a string of the laudatory adjectives that typically conclude the entries in old-fashioned, Ottoman biographical compendia.

Yet the importance of the personnel records is indisputable. Nothing like them had ever existed before. Operating in facilities so wretched that they could hardly even protect their records from the elements, and ultimately saddled with such other duties as the publication of the official yearbooks,¹⁵² the officials of the Porte who were chiefly responsible for the personnel records system nonetheless produced one of the largest and most uniform collections of biographical data ever created in the Islamic Middle East. The value attributed to this system at the time is reflected in the volume of documentation concerning it in the Yıldız Palace Archives, as well as in the progressive creation of analogous systems for categories of officials not covered by the original one.¹⁵³

For a more precise appreciation of the role of the personnel records in the making of personnel decisions, we must, however, consider another complex of regulatory acts that had as their ostensible purpose a comprehensive regulation of conditions of civil-bureaucratic recruitment and service. While measures of this type ultimately proliferated, the basic text in this field is a Decree on the Promotion and Retirement of Civil Officials (*Memurîn-i Mülkiye Terakki ve Tekâüd Kararnamesi*), first promulgated in 1881. That version was superseded by another of 1884, of which various articles were amended on a number of subsequent occasions.¹⁵⁴

This decree was, in fact, a curious document. It was divided into two sections, of which the first dealt summarily with conditions of appointment and promotion, while the second dealt with the creation of a modern kind of Retirement Fund (*Tekâüd Sandığı*), to be financed by deductions from salaries. Given the dual character of the decree, it will be profitable to consider the first section together with other measures of the period on related subjects and to discuss the second section later, in connection with other provisions on compensation systems.

The first section of the decree began by specifying basic requirements about the age, nationality, and education of applicants for appointment. Except in special cases, they were to be Ottoman subjects, aged at least twenty, or sixteen in the case of unsalaried apprentices (*mülâzım*), and they were either to present their diplomas or be examined by a board of officials. Part two of this section spelled out basic requirements of official discipline and concluded with articles explaining the personnel re-

cords system and forbidding ministers and governors general to appoint their relatives to serve under themselves. Part three of the first section went on to specify procedures for promotion. All officials, except graduates of the School of Civil Administration, were to begin at the lowest grade in their respective services and accomplish a specified amount of time in grade prior to promotion. The only exceptions were to be for provincial governors general, ambassadors, and secretaries of embassy—cases in which the sultan presumably intended to retain a discretionary appointment-making power for himself. The various positions, the decree continued, were to be grouped in ranked classes, among which officials would have to work their way up. Parts four and five of the first section went on to specify the causes for which an official might be dismissed from his office and the conditions of eligibility for an unemployment stipend (*mazûliyet maaşı*), and then to refer to the regulations and laws that specified procedures to be followed when officials were suspected of offenses.

One of the laws promised in Abd ül-Hamid's speech from the throne at the opening of the first Ottoman Parliament, this decree, incompletely elaborated though many of its provisions were, was the closest the Ottomans would come before the collapse of the empire to the production of a single, comprehensive "civil service law." Through the promulgation of other laws and regulations, the development of a rational system of personnel administration nonetheless continued. Such measures covered a considerable range of topics. Among them, perhaps the most basic in importance were the regulations issued for the various boards and commissions for the selection of officials and those pertaining to educational qualifications for appointment.

In the first of these categories, instructions or regulations were issued in this period, as we have noted, for at least two of the appointment-making bodies then created: the Commission for the Selection of Officials in the Ministry of the Interior and the Civil Officials Commission, set up in 1896 to take charge of civil-bureaucratic appointments more generally. Both documents excluded certain categories of appointments from the cognizance of these commissions, but went on to prescribe orderly procedures to be followed within the zones of competence that remained.

The various instructions and regulations for the first of these

two bodies, for example, went into considerable detail about how it was to conduct its business, keep its records, and prepare the documentation on those it nominated for appointment. Similarly, the regulations set out the qualifications for appointment, posing specific requirements for the cleanness of the candidate's previous record, his educational qualifications, and the accomplishment of specific amounts of time at one level of service prior to promotion to the next. The positions for which this commission was to select nominees were those of secretary (*tahrirat müdürü*) at the second highest local administrative echelon (*liva, sancak*) and chief administrative officer (*kaymakam, müdür*) at the next to lowest (*kaza*) and lowest (*nahiye*).¹⁵⁵

The regulations of 1896 for the central Civil Officials Commission were less specific about some of these details. This is very likely a reflection of the broader competence of the new body, which, as may be recalled, was responsible for all civil-bureaucratic appointments that required an imperial decree and were not made directly at the initiative of the sultan or grand vezir. Its regulations nonetheless required that the Civil Officials Commission set up a fixed pattern of procedure. Appointments were to be proposed by the ministries within which they fell (presumably by the appointment boards of those ministries), then forwarded, after investigation of the candidates' dossiers, from the Civil Officials Commission to the palace, and finally ordered by imperial decree.¹⁵⁶

Along with the copious evidence on patrimonial discretionism and caprice in Abd ül-Hamid's use of bureaucratic patronage, there is evidence to indicate that these appointment-making systems did become operative. There is nothing contradictory about this, for the mission of the commissions was to select candidates who conformed to the sultan's expectations and whom the latter would then appoint as he saw fit. The opposition that liberals at times directed against the measures for systematizing appointments is surely best understood as a response to this kind of palace domination of recruitment and promotion.¹⁵⁷ In any case, the entries in the personnel records, from the creation of the Civil Officials Commission onward, reflect the more or less faithful application of its regulations.¹⁵⁸ Tahsin Paşa, long-time first secretary of the *Mabeyn*, also provides corroborating evidence on this point. He tells, for example, how the appointment commission would send its nominations to the palace, together

with copies of the personnel dossiers on the nominees. Abd ül-Hamid would have the official biographies read to him and was especially keen to determine whether the nominees were graduates of the School of Civil Administration (*Mülkiye Mektebi*). Commenting to Tahsin on his role in the improvement of that school, Abd ül-Hamid once observed with pride that while persons of uncertain qualifications and affiliations had formerly been appointed to provincial posts, now only graduates of the school were.¹⁵⁹ This was an exaggeration. Yet, the interest of the sultan in improving the quality of administrative personnel and tightening his control over appointments is clear, as is the way in which the appointment commissions served him in these efforts.

Abd ül-Hamid's emphasis on the School of Civil Administration also underscores the importance of developments in education for the overall evolution of personnel policy. The School of Civil Administration was Abd ül-Hamid's pet educational institution; but this was a period of many important gains, including major extension of the systems of lower-level schools and the opening of such important higher-level institutions as the empire's first modern law school (*Hukuk Mektebi*, 1878) and university (*Dar ülfünun*, 1900).¹⁶⁰ In these developments, the close equivalency in Ottoman minds between education and government service found expression in a number of new ways.

Where the School of Civil Administration is concerned, what is most interesting in this connection is the clear preference given its graduates. The regulations of the school, which Abd ül-Hamid claimed to have dictated himself,¹⁶¹ specified the eligibility of its alumni for appointment to a list of offices, including those of secretary of embassy, consul, and *kaymakam* or chief administrative officer at the next to lowest echelon of the local administration (*kaza*). These provisions were actually printed on the diplomas that the school issued its graduates. In an interesting reworking of the traditional terminology for brevets of appointment, the highest grade of these diplomas was termed *mülâzemet rütüsü*. Literally suggesting the brevet (*rütüs*) of a supernumerary (*mülâzım*), this was then translated into French as *baccalauréat*.¹⁶²

There does not appear to have been any other school under Abd ül-Hamid of which the graduates had access to office on such privileged terms. Yet the state could not fill every office named in the regulations of the *Mülkiye* with one of its graduates

and had to make allowances for those who had won their qualifications in other schools or by experience. A number of measures appeared on cases of such types. What is most striking about these measures is the gradual but clearly discernible upgrading of requirements. Ultimately, at least a secondary (*idadiye*) education was demanded from the chief administrative officers at even the lowest of the four levels of the local administration (*nahiye*), and an examination system was created for many types of appointees. This system surely did not operate with full vigor. Even in the best-ordered Western bureaucracies of the era, with much more strongly developed educational systems to back them up, examination systems did not always function rigorously. Yet the documentation indicates that demand for promotion by examination was sufficient to permit the stiffening of the formal requirements until they included much of the curriculum of the School of Civil Administration and a broad range of information about governmental organization and law.¹⁶³

Thus, while the Decree of 1884 on Promotion and Retirement of Civil Officials was in many ways no more than a rudimentary sketch for a general systematization of personnel policy, a variety of measures on related issues, particularly on the operations of the selection boards and on the educational requirements for appointment, helped to fill in needed details. More than that, these measures became operative, at least to a degree, precisely because they served the sultan in his efforts to dominate the bureaucracy.

Ultimately, of course, even the best-conceived personnel policy could not function effectively without a rational and operative compensation system to support it. The intractability of the economic problems of the times, and the way in which it suited Abd ül-Hamid to play on them, inhibited the development of this dimension of personnel policy. Even here, however, there are reforms, and to a degree practical improvements, to cite.

Reforms in this field began with a decree of 1880 on official salaries. One of many attempts to economize by cutting salaries, and presumably also a product of the financial maneuverings leading up to the creation of the foreign-dominated Public Debt Administration, this was perhaps the closest approach in this period to the general classification of official positions demanded in the "Decree on the Promotion and Retirement of Civil Officials."¹⁶⁴ The decree on salaries ordered a twenty percent cut,

supposed to be compensated for by a contemporary reform of the coinage,¹⁶⁵ following which salaries were to be paid in sound money rather than the debased coin in use up to that time. The decree then went on to offer a comprehensive classification of bureaucratic positions, at least outside the palace, with specification of the salaries for the positions in each class.

The extent to which such a schematization could prevail against the realities of the economic situation and of the resurgent sultanic patrimonialism is well indicated by the fact that no more seems to have been heard of this kind of regulation, except for an amendment of 1884,¹⁶⁶ although there were additional salary cuts at later dates. At least in the civil bureaucracy, this was, however, the first attempt to elaborate something like the comprehensive salary table or *barem* (from the French *barème*) later created under the Republic.

In addition, there were subsequent attempts to regulate or refine various ancillary aspects of the compensation system. These included measures on the procedures for the assignment of unemployment stipends (*mazuliyet maaşı*)¹⁶⁷ and of travel pay and per diem.¹⁶⁸ Most important, however, was the creation under section two of the "Decree on the Promotion and Retirement of Civil Officials" of a modern system of retirement pensions.

The basic concept of this system was that anyone who served in the civil bureaucracy should, after thirty years, be entitled to retire with a pension determined on the basis of his salary over a given period and financed by a five percent salary deduction. The decree and its many subsequent amendments, all of which pertain to the pension system, also included a tangle of intricacies about persons who belonged to one branch of government service but served in another, those whose careers predated the creation of the system, retirement for reasons of illness, the entitlements of surviving dependents, the organization and administration of the fund, and the investment of its capital.

Like so many other measures, this pension system appears to have become operative to at least some degree but to have led a problem-ridden existence. The continued amendment of the articles of the decree is, in its way, a sign of the accumulation of experience in their implementation. Perhaps more ambiguously, the importance of the system found tangible expression in the growth of a separate *nezaret* to administer it. This was surely

a "supervisorship" rather than a "ministry," although the organization in question was quite large by 1908.¹⁶⁹ Whether this size boded good or ill for the administration of the fund is unclear, but there were other developments that clearly meant no good. It was not long, for example, before the Ministry of Finance was borrowing from the Retirement Fund.¹⁷⁰ The reasons for this are none too clear, but the mere occurrence hints that the salary deductions for the retirement fund were becoming no more than another tax on the bureaucracy. This supposition seems to find confirmation in the recollections of Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, whose experiences at earlier points in his lengthy career have enlightened us on so many occasions. At a time when he had passed retirement age "by leagues" (*fersah geçmişse de*), he was still making his way to his office, half blind, bent over his cane, and trusting in the dervish saints (*erenler*). It was well known, he said, that the Retirement Fund could not pay its pensions.¹⁷¹

In the case of the pension fund, as in other respects, the attempt to create a modern system of official compensation indicated that the drive for systematization had exceeded what the practical administrative capabilities and material resources of the state could support. To survey the field of personnel policy more generally, however, the last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed noteworthy developments. In addition to the measures pertaining to compensation systems, these included the creation of a modern system of personnel records and the first steps toward a comprehensive regulation of conditions of recruitment and promotion in the civil bureaucracy. For Abd ül-Hamid, measures such as these could be no more than means to the end of consolidating his control over an enlarged but again servile bureaucracy. Like the lingering inequalities in conditions of service as encountered by the various bureaucratic subgroups described in the last chapter, this primacy of sultanic will over law points to the obvious limits of regularity in official personnel policy during this period. Yet, even under the Hamidian neopatrimonialism, and partly to serve its ends, the concern for rationality had gained new ground.

Steps toward Regulation and Control in Other Fields

That these developments in official personnel policy were part of a larger pattern is already apparent from the growing extent to which regulatory acts assume a place among the sources from

which we trace the evolution of the formal organizational apparatus of the Porte in this period. This fact means that we have already introduced many of the organic regulatory documents of these years and have begun to comment on the new trends in organizational thinking that they imply. It remains only to add certain points on the extent and limits of this kind of regulatory activity, the qualitative change that it implied, and the way this change expressed concern for the reinstitution of controls over the actual operations of the bureaucracy.

One basic point deserving brief mention is that the drive for overall regulation of the politico-bureaucratic system was in some respects even stronger than the regulations that we have specifically cited would indicate. Even after the parliamentary episode, there were continuing efforts to produce the broad range of administrative law promised in the constitution of 1876. Along with the innovations in personnel policy, there were, for example, comprehensive regulations enacted for a number of major agencies outside the Porte: the two Houses of Parliament, and the Ministries of Justice, Finance, Public Works, and Pious Foundations.¹⁷² For the major agencies of the Porte, with the exception of the Council of State and the special commissions, there seems to have been nothing of comparable scope; but this was not for want of trying in certain quarters.

There was, for example, at least one ambitious attempt, undated but probably attributable to the years 1871-1878, to draw up a comprehensive set of regulations for the Foreign Ministry.¹⁷³ That there were similar efforts to regulate the most important civil-bureaucratic institutions is also clear from a draft law, dating from the brief grand vezirate of Hayr  l-D n Pa a (1878-1879), on the duties of the various ministers and of the Council of Ministers. Embodying the principle of collective responsibility, advocacy of which provoked Hayr  l-D n's fall, and assigning vast but minutely defined responsibilities to the grand vezir and his colleagues, this document assumed a resurrection of the Parliament and a real limitation of the sultan's prerogatives.¹⁷⁴ The continuing struggle between Abd  l-Hamid and the liberals, on into the 1880s, over the character of the grand vezirate suggests that this ill-starred proposal must not have been the only one of its kind. In any event, it is clear that the demand for regularization was greater, at least in some circles, than the measures actually promulgated would indicate.

This fact has to be weighed, of course, against the limits within which organizational and procedural patterns actually did undergo reform in this period. The clearest indication of these limits is in the vital field of finance, where any would-be reformers were still far from having sufficient power or knowledge to solve some of their most fundamental problems. As the empire slid into bankruptcy, circumstances did not help. Steps toward financial rationalization did occur, but their significance for the civil bureaucracy and the administrative tradition in general was often oblique or ironic.

Some of the efforts at fiscal rationalization grew out of the constitutional movement and Ottoman initiatives to forestall the official avowal of bankruptcy. To be noted here are the powers that the constitution gave the Chamber of Deputies over budgeting and other financial matters, the regulations of the Ministry of Finance, the attempt to create an independent Board of Audit (*Divan-ı Muhasebat*), and the attempt of 1880 at comprehensive systematization of official salaries.¹⁷⁵ Official bankruptcy led, in turn, to the establishment of the foreign-dominated Public Debt Administration, set up in 1881. Its powers a major breach of Ottoman sovereignty, the administration assumed control of six major revenues of the empire, applying them to the service of the foreign debt. Except insofar as they figured among the bondholders, as some did, Ottoman officials could have benefited from this agency only through the provisions requiring division of surplus revenues with the imperial government, or through observation of a new example of European-style administrative efficiency. However grudging Ottomans may have been to admit it, the debt administration must have exerted some such demonstration effect. For it ultimately employed several thousand Ottoman subjects, paying them regularly. The number of revenues the organization collected also increased over time for various reasons, partly because the Ottoman government elected on occasion to use the debt administration as its own collection agent.¹⁷⁶

To translate the lessons that could be learned from the Public Debt Administration into Ottoman practice, however, was no easy matter. Not only did the debt administration control a large and growing share of the revenues, but Abd  l-Hamid created a split in what remained of the Ottoman economy. For himself, he developed a rationally run, personal financial empire within the

empire. This was based on a vastly extended network of crown estates (*çiftlikât-ı hümayun*)—the reassertion of the sultan's claims to ownership of the land is another neopatrimonial motif—and was administered through the Privy Treasury (*Hazine-i Hassa*).¹⁷⁷ Only what was left of government finance fell within the purview of the minister of finance; but since there was still no progress toward centralized control of receipts and expenditures, his authority was negligible. The effect of this situation on the government budgets, which should have been among the most important instruments of rationalization and control, is self-evident (cf. the Appendix).¹⁷⁸ How this state of affairs affected individual officials is already clear from discussion of the compensation system.

Financial problems thus continued to figure as an almost insurmountable obstacle in the way of regulatory efforts. What makes this more unfortunate is that the drive for rationalization and control was gaining in other respects, not only in scope but also in sophistication. To be sure, some of the regulatory acts of the period continued to perpetuate traditionalistic organizational concepts¹⁷⁹ or to be incomplete or defective in composition.¹⁸⁰ But this was less typical than in the past. Good examples of the qualitative improvements in the regulatory acts of this period, and particularly of the growing emphasis on monitoring the actual performance of the bureaucracy, appear in two sets of documents, one pertaining to the consular service, the other to the field of official communications.

Including organic regulations for the service, a set of instructions detailing consular responsibilities, tables listing the fees to be collected for various transactions, and a ruling on leaves, the consular regulations display an innovative character which becomes quite clear if we recall the traditional scribes or the consular and diplomatic officials of Selim III. The consul envisioned in these documents was a salaried professional and either an alumnus of the School of Civil Administration or a graduate of another school who had proven his qualifications by examination. He did not engage in trade. He performed specified services for a defined geographical area and was subject to periodic inspection. He knew how to perform the social and ceremonial obligations of his post correctly and tactfully and to conduct his official business and correspondence, not only according to Ottoman conventions, but also according to those spelled out in

de Clerq's *Guide des consulats*.¹⁸¹ The consul kept his files in prescribed order and reported periodically to the ministry on specific matters relating to commerce and public hygiene. Most importantly, he provided an intricately detailed list of services to Ottoman subjects in his district. These services included aid to and repatriation of the indigent, a lengthy list of functions having to do with shipping, and performance of all the transactions—delivery of passports and visas, registration of births, marriages, deaths, and so forth—required under the Ottoman laws on population registration.¹⁸²

It does not require a great speculative leap to conclude that this image of the consular official was made in Europe, and measurement against these standards of most of the Ottoman consuls in the Aegean region, around the Black Sea, or in Iran would probably have produced a sad contrast. To judge from the complaints of a man who was clearly one of the better consular officials of the time, it was also true that Abd ül-Hamid had a hand in preventing the implementation of these measures by turning the chief function of the consuls, as of the diplomats, into "police surveillance" of the Ottoman subjects in their districts.¹⁸³ Yet, enough correspondence passed between the Foreign Ministry and the consulates over matters relating to these regulations to indicate that they did have some effect.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, it is possible to document at least a few cases in which consular officials lost their positions for abuse of office.¹⁸⁵ To judge from the memoirs of Pâker and Söylemezoğlu, we must conclude, too, that there were beginning to be consular and diplomatic agents who set out for their posts with an image of themselves much like the one projected in the regulations.

A new concept of the bureaucratic professional was emerging, and it was emerging in a context that demanded an unprecedented degree of control and accountability in the working of bureaucratic institutions. At times, this new emphasis appears in the controls included among the range of functions that officials were to perform for the larger society. This is implicitly true of the system of population registration, which made demands on the consuls as well as on many officials of the Ministry of the Interior. More importantly for present purposes and for the general effort at restoration of political balance, there was a new emphasis on controls, taking such forms as inspections and reports, over the way officials behaved and over the conduct of

administrative business. Like some of the new institutions in the field of personnel policy, the consulates could be used in ways that had little justification except in terms of an exaggerated concern for maintenance of the sultan's dominance. But this kind of diversion could not occur without inviting attack from those who responded to the spirit of the new measures.

Similar implications also emerge from the reforms of this period in the field of official communications. Whatever the extent of bureaucratic featherbedding and underemployment, the volume of paperwork continued to grow and to be perceived as unmanageable. Extreme centralization did nothing to diminish this problem; no more did the lack of any idea that certain types of documentation were of temporary utility and ought not to be retained permanently in the files. The number and scale of the archival collections remaining from these years acquaint every researcher with these facts.

Contemporary officials responded to such problems in part through various attempts at improvement in records management. The organizational evolution of the various records offices and archives is one sign of this effort. There was also a variety of procedural changes, including extension of the use of standardized forms for certain types of transactions, adoption of systems for the numbering of documents,¹⁸⁶ and substitution of filing in dossiers for the old practices of registering documents in chronological order or storing them in sacks.¹⁸⁷ One set of regulations prescribed procedures, resembling some of those in the consular regulations, by which embassies should register and secure their correspondence.¹⁸⁸ Another set demanded monthly examination of the registers of the Records Office of the Porte, the sending out of inquiries about documents that had not been returned from other offices on time, and the reporting to the grand vezir of officials or offices that did not respond to these inquiries within a set interval.¹⁸⁹

Other measures indicate the connection between concern for the control of official paperwork and the growing centralization of administration. An order of 1882, for example, said that since many of the documents issued by the Office of the Imperial Divan were prepared in response to imperial decrees, they need no longer be submitted for the seal of the grand vezir. Since the types of documents named had mostly to do with appointments, this order is clearly a sign of the loss of patronage by the grand

vezir and its reconcentration in the hands of the sultan.¹⁹⁰ Yet centralization did not necessarily imply that the sultan did not want ideas and recommendations from lower echelons. On more than one occasion, orders went out to all offices and ministries to the effect that they were not to refer problems to higher echelons without including supporting documentation and recommendations for solutions.¹⁹¹ Under Abd ül-Hamid, as in the traditional system, officials had reason not to be forward in expression of their opinions; but he, like some of his ancestors, demanded that they be so, anyway.

As the procedures for document control became more rigorous, special attention also had to be given to the registration and promulgation of laws, regulations, treaties, and other such acts. The principal change of the period in this regard occurred with a decree of July 1872, which we have already mentioned as defining the roles of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers in the legislative process. The same decree provided, in addition, that each new law would become executory at a date specified in the law or, in want of specification, fifteen days following publication of the law in the official newspapers of the capital (*Takvim-i Vekayi*) and of the provinces. In provinces that had no such newspapers, the fifteen days would be counted from the public proclamation of the law.¹⁹² In fact, one of the saddest victories of despotism under Abd ül-Hamid was that the official newspaper of the capital fell victim to the censor, supposedly for nothing more than a typesetter's error, while publication of the volumes of legal acts, the *Düstur*, also lapsed for most of the reign. Care was still taken to maintain the traditional system for registration of laws and diplomatic agreements in the Office of the Imperial Divan.¹⁹³ Similarly, legal acts continued to appear in special printings or in the newspapers that did remain in circulation. But regular publication of the official newspaper of the central government or of the legal volumes would only resume under the Young Turks.¹⁹⁴

Where the connection between reform in the field of official communications and the increasing emphasis on control and monitoring of bureaucratic performance ultimately became clearest was in the so-called "statistical system." This appears to have been founded in 1879 on the recommendation of Küçük Said Paşa, then prime minister (*baş vekil*), as a means by which to provide the central administration with sound information on

which to base policy.¹⁹⁵ An ambitious set of regulations ordered the formation in various local and central agencies of special bodies to gather the statistical information. The regulations went on to define the procedures by which the information should be aggregated as it passed to higher echelons, made available to the interested ministries in Istanbul, and published. The system was an elaborate one; yet the publication of official economic statistics, beginning in the 1880s, indicates that it produced tangible results.¹⁹⁶

The uses of this statistical system for control of the civil bureaucracy became obvious with the creation in 1891 of the Statistical Council of the Sublime Porte, attached to the Council of State. Some details are not clear, but this seems to have amounted to a revised version of the earlier system. Its regulations specifically charged this Statistical Council with collecting information on everything that happened in the provinces—births, deaths, the presence of foreigners, crime, the building of roads and schools, the numbers of documents sent and received—“down to the smallest detail.” The governors general (*vali*) of the provinces, and also the governors (*mutasarrıf*) of *sancaks* that did not come under the authority of a governor general, were to submit this information to Istanbul in annual reports. Whenever such an official was transferred, a special report of the same type was to be submitted. One copy of it would go to the palace, where it would presumably serve as a report on the official's performance. There were again articles in the regulations to specify how statistical information should be collected at the lower echelons of the local administration, how information of some of the same types should be collected through the Foreign Ministry from the embassies, and how the information gathered should be published.¹⁹⁷

A set of reports submitted from the embassies in 1905 provides a measure of the practical workings of this system. The reports typically took the form of a tabulation of the number of documents received and dispatched during a given period of time, sometimes with breakdowns as to the source or destination of the documents or the matters with which they dealt. Such statistics may be criticized as a crude measure, at best, of the volume of business handled or the efficiency of the agency in question. Yet the compilation of this kind of statistics appears to conform to the practice of the Western bureaucracies of the day,¹⁹⁸ and the resulting data are not totally useless. In this case, the re-

ports varied widely, those of some of the less professional ambassadors being slovenly or incomplete enough to elicit criticism from the Statistical Commission. The better reports, in contrast, were quite informative. These included one from the embassy in Berlin, beginning with an account of the “constant” correspondence between that post and the palace, or the report of Galip Kemali Söylemezoğlu, by then first secretary in Bucharest. He produced a handsome tabular summary of the correspondence of that legation, not just for one year but for all nine since the appointment of the then minister, Kâzım Bey.¹⁹⁹

As documentation of such types confirms, developments of this period in the conceptualization of other types of organizational and procedural patterns paralleled and amplified those that had reshaped the ostensible personnel policy of the civil bureaucracy. Not only was there significant progress toward organic regulation of bureaucratic structures—despite frustrated aspirations and plans that never reached the point of enactment—but a desire for reactivation and reassertion of the bureaucracy, a desire already discernible by the end of the eighteenth century, had also begun to find fulfillment in the displacement of old concepts of official roles and procedures by new ones emphasizing service and control. As long as the Hamidian system survived, the new concepts of organization and procedure would remain subject to its deforming influence. The consequences of the financial situation of the government were equally grave and even harder to deal with. Yet the increasing prominence of new ideas about how the administrative system should operate indicated a movement toward closer approximation of the rational-legal ideal. Some measures, such as the consular instructions or the use of “statistical” data to monitor official performance, even began to anticipate the emphasis on efficiency that, in the thinking of some students of the most advanced of modern bureaucratic systems, begins to assume primacy over the Weberian emphasis on law.²⁰⁰ If the Hamidian palace system were to be eliminated, surely the scope for such developments would be vastly increased.

CONCLUSION

Between 1871 and 1908, then, the Sublime Porte achieved a new degree of organizational elaboration and articulation. The general outlines of a rational personnel policy were adopted for the

entire civil bureaucracy and in some respects made operative. Increasingly modern conceptions of official roles and procedures also became current, along with a new concern to monitor the actual performance of the bureaucracy. Most importantly, this effort to build controls into the bureaucratic system was part of a larger concern for the restoration in some form of the political equilibrium that had been so profoundly disturbed during the Tanzimat.

As concerns the long-term development of the politico-bureaucratic tradition, it was chiefly in this last respect—finance aside—that this period was one of frustration and conflict. For the failure of the constitutional movement and the creation of the Hamidian machine, although a *tour de force*, was in too many ways a journey into the past. As long as this machine remained operative, its workings vitiated the practical improvements that might otherwise have been expected from the reforms of the period and compounded, rather than diminished, the problems of maintaining the imperial system.

There was, however, to be one more major effort to solve all these problems. Since this attempt forms another phase in the history of the opposition intelligentsia, the first phase of which we have already discussed in connection with the Young Ottomans and the constitutional movement, it is appropriate in concluding this chapter to say something about how the Hamidian system helped to call forth this effort.

So successful was Abd ül-Hamid at first in creating his political system and in neutralizing those who opposed him that the history of the opposition was very nearly discontinuous from soon after the termination of the parliamentary experiment until the end of the 1880s.²⁰¹ It was not possible, however, to enroll larger and larger numbers in official cadres, demanding more and more from them in the way of education, and at the same time expect them to abjure the ideas of culture heroes such as Namık Kemal or Ziya Paşa, or to remain undisturbed by the absurdities of the domestic order or the contradictions between it and the world outside. When the diverse elements of what would become known as the Young Turk movement began to emerge, they did so in ways that took up the Young Ottoman legacy but also signified a broadening of both the social basis of the opposition and its intellectual horizons.²⁰²

Reflecting the growth of pressure for enlargement of the

scope of political participation, the leadership of the new opposition emerged from not one but several social settings. Spreading at first among the cadets of the military schools and then among the students of the School of Civil Administration, the movement gradually won recruits in various branches of official service and outside the bureaucracy, as well. The elements of the empire's populations represented among the early activists of the movement also presented a picture of much greater diversity, in terms of both ethnicity and social status, than had the blue-blooded founders of the Young Ottoman movement. Ultimately, however, it was to be the military officer corps, and within it men whose frustrations were at least partly linked to their relatively obscure origins, who would provide the actual leadership for the Revolution of 1908.

Like their social origins, the ideas of the Young Turks displayed a new diversity. Some of the ideas recalled the Young Ottoman program. For example, the thought of the Young Turks focused on a demand for restoration of the constitution and was still strongly influenced by the liberal political philosophy. The Young Turks—the conventional name for whom is in this sense a misnomer—also resembled the Young Ottomans in continuing to emphasize the Ottomanist supranationalism and the preservation of the empire. But Young Turk political thought also included new elements incompatible with the Young Ottoman legacy. For example, Turkish nationalist tendencies, having emerged in other circles, gradually began to influence the Young Turks, especially after 1908. Other contradictions derived from the fact that the Young Turks' awareness of Western thought was broader and more up to date than that of their ideological predecessors had been for its day. Şerif Mardin, the leading student of the Young Turks' ideas, has found them responding to such diverse intellectual trends as positivism and social Darwinism and to contemporary developments in fields ranging from philosophy to economics, sociology, psychology, and the physical sciences. With this increase in the breadth and currency of awareness of Western ideas—itsself a major indicator of the impact of the educational reforms and literary innovations of this and the preceding period—went a growing secularization of world views and, in some quarters at least, a new emphasis on deliberate and thoroughgoing westernization. Simultaneously, the concern, typical of the Young Ottomans, to

justify each intended reform in the light of Islamic religious-legal tradition began to disappear.

As of 1908, Young Turk political ideas were still evolving, and there were among those ideas several that implicitly contradicted the general constitutional emphasis of the movement or had otherwise explosive potentials. Since the survival of the cosmopolitan empire was the paramount political concern of the Young Turks, this was most obviously true of Turkish nationalism, especially as it began to influence policy following the revolution.²⁰³ Scarcely less disquieting in its implications for the long-term development of the polity was a tendency to elitism and authoritarianism. This emerged among the Young Turks for several reasons, including military training and the character of some of the Western ideas—such as emphasis on bureaucratic expertise and efficiency—to which the new opposition responded. Coupled with their concern for the preservation of the empire, this tendency led the Young Turks in practice to display a sort of modernized version of the elitism and the “statist-secularist” orientation so long prominent in the tradition of the ruling class, and thus to couple their overt liberalism with yet another kind of neopatrimonial behavior.

Even had it not been for the international situation, ideas and tendencies such as these might have led the Young Turks, once in power, into serious trouble. As matters developed in fact, the international problems assumed precedence in overwhelming the new leadership and precipitating the final collapse of the empire. Before that happened, however, the Young Turks not only overthrew the Hamidian machine, but also carried out reforms that gave unequivocal proof both of the continuing vitality of the ancient administrative tradition and of the momentum that had accumulated behind the newer drive for achievement of a rational-legal order.

ONCE MORE TOWARD REDEFINITION OF THE POLITICAL BALANCE

Tanzimat-ı hayriyenin te'sisinden mebde-i saltanatımıza kadar geçen müddet zarfında terbiye-i umumiyece hasıl olan terakki masalih-i umumiyenin usul-ı meşrutiyete rabtını ihtar eylemekle kariha-ı zatiyemizden olarak Kanun-ı Esasi i'lân olunmuş iken ağraz-ı muhtelif menafi-i umumiye fikrine takaddum ettiğinden kanun-ı mezkûrun ta'tili hakkında ihtarat tekessür etmiş ve nihayet . . . bu ta'til devletçe karargir olmuştu. O vakitten şimdiye kadar geçen ahval ile efkâr ve temayülât-ı umumiyenin neticesinde memleketin idare-i meşrutaya kabiliyeti meşhud olmasıyla Kanun-ı Esasi'nin kâffe-i ahkâmı mer'i ül-icra olmasına ve Meclis-i Meb'usanın her sene ictimâna irademiz taallûk ederek . . . Kanun-ı Esasi'nin tatbikatına ba'dema hiç bir vechle ve hiç bir surette asla ve kat'a hâlel gelmeyeceğini . . . beyan eyledim.

The progress achieved in the general level of culture in the period between the inauguration of the Tanzimat and the beginning of our reign having suggested the conduct of public affairs according to constitutional principles, we of our own free inspiration promulgated the constitution. Nonetheless, as particular interests gained precedence over the concept of the general good, signs urging suspension of the constitution multiplied; and finally . . . this suspension was decided on by the state. As a result [of the evolution] between that time and the present of circumstances, ideas, and general inclinations, the readiness of the country for constitutional government is now evident; and therefore, our sovereign decree having been issued . . . for the respect in practice of all the provisions of the constitution and for the annual meeting of the Chamber of Deputies, I have proclaimed that no interference shall ever or in any way come to the application of the constitution.

Decree of Abd ül-Hamid to Grand
Vezir Said Paşa, August, 1908¹

Eski zamanlarda benim vaziyetime düşen sadr-ı a'zamların kafasını padişahlar, binek taşında kesdirirlerdi. Ben, o haldeyim.

In the old days, the Sultans would have grand vezirs who got into my situation beheaded on their mounting block. That's the fix I'm in.

Grand Vezir İbrahim Hakkı Paşa,
in dismay at the outbreak of
the Italo-Turkish War, 1911²



As the character of the Young Turk movement implied, the development of the civil bureaucracy continued after 1908 in the context of a political process of broader scope than had ever before been known. On occasion, with civil-bureaucratic old-timers like Küçük Said or Kâmil Paşa as grand vezir, the Porte was still to be a contender for political dominance. But the civil-bureaucratic elite was now only one group of aspirants to such preeminence. Others included not only the Young Turk leadership, concentrated in the revolutionary Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), but also the restored Parliament and the parties that formed within it, other individuals or groups in the military, and ultimately the sultan once again.³ The old identity between polity and bureaucracy was now gone forever.

Not only were political and bureaucratic life increasingly differentiated, but both were more plagued with crisis in this period than ever before. On the international scene, first, the distraction that the revolution of 1908 created in Istanbul served as a signal to Austria for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to Bulgaria for the proclamation of its independence, and to Greece for the annexation of Crete. With scarcely an interlude, the sequence of troubles continued with the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-1912, the First and Second Balkan Wars, the First World War, and then the Turkish War of Independence. As on earlier occasions, the new period thus opened with an exceptional series of disturbances. This time, they did not end before the six-hundred-year-old empire had finally collapsed.

To make matters worse, the revolution of 1908 also provoked serious tensions in the internal life of the empire. Less than a year after the libertarian outburst of 1908, there occurred, in April 1909, an unsuccessful attempt at a rightist coup. The upshot of this was the deposition of Abd ül-Hamid and the progressive restriction of various of the freedoms proclaimed the preceding year.⁴ With the condescension typical of his profession and his social class, Baron Marschall, still German ambassador, likened the freedoms of 1908 to new toys given to children, who had played with them too hard and broken them.⁵ April 1909 did leave many Turks with the feeling that restraint was needed. The continuous warfare from 1911 on heightened this feeling, setting up a political drift within the Young Turk leadership toward military dictatorship and thus bringing neopatrimonial tendencies again to the fore in place of liberal principle, even as the empire drifted toward its ultimate catastrophe.

Despite all these problems, internal and external, the revolutionary ardor of 1908 was not immediately or totally lost. As it expressed itself generally in practical policy and intellectual life, this fact has found vivid illustration in the accounts of Bernard Lewis and Niyazi Berkes.⁶ Here, we shall see that it also expressed itself with vigor in the evolution of the Sublime Porte and the civil bureaucracy during these years.

To demonstrate this point, we shall look first at the efforts made following the revolution of 1908 to dismantle the Hamidian system. We shall then examine the organizational development of the Sublime Porte through the beginning of World War I, as well as the evolution of personnel policy and other types of procedural patterns. This analysis will make apparent that the more rational innovations of the Hamidian years proved almost as valuable to the reformers of this period as did the achievements of the First Constitutional Period. More than that, our analysis will show that even as political circumstances degenerated, the extent to which rational-legalism became a reality in the workings of the administrative system, as well as an ideal in the minds of officials, continued to grow. In this respect, the gains that ensued, during the brief decade between the Young Turk Revolution and the catastrophic denouement of World War I were, if anything, greater than those observed in earlier and lengthier periods.

DISMANTLING THE HAMIDIAN SYSTEM AND PURGING THE CIVIL BUREAUCRACY

The dismantling of the Hamidian system and the inauguration of the new regime occurred in two stages. The first came with the revolution of July 1908, the return to implementation of the constitution of 1876, which had never formally been revoked, and the transformation of Abd ül-Hamid into a constitutional monarch. The second followed the attempted counter-coup of April 1909, with the deposition of Abd ül-Hamid, the accession of his half brother Mehmed Reşad, and the closing of Yıldız Palace.

That the new period would be one of fundamental political changes quickly became apparent. In early August 1908, the sultan issued an imperial rescript (*hatt-ı hümayun*) addressed to, and indeed drafted by, the grand vezir, Küçük Said Paşa. Beginning with a doctored view, quoted at the head of this chapter, of the prior history of the constitution, this not only promised that the constitution and all the laws on the conduct of administration would henceforth be scrupulously observed, but also went on to list a fifteen-point program. The topics ranged from the security of the individual in his home to procedures to be observed by the police and the courts, freedom of the press, improvement of the army, review and emendation of existing legislation on the various branches of administration, and the requirement that officials respect the official chain of command. The rescript also returned various responsibilities relating to the appointment and shifting of officials to the grand vezir, giving him the right to nominate all ministers but the *şeyh ül-İslâm* and those of war and the navy. İnal, who assisted Said Paşa in drafting this document and also witnessed its ceremonial, public reading at the Sublime Porte, recounts advising Said Paşa against the exception of appointments to the military ministries. At the public reading, this point raised an uproar that led to Said Paşa's fall and the concession to his successor, Kâmil Paşa, of the right to nominate all ministers except the *şeyh ül-İslâm*.⁷

With the opening of the Parliament in 1908, changes of the type demanded in the rescript began to assume the form of constitutional amendments, of which a number became law in August 1909. Among these was an amendment reducing the sultan to a constitutional monarch, bound to swear before the Parlia-

ment that he would uphold the constitution (art. 3). The sultan's prerogatives were defined more carefully than in the past, while his role in the appointment of ministers was reduced to the choice of the grand vezir and the *şeyh ül-İslâm* and approval of the grand vezir's nominees for the other ministries (arts. 7, 27). The sultan's right arbitrarily to exile any individual on grounds of danger to the security of the state disappeared (art. 113). Simultaneously, the principle of the individual and collective responsibility of the ministers to the Parliament gained acknowledgment (art. 30), while other changes strengthened the deputies' right to interpellate the ministers (art. 38) and gave legislative initiative to the deputies and the senators as well as to the ministers (art. 53).⁸

These changes were extensive enough that they have been described as a vigorous affirmation of the "sovereignty of parliament."⁹ In fact, if we distinguish practical political power, which the Parliament certainly gained from the amendments, from sovereignty viewed as the legitimate source of such power and the right of control over the exercise of power, then it does not appear that the Young Turks really attempted any definition of the locus of sovereignty, at least no explicit one, in their amendments. Unless they could produce a solution to the nationality problem, this was a question they really could not face; for the only redefinition that could command ultimate credence in the twentieth century would have been the sovereignty, not of the Parliament, but of the people it represented.

