

The Structure of The Ottoman Diplomacy During The Reign Of Mahmud - I

Hatice DEMİR

Abstract

Diplomacy is the way to conduct international relations. This article examines that developing of the Ottoman Diplomacy during the 18th century especially, reign of Mahmud I. This study would achieve its goal as long as it contributes to the prospective works, guide them and enrich the knowledge of the readers about the diplomatic relations of period of Mahmud I.

Key Words

Diplomacy, International Relations, Ottoman Empire, Mahmud I

The Ottoman State occupied a significant place in world history. The Ottoman State was very powerful in the 16th century and became the most powerful state in Europe on account of the expansion of its territory. This magnificent rise could not continue in the 17th century and a dramatically new process commenced with the Karlowitz Treaty of 1699.

The Ottoman State had diplomatic relations with the other states since its foundation. Some of the conditions of the States such as their state of being a friendly or opponent country, Muslim or non-Muslim, and sects as well as some factors such as legal, religious and political concepts designated and affected the diplomatic relations. However, Islamic laws always laid the foundation of decisions and attitudes.¹ Hence, the envoys always received warm welcomes as if they were guests.



MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRASI İZİNLE DOKÜMAN

02 Temmuz 2018

The fact that Orhan Gazi got married to the Princess of Byzantium in the 14th century is the first proof of diplomacy in the Ottoman State.² As of the foundation, the envoys were reciprocally appointed between the Ottoman State and the Byzantium State. In the periods when the Ottoman State was strong, it did not adopt the principle of reciprocity.

From the foundation to the Zitvatorok Treaty, the Ottoman State applied diplomacy of *ad hoc*, i.e. single aspect diplomacy. For the first time with this treaty, which was signed in 1606, a ruler of a country was given a title at the equal status with the Sultan. It is in this period that single aspect diplomacy was abandoned. Until 1793, the Ottoman State had not sent any permanent envoy to any European State. However, the European states sent permanent ambassadors to the Ottoman State after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453.

The Ottoman State was defeated as a result of the wars commenced in 1683, and her diplomatic history was exposed to alterations. The defeats of the Ottoman State in the war fields paved the way for the Ottoman State to have progress in respect to diplomacy.

The period that began with especially the Treaty of 1699 signed after the wars of 1683 was a turning point in the history of politics and diplomacy of the Ottoman State. The significance of diplomacy had increased. The losses in the war fields increased the importance of negotiations in the meetings on the table. When those who assess the Ottomans in a decline paradigm look at the matters from this perspective, they will end up in different result. The Ottoman diplomacy had progressed a lot.

The turning point of Karlowitz in 1699 was a complete trout for the Ottoman State. Thereupon, the Ottoman State lost its superiority. This heavy loss at the end of the 17th century had deep impacted on the Ottoman State. It lost her diplomatic

130104

562 BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, Doris. The complex of Sultan Mahmud I in Cairo. *Muqarnas: an Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World*, 28 (2011) pp.195-219. [Dated 1750. Explores the architecture of the madrasa and the attached fountain house and primary school.]

Mahmud I
Abouseif

11 KASIM 1993

x Mahmud (I)
Mustafa (III)
Osman (III)

VASIF, Ahmet. Sultan Mahmud I; Sultan Osman III; Sultan Mustafa III [GOW, 337]; herausgegeben und übersetzt von M. Wickerhauser. Türkische Chrestomathie, pp. 154-166.

Vasif. Ahmet Ef.

Mahmud (I)

Sultan Mahmud und die Türken. Das Ausland 2 (1829), 1091-1092.

7 UCAK 1993

Mahmud (I)

11 KASIM 1007

- III. AHMET
- I. MAHMUT
- ERMENISTAN
- AZERBAJCAN
- GURCISTAN

LACHMAN, S. The Ottoman silver coinage in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, during the reigns of Ahmad III and Mahmud I. Num.circ. 84 (1976), pp. 51-53.

III. Ahmet ve I. Mahmud döneminde Ermenistan, Azerbaycan, Gürcistan da Osmanlı çarları

Der Sultan Mahmud auf einer türkischen Heerschau (from the London weekly review.) Das Ausland 1 (1828), 289-290.

UCAK 1993

- Mahmud I

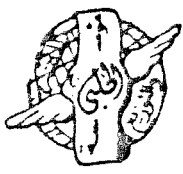
2 TEMMUZ 1991

13 EKIM 1005

• III. Ahmed
• I. Mahmud
• Sikke

MAHMUT I, Sultan of the Turks. Gazel, by Sabkati [Gibb I, 418;] metrical translation by E. J. W. Gibb. Turkish literature, p. 137.

05213 LACHMAN, S. The Ottoman silver coinage in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, during the reigns of Ahmad III and Mahmud I. Num.circ. 84 (1976), pp. 51-53.



الفتوح الإسلامية

بعد مضي الفتوح النبوية

تأليف

السيد أحمد بن زيني وحسان

منقح مكة

الجزء الثاني

الناشر

مؤسسة الحلبي وشركاه للنشر والتوزيع

١٤ جواد حسني - القاهرة

تليفون ٥٦١٥٥

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Türkiye Diyanet İşleri İslam Ansiklopedisi Müessesesi | |
| Kayıt No. : | 10613-2 |
| Tasnif No. : | 2979 DAH F |

