



The Research on History I

Editor

Özlem Muraz BUDAK



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FOREWORD

Through its wide field of study, the science of history has succeeded in addressing all kinds of issues that have happened in the past. Many events that have happened in the past and affect the future have found a place in the science of history. It is important for every nation to know its history in order to learn lessons from the past. Every nation has a unique culture and these cultures extend to the present day. The science of history is used to learn about the past.

This book aims to contribute to the development of scientific publications and publishing in social sciences in general and history in particular. In this sense, qualified studies covering every subject related to both national and regional history and world history are included. We will be pleased to contribute to the literature with these original works written in every field of history and to the qualified scientific studies related to the auxiliary branches of history.

The first chapter focuses on the barter trade between Russians and Kazakhs in the 18th and 19th centuries. Kazakh lands have always been a "focal land" for Russia's long-standing expansionist policies. In line with its own economic and political interests, the Russian Tsardom made significant progress in barter trade with the Kazakhs and contributed to the gradual sedentarization of Kazakh society through barter trade. However, despite their growing commercial experience through barter trade, the political ambitions of the Russian Tsardom led to instability in the region, which caused the Kazakhs to abandon their traditional way of life due to the intense Russian influence. For a long time Kazakh society was unable to resist Russian hegemony in politics, economy and culture.

The second part is an analysis of a Jesuit school opened in Amasya. In the examination, the opening of the school, obtaining a license, and the official correspondence related to the school and its contents are included. On the other hand, it is understood that the school, like other foreign schools, carried out missionary activities for its own purposes. It is also noteworthy that until the end of 1960, the school served the educational and cultural buildings opened by the

Republic of Turkey in Amasya and contributed to the development of the foreign knowledge of the local people.

The third chapter focuses on the activities of Protestant missionaries in Ayntab for the Muslim population during the Ottoman Empire. Initially, the missionaries in the region did not see much demand from the Muslim population and were afraid of the reaction of the Ottoman administration, so their activities towards Muslims remained limited. They generally preferred to conduct such activities in secret. On the other hand, they carried out activities for the Muslim population, especially by exploiting the disbelief and problems in the health and education system of the Ottoman Empire. The decline in the central authority of the Ottoman Empire caused missionaries to increase their activities towards Muslims. However, it is understood that despite their activities, the missionaries did not get the desired results from their efforts towards Muslims.

In the fourth chapter, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıođlu, a Futurist Educator, is evaluated in all aspects. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıođlu is a versatile intellectual who lived in two different periods and made strong inferences by observing the social changes that occurred in these two different periods. Baltacıođlu appears as one of the important thinkers of the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. Like the leading intellectuals of his time, he dealt with different issues concerning the society in a multifaceted way.

The fifth chapter analyzes the administrative structure of Diyarbekir in the Ottoman Empire between 1515 and 1876. Due to its geopolitical and geostrategic location, Diyarbekir has historically been ruled by many principalities and states. The region, which had a feudal structure and was ruled by tribal chieftains and beys, maintained its political existence in a kind of autonomy until the Ottoman rule. Taking this into account, the Ottoman Empire adopted a different administrative organization than the other provinces in and around Diyarbekir in order to prevent the Safavid threat and to gather the tribes and beys in the region under Ottoman rule.

Until the mid-19th century, this administrative system was terminated during the Tanzimat period and a new administrative organization was established in the region.

The sixth chapter is a study on thoughts and some results on history teaching with new technologies. In the study, the steps taken towards planning the use of technology in education in Turkey are included. The process that started with the Development Plan, which envisaged the use of radio and television in non-formal education, has been developing with the use of computers and the Internet in education, which became widespread after 1995, being a part of the formal system and being aimed at young people. Although the use of technology in education can be traced back to the use of radio, TV, video and overhead projectors in schools, the most important development affecting the development and quality of educational institutions today is the computer, the Internet and related technologies.

In the seventh chapter, the situation of Bektashi tekkes in the Balkans after the Ottoman rule is analyzed. After the Ottoman Empire lost its sovereignty in the Balkans, many Balkan nations gained their independence and started to liquidate many structures affiliated to the Ottoman Empire, especially religious structures. One of these institutions is the Bektashi tekkes, which spread in the Balkans with the Ottoman Empire and continue to exist today in many countries such as Albania and Macedonia, albeit in small numbers. Therefore, these Bektashi tekkes faced the same challenges as other Ottoman religious structures in the region. Many Bektashi tekkes were either completely destroyed or converted into churches. In this case, the Ottoman Empire wanted to protect the property rights of the remaining religious institutions in the region and tried to maintain religious-cultural ties with them. However, the fact that Bektashis were still banned until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to the formation of different views on loyalty to the Ottoman Empire in some Balkan Bektashi tekkes.

The eighth chapter deals with the conversion movements of women in the Ottoman Empire in the pre-Tanzimat period. People of different faiths lived together in the Ottoman Empire for centuries. However, although the Ottoman Empire granted non-Muslims a wide freedom of

religion, some of them converted to Islam by changing their religion for various reasons. This situation is called ihtida in Islamic law. It is understood that many material and spiritual reasons such as religious, economic, social and psychological reasons were effective in the phenomenon of conversion in the Ottoman Empire.

In the ninth chapter, some thoughts on the God-King relationship in steppe societies during the transition from polytheism to monotheism were evaluated. As a result of archaeological and literature research on ancient societies, it is understood that the common form of religion in the world was polytheistic. Later, people chose the most powerful among the gods or goddesses and ensured that monotheism dominated the world. According to archaeological and written sources, steppe societies have had a similar belief in god-king relations since the earliest known times. It is understood that kings consolidated their sovereignty by somehow tying their political power to gods or goddesses.

In the tenth chapter, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the founder of the Republic of Turkey and commander-in-chief of the War of Independence. He was born in 1881 in Thessaloniki, a city under Ottoman rule. Atatürk, who was a successful soldier, was also a strong man of thought and idea. In this study, in the process that made Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, his family, the schools he attended, the teachers who left a mark on his life and his friends who were important to him were written.

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I would like to extend my endless thanks to the valuable scientists who responded to my invitation with their valuable studies and contributed to the researches to be conducted in this field. We hope to be forgiven for any scientific or technical errors that were overlooked during the preparation of this book. The responsibility of the sources, results, opinions, tables, etc. used in the chapters in this book belongs to the authors.

Özlem Muraz Budak

CHAPTER 1: RUSSIAN-KAZAKH BARTER TRADE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

Hadi AVA , Orhan DOĞAN 

Chapter Highlights

- The first chapter of the book examines 18th and 19th-century barter trade between Russians and Kazakhs, highlighting the historical significance of Kazakh territories in Russia's expansionist agenda.
- The Russian Tsardom actively engaged in barter trade with Kazakhs to serve its economic and political interests, which played a role in the gradual transition of Kazakh society towards a settled lifestyle.
- Despite benefiting from increased trade, the Russian Tsardom's political ambitions caused instability in the region, leading Kazakhs to abandon their traditional nomadic way of life due to strong Russian influence.
- Over time, Kazakh society found it challenging to resist Russian dominance in politics, the economy, and culture, resulting in a prolonged period of Russian hegemony in the region.
- This chapter sheds light on the complex relationship between Russia and the Kazakhs, where economic interests clashed with political ambitions, ultimately reshaping the Kazakh way of life.