Indeed, subsequent events underscored this point. For at a time when its influence in the Parliament had waned, the CUP began pressing for further constitutional changes to strengthen the power of the executive—thus nominally the sultan—once again. By the time the CUP collapsed in 1918, enough such amendments had passed that the sultan reemerged as the most powerful figure in the political system, except that there was no real power left. For the Young Turks, much as for the men of the Tanzimat, the power of the sultan proved an indispensable resource; and the problem of redefining the bases of sovereignty had to await a later revolution, the leaders of which had turned their backs to the imperial ideal and decided for themselves who "the people" were.¹⁰

The Young Turks were thus unable to solve the most basic constitutional problem left over from the First Constitutional

Period. Nonetheless, they introduced not only the changes conveyed through the constitutional amendments, but also a number of other measures aimed at a fundamental alteration of the political climate. Concentrated in 1908 and 1909, these included a general pardon of political prisoners and persons "appointed" to hold office or reside in remote provinces, abolition of the system of spies and informers, a law on the mode of appointment of palace officials, and subsequent measures on the rehabilitation of political victims of the Hamidian period.¹¹ With each of these measures, the Young Turks smashed another mechanism of the Hamidian system.

Where the civil bureaucracy is concerned, as in the case of the constitutional amendments, it is not always easy in logical terms to distinguish measures aimed at the destruction of the old regime from those aimed at creation of the new. Most officials of the day would have seen things in a different light, however. For with the measures which we have just discussed went a series of others aimed specifically at the bureaucracy and referred to somewhat euphemistically as "reorganizations" (*tensikat*). Accompanied for a time by the suppression of Abd ül-Hamid's Civil Officials Commission (*Memurin-i Mülkiye Komisyonu*),¹² these "reorganizations" were in one sense the start of an ongoing series of changes in bureaucratic organization and personnel policy. First of all, however, the "reorganizations" meant a drastic purge of the bureaucracy and the elimination in particular of the spies and palace creatures.

While this purging of undesirables began in the summer of 1908,¹³ the law that gave final form to the process was not passed until 1909. Under its terms, there was to be in each ministry or department a special commission consisting of three members of that department under the chairmanship of a member of the Senate and the vice-chairmanship of a member of the Chamber of Deputies. These commissions were to examine the service records and abilities of each official, determine the number of officials actually needed in the department, and fill all vacancies, giving preference to the best qualified of those who either were serving or had served in that department. Those who were "excluded from the cadres" and judged "fit for employment" (*caiz ül-istihdam*) were eligible to receive an unemployment stipend on condition that they accepted, unless they had a legitimate excuse, any position subsequently offered to them (art. 7).

They might also elect to accept a lump sum determined on the basis of their prior salary and sever their connections with official service. Those whom the commissions found to be at fault were to be excluded from office without any right of further employment and without either unemployment stipend or indemnification (art. 10). Persons found improperly qualified for official service were to be excluded with a meager gratuity (art. 11); and those over age sixty-five were, with limited exceptions, to be retired (art. 12).¹⁴ The clarification of points not covered in this legislation and the continuing budgetary needs created by the obligation to cover the stipends of former officials—an obligation that could not always be promptly met—gave rise to a continuing series of additional enactments, extending into the last days of the imperial government.¹⁵

For many officials, the purges marked the end of their careers and thus, in a personal sense, the fundamental meaning of the revolution. There is no doubt that the effects of the law were felt far and wide and had a great deal to do with souring the initial enthusiasm evoked by the overthrow of the Hamidian system. The British ambassador's annual report for 1909 indicates that by then some 27,000 officials had already been removed from the payrolls of the various branches of service, with or without unemployment stipends. The political implications of such an upheaval were underscored by the fact that this number included many "whose only offense was their inutility," by the smallness of the unemployment stipends and indemnities, and by the fact that for those who remained in office, increased regularity in the payment of salaries was offset by simultaneous reductions in amount.¹⁶ Both the real distress and the histrionics to which the purges gave rise emerge clearly in İnâl's account of the times. In addition to threats of "strikes," he mentions one man who was killed by bandits following reassignment to a provincial post, and another who lost his mind after similar reassignment and threw himself off a mountain.¹⁷ The Parliament soon found much of its session time taken up with the petitions that dissatisfied victims of the "reorganization" were allowed, under the law of 1909 (art. 15), to address only to it. A supplementary law of 1910 consequently shifted the processing of appeals to a special administrative commission, while a later law simply suspended those of 1909-1910 and forbade further appeals.¹⁸ By then, experience had yielded a kind of oblique trib-

ute to the success of Abd ül-Hamid's patronage policy, for the revolutionaries had only been able to reverse it at the cost of fundamental political harm to themselves.

It was inevitable, however, that the new period begin with some such measure. The fact that the Ministry of Finance had over a thousand officials by 1908, while the Foreign Ministry supposedly had six hundred, marked the reductions as indispensable to the new rulers of a bankrupt empire.¹⁹ The volume of reports that emerged from the attempt to verify the extent of multiple salary holding pointed a similar moral.²⁰ These were problems that had to be faced before the "reorganizations" could progress to the positive phase that the restoration of constitutional government implied.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBLIME PORTE TO THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR I

One of the fifteen points mentioned in the imperial rescript that Abd ül-Hamid sent to the grand vezir, Küçük Said Paşa, in August 1908 was the review and emendation of existing legislation on the administrative system. Following the fall of Said Paşa, his successor, Kâmil Paşa, sent out a circular to the various ministries and agencies ordering the formation in each of a commission of knowledgeable specialists to review the preexisting laws and regulations, which were "mostly not in keeping with present requirements." Since all aspects of administration, central and provincial, needed to be brought into conformity with the provisions of the constitution, the parliamentary system, and "uniform rules" (*kavaid-i muttaride*), the commissions were to examine those laws and regulations, consult experts, and prepare any necessary new measures in time for them to be examined in the Council of State prior to submission to the Parliament at its opening.²¹

There was hardly time for any such comprehensive review prior to the opening of the Parliament, which occurred only a few months later, in December 1908. Indeed, to judge from the befuddled reaction that Kâmil Paşa's circular roused from Ahmed Tevfik Paşa, who had been foreign minister since 1895, there were obstacles to the rapid reorientation of the civil bureaucracy more fundamental than shortage of time. For Tevfik

Paşa, perhaps because of long habituation to the Hamidian system, did not seem to know anything about the regulations supposed to govern his ministry.²²

It quickly became apparent, however, that the new period was to be one of considerable change in the organizational apparatus of administration. Increasingly, bureaucratic reform was, as the term *tensihat* implied, becoming a matter of "reorganization" or further refinement of already existing institutions; and this was a process to which Ottoman officials applied an unprecedented degree of sophistication. In the Foreign Ministry, for example, the next several years witnessed the solicitation for the first time, so far as can now be determined, of reports on the organization, functions, and needs, of all departments of the ministry.²³ With this, the reformers linked their efforts to a review of prior experience. Simultaneously, they made systematic efforts, again for the first time, it appears, to gather information on the organizational patterns and personnel policies of the corresponding agencies of all the other governments with which the empire had diplomatic relations.²⁴

In the light of inquiries such as these, or, in the case of the grand vezirate and Council of Ministers, as a result of interaction with the revived Parliament and other political interests, bureaucratic institutions began, in fact, to undergo a general transformation. As they did so, they achieved an unprecedented degree of regulation. With reform more and more a matter of reorganization of existing institutions, the lag once so obvious between the organizational emergence of bureaucratic agencies and their formal regulation began to be a thing of the past. Indeed, all major agencies of the Porte were either regulated or regulated anew in these years. As this occurred, the processes of organizational development, regulation of organizational and procedural patterns, and installation of control mechanisms also began to be sufficiently integrated with one another that regulatory documents at last became the principal sources for the analysis of bureaucratic structure and to a great degree of procedural patterns, as well.

These changes are not solely attributable to the Young Turk leadership, any more than to the civil-bureaucratic grand vezirs of 1908. Yet the fact that a disproportionate number of the major regulatory acts reached the point of promulgation between the coup of January 1913,²⁵ by which the CUP reestab-

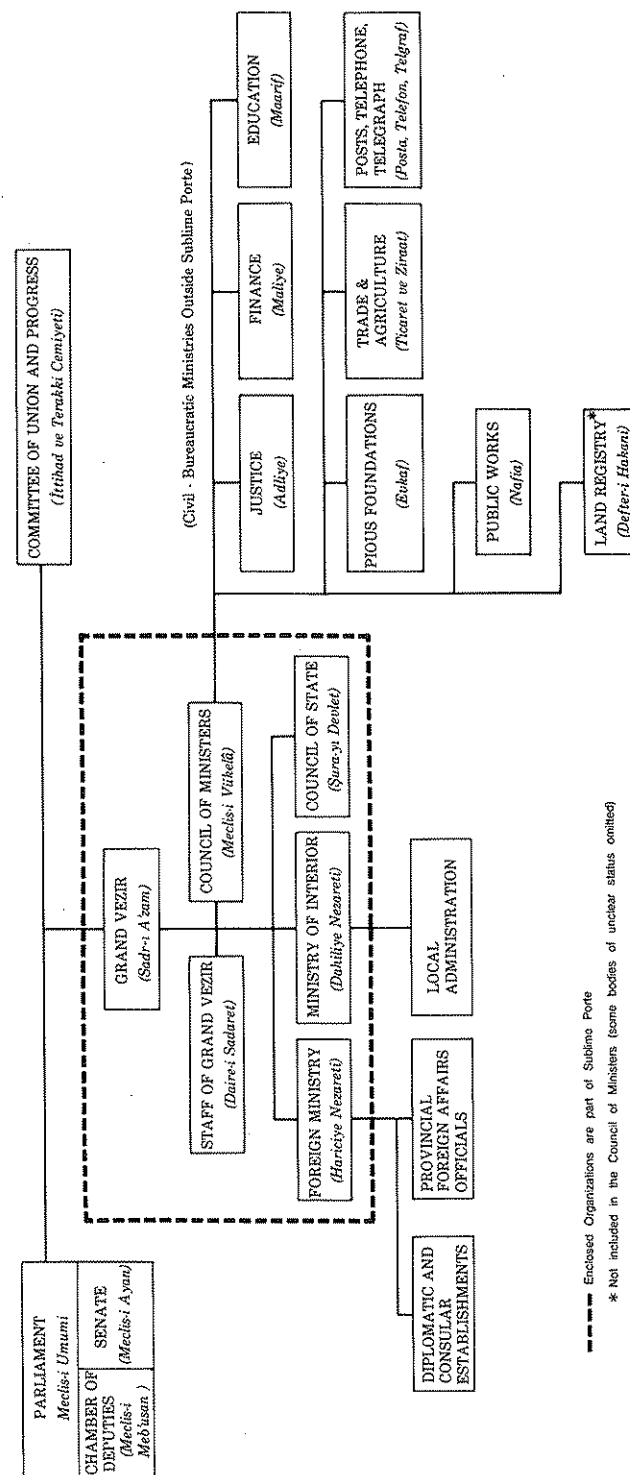
lished its political dominance, and the outbreak of World War I is significant in demonstrating that it was the Young Turk leadership who pushed the regulatory drive of 1908 to fruition. Given the character of the coup and the growing prominence of a neopatrimonial style in the political behavior of the CUP, this is a heartening sign that the Young Turks did not forget the rational-legal ideal, even in the midst of the political and military troubles that were about to overwhelm the empire.

Since this period ended in the collapse of the empire, the best way to appreciate the results of the bureaucratic reorganization will be to examine the Sublime Porte, not at the end of the period, as in previous chapters, but rather as of the beginning of World War I. Where noteworthy developments occurred at later dates, they will receive comment in the text, and the notes will include references to the documentation on later changes of all kinds. Yet the discussion that follows will focus on organizational patterns of 1914. Figure VII-1 provides an overview of these patterns, based chiefly on contemporary regulatory acts and secondarily on the governmental yearbooks. In a way reflecting the alteration and enlargement in scope of the political process, this table differs from the corresponding ones in earlier chapters in showing the Sublime Porte in relation not to the palace, but rather to both the Parliament, to which the ministers were in principle responsible, and the Committee of Union and Progress, then in fact the dominant political power.

The Grand Vezir and His Staff

As in preceding periods, the grand vezirate underwent changes in terms of both the character of the office and the organization of the bureaus attached directly to it. In the months preceding the deposition of Abd ül-Hamid, Küçük Said Paşa (grand vezir, 22 July-5 August 1908) and Kâmil Paşa (6 August 1908-13 February 1909) attempted to resume something like the former power of the office. Both were distinguished by age, experience, and long histories of bad relations with Abd ül-Hamid. Kâmil, in particular, had liberal leanings and links with the British that made him useful to a Committee of Union and Progress, the members of which were still relatively young and inexperienced in politics. For his part, Kâmil attached little political importance to the CUP and doubted its ability to muster a parliamentary majority. His attempt of February 1909 to change the ministers

FIGURE VII-1. ORGANIZATION OF THE CIVIL BUREAUCRACY AND ITS RELATION TO THE PARLIAMENT AND THE COMMITTEE OF UNION AND PROGRESS, 1914



of war and the navy without prior concurrence from either the CUP or the members of his cabinet precipitated a crisis that proved him wrong and resulted in his fall.²⁶

From that point until July 1912, the grand vezirate continued to be held by men who had made their careers principally or entirely as civil bureaucrats. During this interval, there were six incumbencies by four different men, of whom the jurist İbrahim Hakkı Paşa and, once again, Küçük Said were the most able.²⁷ In the wake of the attempted coup of April 1909, however, the CUP began to take a more forward position in politics, installing members in such sensitive positions as the secretaryships of the palace and certain Cabinet posts.²⁸ The CUP's ability to control the political life of the empire was anything but assured at this time—indeed, it declined sharply. But the rival contenders for dominance were henceforth not in the civil bureaucracy so much as in the Parliament, or in the kind of “military opposition” that appeared in the wake of the 1909 coup with Mahmud Şevket Paşa and his Army of Deliverance or in the Savior Officers' Group formed in May-June 1912 to oppose the CUP and restore “legal government.”²⁹

The outbreak of the Italo-Turkish and the First and Second Balkan Wars inevitably provoked a further destabilization of the political situation. Signs of this appear in the despairing statement of İbrahim Hakkı Paşa, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, or in Said Paşa's explanation to the sultan in July 1912 of why he had resigned upon *winning* a vote of confidence: “they have confidence in me, but I have no confidence in them.”³⁰

One result of the growing uncertainty was the appearance of military heroes in the grand vezirate. This began with the appointment on 22 July 1912 of Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, a senior figure considered to stand above politics.³¹ Kâmil Paşa succeeded him once again in October 1912 but was forced to resign the following January, when the CUP, in response to a catastrophic military situation and a drastic ebbing of its political influence, mounted a daring raid on the Sublime Porte. This culminated in a shootout in which the minister of war and several other people were killed,³² and a new government was formed with Mahmud Şevket Paşa as grand vezir and minister of war. Not a member of the CUP, although in sympathy with its patriotic principles, he was a renowned military commander and one of the most dynamic figures of the period.

In an atmosphere made tense by the loss of virtually all that had been left of the European provinces and by the threat of a counter-coup, Mahmud Şevket was soon murdered, leaving the way open for the CUP to crack down on the opposition and consolidate its position behind the façade of a Cabinet headed by Mehmed Said Halim Paşa, an Egyptian “prince” whose links with the Ottoman official elite and whose qualifications for office did not go much beyond his pedigree and his membership in the CUP.³³ This time the CUP maintained its control sufficiently well that Said Halim Paşa was able to remain in office, though with little power of his own, from June 1913 until February 1917, the longest grand vezirial incumbency of the Young Turk period.

At his resignation in 1917, Said Halim was succeeded for most of the rest of the war by Tal'at Paşa, a member of the so-called Young Turk “Triumvirate” of the war years. Tal'at had begun his career as a provincial postal clerk, achieved prominence through revolutionary activity, served after 1908 as president of the parliamentary party of the CUP, held several ministerial posts, and enlisted during the Balkan Wars, before emerging as grand vezir. He was thus a living symbol both of the far-reaching processes of social mobilization that had grown out of the reform of the bureaucracy, and of the changing forms of political life.³⁴

Tal'at's resignation in October 1918 and the armistice that followed shortly thereafter signaled the political collapse of the CUP and cleared the stage for a series of other incumbents. Three were generals, none of whom held office for long.³⁵ Another, Damad Ferid Paşa, had tenuous links to the civil bureaucracy; but his main qualification for office was his marriage to an Ottoman princess.³⁶ The last was that hardy perennial of the civil bureaucracy, Ahmed Tevfik Paşa, whose sad honor it was to be the last grand vezir of the empire.³⁷

As the grand vezirs of the period succeeded one another, the character of their office changed in a number of important respects. The long-standing civil-bureaucratic hold on the position obviously weakened, and it became subordinate, not so much to the sultan, as to a new range of political powers operating either within or outside the parliamentary system. As this happened, the grand vezirate began, if imperfectly, to take on an institutional character more like that of the premierships of Western, liberal polities. The right of the grand vezir to form his own cab-

inet had been fought out in 1908 and incorporated in one of the constitutional amendments of 1909, as had the principle of ministerial responsibility. The sultan's choice of grand vezir still had no necessary connection with electoral processes. Yet various of the grand vezirs of the period were members or affiliates of specific parties or factions;³⁸ and in Tal'at the empire acquired its first grand vezir who could reasonably be regarded as a politician more than a bureaucrat. Significantly, he was the first deputy (*meb'us*) or former deputy to become grand vezir.³⁹

Ultimately, however, the degeneration of the political and military situation thwarted this metamorphosis of the grand vezirate into an essentially political office, and some peculiar patterns began to emerge. Most notably, there were no fewer than five incidents in which various grand vezirs resigned, only to be reappointed to succeed themselves. The first such case occurred in December 1911 in connection with an unsuccessful effort of Said Paşa to secure passage of a constitutional amendment that would increase the powers of the sultan, and thus in effect of the CUP, at the expense of the Parliament.⁴⁰ All other cases of this type fell in the armistice period following World War I and appear to have represented protests against the demands of the occupying powers, or at least attempts to achieve greater degrees of ministerial solidarity in the face of the terms imposed on the defeated empire.⁴¹ There is no doubt, too, that this kind of succession pattern in the grand vezirate was attributable to the "shortage of men" that contemporary European observers continually noted. Traceable as far back as the purges of 1908-1909, this problem was compounded by the collapse of the CUP and the flight of its top leadership at the end of World War I.⁴²

The evolution of the grand vezirate during the Young Turk Period was thus impeded by the imperfect development of the parliamentary system and by the circumstances of war and imperial collapse. Nevertheless, the period saw appreciable steps toward the readjustment of this office to the organizational forms and needs of the parliamentary, constitutional system on which Turkish political hopes had come in large part to center.

Simultaneously, the bureaucratic staff attached to the grand vezirate also underwent changes, which we may follow conveniently on the basis of a set of regulations issued for these offices in March 1914.⁴³

Leaving aside the undersecretary of the grand vezir, who was

omitted from these regulations but was mentioned in all the yearbooks of the period, the most conspicuous alteration indicated in 1914 appeared in the core of offices subordinate in the traditional system to the chief scribe (*reis ül-küttab*) and by 1908 almost entirely to the grand vezir. Of these, the Office of the Receiver (*Amedi*), transformed following the revolution into something like an "Office for the Council of Ministers and [Its] Reports" (*Meclis-i Vükelâ ve Mâruzat Kalemî*), had reappeared by 1914 under its old name.⁴⁴ What had once been the Office of the Imperial Divan now appeared as the Office of the *Beylikçi* of the Imperial Divan (*Divan-ı Hümayun Beylikçiliği Kalemî*). The number of sections into which it was divided had dwindled to two, one specializing in preparation of rough drafts and fair copies (*tesvid ve tebyiz*), the other discharging the long-familiar responsibilities of this office in the registration (*kayd*) of laws, decrees, and other such documents. The entourage of the *beylikçi* no longer included any section known specifically as the Office or Section of the Imperial Divan; but two of what had been the sections of this office had become separate bureaus in their own right. One of these was known by 1914 as the Office for Privileged or Autonomous Provinces (*Eyalat-ı Mümtaze ve Muhtare Kalemî*), headed for much of the Young Turk period by Mahmud Kemal İnal. The other was the Office for Important Affairs (now referred to as the *Umur-ı Mühimme Kalemî*), the same bureau being identified slightly later in the last of the government yearbooks as the Directorate of Important Affairs and of the Private Secretarial Staff of the Grand Vezir (*Mühimme ve Kalem-i Mahsus Müdiriyeti*).⁴⁵ The former Office of the Corresponding Secretary (*Mektubî*) of the Grand Vezir had meanwhile turned into an Office of Administrative Affairs (*Umur-ı İdariye Kalemî*), which reverted to its traditional title by September 1919.⁴⁶

Aside from these changes in the traditional chancery offices, the list of bureaus subordinate to the grand vezir was little different in 1914 from what it had been in 1908. There was something called the Protocol Office of the Imperial Divan (*Teşrifat-ı Divan-ı Hümayun Kalemî*), a Records Office (*Evrak Kalemî*, corresponding to the earlier Records Office of the Sublime Porte), the Archives (*Hazine-i Evrak Kalemî*), and a Cipher Office. The Decorations Officers (*Nişan Memurları*) present in 1908 had disappeared, a fact perhaps attributable to the way in

which Abd ül-Hamid's use of such honors had destroyed their prestige. The translator of the grand vezir (*sadaret-i uzmâ tercümanı*) still appeared in the last of the government yearbooks,⁴⁷ though not in the regulations of March 1914. In addition, there was also one office not known in earlier periods. This was a Directorate of Legal Compilation (*müdevvenat-ı kanuniye*), the duties of which included the publication of the official series of legal volumes, the *Düstur*, and of the official gazette, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, both suspended under Abd ül-Hamid but resurrected under the Young Turks.⁴⁸ Briefly attached to the grand vezirate in 1918-1919, finally, was the Directorate General of Statistics, seeming successor to the Statistical Council linked under Abd ül-Hamid to the Council of State.⁴⁹

Thus the staff of the grand vezirate continued to evolve as that office began to adjust to the larger transformation of the political system.

The Council of Ministers

As the CUP began to place men of its own in ministerial positions, and still more with its direct domination from 1913 to 1918 of the grand vezirate, the Cabinet also began to display the effects of this transformation. As this happened, however, the composition of the Cabinet remained much as before 1908; and its functions gained, at least to a degree, in clarity of definition.

To speak first of organization, the list of officials included in the Cabinet consisted more or less invariably, at least through World War I, of the grand vezir, the head of the religious establishment, the chairman of the Council of State, and the ministers of foreign affairs, internal affairs, justice, finance, education, pious foundations, trade and agriculture, public works, war, the navy, and the triple portfolio of posts, telephones, and telegraphs. This last post was a new addition to the Cabinet since 1908. In contrast, two other posts previously included were subsequently dropped or abolished: the undersecretary of the grand vezir and the separate portfolio for the artillery (*Tophane müşiriyeti*).⁵⁰

While the composition of the Cabinet thus changed relatively little, the restoration of parliamentary government led to substantial alterations in the way the Council operated and in the procedures for legislation. A number of these alterations, such as those on ministerial appointments and responsibility, appeared in the constitutional amendments of 1909. In addition,

there were also efforts to define and systematize procedures for making decisions in the Cabinet and for keeping its records. These efforts took the form of a set of "internal regulations" drawn up in March 1909 and modified in June 1912.⁵¹

As promulgated in 1909, these first defined the procedures for cabinet meetings, which were to be convoked by the grand vezir, were to begin with old business and then go on to new, were to take up each item on the agenda only if the minister in whose jurisdiction it fell was present, and so forth. Minutes were to be prepared on each decision and signed by all the ministers; and a special procedure was set up for the numbering and registration, to permit ready recovery, of all documents coming to the council from the various ministries. The offices of both the corresponding secretary (*mektubî*) of the grand vezir and, still more, the receiver (*amedî*) were made responsible for various parts of the secretarial business of the council.

The revised regulations of 1912 aimed at both further streamlining the procedures for the paperwork of the council and narrowing the scope of its initiative. According to these provisions, the ministers were to discuss only matters that pertained to general policy (*siyaset-i umumiyyeye müteallak*), were placed under their collective responsibility by the express provisions of the constitution, or were made dependent on their decision by other laws. The regulations added that matters that had to be submitted to the palace to receive the commands of the sultan should be forwarded only with a draft decree (*irade*) already signed by the ministers, and then went into further details about responsibilities for preparation of the records on the proceedings of the council.

Any attempt to apply the confusing criteria that these regulations advanced for definition of the matters to be left to the discretion of the cabinet would surely have generated conflict. Since only a few more months passed before the coup of 1913, what resolved such problems was presumably not regulatory specifications but rather the political realities then transforming the character of ministerial office.

The Council of State

In the Council of State, meanwhile, these same political realities, as well as the pressures of wartime, had pronounced but sometimes perplexing effects.

Here, changes began with the purges and reorganizations of

1908. A decree of September 1908 restored the council, grossly inflated in size in the later Hamidian years, to much the size and form decreed for it in 1897. The main difference was that there were now to be not three but four sections (*daire*), with responsibilities in the fields of civil affairs (*Mülkiye*), finance (*Maliye*), reform legislation (*Tanzimat*), and education and public works (*Maarif ve Nafia*). As before, there were also to be a set of administrative courts. Each of the four sections of the council was to have a vice-chairman and six members. The Courts of First Instance (*Bidayet*), Appeal (*İstinaf*), and Cassation (*Temyiz*) were each to have a president and four, six, and eight members, respectively, each of the two lower courts also including some sort of deputy member (*aza müllâzımı*). There were also supposed to be three public prosecutors (*müddei-i umûmi*), three assistants (*muavin*) to the public prosecutors, one examining magistrate (*müstantık*), and a Grand Jury (*Heyet-i İttihamiye*). This decree did not mention the council to resolve conflicts of jurisdiction among the various courts (*İhtilâf-ı Merci Encümeni*), but it nonetheless continued to exist. A clerical staff divided into various offices supported both the sections of the council and its courts; and there was provision for membership on the council, as in the past, of the *damads* or sons-in-law of the sultans, but henceforth only on an honorary basis.⁵²

Available evidence suggests that these provisions were at first followed rather closely and then modified progressively in practice. For example, the volume of business in the courts led within a month to the addition of two extra officials to each of them.⁵³ On what came to be referred to as the administrative side of the council, the Finance Section was soon merged with the Section for Education and Public Works.⁵⁴ Within a couple of years, the triple mission of this new section had proven unwieldy. At that point, the Section for Civil Affairs was underworked—a fact probably relating to the institutional development of the Ministry of the Interior in this period. Consequently, in 1912, matters relating to education were taken away from the overloaded section and shifted to what thenceforth became a Section for Civil Affairs and Education (*Mülkiye ve Maarif*).⁵⁵

Probably about the same time, although the particulars remain unclear, much more fundamental changes occurred in the administrative courts. These changes may have had to do with the recurrent proclamations of martial law and the suspension,

following the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, of the right of appeal of court-martial decisions.⁵⁶ The changes would certainly have had to do with a new law of February 1914 on the trial of officials. This limited the role of the Council of State, as of the various local administrative assemblies (*Meclis-i İdare*), to the preliminary investigation of charges and countercharges, a duty to be performed on the administrative side of the Council of State, and shifted actual prosecution of the cases into the courts of the Ministry of Justice.⁵⁷

The cumulative effect of these changes was such that the last of the government yearbooks shows nothing left on the judicial side of the Council of State except the Council on Conflicts of Jurisdiction (*İhtilâf-ı Merci Encümeni*). Even this had undergone a change of mission. No longer dealing with conflicts between the "ordinary" and the administrative courts, this body now had the mission of resolving conflicts between the courts subordinate to the Ministry of Justice and the courts-martial (*mehakim-i adliye ile divan-ı harplar*). The membership of the Council on Conflicts of Jurisdiction changed accordingly, to consist of three members each from the civil and military Courts of Cassation.⁵⁸

A product at once of the ancient tradition of *divans* as encountered in the Ottoman Empire and of the models offered by the corresponding agencies of several Western states, the Ottoman Council of State thus evolved into the last days of the empire. The shearing off of the administrative courts, and the fact that the changes of organization and role in the council are only incompletely covered in regulatory acts, suggest that the Young Turk period must have been a time of troubles for this agency more than others. Under the Republic, for example, the successor body (*Danıştay*) clearly regained a major role in administrative justice.⁵⁹ The questions that surround the evolution of the Council of State in this period thus go beyond what can now be answered and suggest the need for a detailed study of its extensive archives.⁶⁰

The Ministry of the Interior

For this ministry, in contrast, the Young Turk period was perhaps the most fruitful of the entire era of reform. The elimination of the Hamidian system, and particularly of the direct interference of the palace in local administration, opened the way both for the revision of the law of 1871 on provincial administra-

tion and for an unprecedented development of the central organs of the ministry. The tensions aroused by such policies of the Young Turks as their emphasis on Turkification, and especially the crises that developed in the non-Turkish parts of the empire during World War I,⁶¹ are enough to indicate how far these reforms were from taking full effect at the time. The significance of these measures for the elaboration of the administrative legacy that remained to the postimperial order is nonetheless immense.

The new General Law on Provincial Administration of 26 March 1913, replacing that of 1871, has been described as providing "the basic framework for local government" as it has remained in Turkey to the present day.⁶² The law of 1913 does include provisions—such as those on tax-farming—that by now have surely long been obsolete. Yet it was a major innovation in a number of respects, as comparison with the corresponding act of 1871 makes clear.

As concerns local administration per se, the most striking feature of the new law is probably the measure of decentralization that it allowed. This had been foreshadowed in the provincial administration law of 1871 and called for in article 108 of the constitution of 1876. But it is a matter of the first importance for the history of Ottoman legislation that the law granted the new degree of decentralization by attributing to the provincial government a dual character: as an element of the imperial administration, on the one hand, and as a distinct local entity, endowed with legal personality, on the other.⁶³ In keeping with the principle of legal personality, thus introduced for the first time into Ottoman law, the province was to have its own budget, for example, and assume considerable responsibilities in the management of revenues and expenditures, to include paying official salaries and raising surtaxes and loans within certain limits (art. 98). What was, at least implicitly, to assure the compatibility of this degree of decentralization with maintenance of the interests of the central government was another feature that clearly marks the importance of the law of 1913 for the general modernization of administration in the Ottoman Empire. This is the emphasis that numerous articles of the law placed, either expressly or obliquely, on functions of service and control.

To begin with the provisions on local governmental institutions, the new law retained the basic concept of four echelons of

territorial subdivisions, but also introduced certain organizational modifications. The law preserved the institutional forms elaborated in 1871 in the general sense that the provincial governor general (*vali*) was to be assisted by a permanent cadre of administrative officials of prescribed types (art. 5), an administrative council (*Meclis-i İdare*) consisting of the higher provincial officials together with the local heads of the various religious communities and various elected members (art. 62), and a general council (*Meclis-i Umumi*). Meeting once yearly, the general council was to consist of representatives elected from the various districts (*kaza*) of the province by an indirect system based on that used for election of deputies to the Parliament in Istanbul (arts. 103-105). The conditions that were to exist at the lowest of the four administrative echelons, the *nahiye*, were left for separate specification; but the law provided that the second and third echelons were to have institutions patterned after those at the province level (arts. 5, 37-61, 69, 71).

In other respects, meanwhile, the law of 1913 went beyond this retention and elaboration of already familiar forms. One decentralizing innovation was a provision for neighboring provinces to create joint committees to deal with certain matters of common interest (arts. 145-46). Another new feature, reflecting the emphases on both control and decentralization, was the provision for a new Province Council (*Encümen-i Vilâyet*), a permanent standing committee elected out of the General Council of each province at its annual meeting to perform certain advisory and control functions, particularly in connection with the budget and financial affairs (arts. 136-44).

The emphasis on control became even clearer in the procedures that the new law created for appointment and dismissal of local officials. Here decentralization appeared in the more guarded form of a redistribution of power, a change requiring increased specificity as to how appointments of different types were to be made. The new law still allowed provincial governors general and even the chief administrators of the next two echelons below them (*mutasarrıf*, *kaymakam*) to make appointments to some of the administrative positions on their staffs and to advise the responsible agencies on appointments to others (arts. 8-10, 48, 61, 102). But the law also turned over lengthy lists of local positions to the Ministry of the Interior or to other ministries to which the responsibilities of the positions in question corre-

sponded. This was a contrast, in one sense, to the hazy way in which the provincial administration law of 1871 left local appointments to the governor general. In a different sense, the provisions of 1913 also contrasted with Hamidian policy. At least from the creation of the Civil Officials Commission (1896) on, this had carved out a large but ill-defined category of appointments—ones requiring sanction in the form of an imperial decree—and concentrated the making of them in a central commission dominated by the sultan. Under the law of 1913, there were still a few appointments that required confirmation by imperial decree, but that was no more than a formality. More importantly, the spirit of discretionism that had pervaded earlier appointment procedures faded, as the law not only defined various appointment-making systems, but also explicitly listed the positions to which each applied. That this change was only part of a more general systematization of conditions of service in the provinces was also clear from the provisions of the new law on dismissals (arts. 11-19). Without counterpart in the provincial administration law of 1871, and only partly anticipated in the regulations of Abd ül-Hamid's Civil Officials Commission, these provisions required the furnishing of "legally valid reasons" (*esbab-ı mücibe-i kanuniye*) for dismissal and maintained the right of any subject to complain against any official.⁶⁴

In addition, the law of 1913 included many other provisions that dealt expressly with the services that local government was to perform and the way this performance was to be monitored. Tours of inspection, for example, were a traditionally familiar control device, on which some provisions had been included in the local administration law of 1871.⁶⁵ Upgrading requirements, the law of 1913 demanded that the chief administrative officers of the province and of the next two echelons (*vilâyet, sancak* or *liva, kaza*) spend stated proportions of their time making tours of this kind (arts. 30, 42, 54). Partly in connection with these tours, the same officials were also to file certain types of reports. The provincial budget, which the governor general had to submit not only to the General Council of his province but also to the Ministry of the Interior, was in effect such a report. There was, in addition, to be a regular system of inspectors general, separate from the provincial administrative cadres.⁶⁶ All the while, the provincial administrative authorities were to provide an impressive list of services in fields as diverse as public works, develop-

ment of commercial and credit institutions, education, and public health (art. 78). This list indicates with new clarity what many efforts of preceding periods had hinted, namely, that the Ottoman government had begun to have development policies, but did not yet have that name to apply to them.

Thus the Young Turks attempted to place the local administration of the empire on a new footing, emphasizing decentralization in certain respects, but also public service and accountability. With this effort went certain related measures, including the creation of a special province of Istanbul⁶⁷ and a law, which we shall discuss in a later section, on the officials of the ministry. Most important in the development of formal bureaucratic organization was a set of regulations, dating from December 1913, for the organization of the central offices of the ministry.⁶⁸ Considering the prior state of these offices, the regulations seemed, indeed, to create a central organizational core for the ministry for the first time.

At the head of this organization stood the minister, his undersecretary (*müsteşar*), and the minister's private secretarial staff (*Kalem-i Mahsus*). Attached to the *Kalem-i Mahsus* were the Cipher Office, responsible for the telegraphic communications of the ministry, and the Translatorship of the Two Holy Cities (*Haremeyn-i Muhteremeyn Tercümanlığı*), the title of which implies that it was responsible for the Arabic-language correspondence with the Sharif of Mecca (art. 3).

In addition to these offices, the ministry included eleven directorates or other agencies of equivalent status and had two other directorates general simply attached (*merbut*) to it. Several of the eleven directorates were, or appear to have been, modified forms of agencies that existed in the preceding period. Such were the Directorate of Accounts (*Muhasebe Müdiriyeti*, art. 4) and the Population Directorate (*Nüfus Müdiriyeti*), in charge of population registration and compilation of the relevant statistics (art. 12). Such, too, were the Personnel Records Directorate (*Sicill-i Ahval Müdiriyeti*, art. 11) and the Records Directorate (*Evrak Müdiriyeti*, art. 14).

Two other new directorates appear to have replaced agencies known in preceding periods. The superseded institutions were the Office of the Corresponding Secretary (*Mektubî*) of the Ministry of the Interior and the "agents of the gate" (*kapı kâhyası*) or representatives of the provincial governors general at the

Porte, a traditional function evidently abolished in 1909.⁶⁹ In place of these two institutions, the responsibilities of which had been somewhat difficult to distinguish, the regulations of 1913 called for a Directorate of General Internal Administration (*İdare-i Umumiye-i Dahiliye*) and another for Local Provincial Affairs (*Umur-ı Mahalliye-i Vilâyat*). The duty of the former was to supervise all business entrusted to this ministry by law or regulation and not performed by others of its agencies, and to conduct all related correspondence passing between this ministry and the other ministries or the various provinces (art. 6). The role of the Directorate of Local Provincial Affairs lay in analysis and approval of the provincial budgets, and in monitoring the functions that the law on provincial administration entrusted to the provinces in the fields of public works, education, agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce (art. 7). The apparent redivision of the functions traditionally discharged by the agents of the gate and the corresponding secretary is of course also another example, certainly where the corresponding secretary is concerned, of the creation of more modern organizational forms through the subdivision of agencies whose responsibilities had been defined in terms of the traditional, document-oriented specifications.

The regulations of 1913 also provided for agencies that had no counterparts in the ministry in 1908. One of these, the Personnel Directorate (*Memurin Müdiriyeti*, art. 10), appears to have emerged, following the abolition in October 1908 of the central Civil Officials Commission created in 1896, as an appointment-making body for the Ministry of the Interior. With the restoration of the Civil Officials Commission in 1912, this Personnel Directorate, like the Personnel Records Directorate that we have already mentioned, must effectively have become a branch of that commission in the Ministry of the Interior, although the documentation is not totally clear on this point.

The situation of the remaining directorates of the ministry is more certain. One of these was the Directorate of Public Security (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdiriyeti*, art. 5), created in August 1909.⁷⁰ This directorate replaced the former Ministry of Police (*Zabtiye Nezareti*). The functions of the Directorate of Prisons (*Hapishaneler Müdiriyeti*, art. 13) are self-explanatory, and its attachment to the Ministry of the Interior follows naturally from the presence there of the Directorate of Public Security. Finally,

the Ministry of the Interior included a Directorate of Tribal and Refugee Affairs (*Umur-ı Aşair ve Muhacirin Müdiriyeti*, art. 8),⁷¹ heir as far as the refugees were concerned to Abd ül-Hamid's High Commission on Refugees, and an Office of Legal Counsel (*Hukuk Müşavirliği*, art. 9). The duties of this office, presumably patterned in a sense after the comparable one in the Foreign Ministry, included drafting laws and regulations, advising the ministry on legal problems, and representing the ministry in legal actions. The legal counsellor also had as an additional duty to assist the undersecretary of the ministry; his staff, to serve as that of the undersecretary (art. 2).

Along with these directorates, which formed the central organization of the Ministry of the Interior as narrowly defined, there were two other directorates general attached, according to the regulations of 1913, to the same ministry, as well as a commission that appears to have been in similar status. The attached directorates general were those of Inspection (*Heyet-i Teftişîye*) and of Public Health (*Sıhhiye*, art. 15). Of these, the former corresponds to the inspectorate general already mentioned in connection with the local administration; the latter, presumably to the Ministry of Health formerly associated with the Foreign Ministry. No doubt on account of war-related necessity, this by 1917-1918 had become an organization of considerable size, headed by the man who was concurrently grand vezir and minister of the interior, Tal'at Paşa.⁷²

Finally, though it is not mentioned in the regulations of 1913 on the organization of the Ministry of the Interior and thus has to be traced from other sources, we must also mention the Civil Officials Commission (*Memurin-i Mülkiye Komisyonu*). The abolition in 1908 of this commission, one of the most constructive innovations of the Hamidian years, soon proved more a matter of revolutionary ardor than of administrative prudence. The commission was consequently resurrected in 1912 and linked to the Ministry of the Interior. Why the commission was not mentioned in the regulations promulgated for the ministry a year later is unclear. In any case, other documentation indicates that the Civil Officials Commission became once again, as between 1896 and 1908, the central agency to coordinate the work of the offices found in the Ministry of the Interior, as in other ministries, for keeping personnel records and supervising appointments.⁷³

Thus the Ministry of the Interior at last acquired a more or less fully elaborated central organization. The relationships among its various agencies were yet to define, but the agencies were at least structured in terms of the relatively modern kinds of organizational concepts that had gradually begun to appear in the civil bureaucracy during the two preceding periods. Indications of the total number of men serving in this ministry in 1914 are lacking. As in the past, the fact that many of the local administrative officials were subordinate to it must have made it the largest of the civil-bureaucratic ministries. To speak only of the central offices, an estimate based on the organization tables included in the regulations of 1913 for six of the directorates would indicate that the ministry had something like 250 officials in Istanbul. Comparison with the yearbooks of the later Hamidian years suggests that here, as elsewhere, the improved levels of regularity and efficiency to which the statesmen of the day aspired had to be reached with considerably fewer men than had once been on the rolls.