Mahmud 218-219

13 MAYIS 1991

- ٢١٩ -

الرضي حكاية كيفية خلع السلطان أحمد المذكور وكيفية قتل الوزير إبراهيم باشا ، فقال في تاسع عشر شهر ربيع الأول من سنة ثلاث وأربعين ومائة وألف كان جلوس السلطان الأعظم والخاقان الأكرم الأفخم السلطان محمود بن السلطان مصطفى بن محمد ورفع معه السلطان أحمد بن السلطان محمد التولي سنة ألف ومائة وخمس عشرة وكان هذا الرفع والجلوس لأسباب وأمور اقتضت وقوع هذا الحادث العظيم والخطب الجسيم ، وهو أنه لما تكاثرت المظالم من وزير السلطان أحمد إبراهيم باشا ومن كيخيته حتى زاد الحال على المسلمين اجتمع من أطراف العسكر اثنا عشر نفراً لا زيادة واستمر عشرة أيام وهم في كل يوم يخرجون ويجهدون في أن يعضدوا أحد من العسكر فلم يحصل ذلك وفي اليوم الحادي عشر تكاثرت الأمة عليهم فغاب منهم أحد عشر لا يدري أين ذهبوا ولم يبق منهم إلا واحد فصار ذلك الواحد أمير تلك الأمة المحتمة فأركبوه جواداً وامتلوا له جميع ما أمر ، وصارت عدتهم فوق العشرة آلاف وفي أثناء ذلك السلطان أحمد حافظ للوزير وكيخيته وأمير البحر السمي بالقبطان وهو في غاية الذلة والهوان أرسل إليه أمير الأمة المذكور بأن أذع إلينا الوزير والسكيفية ، نريد أن نفتص منهم مظالم الخلق فاضطرب حالهم اضطراباً أنجلي عن قتل الوزير لـ كيخيته بيده ثم قتل القبطان أيضاً بيده ثم قتل الوزير بعض خدم السلطان وأرسل إليهم برؤوس الثلاثة بناء على أن ذلك مرض لهم فزاد الحال وكثر الجدل وقالوا إن قتل القبطان كان ظلماً لأنه لم يصدر منه ما يوجب ذلك وكفنوه وصلوا عليه ودفنوه ، وأما قتل الوزير وكيخيته فلم يكن لنا به غرض بل كان مطلوبنا حضورهما حين نطالبهما بحقوق العباد وما كان يصدر منهما في البلاد ، ثم صرحوا بعدم الرضا بالسلطان أيضاً فمرض عليهم تولية ابنه السلطان سليمان فامتنعوا عن ذلك فرأى هو ومن لديه من أهل الحل والعقد أنه لا يظفي هذه الثائرة إلا بإخراج السلطان محمود من الحبس وتوليته السلطنة ، فقام السلطان أحمد بنفسه وذهب إليه في الحبس وأخرجه وأجلسه على التخت ثم أرسل إليهم بأن يتفرقوا فأبوا إلا بعزل بعض أشخاص عن مناصبهم وتولية غيرهم وقتل آخرين ونفى جماعة فم لهم ما طلبوه ، ثم رغب منهم السلطان محمود التفرق فتفرقوا أيضاً ، فأرسل إليهم شيخ الإسلام بأنكم إذا لم تتفرقوا وإلا أخرجت لواء النبي .

- ٢١٨ -

ذكر غزوة إلى بلاد المعجم

في سنة ثمان وثلاثين جاء جماعة من أهل السنة يسكنون في حدود المعجم إلى السلطان أحمد يشكون من المظالم والتمدى التي يجريها الشيعة عليهم ويستنجدون به ويطلبون خلاصهم من تلك المظالم فأجابهم السلطان أحمد وسير جيشاً إلى بلاد المعجم وفتحوا جملة حصون ومدينة أرمقان ونهاوند وتبريز وشتتوا جموع الأعاجم قتلاً وأسراً وامتلات أيديهم من غنائمهم فأرسل شاه المعجم يخاطب الدولة في الصلح فقبلت بشروط أن يرجع إلى الدولة البلاد التي كان استولى عليها وفي أثناء ذلك مات شاه المعجم حسين وملك ولده طهماسب فأرسل إلى الدولة يطلب ترجيع الأملاك التي أخذت من أبيه وحاصر تبريز وملكها واستولى على ستمائة حل جل من الأمتعة فصدر الأمر من السلطان أحمد بتجهيز المسافر لحرب الأعاجم وعند ما كانوا على هيئة الذهاب وذلك سنة ثلاث وأربعين ومائة وألف هاجت المسافر الانكشارية وتمردوا وطلبوا من السلطان قتل الصدر الأعظم إبراهيم باشا ، وشيخ الإسلام وقبطان باش وكنخدا بك لشكاي يشكون منها فلم يقبل السلطان منهم ذلك فقالوا نسمح عن شيخ الإسلام فقط ثم قتلوا الصدر الأعظم إبراهيم باشا وكنخدا بك ، ثم أن بعض العسكر أنكروا أن المقتول إبراهيم باشا وقالوا أن المقتول رجل يشبهه وليس هو ورجعوا يطلبون من السلطان إحضار إبراهيم باشا وأخذوا بصرخون يعيش السلطان محمود وساروا يطلبون السلطان محموداً في المكان الذي هو فيه وأتوا به إلى الديوان وأجلسوه على كرسي السلطنة وبايعوه بعد أن خلعوا عمه السلطان أحمد فكان خلفه سنة ثلاث وأربعين ومائة وألف وتوفي سنة تسع وأربعين وعمره ستون سنة ومدة ملكه سبع وعشرون سنة وأحد عشر شهراً .

ولاية السلطان محمود الأول

وأما ابن أخيه الذي أقيم في السلطنة بعده فهو السلطان محمود الأول ابن مصطفى بن محمد بن إبراهيم هكذا ذكرت هذه القصة في كثير من التواريخ ورأيت في تاريخ مكة

İstanbul'a gitti. Beyazîzâde damadı diye tanındı. Müderrislik yaptı. Halep kadısı oldu. Arap grameri, bedi, beyan aruz ve fıkıh sahasında geniş bilgisi olduğu söylenen şairin bu konularla ilgili eserleri ele geçmedi. **Eserleri:** *Molla Câmi'ye Şerhi, Arüz-ı Endülüstî' Şerhi*

Kay.: Hazim Şabanoviç, *Knjizevnost Muslimana Bosnei Hercegovine na Orijetalnim Jezicima* (Sarajevo 1973); *TDEA* 6/117, *VF.* ♣ Yaz. Krl.