1. Introduction

The Kazakhs emerged in 1465/66 under the leadership of Kerey and Canıbek (Duğlat, 2019, p. 246), and they were organized under a political and social system that was branched into *Urug* (federation of family) – *Boy* (clan) – *Cüz* (federation of clans). *Cüzs* were formed according to a three-centered model, namely Little, Middle, and Great *Cüz* (Saray, 2014, p. 92; Moidabayeva, 2002, p. 35). It is possible to say that the Kazakhs could not achieve their political integrity and established a closer relationship with the Russian Tsardom in the early

18th century, because commercial and economic relationships between the Russian Tsardom and Turkistan khanates boosted the strategic importance of Kazakh steppes during this era.

The Kazakh land has always been “a land in focus” through Russian expansionist policies which date back to earlier times (Yakubovskiy, 1976, p. 317; Doğan, 2004, p. 288; Kara, 2018, p. 80; Ünal, 2008, pp 238-239; Suavi, 1977, p. 31; Demirağ, 2006, pp. 1-17). Russian governments always aimed at a quest for warm water ports since Tsar Petro I and were also interested in improvement of the Asian trade, thus giving particular importance to widely extending lands of Turkistan, especially the steppes governed by the Kazakhs (Rıçkov, 1896, p. 10; Hekimoğlu, 2018, p. 26). For Petro I, the Kazakh land was “the gate and key to all cities and lands in Asia.” (Kazahsko-russkie otnoşeniya v XVI-XVIII vekah, 1961, pp. IV-V; Belavin, 1891, pp. 35; Terentev, 1875, p. 7; Saray, 1979-1980, pp. 279-280, p. 302; Kayabalı & Arslanoğlu, 1978, p. 32; Doğan, 2005, pp. 709-748; Poçekaev, 2020, p. 36; Doğan, 2004, pp. 155-180). In fact, Russian Tsardom had always shown a close interest in this strategic region where they built fortresses on the borders. Hence, Russian Tsardom took steps towards the Kazakhs, caring for her own economic and political benefits. One of these steps was the construction of the Orenburg Fortress. Russian government built a socio-economic infrastructure around the fortress within a short while (Bennigsen, 1985, p. 330; Trepavlov & Belyakov, 2008, p. 492; Kurat, 2014, p. 168; Doğan, 2021, p. 194; Yetişgin, 2010, p. 214; Ünal, 2015, p. 87; Yetişgin & Özdamar, 2021, p. 3; Engel & Martin, 2020, p. 49). On the other side of the coin, fortresses on the Kazakh land influenced their social, cultural, and economic lives significantly.

2. The Construction of the Orenburg Fortress and Surrounding Settlements

The history of the Orenburg Fortress begins with Little *Cüz*'s accepting Russian patronage between 1731 and 1732. Afterwards, Ebulhayr Khan ordered a fortified castle to be built over the River Or, and the Orenburg expedition group was thus formed (Rıçkov, 1762, p. 10; Doğan, 2017, p. 273). Russian Tsarina Anna Ivanovna ordered a fortress to be built at a spot to look over the lands of the Kazakhs where rivers Or and Ural met. As pointed by this order, the Orenburg Fortress was built in 1744 (Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii (PSZRİ) p 1649 goda (1737-1739), 1830, pp. 867-871). The Russian archives of the 18th century offer important data about the significance and position of Orenburg at the time as follows: “...a city of commerce has been built, which will naturally grow in the future; it is located in a land which is very suitable for being a warehouse for goods from Europe and Asia...” (Rossiyskiy gosudarstvenniy arhiv drevnih aktov (RGADA), Fond 16, Opis 1, Delo 816, List 6). The goal of the Russian Tsardom was to extend the Russian borders to the south and southeast via the steppes of the Kazakh land, and thus to create new trade routes to India, China, and Turkistan (Yerofeyeva, 1999, p. 290; Çapraz, 2011, p. 54). Therefore, as a fortress city, Orenburg served both as a commercial and military base to the Tsardom in her policy of extending to the south. Russian Tsardom also believed that it would be a good tactic to overcome social stresses by geographical extension that involved the Kazakh land and allowed a flow of migration to this land from densely-populated areas (Zulkarnayev, 2008, p. 21; Ziyayev, 2007, p. 60). However,

this political and military step did not produce the expected outcomes; on the contrary, it destroyed demographical structure and caused the Kazakhs to leave their homeland.

3. Barter Trade in Orenburg

Following the construction of the Orenburg Fortress, Tsarina Anna Ivanovna took major steps for the improvement of trade between the Kazakhs and the Russians. As Russian factories needed cheap raw materials from Kazakh steppes, Tsarina issued a decree in 1738 on “Expanding Trade between the Kazakhs and Russia” and Vasilij Nikitic Tatisev was commissioned to start a camel wool trade with the Kazakhs (Kraft, 1898, p. 5-6). Tsarina considered that “...along with using it for themselves, it would be good business to sell the camel wool to other countries as a contribution to state treasury...” (Gosudarstvennyy arhiv Orenburgskoy oblasti (GAOO), Fond 2, Opis 1, Delo 3, List 5-5 ob.). Within this context, the residents of the city were declared to be exempt from any taxes from 1735 to 1742, and those settling down in this area were given the opportunity to stay, as each family was provided land for their settlement. In addition, Orenburg expedition group provided money and grain products as credit (Zavyalov, 1854, p. 83; Kraft, 1898, p. 148).

For the purpose of improving barter trade, upon Tatisev’s (head of the expedition group) order in 1738, a barter facility which included 148 warehouses and 344 stores was built for summer trade (Rıçkov, 1896, p. 225). Additionally, Russian authorities founded 150 trade facilities and a guest house in the city center in order to attract and promote trade actions in winter (Vitevskiy, 1891, p. 162). The government of Orenburg encouraged the Kazakhs to take part in the barter trade by bringing their cattle to the marketplace which was not far from Orenburg (GAOO, Fond 6, Opis 3, Delo 2475, List 4). They told the *biy* (lords, person dealing with administrative, judicial, and military affairs) and *aksakals* (wise men) that they could come to the barter area without hesitation, that they would not be harmed in the barter trade, that any troubled situation would be intervened there right away, and that they also requested them to convey this message to all people in the region (Tsentralnyy gosudarstvennyy arhiv respubliki Kazahstan (TsGARK), Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo 1414, List 1). The Kazakhs exchanged not only live cattle, but also animal-derived goods and handcrafts with Russian citizens without any imposed taxes at the barter markets in the region during the 18th century (Kraft, 1898, p. 148). Thus, barter trade for live cattle and animal-derived goods began to improve in the region, upon which Orenburg played an increasingly important role as the center of this trade, as manifested by Tatisev. In addition to this, Ivan Ivanovic Nepluyev, the first governor of the city, launched an initiative for the improvement of trade in Kazakh steppes and Turkistan, with the suggestion to invite Kazan Tatars (PSZRĪ, p 1649 goda (1737-1739), 1830, pp. 867-871).