The Foreign Ministry

Along with the offices of the grand vezir and the Ministry of the Interior, the Foreign Ministry also received general regulations in the months immediately preceding World War I. Here, as in the case of the vezirial staff, it was the first such document to be promulgated; and it was in many ways a sketchy document. Together with such other references as the yearbooks and a series of reports on organization and staffing prepared within the ministry, the regulations of February 1914 nonetheless make it possible to assess the remarkable state that this ministry, long the most highly elaborated of the component agencies of the Porte, ultimately assumed.

Perhaps the most striking trait of the regulations is the extent to which they answered a need which had become increasingly apparent in this ministry over the two preceding periods and was now beginning to appear in the Ministry of the Interior as well. For there were explicit provisions on some, if not yet all, of the operational and hierarchical links that were to exist among the component organizations of the ministry. Since the regulations did not resolve all problems of this type, some of the hierarchical relationships shown in Figure VII-2 are conjectural and are accordingly marked with question marks. As the figure

shows, however, the regulations did combine the agencies of the ministry into groups, functionally coherent in at least some cases, and specify the attachment of some of the groups to either the minister or the undersecretary. Thus the regulations began to create means for maintenance of order and control in the workings of the ministry as it grew in organizational complexity.⁷⁴

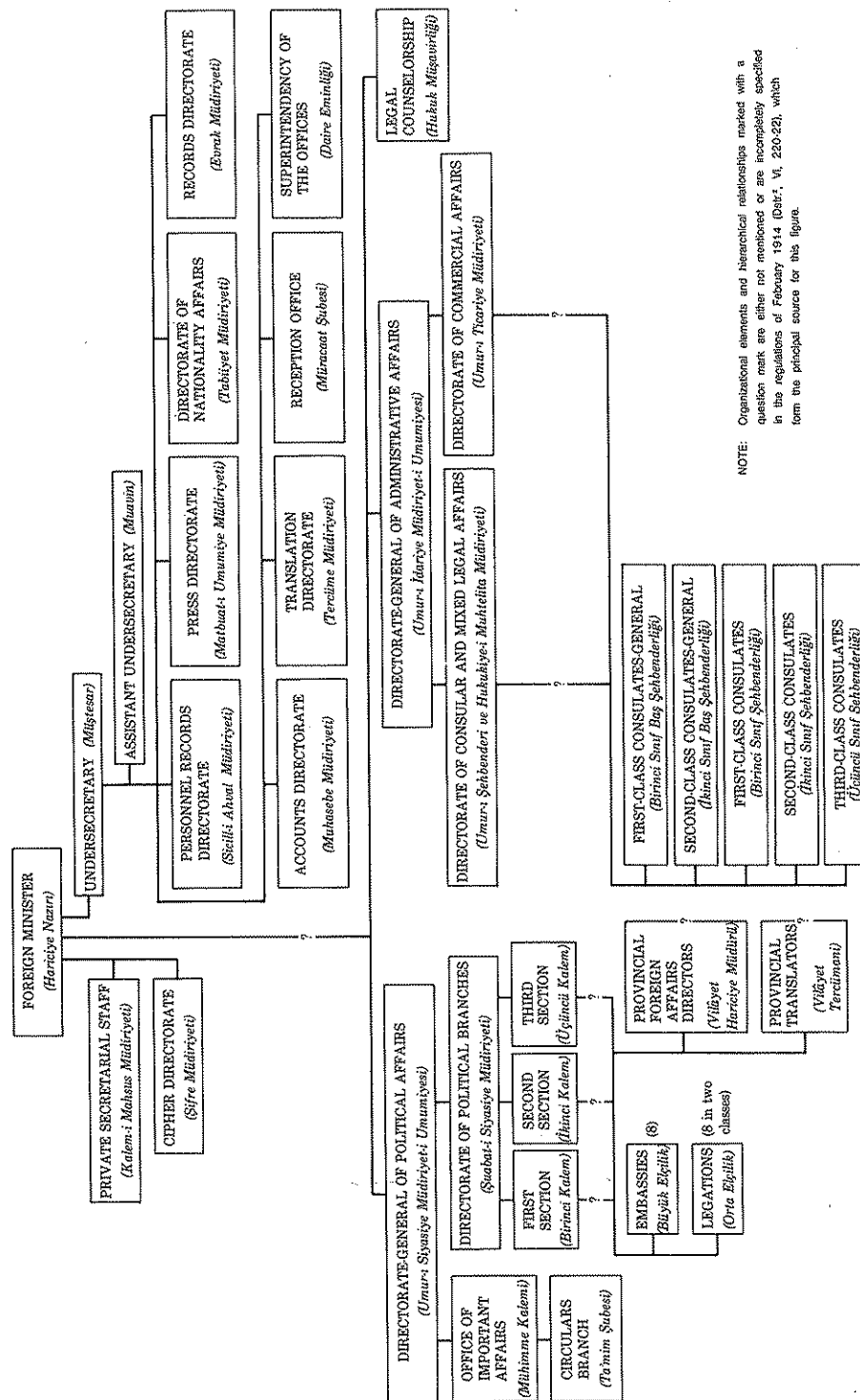
Even with this organizational development, however, the Foreign Ministry failed to regain the political prominence once so much associated with it. Considering the growing scope and complexity of the political process, if not also the antipathy of some of the leading figures of the ministry for the new regime,⁷⁵ this was perhaps as much a part of the modernization of politico-bureaucratic life as the organizational changes that appear in Figure VII-2.

As in the case of the Ministry of the Interior, the organization defined for the Foreign Ministry began, in the immediate entourage of the minister, with the undersecretary, the minister's private secretarial staff (*Kalem-i Mahsus*), and a Cipher Office. The last two elements were described as directly attached (*merbut*) to the minister.

Attached in the same way to the undersecretary, in turn, was a larger grouping of agencies. Their functions were heterogeneous but mostly familiar from preceding periods. Along with the assistant to the undersecretary, this grouping included the Directorates of Personnel Records, the Press, Nationality Affairs, Records, Translation, and Accounts, as well as two other bureaus whose functions are not so clear. The first of these is what we have shown in Figure VII-2 as the Reception Office; the second, the Superintendency of the Offices. If our interpretation of their titles is correct, the Reception Office would have represented chiefly a means for limiting the access of outsiders, particularly embassy dragomans, to the offices of the ministry,⁷⁶ while the superintendency would have been responsible for the security or perhaps simply the menial services of the ministry.

Of the agencies directly attached to the undersecretary, some were, in turn, divided into subsections. This was true, for example, of the Directorate of the Press, into which the former Domestic Press Directorate or Administration (*Matbuat-ı Dahiliye İdaresi*) had been integrated in April 1913.⁷⁷ Responsible for enforcing the laws on the press and on printing establishments,

FIGURE VII-2. ORGANIZATION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, 1914



NOTE: Organizational elements and hierarchical relationships marked with a question mark are either not mentioned or are incompletely specified in the regulations of February 1914 (Dstr.¹, VI, 220-22), which form the principal source for this figure.

reimposed following the attempted coup of 1909,⁷⁸ this Press Directorate was to have a director, assistant to the director, and three branches. One of these was something like a Public Information Office (*İstihbarat Kalemi*), its role being the diffusion of information about the Ottoman government and—a long-standing item of concern—the denial of harmful reports in the foreign press. Another branch (*Tedkikat Kalemi*) was charged with analyzing the press, foreign and domestic, and translating items of interest to the imperial government. The third section, that of administration (*İdare Şubesi*), was responsible for the application of the laws on the press and on printing establishments and, incidentally, for keeping statistics on the Ottoman press. The report that provides these details indicates that the Press Directorate then had twenty-six men working in it.⁷⁹

The Directorate of Nationality Affairs, in its turn, was subdivided into what the regulations of 1914 identified as the Nationality Office (*Tabiiyet Kalemi*) and the Verification of Nationality Office (*Tasdik-i Tabiiyet Kalemi*). The difference between the two is not clear, although verification of nationality in doubtful cases is precisely where the mission of this directorate lay. A report that the Director of Nationality Affairs submitted in 1912 indicates that his agency then had a total staff of ten. Alleging a growth in the volume of business since the restoration of constitutional government, this report argues for additional appointments to the office.⁸⁰

Two others of the directorates subordinate to the undersecretary were subdivided internally in terms of different kinds of records-keeping processes. In the case of the Accounts Directorate, these were for Investigation of Accounts (*Tedkik-i Hesabat Kalemi*) and Balance Sheets (*Muvazene Kalemi*). In the case of the Records Directorate, clearly formed by reintegration of the separate records sections attached as of 1908 to various other departments of the ministry, the divisions were for registration of documents and maintenance of dossiers (*Kayd ve Dosya Kalemi*), keeping the archives (*Hazine-i Evrak*), and receipt and dispatch of communications (*Mersulat ve Mevrudat Şubesi*).

The Records Directorate thus combined archival functions with control over the flow of current documents, such as was discharged for the Porte in general by what was in 1908 the Records Office of the Sublime Porte, later known as the Records Directorate (*Evrak Müdiriyeti*) of the grand vezirate. The mag-

nitude of the archival function appears from a report of 1913, which speaks of fifty or sixty years' accumulation of documents then lying about the offices of the ministry helter-skelter (*perakende*). According to the same report, the directorate had a staff of thirty, which the director considered adequate. Compared to the smaller numbers then serving in some other agencies whose missions might logically be deemed more important, this number is an impressive tribute to the impression that records-control problems then made on the minds of Ottoman statesmen.⁸¹

One final point about the entourage of the undersecretary leads to a comparison that makes this point clearly. The Translation Directorate shown in Figure VII-2 is the successor of the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte, once the most important central agency of the Foreign Ministry and practically the only civil-bureaucratic agency of its kind. Organizational changes during the Young Turk period make it difficult to trace the size of the directorate with assurance, but it may have fallen as low as five or six—a decline surely due to the continued diffusion of the skills once concentrated there.⁸²

Moving on beyond the entourage of the undersecretary, we come to two other organizational groupings, designated as directorates general. The regulations of 1914 (art. 5) fail to specify exactly where these stood in terms of either formal hierarchical subordination or working relationships with the consular and diplomatic establishments. Nonetheless, what the two directorates general clearly represent is the regroupment of the elements of the central organization of the ministry dealing with diplomatic business, on the one hand, and consular affairs, on the other. In the process of this regroupment, some of the previously familiar agencies of the ministry became subordinate elements of one or another of the new directorates general. Others, such as the Turkish Correspondence Office (*Mektubî-i Hariciye*) and Foreign Correspondence Office (*Tahrirat-ı Hariciye*) ceased to exist as such.

Clearly discharging primary responsibility for diplomatic business was the Directorate General of Political Affairs. This included an Important Affairs Office (*Mühimme Odası*), created in 1913 to conduct correspondence that possessed special importance or required special handling.⁸³ The regulations of 1914 also mention a Circulars Section (*Ta'min Şubesi*) as attached to

this office. The directorate general also included a Directorate of Political Branches, under which fell three sections that the regulations of 1914 identify only as first, second, and third. Since other sources of the period throw no light on the differences among these, we can only infer that they corresponded to something like the geographically designated offices or "desks" in the foreign ministries of some other states. In 1912, the Directorate General of Political Affairs, then differently organized, contained twenty officials.⁸⁴

The second of the directorates general, shown in Figure VII-2 as responsible for administrative affairs (*umur-ı idariye*, art. 5), corresponds to what had been known earlier in the Young Turk years as the Directorate General of Consular, Commercial, and Mixed Legal Affairs (*Umur-ı Şehbenderi ve Ticariye ve Hukuk-ı Muhtelita Müdiriyet-i Umumiyesi*). This grouped together three agencies, separate until 1908, with responsibilities in the three fields indicated in the lengthy title.⁸⁵ Indeed, the tripartite character still persisted inside the organization as described in the regulations of 1914, the subordinate Directorate of Consular and Mixed Legal Affairs there being assigned two component offices, presumably one for each of the two functions mentioned in its name.

A report submitted in 1912 by the head of what was then the Directorate General of Consular, Commercial, and Mixed Legal Affairs gives insights into the actual operations of this agency.⁸⁶ The Consular Affairs Branch had its own director (*müdiir*), two examining clerks (*mümeyyiz*) and sixteen clerks. The branch had two sections with geographically designated responsibilities. The central agency responsible for corresponding with the consulates, for sending out to them all the various stamps, forms, and other papers they needed to do their jobs, and for receiving documentation from the consuls on the civil status of Ottoman subjects residing in the various consular districts, the Consular Affairs Branch appears from this account to have been a busy place. The Commercial Affairs Branch, in turn, had its own director, two examining clerks and ten clerks, the staff being divided into two sections, one operating in Turkish and one in French. The duties of this branch lay in drafting commercial treaties, supervising their application, and following other matters relating to public hygiene and international trade. The duties of the Office of Mixed Legal Affairs lay, finally, in dispos-

ing of the various types of international legal problems that could arise in connection with individuals. In this office there were one examining clerk and five clerks. This was only one-third or one-fourth of the staff that had been assigned to the Directorate of Mixed Legal Affairs (*Umur-ı Hukuk-ı Muhtelita Müdiriyeti*) up to 1908. The report of 1912 indicated that the office now needed to be upgraded to a directorate, and that it should have a director and a couple of additional officials with legal training added to it. A new set of regulations issued for the Directorate General of Administrative Affairs in 1916 indicates that some such expansion may have occurred by then, although their late date argues against attributing much force to those regulations in want of confirmation from other sources.⁸⁷

Last among the central agencies of the Foreign Ministry as defined in the regulations of February 1914 (art. 6) was the Legal Counsellorship (*Hukuk Müşavirliği*), which resembled the two directorates general in the lack of specification of its hierarchical relations with other parts of the ministry, as well, presumably, as in its relative importance. As before 1908, there were still two men holding the title of legal counsellor, with an Office of Legal Counsel (*İstişare Odası*) attached to them.⁸⁸ Although the Ministry of the Interior, if not also other ministries, had now acquired legal counsellors of its own, the counsellors in the Foreign Ministry were still responsible for serving the entire Ottoman government, and not just the Foreign Ministry, with respect to international law. While these posts had begun as a matter of course to be held by Ottoman subjects, there was also a special, additional post of First Legal Counsellor in existence between December 1913 and October 1915. This had as its incumbent a distinguished European legal expert, Count Leon Ostrorog, who had served the Ottoman government for some years before 1913 in similar capacities.⁸⁹

On account of the prestige of its mission, the Office of Legal Counsel had been one of the most padded offices under Abd ül-Hamid. In contrast to the fifty officials nominally attached to it then, after 1908, not counting the special position held by Ostrorog, there were only the two legal counsellors, a director (*müdür*) of the Office of Legal Counsel, seven assistants (*muavin*), and a couple of secretaries. Since here, as in other offices dealing with legal affairs, the volume of business had increased consid-

erably with the restoration of constitutional government, a need was expressed in 1912 for two extra officials with legal qualifications and as many again for additional secretarial support. It does not appear that these requests were filled, although the appointment of Ostrorog would certainly have alleviated the need for additional legal expertise.⁹⁰

Complementing the central agencies of the ministry were those outside Istanbul. These perhaps still included the provincial foreign affairs officers and translators, although there is evidence to indicate that the Foreign Ministry had by 1915 lost its long-standing feud with the Ministry of the Interior over control of those posts.⁹¹ As for the consular and diplomatic establishments, they had been pruned considerably in the purges of 1908-1909⁹² and were further reduced with the closures of mission necessitated by war. The closure of the missions in the former German and Austro-Hungarian Empires following the armistice reduced these services almost to nothing, although the empire did attempt to revive its diplomatic representation during the armistice years.⁹³ In the meantime, the regulations of February 1914 gave the Ottoman consular and diplomatic services what was to be their final, officially defined form prior to World War I.

As indicated in Figure VII-2, the regulations (arts. 7-11) provided for a diplomatic corps consisting of eight embassies (*büyük elçilik*) and eight legations (*orta elçilik*). The embassies were to be in Berlin, Paris, Saint Petersburg, Rome, Tehran, London, Washington, and Vienna. The legations, graded in two classes depending on the ranks of the incumbents, were to be in Athens, Stockholm, Brussels, Bucharest, Belgrade, Sofia, Madrid, and The Hague. The consular service, as in the past, was to include both honorary and salaried consuls, the latter divided into first- and second-class consuls general and three classes of consuls. As in other cases, the regulations failed to specify the exact hierarchical relations of the consular and diplomatic officials to the senior officials of the ministry in Istanbul. Presumably, consuls and diplomats addressed their correspondence to the minister and normally dealt, in fact, with the two directorates general whose responsibilities corresponded to their own. The regulations of 1914 were equally uninformative on the exact composition of the diplomatic missions and on the num-

bers and locations of consular posts of the different types, simply identifying these as points to be regulated by further special instructions, which must never have appeared.

Thus the Ottoman Foreign Ministry reached the climax of its historic evolution. To judge from the fragmentary indications quoted in preceding paragraphs, its central offices would now have included something in excess of 150 men.⁹⁴

Miscellaneous

Having now surveyed the state of the Sublime Porte as of 1914, it is perhaps appropriate to say something about what had happened to the agencies which, forming parts of that organization in 1908, no longer did so six years later.

In the case of the Senate, the change in status was a consequence of the restoration of the constitution and the revival of parliamentary government. In the case of the commissions formerly under direct control from the palace, the changes also reflected the abolition of the Hamidian system, but in different ways. Two of these had become parts of the Ministry of the Interior. These were the former High Commission for Refugees, now seemingly subsumed into the Directorate of Tribal and Refugee Affairs, and the Civil Officials Commission, abolished in 1908 but apparently restored in 1912. The High Commission for the Hijaz Railway had, meanwhile, turned into a directorate general in the Ministry of Pious Foundations.⁹⁵

Only the Aid Fund of the Sublime Porte seems to have retained any sort of independent position there. With its mission essentially unchanged, it was placed by a set of regulations issued in May 1914 under the administration of a commission, membership in which was honorary and was reserved to officials drawn from the departments that the fund served. Subsequent revisions of the regulations attest the continued existence of the fund into the last years.⁹⁶ In contrast to the commissions of the Hamidian period that, like so many other such bodies before them, evolved into permanent bureaucratic agencies, the Aid Fund still appears to have remained a small, conciliar organization, basically ancillary to the bureaucratic functions of the Porte. Accordingly, there is no need to show it in Figure VII-1.

As one of the agencies of the Porte to receive new regulations in 1913-1914, the Aid Fund in its modest way nonetheless reflects the significance of the Young Turk Period for the overall

development of civil-bureaucratic institutions. For during this period, the Offices of the Grand Vezir and the Ministries of Internal and Foreign Affairs all underwent organic regulation, while the Council of Ministers and the Council of State all received regulations in at least some form. Thus the agencies of the Sublime Porte finally approached full compliance with the constitutional demand for enactments of this kind.

In a sense, this fact sums up the significance of this period for the development of the civil bureaucracy. At the same time, however, there are certain additional points that also require note. First, while traditional concepts of organization and procedure never entirely vanished, they continued, as the measures on the Ministry of the Interior showed with particular clarity, to yield ground to newer ones emphasizing goals and responsibilities external to the bureaucratic system *per se*. While this kind of organizational reorientation was still associated at times simply with a proliferation of bureaus, in the Foreign Ministry we can see the new agencies being regrouped into larger and at least sometimes coherent groupings through which operational control could be maintained in the midst of organizational growth.

This organizational regroupment in the Foreign Ministry was, in fact, only a single expression of the growing emphasis on control and accountability, and many others appeared with the increasing integration of the various phases of institutional development and regulation and with the larger drive for achievement of a modern kind of political balance. The emphasis on control had, of course, already found expression in the preceding period in phenomena such as the mechanisms for the selection of officials, in Abd ül-Hamid's use of statistics, or in the consular inspectorates and reports. After 1908, requirements of such kinds multiplied, a fact perhaps best illustrated by the intricate counterpoise of control and decentralization in the provincial administration law of 1913. Simultaneously, in a way expressed more in practical fact than in regulatory specification, the increasing demand for the responsiveness of bureaucratic institutions to political interests external to themselves also began to affect the grand vezirate and the cabinet posts in the sense of transforming them for the first time into political more than bureaucratic offices. More and more oriented away from the formalistic and introspective patterns of the old scribal serv-

ice, the institutions of the Sublime Porte were becoming increasingly subject to law and to requirements of service to a polity of broadened scope.

REGULATION IN OTHER FIELDS OF POLICY AND PROCEDURE

In view of the changing extent and character of regulatory activity during these years, an analysis of organizational development leaves less to discuss in the way of other regulatory issues than in earlier periods. Nonetheless, the field of personnel policy included important sequels to the Hamidian innovations. There were also developments worthy of comment in other fields, such as official communications. A discussion of measures of these types will provide added insights into the growing rationalization of the Sublime Porte, and to a degree of the civil bureaucracy more generally, during the Young Turk years.

Personnel Policy

The statesmen of this period did not succeed in solving all the problems apparent in the Hamidian personnel measures. Nonetheless, especially if we may consider measures that did not reach the point of formal promulgation, they continued the development of civil-bureaucratic personnel policy in all three of the phases that had come to characterize it: the system for the maintenance of personnel records, the laws on conditions of recruitment and service, and those on compensation systems.

The purges and reorganizations that marked the beginning of the Young Turk Period appear to have had a particularly devastating effect on the personnel records system. On the one hand, the purges generated vast quantities of data that needed to be integrated into the records. On the other hand, the purges surely reduced the numbers of officials available for this task. The result was that the personnel records could no longer be kept up to date. Most files stop, in fact, just short of the Young Turk Revolution, mentioning neither the purges nor, where appropriate, the individual's further service.

Contemporary statesmen nonetheless realized the value of the records and tried to keep the system going. Even in 1908, when they suppressed the central Civil Officials Commission (*Memurin-i Mülkiye Komisyonu*) and returned the making of appointments to the various ministries, they explicitly retained a

separate Personnel Records Administration (*Sicill-i Ahval İdaresi*), subordinate up to that point to the commission that had just been abolished and from then on to the Ministry of the Interior. To judge from the yearbooks, there were also branch offices for personnel records in at least some other ministries. Following the restoration of the Civil Officials Commission in 1912, these various elements seem again to have figured as its branches.⁹⁷

Part of the problem with the maintenance of the personnel records may, in fact, have derived precisely from a growing awareness among the reformers of the utility of those records for other aspects of personnel administration. To judge from what happened in the Foreign Ministry, the previously evident trend to increase the work required of such offices continued in this period. Including the processing of records on official attendance, of leave requests and applications for retirement pensions or unemployment stipends, and of the documentation required for award of decorations,⁹⁸ the new requirements chart the gradual evolution of the personnel records offices into bureaus for general personnel administration.

In view of this continuity of interest, it is not surprising to observe that new regulations for the personnel records system appeared in May 1914. Supposed to replace all preexisting guidelines on the workings of the system, the regulations were, in fact, very complicated, much more demanding than earlier guidelines as concerns the information to be included in the records, the documentation to be provided in substantiation of certain types of statements, and the procedures for conservation of the records.⁹⁹ The result of a conscientious attempt at application of these regulations would thus probably have been anything but a practical improvement in the efficiency with which the records-keeping system operated. In fact, while it is clear that the personnel records offices continued to function to some degree at least as late as 1918,¹⁰⁰ there is little evidence of compliance with the new regulations. If they had any impact at all, it would thus have been on the personnel records system that the Nationalists created very shortly in Ankara.¹⁰¹

The chief effect of the reforms of this period on general personnel policy, meanwhile, seems to have been to dissociate the system for retirement pensions from that for recruitment and promotion, the two having been treated together in the major

legislation of the Hamidian years. To look first at the provisions on recruitment and promotion, leaving retirement rights for consideration with other questions of compensation, there is no indication that the earlier legislation was abrogated or replaced by other measures of comparable generality. What the reformers of the Young Turk years did try to do was to flesh out the sketchy terms of the provisions of 1884 on promotion and retirement with more detailed regulations on conditions of service in specific ministries, as well as other measures modifying specific points of detail in general personnel procedure.

For the major agencies of the Sublime Porte, we find two attempts during these years to regulate conditions of service in specific ministries. One of them, actually enacted into law, is a set of regulations of December 1915 for officials of the Ministry of the Interior. This is a sort of complement to the other major provisions pertaining to that ministry—the Provincial Administration Law and the regulations for the central offices, both dating from 1913. The other attempt, which never reached the point of enactment, appears in a group of drafts prepared in the Foreign Ministry to provide a comparable kind of specification for its officials. Preparation of these drafts began soon after the 1908 revolution and continued at least through 1912, the date of a particularly well-developed example that provides a convenient basis for discussion.¹⁰²

The regulations issued in 1915 for the officials of the Ministry of the Interior¹⁰³ attempted first to provide something that had been called for in the Hamidian legislation but never provided, except to an imperfect extent through the decree of 1880 on official salaries. This was a general classification by salary, at least for this ministry, of all the positions subordinate to it. While the table that presented this classification was not very clearly constructed and did not integrate officials serving in provincial posts with those in the central offices, subsequent articles went on to specify how appointments were to be made to the various categories of positions (arts. 2-11). By mentioning holders of specific provincial posts as eligible for appointment to a given central position or vice versa, these articles did at least imply the beginnings of a common grading system for central and provincial posts. Acknowledging the role that the Provincial Administration Law of 1913 left to provincial authorities in the making of appointments of certain types (art. 17), the regulations of

1915 also elaborated in greater detail the procedures to follow in appointments that were controlled from the ministry in Istanbul. Some such appointees were to be designated by the minister; some, by an appointment-making body now called the Council of Directors (*Encümen-i Müdiran*). This would presumably have superseded the Personnel Directorate mentioned in the regulations of December 1913 on the organization of the central offices of the ministry and, to judge from its name, would have consisted of the directors of the various departments of the ministry. The regulations of 1915 also distinguished certain appointments as requiring the sanction of an imperial decree (*irade*); the order of the minister sufficed for others.

These regulations further specified that applicants to enter the service of the Ministry of the Interior were to meet certain qualifications of age, character, and education and were, in addition, to pass a competitive examination. Where the educational requirements are concerned, the most notable innovation since the Hamidian years is the elimination of the preference accorded to graduates of the School of Civil Administration (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), as opposed to others of the modern schools. Seniority first, and ability second, were to be the determining factors in promotion (art. 18), while certain types of officials were required to spend certain amounts of time in grade before they could be promoted (art. 13).

The draft regulations of 1912 for the officials of the Foreign Ministry,¹⁰⁴ in turn, included a number of analogous ideas. Again, there was an attempt to classify all the positions under the ministry in a comprehensive hierarchical scheme (art. 2). As before, there were to be set qualifications for admission into the service of the ministry. Resembling those in the regulations for the Ministry of the Interior but also at points imitating the conventions of the aristocratic European foreign services, these included being of "good family," proficiency in both Ottoman and French, education in the Schools of Law (*Mekteb-i Hukuk*) or Civil Administration or in equivalent foreign institutions, and passage of a competitive examination. There was also to be some variation in procedures for appointments at different levels. Most were to depend on a special Commission for the Selection of Foreign Ministry Officials (*İntihab-ı Memurin-i Hariciye Komisyonu*), a title familiar since Hamidian days but not mentioned in the regulations of February 1914 on the organization of the

ministry; other appointments were simply at the discretion of the minister (arts. 11-13). Here, too, seniority was to be the basic factor in promotion, although "ability would also be taken into account" (art. 15), and time in grade was to be a requirement for advancement in grade (art. 20).

In other respects, however, the draft regulations for Foreign Ministry officials differed significantly from those for the Ministry of the Interior. Due perhaps to the special importance of the diplomatic function, certainly to the conviction that the Foreign Ministry should have a distinct personnel policy, and probably also to the fact that Abd ül-Hamid's innovations in appointment-making procedures related chiefly to local administration, the sense of a prior lack of any orderly personnel policy was particularly strong in this ministry. There was also a feeling that the diplomatic personnel of the ministry had heretofore received greater compensation for their efforts than those of its central offices.¹⁰⁵ In reaction to these problems, the draft regulations of 1912 proposed that all officials of the ministry be classified into distinct services. To get around the inequities in compensation, there were to be only two services, the consular and the diplomatic, and even those officials serving in Istanbul would belong to one or the other. This kind of classification would also facilitate transfers of officials between Istanbul and the foreign posts.

To make it possible to transfer individuals without harm to their careers, the draft proposed the creation of a new status, intermediate between appointment and dismissal. Heretofore it had been impossible to change officials without either swapping two (*becayış*) or arbitrarily dismissing one. Henceforth, there was to be a status referred to as being *à la disposition du Ministère* (*Nezaret'in emrine muntazır*, art. 4). This would make it possible to shift officials to meet the administrative needs of the service without placing the stigma of dismissal on their records.

Since these provisions never became law, the Ottoman Foreign Ministry ended its history without acquiring a rationally regulated personnel system. There was thus never any way to assure, for example, that all those appointed to diplomatic posts really were what one minister picturesquely referred to as "export goods."¹⁰⁶ The nonenactment of the Foreign Ministry personnel regulations, and even more the fact that reform of general personnel procedure was now occurring within each ministry without further attention to the kind of basic legal

framework first sketched out under Abd ül-Hamid, made clear how much still needed to be done for the thorough regularization of civil-bureaucratic conditions of service.

In the event, completion of this task would remain for the Republic. In addition to the measures just discussed, however, there were in the meantime also some others of detail. One of these, reflecting an added dimension of the concern over the quality of the diplomatic corps, was a decree of 1909 requiring officials of the Foreign Ministry to request official permission prior to marrying.¹⁰⁷ The measure was aimed specifically at marriages with foreigners and derived from a feeling that some unions of this type had been undesirable.¹⁰⁸ Likewise applying to the Foreign Ministry was a measure of 1910 modifying an earlier decree on consular leaves.¹⁰⁹ Applying to officials of all types, in a sense, though more specifically a part of the educational history of the period, there was also a set of regulations, drawn up in May 1913 and extended or modified on a number of occasions thereafter, for the standardization of the examinations to be taken by students who had completed the lycée-level schools (*mehâtib-i sultaniye*) and were candidates for the diploma that was still known as the *mülâzemet rûsusü* and now, under this examination system, became an imitation indeed of the French *baccalauréat*.¹¹⁰

With the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish and later wars, there were other personnel measures reflecting the gravity of wartime. In this category were instructions of October 1911 on the duties of civil officials in time of mobilization,¹¹¹ a decree of the same month prescribing penalties for officials who did not observe the prescribed hours for attendance in their offices,¹¹² other decrees of 1912 and 1913 prohibiting membership by officials and teachers in political parties,¹¹³ and regulations of 1915 on the granting of honorary military ranks to statesmen (*ricâl-i devlet*) serving with the armed forces or rendering other extraordinary services.¹¹⁴

As they set about the further regulation of conditions of recruitment and promotion, the statesmen of the period also began early on to address their attention to the various aspects of the official compensation system. While they still produced no comprehensive salary table for the entire civil bureaucracy, they did draw up a number of tables of smaller scope. The various reorganization schemes on the basis of which they conducted the

purges of 1908-1909 bore this character, at least in part.¹¹⁵ The hierarchical systems of salary grades incorporated into the regulations of 1915 for the officials of the Ministry of the Interior and the draft regulations of 1912 for those of the Foreign Ministry were also of this kind. Simultaneously, there seems to have been a tendency to abolish the deductions through which Abdül-Hamid had, in effect, taxed his captive bureaucrats for the benefit of his pet projects.¹¹⁶

Ancillary aspects of the compensation system came under renewed scrutiny, as well. There was a whole series of measures on unemployment stipends and travel allowances. In part, these measures aimed at keeping the unemployment stipends from turning into salaries for doing nothing, a character they often bore under Abdül-Hamid.¹¹⁷ In August 1909, there was also a new law on the retirement pensions of civil officials, teachers, and various other categories of government employees. Replacing the corresponding provisions of the Hamidian Decrees on Promotion and Retirement of Civil Officials, this revised and simplified the preexisting provisions and initiated the process of abolishing the receipt of multiple pensions by officials who had spent parts of their careers in different branches of service. As in the past, the basic concept of the pension system was that pensions should be funded by a deduction of five percent from salaries, a rate effectively increased in May 1914, when deductions to cover pensions and unemployment stipends were combined and placed at twelve percent.¹¹⁸

Beginning in 1914, finally, there was also a long string of measures having to do with war-related problems of inflation, shortage of goods, and the handling of salaries and other entitlements of officials who were either returning from provinces that had been lost or who, in the armistice years, ran afoul of the imperial government for political reasons. One such measure was a decree of 1920 cutting off the salaries of officials whom the Occupation authorities had exiled to Malta. Acts of these kinds record the final agonies of the collapsing empire and otherwise require no comment.¹¹⁹

Before matters reached this point, the Young Turk years witnessed some gains in all fields of personnel policy, if not yet a comprehensive systematization. The system of personnel records at least continued to exist and received new regulations, if ones of excessive complexity. The personnel records offices, de-

spite the practical impediments to their effective operation, also began more and more to resemble the personnel directorates of modern bureaucratic organizations. General systems for recruitment and promotion of officials, on one hand, and for retirement pensions, on the other, were taken up in separate acts and revised. Not all the measures on conditions of service reached the point of promulgation, but acts on all major phases of the compensation system did so. It was these changes, despite their limits, that made it possible for the early development of official personnel policy under the Republic to display the character that a recent student has described as "evolutionary, rather than revolutionary."¹²⁰

Systematization and Control in Other Procedural Fields

As the formal organizational structures of the Sublime Porte and the personnel procedures of the civil bureaucracy came increasingly under law and regulation, the workings of the bureaucracy also began to assume a new degree of systematization in other ways. The brevity of the period seemed to limit the range of accomplishment, however, and some previously intractable problems remained beyond solution. To illustrate this point, we may appropriately take up two topics that have engaged our attention in earlier chapters: the management of government finance, and official communications.

At various dates, the Young Turk period brought ostensible relief from a number of the most serious problems noted during earlier periods in Ottoman government finance. First, Abdül-Hamid's estates were confiscated, turned over to the Ministry of Finance, and auctioned off. Serious efforts were then made to achieve order in the affairs of that ministry and to make the budgets more accurate and reliable. In 1914, between the outbreak of World War I and the Ottoman entry into the war, the government unilaterally abolished the capitulatory privileges enjoyed by foreigners in the empire. Finally, with Ottoman entry into the war and the departure from Istanbul of subjects of the Entente powers, the Public Debt Administration remained under the control of the German, Austrian, and Ottoman delegates, who used it to support the Ottoman government financially for the remainder of the war.¹²¹

By 1914, however, it was clear that not all hopes of improvement in government finance would be realized. Reporting in

1909 on the financial effects of the bureaucratic purges and reorganizations, Baron Marschall had affirmed that officials and officers were being regularly paid, that the old independence of individual ministries had at last been done away with, and the entire financial system centralized in the Ministry of Finance.¹²² In the early years of the period, there were also other reforms, including a partial reordering of the system of taxation, which produced fiscal benefits. But the improvements that Baron Marschall described were not lasting ones. By 1910, for example, efforts at fiscal centralization had encountered serious problems in the opposition of Mahmud Şevket Paşa, as minister of war, to the attempts of the minister of finance, Cavid Bey, to exert a power of review over the military budget.¹²³ Budget laws did continue to be passed in such unprecedented number and detail that much expert research would be required to evaluate them thoroughly. It seems clear, though, that the very bulk of the documentation signified ongoing trouble. For amendments and supplements to budgetary acts continued to be passed in some cases for several years after the end of the financial year to which those measures were supposed to apply, and large deficits appeared in every one of the general budgets (*muvazene-i umumiye*) published after 1908 (cf. the Appendix).¹²⁴ World War I meant the resumption of the issue of paper money, its drastic depreciation, and eventually economic chaos.¹²⁵ For officials who had survived the purges at the beginning of the period and had their hopes raised by the attempts then made at financial reform, this situation must have been cause for despair, indeed.

The field of official communications, in contrast, illustrated what could still be accomplished where economic constraints were less pressing. Some of the changes in this field dealt, to be sure, only with minor problems of government paperwork. Such were a decree of December 1913 placing restrictions on giving out originals, rather than copies, of imperial decrees (*irade*) from the archives to other offices that had need of them.¹²⁶ Another measure of similar character, though of considerable importance for financial administration, was a law of 1917 shifting the dates of the month in the solar calendar that the Ottomans used for financial purposes to conform with those of the Gregorian calendar used in the West.¹²⁷

Of more basic significance, particularly considering that the volume of legislation produced during this period appears to

have exceeded all that enacted between 1839 and 1908, were measures pertaining specifically to the publication of laws and regulations. While there were improvements of various sorts, including gains in clarity of language and organization, perhaps the most important changes in this area came with a revision of the processes for official registration and promulgation of laws.

Under a new system set up by law in May 1911 and amended in February 1914,¹²⁸ each new law, upon receipt of the sultan's formal assent, was still to go to the Directorate of the Imperial Divan or Office of the *Beylikçi* of the Imperial Divan, as it was variously called during these years, for registration in the long-customary way. That agency was also to prepare as many certified copies as were needed and send them to the agency or agencies responsible for enforcement of the law. Under the revised system of 1914, the *beylikçi* was then to send the original documents to the Directorate of Legal Compilation, another of the bureaus in the staff of the grand vezir. The Directorate of Legal Compilation was without fail to see to the publication of the law in the official gazette, the *Takvim-i Vekayi*, and in the published volumes of legal texts, the *Düstur*. This done, the original documents would go back to the *beylikçi* and from him to the Archives.

Upon receipt of the text, the agencies responsible for enforcement would prepare additional copies for distribution to their subordinate agencies, to include those of the local administration whenever appropriate, and the latter would in turn see to the publication of the law in the local newspapers or by other suitable means. Each law would then take effect at the date specified in it or, barring specification, from the date of its publication in the official gazette. These measures of 1911 and 1914 were the first attempt since 1872 to define a comprehensive system for publishing new laws and placing them in effect.

Even if contemporary efforts at fiscal reform foundered as ignobly as had those of the two preceding periods, these measures on official communications and legislation provide a fitting final comment on what we have seen of the growing emphasis on law and regularity in all phases of administration in this period. It was an emphasis clearly perceptible at the time to Count Ostorrog, whom we have already mentioned as first legal counselor at the Porte. As he saw it, while there were competing concepts deriving from Islamic tradition, one of the central ideas in

the political life of the period was the concept that the empire should be a state ruled by law, a *Rechtsstaat* of the sort described by Western theorists.¹²⁹ The regulatory acts discussed in this chapter were perhaps not all well inspired or adequate to the problems they addressed; yet they provide concrete evidence on impressive scale of the persistence with which Ottoman statesmen pursued this idea.

CONCLUSION

As the years passed, the situation in which the officials and statesmen of the Young Turk years found themselves was such as to reduce this pursuit more or less to an impossibility. After the Armistice in 1918, the circumstances of defeat and the Allied occupation of Istanbul diminished what was left of the Ottoman bureaucracy to the condition of wretchedness documented in the memoirs of Galip Kemali Söylemezoğlu, one of the few still trying to maintain the diplomatic representation of the empire, or in the biographical accounts of Mahmud Kemal İnal, the last *beylikçi* of the empire and one of the last and greatest exponents of the scribal literary tradition. The magnitude of İnal's achievement in memorializing the intellectual and bureaucratic elites of the former empire becomes all the clearer as we learn, from his account of his own life, of the hardships he endured during these years, particularly when his home was taken over by the occupying forces and his collection of books and papers largely destroyed.¹³⁰

İnal, of course, was not the only one who suffered; and indeed, as the city filled with refugees and displaced persons, those in official position were surely not the worst off. Still, the lot of the officials was not an enviable one. Most of them had been left by the virtual destruction of the state with little to do, and by the disruption of the economy and the decline of the public revenues with little or nothing to live on.¹³¹

Particularly as the Nationalist movement emerged and began to win successes, the loyalties of these men began to shift to the new force that was emerging in the Anatolian heartland. Certainly, there were those who found it impossible for one reason or another to make the shift of allegiance. Yet, down to the point when the costs and growing difficulties of their mission persuaded the Occupation authorities to give up the city, they

watched with concern as nationalist sentiment spread into Ottoman official circles in Istanbul. By 1921, the British High Commissioner was reporting that the "Constantinople Government are practically the self-constituted mouthpiece of the Angora Government."¹³² The following year, when the Grand National Assembly voted the abolition of the sultanate (1 November 1922), the last Ottoman Cabinet resigned, and the Nationalists ordered the termination of activity in all the agencies of the imperial government, the difficulties of the former Ottoman officials who remained in Istanbul naturally increased. By then, however, many had already gone to Ankara, and others were ready to go.¹³³

Having helped to create a complex of institutions very different from anything known to their ancestors of a century before, the men who journeyed thus to an unknown future carried with them a stock of ideas and expectations that did much to facilitate the formation of a new state in the Anatolian interior. By the same token, they played a major part in making possible the surprise that the Nationalists gave to a world grown accustomed to think not only that the Ottoman Empire was finished as a state, but also that the Turks were finished as a people.