MAHMÜD I. (2.8.1696-13.12.1754): Divan şairi, padişah. Osmanoğullarından 24. padişah ve 16. İslâm hâlifesidir. Babası 2. Mustafa'nın büyük oğlu olup annesi Saliha Sebkatî Valide Sultandı. Şehzâde İbrahim'in ölümü üzerine en yaşlı şehzâde sıfatıyla veliaht oldu. Patrona Halil isyanı sebebiyle tahttan indirilen amcası 3. Ahmed'in yerine, 34 yaşında tahta oturdu. 1. Mahmud devri, Osmanlı tarihinin son parlak çağıdır. Fevkalâde karakter sahibi bir hükümdar olan I. Mahmud babası ve amcasının hatalarına düşmemeye dikkat etti. Devleti ihtilâlcilerin saldırılarından kurtarmak için çalıştı. Patronalılar, hem devlet makamını kuvvetle istila etmişler, hem de devlet teşkilâtını altüst ederek, her türlü zorbalığa başvurmuşlardı. Patrona Halil ve Muslu Beşe gibi neferlikten onbaşılığa bile yükselememiş olan ihtilâl elebaşları, I. Mahmud'dan Sâdâbâd'ın ve Anadolu'da Nevşehir'in yakılıp yok edilmesini istemişlerdir. Maksatları, Damat İbrahim Paşanın en güzel eserlerini ortadan kaldırıp ismini silmekti. I. Mahmud Nevşehir'e dokunulmasını önledi, fakat Sâdâbâd'daki yüz yirmiden fazla kasrın yıkılıp yağma edilmesini engelleyemedi. Patronalılar, devlet memuriyetlerini de rüşvetle satmaya başladılar. *Mesela Yanaki* adlı bir Rum kasabını Boğdan (Moldavya) prensi olarak tayin eden ihtilâlcilerden Patrona Halil, Dîvân-ı Hümayun müzakerelerine de katılma cüretini gösterdi. Başdefterdarı konağından çıkararak oraya yerleşti. Bu durumdan yeniler bile memnun değildi. Topkapı Sarayına vezaret payesi almak için gelen Patrona Halil, I. Mahmud'u destekleyen Sadrazam

Damat Mehmed Paşa, İstanbul'da bulunan Kırım Hanı 1. Kaplan Giray ve Darüssaade ağası Beşir Ağa tarafından, bütün adamları ile beraber yakalanıp öldürüldü. 1. Mahmud tahta çıkışının 46. gününde bu önemli işi başardı. Devlet idaresi, eski düzenine kavuştu. Ruslar'ın Prut anlaşması ile Türk'lere geri verdiği Azak'ı almaları, yeni bir savaşın fiili sebebi oldu. 1731 yılı, Osmanlı başarısıyla geçti ve savaşın seyrini tekrar Türkiye lehine çevirdi ise de yapılan barış kısa sürdü. Ancak Nadir Şah 1745 sonlarında Osmanlı'dan bir şey alamayacağını anladı ve barış istedi. Böylece 1723 den beri aralıklarla 23 yıl süren Türk-İran savaşı, sona erdi ve barış anlaşması yapıldı (1746). 1. Mahmud tedbirli, ıslahatçı, hattat, şair, musikişinas, çiçeği çok seven, lâle yetiştiren satranç meraklısı bir hükümdar idi. Sebkatî mahlası ile Türkçe ve Arapça şiirler söyledi. Suyolcuzâde Necib onun için "*sülüs ve celî yazıda müstesna eserleri vardır*" demektedir. Üç adet sülüs ve tâlik levhası Millet Kütüphanesinde. Birçok câmi, bu arada Nuruosmaniye külliyesini, mescid, çok sayıda çeşme ve köşk yaptırdı. Fatih Camiini yeniden inşa ettirdi. Ayasofya ve Fatih camilerinde, Galatasaray'da kütüphaneler kurdu.

Kay.: *AT* 4/67; Ali Emiri, *Cevâhirü'l-Mülük* İst. 1319, s. 39 vd.; *HC* I/12, 204, 2/33, 61, 152, 166; M. Münir Aktepe, "*Mahmud I*" *İA* 7/158-165; *TA* 23/157; *TDEA* 7/478; Y. Öztuna, *Türk Musikisi Lugati* s. 120, 407; *TN* 1/414 (1715). ♣ Yaz. Krl.

MAHMÜD II. (20.7.1785-1.7.1839): Osmanlı padişahu divan şairi. İstanbul'da doğdu. 1. Abdülhâmid ile Nakş-i Dil Sultanın oğludur. Küçük yaşta babasını yitirince amcasının oğlu padişah 3. Selim tarafından yetiştirildi. Saray geleneklerine göre terbiye edildi. Edebiyat, müzik, Arapça, akaid, din ve hat dersleri aldı. 3. Selim'in Batı'yı örnek alan reform hareketlerini izleme olanağını buldu. Alemdâr Mustafa Paşanın yardımıyla 3. Selim'den sonra 28 Temmuz 1808'de tahta geçti. 31 yıllık saltanatı süresince 3. Selim'in reform hareketlerine devam etti. Osmanlı Devletinde köklü yenilikler ger-

130104

MAHMUD (I)

1 UĞUR KURTARAN, Sultan Birinci Mahmud ve Dönemi (1730-1754), Selçuk Üniversitesi, Doktora, 2012

Sonuç

Halide Nusret Zorlutuna'nın hanımlara önerdiği resmi mektup üslubu, esas olarak erkeklerin kullandığı saygın resmi üsluptur. Bu üslup oldukça ağır hürmet ifadeleri içeren ama bilgiyi az ve öz, dolaysız şekilde aktaran bir üsluptur. Gene de kadınların toplumsal cinsiyetine bağlı iki stereotipik ögenin arada bir belirmediğini ileri sürüyoruz. Bunlardan biri sual yoluyla ifadeyi daha dolaylı ve nazik yapmak, diğeri susmaya meyil göstermektir.

Aile ve arkadaş mektuplarını ise hanımların konuştukları gibi yazmalarını önermiştir. Bu hususi mektup örneklerinde kadınların toplumsal cinsiyetine bağlı şu stereotipik öğelerin varlığını ileri sürüyoruz: muhataba tekrar tekrar hitap ederek onunla bir bağ kurmak ve bu bağı pekiştirmek, sevgi ve sevecenlik gösteren ek ve sözcükleri fazlasıyla kullanmak, kullanıla kullanıla anlamlarını kısmen yitirmiş olumlu bazı sıfatları çok sık kullanmak ve retorik suallerle ifadeyi dolaylı kılarak yumuşatmak. Hanımlar böyle bir üslupla nazik bir diyalog havası kurmaya çalışır görünmektedir.