As a result of the incentives, the income of the Orenburg barter house reached 12.698,34 rubles in 1747. (RGADA, Fond 16, Opis 1, Delo 808, List 228). In addition, 534.475 animals were sold in Troitski Castle between 1750 and 1790, and sheep constituted 92.6% of the barter trade (Gorşenin, 1998, p. 109). Similar to Orenburg, the Kazakhs received bread, metal and cotton in

exchange for their products (Pamyatnaya knijka Orenburgskoy gubernii na 1865 god, 1865, p. 10).

The data demonstrate that trade volume was in favor of the Kazakhs. So much so that, the Kazakhs sold goods worth 266.990 rubles, while the Russians were able to sell goods worth 148.163 rubles from 1753 to 1787. The quantity of Kazakh products in the general turnover was higher during the 1760s and corresponded to 98.4% of the trade volume in 1762. In 1787, the share of Kazakh products decreased to 2.3% due to the expansion of Turkistan trade in the market (Apollova, 1960, p. 303). As a result of incentives and calls for trade, 243 poods 39 funt and 225 poods 30 funt camel wool were brought to Orenburg in 1751 and 1755, respectively (RGADA, Fond 16, Opis 1, Delo 808, List 284 ob; 455 ob). Particularly with the growth of trade turnover between 1748 and 1754, Governor Neplüjev transformed the wooden barter houses and guesthouses into stone structures (Vitevskiy, 1891, p. 163). G. Gorshenin said that the trade was very lively from mid-July to the end of October that 100 to 2.000 Kazakhs came to Orenburg every day and that 5.533.966 cattle were exchanged between 1745 and 1792. He also stated that 15-20 thousand wolf pelts, 40-50 thousand corsac pelts and 30-40 thousand fox pelts were brought every year (Gorshenin, 1998, p. 108).

Table 1. Wild animals pelts brought to Orenburg markets by the Kazakhs in 1751 (RGADA, Fond 16, Opis 1, Delo 808, List 281; 282; 282 ob; 284 ob.)

List of Hunting Products	Quantity of Products
Wolf Pelt (Large)	2.585
Wolf Pelt (Medium)	1.439
Wolf Pelt (Small)	674
Pair of Wolf's Foot Skin	577
Big Corsac Fox Pelt	16.477
Pair of Fox Foot Pelt	3.530
Karaganka Fox Pelt	2.084
Large Kyrgyz Fox Pelt	10.039
Young Fox Pelt	992
Small Saga Pelt	31
Saga Pelt	492

According to Table 1, wild animal pelts attracted great attention. These pelts were used to make furs, panties, hats and collars. Due to the high demand, a large number of animals such as corsac (16.477), fox (13.115) and fox (7.060) were brought to the barter trade area. Because their pelts were used for both women's and men's clothing. Wolves (4.698) and different species of wolves (577) were rarely brought, which resulted from the number of animals in nature rather than demand. In return for their products, the Kazakhs received various products such as cast iron, copper, cauldron, saddles, thimbles, needles, scissors, knives, axes, knitting, locks, velvet, brocades, silks, scarves, mirrors, chests, vitriols, starch and snuff. The products sold to the Kazakhs by Russian traders are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Products purchased by the Kazakhs on the Orenburg border in 1751

(RGADA, Fond 16, Opis 1, Delo 808, List 281; 282; 282 ob; 283 ob; 284 ob.)

Product Name	Quantity	Product Name	Quantity
Braids	50 pieces	Copper bell	90 pieces
Anchor	180 pieces		
Ax	16 poods	Combs made of bone	350 pieces
Iron pliers	400 pieces	Combs made of horn	500 pieces
Iron stirrups	95 pieces	Various pocket mirrors	94 pieces
Iron traps	7 pieces	Copper green pot	22 poods 28.5 funt
Small tin fishing line	125 pieces	Red wooden bowls	12.125 pieces
Padlocks	55 pieces	Red plastic bowls	649 pieces
Iron cauldrons	5 poods 20 funt	Velvet	265 1/2 meters
Green copper boilers	13 poods 30 funt	Writing papers	7 1/2 pieces
Cast iron boilers	414 poods	Cotton paper	5 poods 25 funt
Tin jugs	40 poods	White calico cloth	304 twists
Cast iron jugs	19 poods	Kornova fabric	258 meters
Bone knives	330 pieces	Silk fabric	6430 meters
Bending knives	250 pieces	Cheremisk fabric	2.500 meters
Medium and small scissors	1.300 pieces	Spanish fabrics	439 meters

Copper ferrules	400 pieces	Kaftans sewn from English fabrics	19 pieces
Needles	1.030 pieces	Kaftans made from Dutch fabrics	4 pieces
Copper, tin rings	2.000 pieces	Kaftans made from Cornova fabrics	149 pieces
Stone copper and tin rings	6.250 pieces	Kaftans made of ceramics (a coarse, thick fabric made from handmade wool)	1.319 pieces
Copper knots	60 pieces	Kaftans made of Triftov fabric	103 pieces
Tin cufflinks	1.000 pieces	Belts made of woolen fabric in Moscow	1.080 pieces
Copper buttons	5.500 pieces	Skipidar (turpentine oil) is obtained from different parts of coniferous trees by extraction or distillation.	20 poods
Tin buttons	800 pieces	Naşatır (Ammonia)	1 pood 22 funt

It can be observed in Table 2 that the Kazakhs showed great interest in copper, steel and iron products, because there were no industrial enterprises in the Kazakh steppes. The list of products show that the Kazakhs bought items necessary for their daily life. For hunting, they needed traps and ropes. However, they did not only buy necessary items for their daily life but also ornaments. Even though silver jewelry was considered valuable, only the rich could buy them. As seen in Table 2, copper, tin rings, signet rings and cufflinks were more popular (RGADA, Fond 16, Opis 1, Delo 808, List 281; 282; 282 ob; 283 ob. 284 ob.).

Since their own production was limited, the Kazakhs often bought various fabrics and items made from them. In 1751, they bought 6.430 meters of inexpensive plain fabric and 1.319 caftans made from these fabrics (Kraft, 1898, p. 25).

The Kazakhs' need for metal products and fabrics continued during the 19th century. Since industrial production was in its infancy, exporting Russian industrial goods to the Kazakh

steppe was more profitable than promoting the development of industry. For instance, from 1833 to 1839, Kazakhs paid 12.370,00 rubles for cotton fabrics, 1.416.000 rubles for fabrics, and 1.020.000 rubles for metal products (Bekmahanov, 1957, p. 34).