The reforms of the Young Turk years had a great deal to do with preparing the bureaucratic tradition for its continuing life in the new, republican setting. Fully to appreciate the significance of these reforms requires considering them not just in the context of their own time, however, but rather in the deeper perspective of the entire era of reform.

Chapter Eight

ONE AND ONE-THIRD CENTURIES OF
CIVIL-BUREAUCRATIC REFORM

The differences between the Sublime Porte of the early twentieth century and that of the late eighteenth, like those between the civil bureaucracy in its last phases and the earlier scribal service, were all but revolutionary in extent. A look back at the Porte and the scribal service as they were at the end of the eighteenth century, followed by a review of the forces that contributed to the ensuing transformation and an assessment of the contrasts that had appeared by the end of Ottoman imperial history, will bring into view the full extent and significance of the changes that had occurred in these institutions.

On the eve of reform, the Sublime Porte was still a relatively small and in some ways unclearly structured organization. It included the grand vezir's household as well as his *divan* and the bureaus immediately attached to him. Of these, the Offices of the Steward of the Grand Vezir (*Kâhya Bey*) and the Chief Bailiff (*Çavuş Başı*) were still only imperfectly identified with the scribal service. Indeed, the real scribal element of the Porte was practically limited to the chief scribe (*reis ül-küttab*) and his staff, found in the Office of the Imperial Divan and several other bureaus that had appeared alongside it by the end of the eighteenth century.

The aptness of the designation scribal service expressed itself clearly in both the organizational and the procedural patterns found inside these offices. Personnel designations and concepts of scribal functions, in particular, displayed a fixation on the details of routines for the production of documents. As a natural consequence both of this fact and of the assumption that officials served the ruler rather than the subjects, there were few signs of any concern for the impact of scribal routines on the world outside the offices. Still less was there any means by which to enforce such a concern. The scribal service did have a great literary

tradition behind it, and the political utility of this found tangible expression as scribal officials began to rise to the highest offices of the state. Most scribes of the Porte were distinguished, however, by little more than a craftsman-like approach to their work, and remained within a range of experience that did not extend even as far afield as the scribal offices of the Treasury. Even those who rose to high office had little real preparation for service as administrators or statesmen and were well qualified only by comparison with other segments of the ruling class.

Analysis of the social state of the scribal service of the late pre-reform period reinforces these points and provides insights into the underlying characteristics of the imperial system, as well. Here the most basic fact to note is the differentiation of the scribal service into subgroups structured along the lines of models of social organization encountered elsewhere in the society. In reflection of the Islamic character of the state and the principles that governed intercommunal relations within it, non-Muslims appeared in the scribal service or on its flanges only in small enclavements recalling the autonomous confessional communities of the subject classes. Among Muslim officials, in turn, there was a differentiation in terms of rank, with variant patterns of social organization appearing above and below the line of division. At the lower levels, in ways ranging from its method of training by apprenticeship to its personnel designations and the outlook of its members, the scribal service was practically a craft-guild. For Muslims who managed to gain promotion into the upper echelons, in contrast, the guild-like pattern yielded to a different one. Present to some degree among the other groups and corresponding to the most widely encountered principle of Ottoman social and political organization, this is what we have referred to as the model of the patrimonial household. Among the grandees of the ruling class, replication of this pattern not only signified use of the material perquisites of high station for imitation of the sultanic style, but also provided the organizational basis for the political factionalism so characteristic of upper bureaucratic life.

Overall, the points that stand out most strongly about the scribal service of the late eighteenth century, as about the imperial system in general, are this patrimonial motif, on one hand, and the effects of imperial decline, on the other. The organizational patterns observable at the Porte illustrate the patrimonial

character of the system through a coexistence of divergent tendencies, at once toward differentiation and specialization of functions, and toward simultaneous concentration of disparate and essentially undefined powers in the hands of key functionaries. The difficulty of explaining some of the organizational forms noted on the eve of the reform era surely derives from this coexistence and highlights the limited extent to which the differentiation of functions could progress in such an environment. Characteristic procedural patterns reveal, meanwhile, how effectively the concentration of unregulated powers at the top of the system diminished, or even repressed, the initiative of officials at other levels. One consequence of this repression was the quickness of the officials to resort to extreme forms of discipline, when they could, in defense of personal interests. Such indiscipline was apparent both at the lower echelons and among the bureaucratic elite, for whom the politicization of office and the insecurity of the sultan-slave relationship made such behavior a vital necessity.

The processes of imperial decline were also clearly of critical importance in aggravating the weaknesses of the patrimonial system and in determining the developmental patterns of the scribal service. The contrast between the systems of recruitment and training developed in the branches of the ruling class that flourished when the state was at its height and those that served the same purposes for the later scribal service illustrates this point vividly. Indeed, this contrast provides not only a measure of the effects of decline, but also an insight into the probable reasons for the prominence of guild-like traits in lower scribal echelons. Another significant indicator of faltering administrative capabilities is the regression over a period of centuries from compensation by salary, at least for some officials, into generalized prebendalism. As it affected the scribal elite through the systems of annual appointment and fee-collection, imperial decline was also of major importance in compounding the incentives for an extreme orientation to self-service and for replication of the model of the patrimonial household. It is thus paradoxical that the system of annual appointment, in conjunction with the decay of the military-administrative establishment, was also a key factor in creating the efendi-turned-paşa pattern and thus sending forth the scribal officials to play roles of new variety and importance in the upper levels of the administrative

system. Imperial decline fostered the growth of the scribal service in some respects, then, even while inhibiting it in others.

As the empire entered the era of reform, the desire to reassert the control of the central government over the whole empire created a necessity to upgrade the quality and regularity of administration. Such an upgrading amounted to launching the empire generally on a transition from traditionalism toward the creation of a rationally structured and legally defined order; and this necessitated a major transformation of the ruling class, in which the scribal service was becoming the most prominent branch. As long as the sultans retained their traditional powers without formal restriction, one implication of this reassertion of the center was conflict between them and the most influential of their official servants. For most if not all of the era of reform, the shifting state of this conflict was the decisive factor in differentiating the successive political periods. But there were also other factors that interacted to heighten this conflict and to complicate the transition toward rational-legalism in other ways.

In the opening phases of the reform era, the most conspicuous of these factors was the shortage of official manpower qualified to provide leadership in reform movements. As a new elite began to form, it was at first very small in size; and the response of its members to the new ideas to which they were exposed tended to be uncritical and narrowly self-interested. The magnitude of the unforeseen consequences that could ensue when circumstances placed power abruptly into the hands of such men is clear—at least in hindsight—from the results of the virtual adoption of free trade in 1838 or even the move toward egalitarianism in 1839.

The subsequent growth in the sophistication of Ottoman reformers was rapid. Yet, the necessity to contend with various forms of foreign interference and domestic opposition narrowed their freedom of action. The incongruity of the reforms with the setting into which they were introduced also hampered reformist efforts, as did the basic but at first unrecognized need to develop effective techniques for carrying new measures through from initial formulation to implementation and supervision.

The greater the resource requirements of a given measure, or the greater the extent to which it required the creation of new infrastructure on an imperial scale, the more clearly these prob-

lems appeared. It is important to note, however, that the ability of the Ottomans to raise the resources required to support their reforms varied greatly, depending on whether it was a question of economic resources or human. In the former respect, the Ottomans never overcame the fiasco of the reforms enacted at the beginning of the Tanzimat; indeed, the incorporation of the empire into a European-dominated economic system was far advanced before the era of reform began and simply continued thereafter. The development of new kinds of manpower was ultimately a different story; although here, too, there were shortages and unexpected ironies.

Bureaucratic expansion and related educational reforms in fact launched processes of social, cultural, and political change that eventually affected not just the ruling elite but all of Ottoman society. In terms of meeting bureaucratic manpower needs, the results obtained were significant, though never fully adequate; but other consequences of these changes soon proved more important. For the elements of the society that had some awareness of, and presumed to speak on, current affairs began to grow in number and diversity. At the same time, of course, innovative reform was creating increasingly evident dissonances in the socio-political order and loosening it more and more from the sanctions of tradition. The growth of the politically conscious segment of the population thus coincided with a growing articulation of politically arguable issues and policies, and the result was the emergence of political ideology in the modern sense.

The problem of finding a basis on which to legitimate innovative reform, together with the lack of any cohesive social basis for the redefinition of the locus of sovereignty, compounded the problems surrounding the development of ideological controversy, rendering them insoluble within the framework of the imperial system. Particularly since the ideologues of the reform era were not ready to contemplate destroying the imperial order, one consequence of this insolubility was to maintain the political importance of certain elements of the traditional imperial center, above all the office of the sultan. Thus, even as demand for modernization of the polity grew, it became apparent that elements of patrimonial tradition could survive in symbiosis with the newly created elements of a rational-legal order. The course that reform followed, as it progressed through the initial period of sultanic reassertion, the radical political imbalance of

the Tanzimat, the first abortive effort at creation of a constitutional regime, the despotism of Abd ül-Hamid, and the revolutionary years of the Young Turks showed how varied the manifestations of this neopatrimonial symbiosis could be. The same course of events also showed how difficult it would be not only to restore, but also to modernize the political equilibrium.

The aspect that the Sublime Porte and the civil bureaucracy assumed during the Young Turk period illustrates, nonetheless, how much successive generations of Ottoman reformers were able to accomplish under the circumstances in which they labored. To speak first of formal organization, even after the purges of 1908-1909, the Sublime Porte remained a much larger and more complex organization than in 1789. Its major organizational components had taken on a more consistently civil-bureaucratic aspect, although a few in fact began, after the restoration of parliamentary government, to acquire a political more than a bureaucratic character. The major component agencies of the Porte increasingly presented an aspect like that of other modern bureaucracies, although in fact each had its roots in agencies of the traditional imperial system.

The grand vezir, for example, had in some respects begun to resemble the prime minister of a liberal polity—a development that the presidential system of the early Republic would for a time deprive of sequel. Still, despite a few experiments with an alternate designation, the post represented a historical continuity of which its title was a clear indicator. The Council of Ministers and Council of State, along with numbers of other conciliar bodies, some of which had now become regular bureaucratic departments or even ministries, were heirs to the old *divans* and ad hoc consultative assemblies. Indeed, nothing sounds a clearer or more appropriate caution against equating all the organizational developments of the nineteenth century with westernization than the dual pedigree of the Cabinet and Council of State, tracing back in one direction into the dim antiquity of Islamic tradition, and in another to the corresponding institutions of the major European states. In the Ministry of the Interior, despite the discontinuities in its history, the old steward of the grand-vezirial household had found his logical counterpart in modern bureaucratic terms. The Foreign Ministry, of course, derived from the ancient office of the chief scribe (*reis ül-küttab*), an evolution that led, as the organizational apparatus

of a specialized Foreign Ministry emerged, to the shift of most of the traditional chancery offices to the new entourage then forming in immediate subordination to the grand vezir. The old chief bailiff (*çavuş başı*) alone had no institutional progeny at the Porte in 1922. His were to be found instead in the separate Ministry of Justice.

These changes in the differentiation and designation of the various major agencies of the Porte had as a natural accompaniment a profound reorientation in their internal organizational and procedural patterns. Within the larger agencies just named, the growing numbers of component organizations were now structured increasingly in terms of rational specialization, a fact reflected in their very names and in the growing specificity with which it is possible to speak of their functions. At least in the Foreign Ministry, the need to create mechanisms through which to coordinate the operations of different bureaus was also beginning to find recognition. Throughout the various departments, personnel designations continued to include document-oriented or guild-like terms such as examining clerk (*mümeyyiz*) or the usual designation of the ordinary clerks as *hulefa*. Yet, conceptions of bureaucratic roles were beginning increasingly to reflect functions of service and control and to emphasize interaction between the officials inside the bureaucracy and the society outside. Thus, the relatively limited variety of traditional scribal roles extended to include such new ones as the consuls and ambassadors, the public prosecutors and examining magistrates of the Council of State, the local administrators under the Ministry of the Interior, the various types of inspectors, or the jurists serving in the Office of Legal Counsel at the Sublime Porte. Alongside or in place of the old procedural patterns there were new ones relating to such varied functions as the compilation of statistics, the delivery of passports and identity papers, control of the flow of current documentation, and the drafting and publication of laws. Regulations and controls were at times over-elaborated to the point of precluding efficient administration and perpetuating the old repression of official initiative. Yet the old image of the official as a slave of the sultan was at least beginning to yield to a new conception of the official as a public servant, performing his duties under legally defined conditions and within the limits of an operative system of accountability.

As before, the social patterns now characteristic of the civil

bureaucracy amplify and clarify the significance of these changes in formal organization and procedure. The changes that these patterns display were very extensive and in fact merit consideration from two different points of view.

In one perspective, the best way to assess these changes is in terms of differences from the patterns of social organization evident within the scribal service on the eve of reform. What stands out here is the opening of new cleavages in the civil bureaucracy and the shifting in the relative balance of the various discernible groups. The efforts at elite formation in progress since the early years of the reform era had brought forth a new, Westernist elite among the Muslims. Egalitarianism and the new demand for officials of Westernist cultural orientation had also given the non-Muslims, who almost invariably displayed the qualifications of the Muslim elite, greater prominence and greater integration into the civil bureaucracy. The same factors were beginning to relegate Muslims of exclusively traditional formation to a sort of residual category recalling the old, lower scribal echelons. Naturally, these changes did not occur without setting up social tensions, which were linked directly to the emergence of ideological controversy and helped to create a broad response to the appeals of the opposition intelligentsia. As concerns the general social ordering of the civil bureaucracy, however, what is most significant is the way the new differentiations reflect both ascriptive and prescriptive criteria—ethno-religious identity, on the one hand, and cultural orientation, implicitly even educational achievement, on the other. The shift from traditional to characteristically modern concepts of social order was incomplete but in progress.

In another perspective, at the same time, the best way to appreciate the transformation in the social fabric of the bureaucracy is in terms of those changes of legal principle that first made the difference between scribal service and civil bureaucracy and then began to produce the kind of rationally defined and legally regulated personnel policy that the latter term implies. Changes of this kind began with the reforms of the 1830s—the development of the civil-bureaucratic rank table, the abandonment of the practice of annual appointment, the attempted institution of official salaries, the abolition of nonjudicial punishments, and the steps that the Gülhane Decree of 1839 represented toward inauguration of legal equality. During the

Tanzimat, extreme political imbalance had as one of its natural costs the inability of the civil-bureaucratic beneficiaries of the imbalance to achieve a general regularization of their status. Yet the Reform Decree of 1856 did specify more clearly what egalitarianism should mean, and it is significant that the provisions of this decree on official service by non-Muslims at least alluded to rules to be generally applied in the bureaucracy. With the efforts of the succeeding period at the restoration of political equilibrium came the first attempt to provide such rules by superimposing on the reforms of the 1830s the outlines of a rational system of personnel administration. The social realities apparent among the different groups of officials indicate that this policy never became entirely operative; yet the continuity in its development, from the 1870s on into the Young Turk period, proves that its desirability was one point on which autocrats and constitutionalists could see eye to eye.

The new personnel policy was simply one conspicuous element of a pattern that by 1914 had emerged as the most important point of contrast to the patrimonialism and the various processes of decay so characteristic of the imperial system at the end of the eighteenth century. This new pattern is most readily identified in terms of rational-legalism and the way in which it had begun not just to coexist with, but actually to supplant the traditional patrimonialism of the imperial system. In progress to some degree since the days of Selim III, this transition had advanced to a really remarkable extent following the return to constitutional government in 1908. The transition was obviously not yet complete, and events of the Young Turk period showed that the processes of rational regulation were still not totally safe from neopatrimonial forms of abuse. Still, by the outbreak of World War I, rational-legalism had grown into a powerful reality not just in the minds of the more liberal Ottoman statesmen, but also in the body of concepts, principles, and laws that exerted an increasing hold over the structure of the administrative apparatus and over its actual operations. The extent of progress toward realization of the rational-legal ideal is nowhere more apparent, indeed, than in the marked extent to which the development of administrative law and regulation—the chief means for the practical implementation of the new concepts of bureaucratic roles and procedure—had by 1914 at last come abreast of the proliferation of new programs and institutions.

By the time of its collapse, then, the Ottoman Empire had acquired a unique position among the historic states of the Islamic world in a sense that went beyond the mere fact of its longevity. Now, it was unique as well in the extent to which it had acquired the legal and administrative apparatus of a modern polity.¹ The patent archaism of the overall imperial framework was obviously something that even the most extensive progress of this kind could not change. Yet, the Ottomans had made tremendous strides in creating a rationally regulated bureaucratic apparatus of a sort that could, with appropriate restructuring of the larger socio-political framework, provide the means for the kind of credible and effective administration to which they had by then aspired for a century and more.

The near-revolutionary transformation that we have seen in the Sublime Porte and the branch of Ottoman officialdom that staffed it would thus have to await its consummation in a revolutionary reconstitution of the polity along lines of popular sovereignty and mass consensualism. In terms of direct and obvious continuities, the struggle to continue this modernist transformation of the politico-bureaucratic tradition forms part of the political and administrative history of the Turkish Republic. In subtler and sometimes indirect ways, the story of this struggle also forms part of the history of the other successor states. The further evolution of the administrative tradition in the successor states is, however, only the latest chapter in a history that began in the last decade of the eighteenth century and comprises one of the most significant parts of an even larger story, that of the struggle to create effective, modern administrative systems in all the nations of the Third World.

BUDGETARY "ALLOCATIONS" FOR AGENCIES OF THE SUBLIME PORTE IN SELECTED YEARS

As indicated in the text, the Ministry of Finance had no effective control of the receipt and disbursement of government funds for most, if not all, of the years shown. For this reason, it is appropriate to treat the concept of budgetary "allocations" (*tahsisat*) with reservation. As noted here, some of the budgets indicate that the sums shown were only estimates or requests, or were determined by sultanic fiat. The almost invariable deficits are also to be noted in attempting to evaluate the reliability of the budgetary figures.

ALL SUMS STATED IN MILLIONS OF KURUŞ^a

| | Offices of Grand Vezirate | Council of State | Ministry of Interior | Foreign Ministry | Total Budgeted Expenditures | Apparent Budgetary Deficit (Surplus) |
|--|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1858 ^b (BBA, Meclis-i Mahsus 529, fin. yr. 1274) | — | — | 265.9 ^c | 16.5 | 1,200.7 | — |
| 1864 ^b (BBA, Yıldız 18. 525/212. 128. 25, fin. yr. 1280) | — | 8.4 ^d | 184.1 ^c | 13.2 | 1,602.8 | (18.3) |
| 1869 ^b (BBA, Yıldız 18. 525/229. 128. 26, fin. yr. 1285) | — | — | 256.2 ^c | 15.4 | 2,036.1 | 50.7 |
| 1871 (BBA, Mal. Müd. 11,777, fin. yr. 1287) | 9.2 | 7.1 | 229.8 ^c | 17.5 | — ^e | — |
| 1873 (BBA, Mal. Müd. 11,777, fin. yr. 1289) | 5.5 | 6.3 | 185.6 ^c | 16.5 | — ^e | — |

ALL SUMS STATED IN MILLIONS OF KURUŞ^a

| | Offices of Grand Vezirate | Council of State | Ministry of Interior | Foreign Ministry | Total Budgeted Expenditures | Apparent Budgetary Deficit (Surplus) |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1880 (Dstr. ¹ , v, 1078ff., fin. yr. 1296) | 2.3 | 1.9 | 57.1 ¹ | 12.7 | 1,704.0 | 88.3 |
| 1888 (Dstr. ¹ , v, 1078ff., fin. yr. 1304) | 4.6 | 3.6 | 68.0 ¹ | 16.5 | 1,922.2 | 173.3 ^a |
| 1892-1895 (Dstr. ¹ , vii, 129ff., fin. yr. 1308-1311: "average of actual annual allocations") | 90.2 | | | 19.2 | 1,980.0 | 2 ^a |
| 1897 (Dstr. ¹ , vii, 891ff., fin. yr. 1313: "allocated per imperial decree." cf. <i>ibid.</i> , vii, 129ff.) | | 90.4 | | 19.0 | 1,844.9 | def.? |
| 1902 (Dstr. ¹ , vii, 891ff., fin. yr. 1318: pro- jected allocations) | | 102.6 | | 25.4 | 2,183.6 | 207.2 |
| 1905 (Dstr. ¹ , viii, 476ff., fin. yr. 1321: "allocated per imperial decree") | | 110.6 | | 25.0 | 2,196.2 | (33.0) |
| 1906 (Dstr. ¹ , viii, 476ff., fin. yr. 1322: requested allocations) | | 115.6 | | 24.9 | 2,536.5 | 52.3 |
| 1909 ^b (Dstr. ² , i, 438ff., fin. yr. 1325) | 3.4 | 5.2 | 108.5 ¹ | 21.8 | 3,054.0 ¹ | 546.1 |
| 1910 ^b (Dstr. ² , ii, 435ff., fin. yr. 1326) | 2.7 | 3.3 | 131.1 ¹ | 25.9 | 3,299.8 ^{1,k} | 698.3 |
| 1911 ^b (Dstr. ² , iii, 479ff., fin. yr. 1327) | 3.6 | 3.3 | 135.6 ¹ | 24.5 | 3,623.3 ¹ | 775.6 |
| 1912 ^{b,l} (Dstr. ² , iv, 174ff., fin. yr. 1328) | 2.6 | 3.3 | 122.4 ¹ | 23.6 | 3,399.7 ¹ | 348.3 |

ALL SUMS STATED IN MILLIONS OF KURUŞ^a

| | Offices of Grand Vezirate | Council of State | Ministry of Interior | Foreign Ministry | Total Budgeted Expenditures | Apparent Budgetary Deficit (Surplus) |
|--|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1913 ^m (Dstr. ² , v, 108-109, fin. yr. 1329) | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 1914 ^b (Dstr. ² , vi, 1077ff., fin. yr. 1330) | 7.1 | 2.4 | 102.7 ⁿ | 26.0 | 3,401.2 ¹ | 140.5 |
| 1915 ^b (Dstr. ² , vii, 253ff., fin. yr. 1331) | 3.1 | 2.4 | 97.6 ⁿ | 25.8 | 3,565.8 ¹ | 882.1 |
| 1916 ^b (Dstr. ² , viii, 485ff., fin. yr. 1332) | 3.1 | 2.4 | 84.9 ^o | 36.4 | 3,972.5 ¹ | 1,471.2 |
| 1917 ^b (Dstr. ² , ix, 314ff., fin. yr. 1333) | 3.3 | 2.6 | 118.8 ^o | 35.9 | 5,330.5 | 2,972.0 |
| 1918 ^b (Dstr. ² , x, 179ff., fin. yr. 1334) | 3.7 | 2.7 | 127.9 ^o | 41.7 | 5,197.0 | 1,795.3 |

^a In the early budgets, *kise* ("purses") have been converted to kuruş at 1:500; in the budget for 1918, liras have been converted to kuruş at the nominal rate of 1:100. The figures in all other budgets are stated in kuruş.

^b The absence of certain entries for the years through 1869 is a consequence of inconsistent budgeting categories or incomplete research notes.

^c It is not clear why the figures shown for the Ministry of the Interior through 1873 are so high. Is it a question of inconsistent budgeting categories or extraordinary expenditures? Is it a function of the fact that the ministry was really subsumed for most of these years into the grand vezirate, which then dominated all affairs of state?

^d This entry predates the creation of the Council of State, but is the most nearly corresponding budget entry, namely, that for salaries of the ministers without portfolio and the members of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances.

^e General totals are missing in the register cited.

^f This entry excludes personnel in medical and public health services.

^g The data in the budgets do not check.

^h Published budgets for these years also include detailed breakdowns by department.

ⁱ These entries exclude the separate budget for the Directorate of Public Security.

^j These entries are headed "Total Allocations to the Departments" (*devaيره verilen tahsisat*).

^k This total does not include extraordinary appropriations.

^l This budget was published with a temporary law ordering continued application for the time being of the budget for the preceding year, but with some changes in allocations.

^m The source cited is an imperial decree of 18 RA 1331/1913 for application in financial year 1329 of the general budget (*muvazene-i umumiye*) of 1328, but the decree is not followed by the usual detailed tables of income and expenditure.

ⁿ These entries exclude the separate budgets of the Directorate of Public Security and the Directorate General of Health.

^o These entries exclude the separate budgets of the two agencies mentioned in the preceding note, as well as that of the Directorate General of Tribal and Refugee Affairs.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Quoted in Sabri F. Ülgener, *İktisadi İnhitat Tarihimizin Ahlâk ve Zihniyet Meseleleri* (Istanbul, 1951), 99.

2. For example, see William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati' al-Husri* (Princeton, 1971). Other examples among the graduates of the Ottoman School of Civil Administration are included in Mücellidoğlu Ali Çankaya, *Son Asır Türk Târihinin Önemli Olayları ile Birlikde Yeni Mülkiye Târîhi ve Mülkiyeliler* (*Mülkiye Şeref Kitabı*), 8 vols. (Ankara, 1968-1969).

3. Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, 1964), 418-19.

4. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Bâbiâli," *IA*, II, 174-77; J. Deny, "Bâb-ı 'Âli," *EI*², I, 836; Hamilton A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, 1 vol. in 2 parts (London, 1950-1957), I, I, 44 n. 1; 113.

5. Edward A. Shils, "Centre and Periphery," in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi on his Seventieth Birthday, 11 March 1961* (London, 1961), 117-30.

6. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, 3 vols., edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (New York, 1968), I, 226-41; III, 1006-1110. The extensive development of "patrimonial officialdom" would also suggest that the Ottoman Empire conforms to the type that Eisenstadt defined in his *Political Systems of Empires* (New York, 1963) as the "historical bureaucratic empire." Indeed, Weber specifically refers to the Ottoman Empire in his discussion of patrimonialism; Eisenstadt refers to it in *Political Systems*. Eisenstadt argues, however, for drawing a distinction between "patrimonial" and "imperial" systems and has developed this idea increasingly in his more recent works. To an important degree, the distinction as now defined has to do with the greater extent to which the "center" of an "imperial" system was differentiated structurally and symbolically from the "periphery," attempting to maintain this differentiation and to impose its own goals and values on the "periphery," in addition to extracting resources from it. See Eisenstadt, *Political Systems*, 22-24; id., *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*, Sage Research Papers in the Social Sciences, 1, series no. 90-003 (Beverly Hills, California, 1973), 30-37, 60; id., *Tradition, Change, and Modernity* (New York, 1973), 173-76; id., *Revolution and the Transformation of Societies: A Comparative Study of Civilizations* (New York, 1978), 86ff. Particularly as concerns the imposition by the "center" of its own goals and values on the "periphery," the conformity of the Ottoman Empire to the "imperial" as distinct from the "patrimonial" type would seem to vary in different periods and respects. Indeed, the way in which Eisenstadt himself speaks of the Ottoman state in his latest work reflects this ambiguity: *Revolution and the Transformation of Societies*, 74, 84, 136-38, 232. Given this fact, the importance of the "model of the patrimonial household" to be discussed later in this chapter, the way in which decline reinforced the patrimonial elements in the Ottoman system, and the emergence in the era of reform of what Eisenstadt and

others now term neopatrimonialism, we shall treat the Ottoman Empire in the remainder of this study as a patrimonial system. How and when the empire conformed to Eisenstadt's concept of an "imperial" regime is an appropriate subject for investigation in another setting. I am indebted to Professor Eisenstadt for personal discussion of these matters, Jerusalem, June 1978.

7. Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600* (London, 1973), 85.

8. Weber emphasized the way in which patrimonialism anticipates the welfare state; *Economy and Society*, III, 1107. The welfare orientation of the Ottoman sultans appears in such things as their emphasis on public works and pious foundations, their concern for the provisioning of Istanbul, and their maintenance of a relatively extensive system of pensions (the *duagü vazifesi*, for example; Pakalın, *OTD*, I, 479).

9. İnalcık, "Pâdişah," *IA*, IX, 492-94; id., "Appendix: The Ottomans and the Caliphate," in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, 2 vols., edited by P. M. Holt et al. (Cambridge, 1970), I, 320-23.

10. In addition to the references cited in the preceding note, see Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline* (Cambridge, 1962); Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1974), II, 42-57, 391-410, 424-28; III, 99-111; Osman Turan, "The Ideal of World Domination among the Medieval Turks," *Studia Islamica*, IV (1955), 77-90; Ann K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodes: Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government," *Studia Islamica*, VI (1956), 125-46; id., "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship," *Studia Islamica*, XVII (1962), 91-119; George Makdisi, "Les rapports entre Calife et Sultân à l'époque saljûqide," *IJMES*, VI (1975), 228-36.

11. Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, edited by V. L. Ménage (Oxford, 1973), 2, 167-83, 208-21, 317-18; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Kanûn-nâme," *IA*, VI, 185-95; İnalcık, "Pâdişah," *IA*, IX, 494-95.

12. Albert Hourani, "The Changing Face of the Fertile Crescent in the XVIIIth Century," *Studia Islamica*, VIII (1957), 106-107.

13. İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, 179-85; Lewis V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*, edited by Norman Itzkowitz (New York, 1972), 24-27, 106-10.

14. Halil İnalcık, "Ghulâm: iv.—Ottoman Empire," *EI*², II, 1085-91; Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (Cambridge, 1941), ch. iv.

15. Halil İnalcık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 679.

16. Halil İnalcık, "On the Secularism in Turkey," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, LXIV (1969), col. 439-42; id., "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 678-79.

17. Under the Ottomans, the term *divan* no longer referred, as it had in earlier Islamic states, to government bureaus; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 115-16.

18. Weber, *Economy and Society*, I, 271-82; III, 994-98, 1025-31, 1088-90.

19. For an overview of the current state of knowledge on these institutions and an important contribution to their study, see Stanford J. Shaw (with Ezel Kural Shaw as coauthor of vol. II), *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1976-1977).

20. V. L. Ménage, "Devşirme," *EI*², II, 210-13; Basilike Papoulia, *Ursprung und Wesen der "Knabenlese" im Osmanischen Reich* (Munich, 1963).

21. The virtual bureaucratization of the religious scholars was another respect

in which the Ottomans added a new dimension to the organizational patterns inherited from earlier Islamic states. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, ii, 83ff.; Richard Repp, "Some Observations on the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy," in *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, edited by Nikki Keddie (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), 29-32; Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman 'Ulemâ and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmûd II," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, IX: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization* (1961), 63-96; Richard W. Bulliet, "The Shaikh al-Islâm and the Evolution of Islamic Society," *Studia Islamica*, XXXV (1972), 53-67; Michael M. Pixley, "The Development and Role of the Şeyhülislam in Early Ottoman History," *JAOS*, xcvi (1976), 89-96.

22. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 43-45; İnalcık, "Ghulâm," *EI*², II, 1090; M. Cavid Baysun, "Musâdere," *IA*, VIII, 669-73; Halil Sahillioğlu, "The Position of Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries," unpublished paper; Metin Kunt, "Kulların Kulları," *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi, Hürmaniter Bilimler*, III (1975), 28-29.

23. Weber, *Economy and Society*, III, 956-58, 1028-31.

24. On this "grandee mentality" (*âgalık ve efendilik şuuru*), see Ülgener, *Zihniyet Meseleleri*, 45ff., 68, 96ff., 155ff.

25. S. N. Eisenstadt, *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*, 34, 44-45; id., "Convergence and Divergence of Modern and Modernizing Societies: Indications from the Analysis of the Structuring of Social Hierarchies in Middle Eastern Societies," *IJMES*, VIII (1977), 12, 16; cf. Ülgener, *Zihniyet Meseleleri*, 150ff., 170ff. Here we need not take account of the "political power" that notables of the non-Muslim subject classes could enjoy within their own communities.

26. In extending the term "bureaucracy" to all branches of government service, we are following a usage general among social scientists. While a sociologist, for example, would apply the term to many settings even in the business world, there are still historians who associate it exclusively with government personnel in the field of civil administration, a setting for which we shall use more specific terms. Cf. Weber, *Economy and Society*, III, 956; Anthony Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy* (Boston, 1967), ch. iii.

27. Fred W. Riggs, "Bureaucratic Politics in Comparative Perspective," in *Frontiers of Development Administration*, edited by Fred W. Riggs (Durham, North Carolina, 1970), 388-90. Cf. id., "Bureaucrats and Political Development: A Paradoxical View," in *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, edited by Joseph LaPalombara (Princeton, 1967), 127ff.; Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries* (Boston, 1964), 222-37; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, 1962), 119 and n. 35, citing Carl Friedrich; Eisenstadt, *Political Systems of Empires*, ch. x.

28. Mardin, *Genesis*, 94-102; Thomas, *Naima*, 78.

29. Weber, *Economy and Society*, I, 231-35; III, 1104-1109.

30. Eisenstadt, "Convergence and Divergence," 10-27. There is no need for serious discussion here of a philosophical view that depicted the society as consisting of four estate-like elements (*erkân*, "pillars"): soldiers, religious scholars, merchants, and cultivators. Borrowed by Islamic political philosophers from those of ancient Greece, and appearing in various permutations, this concept is suspect as a picture of actual social organization in Islamic societies. Ottoman

statesmen sometimes used it for purposes of special pleading, and it has sometimes led recent scholars into error. Cf. Rosenthal, *Political Thought*, 229; Mardin, *Genesis*, 98-100; Klaus Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1973), 84-86; Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908," *IJMES*, III (1972), 243-44; C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Social Stratification and the Middle East* (Leiden, 1965), 10.

31. As often noted, Islamic law dealt mainly with the responsibilities of the individual in relation to God and as a member of the overall Muslim community, was thus strongly egalitarian in character, and accorded little recognition to associational or corporative forms of organization intermediate between the individual and the entire collectivity of the faithful.

32. Cf. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 159.

33. Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XI (1969), 271-72; id., "Historical Determinants of Social Stratification: Social Class and Class Consciousness in Turkey," *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, XXII (1968), 117ff.

34. Claude Cahen, "Dhimma," *EI*², II, 227-31.

35. The old interpretation of the communal system is particularly associated with Gibb and Bowen, although they were dissatisfied with the sources at their disposal; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, ii, 207ff. The new interpretation is particularly linked to the Ph.D. dissertation of Benjamin Braude, "Community and Conflict in the Economy of the Ottoman Balkans" (Harvard, 1978), and the proceedings of the Conference on the Non-Muslim Communities in the Ottoman Empire and its Successor States, held at Princeton University in June 1978. The account of the new interpretation as given here is based on papers that Dr. Braude presented at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, November 1977, and at the Princeton conference, as well as on papers presented at that conference by Amnon Cohen, Halil İnalcık, Kevork Bardakjian, Hagop Barsoumian, Mark Epstein, and Richard Clogg. The interpretation given here is subject to emendation as these and other related works are revised and published. Cf. also Karl Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts, mit einer Neudefinition des Begriffes "Dhimma"* (Munich, 1977).

36. Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, 1963), 119 n. 17.

37. Halil İnalcık, "İmtiyâzât," *EI*², III, 1180.

38. Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1962), 350-51; Gabriel Baer, "Monopolies and Restrictive Practices of Turkish Guilds," *JESHO*, XIII (1970), 156-59.

39. Cahen, "Dhimma," *EI*², II, 228-29; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, ii, 217-18, 259; Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1968), 370-77.

40. Roderic H. Davison, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, LXI (1954), 844-64; id., *Reform*, 55-56, 114-35.

41. Gabriel Baer, "Guilds in Middle Eastern History," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, edited by M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 12, 16, 27; Claude Cahen, "Y a-t-il eu des corporations professionnelles dans le monde musulman classique?" in *The Islamic City: A Col-*

loquium, edited by Albert H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (Philadelphia, 1970), 51-63; cf. Bernard Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds," *Economic History Review*, VIII (1937), 20-33.

42. Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 125-31, 279-86.

43. Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), 397.

44. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, II: *The Community* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), 61-65.

45. Claude Cahen, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Âge," *Arabica*, V (1958), 225-51; VI (1959), 25-56, 233-65; id., "Futuwwa," *EI*², II, 961-65.

46. Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 282; Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071-1330*, translated by J. Jones-Williams (New York, 1968), 197; Franz Taeschner, "Futuwwa, eine gemeinschaftsbildende Idee im mittelalterlichen Orient und ihre verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, LII (1956), 128-30, 136-39; Neşet Çağatay, *Bir Türk Kurumu olan Ahilik* (Ankara, 1974), 23ff.; Angelika Hartmann, *An-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225): Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten 'Abbāsidenzeit* (Berlin, 1975), 92-108, 233-54.

47. Franz Taeschner, "Akhi," *EI*², I, 322; cf. Irène Mélikoff, "Ghāzī," *EI*², II, 1043-45; Taeschner, "Idee," 131; for a speculative interpretation of the *ahi* groups, see Çağatay, *Ahilik*, 55-57.

48. Taeschner, "Idee," 144-49; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, ii, 183, 188-90; Vryonis, *Decline*, ch. 5. Cf. Neşet Çağatay, "Fütüvvetçilikle Ahiliğin Ayrıntıları," *Bell.*, XL (1976), 423-38.

49. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 196-200; Hamilton A. R. Gibb, trans., *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325-1354: Translated with Revisions and Notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Deffrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1958-71), II, 418-22, 426-65; Vryonis, *Decline*, 398-400.

50. Franz Taeschner, "War Murad I Grossmeister oder Mitglied des Achibundes?" *Oriens*, VI (1952), 23-31; id., "Idee," 149-50; id., "Akhi," *EI*², I, 322.

51. Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938), 49-50.

52. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, ii, 189, 192-93, 195, 199-200; Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, "Mevlevilik," *IA*, VIII, 166-67, 169; John K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1937), 15-16, 57; Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities," *IJMES*, VI (1976), 183-208, citing Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler, I: İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II (1942), 279-353; personal discussion with Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, Ankara, July 1977.

53. Gabriel Baer, "The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds," *IJMES*, I (1970), 28-50; id., "Monopolies and Restrictive Practices," 145-65; id., "Guilds in Middle Eastern History," 17-30; Mantran, *Istanbul*, 357, 361-62, and 391-93 (military guilds); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1943-44), I, 368-73 (also on military service by guilds).

54. Ülgener, *Zihniyet Meseleleri*, 52-57; Robert W. Olson, "The Esnaf and the

Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics?" *JESHO*, xvii (1974), 329-44.

55. Çağatay, *Ahilik*, 28-35; Taeschner, "Idee," 146-56; id., "Futuwwa: Post-Mongol Period," *EI*², II, 966-68.

56. Birge, *Bektashi*, 96-101.

57. Taeschner, "Akhī," *EI*², I, 322-23; Vryonis, *Decline*, 400. There was also another kind of three-grade ranking found in the *futuwwa* and the *ahī* groups: that of *kavli* or "verbal" affiliate, *seyfi* or member invested with a "sword," and *şüribi* or member who had "drunk" from the common cup. These rankings probably overlapped with those mentioned for the *ahīs* in the text; Taeschner, "Idee," 140, 147, 153.

58. Baer, "Functions," 36; id., "Guilds in Middle Eastern History," 24; id., "The Structure of Turkish Guilds and its Significance for Ottoman Social History," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, IV (1969-1970), 183-95; Mantran, *Istanbul*, 368-71; Ülgener, *Zihniyet Meseleleri*, 83.

59. Gölpınarlı, "Mevlevilik," *IA*, VIII, 171; cf. Birge, *Bektashi*, 162-66.

60. Baer, "Guilds in Middle Eastern History," 30; id., "Structure of Turkish Guilds," 187-88, 195-96.

61. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1945), 189-200; Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, "Şedd," *IA*, XI, 378-81; Pakalın, *OTD*, III, 383-85, "Taklid-i Seyf" (his argument contradicts, but his evidence supports, the argument made here).

62. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 56-66.

63. İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, 85-86, on harem women. On school children: İnâl, *Şair.*, II, 1187; Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, *Geçen Asrı aydınlatan Kıymetli Vesikalarından bir Eser: Hatıralar*, edited by Reşad Ekrem Koçu (Istanbul, 1960), 18; cf. M. L. Bremer, *Die Memoiren des türkischen Derwischs Aşçı Dede İbrahim* (Walldorf-Hessen, 1959), not available to me. Older pupils were assigned as *kalfas* to younger ones, who became their *çıraks*. The teacher, of course, was not an *usta* but a *hoca*, a terminological substitution found also in the scribal bureaus.

64. Metin Kunt, *Sancaktan Eyalet: 1550-1650 Arasında Osmanlı Ümerası ve İl İdaresi* (Istanbul, 1975); id., unpublished studies entitled "Social Origins of the Ümera" and "The Structure of the Military-Administrative Career." See also Rifaat Ali Abou-el-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households, 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report," *JAOS*, xciv (1974), 438-47.

65. For indications of marriages by members of the slave-military establishment who had achieved high position, see A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956), 97.