Bu niteliklerin gerçekten stereotipik öğeler olup olmadığı, ancak daha kapsamlı ve karşılaştırmalı çalışmalar sonucunda kesin olarak aydınlığa kavuşacaktır.

Zorlutuna'nın bu eseri, bir kadın tarafından kadınlara yönelik yazılmış olduğundan özel bir değer taşımaktadır.

İSAM DM-
223560

22 Subat 2014

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

- Mahmud (I) (130104)

I. Mahmûd'un (ö. 1754) kütüphaneleri ve tarih manzumeleri

Hatice Aynur*

Osmanlı döneminde kütüphane yaptırmanın, kitap bağışlamanın ve kitap koleksiyoneri olmanın en yaygın, etkin ve görünür olduğu dönem I. Mahmûd'un tahtta bulunduğu 1730-1754 yılları arasındadır. İsmail E. Erünsal'ın *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*¹ adlı öncü çalışmasında bulunan I. Mahmûd dönemi ile ilgili bölüm, kütüphaneler tarihi açısından yaşanan hareketliliği göstermekte olup, kendisi de bu dönemin Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri için 'altın çağ' olarak nitelenmesinin mübalağa olmayacağını yazmaktadır.² Kağıt bolluğuyla birlikte seçkin olma, tüketim ve zenginliği gösterme alışkanlıklarının değişmesinin yanı sıra sultanın kitaba ve kütüphaneye ilgisinin kütüphane kuranların ve kitap koleksiyonerlerinin sayısının artmasını etkilediğini belirtmek gerekir.³

- 1 Osmanlı kütüphaneler tarihi üzerine çalışmalarının ilk bulgularını *Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a kadar Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri* (Ankara: AKM, 1988) adlı kitabında bilim dünyasına sunan İsmail E. Erünsal, konuyla ilgili 30 yıllık birikimini ise *Osmanlı vakıf kütüphaneleri: tarihi gelişimi ve organizasyonu* (Ankara: TTK, 2008) adıyla yayımlamıştır. Bu çalışmada 2008 tarihli kitap kaynak olarak kullanılmıştır.
- 2 Erünsal, a.g.e., 206.
- 3 a.e., 206-33. Bu faaliyetler arasında dikkat çekenlerden biri de Râbia Hatun'un Ayasofya Câmii'ne bağışladığı kitaplarını, kütüphanenin nâzırı ve hâfız-ı kütübü olmadığı ve dolayısıyla yararlanamadığı için

Hacı Hatice Aynur ve ailesi.

* İstanbul Şehir
Üniversitesi.

Kütüphanelere düşürülen tarih manzumeleri 1990'lardan bu yana ilgimi çeken bir konu olup, sevgili hocam İsmail E. Erünsal için armağan kitap hazırlandığında makale konusu yapma niyetiyle karşıma çıktıkça toplamaktaydım. Yıllar içinde biriktirdiğim malzeme kitap hacmine ulaştığından yazının konusunu I. Mahmûd'un kütüphaneleriyle sınırlamak durumunda kaldım. Yazıyı tamamlarken, Abdullah Uğur tarih manzumelerinin ebcedlerini hesaplamada, Nazlı Vatanserver kaynaklara ulaşma konusunda yardımcı oldular, kendilerine çok teşekkür ediyorum. Her zaman olduğu gibi sevgili arkadaşım Selim S. Kuru metni okuma inceliğini gösterip eleştiri ve yorumlarıyla, Ali Emre Özyıldırım, Hanife Koncu ve Müjgân Çakır okuyup gözden kaçan hatalara dikkat çekerek katkıda bulundular. www.ottomaninscriptions.com sitesinin fotoğrafçısı Nihan Özyıldırım site için çektiği fotoğraflardan bazılarını burada kullanmamı sağladı. Hepsine sonsuz müteşekkirim.

228397

Mahmud I (130104)

SULTAN I. MAHMUD

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi | |
| Dem. No: | 228397 |
| Tas. No: | 956.0732 KUR.S |

Uğur KURTARAN

23 Mayıs 2015

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Ankara 2014

JEWS, JANISSARIES, ESNAF AND THE REVOLT OF 1740 IN ISTANBUL

SOCIAL UPHEAVAL AND POLITICAL REALIGNMENT IN
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

BY

ROBERT W. OLSON

(University of Kentucky)

The origins of the 1740 rebellion in Istanbul are imbedded in the Patrona Halil rebellion of 1730. Despite the lack of definitive research on the rebellion of 1730 evaluation of and its subsequent influence on Ottoman history, the causes of the origins and some of the consequences of the Patrona Halil rebellion are well established¹). I have dealt with the socio-economic factors which contributed to the Patrona Halil rebellion in 1730 in another article²), but a brief recapitulation of these factors is in order as the continued rebellions in Istanbul following the Patrona rebellion were directly involved in precipitating the revolt of 1740.

The treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Istanbul (1700) turned direct Ottoman attention from southeastern Europe for the first time in over three centuries. While the Ottomans were to be engaged in war in the Balkans against Venice, the Habsburgs, the Papacy, as well as Russia during the next two decades, this period did allow time for an

1) The best work on the Patrona Halil rebellion, although it suffers from a very weak conclusion, is that of Munir Aktepe, *Patrona İyâm* (1730), (Istanbul, 1958). Also see Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, 1954), pp. 23-63.

2) Robert W. Olson, "The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics?", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (JESHO) 17 (1974), pp. 329-344.

Since this article has been in press I have published, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations 1718-1743: A Study of Rebellion in the Capital and War in the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire* (Indiana University, 1975) which touches on the topic of this article, especially pages, 141-164.

I wish to express my thanks to my colleagues, Professors Betts, Tucker, Mayfield and Forand for their comments which greatly improved the article.

industries were based. Corruption and bribery of governmental officials added to the lack of control. The increase in "free enterprise" also contributed to the frustrations of Ottoman attempts to industrialize; the domestic opposition was aided by foreign opposition⁷). While many high officials apparently participated through bribery in the economic boom, the Porte did not. The arrears of *ulûfe* (wages of the soldiers) caused rebellion in 1717, 1718 and 1719⁸). During this same period the Ottomans fought a major war with Russia in 1711, and with Venice and Austria in 1715. Inability to pay the soldiery further decreased those who answered the call for mobilization in time of war. In 1715 the roster (*yoklama*) of Timar holders in the *eyalet* (province) of Erzurum was only forty percent of the number available in 1616⁹).