In addition, the Kazakhs began to “familiarize themselves” with the use of bread from the moment they accepted Russian patronage. Tsarist power not only showed its “mercy” to the Kazakhs but also encouraged them to consume bread so that they could sell grain in the Kazakh steppes (Levshin, 1832, p. 229). Tevkelev, who built a special relationship with Nurali Khan, sent 1 pood of wheat flour to the Khan in 1757 to taste. In his letter, Tevkelev stated that “if he liked the gift, he would again send 3 poods of flour and 3 poods of clean wheat grain with Usman, the interpreter.” Two years later, in 1759, Tevkelev noted in his service note that some Kazakhs had set up estates for themselves and “began to reap the crops and were already accustomed to eating bread” (Kundakbayeva, 2005, p. 175). In this context, with an important decision taken in 1763, it was stated that the Kazakh people could sell tax-free bread to the Kazakhs of the Orenburg Fortress for three years to feel the “mercy” of Russian Tsardom and to realize the benefits of accepting Russian governance. In Russian archival documents, it was found that between 16 October 1763 and 22 June 1766, 19.620 poods 14 funts of wheat, 499 poods 30 funts of wheat flour, 4.230 poods 28 funts of rye flour, 21.838 poods 2 funts of wheat grain, 1.458 poods 22 funts of lumpy grain, and 703 poods 3 funts of barley semolina were sold to the Kazakhs (Kraft, 1898, pp. 101-111). In 1772, the Kazakhs bought 132.876 poods of bread in Orenburg. An official who kept statistics on products sold to Kazakhs in Russia wrote in his report: “The Kazakhs buy more or less everything; important products sent from Russia for them are bakery products, paper products, and leather products, especially yuft” (a soft leather type made in Russia) (TsGARK, Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo 1437, List 102 ob.). Due to the constant state of war in Bukhara and Khiva in Turkistan, the duty-free grain trade continued in the 19th century. Thus, in October 1823, the need and price of bread increased due to the upcoming war, so the steppes Kazakhs came from remotes regions to the Orenburg barter area (GAOO, Fond 166, Opis 1, Delo 3, List 14 ob.).

Russian Tsardom created potential consumers for their products by developing trade with the Kazakhs and allowing them to enjoy all privileges. First of all, livestock and several raw materials, which were not competitive in the European market and bought in significant quantities from the Kazakhs, were sent abroad through Russian ports or consumed for Russian factory processing (TsGARK, Fond 478, Opis 2, Delo 196, List 240 ob.).

According to the office of the chairman of the Orenburg border commission, “Kazakhs put into circulation a significant share of capital by selling and exchanging livestock products, consume a significant part of the factory and domestic agricultural products, participate in caravans and contribute to Russia's trade with Turkistan. An annual tax of 20.000 rubles was levied on them, which was later increased to 50.000 rubles in 1841, and this number will definitely increase again after appropriate measures are taken to strengthen the welfare of the people” (TsGARK, Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo 346, List 42-42 ob.).

Through the customs of the Siberian and Orenburg regions, all types of bakery products, both grain and flour, were allowed to be exported duty-free to the Kazakh steppes (Kraft, 1898, p. 101, p. 211). The Orenburg administration tried to develop the bakery trade with the Kazakhs and their neighbors by taking all necessary precautions. While 85.641 poods of bakery products were sent from the Orenburg border to the Kazakh steppes in 1863, 517.794 poods 20 loaves of bread were sent in 1864. The customs value was 247.400,50 rubles, which was only 65.549,35 rubles the previous year (GAOO, Fond 6, Opis 17, Delo 96, List 9).

In the first half of the 19th century, the Kazakhs' barter trade with Russia made significant progress. The Orenburg industry needed raw materials from animals. By the mid-19th century, a total of 85 leather, 49 oil, 9 soap, and 7 candle factories were operating in the governorship (Cheremşanskiy, 1859, p. 407). In 1851, there were 4 candlesticks, 1 vodka, 4 tanneries, 1 adobe, 2 soap, 13 oil, and 2 glue factories only in Orenburg and its districts (Orenburgskie gubernskie vedomosti (OGV), 1852, p. 109; OGV, 1871, pp. 39-40). Within just ten years, from 1818 to 1828, the Kazakhs brought more than 2.609.000 sheep, 20.000 oxen, 18.100 goats, 2.700 horses, and similar animals to Orenburg for barter trade (TsGARK, Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo). 1437, List 91 ob; 92 ob; 93 ob; 94 ob; 95 ob; 96 ob). The species and numbers of animals brought to the border by the Kazakhs in the above-mentioned years are given in Table 3.

Table 3. The number of animals brought by Kazakhs to the barter trade area on the Orenburg border (TsGARK, Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo 1437, List 91 ob; 92 ob; 93 ob; 94 ob; 95 ob; 96 ob)

Year	Number of Animals Sold by Kazakhs						
	Sheep	Oxen	Goats	Lambs	Horses/Colts	Camels	Cows/Calves
1818	131.923	1803	567	232	36/-	-	-
1819	179.037	945	1.713	131	14/-	-	-
1820	217.848	2.140	3.475	146	116/-	1	-
1821	160.404	1.487	4.228	192	107/-	8	-
1822	181.920	1.960	3.915	159	146/-	3	45/5
1823	238.565	1.578	1.786	92	172/-	9	16/3
1824	229.614	1.359	1.162	172	133/3	5	29
1825	224.481	2.522	1.196	705	336/8	64	45
1826	265.482	2.319	815	2.547	486/4	42	11/165
1827	376.782	193	622	716	618/15	101	30/27
1828	402.972	1.837	565	8.993	628/41	37	11/ 119

According to the data in Table 3, small cattle and oxen were exchanged the most. Within ten years, the number of sheep brought for barter increased every year, as manifested by the monthly reports of the heads of the *distantiya* administrations (TsGARK, Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo 1593, List 3, 6, 10, 17, 20 ob, 22 ob; TsGARK, Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo 1606, List 8, 16, 25, 30, 55, 149, 151, 158). During the 19th century, the most important products of the Kazakhs in trade were animals. In 1864, Kazakhs brought the following animals to the Orenburg and Ural borders: 333 camels, 5.360 horses, 24.369 cattle, 448.091 sheep, and 5.150 goats, reaching a total of 483.303 animals. The total value of these animals was 1.357.608,85 rubles. The Kazakhs bought only 2.550 heads of livestock in return for this. According to the customs

valuation, it was worth 20,839.50 rubles (GAOO, Fond 6, Opis 17, Delo 96, List 7 ob.). The Kazakhs brought fewer animals than in 1863 because there was a shortage of pasture in 1864. Prices also increased due to the lack of pastures. During this period, the regional authorities were closely interested in the economic situation of the Kazakhs when they considered tax revenues (GAOO, Fond 6, Opis 17, Delo 96, List 8). In 1864, the Kazakhs brought animal products and handicraft products, except for livestock, to the barter markets. The numbers of these products and their value in rubles are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Kazakh goods brought to Orenburg (GAOO, Fond 6, Opis 17, Delo 96, List 9)