66. For example, İnâl, *Şair.*, I, 590, 791; II, 964-68, 1446; III, 1804; Nermin Menemencioğlu, "Namık Kemal Abroad: A Centenary," *Middle Eastern Studies*, IV (1967), 29, for information on specific bureaucratic marriages. For recent discussions in the anthropological literature on marriage preferences among Turks, see Wolfram Eberhard, "Change in Leading Families in Southern Turkey," in *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*, edited by Louise Sweet (New York, 1970), II, 255-56; Paul Stirling, *Turkish Village* (New York, 1965), 189-92, 201-208; Jean-Paul Roux, *Les traditions des nomades de la Turquie méridionale* (Paris, 1970), 321-24; J. Cuisenier, "Parenté et organisation sociale dans le domaine turc," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, xxvii (1972), 924-48; Paul Mag-narella, *Tradition and Change in a Turkish Town* (New York, 1974), 87-90; Daniel

G. Bates, "Normative and Alternative Systems of Marriage among the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey," *Anthropological Quarterly*, XLVII (1974), 270-87; Ayşe Kudat, "Institutional Rigidity and Individual Initiative in Marriages of Turkish Peasants," *Anthropological Quarterly*, XLVII (1974), 288-303; Michael E. Meeker, "Meaning and Society in the Near East: Examples from the Black Sea Turks and the Levantine Arabs," *IJMES*, VII (1976), 243-70, 383-422. Meeker provides significant insights into the lack of a strongly marked preference for endogamy of the sort associated with other Middle Eastern societies. The work of others, such as Roux and Bates, suggests, however, that nomadic Turkish populations display such preferences.

67. Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, edited by Peter Benedict et al. (Leiden, 1974), 410.

68. Elias J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols. (London, 1904), III, 333.

69. Cf. Meeker, "Meaning and Society," 383ff., especially 393-94.

70. Alderson, *Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, 94-98; cf. the jests in the folk culture about the *iç güvey*, or man living with his wife's parents.

71. Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, *Hatıralar*, 56ff.

72. *Ibid.*, 36ff.

73. Halil İnalcık, "Husrev Paşa," *IA*, V, 613; Avigdor Levy, "The Officer Corps in Sultan Mahmud II's New Army, 1826-39," *IJMES*, II (1971), 28-29.

74. Metin Kunt, "Kulların Kulları," 27-42; id., *Sancaktan Eyalet*, 98-109; id., "Social Origins of the Ümera"; id., "The Structure of the Military-Administrative Career"; İnalcık, "Ghulām," *EI*², II, 1090; Herbert L. Bodman, Jr., *Political Factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), ch. 2.

75. In view of the fact that a non-Muslim could not become fully integrated into the traditional ruling class without conversion, one sign of these difficulties is that several of the most prominent Muslim scribal officials of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, having failed to form the contacts needed to launch their careers, had to form "connections" with prominent non-Muslims, and thus work their way indirectly into the more normal channels of advancement. The officials in question were Halil Hamid Paşa (Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, 12 vols. [Istanbul, 1309/1891-1892], III, 133-34); Halet Efendi (*ibid.*, X, 115); and Keçecizade İzzet Molla (İnal, *Şair*, I, 735-36).

76. Metin Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *IJMES*, V (1974), 233-39.

77. Cevdet, *Tarih*, IV, 328-29; X, 115; Ahmed Lütfi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul, 1290-1328/c. 1873-1910), IV, 164; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tezâkir 40—Tetimme* (Ankara, 1967), 18-20; İnâl, *Şair.*, I, 296, 735-36; II, 819, 918, 1033, 1079, 1320, 1351-52, 1382, 1424-25; IV, 1972, 2149-50.

78. Röhrborn, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 66-67; Mantran, *Istanbul*, 102-103; İnâl, *Şair.*, II, 971-72, description of an exceptionally grand provincial household of the early nineteenth century; Mustafa Nuri, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1294-1327/1877-1909), III, 92-94, description of household of a typical vezir of the eighteenth century.

79. Although born into a commercial family at later date, Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil gives quite a feeling for life in such settings in the early chapters of *Kırk Yıl* (Istanbul, 1969).

80. İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1948), 264-66; Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosphoros, örtlich und geschichtlich beschrieben* (Osnabrück, 1967; reprint of edition of 1822), I, 327-29.
81. İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*; Barnette Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte* (New Haven, 1931); id., *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941); Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 71-88; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, I, 220-321.
82. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 3 vols., edited by Robert Halsband (Oxford, 1965-1967), I, 347-52, 380-87.
83. Ahmed Cevdet, *Tezâkir 13-20* (Ankara, 1960), 17-18; İnâl, *Şair.*, II, 793-97, 971-72; III, 1744.
84. İnâl, *Şair.*, II, 1006.
85. A late example is in Kemal Karpat, "The Memoirs of N. Batzaria: The Young Turks and Nationalism," *IJMES*, VI (1975), 290.
86. Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat* (Ankara, 1954), 44, marriage of M.R. to a concubine of his deceased patron and uncle, Seyyid Ali Paşa; Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, *Hatıralar*, 60, marriage to nursemaid of son of patron, Derviş, Paşa; İnâl, *Şair.*, III, 1804, marriage of poet Şinasi to slave of one of Mahmud II's favorite harem women (*ikbal*).
87. Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, *Hatıralar*, 11-13, describes his family and says most of the Muslims of Kandilli were related to him.
88. Weber, *Economy and Society*, I, 228.
89. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, edited and translated by Edward Seymour Forster (Oxford, 1927), 22-23, 59-61.
90. Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, *Hatıralar*, 13-15.
91. A. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle* (Paris, 1855), 170; on Rıza, cf. Ahmed Cevdet, *Tezâkir 1-12* (Ankara, 1953), 6.
92. İnâl, *Şair.*, I, 117.
93. Mardin, "Power, Civil Society, and Culture," 272.
94. G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642* (London, 1961), 10-12; Eisenstadt, *Political Systems*, 233-34; id., *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*, 35.
95. Cf. comments of Walter G. Andrews, Jr., *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1976), 148-50 and 158-59 on the *haside* and on satire.
96. Thomas, *Naima*, 35.
97. İnâl, *Şair.*, I, 751; II, 814ff., 831, 1011, 1021-22, 1211-13, 1272-73; III, 1569; id., *Sadr.*, I, 24-25, 31ff., 187 n. 1.
98. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VIII, 131-32; XII, 55-59, 109-15.
99. Ibid., x, 122-16, 184-86, 235; XI, 25; XII, 55-59; other accounts of the factional politics of this period appear in Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), ch. 20; and Avigdor Levy, "Sultan Mahmud II's New Army," 36-39; İnâl, *Şair.*, II, 1301-12.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Mustafa Nuri, *Netayic*, II, 104.
2. BBA, Buy. 1, entry of 3 CA 1240/1824.

3. The chief exceptions to this lay in the field of military technology and in the short-lived "silhouette of a Renaissance" at the beginning of the eighteenth century; Berkes, *Secularism*, 23-50.
4. Weber, *Economy and Society*, I, 215ff.; S. N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), v, 15-16; id., *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*, 43-44. For stimulating my awareness of these points and of the contrast between the patrimonial tradition and rational-legalism, I am indebted to Metin Heper, *Türk Kamu Bürokrasisinde Gelenekçilik ve Modernleşme: Siyaset Sosyolojisi Açısından bir İnceleme* (Istanbul, 1977), ch. 2, and to discussions with him and Şerif Mardin in Istanbul in the spring of 1976. As to Weber's charismatic authority, this of course became a major factor in Turkish history with Atatürk, but never on comparable scale in the nineteenth century. The remainder of this chapter is an adaptation, in the light of the ideas referred to here, of substantive arguments first presented in my paper, "The Evolution of the Ottoman Ruling Class, from Traditionalism to Reform," presented at a conference on "Polity, Society, and Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries in Turkey and North Africa." The conference was held in Istanbul in May 1975 under the sponsorship of the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies.
5. Albert H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913).
6. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 43-45, 173ff.
7. Thomas, *Naima*, 22-24; Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica*, XVI (1962), 73-94.
8. The pioneering works of Uzunçarşılı, on institutional history imply an overall schematization, but without bringing it or its development over time into full focus; İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1943-1944); id., *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1945); id., *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1948); id., *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1965). Although he alludes to "civil service" once, İnalcık implicitly accepts the dichotomous interpretation for the prereform periods in "The Nature of Traditional Society: B. Turkey," in *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, edited by Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (Princeton, 1964), 43-44. Yet, he speaks of "men of the pen," "men of the sword," and "men of religion" in *Ottoman Empire*, 100. Attempting to describe the "political leadership groups" of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Röhrborn, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 13-26, speaks more of individual positions than of branches of the ruling class or other groups of any size. Josef Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymâns des Prächtigen* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 19-20, comments on the inapplicability to the sixteenth century of descriptions of the organization of the grand vezir's chancery as of the eighteenth, but does not make reference to broader organizational patterns or changes in them over time.
9. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 13-14; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 48 n. 5, 50, 158-63. On the later history of this practice, see Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* (Vienna, 1815; reprinted Hildesheim, 1963), II, 96-97, 136-37; Cevdet, *Tarih*, v, 114-15; VIII, 103-104, 271. On the general concept of the ruling class as "military," see Hodgson, *Venture*, II, 562-63.
10. Thomas, *Naima*, 24; Itzkowitz, "Realities," 80, 82, 85; cf. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 45, 120 n. 5, 127 n. 9. On personnel movements between the

religious and military-administrative establishments, cf. İnalçık, "Ghulām," *EI*², II, 1087. For an example from the political-philosophical tradition (al-Dawwānī) of the identification of the "men of the pen" with the religious scholars, see Rosenthal, *Political Thought*, 220.

11. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 77.

12. Heyd, *Criminal Law*, 152-57. Cf. R. C. Repp, "The Altered Nature and Role of the Ulema," in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, edited by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale, Ill., 1977), 277-87.

13. Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 71-88, 329-62.

14. İnalçık, "Ghulām," *EI*², II, 1086. On the changing social character of the palace service, cf. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 84-85.

15. Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1788-1824), VII, 54-62; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*, 172-83, 354-57; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 76, 82, 332-33; İnalçık, "Ghulām," *EI*², II, 1088.

16. Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 497-99.

17. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 16.

18. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 34-35, 59-61, and Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 13-14, did not yet clearly perceive this emergence of the sword-bearer. Cf. Cevdet, *Tarih*, III, 127-28; IX, 258; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*, 342-48; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 80-82, 338-40; Şerafeddin Turan, "Silâhdâr," *IA*, x, 640-41.

19. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 80, 333; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, I, 220.

20. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 672-73; cf. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 18 n. 2, 23. The *tuğra* consists of the name of the reigning Sultan with that of his father and the phrase "ever victorious"—e.g., *Mahmud Han bin Abd ül-Hamid Han, muzaffer daima*—the letters being arranged in a complex pattern of which the general contours varied only marginally over centuries. The uses of this motif generally correspond to those of the great seal of a Western government. The *tuğra* of Abd ül-Mecid (1839-1861), who was the son of Mahmud II (1808-1839), appears as the frontispiece of this volume.

21. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 22-24; Heyd, *Criminal Law*, 171, 189; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 214-27; M. T. Gökbilgin, "Nişancı," *IA*, IX, 299; Nejat Göyünç, "Tevki," *IA*, XII, 217-19.

22. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 45-48.

23. Ibid., 21; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 96-110; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 124-28. Pakalın, *OTD*, I, 418-19, "Defter Emni," "Defterhane."

24. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 33-45; İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 671-83.

25. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 319-37; id., "Defterdâr," *IA*, III, 506-508; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 128-37.

26. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 71-76; Cengiz Orhonlu, "Tercüman," *IA*, XII, 176-77; Matuz, *Kanz.*, 21; id., "Die Pfortendolmetscher zur Herrschaftszeit Süleymâns des Prächtigen," *Südostrforschungen*, XXIV (1975), 26-60.

27. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 58-64; Matuz, *Kanz.*, 21.

28. İnalçık, *Ottoman Empire*, 101.

29. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Mali Yılına ait bir Bütçe Örneği," *İFM*, XV (1953-1954), 323-26, cf. 314 n. 1 for date. Matuz makes heavy use of this document in *Kanz.* It is, however, only one piece of documentary evidence on a subject about which much more unpublished material should exist.

30. Barkan, "H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Mali Yılına ait bir Bütçe Örneği,"

300, figures of c. 1527, cited by İnalçık, "Ghulām," *EI*², II, 1089. Cf. Röhrborn, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 78 n. 128.

31. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 52.

32. Ibid., 28, 39, 53-54.

33. Ibid., 55; this was the case of Ahmed Feridun, compiler of the *Münşeat ül-Selâtin*, and one of the most noted scribal intellectuals of the sixteenth century.

34. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 676-77, 679; cf. Klaus Röhrborn, "Die Emanzipation der Finanzbürokratie im Osmanischen Reich (Ende 16. Jahrhundert)," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CXXII (1972), 130-37, on the development of collective self-awareness among the scribes.

35. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 19-20, 51, 55, 61.

36. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 59; Röhrborn, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 20-22, 144-49; id., "Emanzipation," 118-39.

37. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 136-38, 262-64; B. Lewis, art. "Diwân-ı humâyûn," *EI*², II, 339.

38. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 89-91.

39. Thomas, *Naima*, 35-42; cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 64-68, treating this post as part of the Office of the Imperial Divan. As an official post, the office of historiographer was an eighteenth-century creation.

40. Rifâ'at A. Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz," *JAOS*, LXXXVII (1967), 498-512.

41. TPK, D3208, including enumeration of officials serving in the Treasury (*Bab-ı Defteri*) and at the Sublime Porte (*Bab-ı Âli*). The document can be dated only on the basis of internal evidence. Since the listings for the Porte include the Office of the *Amedi*, which İnalçık believes to have come into existence about 1777 (İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 674-75) but not the Section for Important Affairs (*Mühimme Odası*) founded in the Office of the Imperial Divan in 1797 (BBA, Kal. Niz., 4-7, entry of 1 Ş 1211/1797), TPK, D3208, should date from the years between 1777 and 1797.

42. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 86; cf. Thomas, *Naima*, 51.

43. For present purposes, we may overlook some questions that would require treatment in a comprehensive study of this question. One important example is the relatively low levels of development of nonmilitary governmental institutions in most of the successor states, as opposed to the Ottoman Empire itself or the Turkish Republic.

44. Berkes, *Secularism*, 47-48, 58ff.

45. Stanford Shaw, *Old and New*, pt. iii.

46. Howard A. Reed, "The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June, 1826," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton, 1951; Avigdor Levy, "The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II, 1808-1839," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1968.

47. Osman Ergin, *İstanbul Mektepleri ve İlim, Terbiye ve San'at Müesseseleri dolayısıyla Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1939-1943), II, 264ff.; Levy, "Sultan Mahmud's New Army," 21-39.

48. Findley, "Sir James W. Redhouse (1811-1892): The Making of a Perfect Orientalist?" forthcoming in *JAOS*; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, 1968), 87.

49. Mardin, *Genesis*, 130-31; id., *Jün Türklerin Siyasî Fikirleri, 1895-1908* (Ankara, 1964), ch. 2; FO 371/548, File 29285, Memorandum by Colonel Surtees on "The Turkish Empire as a Military Factor," included in the ambassador's "Gen-

eral Report on Turkey for the Year 1906" (Conf. Pr. 8982), 16. Cf. Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908," *IJMES*, III (1972), 277-79.

50. Heyd, "The Ottoman 'Ulemâ and Westernization," 92.

51. The inability of the military to provide the kind of leadership needed in 1839 was dramatically illustrated by the shift of power from Husrev Paşa, a military reformer, to Mustafa Reşid Paşa, first of the great civil-bureaucratic statesmen of the mid-nineteenth century. On this transition, see İnalcık, "The Nature of Traditional Society: B. Turkey," 54-55; id., "Husrev Paşa," *IA*, v, 614.

52. E.g., Cevdet, *Tarih*, IV, 261-62; v, 27-35, 231; XII, 82-83.

53. Ibid., IV, 195.

54. Ibid., III, 38.

55. Heyd, "The Ottoman 'Ulemâ and Westernization," 90-96. See also Avigdor Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II," *Asian and African Studies*, VII (1971), 13-39.

56. Lewis, *Emergence*, 92-94.

57. Halil İnalcık, "Application of the Tanzimat and its Social Effects," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, v (1973), 100ff.; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler (1840-1878)* (Ankara, 1974), 95-96.

58. Richard L. Chambers, "The Education of a Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Âlim, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa," *IJMES*, IV (1973), 459-60, 464.

59. Mardin, *Jön Türk.*, 41-42.

60. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 103; Cevdet, *Tarih*, VIII, 146.

61. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, III, 166; Şerafeddin Turan, "Silâhdâr," *IA*, x, 641.

62. Cf. the memoirs of Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve Ötesi* (Istanbul, 1965), appointed first secretary to Sultan Mehmed Reşad in 1909.

63. Cevdet, *Tarih*, IV, 195.

64. *Salname-i Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye* (Istanbul, 1326/1908), 160, 204, 228, 554, 562, 586, 602.

65. Estimate based on BBA, DSA. This collection includes almost two hundred registers, of which each may contain up to five hundred biographies. Cf. Midhat Sertoğlu, *Muhteva Bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi* (Ankara, 1955), 81-82. The identification of the collection with the Interior (*Dahiliye*) Ministry signifies no more than that the commission mainly responsible for keeping the records was located there. The collection covers essentially the whole civil bureaucracy, but not other branches of the ruling class: *Dstr.*¹, IV, 63, instructions of March 1879, art. 1. A later reference identifies the system as applying specifically to civil officials (*memurin-i mülkiye*) and members of other branches of service when employed in civil-bureaucratic posts: *ibid.*, v, 965-71, instructions of May 1887, arts. 1, 25. The extent to which it is meaningful to think of all these people as active civil officials will require consideration in Chapter Six.

66. Mardin, *Genesis*, 127-28; Lewis, *Emergence*, 374. Enver Ziya Karal, *OT*, VIII, 320ff., uses the term as if it meant "provincial administration," a practice that must derive from the original name of the Interior Ministry as the *Mülkiye Nezareti*, also from the fact that most civil officials probably served in the provinces. Ottoman usage was never fully consistent and often seemed to take *mülkiye* as a residual category in contrast to others more precisely named. See, for instance, *Dstr.*¹, VI, 488-90, regulation of January 1890 on the duties and responsibilities of civil and financial officials (*mülkiye ve maliye memurları*) at the provin-

cial level; *ibid.*, VI, 1105, regulations of September 1891 for the Statistical Council of the Sublime Porte, art. 3, reference to "matters pertaining to civil, financial, judicial, public-works, educational, and municipal affairs" (*ahval-i mülkiye ve maliye ve adliye ve nafia ve maarif ve belediye aid hususati*); *ibid.*, VII, 133, instructions of December 1896 for the Civil Officials Commission, art. 6, reference again to "civil and financial officials" (*memurin-i mülkiye ve maliye*). In other cases, the use of the term *mülkiye* clearly encompasses the cases seemingly distinguished in the passages just cited; e.g., *ibid.*, *zeyl* IV, 13, decree of May 1884 on promotion and retirement of civil officials, art. 19, definition of eligibility for civil retirement pensions; *ibid.*, VI, 1143-45, decree of December 1891 on unemployment stipends for civil officials. That *mülkiye* referred to the civil bureaucracy in general is also clear in any situation where there is reference to official ranks, as in the tables of correspondence of civil, military, and religious ranks regularly published in the government yearbooks (e.g., *Saln.* [1297], 84; [1326], 38).

67. In using terms such as civil bureaucracy or civil service, we assume in a general way the concept of modern bureaucracy as described by Weber, *Economy and Society*, III, 956-58, or more recently by Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy*, ch. 3. In more specific terms, we refer to those government officials employed in civil-administrative affairs (as contrasted in the Ottoman case to religious or military affairs or those of the palace) in proportion as the conditions of recruitment, service, and advancement under which those officials worked began to be brought under rules and regulations embodying such distinctive traits of modern bureaucracy as promotion on the basis of achievement and performance. In the nineteenth century, regulatory patterns of this kind emerged only gradually, not only in the Ottoman Empire, but also in the Western states that served as the chief models for the Ottoman reforms. Cf. E. N. Gladden, *Civil Services of the United Kingdom* (London, 1967), 1-5; *id.*, *A History of Public Administration*, 2 vols. (London, 1972), II, ch. 9.

CHAPTER THREE

1. From the *Hayriye* of the poet Nabi (1630-1712); E.J.W. Gibb, *Poetry*, III, 343-44; VI, 231; with modifications of Gibb's translation.

2. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 113. On the problem of dating the so-called *Kanunname* of Mehmed the Conqueror, quoted there, see Konrad Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1967), 14-34.

3. Thus according to Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 82, 137, and d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 191, both of whom were contemporary observers. Cf. the account in İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, 95-96, on sixteenth-century conditions.

4. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 79-101; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 151-59; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 107-13.

5. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 136-40, 262-63; Heyd, *Criminal Law*, 224-26; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 213-32.

6. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 119-29; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 166-69; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, i, 118-20; for the sixteenth century, Matuz notes only one *tezhereci*, then subordinate to the affixer of the cipher (*nişancı*), *Kanz.*, 45-47. Cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*, 408-19.

7. TPK, D3208; Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 102-108, 132-33; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 159, 170-72; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, I, 120, 363-64; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 256-59.
8. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 112-13; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 159-66; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, I, 121-24; İnalcık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 671-83.
9. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 109-10; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 160; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, I, 121-22; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 40-43; İnalcık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 674-75; Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 14-29; the account of the offices of the chief scribe in Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, translated by Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz (The Hague, 1968), 165-68, is highly inaccurate.
10. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 110-11; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 43-45.
11. On the contrast of fief and benefice, see Weber, *Economy and Society*, III, 966-67, 1031-38, 1073-77. We shall use the term "benefice" to refer to various kinds of remuneration, other than salaries, to which members of the ruling class might be entitled by virtue of their occupancy of specific offices, but not, in principle, if they ceased to hold those offices. As a general term to signify compensation by such means, as opposed to the payment of salaries from a central treasury, we shall speak of "prebendalism." The essential difference between the prebendal forms of income and salaries is that the latter presuppose a money economy and centralized fiscal administration. Prebendalism arises when those conditions are not entirely fulfilled and means that officials are assigned certain perquisites, often in kind, or allowed to collect specific revenues directly for their compensation. We shall not follow Weber in assuming the assignment of prebends or benefices to be for life (*ibid.*, III, 966).
12. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 111; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 160; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 45-48; Pakalın, *OTD*, III, 71-72, "Rûs" and "Rûs-i Hümayun Kalemî."
13. Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye*, 77, 183; cf. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 195.
14. d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 160.
15. T. Gökbilgin, "Nişancı," *IA*, IX, 299; Pakalın, *OTD*, I, 418, "Defter Emini."
16. Röhrborn, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 39ff., 49-52, 59-61, 68-69, 77-84.
17. Nejat Göyünç, "XVI. Yüzyılda Ruûs ve Önemi," *Tar. Der.*, XVII, no. 22 (1967), 20-23; Nedim Filipović, "O izrazu 'tahvil,'" *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju i Istoriju Jugoslovenskih Naroda pod Turskom Vladavinom*, II (1951), 239-47.
18. TPK, D3208 (tabulation itemized by office and summing to 90, but including *kâtibs* only); Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 111-12 (gives total of 120, which he says includes *kâtibs*, *şagirds*, and *şerhlis*); d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 160 (indicating a total of 150, again including *kâtibs*, *şagirds*, and *şerhlis*); Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 45-46, attributes 150 to the *Rûs* Office alone, but that is a misreading of d'Ohsson.
19. Matuz, "Pfortendolmetscher," 32, 40.
20. *Ibid.*, 36; Runciman, *Great Church*, 364-69.
21. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 117-19; Orhonlu, "Tercüman," *IA*, XII, 177-78; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 75.
22. TPK, D3208; Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 129-31; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 169-70; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, I, 120; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 260. Cf. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 88: of twenty-six men who served as chief scribe, 1697-1774, ten were promoted to that post from the position of corresponding secretary. Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 46, mentions registers from this office dating as far back as 1696.

23. TPK, D3208; Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 113; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 166; T. Gökbilgin, "Âmedci," *IA*, I, 396-97; *id.*, *Âmedci*, *El*², I, 443; İnalcık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 675; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 55-58; Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 13-14.
24. Weber, *Economy and Society*, III, 1028-29, 1088-90.
25. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, I, I, 122 n. 4; Findley, "The Legacy of Tradition to Reform: Origins of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry," *IJMES*, I (1970), 339; Joel Shinder, "Career Line Formation in the Ottoman Bureaucracy, 1648-1750: A New Perspective," *JESHO*, XVI (1973), 231-35.
26. BBA, Müh. 165, 30, *hüküm* of Et RA 1180/August 1766 to Chief Scribe; cf. BBA, Rûs 217, *ilm-ü-haber* of same date, addressed to *Beylikçi*, but seemingly identical in text; BBA, Müh. 165, 44, *hüküm* of El R 1180/September 1766 to Keeper of the Registers; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 49 n. 5, quoting a document of Et Ş 1144/February 1732. The number of *gediks* varies in different references.
27. Pakalın, *OTD*, I, 656-61, "Gedik," "Gedikli," etc., indicating application of *gedik* system in a number of settings in ruling class; cf. Mantran, *İstanbul*, 368-70; Baer, "Monopolies and Restrictive Practices," 159-65.
28. For published budgetary documents containing information on payment of salaries to scribal officials, see Barkan, "H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Malî Yılına ait bir Bütçe Örneği," *IFM*, XV (1953-1954), 309, salary list of 1494-1495, dated on 308 n. 1, and 323-26, list of c. 1530s, dating discussed on 314 n. 1; M. Belin, "Essais sur l'histoire économique de la Turquie," ch. 4, sect. 1, "Budgets particuliers," *Journal asiatique*, 6e série, IV (1864), 256-57, list of 1592; Barkan, "1070-1071 (1660-1661) Tarihli Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Bir Mukayese," *IFM*, XVII (1955-1956), 316, list of 1660-1661; *id.*, "1079-1080 (1669-1670) Malî Yılına ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ek'leri," *IFM*, XVII (1955-1956), 230, list of 1669-1670. Some sixteenth-century sources also include indications of a different type of salaries paid on an annual basis (*salyane*). See Barkan, "954-955 (1547-1548) Malî Yılına Ait Bir Osmanlı Bütçesi," *IFM*, XIX (1957-1958), 263-64; *id.*, "H. 974-975 (M. 1567-1568) Malî Yılına Ait Bir Osmanlı Bütçesi," *IFM*, XIX (1957-1958), 309. At least for scribal personnel of the Porte, however, there is no known record of the payment of salaries in the eighteenth century.
29. BBA, Müh. 165, 44, *hüküm* of El R 1180/September 1766 to Keeper of Registers.
30. Cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 83.
31. J. Deny, "Timâr," *El*¹, IV, 771.
32. See document of 1799, associating the term *pervazi* with the *şerhlis*, in Tevfik Temelkuran, "Divân-ı Hümayûn Mühimme Kalemî," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 6 (1975), 151, and Pakalın, *OTD*, II, 772, "Pervazi."
33. See sources cited in Findley, "Legacy," 339 n. 4; Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemî," 151; Pakalın, *OTD*, II, 611-12, "Mülâzım."
34. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 114-17; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 161; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 40, 42, 47; Pakalın, *OTD*, II, 249, "Kesedar" (an alternate spelling). On filing documents in sacks, cf. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 89-90.
35. BBA, Kal. Niz., 18-19, regulations of 2 Ş 1211/January 1797 for Office of the Corresponding Secretary (*Mektubî*), the more usual and morphologically more parallel terms for the document-producing processes being *tesvîd*, *telhis*, and *tebyiz*; *ibid.*, 30-31, regulations of same date for Office of Receiver (*Âmedi*).
36. Hammer, *Staats.*, II, 113-14.

37. E.g., İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, ix, 674; followed by Matuz, *Kanz.*, 19-20.
38. James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1921), 339, under "bitik" and "bitikji." Cf. Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), 304; and İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, ix, 672, on these terms in pre-Ottoman usage. Despite the apparent antiquity of its name, the office of *beylikçi* is not noted for the period of which Matuz wrote.
39. TPK, D3208, relevant passage translated in L. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung* (Budapest, 1955), i, 68 n. 2.
40. For further information on the processing and formal properties of different types of documents, as well as bibliography on Ottoman diplomatics, see Matuz, *Kanz.*, 64ff. and bibliography. For a convenient work in English on one facet of Ottoman diplomatics, see Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552-1615: A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford, 1960).
41. George Larpent, *Turkey; Its History and Progress: From the Journals and Correspondence of Sir James Porter . . .*, 2 vols. (London, 1854; reprinted 1971), i, 268-69.
42. Hammer, *Staats.*, ii, 115-17.
43. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vii, 228-32; cf. account of an assembly of 1789 in Shaw, *Old and New*, 73-75.
44. For example, Cevdet, *Tarih*, iii, 35-47, an account of c. 1784; x, 17-20, account of 1812.
45. *Ibid.*, iv, 156-57, events of 1788-1789; vii, 28, events of 1799.
46. *Ibid.*, iii, 37, account of 1775; ix, 302, order of the sultan to an assembly convened June 1810 (cf. ix, 180).
47. *Ibid.*, ii, 243-44, account of an assembly of c. 1783; iii, 35-37, discussions of 1784 on the Crimea (the grand vezir informed the sultan that he thought the Russians were trying to force the convening of a council, knowing that whatever was discussed there would leak out); iv, 360, assembly of 1788-1789; ix, 302, discussion of 1810.
48. *Ibid.*, iii, 38; v, 270, events of 1792; vi, 6, events of c. 1792; x, 19, assembly of January 1812.
49. Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 206.
50. Cevdet, *Tarih*, iii, 332, decree of Abd ül-Hamid I, c. 1784, denouncing the sorry wretches (*yâdıgâr*) who served the empire for not being of use to it, as the statesmen of the Christian governments were to them.
51. Like diplomatics, the ritual or ceremonial life of the state goes beyond what we can discuss here. Relevant references include Dilger, *Hofzeremoniell*; Hammer, *Staats.*, passim, e.g., i, 87ff., 434ff.; ii, 131f., 412ff.; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 58-64, 289-317.
52. Runciman, *Great Church*, 360-84.
53. Cevdet, *Tarih*, v, 63-64.
54. Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *Journal of Economic History*, xx (1960); 269-73.
55. In addition to Runciman and Stoianovich, see Orhonlu, "Tercüman," *IA*, xii, 176-78; Ergin, *Maarif*, i, 56-59; ii, 613-17, Turkish summary of Epaminondas I. Stamatiadis, *Biographiai ton Helēnon Megalon Diermineon tou Othomanikou Kratous* (Athens, 1865); Joseph Gottwald, "Phanariotische Studien," *Leipziger Vierteljahrsschrift für Südosteuropa*, v (1941), 1-58; Théodore Blancard, *Les Mau-*

- royéni: histoire d'Orient (de 1700 à nos jours)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909); Alexandre A. C. Stourdza, *L'Europe orientale et le rôle historique des Maurocordato, 1660-1830* (Paris, 1913).
56. BBA, Kal. Niz., 5, reference in regulations of 17 N 1211/March 1797 for Office of Imperial Divan.
57. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 93; Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 142; cf. Findley, "Legacy," 346.
58. TPK, D3208.
59. Cf. Ergin, *Maarif*, i, 51-60.
60. Lütfi, *Tarih*, iv, 115-16.
61. M. Fuad Köprülü, "Hâce," *IA*, v, 20-24; Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 128; Mantran, *Istanbul*, 466, citing Evliya Çelebi; H. İnalçık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," *JESHO*, iii (1960), 133ff.
62. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, ix, 679.
63. Ergin, *Maarif*, i, 53; BBA, Kal. Niz., 11, entry of 27 M 1255/April 1839; Thomas, *Naima*, 34-35.
64. For example, Cevdet, *Tarih*, iii, 133-34, on Grand Vezir Halil Hamid Paşa (d. 1784); İnal, *Şair.*, ii, 1301-1302 on Pertev Paşa (1785-1837), on whom cf. Ş. Turan, "Pertev Paşa," *IA*, ix, 554. More generally, see Ahmed Resmi, *Halifet ül-Rüesa* (Istanbul, 1269/1853), passim; my thanks to Professor Halil İnalçık for assisting me in obtaining photocopies of this work.
65. Ahmed Resmi, *Halifet*, 191-93, biography of Chief Scribe Hâmid Bey Efendi; Cevdet, *Tarih*, vii, 93-94 on Abd ül-Şekûr Efendi, including quotation of a satirical couplet. Cf. Cevdet, *Tarih*, xii, 112, on difficulties of Canib Efendi, able (*iş eri*) but lacking connections.
66. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vii, 176-77; BBA, Kal. Niz., 9, undated entry, preceded by an entry of 1248/1832-1833 and followed by one of 1234/c. 1819, referring to this kind of petty "legal practice."
67. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 120; Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 140.
68. For example, a study of one type of register from the Appointments Section (*Rüus Kalemi*) of the Office of the Imperial Divan showed the entire text of each brevet copied in, one after the other, often with no differences from the preceding entry but the date and the name of the recipient (BBA, Rüus 163, 168, 175, 184 of c. 1256-1272/1840-1856). The same kind of repetition appears in the earliest records of consular appointments (BBA, Şehb. 1, entries beginning 1217/1802-1803). Such labor-saving techniques as blank forms appear to have been unknown until later.
69. BBA, Tahvil 30, entry of 23 N 1238/1823.
70. Eisenstadt, *Political Systems*, 276ff.
71. Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 151, citing BBA, HH 4470, İrade D 1571 of c. 1799.
72. Cf. Weber, *Economy and Society*, iii, 963ff., 1014.
73. Stanford J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798* (Princeton, 1962), 346-48.
74. Pakalın, *OTD*, iii, 68, "Rütbe." There was also a rank of *baş muhasebeci* ("chief accountant") given to certain officials, including ambassadors. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 68ff.; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, vii, 191-97; Hammer, *Staats.*, ii, 112.
75. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 87-88.

76. For example, Ahmed Resmi, *Halifet*, passim.
77. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 70; cf. Cevdet, *Tarih*, II, 129-30, appointments of 1779; II, 177, appointments of 1782; VI, 157, appointments of 1795; X, 86-87, appointments of 1812.
78. Mustafa Nuri, *Netayic*, III, 85-86; Cevdet, *Tarih*, II, 160. Cf. Kunt, "The Structure of the Military-Administrative Career."
79. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, VII, 182, 188-89; the sum mentioned does not include comparable exactions that the grand vezir also got from tax farmers. Conversion rate from FO 78/18, Spencer Smith to Lord Grenville, 10 April 1797.
80. Pakalın, *OTD*, I, 255, "Caize"; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 157.
81. K. W. Swart, *Sale of Offices in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague, 1949), 99-111; Röhrborn, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 114-53; cf. Shaw, *Egypt*, 346; Matuz, *Kanz.*, 56.
82. Heyd, *Criminal Law*, 213; Matuz, *Kanz.*, 81-82.
83. Barkan, "Avârız," *IA*, II, 13-19; Avdo Sućeska, "Die Entwicklung der Besteuerung durch die 'Avârız-i divânîye und die Tekâlif-i 'örfiye im Osmanischen Reich während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," *Südostforschungen*, XXVII (1968), 89-130.
84. Cevdet, *Tarih*, III, 129-36.
85. *Ibid.*, VI, 195-96, 230-31; VII, 45-46.
86. For example, İngiliz Mahmud Raif Efendi, a former diplomat and chief scribe: *ibid.*, VIII, 155-57.
87. *Ibid.*, XII, 55-60; cf. Şihâbeddin Tekindağ, "Hâlet Efendi," *IA*, V, 123-25.
88. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, II, 76-77; cf. Orhan Köprülü, "Gâlib Paşa," *IA*, IV, 710-14.
89. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 91-92, 99-102; Şerâfeddin Turan, "Pertev Paşa," *IA*, IX, 554-56; İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1302-12; FO 78/329B, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 31 January 1838, secret, with details on fall of Pertev.
90. Cevdet, *Tarih*, IV, 261, on security of religious establishment. On scribes: Gibb, *Poetry*, III, 333, citing Nabi; İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 681.
91. Kunt, *Sancaktan Eyalet*, 104.
92. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 54 n. 4; 244.
93. Har., TKE 1151, register on rations (*tayinat*) for officials of Sublime Porte, 1233/1817-1818.
94. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 154-55.
95. Findley, "Legacy," 355.
96. BBA, Müh. 166, 100-101, entries of Er C 1182/November 1768; Pakalın, *OTD*, III, 579-80, "Vakıf."
97. TPK, D3208; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 47; İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 675.
98. To the comparisons in Findley, "Legacy," 349 n. 3, add Gladden, *History of Public Administration*, II, 313, and Ray Jones, *The Nineteenth-Century Foreign Office: An Administrative History* (London, 1971), e.g., 148-64, conditions of 1850.
99. Eisenstadt, *Political Systems*, 160-65.
100. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 55.
101. Cevdet, *Tarih*, V, 114; cf. VI, 157-58.
102. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 86.
103. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 29-33, 41-44.
104. İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1961), III, 609-15; IV, 629-37. This count ignores all incumbencies after the first

in the case of men who held the office more than once, and ends with the man in office at the conclusion of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca.

105. İnalçık, "Reis-ül-Küttâb," *IA*, IX, 671.

106. Itzkowitz, "Realities," 86-87; cf. 89 re date 1703. The one who had never been chief scribe but who had ambassadorial experience was Yirmi Sekiz Çelebizade Mehmed Said; see Dilâver Ağazade Ömer, *Zeyl to Osmanzade Taib Ahmed, Hâdiqat ül-wüzerâ (Der Garten der Wesire)* (Freiburg, 1969; reprint of Istanbul edition of 1271/1854-1855), 84-86 (there are three *zeyls*, paginated separately).

107. Dilâver Ağazade Ömer, *Zeyl to Hâdiqat*, 76-77: Divitdar Mehmed Emin.

108. The two former chief scribes are Halil Hamid Paşa: Cevdet, *Tarih*, III, 133-34, cf. Ahmed Cavid, second *Zeyl to Hâdiqat*, 34-36; and Mehmed Said Galib Paşa: Ahmed Rif'at, *Werd ül-Hadâ'iq (Die Rose der Gärten)* (Freiburg, 1970; reprint of Istanbul edition of 1283/1866-1867), 22-24, cf. Orhan Köprülü, "Gâlib Paşa," *IA*, IV, 710-14. The former corresponding secretary was Mehmed Emin Rauf: Ahmed Rif'at, *Werd*, 11-15. The former steward is Derviş Mehmed: Ahmed Cavid, second *Zeyl to Hâdiqat*, 27-28. The former chief bailiff is Arnavud Memiş: Bağdadî Abd ül-Fettah Şevket, third *Zeyl to Hâdiqat*, 17-18.

109. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, III, 521-22; IV, 471-96 on grand vezirs; III, 613-15; IV, 629-51 on chief scribes.

110. *Ibid.* Cf. Cevdet, *Tarih*, IV, 247, on Silahdar Seyyid Mehmed Paşa.

111. Mustafa Nuri, *Netayic*, III, 95-96.

112. Hazinedar Şahin Ali Paşa, grand vezir 1785-86: Cevdet, *Tarih*, III, 257-58; Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, IV, 487. Cf. comments by Cevdet on marginally literate individuals who rose to other high positions: *Tarih*, VIII, 165; XII, 87-88.

113. Cevdet, *Tarih*, V, 18-19, 102-106; Shaw, *Old and New*, 28-36, 91, 101-104, 106, 127-28, 369.

114. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VII, 83-84.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 221.

2. Text in Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 296 (transcription slightly amended).

3. *Dstr.*¹, I, 4-5.

4. Shaw covers the reforms comprehensively (*Old and New*, pt. iii), but gives Selim little credit for innovation (*ibid.*, 71, 167, 199, 405-407); cf. *id.*, *History*, I, 260-66. Other comprehensive accounts: Asım, *Tarih*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, n.d.); Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI-VIII.

5. Avigdor Levy, "Power Politics at the Center, 1808-1812: Resurgence of the Ottoman Sultanate," paper presented at the First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, 1971-1920, Hacettepe University, Ankara, July 1977. On the political and military neutralization of the provincial magnates see also Cevdet, *Tarih*, X, 87ff.

6. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 7.

7. *Ibid.*, IV, 156.

8. *Ibid.*, IV, 156-60 (events of 1788-1789); VIII, 279 (1804-1805); X, 17-20 (1811).

9. For a recent work throwing light both on late Ottoman fiscal methods and

on the undermining of Ottoman manufactures by European competition even before the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, see Mehmet Genç, "A Comparative Study of the Life-Term Tax-Farming Data and the Volume of Commercial and Industrial Activities in the Ottoman Empire during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," paper presented to the Symposium on South Eastern European and Balkan Cities and the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe, Hamburg, March 1976; or id., "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi," in Osman Okyar et al., eds., *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri* (Ankara, 1975), 231-96.