The opening of the Persian wars in 1723 was followed by an increase in taxes, rising food prices, and scarcity of food supplies, all of which were accompanied by a continued debasement of coinage. On top of all this, extraordinary "campaign" taxes were levied to meet the needs of the Persian war. The "campaign" taxes of *imad-i seferriye*, *avarız-i divaniye* and *takâlif-i örfiye* increased the agitation among the population¹⁰).

The higher taxes, the shrinking frontiers, and the agricultural decline resulted in the early eighteenth century in an unprecedented emigration from the provinces to the cities¹¹). The emigrants and refugees were

8) *Ibid.*

9) A. Dimitrov and V. P. Mutafçieva, *Sur l'état du système des timars des XVII^e et XVIII^e SS* (Sofia, 1968), pp. 33-56: 194-251. In 1715 *yoklama* lists accounted for 2,119 Timars compared to 5,279 in 1606, a sixty percent drop. For a critique of Dimitrov and Mutafçieva's book see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Bibliyografya", *IFM*, 27, (November, 1967 - March, 1968), pp. 112-124.

10) *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2, "Avârız", pp. 13-14. The effects of the extraordinary taxes were also felt heavily in the Balkans. See Avdo Sućeska, "Bedeutung und Entwicklung des Begriffes A'yan in Osmanischen Reich", *Südost-Forschungen* XXV (1966), pp. 3-21 and the same author's "Die Entwicklung der Besteuerung durch die 'Avârız-i divâniye und die tekâlif-i örfiye im Osmanischen Reich während des 16. und 18. Jahrhunderts", *Südost-Forschungen*, XXVII (1968), pp. 89-130.

11) The flight from the land to the cities was not peculiar to the early eighteenth century but an acceleration of a pattern begun during the Celali rebellions in the

126149

17 ENİL 2010

- Mahmud I (130104)
- Nadir Şah (İran) (140020)
- Ehl-i Sünnet
- Şia

T. C.

HARRAN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENTİTÜSÜ
TEMEL İSLAM BİLİMLERİ ANABİLİM DALI
İSLAM MEZHEPLERİ TARİHİ BİLİM DALI

MADE YAYIRLANDIĞAN
SONRA GELEN NOYU

I. MAHMUT - NADİR ŞAH DÖNEMLERİNDE
OSMANLI - İRAN İLİŞKİLERİNDE
SÜNNÎ - Şİİ DİYALOĞU

(DOKTORA TEZİ)

Hazırlayan

Saim ARI

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi | |
| Dem. No: | 126149 |
| Tas. No: | 297.69 ARI.B |

Danışman

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Hasan Hüseyin TUNÇBİLEK

ŞANLIURFA - 1999

juries, but Salivahan was killed. This led to the revolt of the Rādjipūts. Mednī Rāy, however, pacified them and continued as *wazīr*. But Maḥmūd, having failed to overthrow him, escaped from Māndū at the end of 923/1517 to Guḍjarāt and sought the aid of Muẓaffar II. The latter, thereupon, invaded Mālwa in order to restore Maḥmūd's authority. On hearing of the invasion, Mednī Rāy proceeded to Āitor to seek the aid of Rānā Sāngarāmā Sengh, leaving his son, Rāy Pithora, in charge of Maḥdū. Meanwhile, Muẓaffar II invested Māndū and having taken it by an escalade on 4 Šafar 924/15 February 1518, ordered the massacre of the Rādjipūts who had defended the fort. He reinstated Maḥmūd and returned to Guḍjarāt, leaving behind 10,000 troops for his protection.

These events completely alienated Mednī Rāy and his Rādjipūt followers from Maḥmūd. Mednī Rāy occupied Gagravn and, when Maḥmūd besieged him, he appealed to Rānā Sāngarāmā for help. The Rānā marched to his relief. Maḥmūd raised the siege and set out to intercept the Rānā, but was defeated, wounded and taken prisoner. He was taken to Āitor, and allowed to return to Mālwa after his wounds were healed, but had to surrender his crown and leave behind his son as a hostage.

On his return to Māndū, he found his position extremely weak; and it was further weakened by the withdrawal of the Guḍjaratī forces by Muẓaffar II at his request. The result was that Rānā Sanga occupied Mandasor; Mednī Rāy seized Ānderi; Silhadi occupied Bhilsa and Raisin; and Sikandar Khān declared his independence in Satwa². The disintegration of Maḥmūd's power was almost complete, and he was left with only a small territory around Māndū. But instead of consolidating his position and trying to recover his territories, Maḥmūd committed the mistake of giving asylum and support to Ānd Khān against his brother, Bahādur Khān, who had ascended the throne of Guḍjarāt. Bahādur Khān was greatly offended and invaded Mālwa. He besieged Māndū, captured it by assault on 9 Šahābān 937/2 April 1531, and caused the *khutba* to be recited in his name. Mālwa thus passed into his possession. Maḥmūd and his sons were sent as prisoners to Āmpāner. On the way, he made an attempt to escape, but was seized and killed along with his sons on the night of 14 Šahābān 837/2 April 1531; with his death the Khaldjī dynasty of Mālwa came to an end.

Bibliography: See that for MAHMŪD KHALDĪ I. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

MAHMŪD, the name of two Ottoman sultans.

1. MAHMŪD I (1143-68/1730-54), (with the title of Ghāzī and the literary nom-de-plume of Sabkatī). The eldest son of Sultan Muṣṭafā II, he was born on the night of 3 Muḥarram 1108/2 August 1696 in the Palace at Edirne. His mother was Wālide Šāliḥa Sulṭān. He undertook his first studies on Wednesday, 20 Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧja 1113/18 May 1702 with a grand ceremony at the Edirne Palace which his father Muṣṭafā II attended in person, and was given his first lesson by the *Šaykh al-Islām* Sayyid Fayḍ Allāh Efendi. In due course, the latter's son Rūmeli Pāyeli Ibrāhīm Efendi was appointed to act as his tutor. Following the deposition of his father Muṣṭafā II as a result of the "Edirne Incident" and the accession of his uncle Aḥmad III on 10 Rabī' II 1115/23 August 1703, Prince Maḥmūd, together with his mother and her other children, was taken into custody by the insurgents at the Palace in Edirne and was subsequently taken to Istanbul along with the Ottoman palace staff and shut up in a private apartment in the Imperial

Palace (the Sarāy-i dǧedīd). His circumcision was effected with a simple ceremony on Thursday, 22 Dhu 'l-Hiǧǧja 1116/17 April 1705.