Goods	Quantity	Total Value (in Rubles)
Raw and sheep pelt	555.471 pieces	278.857 rubles 71 kopeck
Merlučka lamb pelt ^{1□}	247.822 pieces	51.012 rubles 2 kopeck
Wool and goat hair	86.458 poods 12 funt	149.665 rubles 32 kopeck
Fat	3.297 poods 10 funt	3.378 rubles 46 kopeck
Felt	5.533 pieces	7.957 rubles 55 kopeck

Table 4 clearly demonstrates that sheep pelts were in demand as a raw material for industrial activities in the Russian market. Wool and goat hair were particularly valuable in this market. In fact, goat hair was also in demand in the European market during the same period. French entrepreneurs benefited from Tibetan goat hair to produce Kashmir. G. Terno, a French entrepreneur, discovered the excellence of Kazakh and Kalmyk goat hair, and its quality satisfied not only knitting experts but also customers who bought these products later. Fat (sheep fat in particular) was also a favorable product for fat melting factories (GAOO, Fond 166, Opis 1, Delo 3, List 10 ob.).

Goods brought to Asian and Kazakh steps and animal goods brought to Orenburg border region by Asian traders and Kazakhs were held exempt from some taxes. In addition, on 22 April 1868, Orenburg customs border control and forward outposts were removed completely. These measures enabled the city to develop its trade routes rapidly and increase its level of income by 5-fold (Semenov & Semenova, 1999, p. 257). Types and quantities of animals which greatly contributed to the improvement of trade in this year are listed in Table 5.

^{1*} The pelt of a lamb which is only 30-days old during slaughter

Table 5. The number and prices of animals brought by Kazakhs for barter trade in 1866 (GAOO, Fond 6, Opis 17, Delo 146, List 10-10 ob.)

Year 1866		
Animal Type	Quantity (Number)	Price (in Rubles)
Sheep	454.601	1.210.951
Cattle	18.149	216.956
Horse	6.892	179.780
Goat	4.542	7.176
Camel	1	25

Table 5 indicates that after Orenburg customs border control and forward outposts had been removed, the value of Kazakh goods brought for barter trade in 1866 reached a total value of 1.614.888 Rubles in 1866. Trade volume in Orenburg barter trade markets continued to grow steadily until the 20th century, as can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Trade volume in Orenburg barter trade markets (Obzor Orenburgskiy gubernii za 1889 g., 1890, p. 13; Obzor Orenburgskiy gubernii za 1890 g., 1890, p. 11; Obzor Orenburgskiy gubernii za 1895 g., 1896, pp. 20-23; Statističeskiy obzor Orenburgskiy gubernii za 1903 g. 1904, pp. 19-22)

Year	Trade Volume (in Rubles)
1888	3.286.875
1890	4.099.295
1895	4.197.831,40
1899	3.294.592,90
1903	6.998.154,25

It can be observed that the existence of Kazakh livestock helped Orenburg barter trade market reach a trade volume of millions of Rubles, and it increased gradually despite a livestock epidemic in 1899. Thus, “*traders from Russia, Kazakh steps and Bukhara come together here (in Orenburg)... they exchange and sell their goods here... and return home with a very high level of profit...*” (RGADA, Fond 16, Opis 1, Delo 816, List 6).

3.1. Kazakh Crafts

Various crafts such as leather crafting, gunpowder, dye manufacturing, wood and bone carving, and metal and wool engraving occupied important positions in barter trade in the Kazakh economy. As such, during the 18th century, these crafts were developed for different needs without mass production. They produced furs, garments and hats from animal pelts. *Torsık*, which was produced from sheep pelt in order to carry water and dairy products, was known to preserve drinks fresh and cold for a very long period of time (Levşin, 1996, p. 386).

The Kazakhs wove pelts and carpets and produced ribbons, felt shoes and hats from wool. They made ropes from sheep wool and dyed them to manufacture colorful carpets using these ropes. They also relied on high quality animal hair to make curtains for their tents. These curtains were made using colorful ropes produced from achnatherum (Levşin, 1996, p. 529). Hardened wool was used to produce felt. Additionally, sheep fat was used to produce Kazakh soaps which could remove any stains on their laundry. They knitted hard and thick fabric using ropes made from camel wool, which was very similar to a type of non-dyed fabric called *armyak* in Russia. Finally, the Kazakhs knitted thick ropes from horse hair (Levşin, 1996, p. 387).

In the mid-19th century, the range of products in home-made manufacturing remained the same, as they were produced to meet Kazakh people’s daily needs. At the same time, many products were put on sale in the market (Bekmahanov, 1957, p. 32). A report by Orenburg Border Commission in 1847 stated that “... *they were engaged in trade activities by selling home-made products such as horse saddles, felt, camel wool fabric (armyak), ribbon, ropes, cages for tents, and iron and silver materials* (TsGARK, Fond 4, Opis 1, Delo 3082, List 86). V. V. Grigorev, Head of Orenburg Border Commission added that “...*similar to local villages, crafts such as leather furs, metal working, and turnery occupy a central position among nomads*”. Kazakh craftsmen also produced silver-coated iron materials to create different products such as axes, horse bridles, saddles, stirrups, and knives. I. Slovtsov, one of the participants in an agricultural exhibition in Kokcetav district of Akmola province in 1871, said about the quality of these products that “... *their quality are as high as any goods produced in Russia ...*” (Bekmahanov, 1957, p. 33). In this respect, the increasing demand for consumer goods led Kazakhs to gather with Russians under a common trading market, thus enlarging the scope of barter trade in the region. Since Kazakhs were engaged in various crafts, they communicated and interacted with Russians to adopt a less nomadic lifestyle and thus contributed to Russian treasury through their daily trading and crafting activities.

4. Conclusion

In the 18th and 19th century, Kazakh economy based on animal husbandry was under the threat of external attacks and Russian oppression. Following the construction of the Orenburg Fortress, Kazakh economic activities started to slightly differ thanks to the development of barter trade, which eventually yielded important commercial returns. However, Russian Tsardom improved their economic relations with the Kazakhs and allowed them to enjoy all commercial privileges, thus becoming potential consumers for their own products. After all, thanks to a non-competitive market away from European influence, Russian Tsardom gained substantial income from high quantities of livestock and various raw materials which were sold them by the Kazakhs. Russian administration viewed the Kazakhs as important mediators in Asian trade and, within time, came to realize that it was more profitable for them to carry out trade with Kazakhs, since barter trade offered a higher level of income for Russian treasury. This was not limited to the exchange of certain goods, as local and national treasury also received remarkable tax income from these commercial activities.