10. Halil İnalcık, "İmtiyâzât," *Eİ²*, III, 1185-89.
11. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 194-95 (events of 1790-1791).
12. Ibid., III, 270 (events of 1785-1786); VIII, 73 (1806-1807). Cf. Thomas Naff, "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations with Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Patterns and Trends," in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, edited by Naff and Owens, 88-107.
13. Cevdet, *Tarih*, XI, 132.
14. Ibid., XI, 25-27, 32-33 (events of c. 1819-1820).
15. Ibid., IX, 2-3 (c. 1808). Cf. Halil İnalcık, "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration," in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, edited by Naff and Owen, 27-52.
16. Uriel Heyd, *Criminal Law*, 152-57. His view may be overstated; cf. H. İnalcık, "Adaletnameler," *Belgeler*, II (1965), 49-142, and Y. Özkaya, "XVIIIinci Yüzyılda Çıkarılan Adalet-nâmelere göre Türkiye'nin İç Durumu," *Bell.*, xxxviii (1974), 445-91. The role of the *kanuncu* (legal expert) in the Office of the Imperial Divan should also be borne in mind.
17. B. Lewis, "Dustür, ii.—Turkey," *Eİ²*, 640-41.
18. Cevdet, *Tarih*, II, 97-98 (events of 1778).
19. Ibid., II, 129-30 (1779).
20. Ibid., III, 115 (c. 1784), 256 (c. 1786).
21. On this and the question of reactions to the French Revolution, see Lewis, *Emergence*, 65-73, including significant quotations from Asım, *Tarih*. For a significant discussion of the European situation and its implications, written by the chief scribe, Atuf Efendi, on the eve of the French invasion of Egypt, see also Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 394-401.
22. F. R. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara, 1968), 43-168; of the 27 envoys he discusses for the period 1655-1793, at least 17 had some identification with the scribal service.
23. Niyazi Berkes, *Secularism*, 23ff.
24. Shaw, *Old and New*, 12-17.
25. Unat, *Sefaretnameler*, 154-62; Cevdet, *Tarih*, v, 232ff.; Shaw, *Old and New*, 95-98; Karal, *Selim III'ün Hat-ı [sic] Hümayunları, Nizam-ı Cedit, 1789-1807* (Ankara, 1946), 31-34.
26. Cevdet, *Tarih*, v, 79-80, 346-69; Unat, *Sefaretnameler*, 149-54.
27. Şerif Mardin, *Genesis*, 179ff.; Lewis, *Emergence*, 132.
28. Shaw, *Old and New*, 91ff.; Lewis, *Emergence*, 57-58; E. Z. Karal, "Nizâm-ı Cedid'e dair Lâyihalar," *Tar. Ves.*, I (1942), 414-25; II (1942-1943), 104-11, 342-51, 424-32.
29. Unat, *Sefaretnameler*, 168ff.

30. Cevdet, *Tarih*, v, 115-16; VI, 57-59, 150-55, 221; Shaw, *Old and New*, 167-74.
31. BBA, Kal. Niz., 4-7, regulations for Office of the Imperial Divan; 18-19, for Office of Corresponding Secretary; 30-31, for Office of Receiver. Each set of regulations bears an order for execution (*hatt-ı hümayun*) dated 1 or 2 Ş 1211/1797.
32. BBA, Kal. Niz., 18-19.
33. Ibid., 5.
34. Ibid., 5, 19, 30.
35. Ibid., 19, 31.
36. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 235-36.
37. BBA, Kal. Niz., 5; Tevfik Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 139ff.; C. Findley, "The Foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry: The Beginnings of Bureaucratic Reform under Selim III and Mahmud II," *IJMES*, III (1972), 391 n. 2.
38. BBA, Kal. Niz., 5-7; Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 148-50.
39. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, v, 99; Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 143.
40. Matuz, *Kanz.*, 77-78; Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 155-61; Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 24.
41. BBA, Kal. Niz., 5; cf. Findley, "Legacy," 346.
42. BBA, Kal. Niz., 8, entry of 19 R 1216/1801.
43. Ibid., 8, entry of 16 C 1248/November 1832; 9, entry of 20 R 1234/February 1819; 10, entry of 15 C 1254/September 1838.
44. Ibid., 21, entry of 13 N 1222/November 1807. "Examination papers" (*imtihannâme*) of such a sort from later dates demonstrate no more than the candidates' ability to write a few lines, not necessarily expressing a complete thought, but in good penmanship and a "high style"; BBA, İrade D 1066 and D 1289 of 7 Ş (?) and 15 L 1256/1840.
45. Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 153-54, text of BBA, HH 23969.
46. BBA, Kal. Niz., 34-39, entry of 27 ZA 1254/February 1839; published by İhsan Sungu, "Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliyyenin Tesisi," *Tar. Ves.*, I (1941), 212-25; cf. Findley, "Foundation," 394.
47. J. C. Hurewitz, "The Europeanization of Ottoman Diplomacy: The Conversion from Unilateralism to Reciprocity in the Nineteenth Century," *Bell.*, xxv (1961), 455-66; id., "Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State System," *Middle East Journal*, xv (1961), 141-52.
48. Bertold Spuler, "Die Europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel, bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739)," *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Neue Folge, XI (1935), 183ff.; T. Naff, "Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy," *JAOS*, LXXXIII (1963), 306-307; id., "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations," 88-107. Cf. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 128-30; VIII, 102, recounting abandonment of the imprisonment of ambassadors (1806-1807).
49. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 257-61; Ercüment Kuran, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı İkamet Elçiliklerinin Kuruluşu ve İlk Elçilerin Siyasi Faaliyetleri, 1793-1821* (Ankara, 1968), 14.
50. Cevdet, *Tarih*, VI, 88-89, 231-32; Naff, "Diplomacy," 303-304; Kuran, *İkamet Elçilikleri*, 13-22; İsmail Soysal, *Fransız İhtilâli ve Türk-Fransız Diplomasi Münasebetleri (1789-1802)* (Ankara, 1964).

51. Kuran, *İkamet Elçilikleri*, 52 n. 19.
52. Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *Journal of Economic History*, xx (1960), 296.
53. Ibid., 272; Pakalın, *OTD*, 1, 782, "Hayriye Tüccarı"; Baer, "The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds," 34, 43.
54. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 388, under "bender"; cf. Julius Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1866; reprinted Hildesheim, 1967), II, 537, under "şah-bender," giving "chef de la douane/Ober-Zolleinnehmer" as his first definition.
55. BBA, Şehb. no. 1, early entries, beginning 1217/1802-1803; cf. Stoianovich, "Balkan Orthodox Merchant," 267ff.; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Kon-solos," *IA*, VI, 839-40.
56. Naff, "Diplomacy," 305, 313; id., "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations," 88-107.
57. Kuran, *İkamet Elçilikleri*, 20, 27, 36.
58. Ibid., 26; Herbette, *Une ambassade turque sous le Directoire* (Paris, 1902), 1-2, 191-99; Karal, *Halet Efendi'nin Paris Büyük Elçiliği* (Istanbul, 1940), 52, 89.
59. Kuran, *İkamet Elçilikleri*, 42.
60. Ibid., 40.
61. The importance of this aspect of Ottoman diplomacy is evident as far back as the mission of Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi to Paris in 1720-1721; cf. Unat, *Sefaretnameler*, 56; Berkes, *Secularism*, 33ff.
62. Kuran, *İkamet Elçilikleri*, 64; FO 78/18, Spencer Smith to Lord Grenville, 10 April 1797, followed by various communications from Ottoman Embassy in London.
63. Naff, "Diplomacy," 305; Herbette, *Une ambassade turque*, 257-61; Karal, *Halet*, 18ff.
64. For example, Sıdkı Efendi in London: Shafik Ghorbal, "The Missions of Ali Effendi in Paris and of Sedki Effendi in London. 1797-1811: A Contribution to the Study of the Westernisation of Ottoman Institutions," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Egypt*, 1 (1933), 125-27.
65. Lewis, *Emergence*, 105; cf. Karal, *Halet*, 31ff., 89.
66. Naff, "Diplomacy," 305; Kuran, *İkamet Elçilikleri*, 31; Unat, *Sefaretnameler*, 190.
67. Ercümen Kuran, "Türkiye'nin Batılılaşmasında Osmanlı daimî Elçiliklerinin Rolü," *VI. Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler* (Ankara, 1967), 491; Cevdet, *Tarih*, VIII, 155-56.
68. Mardin, *Genesis*, 161; Lûtfi, *Tarih*, II, 155-57; O. Köprülü, "Gâlib Paşa," *IA*, IV, 710-14.
69. İnal, *Şair*, I, 107-108; III, 1564; Mardin, *Genesis*, 229-30.
70. BBA, Buy. no. 3, entry of 8 S 1255/1839. Along with numerous works in traditional genres, the library included two works on mathematics (*hendese*), a mineralogical treatise of some sort (*Risale fi Beyan Maadini'l-Nafia*), a "Frankish" dictionary (*lûgat-i efrenc*), miscellaneous "Frankish" books (*kütüb-i efrenciye*, 8 vols.), plus a large map, and two Gospels or New Testaments (*incil*), one in Arabic and the other described simply as a translation.
71. FO 78/18, Spencer Smith to Lord Grenville, 10 April 1797.
72. Théodore Blancard, *Les Mauroyeni*, II, 133ff.; Findley, "Foundation," 398; Kuran, *İkamet Elçilikleri*, 52-65.
73. Hurewitz, "Europeanization of Ottoman Diplomacy," 462; FO 78/104,

- Chargé* Antonaki Ramadani to Marquis of Londonderry, 6 August 1821, giving notice of orders to return to Istanbul and enclosing copies of relevant correspondence.
74. The existence in some sense of Ottoman consuls during the revolutionary years is apparent from a letter, in Har., TKE 708, dated 6 August 1824 and addressed in Italian from Angelo de Cazzaiti, Ottoman consul at Livorno, to the *Gloriosissimo Reis Efendi*! Cazzaiti's seal makes clear that he was an Ottoman subject. He was probably Greek despite the Italianized name. The letter reports a naval engagement off the Algerian coast.
 75. Findley, "Foundation," 400-401; C. Orhonlu, "Tercüman," *IA*, XII, 178; Şanizade, *Tarih*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1290-1291/1873-1874), IV, 20-22, 33-35; Cevdet, *Tarih*, XI, 166; XII, 43-44.
 76. FO 78/107, Strangford's no. 52 of 25 April 1822, dating fall of Aristarchi to "the 16th instant."
 77. Şanizade, *Tarih*, IV, 35.
 78. FO 78/107, Strangford's no. 52 of 25 April 1822; cf. Y. Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler* (Istanbul, 1953), 135ff.
 79. FO 78/108, Strangford's no. 65, 10 May 1822.
 80. Additional details in Findley, "Foundation," 402-403.
 81. F. R. Unat, "Başhoca İshak Efendi," *Bell.*, XXVIII (1964), 89-115.
 82. Cevdet, *Tarih*, XII, 191-94; E. Z. Karal, "Mehmed Namık Paşa'nın Hal Tercümesi, 1804-1892," *Tar. Ves.*, II (1942), 220-27; Şehabeddin Akalın, "Mehmed Namık Paşa," *Tar. Der.*, IV, no. 7 (1952), 127-46; Levy, "Sultan Mahmud's New Army," 32-34. Namık Paşa was one of the conservatives appointed to the commission that drafted the Constitution of 1876.
 83. C. Findley, "Sir James W. Redhouse (1811-1892): The Making of a Perfect Orientalist?" forthcoming in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
 84. BBA, Buy. no. 2, entry of 11 S 1249/30 June 1833. Information on the previous compensation of employees of the office comes from BBA, Buy. no. 2, entry of 22 ZA 1243/1828, and Cev. Har. 41, 57, 1159, 1177, 2222, 2326, 2481. The fact that the office, previously so obscure, was substantially upgraded at this time no doubt accounts for the impression conveyed in many works (starting with Lûtfi, *Tarih*, IV, 99, 176) that it was only founded about 1833.
 85. BBA, Cev. Har. 441, salary receipt of 28 Z 1256/1841.
 86. Lewis, *Emergence*, 118; cf. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, VI, 67.
 87. T. Blancard, *Les Mauroyeni*, II, 185ff.; Lûtfi, *Tarih*, III, 86-88; TPK, E2825 and E4057.
 88. Unat, *Sefaretnameler*, 210-14; Şinasi Alundağ, ed., "Mehmed Ali İsyanında Yardım Talebinde Bulunmak üzere 1832 Tarihinde Namık Paşa'nın Hususi Elçi olarak Londra'ya Gönderilmesi," *Tar. Ves.*, II (1943), 441-51; III (1944-1949), 127-36, 200-205.
 89. For example, Mustafa Reşid's problems with his nephew, Nuri Efendi: Findley, "Foundation," 406; Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 63.
 90. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, V, 99-101; İnal, *Şair*, I, 69-77; II, 1301-12; Şerafettin Turan, "Pertev Paşa," *IA*, IX, 554-56; Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 30-37; Mardin, *Genesis*, 158ff.
 91. HHS, *Türkei*, VI/66, Stürmer's no. 242A-B, 2 August 1837.
 92. For example, Mustafa Reşid studied the language during his first embassy in Paris (c. 1834); Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 64.

93. Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston, 1830-1841; Britain, the Liberal Movement and the Eastern Question* (New York, 1969), II, ch. 8.
94. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, IV, 158-59; V, 6-7; Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşid*, 63ff.; HHS, *Türkei*, VI/64, Stürmer's no. 171, 20 April 1836; VI/70, Stürmer's no. 363C, 26 September 1839.
95. Findley, "Foundation," 407, with citations from Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, 1774-1852*, edited by Reinhart Bachofen von Echt (Vienna, 1940), 318, 322, 324-25.
96. Mardin, *Genesis*, 179ff.; cf. Frederick S. Rodkey, "Reshid Pasha's Memorandum of August 12, 1839," *Journal of Modern History*, II (1930), 251-57.
97. On the writings of Sadık Rif'at, see Mardin, *Genesis*, 169-95, based chiefly on Sadık Rif'at, *Müntahabât-ı Âsar*. For ideas of Mustafa Reşid, the most inclusive source is Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşid*; cf. Cavid Baysun, ed., "Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın Paris ve Londra Sefaretleri Esnasındaki Siyasî Yazıları," *Tar. Ves.*, II (1942-1943), 41-55, 208-19, 452-61; III (1944-1949), 51-59, 206-21; continued as Baysun, ed., "Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın Siyasî Yazıları," *Tar. Der.*, XII (1961), 43-62; XIII (1963), 175-90.
98. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 29-30, 147; *Har. Saln.* (1302), 162-63, *hatt-ı hümayun* dated as taking effect on 23 ZA 1251/11 March 1836.
99. HHS, *Türkei*, VI/65, Stürmer's no. 206A-B, 30 November 1836. An under-secretaryship also came into existence in the Ministry of Civil Affairs (i.e., of the Interior) at the same time.
100. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 108-109; FO 78/330, letter of F. Pisani to Ponsonby, 21 March 1838; FO 78/331, page from *Moniteur ottoman* of 5 May 1838, enclosed in Ponsonby's no. 117 of 9 May 1838; Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşid*, 107-10. The creation of the other ministries will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.
101. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols. (Pest, 1835), x, 695, commenting on *Staats*. (1815).
102. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 29-31, 147; Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşid*, 107ff.; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 259; HHS, *Türkei*, VI/64, Stürmer's no. 166 of 16 March 1836.
103. Pakalın, *OTD*, I, 338, art. "Çavuşbaşı."
104. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 104-105.
105. *Ibid.*, V, 113-14; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 177-78.
106. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 123; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 264.
107. Avigdor Levy, "Military Policy of Mahmud II," 479-89.
108. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 106-108, 178-79.
109. HHS, *Türkei*, VI/67, Stürmer's no. 277B, 4 April 1838.
110. Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşid*, 198ff. That Mahmud in fact *divided* his "ministers" between the two councils is another indication of his aspiration to dominate.
111. S. J. Shaw, "The Central Legislative Councils in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Reform Movement before 1876," *IJMES*, I (1970), 54-57.
112. Mardin, *Genesis*, 131, citing Murad Efendi [Franz von Werner], *Türkische Skizzen* (Leipzig, 1878), 65.
113. Pakalın, *OTD*, III, 68-71, "Rütbe."
114. *Ibid.*, I, 695, "Hacegân Rütbesi"; Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 102; for specific cases that may indicate the cheapening of the rank, or at any rate its assignment to individuals at extremely early ages, see İnal, *Şair.*, I, 352; II, 918.
115. Findley, "Foundation," 411.
116. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 30; Pakalın, *OTD*, II, 613, "Mülkiye."
117. Tables of these styles of address normally figured in the government

- yearbooks (*salname*), which began to be issued in 1846-1847.
118. Sadık Rif'at advocated the creation of the rank table for precisely this reason; Mardin, *Genesis*, 185.
119. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, IV, 113-14; V, 114-16.
120. S. J. Shaw, "The Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Tax Reforms and Revenue System," *IJMES*, VI (1975), 422.
121. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 121-22, 180-81, text of a vezirial letter of 7 S 1254/2 May 1838; İlber Ortaylı, *Mahallî İdareler*, 22-24.
122. HHS, *Türkei*, VI/67, von Klezl's no. 279C, 18 April 1838.
123. AAE, *Turquie* 276, Roussin's no. 77, 16 July 1838.
124. HHS, *Türkei*, VI/67, von Klezl's no. 283A-C, 16 May 1838.
125. Lûtfî, *Tarih*, V, 132-34; VIII, 86.
126. Text in Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşid*, 295-301, citing BBA, HH 48294.
127. English text in Hurewitz, *MENA*, I, 269-71. The hesitant wording of parts of the decree is doubtless due in some measure to the uncertain political position of Mustafa Reşid and his friends at the time; Lûtfî, *Tarih*, VI, 60-64, eyewitness account of promulgation of decree.
128. S. N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change*, 67-75; *id.*, *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*, *passim*; *id.*, *Revolution and the Transformation of Societies*, ch. 9. Eisenstadt does not discuss "split-up modernization" in the last two of these works. Thus the discussion that follows is intended to relate the specific concept of "split-up modernization" to the general one of "neopatrimonialism" as we shall use the two in this study. I am indebted both to Şerif Mardin and to S. N. Eisenstadt for opportunities to discuss these and other related subjects with them.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. *Dstr.*¹, I, 8. Interesting as an example of the official promotion of the concepts of equality and Ottoman nationalism, this passage is not one of the finest in the annals of Ottoman prose and has been somewhat rearranged in the translation.
2. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 77. Fuad Paşa is making a pun on *sadr*, which by itself means something like the "heart" or "forepart" of anything, but in the phrase *sadr-ı a'zam* (literally "greatest prominence") was perhaps the most common title for the grand vezir. Written at a point when the foreign minister, Mustafa Reşid Paşa, was more powerful than the grand vezir of the moment, the verse alludes specifically to that situation. More generally, the verse evokes the close association in this period of the Foreign Ministry with the grand vezirate and the heavy emphasis of the times on diplomatic affairs.
3. İnal, *Şair.*, III, 1834.
4. HHS, *Türkei*, VI/69, copy of private letter of Ponsonby to Beauvale in Vienna, 8 July 1839, enclosed in Stürmer's no. 347 A-C of same date, describing the young sultan as "governed by Eunuchs & silly girls & his mother." Cf. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 594; II, 1264; III, 2095; AAE, *Turquie* 328, Thouvenel to Walewski, 17 November 1856, on weaknesses of Abd ül-Mecid; FO 78/1366, Bulwer to Malmesbury, 18 August 1858, quoting Abd ül-Mecid as saying "Ah, oui, l'influence des parens est bien mauvaise, j'en sais quelque chose!"
5. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 594-99.

6. Davison, *Reform*, ch. 9.
7. For reasons having to do with our concern with the locus of power, we are applying the term Tanzimat to the period 1839-1871; but other writers have used it in varying ways. At times, it has been applied only to the Gülhane Decree and the reforms introduced directly in consequence of it (e.g., Redhouse, *Lexicon*, 600, under "tanzimat"). Often, the term is applied to all the reforms prior to the accession of Abd ül-Hamid. Sometimes, since similar reforms continued under him, the term is applied to all or part of his reign. Cf. A. Cevad Eren, "Tanzîmât," *IA*, xi, 709-65.
8. İnalçık, "The Nature of Traditional Society: B. Turkey," 54-55; id., "Husrev Paşa," *IA*, v, 614; cf. Levy, "Sultan Mahmud's New Army," 28-29, 36-39; Lûtfî, *Tarih*, vi, 38.
9. Lewis, *Emergence*, 111-12.
10. İnal, *Sadr.*, i, 59-82.
11. Ercüment Kuran, "Reşid Paşa," *IA*, ix, 701-705.
12. İnal, *Sadr.*, i, 83-148, 196-263.
13. *Har. Saln.* (1302), 164ff.; Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iv, 496-507; Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, II: *Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge, 1977), 62.
14. Davison, *Reform*, 36-37, 83-84, 90; id., "Ottoman Diplomacy at the Congress of Paris (1856) and the Question of Reforms," *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1973), II, 580-86.
15. Davison, *Reform*, 239-44.
16. B. Lewis, "Baladiyya," *El²*, i, 972-73; Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 116.
17. Hıfzı Veldet, "Kanunlaştırma Hareketleri ve Tanzimat," *Tanzimat I, Yüzüncü Yıldönümü Münasebetile* (Istanbul, 1940), 196ff.
18. Harold Temperley's adulation of Canning as the "Great Elchi" extorts from the Ottomans a tribute they never paid. The title *büyük elçi* ("great envoy") applied in Ottoman usage to any ambassador and conveys no acknowledgment of greatness except in comparison with the *orta elçi* or minister ("middling envoy"). Harold Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea* (London, 1936); id., "Last Phase of Stratford de Redcliffe, 1855-58," *English Historical Review*, XLVII (1932), 216-59. Cf. W. E. Mosse, "The Return of Reschid Pasha: An Incident in the Career of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXVIII (1953), 546-73; Allan Cunningham, "Stratford Canning and the Tanzimat," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, edited by William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers (Chicago, 1968), 245-64; A. Henry Layard, *Autobiography and Letters*, 2 vols. (London, 1903), II, 63-66.
19. İnal, *Sadr.*, i, 34.
20. FO 78/2177, Elliot to Granville, 7 September 1871.
21. Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 20; Roderic H. Davison, "The Advent of the Principle of Representation in the Government of the Ottoman Empire," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, edited by Polk and Chambers, 93-108.
22. Berkes, *Secularism*, passim.
23. Ergin, *Maarif*, II, 324-41.
24. *Ibid.*, II, 321-23.
25. *Ibid.*, II, 315ff.; Richard L. Chambers, "Notes on the *Mekteb-i Osmanî* in Paris, 1857-1874," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, edited by Polk and Chambers, 313-29; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 106-13.

26. This document in Ergin, *Maarif*, II, 399; discussion here based on BBA, Rûus 163, 168, 175, 184, entries dated 1256-1282/1840-1865; fuller treatment in Findley, "From Reis Efendi to Foreign Minister: Ottoman Bureaucratic Reform and the Creation of the Foreign Ministry," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1969, 143-47.
27. Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 283-84; Davison, "Kâime," *El²*, IV, 460-61; A. Du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie, depuis le règne du Sultan Mahmoud II jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1903), 120ff.; Shaw, "Nineteenth-Century . . . Tax Reforms," 421-59; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 95-105, 155-56.
28. Hurewitz, *MENA*, I, 265-66; İnalçık, "İmtiyâzât," *El²*, III, 1187; Frank E. Bailey, *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement: A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations, 1826-1853* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münasebetleri, II: (1838-1850)* (Istanbul, 1976).
29. HHS, *Türkei vi/71*, Stürmer's no. 371A-C, 6 November 1839.
30. This, of course, is to use "rational-legalism" as a Weberian synonym for Yaney's "systematization": George Yaney, *The Systematization of Russian Government: Social Evolution in the Domestic Administration of Imperial Russia, 1711-1905* (Urbana, Illinois, 1973), ch. 1.
31. İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1302-1303.
32. During the Tanzimat, this was especially true of Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, one of the grand vezirs of the period: İnal, *Şair.*, II, 795; id., *Sadr.*, I, 106-107, 223-24, 229-30, 233-35.
33. İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1002, quoting Ebu 'l-Ziya Tevfik on Mehmed Tahir Münif Paşa.
34. Cf. Davison, *Reform*, 395-402; İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 360-94.
35. İnalçık, "Husrev Paşa," *IA*, v, 614-15.
36. İnalçık, "Application of the Tanzimat and its Social Effects," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, v (1973), 104-105.
37. On Mustafa Reşid Paşa, see Cevdet, *Tezâkir 1-12*, 19-20, 26-27, and id., *Tezâkir 40*, 63; on Fuad, see İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 185; on Âli, *ibid.*, I, 35-36. Questionable activities include nominal holding of provincial governorships at the same time as high positions in Istanbul (Lûtfî, *Tarih*, IX, 72); retention of benefice-incomes that should have been relinquished on leaving other, lower offices (Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 54 n. 4); accepting money or gifts from the governors of Egypt (İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 35-36); and various "speculations" (FO 78/1358, Canning to Malmesbury, 9 April 1858).
38. Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 199; cf. Cevdet, *Tezâkir 13-20*, 21.
39. For indications of nepotism and favoritism on the part of Mustafa Reşid, see Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 145-48, 404-405; Cevdet, *Tezâkir 13-20*, 22; Davison, *Reform*, 82; İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 76, 265; Lûtfî, *Tarih*, IX, 50, 117-18; x, 51. On Fuad, see Lûtfî, *Tarih*, x, 126. On Âli, İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 20; id., *Şair.*, II, 1019-20. On Kırışlı Mehmed, see İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 87. Miscellaneous other incidents in İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1314, 1424-25; IV, 1971.
40. Cevdet, *Tezâkir 1-12*, 45, 87; Lûtfî, *Tarih*, IX, 46: "The great preoccupations of those times were as if three in number: the first was to drive out one's rivals; the second was to bring in one's friends; the third was to silence the tongues of the people by paying close attention to the price of bread and other necessities. The occurrence of frequent changes and appointments was mostly the result of the first and second factors" (vol. IX of Lûtfî covers events of 1849-1860).
41. Cevdet, *Tezâkir 40*, 61-62.

42. Ibid., 72-73, 84; cf. id., *Tezâkir* 13-20, 21.
43. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 138; cf. Davison, *Reform*, 9, quoting a jest of Fuad Paşa.
44. Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 104, on his preference for "absolute government" (*hükümet-i mutlak*) as opposed to "limited" (*hükümet-i meşrûta*); Mardin, *Genesis*, 186-89; Davison, *Reform*, 41-42, 87, 90-91.
45. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 13-20, 54-59; İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 27, 32, 177, 222; cf. Mardin, *Genesis*, 108. Diplomatic correspondence includes many indications of the deterioration of relations between Abd ül-Aziz and Fuad Paşa from 1867 to the death of the latter in 1869: FO 78/2018, Elliot to Stanley, 12 January and 27 (?) January 1868; FO 78/2073, Elliot's no. 82, 21 February 1869; AAE, *Turquie* 377, Bourée to de Moustier, 16 September and 14 October 1868; HHS, PA XII/91, Prokesch-Osten to Beust, 17 January 1868; AA, 856/3 (?), *Schriftwechsel mit der . . . Gesandtschaft zu Constantinopel . . . über die innere Zustände . . . der Türkei*, Brassier von St.-Simon's no. 11 of 15-16 January 1868, Uebel's no. 146 of 29 September 1868 and no. 154 of 14 October 1868 (T 139, mf. roll 354).
46. The government yearbooks (*Saln.*, 1263-1288/1847-1871) are one of the most important single sources for our discussion of formal organizational patterns. They are, however, difficult to use correctly. Since they do not ordinarily list any officials below the supervisory level (*mümeyyiz*, *ser kalfa*, and the like), it is extremely rare that they give any indication of the total number serving in any agency. In addition, it is only in the next period that their listings begin to be organized in a way corresponding very closely to government organization. For the Tanzimat, bodies such as the Council of Ministers or the other major councils have separate listings, but the organization of the various ministries and their component agencies usually has to be reconstructed by picking out the appropriate entries from long lists included under such vague or anachronistic headings as "Senior Officials of the Offices" (*Zâbitan-ı Aklâm*) or even "Divan Positions" (*Menasib-i Divaniye*). This was the method followed in preparation of this section.
47. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, VI, 39.
48. Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 14-15. I have not been able to find a text in Ottoman that preserves all the honorific titulature used in addressing the grand vezir in the prologue to this document. It seems probable that the phrase "alter ego" is a translation for *vekil-i mutlak* (absolute delegate).
49. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 50-51.
50. FO 78/2177, Elliot to Granville, 7 September 1871.
51. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, v, 122; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1308-1315/1891-1897), IV, 806-807; AAE, *Turquie* 325, Thouvenel's no. 32 of 31 March 1856.
52. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, x, 62-63; *Saln.* (1284), 54-55; (1286), 57.
53. T. Gökbilgin, "Âmedci," *IA*, I, 397; id., "Âmeddji," *EI*², I, 433. This prestigious office was one of the few whose clerks (*hulefa*) were listed fully in the yearbooks of this period; see *Saln.* (1263-1288), under "Âmedî-i Divan-ı Hümayun Hulefası."
54. *Saln.* (1288), 60, 66.
55. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, VIII, 120-22.
56. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 58-60, regulations of 1861; cf. Sertoğlu, *Başvehâlet*, 59-61.
57. *Saln.* (1286), 55.
58. Weber, *Economy and Society*, I, 281-82; III, 994-98, 1089.

59. This list was determined by checking *Saln.* (1263, 1266, and subsequent even years through 1288) under "Vükelâ-yı Saltanat-ı Seniye ve A'za-yı Meclis-i Has," "A'za-yı Meclis-i Mahsus," and corresponding headings; cf. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* I-12, 17.
60. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 81-82; anecdotal evidence on ministerial deliberations in İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 231-32; cf. Roderic H. Davison, "Ottoman Diplomacy at the Congress of Paris (1856) and the Question of Reforms," 583-86; id., "The Nature of Ottoman Foreign Policy in the Nineteenth Century," paper presented at the conference on State, Society, and Economy in Nineteenth Century Iran and the Ottoman Empire, held in Babolsar, Iran, in June 1978 under joint sponsorship of the Reza Shah Kabir University and the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.
61. Shaw, "Central Legislative Councils," 51-84; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 76-81; principal sources, with others as cited, for discussion of these councils.
62. İnalçık, "Application of the Tanzimat," 101, 104, 111; M. A. Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, translated by Lady Easthope, 2 vols. (London, 1856; reprinted, New York, 1973), I, 170-72.
63. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* I-12, 27, 36-37; id., *Tezâkir* 13-20, 153; cf. id., *Tezâkir* 40, 72-74.
64. Original regulations in *Dstr.*¹, I, 703-18; cf. Young, *CD*, I, 3-5; Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 38-41; Davison, *Reform*, 241ff.; id., "Advent of Representation," 104.
65. Regulations in *Dstr.*¹, I, 325-42; Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 42-55; FO 78/2020, Elliot to Stanley, 12 May 1868, enclosing a contemporary Ottoman printing of the French text.
66. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, v, 128.
67. *Har. Saln.* (1318), 436-71 on history of the Quarantine Board; legislative role on 448; Young, *CD*, III, 125ff.
68. *Saln.* (1263), n.p., listings immediately following those for Council of Ministers and Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances; cf. *Saln.* (1288), 45ff.
69. *Saln.* (1288), 59.
70. HHS, *Türkei* VI/65, Stürmer's no. 206A-B, 30 November 1836.
71. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, v, 123; cf. a work by a different author with the same names: Ahmed Lûtfi, *Mir'at-ı Adalet, yahut Tarihçe-i Adliye-i Devlet-i Aliye* (Istanbul, 1306/1889), 105ff., a sketchy account. The only thing that could be called a court of justice at the Porte during the years 1839-1868 was the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances, when functioning as a high court of appeal, and its successor councils. These had presidents (*reis*) of their own; yet the *divan-ı deavi nazım* may have had some role in them.
72. *Saln.* (1265), 29, 39, 41, 44; (1286), 37, 50, 51, 52, 55; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 36-37.
73. *Dstr.*¹, I, 352-63; Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 273-319; Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 49, 71-73; Davison, *Reform*, 255-56; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 118-19.
74. Veldet, "Kanunlaştırmâ Hareketleri," 175-99; Berkes, *Secularism*, 160ff.; Cevdet, *Tezâkir* I-12, 63-64; id., *Tezâkir* 40, 72-74.
75. *Saln.* (1287), 37, 52, 53. Handwritten emendations in the copy of this yearbook that is now shelved in the reading room of BBA and almost certainly was once kept for reference in one of the offices of the Porte indicate (p. 37) that the supervisor of judicial affairs (*deavi nazım*) died on 19 ZA 1287/February 1871.

The names of his two assistants (*muavin*) are also crossed out, but no names of successors were written in for any of these officials. Subsequent yearbooks no longer mention these posts. Cf. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, 84-85; Young, *CD*, I, 159-60; Aristarchi, *LO*, v, 26-28. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 75-76, 217, date the creation of the Ministry of Justice to 1870.

76. Cf. *Saln.* (1289), 39, on *Havale Cemiyeti* and *İcra Cemiyeti*, regulations for which, dated November-December 1870, appear in *Dstr.*¹, I, 343-51; Young, *CD*, I, 197-210.

77. Fevziye A. Tansel, "Ahmed Vefik Paşa," *Bell.*, xxviii (1964), 119, 125; İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 654. M. Kaya Bilgegil, *Ziyâ Paşa üzerinde bir Araştırma* (Erzurum, 1970), 44.

78. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 72, 167 n. 8; *Saln.* (1288), 39, 60-61, 65-66.

79. İnalçık, "Application of the Tanzimat," 99 ff.; Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 15ff.; Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine, 1840-1861: The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society* (Oxford, 1968), 34-38; Davison, *Reform*, 46-49; id., "Advent of Representation," 98; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 83-87.

80. Davison, *Reform*, 47-48, 107-108; Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung im östlichen Teil der europäischen Türkei vom Erlass der Vilayetsordnung (1864) bis zum Berliner Kongress (1878) nach amtlichen osmanischen Veröffentlichungen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976), 13-22; Pakalın, *OTD*, II, 172-73, "Kapu Kethüdası"; BBA, Buy. 5, entry of 28 R 1280/October 1863.

81. Mark Pinson, "Ottoman Bulgaria in the First Tanzimat Period—The Revolts in Nish (1841) and Vidin (1850)," *Middle Eastern Studies*, xi (1975), 113-18; Albert Hourani, "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, edited by Polk and Chambers, 41-68.

82. Ma'oz, *Syria and Palestine*, 87-95, on local assemblies; Shaw, "Central Legislative Councils," 60, 67, 69, 74, 76, 83, 84, on committees of Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances and successor bodies.

83. In addition to references already cited: E. Z. Karal, "Zarif Paşa'nın Haturatı, 1816-1862," *Bell.*, iv (1940), 443-94; Andrew G. Gould, "Lords or Bandits? The Derebeys of Cilicia," *IJMES*, vii (1976), 485-506; Kenan Akyüz, *Ziya Paşa'nın Amasya Mutasarrıflığı Sırasındaki Olaylar* (Ankara, 1964); Bilgegil, *Ziya Paşa*, 33-67, 268ff.

84. Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 107ff.; Davison, *Reform*, 136-45; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 31-37, 39-74; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 91-95.

85. *Dstr.*¹, I, 608-51; Young, *CD*, I, 36-69; Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 273-89; III, 7-39; Davison, *Reform*, 146-71; id., "Advent of Representation," 102-103; Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 42-86; Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 22-26, 74-115; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 87-95; Lewis, *Emergence*, 387ff. On the French system, cf. Bernard Le Clère and Vincent Wright, *Les préfets du Second Empire* (Paris, 1973), 35ff.

86. This in connection with the Sections for Appointments and Benefice Assignments in the Office of the Imperial Divan.

87. The post was abolished in 1841: BBA, Cev. Har. 7257, 12-15 ZA 1257. It existed again but was combined with that of *beylikçi* in 1845: BBA, Irade D 5736, 16 Z (?) 1261. The undersecretary for foreign affairs was first mentioned in the yearbooks in 1855: *Saln.* (1271), 49, being noted each year thereafter.

88. Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 143, 161-75; for the original assign-

ment (c. 1838) to the Porte of the official who drew the imperial cipher, see Lûtfi, *Tarih*, v, 124. Cf. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 72-73.

89. *Saln.* (1298), 108; Said Paşa, *Said Paşa'nın Hâtratu*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1328/1910), I, 210.

90. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, VIII, 132.

91. Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 427-28.

92. *Saln.* (1294), 112. That it is the same office is clear from the carryover, with appropriate change of titles, of three assistants attributed to the "secretary for foreign affairs" in *Saln.* (1293), 62, and (1294), 107, but to the "secretary for foreign legal affairs" in *Saln.* (1294), 112.

93. First mention in *Saln.* (1264), 15 (pagination of the ms. copy in the reading room of BBA). Known at first as the *tahrirat-ı hariciye müdürü*—a title that later became permanently associated with a quite distinct office—this office first appears with the title *hariciye mektubcusu* (same as *mektubî-i hariciye*) in *Saln.* (1268), 52, same incumbent.

94. For later confirmation, see *Har. Saln.* (1306), 244.

95. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, x, 63; cf. *Saln.* (1273), 48; (1281), 45. The career of the first important chief of the office, and thus the continuity of the office despite changes in title, can be followed in BBA, DSA, IV, 178, personnel file of Sahak Abro Efendi.

96. Cf. *Har. Saln.* (1306), 245.

97. *Saln.* (1285), 53; (1286), 52, 55.

98. Young, *CD*, II, 226-29, 238-40; Aristarchi, *LO*, I, 7-8, 12-13; *Dstr.*¹ 16-18; Davison, *Reform*, 262-63.

99. *Saln.* (1286), 51; İnal, *Şair.*, III, 1587, comments on Mehmed Said Bey, deputy director and later director of the office in the mid-1870s.

100. *Saln.* (1288), 65.

101. Young, *CD*, I, 38, art. 10, and 53, art. 22. For an example of the appointment of a similar kind of official at an earlier date, see Ma'oz, *Syria and Palestine*, 220.

102. *Saln.* (1285), 118ff.; (1286), 147ff.; (1287), 162ff.; (1288), 177ff.

103. İnal, *Şair.*, II, 898-99; cf. *ibid.*, II, 1373-74: resignation of another historiographer in 1848 on account of similar problems.

104. BBA, Buy. 3, entries of 11 S 1257/1841, 15 RA 1258/1842, 28 L 1258/1842, 23 RA 1259/1843, 23 M 1262/1846, 6 CA 1262/1846, 7 L 1262/1846, 25 CA 1264/1848, 6 L 1264/1848, 24 C 1265/1849, 1 B 1269/1853, 24 S 1259/1853, 23 RA 1271/1854, 19 L 1271/1855, 17 C (?) 1272/1856, 16 R 1275/1858; Buy. 5, entries of 20 CA 1280/1863, 13 M 1281/1864, 21 R 1288/1864, 22 CA 1293/1876, and so on. In these registers, the entries often include indications that they originated as circulars from the grand vezir to various agencies.

105. BBA, Buy. 3 entries of 25 S 1255/1839 and 17 S 1260/1844; Buy. 5, entry of 2 N 1294/1877.

106. BBA, Buy. 3, entries of 25 CA 1264/1848 (7.5 hours per day), 5 C 1265/1848 (7 hours), 1 B 1269/1853 (7 hours); Buy. 5, entries of 5 C 1279/1862 (4.5 hours), 13 M 1281/1864 (4.5 hours). Did the bureaucratic workday decline in length with the passage of years?