Prince Maḥmūd's life of seclusion in the Palace continued for 27 years up to 1730. It was only when Aḥmad III was forced to abdicate the Ottoman throne as a result of the Patrona Kḥalīl revolt that he was set free, becoming sultan on Monday, 19 Rabī' I 1143/2 October 1730. Having ordered his release from the apartment in the Palace where he had been shut up, his uncle invited Maḥmūd to spend the night of 1-2 October with him so that he could advise him on the administration of the Empire. He then joined his two sons in swearing allegiance to Maḥmūd and was thus the first to recognise him officially as sultan. The formalities necessary for his accession were completed at Eyyūb on Friday, 23 Rabī' I 1143/6 October 1730, when he girded on the sword and the *khutba* was read in his name for the first time.

During the first days of Maḥmūd's reign, the rebels had complete control over the affairs of the state. In particular, their leader Patrona Kḥalīl forced the sultan to carry out his wishes with regard to new appointments, while Maḥmūd I also complied with the rebels' demands by agreeing to the abolition of one category of taxes and to changes in the way some others were collected, and he had to sit idly by as the buildings at pleasure-grounds such as Kāghitkhāne and Fenerbāghçesi were demolished by the insurgents. However, disorderly conduct of this kind was not permitted for much longer. Under the leadership of Maḥmūd's mother Šāliḥa Sulṭān, some of the Empire's most experienced statesmen—the *Kızlar aghası* Beṣhīr Agha, Kaḗlan Girāy, a former *Kḥān* of the Crimea, and the *Kapudan-i deryā* Dǧānim-Kḥōǧja Meḥmed Paṣha—cooperated with Kaḗkulak Ibrāhīm Agha and others in arranging for the leading rebels to be put to death in the Imperial Palace—inside the Rewān Kaṣr and the Sūnnet Odası—on 25 November 1730, and Maḥmūd was thus assured of the freedom to rule without such interventions.

Despite the outbreak of a second uprising on 25 March 1731, which seems to have been a continuation of the first revolt and may even have been organised by Fāṭima Sulṭān, the daughter of Aḥmad III and widow of the executed Grand Vizier Newsḥehirli Ibrāhīm Paṣha, in order to revenge herself on the new Sultan, the people's manifest support for Maḥmūd and the strong measures taken by the Grand Vizier Kaḗkulak Ibrāhīm Paṣha and the *Kapudan-i deryā* Dǧānim Kḥōǧja Meḥmed Paṣha meant that this disturbance was confined to the neighbourhoods of Bāyezīd and Aḗsaray and was suppressed before it could gain strength.

After achieving a strong position in the internal affairs of the Empire, Maḥmūd I turned his attention to the problems facing it abroad. His first moves were against Nādir Shāh, who was causing the Ottoman Empire difficulties in the East. The forces which he sent against Iran under the command of the governor of Baǧhdād, Eyyūbī Aḥmad Paṣha, won the first success of his reign at the battle of Korīǧjan on 13 Rabī' I 1144/15 September 1731, and by the treaty signed on 10 January 1732 the Šafawīd ruler Shāh Ṭahmāsp II agreed to cede the districts of Gandǧja, Tiflis, Rewān, Šhīrwān and Dāǧhistān to Maḥmūd. Nevertheless, the war between the Ottomans and Iran could not be concluded because of Maḥmūd's objections over the question of Tabrīz, and it continued to rage with full force through the districts of al-Mawṣil, Kirkūk, Baǧhdād, Tabrīz, Gandǧja, Tiflis and Kaṣrs until the end of 1735, during the period when Nādir

Et/6
Maḥmūd I

23 TEMMUZ 1997

nali, ii, 650-8 (anno 11, §§ 175-84); W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 138-9; Ibtisām Marhūn al-Ṣaffār, *Mālik wa-Mutammim ibnā Nuwayra*, Baghdād 1968. A study by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr is mentioned by Aḥmad Amīn and Hārūn in their edition of the *Hamāsa* (797, n.). This study was published in *al-Mukhtaṭaf*, August 1945, and *al-Hady al-nabawī*, *Shā'bān* 1364.

Verses attributed to Mālik have been collected by Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, and al-Ṣaffār, *op. cit.* To these may be added the following references: *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 25, 77, 565, 720; *Ikd*, v, 234-5; *Nakā'id*, 258, 412; Ibn Hishām, iii, 260; Zamakhsharī, *al-Mustakṣā fi amthāl al-'Arab*, Hyderabad 1381/1962, ii, 387, *Djarīr*, *Dīwān*, 262; Abū Hilal al-'Askari, *Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, Cairo 1352, ii, 55.

(ELLA LANDAU-TASSERON)

AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL, AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL, AL-MALIK AL-MANŠŪR, etc.; see for those Ayyūbid monarchs with names of this type, the second element of the name, i.e. AL-'ĀDIL, AL-KĀMIL, AL-MANŠŪR, etc.

AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR. [see ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN].

MĀLIK AL-ṬĀ'Ī. [see MĀLIK B. ABI 'L-SAMH].

MALIK AḤMAD BAḤRĪ, later styled Aḥmad Nizām Shāh Bahrī and regarded as the first independent ruler of the Nizām Shāhī [q.v.] sultanate, was the son of Malik Ḥasan Nizām al-Mulk Bahrī, the converted Hindū who eventually became a *wazīr* of the Bahmanī sultanate after the murder of Maḥmūd Gāwān [q.v.] in 886/1481.