Particularly in the 19th century, the Kazakhs made significant progress in their barter trade with Russian Tsardom. Barter trade also contributed to the gradual sedentarization of the Kazakh society. Thus, they started to be engaged in agricultural activities thanks to a suitable climate and soil structure. In addition, agricultural relations with neighboring communities contributed to the Kazakh economy to a large extent. Nevertheless, despite their increasing commercial experience via barter trade, political ambitions of Russian Tsardom led to an instability in the region, which caused the Kazakhs to quit their traditional lifestyle due to a heavy Russian influence. Therefore, Russification policies of Russian Tsardom were implemented step-by-step in the region. For a long period of time, the Kazakh society could not manage to resist to Russian hegemony in the field of politics, economy and culture.

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CHAPTER 2: AN INVESTIGATION INTO AMASYA JESUIT SCHOOL (FRENCH GIRLS SCHOOL)

Mustafa KILINÇ 

Chapter Highlights

- The second part of the book delves into an analysis of a Jesuit school established in Amasya, examining aspects such as its establishment, acquisition of a license, and official correspondence related to the school's operations.
- Like many other foreign schools, this Jesuit institution was found to engage in missionary activities to further its own objectives.
- Notably, the school played a significant role in Amasya's educational and cultural landscape until the late 1960s, contributing to the dissemination of foreign knowledge and culture among the local population.
- The analysis encompasses the school's multifaceted involvement, shedding light on its historical significance in the region.
- This part of the book provides insights into the complex dynamics between foreign educational institutions and the local community, emphasizing the lasting impact of such schools on the development of knowledge and culture in the area.

1. Introduction

Educational institutions are the most important cultural heritage for countries, nations and local geographies. Although these cultural heritages sometimes provide cultural transfer as desired, sometimes they have educational and cultural activities that negatively affect the existing educational and cultural structure of the region in which they are located. In Turkey, foreign and minority educational institutions have existed since the 16th century by serving as cultural transmission tools to change the Turkish cultural structure in a negative way. There sometimes was no supervision to the activities of foreign and minority educational institutions in the Anatolian geography or the territory of the Ottoman Empire according to the

understanding of the administration of the period. Still, these educational and cultural institutions were sometimes seen as structures that needed to be controlled.

Along with the French schools in Amasya, another noteworthy educational institution was the Merzifon American School (Kılınç and Orbay 2018a), (Kılınç and Orbay 2018b). Accordingly, this study was to delve into the effects of the French Jesuit School, which had its activities in Amasya for a period, on the Amasya region and to examine the written documents related to this educational institution.

2. Minority and Foreign Schools in the Ottoman Empire

The French opened the first foreign educational institution in the territory of the Ottoman Empire in 1583. In the following years, other states opened schools in Ottoman lands. However, French schools were the most numerous among the foreign schools in Anatolia until the beginning of the 19th century (Altunay Şam, 2017).

During the Tanzimat Period, the nations living within the Ottoman borders were free in managing the educational affairs of their societies. These nationalities started their first education and training activities with the community schools they opened within churches or rabbinate. These schools were small institutions providing religious education. As time passed, they started to develop, grow and expand. Based on this development, education systems and teaching curriculums have also changed and they have evolved into formal education institutions (Ceylan, 2019).

The attempts of foreign states to open schools in the Ottoman borders started with the privilege granted to France. Foreign schools, which were first opened by taking advantage of the lack of a law on education in the state, increased in number until 1869 and spread throughout the country. Although the number of Catholic schools opened by the French increased in Istanbul, the number of Protestant schools opened by the Americans and the British increased mostly in the provinces. Apart from these states, the British, Italians and Germans also opened schools (Ceylan, 2019).

The status of minority and foreign schools was addressed in the 1869 Regulation. According to this regulation, private schools were considered as schools established by communities, Ottoman citizens or foreigners for a fee or free of charge. The costs of these schools would be covered by the founders of the school or by the foundations to which the school was affiliated. Although some regulations were imposed on the opening and management of schools for minority and foreign schools, schools were opened without a licence (Ceylan, 2019).

After the Tanzimat period, foreign and minority schools were regarded as institutions that needed to be supervised during the reign of Abdülhamid II (Türk, 2019). During this period,

efforts were to prevent the harmful activities of these schools and to close down those without a licence. Foreign schools, which continued their activities with or without an edict until the 1900s, were allowed to repair, expand and build new ones with the 1901 Agreement. The rights granted to the French were also offered to other states benefiting from capitulations. During the Constitutional Monarchy period, foreign schools, the number of which increased during the Constitutional Monarchy period, started to be supervised by the officials in 1914-1915. In this period, some rules were imposed on the re-opening of schools by foreigners. Following the 1st World War, many of the closed foreign schools were reopened with the Mondros Armistice of 30 October 1918. These schools, which were matter of discussion during the Ottoman Period, continued to be so for the Turkish State during the National Struggle and the Republican Period (Sezer, 1999).

During the National Struggle Period, the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey applied “Regulation for Private Schools” (Mekاتب-i Hususiye Talimatnamesi)” which was put into effect in 1915, against the activities of foreign schools. In addition, with the additional letter to the Ankara Treaty signed with France on 20 October 1921, the existence of foreign schools was accepted on the condition that they did not contradict Turkey's interests. In the Republican Period, this treaty signed with France became the basic document for the recognition of foreign schools with the letter sent by İsmet Pasha on behalf of the government to the French, British and Italian representatives after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923. Accordingly, they were recognised on condition that they did not engage in religious indoctrination and complied with the general laws of the state. The schools of countries other than these states were not intervened in line with this understanding. With the Law on Unification of Education in Turkish National Education of 3 March 1924, minority and foreign schools were affiliated to the Ministry of National Education. Foreign schools that did not comply with the regulations introduced by the Turkish Government were closed down (Sezer, 1999).

Because French schools were private, there were also differences in private school fees. On the other hand, France, itself, was the biggest source of funding. In these schools, students were taught French, literacy, grammar, fine writing, calculus, geometry, geography, natural sciences, music, ethics, painting, ilm-i eşya (a positive science course concerned with the physical and social environment), history, foreign languages, sewing and sports, as well as various arts such as gardening, watchmaking, carpentry and carving as vocational training. Further, since they were missionary community schools, large multi-purpose halls were built in these schools in order to perform various activities and promotions to influence the public (Doğan, 2023).

The teachers of these schools were local Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, Maronite and Turkish teachers, as well as German and English teachers, provided that they were from the Christian Catholic sect. In order to satisfy the need for teachers in the schools opened by French

missionaries in Ottoman lands, separate schools for both men and women were opened in Kayseri, Syria, Jerusalem and Rhodes (Doğan, 2023).