107. BBA, Buy. 3, entry of 24 S 1269/1853.

108. BBA, Ayn. 767, entry of 6 Z 1257/1842; Buy. 3, entry of 5 R 1273/1856.

109. BBA, Buy. 5, entries of 5 C 1279/1862, 20 CA 1280/1863, 2 § 1281/1864.
110. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, VIII, 92; cf. references to exclusion of beggars from the Records Office of the Porte in *Dstr.*¹, IV, 60.
111. BBA, Buy. 5, entry of 15 C 1279/1862; identical text in Rüüs 217 under same date.
112. Davison, *Reform*, 35-36.
113. Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 303-13; *Dstr.*¹, I, 551-62; cf. Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 225-37; E. Z. Karal, "Rüşvetin Kaldırılması için Yapılan Teşebbüsler," *Tar. Ves.*, I (1941), 45-65.
114. BBA, Buy. 3, entries of 11 S 1257/1841 and 21 Z 1265/1849; Buy. 5, entries of 15 C 1279/1862, 2 § 1281/1864, 22 M 1294/1877.
115. BBA, Buy. 3, entry of 21 Z 1265/1845 for the *Meclis-i Vâlâ Tahrirat Odası*.
116. Lûtfi, *Tarih*, VIII, 92-93, 114-15, 139, 155-56, 176; IX, 45-46, 62, 116; BBA, Rüüs 217, entry of 13 CA 1263/1847; Buy. 3, entries of 13 CA 1263/1847 (same as preceding), 20 S 1265/1849, and 13 ZA 1268/1852 (published in *Dstr.*¹, I, 725-30); Buy. 5, entry of 6 C-26 L 1278/1861-1862 (cf. *Dstr.*¹, I, 731-35); Buy. 6, entry of 6 C 1286/1869.
117. Pakalın, *OTD*, II, 172-73, "Kapu Kethüdası."
118. Young, *CD*, I, 37-38, arts. 6-12, law of 1864; 49, art. 5, law of 1871. The later reference does say that the governor general will exercise his appointment powers in conformity with special regulations, but no systematic regulation of appointment-making procedures appears to have occurred before the next period.
119. BBA, Buy. 5, entry of 19 CA 1296/May 1879.
120. Har., Müt. 8, in dossier headed "Diverses nominations, 1864," Âli to Bulwer, 5 Feb. 1861, written at Bulwer's request.
121. Hurewitz, *MENA*, I, 315-18, especially 317.
122. For example, Lûtfi, *Tarih*, VIII, 12; BBA, Buy. 5, entries of 17 ZA 1281/1865 and 15 S 1283/1866; many *tarifes* (fee-tables) in *Dstr.*¹.
123. Budgets for this period are available as follows in various collections of BBA: Mesail-i Mühimme 419, enclosure 3 (1840); Mesail-i Mühimme 451 (1846); Maliye def. 8989, p. 27 (1849); Irade Meclis-i Mahsus 338 (1856); Maliye def. 18858 (1857); Irade Meclis-i Mahsus 529 (1858); Yıldız 18. 525/208. 128. 25 (1862-1863); Yıldız 18. 525/212. 128. 25 (1863-1864); Yıldız 18. 525/223. 128. 26 (1868-1869); Yıldız 18. 525/229. 128. 26 (1869-1870); Mal. Müd. 11177 (1870-1873). A detailed budget of 1859 for the Foreign Ministry is in Har., TKE 763. I am indebted to Mehmed Genç for the references for 1840-1858. Cf. Shaw, "Nineteenth-Century . . . Tax Reforms," 448-52; Du Velay, *Essai*, 174ff.
124. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, 21, 58; Şerif Mardin, "Some Notes on an Early Phase in the Modernization of Communications in Turkey," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, III (1961), 252ff.
125. In terms of simplification of language, reduction of justificatory verbiage, and achievement of clarity of organization through articulation of the text into numbered articles and sections and the grouping of related provisions, the contrast between early regulatory acts such as the code of 1838 for officials (Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 295-301) or even the Gülhane Decree (*Dstr.*¹, I, 4-7; Hurewitz, *MENA*, I, 269-71) and much of the later legislation found in *Dstr.*¹ is like night and day.
126. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 58-60, regulations of 1861 for Records Office of Sublime Porte.

127. Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 109.
128. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, 74; Lûtfi, *Tarih*, III, 156-60; XII, 4, 141-42.
129. FO 78/392, Ponsonby to Palmerston, 7 January 1840, enclosing "Règlement ayant pour objet de déterminer la marche à suivre dans les délibérations de Grand Conseil; publié vers la fin de Décembre 1839" (*sic*) Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit*, 206-209; cf. Levy, "Military Policy of Mahmud II," 480-81. For a later revision, see Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 79.
130. Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemî," 161-68.
131. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* I-12, 89.
132. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 58-60.
133. *Dstr.*¹, I, 325-42, 703-18; Young, *CD*, I, 3-5; Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 38-55.
134. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 72, 167 n. 8.
135. Aristarchi, *LO*, IV, 7-14.
136. Cf. also Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 45, on regulations of 1872 for Section for Benefice Assignment (*Tahvil Kalemî*).
137. Including the personnel files in BBA and Har., as well as the published biographical works, such as İnal, *Şair.*, and id., *Sadr.*, the sources for such a study are voluminous enough by themselves to indicate why it cannot be included in entirety here.
138. BBA, Şehb. 1, entries of Er RA & El C 1264/March-May 1848: the earliest Ottoman representatives in Calcutta and Bombay were appointed on the recommendation of the governor of Jidda and bore the title *Hicaz Tüccar Vekili* ("agents of the Hijaz merchants"). Through the work of Abd ül-Hak Hâmid, who was no traditionalist except, perhaps, in his literary education, consular service in India also had an influence on the development of late Ottoman literature (İnal, *Şair.*, I, 561-70).
139. For cases where this kind of teaching within the offices continued as late as 1913, see İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1382, 1412, 1483; III, 1562; cf. BBA, Buy. 6, decision of Council of Ministers, 12 § 1311/February 1894, to appoint a teacher of *celi divani* script in the Office of the Imperial Divan.
140. Davison, *Reform*, 90.
141. Aşçide Halil İbrahim, *Hatıralar*, 13-24, 33-35, 50-51, 66-71, 94-101.
142. Outstanding bureaucrats of exclusively traditional cultural formation include Mehmed Besim Bey (BBA, DSA III, 164), *beylikçi* in 1860-1861 and member of various councils; Mustafa Münir Bey (Har., SA 418), *mektubî* of the Foreign Ministry, c. 1895-1908; Abdullah Niyazi Efendi (BBA, DSA I, 550), *beylikçi*, 1871-1885; and Ali Şefkati Efendi (BBA, DSA I, 558, and İnal, *Şair.*, III, 1742-46), undersecretary to the grand vezir, 1873-1874, *amedî*, 1878-1885, etc.
143. See, for example, Avedis Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), ch. 4; Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963), ch. 2; Ergin, *Maarif*, II, 602-73, on non-Muslim schools.
144. Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler*, 39ff.; Mesrob K. Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire, 1860-1908* (London, 1977), *passim*.
145. For example, Dakes Efendi (Har., SA 6) summed up his knowledge of Turkish better than he knew when he wrote, "ifade-i merama tahriran muktedir olabilirim" ("I am able to be capable of explaining my meaning in writing"); Dème-metre Mavroyeni (Har., SA 129) filled out his personnel questionnaire entirely

in French; Pozik Yusuf Azarian (Har., SA 725) made various errors of grammar and spelling; and Henri Armaon (Har., SA 258) lost a position in 1892 for being unable to read and write Turkish.

146. Hurewitz, *MENA*, I, 346-49; Young, *CD*, I, 135ff.; Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 37ff.

147. E.g., Kostaki Musurus Paşa, ambassador in London, 1851-1885; Sinan Kuneralp, "Bir Osmanlı Diplomatı, Kostaki Musurus Paşa," *Bell.*, xxxiv (1970), 421-35; succeeded there by his son in 1902: BBA, DSA I, 684, İstefanaki Musurus Paşa. "Etienne" Karatheodory, minister in Brussels for many years, beginning in 1875: Har., SA 30. Rüstem Paşa headed diplomatic missions, c. 1870-1895, in Russia, Italy, and England: BBA, DSA II, 100. Rüstem was an Italian "renegade," but there seems to be no indication of actual conversion to Islam.

148. Some of the quantitative data on this point is in Findley, "The Acid Test of Ottomanism: The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy," paper presented at the conference on The Non-Muslim Communities in the Ottoman Empire and its Successor States, Princeton University, June 1978. I intend to include a more extensive discussion of the same subject in a later study.

149. FO 78/2019, Elliot to Stanley, 10 March, 1868, commenting on appointment of Agathon Efendi, an Armenian, as minister of public works.

150. The non-Muslim foreign ministers were Alexander Karatheodory (1878-1879), Sava Paşa (1879-1880), Gabriel Noradounghian (1912-1913), and Yusuf Franco Paşa (1919); *Dışişleri Bakanlığı Yıllığı*, 1964-65, edited by Hâmid Aral (Ankara, 1965?), 14.

151. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 38; BBA, DSA IV, 178; Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler*, 130-31.

152. For example, several members of the Aristarchi family continued to serve in the Foreign Ministry, including Aleko Aristarchi (Har., SA 504) as well as at least one who held ambassadorships (*Dışişleri Yıllığı*, 297, 365); from the Karatheodory family, aside from the Alexander who became foreign minister, there was at least one other Alexander (Har., SA 42), as well as his brother "Etienne" (Har., SA 30).

153. For the years 1860-1908, non-Muslim officials of the Foreign Ministry outranked the traditionalistic Muslims more or less consistently and had higher median salaries in all but twelve years.

154. Davison, *Reform*, 132-35.

155. Robert Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period: A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament* (Baltimore, 1963), 216-26.

156. Davison, *Reform*, 33-34; Mardin, "Super Westernization," 403ff.

157. In his biography of Âli Efendi, a collaborator of Hafız Müşfik, whom we shall discuss below, İnal, *Şair.*, I, 95, sums up this association of education and government service thus: "He—like his counterparts without number—entered government service, which was supposed to be the only place for the application of learning and the only source of subsistence."

158. For an especially vivid example of how a chance encounter on a Bosphorus ferry led to such an appointment (c. 1869), see *ibid.*, II, 1424-25.

159. Şerif Mardin, "Historical Determinants of Social Stratification," 139-40; cf. *id.*, *Genesis*, 110.

160. Ubicini, *La Turquie actuelle*, 164-65; FO 78/2177, Elliot's no. 350 of 28 September 1871, reporting appointment of Alexander Karatheodory as under-

secretary for foreign affairs and commenting on the "Hellenic tendencies" of the family.

161. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 38.

162. E.J.W. Gibb, *Poetry*, v, 105-106; VI, 374.

163. İnal, *Şair.*, II, 815.

164. İnal, *Şair.*, I, 751-52, on problems of Keçecizade İzzet Molla.

165. Other, similar cases *ibid.*, II, 1021-22, 1211-13; III, 1569. For advice on literary sources on the bureaucracy, I am indebted to Mehmed Kaplan, Professor of Modern Turkish literature at the University of Istanbul, and to his associate Dr. İnci Enginün, as well as to Professor Fahir İz of the University of Chicago.

166. Lewis, *Emergence*, 95, 146-47.

167. İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1018-19; cf. Mardin, *Genesis*, 124-27, 258-59.

168. Mardin, *Genesis*, 121-32; cf. *id.*, "Power, Civil Society and Culture," 277; *id.*, "Super Westernization," 407, 416, 425.

169. İnal, *Şair.*, I, 139ff., on background of Ayetullah Bey (cf. *ibid.*, III, 1622-24, on boyhood acquaintance between his grandfather, Abd ül-Rahman Sami Paşa, and Mustafa Reşid); *ibid.*, II, 945, 1165ff., on background of Mehmed Bey and his uncle, Mahmud Nedim Paşa; Mardin, *Genesis*, 72 n. 128 on Mehmed Bey as "milk-brother" of Sultan Abd ül-Hamid; Mardin, *Genesis*, 28 on Mustafa Fazıl Paşa as brother of Khedive Ismail of Egypt.

170. İnal, *Şair.*, I, 139; II, 794, 1183, 1211; III, 1542, 1544; on the need of literary figures for this kind of protection, cf. Mardin, *Jön Türk.*, 94.

171. Nermin Menemencioğlu, "Namık Kemal Abroad: A Centenary," *Middle Eastern Studies*, IV (1967), 29-49.

172. This summary based on Mardin, *Genesis*, *passim*, and Findley, "Ideological Change in the Late Ottoman Empire," paper presented at the conference on State, Society, and Economy in Nineteenth Century Iran and the Ottoman Empire, held in Babolsar, Iran, in June 1978 under joint sponsorship of the Reza Shah Kabir University and the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

CHAPTER SIX

1. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 313; *id.*, *Şair.*, II, 1175.

2. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 8.

3. Hakkı Tarık Us, ed., *Meclis-i Meb'usan 1293:1877 Zabıt Ceridesi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1939-1954), II, 401; quoted in Devereux, *First Constitution*, 244, transcription and translation altered. In the Turkish text, I have amended *irs* to *isr* on the suggestion of Professor Halil İnalcık.

4. Davison, *Reform*, 280-88, 307-26; Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, 146; İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1168; AAE, *Turquie* 390, de Vogüé to de Rémusat, 24 October 1871, mentioning friends of Âli Paşa and lower-ranking Christian officials as targets of the dismissals; cf. HHS, PA XII/98, Mayr to Beust, 12 and 15 September 1871; FO 78/2177, Elliot to Granville, 28 September and 6 October 1871. Cf. the Appendix on budgetary fluctuations in these years.

5. William L. Langer, *European Alliances and Alignments*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1962), 155, 164.
6. Davison, *Reform*, 365; Hurewitz, *MENA*, I, 346-49; Aristarchi, *LO*, II, 56-211; Young, *CD*, I, 113-58.
7. Davison, *Reform*, 114-35; Young, *CD*, II, 12ff.
8. Devereux, *First Constitution*, 46-51, 259-60.
9. Ibid., 80-82, 91-97; Davison, *Reform*, 382-83.
10. İnalcık, "Pâdişah," *IA*, IX, 495; B. Lewis, "Düstür," *EI*², II, 642; Devereux, *First Constitution*, 81.
11. Text of constitution in *Dstr.*¹, IV, 2-20, and Aristarchi, *LO*, V, 1-25. Cf. Devereux, *First Constitution*, 60-79; Davison, *Reform*, ch. 10.
12. Davison, "Advent of Representation," 103, 106-108 on mode of election; Devereux, *First Constitution*, 138-53, 255-56, 261-75.
13. Devereux, *First Constitution*, 113; Us, *Zabıt*, I, 11. Cf. Stanford J. Shaw, "A Promise of Reform: Two Complementary Documents," *IJMES*, IV (1973), 359-65.
14. On Said, see E. Kuran, "Sa'id Paşa," *IA*, X, 82-86; id., "Küçük Said Paşa (1840-1914) as a Turkish Modernist," *IJMES*, I (1970), 124-32; İnâl, *Sadr.*, II, 1232-37; and Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*. Cf. Ali Ölmazoğlu, "Cevdet Paşa," *IA*, III, 114-23; Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, passim.
15. Us, *Zabıt*, I, 11-12; Ergin, *Maarif*, II, 502; Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit ve Yıldız Hatıraları* (Istanbul, 1931), 36-37.
16. Devereux, *First Constitution*, 186-215.
17. So said Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 139; cf. İnâl, *Sadr.*, II, 1264-1306; Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani ve Devr-i Saltanatı*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1327/1909), II, 477ff.
18. Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 359-60, 497-510; cf. Tahsin, *Hatıralar*, 18ff.; Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, II, 449-76; Pakalın, *OTD*, III, 635-37, "Yıldız sarayı."
19. *Saln.* (1326), 120-57; cf. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 213-15.
20. Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, II, 449, 452, 496-527.
21. FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report on Turkey for the Year 1906" (Conf. Pr. 8982), 36; Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 25-33, 92; cf. Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, I, 17.
22. FO 78/4608, Currie to Kimberley, 4 February 1895. BBA contains regular series of correspondence between the palace secretaries and the embassies. Quite extensive, the correspondence was usually transcribed into small, bound registers. Some scores of these are in the Yıldız papers, usually under *Kısım* no. 36, *Karton* nos. x-xix, and variable *Evrak* and *Zarf* nos.
23. AA, *Türkei* 161, Bd. 1, Radowitz to Caprivi, 4 September 1891 (T 139, mf. roll 394); cf. FO 371/532, O'Connor to Grey, 7, 9, and 26 February 1908.
24. Sultan Abdül Hamid, *Siyasî Hatıratım* (Istanbul, 1974), 118, translation of *Pensées et souvenirs de l'ex-Sultan Abdul-Hamid*, ed. Ali Vahbi Bey (Neuchâtel, 1909?); Mehmet Hocaoglu, ed., *Abdülhamit Han'ın Muhtıraları (Belgeler)* (Istanbul, n.d.), 79.
25. İnâl, *Sadr.*, II, 1277-79.
26. FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 25-26.
27. FO 78/4343, White to Salisbury, 27 February 1891.
28. FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 26; FO 371/544, File 23627, G. Barclay to Grey, 28 July 1908 and Lowther to Grey, 2 August 1908; Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, II, 501-509, 513.

29. İnâl, *Sadr.*, III, 1611-12; Har., SA 315, official personnel file of Bedirhan Paşazade Abd ül-Rezzak Bey (incomplete); FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 28; Rakım Ziyaoğlu, *İstanbul Kadıları, Şehreminleri, Belediye Reisleri ve Partiler Tarihi, 1453-1971* (Istanbul, 1971), 140-47 on Ridvan Paşa.
30. İnâl, *Sadr.*, III, 1608-11; Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, II, 483, 545 (photograph), 554-61.
31. AA, *Türkei* 134, Bd. 21, Marschall to Bülow, 8 February 1907 (T 139, mf. roll 392), a detailed account of the affair; cf. Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople: The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears, 1873-1916* (New York, 1916), 206-208.
32. Ernest E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908* (Princeton, 1957), 130.
33. Berkes, *Secularism*, 253ff.; Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghani," a Political Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), ch. 13.
34. Karal, *OT*, VIII, 352-75; Mardin, *Jön Türk.*, 39-40.
35. Berkes, *Secularism*, 256-57; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 226-30.
36. İnâl, *Sadr.*, II, 1272-74, 1279-81, 1365-66; Karal, *OT*, VIII, 265-68; FO 371/776, File 20279, Lowther to Grey, 29 May 1909, recounting statement of Mahmud Şevket Paşa about the "cartloads"; BBA, Yıldız 18, 553/548, 93, 38, document of 26 Z 1309/July 1892 on British ambassador.
37. Har. *Saln.* (1306), 631. On the German Foreign Office, see Lamar Cecil, *The German Diplomatic Service, 1871-1914* (Princeton, 1976), 19.
38. Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 332-33, 605. A novelistic account of conditions in the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte appears in Mizancı Murad, *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı*. In the modernized version published by M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ under the title *Mansur Bey* (Istanbul, 1972), this is ch. 8.
39. Har., Müt. 249, dossier on reorganization of Foreign Ministry, report of Münir and Hrand Beys, Legal Counsellors, 19 Mayıs 1328/June 1912.
40. Esat Cemal Pâker, *Siyasî Tarihimizde Kırk Yıllık Hariciye Hatıraları* (Istanbul, 1952), 7.
41. İnâl, *Şair.*, III, 1587, recounting efforts of Abd ül-Hamid to get one Mehmed Said, who had published criticisms of a prominent palace figure, to accept an official position so that Mehmed Said's publishing activity could then more easily be hampered. Influence was also exerted on Mehmed Said's father, Ahmed Kemal Paşa, a former ambassador (cf. *ibid.*, II, 819ff.).
42. Ibid., IV, 2149ff., İnâl's comments on himself.
43. Ibid., II, 1315 n. 2; IV, 2151, 2170; Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 327, 355.
44. İnâl, *Şair.*, II, 999.
45. İnâl, *Sadr.*, I, 385ff.; II, 1027ff., 1381ff.; cf. Abdül Hamid, *Siyasî Hatıratım*, 102-103; Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, I, 325ff.; II, 4ff.
46. Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 330; Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 146ff.
47. İnâl, *Sadr.*, II, 1281.
48. Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, II, 542-48; same account in Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris, 1907), 79-87; cf. Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 130; Mardin, *Jön Türk.*, 126. There is a great deal on such matters in the correspondence that passed between the *Mabeyn* and the embassies: for example, BBA, Yıldız 36, 139/24, 139, XVIII, notebook containing copies of correspondence with Berlin embassy, passim, or Yıldız 15, 74/40, 74, 15, on Keçecizade İzzet Fuad Paşa, minister in Madrid, c. 1901. Cf. AA, *Türkei* 162, Bd. 2, Radowitz to Caprivi, 23 March 1891 (T 139, mf. roll 394); *Türkei*, 162, Bd. 5, Alvensleben to Bülow, 19 November 1900 (T 139, mf. roll 395); *Türkei*

159, Bd. 3, Ahmed Rif'at Bey, son of late Grand Vezir Halil Rif'at Paşa, to Bülow, 21 May 1904, and Stodman (?) to Bülow, 9 July 1904 (T 139, mf. roll 394).

49. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks*, 34-35; also Uşaklıgil, İnal, et al.

50. Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 10-12; Young, *CD*, v, 15 n. 2, describing Abd ül-Hamid as the largest landowner in the world.

51. Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia, 1876-1908," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973; Du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière*, 644-48.

52. The basis for these observations lies in my analysis of the data contained in Har., SA, and BBA, DSA, on the salaries of Foreign Ministry officials and in comparison of these data with available information on prices. I hope to publish these statistics in a later work and have presented some in Findley, "Acid Test," Table 6.

53. After about fifty years of service, Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim went on the pilgrimage. When he returned, he was promoted in rank, his salary was tripled, and began to be paid in gold (*Hatıralar*, 103).

54. Young, *CD*, v, 15 n. 3; Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 311-12.

55. Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 136-38; Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, II, 145; cf. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, 275, 280.

56. AA, Türkiye 134, Bd. 18, Wangenheim to Bülow, 26 August 1901 (T 139, mf. roll 392).

57. Abdül Hamid, *Siyasî Hatıratım*, 77-79, 113-14; cf. Hocaoglu, *Abdülhamit Han'ın Muhtıraları*, 114-16.

58. *Dstr.*¹, VII, 947-48, *irade* of 1903; 1168-69, *irade* of 1903; VIII, 625-27, *irade* of 1906. Miscellaneous other measures for the benefit of the Hijaz Railway, *ibid.*, VII, 929-30, 949-52, 1041-45; VIII, 69-70, 132-35.

59. Unless otherwise noted, the source for all observations about the organizational state of the Porte in 1908, as well as for Figures VI-1 and VI-2, is *Saln.* (1326), 160-245. For a nearly contemporary, Western-language account, obviously based on Ottoman yearbooks and on *Dstr.*¹ but not entirely accurate, cf. Loytved, "Grundriss der allgemeinen Organisation der Verwaltungsbehörden der eigentlichen Türkei," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen zu Berlin*, II, Abteilung, *Westasiatische Studien*, VII (1904), 25-52.

60. Davison, *Reform*, 372, Midhat Paşa's draft.

61. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 67, arts. 27ff.; Aristarchi, *LO*, v, 10-12; cf. Karal, *OT*, VIII, 268-69; Devereux, *First Constitution*, 67-69, 173.

62. İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 670-71.

63. *Ibid.*, II, 909-11, 967-68. On the political ideas of Hayr ül-Din, see Mardin, *Genesis*, 385-95, and Leon Carl Brown, *The Surest Path: The Political Treatise of a Nineteenth-Century Muslim Statesman* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

64. Exceptions or partial exceptions are Ahmed Es'ad (İnal, *Sadr.*, I, 415-35, rose through military service), Şirvanizade Mehmed Rüşdi (*ibid.*, I, 436-82, training and first decade of career in religious establishment), Hüseyin Avni (*ibid.*, I, 483-593, military), İbrahim Edhem (*ibid.*, I, 600-35, military), Hayr ül-Din (*ibid.*, II, 895-960, rose in service of Bey of Tunis and not of Istanbul government), Abd ül-Rahman Nur ül-Din (*ibid.*, II, 1320-46, originally military, followed by civil positions, but mostly in provinces), Ahmed Cevad (*ibid.*, II, 1473-1534, military). *Mütercim* Mehmed Rüşdi began in military service, but became thoroughly identified with the civil bureaucracy before 1871 (*ibid.*, I, 101-48). Küçük Said's

service as a palace secretary (1876-1877) was an anomaly in an otherwise civil-bureaucratic career (*ibid.*, II, 989-1263).

65. Mehmed Kâmil Paşa (1885-1891) and Halil Rif'at Paşa (1895-1901); Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, IV, 507-19.

66. İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 1604.

67. *Saln.* (1294), 108.

68. Mahmud Münir Paşa (Har., SA 167) acquired all three of these posts in the 1870s and retained them until 1899. He was succeeded in all three by one İbrahim Rasih Paşa and then, in 1906, by Mehmed Galib Paşa (Har., SA 426). Cf. Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 500; *id.*, *Saray ve Ötesi*, 59-60.

69. Noted at least as early as 1892-1893: *Saln.* (1310), 158-59.

70. Noted at least as early as 1888: *Saln.* (1305), 134.

71. Cf. comments of Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, II, 161-62.

72. Both noted at least as early as 1888: *Saln.* (1305), 136.

73. İnal, *Şair.*, IV, 2155.

74. BBA, Buy. 8, undated entry flanked by entries of 14 and 29 S 1318/1900.

75. Devereux, *First Constitution*, 37-38, 45-46, 96-97, 243-44, on "Grand Councils"; Davison, *Reform*, 348-49, 354, 356, 363, 368, 393-94; Pakalın, *OTD*, III, 361, "Şûra-yı Saltanat"; FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 22, on the holding of special sessions (*encümen*) of the Council of Ministers at the palace.

76. Karal, *OT*, VIII, 272.

77. *Saln.* (1289-1326) under headings "Vükelâ-yı Fihâm ve Meclis-i Has," "Heyet ve Meclis-i Vükelâ-yı Fihâm," etc.

78. *Saln.* (1312), 156.

79. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, 151.

80. *Dstr.*¹, I, 16, *irade* of July 1872; Young, *CD*, I, xiv n. 8.

81. For example, *Dstr.*¹, v-viii, *passim*: many of the acts published in these volumes appear as sets of documents, including a report drawn up in the Council of State, a covering memorandum from the Council of Ministers, and the decree (*irade*) conveying the approval of the sultan.

82. FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 23.

83. Shaw, "Central Legislative Councils," 82-84; Devereux, *First Constitution*, 71, 113, 171-72, 212. Cf. the Appendix, changes in ostensible budgetary allocations of Council of State, 1871-1880.

84. Shaw, "Central Legislative Councils," 76ff.; *Dstr.*¹, I, 703-18; Young, *CD*, I, 3-11. The *mülâzıms* of the Council of State were salaried officials of some importance, not to be confused with the unpaid supernumeraries or apprentices to which this term applies in other civil-bureaucratic settings. Information on the clerical staff of the council in BBA, TDvM, 10/30-35, documents of 30 B-10 N 1294/August-September 1877; *Saln.* (1297), 126.

85. BBA, TDvM, 10/39-40, documents of 2-7 CA 1297/April 1880.

86. *Saln.* (1305), 139-40; (1310), 166-69; *Dstr.*¹, v, 519-20, *irade* of 1886; 1076-77, *irade* of 1888 (original documents in BBA, TDvM, 10/43-47); VI, 209-10, *irade* of 1888; 1459-60, *irade* of 1894 (originals in BBA, TDvM, 10/50-53); 1474-75, *irade* of 1894 (original in BBA, TDvM, 10/54).

87. BBA, TDvM, 10/58-62, of which 10/60 is the decree of 11 S 1314/January 1897, published in *Dstr.*¹, VII, 146; Young, *CD*, I, 6-7. Cf. *Dstr.*¹, VII, 405-406, *irade* of 1900; *Saln.* (1315), 118-23; earlier evidence for the existence of the courts appears in the *Saln.* references in n. 86.

88. Former noted at least by 1880: *Saln.* (1297), 104; latter, at least by 1892-

1893; *Saln.* (1310), 170-73. On public prosecutors, see Abd ul-Rahman Şeref, *Tarih Musahabeleri* (Istanbul, 1339/1920-1921), 342-47.

89. *Dstr.*¹, v, 519-20, *irade* of 1886.

90. *Saln.* (1305), 140.

91. *Dstr.*¹, *Mütemmin*, 160-62, regulations of 1891; same text *ibid.*, vi, 1105-1107.

92. *Dstr.*¹, vii, 146, 150, decree and amendment of 1897; cf. *Saln.* (1326), 182-99.

93. Devereux, *First Constitution*, 227-30, 276-77; *Saln.* (1326), 170.

94. Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, ii, 591-92.

95. FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 32; İnal, *Şair.*, ii, 918-31.

96. Kornrumpf, *Territorialverwaltung*, 26-30, 35-37, 115-40; Ortaylı, *Mahalli İdareler*, 87ff., 154ff., 186ff.; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, ii, 243-45; Lewis, *Emergence*, 390-91; relevant provisions of Constitution of 1876 in *Dstr.*¹, iv, 18. Additional regulatory acts in *Dstr.*¹, v, 191-96, 947; vi, 397, 404-405, 488-90; vii, 116-18; viii, 712-37, as well as many others in same volumes on territories in special status (see indices). Cf. Young, *CD*, i, 69-112, 119-34, 150-54.

97. For several years following the death of Âli Paşa in 1871, the yearbooks show the Council of Ministers as including an undersecretary to the grand vezir, but no minister of the interior: *Saln.* (1289), 35; (1290), 36; (1291), 35; (1292), 35; (1293), 36; (1294), 102-103. This suggests that the undersecretary of the grand vezir continued for some time after 1871 to function, as he had previously, as a kind of alternate for the minister of the interior. In 1878, however, an entry for a minister of the interior appears, together with one for the undersecretary to the grand vezir: *Saln.* (1295), 98-99.

98. *Saln.* (1326), 204-26.

99. *Dstr.*¹, v, 992-1000, regulations of 1885 on printing establishments; vi, 1247, amendment to preceding; 1544-55, regulations of 1894 on printing establishments and booksellers; vii, 712-13, *irade* of 1901 on examination of all works in Domestic Press Directorate prior to publication. Cf. Young, *CD*, ii, 351ff.

100. *Dstr.*¹, viii, 143-45, document of 1905, with appended table of references to earlier legislation; cf. Young, *CD*, ii, 261ff. See also Kemal Karpas, "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893," *IJMES*, ix (1978), 246ff.

101. *Dstr.*¹, v, 861-65, regulations of 1887 on these permits.

102. *Har. Saln.* (1306), 72-77; *Dışişleri Yılı* (1964-1965), 13-14.

103. FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 29; *Har.*, SA 429, personnel file of Ahmed Tefvîk Paşa; İnal, *Sadr.*, iii, 1704-62.

104. Galip Kemali Söylemezoğlu, *Hariciye Hizmetinde Otuz Sene*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1949-55), i, 54-55; Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler*, 147-50; *Har.*, SA 435, personnel file of Artin Dadian Paşa.

105. FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 30; cf. Söylemezoğlu, *Otuz Sene*, i, 55; *Har.*, SA 420, personnel file of Mehmed Nuri Bey.

106. *Saln.* (1326), 228-33. Regulations drawn up in this period, still in very traditionalistic terms, for the Turkish Correspondence Office and Translation Office are to be found in *Har.*, Niz. Kav., 36/40, "Mektubi-i Hariciye Kalemi Nizamnamesidir," with order for execution dated 27 S 1296/1877, and BBA, Meclis-i Tanzimat def. for 1298-99, 283-86, "Bab-ı Âli Tercüme Odasına mahsus Kararnamedir," with order for execution dated 7 C 1300/1883.

107. *Har. Saln.* (1306), 248.

108. *Saln.* (1312), 190-91, (1313), 192-93; (1314), 194-95; (1315), 134-35; (1316), 144-45. Biographical sources recording the shift to the Ministry of the Interior and then back to the Foreign Ministry include *Har.*, SA 124, personnel file of Neşan Saferian Efendi, foreign press director throughout these years; *Har.*, SA 204, Avnik Maksud Bey; *Har.*, SA 768, Emil Rosenfeld Efendi. Cf. Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 15, 22-23.

109. *Har. Saln.* (1302), 238-39; Meclis-i Tanzimat def. for 1298-1299, 285-86, decree on Records Section of Translation Office, 7 C 1300/1883.

110. *Har.*, SA 25, İsmail Fuad Bey; *Har.*, SA 555, Ahmed Faik Bey, entries of RA-R 1297/1880.

111. Young, *CD*, i, 159-80.

112. *Har. Saln.* (1302), 239-40; (1306), 246-47.

113. *Har.*, İdare 180, circular of Foreign Minister to diplomatic missions and "Notice sur l'institution du Bureau des consulats," 9 December 1873; cf. BBA, A.AMD 1297.6.9, memorandum of 9 C 1297/1880. I am indebted to Eşref Eş-refoğlu for enabling me to examine the latter document.

114. *Saln.* (1326), 234-35; *Har.*, SA 443, Edouard Graziani Efendi.

115. *Har.*, Niz. Kav., Âsar-ı Matbua, 27/1, printed text in Ottoman and French, with handwritten note at end saying the text had been sanctioned by an *irade* of 15 B 1298/1881; cf. Young, *CD*, iii, 1-10.

116. *Saln.* (1297), 116; *Har. Saln.* (1302), 236-37.

117. *Har. Saln.* (1302), 241-42; (1306), 247-48, cf. Temelkuran, "Mühimme Kalemi," 137-38, 162; Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, i, 213.

118. İnal, *Sadr.*, iii, 1764; FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 31; A.A.A., "İbrahim Hakkı Paşa," *IA*, v, ii, 892-94; Çark, *Türk Devleti Hizmetinde Ermeniler*, 153-56.

119. *Saln.* (1314), 212-13.

120. *Har. Saln.* (1302), 224-25, 604; (1306), 230-31, 243-44; (1318), 220-21; *Dstr.*¹, v, 201-202, *irade* of 1885.

121. *Saln.* (1297), 117-18; *Har. Saln.* (1302), 334-35; (1306), 304-305; (1318), 248-59, 436-71; *Saln.* (1326), 598-601; Young, *CD*, iii, 125ff.; *Dstr.*¹, *zeyl* iv, 54-86; Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, i, 145-46.

122. *Har. Saln.* (1306), 313-15; Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, 307-12.

123. Young, *CD*, i, 53, art. 22; *Har.*, Müt 156, dossier entitled "Vilâyat-ı osmaniye umur-ı ecnebiye müdürüyle tercümanlarının suret-i tayinleri hakkında, 1913."

124. *Har. Saln.* (1302), 336; (1306), 312; *Saln.* (1326), 992-93. Whether or not actual conflict developed over the matter, there was at least implicit confusion over whether these commissioners should come under the Foreign Ministry or under the Section for Provinces in Privileged Status (*Vilâyat-ı Mümtaze Kalemi*) of the Office of the Imperial Divan, now part of the staff of the grand vezir. Perhaps for this reason, the official yearbooks do not mention Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, Ottoman Commissioner in British-occupied Egypt, 1885-1908 (İnal, *Sadr.*, iii, 1811), among the commissioners attached to the Foreign Ministry, although much correspondence from his mission is in the Foreign Ministry archives.

125. On Münir, see *Har.*, SA 438; Pâker, *Kırk Yıllık*, 37-38; Fesch, *Derniers jours*, 79-87. On Gadban, *Har.*, SA 332. On N. Melhame, FO 371/548, File 29285, "General Report for 1906," 35-36; Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, ii, 101-103.

126. *Saln.* (1326), 1008-1009, 1012-13, 1028-29. The Tefvîk Paşa here men-

tioned is Saraylızade Ahmed Tevfik Paşa (Har., SA 723), to be distinguished from the Ahmed Tevfik Paşa who was then foreign minister and was later grand vezir (Har., SA 429; İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 1704-62).

127. *Saln.* (1326), 1030-31. Rather strangely, correspondence on İzzet's problems in Madrid is to be found in Har., Müt. 8, dossier labeled "Corps diplomatique et consulaire ottoman. Démissions. 1862."

128. İnal, *Şair.*, I, 561-70.

129. *Har. Saln.* (1306), 631.

130. *Saln.* (1326), 992-93, 1008-33 (counting all consular agents not designated *fahri*, i.e., "honorary"). On the commercial agents, cf. *Dstr.*¹, v, 759, instructions of 1887.

131. Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, II, 453, speaks of the Commissions for Finance and the Hijaz Railway as actually meeting at the palace.

132. *Dstr.*¹, VIII, 309-13, regulations of 1905; other related documents *ibid.*, 313-23, 333-37, 498-99, 657-58. For existence of a comparable commission at earlier dates, cf. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 115-18, 217, 241-42, and *Saln.* (1297), 91.

133. *Saln.* (1326), 162-69; cf. Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 136-38; and *Dstr.*¹, VIII, 90-92, instructions of 1904 for High Commission for Finance.

134. *Dstr.*¹, VI, 566-70, regulations of 1890.

135. *Ibid.*, VII, 100-103, regulations of 1896; VIII, 645-47, regulations of 1907, with table of other references, including acts promulgated in the next period.

136. Cf. Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, *Hatıralar*, 89, for his experience with the Aid Fund.

137. *Saln.* (1289), 49; (1290), unlisted?; (1291), 45; (1292), 46; (1293), 50, listed but without reference to the Sublime Porte. The yearbooks also vary in the titles they assign this body.

138. *Saln.* (1294), 108; (1295), 110. I do not now have access to the volume for 1296.

139. *Saln.* (1297), 110; (1305), 147-48; (1310), 178-79.

140. *Dstr.*¹, *zeyl* III, 56-61, instructions of 1882; *zeyl* IV, 321, addition to preceding; VI, 224-30, regulations of 1888; 570-71, amendment of 1890 to art. 14 of preceding; 1275-80, new regulations of 1892. Cf. Young, *CD*, I, 19-23, partial translation of regulations of 1888. Cf. also *Dstr.*¹, VI, 350-51, decree of May 1889.

141. Cevdet, *Tezâkir* 40, 168-69; cf. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 775, art. 11; *zeyl* IV, 10, art. 11.

142. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 63-66, instructions of 1879; V, 965-71, instructions of 1887; 1001, document of 1888; VI, 3-8, instructions of 1887 again; *Saln.* (1305), 148; (1310), 192-97; Young, *CD*, I, 19-23.

143. BBA, Yıldız 14. 1339. 126. 10, report of 21 S 1309/1891 by Rıza Efendi, Director of the General Personnel Records Commission.

144. *Dstr.*¹, VII, 132-36, regulations of 1896; cf. Young, *CD*, I, 17-19. *Dstr.*¹, VII, 173-75, *irade* of 1897 resolving conflict of attributions in favor of Council of State; this corresponds to BBA, TDvM, 10/66-68. On other, comparable appointment-making bodies, see *Dstr.*¹, *zeyl* III, 101-102; V, 1058-62; VI, 1367-68, 1476; VIII, 128-32, 431-34.

145. Osman Nuri, *Abd ül-Hamid-i Sani*, II, 591-92.

146. Cf. references in n. 142 above. A contemporary printing of the regulations of 1887 appears in pamphlet form in BBA, BEO 232401. Two unpromulgated draft regulations for the personnel records system are also in BBA, Yıldız 37. 47/35-36. 47. 113, along with more or less all the published references.

147. This is a synthetic account based on the references in n. 142 and Har., SA, where the questionnaire normally forms the basic document in the file on each individual. The questionnaires actually varied somewhat from printing to printing.

148. BBA, Yıldız 14. 1339. 126. 10, report of 21 S 1309/1891 by Rıza Efendi, director of the General Personnel Records Commission.

149. *Dstr.*¹, IV, 65-66, art. 16; V, 970, art. 19-21.

150. For example, Har., SA 6, 170, 180, 212; cf. Har., SA 193, an orderly, clearcut case of trial, conviction for embezzlement, exclusion from service, and imprisonment.

151. Cf. comment of İnal, *Şair.*, II, 1020.

152. *Har. Saln.* (1306), 235-36; BBA, Yıldız, 14. 1339. 126. 10, report of 21 S 1309/1891; BEO 220980, Mehmed Tevfik Paşa, Chairman of Civil Officials Commission, to Grand Vezir, 6 L 1324/1906; BEO 223626, Mehmed Tevfik Paşa to Grand Vezir, 27 ZA 1324/1907; BEO 235983, Mehmed Tevfik Paşa to Grand Vezir, 1 Ş 1325/1907, with enclosures.

153. For example, *Dstr.*¹, V, 1062-64, regulations of 1888 for records on judicial officials.

154. Versions of 1881 in *Dstr.*¹, IV, 773-89; *zeyl* III, 62-81. Version of 1884 *ibid.*, *zeyl* IV, 8-31; cf. Young, *CD*, I, 23-26. Later amendments in *Dstr.*¹, V, 545-46, 597-98, 933-34; VI, 95-96, 327, 458, 471, 1179, 1385. For a comparable regulation on retirement of members of the religious establishment, cf. *ibid.*, VI, 1500-11; amendments *ibid.*, VI, 1544; VII, 151-53.

155. Cf. n. 140 above.

156. *Dstr.*¹ VII, 132-36; cf. Young, *CD*, I, 17-19.

157. Cf. Shimon Shamir, "The Modernization of Syria: Problems and Solutions in the Early Period of Abdülhamid," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, ed. Polk and Chambers, 355, 357-58.

158. In Har., SA, for example, we find innumerable entries, beginning c. 1896, that spell out in more or less invariable language that a given appointment occurred on the "communication" (*iş'ar*) of the Foreign Ministry (i.e., of the Commission for the Selection of Foreign Ministry Officials), the decision (*karar*) of the Civil Officials Commission, and the issuance of an imperial decree in response to its request (*bi'l-istizan . . . irade*).

159. Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 36-37. By "persons of uncertain qualifications and affiliations," we are translating Abd ül-Hamid's *ağalar*, a term with variable applications ranging—depending on which were current at the time—from provincial landowners to certain military personnel to eunuchs to illiterate servants.

160. Ergin, *Maarif*, III, 677-715, 890-918, 997-1041.

161. Tahsin Paşa, *Hatıralar*, 36-37.

162. Ergin, *Maarif*, II, 517; cf. Har., SA 260, file of Fahr el-Din Reşad Bey, including certified copies, made on printed forms filled out in both Ottoman and French, of two diplomas from this school.