There is no reliable evidence concerning his date of birth or his early years, but he is known to have accompanied his father when the latter was appointed governor of Telingānā in 875/1471. Here his ability and promise were so conspicuous that Maḥmūd Gāwān separated father and son, sending Aḥmad to Māhūr [q.v.] as a commander of 300, where he spent five years before becoming his father's deputy governor at Rāḍjamundarī. After Malik Ḥasan came to power in Bidar, when the boy king Maḥmūd had succeeded to the Bahmanī throne, he strengthened his following by conferring assignments on his own men, his son Malik Aḥmad receiving Bīr and Dhārūr and other districts around Dawlatābād and Ḍjunnār, residing in the latter place and successfully suppressing Marāthā oppression; later, at his father's bidding, he attacked the Marāthā hill-forts whose chieftains had been withholding the annual tribute, and extended his control over the entire Konkan coast. In 891/1486 Malik Ḥasan was murdered and Aḥmad assumed his title of Nizām al-Mulk; he continued his campaign of conquest against Marāthā-held forts, and soon held the entire north up to the river Godāvārī, where his good administration commanded much local respect and support. The court party, mostly of Afākīs, at Bidar was against him and his successes; but an army sent against him was defeated near Nikāpur, later named Bāgh, from the garden which Aḥmad laid out to commemorate his victory in 895/1490; a palace he built there (Bāgh-i Nizām) became his residence, and the city which grew around it was named Aḥmadnagar. He then styled himself Aḥmad Nizām Shāh Bahrī, and omitted the name of the Bahmanī sultan from the *khutba*; this, and his use of the white umbrella, were resented by some Bahmanī loyalists, but he had become too strong and his independence dates from this time.

For his future history, and for Bibliography, see further under NIZĀM SHĀHĪ. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

MALIK 'AMBAR, a Ḥabashī *wazīr* and military commander who served the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar in the Deccan.

Born around 955/1548 in Abyssinia, Malik 'Ambar was sold into slavery in Baghdād and subsequently brought to India, where he was sold to the *wazīr* of the Nizām Shāhī court. After his patron died, he sought, but was refused, the patronage of other local powers in the Deccan. He then returned to Aḥmadnagar, where in 1006/1596 he commanded a cavalry of 150 horse. The fall of Aḥmadnagar fort to Mughal arms in 1009/1600 created turmoil in the kingdom, during which Malik 'Ambar rose to particular prominence. Supported by Deccanis and other Ḥabashīs, he managed to rescue the dynasty from extinction by raising a member of the royal family, Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh II, to the throne. The monarch's power was only *de jure*, however, as the *wazīr* wielded effective power from this point until his death in 1035/1626. Malik 'Ambar fended off not only his rival for military supremacy within the kingdom, Miyān Rāḍjū, who was finally suppressed in 1016/1607, but also the armies of the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty of Bidjāpur to his south, European naval powers on the Konkan coast and above all, the armies of the Mughal Empire to his north. Throughout the period 1009-35/1600-26, the emperors Akbar and Ḍjihāngīr [q.v.] mounted large-scale invasions of the Deccan in repeated attempts to subdue the Ḥabashī *wazīr*.

Malik 'Ambar's name has endured for several reasons. First, he represents perhaps the most striking example of Ḥabashī slave mobility in Indo-Muslim history. Second, despite his preoccupation with military matters, he placed the land revenue system of the kingdom on a firm and rational basis, probably imitating the reforms of Rāḍjā Todar Mal in this respect. Third, it was he who pioneered the recruiting and training of Marāthā [q.v.] light cavalry and also the organised use of guerrilla tactics in Indian warfare. Even his arch-opponent, the Mughal Emperor Ḍjahāngīr, acknowledged that as a commander, Malik 'Ambar was without equal. Finally, he promoted the social and political fortunes of several Marāthā families—most notably that of Shāhḍjī Bhonsle, father of the Marāthā chieftain Shīvāḍjī—which contributed to the subsequent rise of Marāthā power in western India.

Bibliography: Original authorities include the *Akbar-nāma*, completed in 1010/1602 by Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak, Calcutta 1873-87, tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1897-1921; *Futūḥāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*, completed ca. 1054/1644 by Ḥāshim Bēg Astarābādī, ms. London, British Library; *Firishṭa*, abridged tr. J. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Calcutta 1910; *Ikbāl-nāma-yi Ḍjahāngīrī*, completed 1028-9/1619-20 by Muḥammad Shārīf Mu'tamad Khān, Lucknow 1870; *Ma'āthir-i Rahīmī*, completed 1047/1637 by 'Abd al-Bākī Nihāwandī, Calcutta 1910-31. Secondary authorities include J. G. Duff, *A history of the Mahrattas*, ed. J. P. Guha, New Delhi 1971; W. H. Moreland, *Pieter van den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)*, in *Journal of Indian History*, x (1931), 235-50; xi (1932), 1-16, 203-18; idem, *From Gujarat to Golconda in the reign of Jahangir*, in *ibid.*, xvii (1938), 135-50; D. R. Seth, *The Life and times of Malik Ambar*, in *IC*, xxxi (1957), 142-55; Radhey Shyam, *Life and times of Malik Ambar*, New Delhi 1968. (R. M. EATON)

MALIK AYĀZ, Indian Muslim admiral, administrator and statesman, one of the most distinguished personalities of the reigns of the Guḍjarāt Sultans Maḥmūd I (863-917/1458-1511) and Muzaḥfar II (917-32/1511-26).

Ayāz, according to the Portuguese historian João de Barros, was originally a Russian slave, born in Georgia, who fell into the hands of the Turks and thus

El, 6
Mehmed I

Mahmud (I)
(130104)

محمود یکم عثمانی

مجله موسساتی

جلد پنجم، در صفحات فراوان؛ تاریخ تمدن، ویل دورانت، ۱۱/
۸۵۲؛ تاریخ عثمانی، در صفحات فراوان؛ خطرات سلطان
عبدالحمید دوم، ۱۶، ۱۷؛ دولت عثمانی از اقدار تا انحلال، ۱۱۱ -
۱۱۵؛ روضة السلاطین و جواهرالعجایب، ۲۷۲؛ روضة الصفا، ۱۰/
۱۷۴، ۱۹۲، ۲۴۵، ۲۴۷، ۲۶۴، ۲۹۵؛ زبان و ادب فارسی در قلمرو
عثمانی، ۲۴۰؛ سفارت استانبول، ۱۲۶ - ۱۷۸؛ سفارتنامه‌های ایران،
۱۸۵، ۲۷۸؛ سلطان‌نامه، ۵۶ - ۵۷؛ صدرا لتواریخ، ۶۱؛ عباس‌نیرزا
ملک‌آرا، ۷۸؛ فرمانروایان شاخ زرین، ۱۱۹ - ۱۲۲؛ قاموس‌الاعلام،
۴۲۲۵/۶ - ۴۲۲۶؛ قرارها و قراردادهای، ۱۱ - ۱۷؛ قرون عثمانی، در
صفحات فراوان؛ ففتاز و سیاست امپراتوری عثمانی، ۱۲۶؛ نگاهی
به روند نفوذ و گسترش زبان و ادب فارسی در ترکیه، ۱۸۲ - ۱۸۳،
۵۱۷، ۵۱۸