3. An Overview of Jesuit Activities in Amasya

The Jesuits pursued to carry out their activities actively in the region of Amasya during the Ottoman Empire. These activities were sometimes within the scope of educational and cultural activities, whereas they were sometimes religious ones. The activities of the Jesuits in Amasya are listed as follows:

The Jesuits built a church on the land owned by the Jesuit nuns In Bayezidpaşa Quarter of Amasya. (Location: BEO/ 3646 - 273406 - 0Date: H-22-09-1327). Some properties belonging to individuals were bought by the Jesuits and turned into schools or churches. Dansat Amiz, a French subject, sold a house to Mumjuyan Efendi, an Ottoman citizen, and the Jesuits in Amasya bought the house under another name and built a school and a church. (Place: DH.MKT. / 2038- 103- 0Date: H-15-06-1310) The Jesuits put their efforts to spread their activities to the public, and the Ottoman State occasionally imposed restrictions on Jesuit activities. This situation can also be seen in the documents. It was revealed that the Jesuits were forbidden to spread their ideas by opening schools within the Memalik-i Mahruse (semi federalism) and that it was inconvenient for Ahmed Şevki, the letter carrier of Sivas Province, and Hasan Şükrü, the tax manager, to go to Jesuit schools in Sivas in order to learn French. (Location: DH.MKT./1424-7-0 Date: H-1009-1304-) Jesuits also tried to take over Catholic churches and schools belonging to Armenians in Ottoman Amasya Merzifon. (Location: DH. TMIK. M./ 130- 8- 0Date: H-20-05-1320-) It was seen that some of these attempts were prevented with this practice. (Location: DH. ŞFR. / 292- 19- 0Date: R-29-06-1318-) It was also seen that the Jesuits used the houses they bought in this region to expand their churches and monasteries Location: DH.TMIK.M. / 144- 33- 0-Date: H-23-02-1321).

The licensing of the French Jesuit School was reported in the official correspondence as follows:

"... The buildings known as Hane and Kozahane were given to Count and Countess Dimadi, who lived in France, upon the request of the Jesuits, and these buildings were purchased by the Jesuits fifteen years ago and they added a church on one side and a boys' and girls' school on the other side without a licence. After these additions, it was not possible to evacuate the building because the church was ringing bells and holding services and the school was teaching foreign languages to children. Forced eviction is also not possible due to the conditions of the time. It is known that the buildings in question are churches and schools and that they are under the administration of the Jesuits, and although there is hesitation in granting the licences of the Hane and Kozhane to Count and Countess Dimadi, there is no objection to granting the licences of the buildings in question to Count and Countess Dimadi". (Kılınç, Değirmenci, Kösterelioğlu, & Orbay, 2021)

4. The Effects of the French Jesuit Educational Institution on Amasya Education

In the pre-Republican period, there were two foreign schools in the central town of Amasya: American Jesuit School and French Jesuit School (Balçı, 2014). French Jesuit School (French Girls' School) (Balçı, 2014). This school was in the grade of ibtidai (primary school) and was opened in 1891 and the school's licence was obtained on 25 April 1897. There is not much information about this school in the annuals, which are the most important source of information. It is thought that the educational and other activities carried out by the school were similar to the activities carried out by other foreign schools opened in Anatolia (İleri, 2018). From the National Struggle Period and the first years of the Republic of Turkey until



Photograph 1: Amasya French Jesuit School Building 1925 (Building in the centre) Menç, 2010).

the end of 1960, it was a building that served the Turkish Education System as a physical environment (Menç, 2010). The fact that it served in a period when there was a lack of buildings and economic opportunities in Amasya, especially in these periods, increases the importance of this institution for Amasya once again (Balçı, 2014). In this context, until the end of 1960, the French Jesuit School served for Amasya's educational and cultural institutions as a building used as a physical environment for other purposes such as Amasya Public House, Amasya Secondary Art School² (Institute), Orphanage, Industrial School, City Boarding School (İkmal) and National Schools, which were opened or changed their names and continued to carry out their educational activities (Balçı, 2014). Boarding School (İkmal) and National Schools, which were opened or changed their names and continued to carry out their educational activities (Balçı, 2014).

² This building is located on the site of the current Amasya Torumtay Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School. It is located on Pirinççi Mahallesi Elçibey Avenue.



Photograph 2: Amasya French Jesuit School Building (1925), This building served Amasya Education until the end of 1960 (Menç, 2010).

The most important institution to make use of the French Jesuit School building in Amasya was the Şefkat Yurdu (Compassion Home) or Orphanage.

The former Jesuit School (French Girls' College) was used as the school building. This building was purchased from the General Administration for 6 thousand liras by the Provincial General Assembly and after a repair of 10 thousand liras, it was transferred to the Directorate of Education in 1929. The school building had a capacity of 500 students with 10 classrooms, 5 rooms, dining hall, theatre hall and a large garden. institution changed hands frequently... After floundering with names such as Şefkat Yurdu (Compassion Home), Öksüz Yurdu (Orphan Home) and Darüleytam, it continued its education under the Ministry of Education as Şehir Yatı Mektebi (City Boarding School). (Kılınç et al., 2021)



Photograph 3: 1925 Orphanage Dormitory Male Students in Amasya French Jesuit School Building (Menç, 2013).

5. Two Important Letters Concerning the French Jesuit Educational Institution

The letter presented to Bekir Sami Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in France reads as follows:

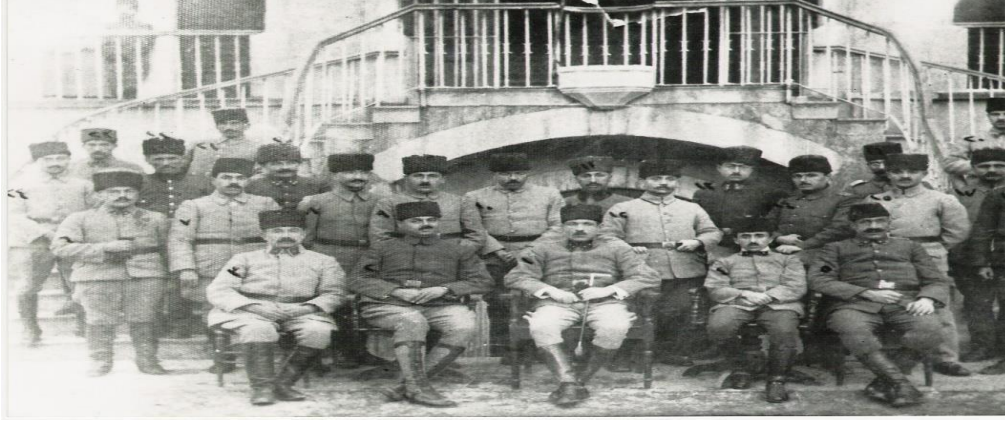
“Your Excellency, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been informed from Istanbul that several houses and schools³ belonging to the Jesuits in Sivas, Amasya and Merzifon have been seized and closed by the Ankara authorities and that the missionaries are under surveillance. A similar situation exists for the French monks and nuns in Samsun, Trabzon, Harput (Elâzığ), Eskişehir and Konya. Your Excellency will undoubtedly find it possible to intervene with the competent Turkish authorities for the reopening of French schools, the return of missionary establishments and the safe travel of personnel wishing to return. Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my deepest respect (Place: 525/38604-156220-2 Date: 1921-03-19).”