163. *Dstr.*¹, VII, 212-13, *irade* of 1899; 287-89, *irade* of 1899; 658-59, *irade* of 1901; 939-41, *irade* of 1903; VIII, 4-15, *irade* of 1903 and examination program. On examination systems in contemporary, Western bureaucratic agencies, cf. Cecil, *German Diplomatic Service*, 26ff.; Zara S. Steiner, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898-1914* (Cambridge, 1969), 16ff.

164. *Dstr.*¹, *zeyl* I, 36-58, decree of 1880; cf. Har., Niz. Kav., 34/32, contempo-

rary printing in the form of a bilingual pamphlet with title "Traitements des fonctionnaires."

165. For example, *Dstr.*¹, zeyl i, 57, art. 62 of decree of 1880; cf. C. A. Schaefer, "Geldwesen und Staatsbankfrage in der Türkei," in *Das Türkische Reich: Wirtschaftliche Darstellungen*, ed. Josef Hellauer (Berlin, 1918), 29ff.; Young, *CD*, v, 1-12.

166. *Dstr.*¹, v, 103-104.

167. *Ibid.*, vi, 1143-45, decree of 1891; viii, 744, amendment of 1907. Was there no earlier regulation on unemployment stipends? They already existed during the Tanzimat.

168. *Ibid.*, iii, 10-22, decree, appendix, and rate table of 1873-1874; v, 392, *irade* of 1886; vi, 999, amendment of 1891; vii, 199-203, *irade* of 1898.

169. *Saln.* (1305), 148; (1326), 660-63.

170. *Dstr.*¹, vi, 93-95, contract of 1888.

171. Aşçıdede Halil İbrahim, *Hatıralar*, 114-17; cf. Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, ii, ii, 31-32.

172. *Dstr.*¹, iv, 20-58, internal regulations of 1877 for Chamber of Deputies and Senate; 125-31, regulations of 1879 for Ministry of Justice and Religious Affairs; 674-92, regulations of 1880 for Ministries of Finance, Public Works, and Pious Foundations.

173. BBA, TDvM, undated draft regulations for Foreign Ministry. A reference in art. 4 implying the existence of a special relationship between the Ottoman Empire, on one hand, and the Rumanian Principalities and Serbia, on the other, indicates that this document dates from before the recognition of the independence of Serbia and Rumania in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. The text does not indicate a clear *terminus a quo*, but it is difficult to imagine that such an attempt at comprehensive regulation of the Foreign Ministry could have been made before the death of Âli Paşa in 1871.

174. BBA, Yıldız 31. 1800. 97. 80, draft law on duties of the ministers and of the Council of Ministers, with covering memoranda dated 1-8 RA 1296/February-March 1879.

175. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, ii, 177, 224-25; Karal, *OT*, viii, 415ff.; Young, *CD*, v, 14-18; cf. *Dstr.*¹, iv, 602-603; regulations of 1879 for Board of Audit.

176. Donald C. Blaisdell, *European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire: A Study of the Establishment, Activities, and Significance of the Ottoman Public Debt* (New York, 1929), 88ff., 147-53; cf. Robert G. Landen, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East: Selected Readings* (New York, 1970), 173, comments on integrity of Ottoman employees of the debt administration in excerpts from Adam Block, *Special Report on the Public Debt Followed by the Translation of the Annual Report of the Council of Administration for the Twenty Fourth Financial Period* (Istanbul, 1906).

177. The growth of the crown estates and Privy Treasury under Abd ül-Hamid needs research and would make an excellent dissertation topic; cf. Pakalın, *OTD*, i, 786-88, "Hazine-i Hassa"; Young, *CD*, v, 15 n. 2.

178. Karal, *OT*, viii, 419-34; Young, *CD*, v, 17-18, with budget table for 1897 and 1901. Other budgetary documents of the period in BBA, Mal. Müd. 11177 (1870-1873); Mal. Müd. 14506 (1875, 1877); *Dstr.*¹, v, 1078-91 (report on budget for 1888, also including data for 1880 and 1887); *Dstr.*¹, vii, 129-32 (budget for 1897, including data for 1892-94); *Dstr.*¹, viii, 476-93 (budget for 1906, with data also for 1905). Budgetary information for 1906 also appears in FO 371/549, File 37954, "Memo by Sir A. Block on the Present Financial Condition of the Otto-

man Empire" (1908), 10-11. There are also contemporary Ottoman publications of some of the budgets; e.g., *Budget des recettes et des dépenses de l'exercice 1288* (1872-73), pamphlet published by Ministry of Finance (Istanbul, 1872), or *Bin İki Yüz Doksan Altı Sene-i Maliyesi Muavazene-i Umumiyesi* (Istanbul, n.d.), budget of 1880. Other references in Shaw, "Nineteenth Century . . . Tax Reforms," 449-50.

179. Cf. the order for the reorganization of 1900 in the Office of the Imperial Divan, cited in n. 74, and the regulations cited in n. 106 for the Turkish Correspondence Office (*Mektubi-i Hariciye*), and Translation Office (*Bab-ı Âli Tercüme Odası*), dating from 1877 and 1883, respectively.

180. This was true in certain respects of the decree of 1897 on the Council of State; cf. n. 87.

181. Cf. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Auteurs* (Paris, 1907), xxix, 1174-75, entry for A.-J.-H. de Clerq, *Guide pratique des consulats*, 2 vols., four editions from 1851 to 1898, plus other similar works by same author.

182. Young, *CD*, iii, 1-40. Har., Niz. Kav., Âsar-ı Matbua 27/1, bilingual printed text of "Règlement organique pour les Consuls ottomans," with handwritten note at end giving date of *irade* as 15 B 1298/1881; cf. *Dstr.*¹, zeyl ii, 192-202; zeyl iii, 123, modification of art. 45; v, 696, *irade* of 1886 amending art. 12; 731-32, additional amendments of 1886; vii, 907-908, amendments of 1902. Cf. *Dstr.*¹, zeyl iv, 39-51, instructions of 1883 to Ottoman consuls; v, 105-20, additional articles of the instructions. Ottoman texts also in *Har. Saln.* (1318), 362-433.

183. Har., Müt. 249, dossier on "Réorganisation du Service consulaire, 1908," Consul-General Necib in Bucharest to Foreign Minister, 18/31 January 1909.

184. Har., İdare 324, dossier on "Règlements, instructions, et modifications sur le service Consulaire ottomane, 1877 à 85" [*sic*].

185. Har., İdare 322, Consul-General Feyzi Bey, Batum, 30 September 1902, to Foreign Minister on abuses of previous incumbent; Har., SA 68, file of Krikor Hakimoğlu, entry of 8 Z 1304/1887: dismissal as vice-consul at Poti on ground of collecting unauthorized sums by way of fees; Har., SA 531, file of Mehmed Mazhar Bey, entry of c. 1320/1902 on loss of position as vice-consul at Poti upon verification of abuses in issue of passports and *passavants*.

186. BBA, Nizamat deft. 6, 85, entry of 21 M 1310/1892; *Dstr.*¹, viii, 15-16, instructions of 1904 on use of blank forms in awarding of decorations.

187. The practical effects of this change appear in BBA in the changes observable over the years in the organization of collections such as the *hatt-ı hümayuns* (imperial decrees), *irades* (imperial decrees issued through the palace secretaries), or later the papers of the *Bab-ı Âli Evrak Odası* (Records Office of the Sublime Porte).

188. *Dstr.*¹, v, 459-62, instructions of 1886.

189. BBA, Buy. 6, entry of 16 RA 1302/1885.

190. BBA, Buy. 6, entry of 21 B 1299/1882.

191. *Dstr.*¹, zeyl i, 12-13, circular of grand vezir, 1880; BBA, Nizamat deft. 8, 50-51, *irade* of 29 N 1316/1899; cf. Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, i, 28.

192. Young, *CD*, i, xiv n. 8; cf. *Dstr.*¹, i, 16, *irade* of 1872.

193. BBA, Buy. 6, entry of 8 R 1301/1884; also in BBA, Nizamat deft. 1, 12-13 (?), same date; cf. Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, i, 200-202.

194. Stanford J. Shaw, "Ottoman Archival Materials for the Nineteenth and

Early Twentieth Centuries: The Archives of Istanbul," *IJMES*, vi (1975), 99-100, on publication history of *Dstr.*¹ of which v-viii were not published until 1937-1943. Cf. İnal, *Sadr.*, ii, 1273; *Dstr.*¹, vi, 933-36, *irade* of 1901 on official newspaper.

195. Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, i, 29; BBA, TDvM, folder on İstatistik Müdiriyet-i Umumiyesi, Prime Minister Said Paşa to Ministry of Trade, 23 ZA 1296/1879.

196. *Dstr.*¹, iv, 670-72, regulations of 1880; related documentation in BBA, TDvM, folder on İstatistik Müdiriyet-i Umumiyesi. Commercial statistics began to appear in this period in publications such as the *Journal de la Chambre de commerce de Constantinople*. On published economic statistics, see Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında bir Tetkik* (Ankara?, 1970), 19-21.

197. *Dstr.*¹, *Mütemmim*, 160-62, regulations of 1891; same text in *ibid.*, vi, 1105-1107.

198. For example, Cecil, *German Diplomatic Service*, 20, Table 3; Steiner, *Foreign Office*, 3-4.

199. BBA, BEO 191242, report of the Statistical Council, 30 M 1323/1905, with enclosures from the embassies. For the same kind of statistics at earlier dates, cf. *Har. Sahn.* (1306), 647-57.

200. Heper, *Türk Kamu Bürokrasisinde Gelenekçilik ve Modernleşme*, 47-53.

201. Mardin, *Genesis*, 76-78; *id.*, "Libertarian Movements in the Ottoman Empire, 1878-1895," *Middle East Journal*, xiv (1962), 169-82.

202. The remainder of this discussion is based primarily on Mardin, *Jön Türk.*; Ramsaur, *The Young Turks*; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, ii, 263-67; and Findley, "Ideological Change."

203. Berkes, *Secularism*, 326ff., 343ff., 359ff., 373ff.; Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism, The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London, 1950); Lewis, *Emergence*, ch. 10; David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908* (London, 1977).

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. *Dstr.*², i, 11.

2. İnal, *Sadr.*, ii, 1085; cf. iii, 1771-76.

3. Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914* (Oxford, 1969); cf. Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*, 3 vols. in numerous parts (Ankara, 1940-).

4. Victor R. Swenson, "The Military Rising in Istanbul 1909," *Journal of Contemporary History*, v (1970), 171-84; Sina Akşin, 31 *Mart Olayı* (Ankara, 1970).

5. AA, Türkei 134, Bd. 27, Marschall to Bethmann Hollweg, 7 October 1909: "Als diese Verfassung im vorigen Jahre wiederhergestellt wurde, hat sich über die Türken ein ganzes Füllhorn von Rechten ergossen. Presse, Vereine, Versammlungen, Wort und Schrift, alles war schrankenlos frei geworden. Aber die Türken haben, wie auch andere Kinder es zu tun pflegen, das neue Spielzeug so intensiven Kraftproben unterzogen dass es bald kaputt war. Auf den Freudentaumel folgte die allgemeine Verhetzung der Geister, die Streiks, das Revolvertum, die allgemeine Unsicherheit, mit einem Worte die Anarchie . . ." (T 139, mf. roll 392).

6. Lewis, *Emergence*, 210-38; Berkes, *Secularism*, 325ff.

7. *Dstr.*², i, 11-14; İnal, *Sadr.*, ii, 1066ff.; B. Lewis, "Düstür," *EI*², ii, 643; Said Paşa, *Hâtırat*, ii, ii, 457ff.

8. *Dstr.*², i, 638-44; cf. Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 58-60; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, ii, 284-85.

9. Lewis, "Düstür," *EI*², ii, 643.

10. *Ibid.*, 644.

11. *Dstr.*², i, 5-6, 9-10, *irades* of 1908; 230, law of 1909; iii, 422-23, law of 1911; vi, 531, amendment of 1914 to preceding.

12. *Ibid.*, i, 90-92, *irade* of 1908; cf. A. Biliotti and Ahmed Sedad, *Législation ottomane depuis le rétablissement de la Constitution*, i, du 24 Djemazi-ul-ahir 1326-10 Juillet 1324/1908 au 1er Zilcadé 1327-1er Novembre 1325/1909 (Paris, 1912), 55.

13. *Dstr.*², i, 55-56, *irade* of 1908; cf. Biliotti and Sedad, *Législation*, i, 43-44.

14. *Dstr.*², i, 326-33, law of 1909; ii, 264-66, supplementary law of 1910; cf. Biliotti and Sedad, *Législation*, i, 183-94.

15. For example, *Dstr.*², iv, 79-80; v, 631; vi, 107; vii, 482-83; viii, 402, 725-26, 936, 1169; x, 495-96; xii, 539.

16. FO 424/250, "Turkey. Annual Report for 1909" (Conf. Pr. 9624), 6, 58-59. Same report also in FO 371/1002, File 4235.

17. İnal, *Şair.*, iv, 2153.

18. *Dstr.*², ii, 264-66, supplementary law of 1910; vi, 107, temporary law of 1913. (Art. 36 of the constitution, as amended in 1909, allowed the enactment of "temporary laws" under certain circumstances when the Parliament was not in session. The laws originated as decisions of the Council of Ministers, were promulgated by sultanic decree, and had to be submitted to Parliament at its next session. Cf. *ibid.*, i, 641-42.)

19. FO 424/250, "Annual Report for 1909," 58; AA, Türkei 134, Bd. 27, Marschall to Bethmann Hollweg, 7 October 1909 (T 139, mf. roll 392).

20. BBA, BEO 252830, minute of Cabinet (*Meclis-i Mahsus*), 13 B 1326/1908, with enclosed reports. I am indebted to Donald H. Quataert for this reference.

21. Har., Müt. 249, dossier on "Réorganisation du Ministère Impérial des A. E." (referred to in subsequent notes as "F. M. reorg. dossier"), Kâmil Paşa to Foreign Minister, 22 B 1326/August 1908, circular character of communication clear from contents. Cf. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, ii, 273-74.

22. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, other documents enclosed with Kâmil Paşa's circular, dates through 7 ZA 1326/December 1908.

23. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, envelope containing reports solicited by the minister from the various departments, c. 1912. This dossier also contains two drafts for comprehensive regulations on the organization of the ministry. Cf. Har., Müt. 249, dossier on "Réorganisation du service consulaire, 1908," including various reports and reclassification schemes.

24. Har., Müt. 249, dossier on "Avancement des fonctionnaires," enclosing reports and sometimes actual personnel regulations for the foreign services of France, Austria-Hungary, the United States, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Russia, Sweden, Great Britain, Germany, Greece, Holland, Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania. Cf. Har., Müt. 255, dossier on organization of various foreign ministries, including a typewritten report of about a hundred pages on the French Foreign Ministry (c. 1913) and a report in Ottoman comparing the organization of the German and Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministries. Cf. also AA, Türkei 162, Bd. 7, Miquel to Bethmann Hollweg, 11 April 1910, on Ottoman interest in adopting a Japanese

system of using senior military officers for diplomatic posts (T 139, mf. roll 395).

25. Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 119.
26. Ibid., 27, 31-36; İnal, *Sadr.*, II, 1399-1400; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 279.
27. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, IV, 519-22.
28. Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 50-54.
29. Ibid., 106ff.
30. Ibid., 107.
31. Ibid., 108ff., 174.
32. Ibid., 116, 119; Danişmend, IV, 397-401; İnal, *Sadr.*, II, 1411; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 290-92, 295-96; AA, *Türkei* 134, Bd. 31, report of Dr. Weber, first dragoman of German embassy, present at the Sublime Porte when the raid occurred, enclosed in Wangenheim to Bethmann Hollweg, 21 January 1913 (T 139, mf. roll 392).
33. Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 130, 171; İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 1893-1932; FO 424/250, "Turkey. Annual Report, 1912" (Conf. Pr. 10280), 18; FO 424/250, "Turkey. Annual Report, 1913" (Conf. Pr. 10523), 39-40; AA, *Türkei* 161, Bd. 5, Kühlmann to Bethmann Hollweg, 5 February 1917 (T 139, roll 394).
34. Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 90, 97, 159, 179-80; İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 1933-72; FO 424/250, "Annual Report, 1913," 40; Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 298-300.
35. Ahmed İzzet (İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 1973-2028), Ali Rıza (ibid., III, 2105-17), Salih Hulusi (ibid., III, 2118-31); cf. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, IV, 525-27.
36. İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 2029-94.
37. Ibid., III, 1732-43; cf. Shaw and Shaw, *History*, II, 332-34.
38. Grand vezirs with links of some kind to the CUP were Hüseyin Hilmi (Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 172), Said Halim (ibid., 171), and Tal'at (ibid., 179-80). Kâmil Paşa had an alliance with the Liberal Union (ibid., 28, 36, 172-73), and Damad Ferid was onetime chairman of the Hürriyet ve İtilaf party (ibid., 169).
39. İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 1938.
40. Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 101-102; Lewis, "Dustür," *EI*², II, 643.
41. İnal, *Sadr.*, III, 1721, 2039-40, 2046-48, 2063-64.
42. AA, *Türkei* 183, Bd. 5, Kühlmann to Bethmann Hollweg, 5 February 1917, noting this dearth especially in diplomatic corps (T 139, mf. roll 394); FO 424/250, "Turkey. Annual Report, 1910" (Conf. Pr. 9811), 11: "The committee régime, since it rid itself of men of experience, is constantly complaining of the 'dearth of men.'"
43. *Dstr.*², VI, 238-39, law of March 1914; cf. *Saln.* (1327), 106-107; (1328), 102-103; (1333-1334), 122-24. I am indebted to Turgut Işksal of the Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, and to Karl Stowasser of the University of Maryland for assistance in procuring photocopies from the yearbooks for 1328 and 1333-1334.
44. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Âmedci," *IA*, I, 397; id., "Âmeddji," *EI*², I, 433, where the term *mâruzat* is incorrectly translated as a reference to interpreters. Cf. *Saln.* (1328), 102.
45. *Dstr.*², VI, 238, art. 4; *Saln.* (1327), 107; (1333-1334), 123-24.
46. *Dstr.*², XI, 367, a salary table of 1919.
47. *Saln.* (1333-1334), 134.
48. *Dstr.*², VI, 227, art. 1, part 2, of temporary law of 1914 on procedures for promulgation of laws. Cf. İnal, *Şair.*, IV, 2161-62, on his service as head of this office, c. 1919-1922.
49. On changes in the status of this organization during this period see *Dstr.*²,

IV, 12-13, *irade* of 1911; VIII, 1187, law of 1916; X, 163-64, law of 1918 attaching Directorate General of Statistics to grand vezirate; XI, 309, decree of 1919 abolishing the agency; 366-67, a more detailed decree of 1919.

50. *Saln.* (1327), 92; (1328), 94. The photocopies which I have from *Saln.* (1333-1334) do not include the page showing the Council of Ministers, but the composition of the council is readily traceable from the titles of the officials shown as signers of many of the acts published in *Dstr.*².

51. *Dstr.*², I, 143-45, regulations of 1909; IV, 547-48, revised regulations of 1912.

52. *Dstr.*², I, 71-72, *irade* of 1908; cf. Biliotti and Sedad, *Législation*, I, 49-50; original documents in BBA, TDvM, 10/72-74. Cf. also *Saln.* (1327), 110-14.

53. *Dstr.*², I, 82-83, *irade* of 1908; original in BBA, TDvM, 10/77-79.

54. *Saln.* (1327), 111; (1328), 107.

55. BBA, TDvM, 10/84-85, documents of 6-11 ZA 1330/1912; cf. *Saln.* (1333-1334), 126-27.

56. *Dstr.*², II, 668-74, temporary law of 1910 on martial law; VI, 573, 658-59, temporary laws of 1914 on appeals from military courts.

57. Ibid., VI, 207-12, temporary law of 1914; VII, 124-25, temporary law of 1914 modifying art. 5 of preceding.

58. *Saln.* (1333-1334), 128.

59. C. H. Dodd, *Politics and Government in Turkey* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 47 (referring to reestablishment of the council under the Republic), 239-44; Robert V. Presthus with Sevda Erem, *Statistical Analysis in Comparative Administration: The Turkish Conseil d'Etat* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1958).

60. Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 82.

61. For example, in Syria and in the Armenian-inhabited areas in the east. Available accounts include George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement* (New York, 1946, 1965), 150ff., 184ff., 201ff.; C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism: Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism* (Urbana, Ill., 1973), ch. 1; Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence, 1918* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 48-55.

62. Dodd, *Politics and Government*, 18. A temporary law of 1912 replaced parts of the law of 1871; see *Dstr.*², IV, 421-38. The version of 1913 then replaced those of 1871 and 1912; see *Dstr.*², V, 186-213, the basis of our discussion. A contemporary British analysis of this law is in FO 424/250, "Annual Report, 1913," 24-25.

63. Lewis, *Emergence*, 391. The reference in the law of 1913 to the province as a legal person (*sahs-i manevi*) is in art. 75 (*Dstr.*², V, 200). Cf. Davison, *Reform*, 391.

64. Provisions on governor general's appointment powers in provincial law of 1871 in Young, *CD*, I, 49, art. 5; cf. *Dstr.*¹, I, 626. Responsibilities of the Hamidian commissions for selection of officials discussed in Ch. VI. Cf. *Dstr.*¹, VII, 134, art. 13, regulations for Civil Officials Commission, provisions on dismissal of officials.

65. Young, *CD*, I, 49, art. 7; cf. *Dstr.*¹, I, 627.

66. *Dstr.*², II, 171-75, instructions of 1910; V, 561-65, temporary law and instructions of 1913; VII, 73-74, regulations of 1913; VII, 772-74, regulations of 1915.

67. Ibid., I, 410-11, law of 1909. Later measures pertaining to administration

of Istanbul *ibid.*, vi, 52-57, regulations of 1913; ix, 263, law of 1917; xii, 40, 48, 277, various measures of 1920.

68. *Ibid.*, vi, 130-35. Article numbers mentioned below in the text in discussion of the offices of the Ministry of the Interior refer to this source.

69. Abolition of these posts is to be inferred from a law of 1909 (*ibid.*, i, 603-604) on salaries to be paid to those excluded from the Istanbul police and to the "agents of the gate," mentioned in art. 2 of that law as having been excluded from the organization of the Ministry of the Interior.

70. The same law created both the Province of Istanbul and this Directorate of Public Security: *ibid.*, i, 410-16, law of 1909; cf. iii, 433-34, amendment of 1911.

71. Cf. *ibid.*, viii, 891, *irade* of 1916.

72. *Saln.* (1333-1334), 343-54; cf. *Dstr.*², viii, 666-70, 769-70, laws of 1916; ix, 577-79, law of 1917; xii, 364, decree of 1921. For all or part of the Young Turk period, the Directorate of Public Security, the Directorate of Tribal and Refugee Affairs, and the Directorate General of Public Health had budgets of their own, separate from that of the Ministry of the Interior; cf. the Appendix, entries for 1909-1918 and nn. i, n, and o.

73. *Dstr.*², iv, 637, *irade* of 1912; v, 517, *irade* of 1913; vi, 5, *irade* of 1912.

74. *Ibid.*, vi, 220-22, regulations of February 1914; article numbers cited in the discussion of the organization of the ministry refer to this text.

75. AA, Türkiye 161, Bd. 5, Kühlmann to Bethmann Hollweg, 5 February 1917 (T 139, mf. roll 394).

76. On the struggles of Rif'at Paşa (foreign minister, 1909-1911) to cope with this problem and the related one of document security, see Çankaya, *Mülkiye Tarihi*, iii, 95; cf. AA, Türkiye 134, Bd. 29, Marschall to Bethmann Hollweg, 20 April 1911, recounting Rif'at's concerns over theft of documents, involvement of an assistant dragoman of the Russian embassy in the thefts, and consequent attempts to close four doors in the Foreign Ministry to foreigners (T 139, mf. roll 392).

77. *Dstr.*², v, 308-309, temporary law of 1913; cf. *ibid.*, xii, 386-88, decree of 1921.

78. *Ibid.*, i, 395-406, laws of 1909; iv, 365-66, temporary law of 1912; v, 111, 181-85, temporary laws of 1913; vi, 49, temporary law of 1913; 984-85, law of 1914; xii, 494, decree of 1921.

79. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report on Foreign Ministry Press Directorate, unsigned and undated but datable from internal evidence to sometime after April 1913.

80. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report of 20-27 Mayıs 1328/June 1912 on what was then the *Tabiiyet Kalemi*.

81. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report of 13 Mart 1329/March 1913 on what was then called the *Evrak Müdiriyet-i Umumiyesi*.

82. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report of Mehmed Agâh, director of Translation Branch of Directorate General of Political Affairs, 23 Haziran 1328/July 1912, attached to report of the Director-General.

83. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, draft of circular to embassies, with dates indicating an order to prepare fair copies (*tebyiz*) on 4 Mart 1329/March 1913.

84. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report of Mehmed Salih, director general of political affairs, 22 B 1330/July 1912; cf. *Saln.* (1327), 169; (1328), 163; (1333-1334), 188-89.

85. *Saln.* (1327), 170; (1328), 163-64; cf. *ibid.* (1333-1334), 189.

86. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report of Director General Nikolaki Efendi, 29 Mayıs 1328/11 June 1912.

87. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier (?), document entitled "Umur-ı İdariye Müdiriyet-i Umumiyesi Şuabaunun Vazaifi," with cover letter of Suad Bey, director general of administrative affairs, 10 February 1916, this having an order written on it for the printing and application of the document.

88. *Saln.* (1327), 171-72; (1328), 165; (1333-1334), 189-90.

89. *Dstr.*², vi, 135, temporary law of 1913 on creation of this post; viii, 732, temporary law of 1915 abolishing it and annulling Ostrorog's contract. Ostrorog's position was presumably a casualty of World War I.

90. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report of Legal Counsellors Münir and Hrand Abro, 19 Mayıs 1328/June 1912.

91. *Dstr.*², viii, 181, regulations of 1915 on officials of Ministry of Interior, art. 16, provision for appointment of provincial foreign affairs directors and translators by a council in the Ministry of the Interior.

92. Har., Müt. 249, dossier labeled "Réorganisation du service consulaire, 1908," circular of Foreign Minister Tefvik Paşa, 19 October 1908, on reorganization of consular corps, enclosing a document headed "İcrası makrun-ı müsaade-i seniye olan tensikat mücebine teşekkül eden Heyet-i Şehbenderi." Cf. Har., Müt., 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, lithographed pamphlet entitled "Tensikat üzerine teşkil [for teşekkül?] edecek Heyet-i Şehbenderi," undated.

93. BBA, TDvM, folder on Foreign Ministry, Foreign Minister Mustafa Reşid Paşa to Grand Vezir, 30 RA 1338/December 1919 on closing of consulates in Austria and Germany; and Foreign Minister Safa Bey to Grand Vezir, 11 RA 1339/November 1920, with enclosures. Cf. Söylemezoğlu, *Otuz Sene*, iii-iv, passim; Pâker, *Kırk Yıllık*, passim.

94. For attempts at reorganization of the ministry during the Armistice years, see *Dstr.*², xii, 75-82, 345-50, decrees of 1920.

95. *Ibid.*, vi, 161-62, temporary law of 1914; other later provisions in viii, 679-81, 1097.

96. *Ibid.*, vi, 733-37, regulations of 1914; later revisions of art. 3, on the governance of the fund, *ibid.*, viii, 1288-89; ix, 303-304; xi, 253-54.

97. *Ibid.*, i, 90-92, *irade* of 1908; cf. Biliotti and Sedat, *Législation*, i, 55. Cf. *Saln.* (1327), 168, 206; (1328), 162, 196; (1333-1334), 186, 202.

98. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, report of Ali Rıza, director of the Personnel Records Directorate of the Foreign Ministry, 19 Mayıs 1328/June 1912.

99. *Dstr.*², vi, 820-49, regulations of 1914.

100. Har., İdare 663, "Etats de service des fonctionnaires ottomans," including copies of correspondence about specific individuals, dating at least as late as 21 October 1918. Some files in Har., SA, include entries of later date; e.g., Har., SA 429, file of Ahmed Tefvik Paşa, entries as late as 17 Kanun-ı Evvel 1337/December 1921.

101. That a personnel records directorate existed in Ankara, c. 1922-1923, is apparent from a reference in Söylemezoğlu, *Otuz Sene*, iv, 141-42.

102. Har., Müt. 249, F. M. reorg. dossier, various drafts, including one by Galip Kemali Söylemezoğlu, dated Bucharest, 19 Haziran, 1325/July 1909, and two others, one in French and one in Ottoman. Söylemezoğlu published his draft in *Otuz Sene*, i, 201-204. The draft of 1912 is in Har., Niz. Kav., 27/3, printed pamphlet entitled "Memurin-i Hariciyenin İntisab ve Tayin ve Terfilerine aid

Lâyiha-ı Kanuniye," with prefatory note signed by Ohannes Kuyumçian, under-secretary of the Foreign Ministry, 5 Kanun-ı Evvel 1328/December 1912.

103. *Dstr.*², VIII, 178-86, regulations of 1915.

104. Har., Niz. Kav., 27/3, "Memurin-i Hariciyenin İntisab ve Tayin ve Terfilerine aid Lâyiha-ı Kanuniye," 1912.

105. *Ibid.*, II, 13.

106. Çankaya, *Mülkiye Tarihi*, III, 95, on Rif'at Paşa.

107. *Dstr.*², I, 725-26, *irade* of 1909; cf. Biliotti and Sedad, *Législation*, 452.

108. Çankaya, *Mülkiye Tarihi*, III, 95.

109. *Dstr.*², II, 647-48, addendum, dated 1910, to a decree of 1901.

110. *Ibid.*, V, 498-501, regulations of 1913. Later measures, either modifying these regulations or extending their application, *ibid.*, VIII, 897; X, 588; XI, 446; XII, 713.

111. *Ibid.*, III, 742-47, instructions of 1911; IV, 568-69, addendum of 1912.

112. *Ibid.*, III, 753-54, *irade* of 1911; cf. V, 370, *irade* of 1913 on same subject.

113. *Ibid.*, IV, 648-49, *irade* of 1912; V, 99-100, *irade* of 1913.

114. *Ibid.*, VII, 574-75, regulations of 1915; cf. XI, 611, *irade* of 1920 repealing the preceding.

115. *Ibid.*, I, 62-64, *irade* of 1908 on salaries of various high officials; cf. Biliotti and Sedad, *Législation*, I, 46-47; cf. salary tables included in measures on reorganization of consular service, mentioned in n. 92.

116. *Dstr.*², I, 101-103, *irade* of 1908 abolishing a certain type of deduction made from civil-bureaucratic salaries to turn over to the financial administrators of the Hijaz Railway.

117. *Ibid.*, I, 634-37, law of 1909 on unemployment stipends. Various measures on travel allowances *ibid.*, VII, 88-89, 597; VIII, 700; IX, 614-18, 653-54, 744; X, 51, 570; XI, 126, 261-74, 303, 338-39, 541.

118. *Ibid.*, I, 666-73, law of 1909; cf. Biliotti and Sedad, *Législation*, I, 386-95. Other, later provisions on same subject in *Dstr.*², III, 14-15; VI, 322, 338-39, 640-42; VII, 595; VIII, 315-16; IX, 206-207, 582; X, 14-15, 57-58, 81, 351-53; XI, 223.

119. Relevant texts in *Dstr.*², VI, 160-61, 901-02; VIII, 1290-92, 1362-63; 1373; IX, 116-17, 139-41, 152-53, 163-65, 209-11, 292-93, 299-300, 593, 736-37; X, 12, 427-31, 558-63; XI, 82, 109-10, 113-15, 136, 149-51, 159, 174, 179-82, 225, 259, 354, 368, 376, 395, 488-91, 518-19, 529-32; XII, 90-92, 98-99, 176-78, 373, 421-22, 493, 636-39, 681-82.

120. Dodd, *Politics and Government*, 47.

121. Pakalin, *OTD*, I, 788, "Hazine-i Hassa"; Blaisdell, *European Financial Control*, 177ff. *Dstr.*², VI, 1273, *irade* on abolition of capitulatory privileges; 1336-37, 1340, other related measures; cf. J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1956), II, 2-3.

122. AA, *Türkei* 134, Bd. 27, Marschall to Bethmann Hollweg, 7 October 1909 (T 139, mf. roll 392).

123. Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 70-74.

124. Budgetary legislation for the Young Turk period can be located through the indices in *Dstr.*², where the entries under the heading *Bütçe* often fill several pages. Precise references for the general budgets for the years 1908-1918 appear in the Appendix. For examples of the passage of supplemental budgetary legislation well after the end of the financial year to which it pertains, see *Dstr.*², VIII, 1078-90, laws of 1916 on addition of various items to budget of 1913.

125. Roderic H. Davison, "Kâ'ime," *ET*², IV, 461.

126. *Dstr.*², VI, 47-48, *irade* of 1913.

127. *Ibid.*, IX, 185-86, law of 1917.

128. *Ibid.*, III, 417-18, law of 1911; VI, 227, temporary law of 1914.

129. Quoted in Ahmad, *Young Turks*, 89.

130. Söylemezoğlu, *Otuz Sene*; İnal, *Şair.*; *id.*, *Sadr.*, *passim*, especially *Şair.*, IV, 2158ff.

131. There is considerable documentation on these problems in British correspondence of the period. For example, FO 371/4140, File 13, High Commissioner Webb to Curzon, 29 September 1919, enclosing letter of Grand Vezir Damad Ferid to Webb, 18 September 1919 and memorandum on economic situation of Istanbul government; FO 371/6542, E 6212/201/44, High Commissioner Rumbold to Curzon, 24 May 1921; FO 371/6542, E 6440/201/44, Rattigan to Curzon, 28 May 1921; FO 371/7947, E 4988/4988/44, "Annual Report, 1921," 2.

132. FO 371/6468, E 4613/1/44, Rumbold to Curzon, 13 April 1921; cf. FO 371/6468, E 4612/1/44, Rumbold to Curzon, same date, and FO 371/6536, E 13327/143/44, Rumbold to Curzon, 29 November 1921.

133. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, IV, 467-68; İnal, *Şair.*, IV, 2162ff. George S. Harris has studied carry-over of personnel from the imperial to the republican Foreign Ministry in "The Atatürk Revolution and the Foreign Office, 1913-1931: A Preliminary Study" (unpublished, 1972).

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. For a study of the very different circumstances in which the ideal of rule of law began to acquire influence in another Middle Eastern setting, see Farhat J. Ziadeh, *Lawyers, the Rule of Law, and Liberalism in Modern Egypt* (Stanford, 1968).

This is a selective listing of the sources used in preparation of this study. In the case of archival sources, the listing is exhaustive to the extent of naming all archives and all archival collections consulted. The listing of published works, in contrast, normally includes only those cited frequently. The chief exception is in favor of works on bureaucracy and modernization, theoretical or comparative in interest, which have influenced the development of this study in ways that at times go beyond what can be shown directly in the notes.

I. TURKISH ARCHIVAL SOURCES

A. *Başbakanlık* (formerly *Başvekâlet*, i.e., "Prime Ministers' ") Archives, Istanbul

Ayniyat Defterleri, registers containing copies of certain grand-vezirial correspondence; sampled and found of secondary value (Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 46-50).

Bab-ı Âli Evrak Odası, Records Office of the Sublime Porte; consulted for papers on the Foreign Ministry, Council of State, and Civil Officials Commission; used index volumes 157, 164, 184, 634, 713, 741-42 (Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 59-61; Stanford J. Shaw, "Ottoman Archival Materials for the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: The Archives of Istanbul," *IJMES*, vi [1975], 100-106).

Buyuruldu Defterleri, registers of grand-vezirial orders, 8 registers (Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 46).

Cevdet Tasnifi, *Hariciye Kısmı*, Cevdet Collection, Section on Foreign Affairs (Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 70-71; Shaw, "Archival Materials," 95-96).

Dahiliye Sicill-i Ahval Tasnifi, registers of the Personnel Records Commission, the central place of record for official biographies of civil-bureaucratic officials (Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 81-82).

Hatt-ı Hümayun Tasnifi, sultanic decrees, usually written onto reports from the Grand Vezir; the collection runs through c. 1839 (Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 51; Shaw, "Archival Materials," 95).

İrade Tasnifi, sultanic decrees, issued through the palace secretaries. This collection in a sense forms a continuation of the preceding. Used for early Tanzimat period (Sertoğlu, *Başvekâlet*, 51-52; Shaw, "Archival Materials," 96-99).

Kalem Nizamnamesi, a register of regulatory documents for the offices of the chief scribe, classified as no. 37 of the *Divan-ı Hümayun Muhtelif ve*

- Mütenevvi Defterleri*, or Miscellaneous Registers of the Imperial Divan (Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 32).
- Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*, treasury registers; used selected ones containing budgetary data.
- Meclis-i Tanzimat Defterleri*, registers of the High Council of Reforms, 7 registers, including entries of c. 1271-1300/1854-1883. The *Nizamat Defterleri* are a continuation of this series, the two together comprising the source from which the laws published in the *Düstur* were selected (Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 15; Shaw, "Archival Materials," 108).
- Mühimme Defterleri*, registers of important affairs, used selected volumes for c. 1760-1825 (Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 15-22; Shaw, "Archival Materials," 108).
- Nizamat Defterleri*, registers of laws and regulations, 37 registers (Shaw, "Archival Materials," 99).
- Rüüs Defterleri*, registers of brevets of appointments; consulted nos. 163, 168, 175, 184, 217, 221-23, 228-29, 234-35, 250 (Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 30).
- Şehbender Defteri*, register of consular appointments; used the first register, including appointments for c. 1217-1300/1802-1883 (Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 28; Shaw, "Archival Materials," 110).
- Tahvil Defterleri*, registers of the Section for the Assignment of Benefices in Land in the Office of the Imperial Divan, nos. 26, 30, 57, 58, 66-69, pertaining to assignment of benefice-incomes to employees in government offices (Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 30).
- Teşkilât-ı Devair ve Mecalis*, papers on organization of major bureaucratic and conciliar agencies, from about the 1870s on.
- Yıldız Tasnifi*, Yıldız Palace Archives. The four numbers included in footnote citations of documents from this collection are those designated in the catalogues of the collection as referring to *kısm*, *evrak*, *zarf*, and *karton* (Sertoğlu, *Başvekhâlet*, 74-78; Shaw, "Archival Materials," 110-12; id., "The Yıldız Palace Archives of Abdülhamit II," *Archivum Ottomanicum*, III [1971], 211-37).

B. Hariciye (Foreign Ministry) Archives, Istanbul

- İdare Kısmı*, Administrative Section, various dossiers dating from the 1870s and later.
- Mütenevvi Tasnifi*, Miscellaneous Collection, the most valuable source on the reform of the ministry during the Young Turk Period.
- Nizamat ve Kavanin*, Regulations and Laws, mostly in printed form.
- Sicill-i Ahval*, personnel files, including the original questionnaires filled out by the individuals themselves, for some 771 officials who served in the Foreign Ministry at various points between the late 1870s and c. 1908. Examined all files.
- Tercüme Kalemi Evrakı*, Papers of the Translation Office; several thousand bundles in file boxes; consulted on selective basis. Whether

in topical or chronological terms, this collection is broader than its name would imply and is in fact one of the most important collections in the Foreign Ministry Archives.

C. Topkapı Palace Archives, Istanbul

Here there were only a few useful documents for the years running through the 1830s.

II. NON-TURKISH ARCHIVAL SOURCES

A. Auswärtiges Amt, Papers of the Imperial German Foreign Office

I consulted German diplomatic correspondence pertaining to the Ottoman Empire (Türkei series) for the years 1868-1922 on the basis of the microfilms now held in the U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. The subseries used, with the appropriate microfilm roll numbers, are as follows:

- Allgemeine Angelegenheiten der Türkei*, General Affairs of Turkey (T 139, mf. roll 392).
- Diplomatische Vertretung der Türkei im Auslande*, Diplomatic Representation of Turkey Abroad (T 139, mf. roll 394-95).
- Schriftwechsel . . . über die innere Zustände . . . der Türkei*, Correspondence on Internal Conditions in Turkey (T 139, mf. roll 354).
- Türkische Militärs*, The Turkish Military (T 139, mf. roll 394).
- Türkische Ministerien*, Turkish Ministries (T 139, mf. roll 394).

B. Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris

I used the Istanbul Embassy correspondence for 1838-1839, 1856, 1858, 1861, 1868, 1871-1872, and 1876 (Turquie, 276-404, selected volumes).

C. Foreign Office Papers, The Public Record Office, London

I have examined large numbers of volumes in the series including Istanbul Embassy Correspondence for the period 1797-1922 (FO 78/18-4615, selected volumes for 1797-1895, followed by FO 371/355-7908, selected volumes for 1907-1922).

D. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna

I used the diplomatic correspondence included in the papers of the *Staatskanzlei* for the years 1835-1839 (Türkei, VI/63-71) and the subsequent correspondence in the *Politisches Archiv* for 1849-1850, 1858-1859, 1868-1869, and 1870-1872 (Türkei, XII/39-100, selected volumes).

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