Encyclopaedia of Islami, 5/58; İslam ansiklopedisi, 7/165-
170; Türk dili ve edebiyatı ansiklopedisi, 6/115.

معصومی

محمود موسساتی (mah.mud-e.mus.tā.ri)، محمود بیاضی‌زاده
دامادی فرزند خلیل موسساتی رومی، - حلب ۱۰۹۹ ق، ادیب
عثمانی. در زادبومش به فراگیری دانش پرداخت. سپس به
استانبول رفت و نزد دانشمندان آن دیار در تکمیل دانش‌های
خویش کوشید. پس از آن در مدارس استانبول سرگرم تدریس
شد. وی در علوم معانی و بیان، بدیع و فقه بلندآوازه بود. در
۱۰۹۹ ق قاضی حلب بود. از آثارش: شرح البدیعیه ابن جابر؛ شرح
منصوبات الجامی؛ الفهم الالمعی فی شرح عروض اندلسی.
منابع: ایضاح‌المکتون، ۲/۲۱۳؛ جامی، حکمت، ۲۱۲ - ۲۱۳؛
الجوهرا لاسنی، ۱۲۹؛ شعراء علما و مردان نامی بوسنی و هرزگوین،
۱۸۱؛ عثمانلی مؤلفتری، ۲/۲۶؛ معجم المؤلفین، ۱۲/۱۶۲؛ نقد و
بررسی آثار و شرح احوال جامی، ۱۶۷ - ۱۶۸؛ هدیه‌المعارفین،
۴۱۶/۲

حمیدیان

محمود یکم عثمانی (mah.mud-e.ey.kom-e.os.mā.ni)،
محمودخان‌غازی، فرزند مصطفی دوم، ۱۱۰۸ - ۱۱۶۸ ق،
بیست و چهارمین پادشاه امپراتوری عثمانی (۱۱۴۳ - ۱۱۶۸ ق/
۱۷۳۰ - ۱۷۵۴ م). بیش‌تر زندگانی‌اش در گوشه‌نشینی سپری

آموزش علوم غیرمذهبی را رواج دهد و بدین ترتیب، سبب
بیداری و آگاهی جامعه عثمانی شود. در پی این اقدامات بحران
دیگری در مصر سر برآورد. در ۱۲۵۵ ق، حافظ‌پاشا، حکمران
کردستان، برای نبرد با ابراهیم‌پاشا از فرات گذشت و عینتاب را
تسخیر کرد. در این هنگام، لشکر عثمانی نیز با گذشتن از فرات
به سوی حلب پیش رفت. اما ابراهیم‌پاشا در نزدیکی نیزیب/
نزیب، نیروهای عثمانی را درهم‌کوبید. چندی پس از این
شکست، محمود دوم بر اثر بیماری سل درگذشت (۱۲۵۵ ق) و
به جای او پسرش، عبدالمجید یکم، به تخت نشست. محمود
دوم با همه تاكامی‌هایش در نبردهای خارجی، پادشاهی مقتدر و
باکفایت بود، چنان‌که پس از جدا شدن سرزمین‌های بسیاری از
قلمرو عثمانی در دوره فرمانروایی او، به هنگام درگذشتش
دولت عثمانی مقتدرتر از هنگام تخت‌نشینی او بود. نوثل بازیگر
می‌نویسد: «محمود مردی خوش‌قیافه بود... تصمیم گرفت
تمدن غربی را وارد کشورش کند و پس از مدت کوتاهی که از
جلوسش می‌گذشت دست به اصلاحات زد... یک دانشکده
پزشکی با کمک اطبای فرانسوی تأسیس کرد، تعدادی دانشجوی
برای تحصیل به پاریس و لندن و وین فرستاد... شیوع بیماری
طاعون... را به یک دهم کاهش داد... تصمیم به سرشماری گرفت
و معلوم شد جمعیت قسطنطنیه... شش صد و سی تن هزار
است. او یک روزنامه و نشریه رسمی دولتی طبق نمونه ژورنال
اقسیل فرانسه تأسیس کرد. دستور ضرب سکه داد و نخستین
پل را بر روی خلیج شاخ زرین بنا کرد... دستور داد لباس ملی
اهالی کشور تغییر یابد... استراتفورد کیتینگ (کارمند سفارت
انگلیس در استانبول و بعدها بزرگ‌ترین سفیر انگلیس در
عثمانی) درباره تحولات و اصلاحاتی که محمود دوم در
امپراتوری عثمانی ایجاد کرده بود، می‌گوید: «اگر کسی مدتی از
ترکیه دور بوده و اکنون به این کشور بازگردد، متوجه تغییرات
شگفت‌انگیزی که صورت گرفته است، می‌شود.» محمود دوم
پادشاهی مترقی، دانش‌دوست و ادب‌پرور بود و خود نیز شعر
می‌سرود و عدلی تخلص می‌کرد.

منابع: احسن التواریخ، ۲۵۸ - ۳۱۴؛ اکسیرالتواریخ، ۲۱۰، ۳۶۹، ۴۴۳،
۴۵۸، ۵۱۰، ۵۱۳؛ ایران و عثمانی در آستانه قرن بیستم، ۱/۱۱، ۱۶،
۴۴، ۷۲، ۳۸۷/۲، ۷۷۸، ۷۷۹؛ تاریخ امپراتوری عثمانی و ترکیه
جدید، جلد دوم، در صفحات فراوان؛ تاریخ امپراتوری عثمانی،