The letter sent to Mustafa Kemal by a teacher at the French Jesuit School, which was read in the Grand National Assembly, is as follows;

5 Kanunuevvel 1920-1921⁴ The Mutasarrif of Amasya (Governor of Amasya) informed us that the Jesuit School would be seized by the army. After the buildings were confiscated, the Mutasarrif Bey asked us whether we wanted to stay here. Considering the conditions and situation we were in, we hoped that the political atmosphere and environment would improve in the near future and we decided to stay here for a few more months. However, although six months passed, unfortunately, our waiting and expectation did not yield any results. During this time, we have been unemployed and we are in great financial difficulty and hardship because we cannot make a living. Since it is difficult for us to stay here under these conditions, I kindly ask your great heart and generosity to allow me and my two friends to leave Amasya and travel by ferry from Samsun 5 June 1921 (Location: 525/38604-156220-1-Date: 1921-06-05).

³"Jesuit" is the name given to members of the Society of Jesus.

⁴ The dates are 1920 in the Ottoman document and 1921 in the French document.



Photograph 4: Commemorative Photograph of the 5th Caucasian Brigade, headquartered in Amasya under the 3rd Corps in Sivas, at the French Girls' College (Menç, 2013).

6. Conclusion

A French Jesuit school was opened in the central town of Amasya. This school was opened in 1891 and obtained a licence for its activities in 1897. Although there is no detailed information about the school according to official records, it is thought that the school carried out educational and cultural activities in parallel with other foreign schools or French Jesuit Schools. From time to time, the school was the subject of correspondence or letters both during the Ottoman Empire and the newly established Republic of Turkey during the existence of the school. In the correspondence or letters, issues such as the granting of a licence to the school, the seizure of the school by the Turkish army and the demands of the French officials to reopen the school came to the agenda. There is no doubt that the school, like every foreign school, had missionary activities to pursue its own goals. Further, it is known that the school contributed to the development of foreign knowledge of the local people and served the educational and cultural structures opened by the Republic of Turkey in Amasya as a building environment until the end of 1960. The most important service of this school in this sense is that it served orphans, orphans or orphans during its educational activities under the names of Şefkat Yurdu (Compassion Home), Öksüz Yurdu (Orphan Home) and Darüleytam, it continued its education under the Ministry of Education as Şehir Yatı Mektebi (City Boarding School) which were the shelters of the children of martyrs.

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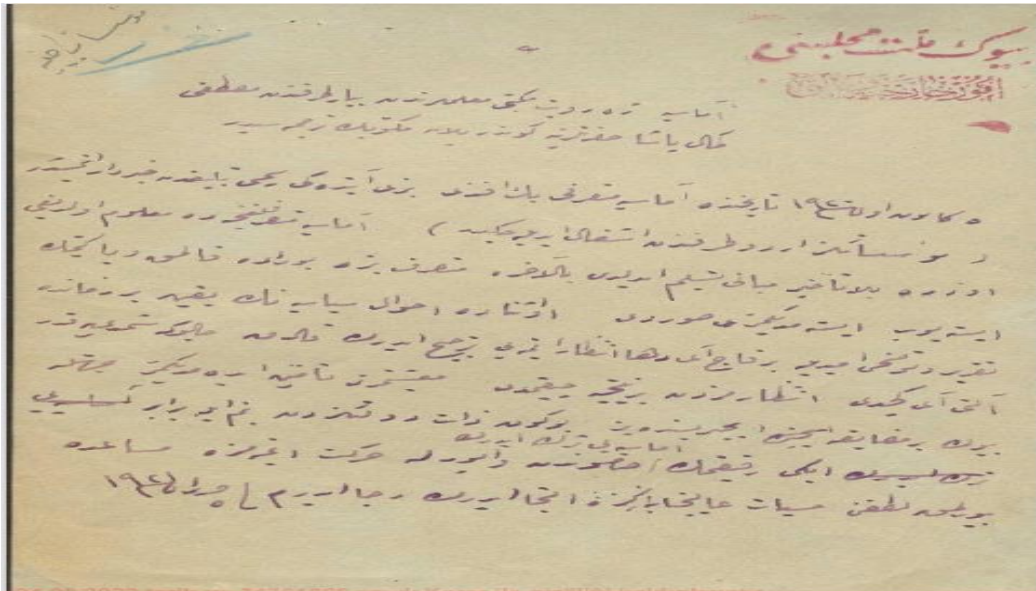
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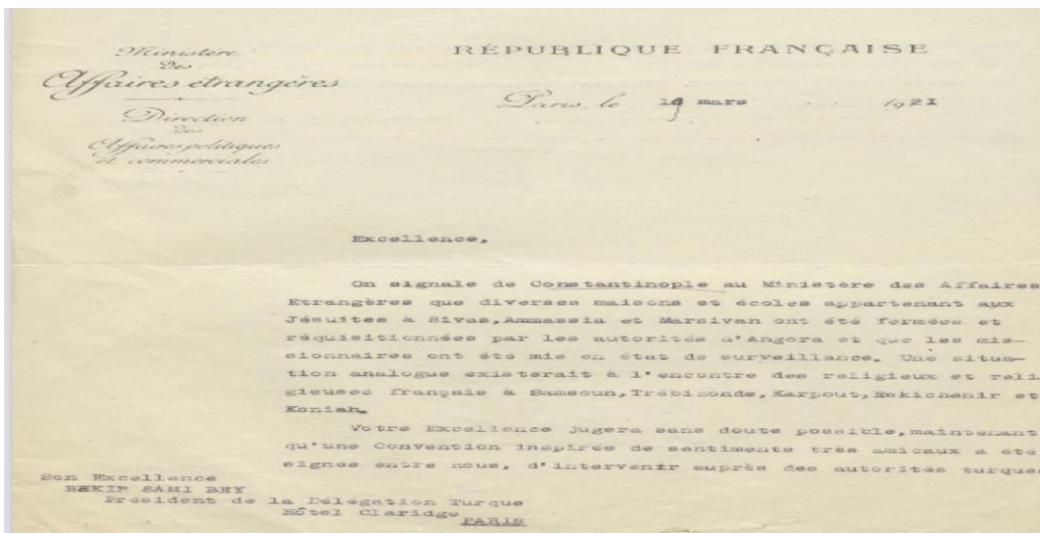
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX:1 Letter sent to Mustafa Kemal by a French Jesuit School Teacher



APPENDIX:2 Letter Presented to Bekir Sami Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs in France



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CHAPTER 3: THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN THE ANTEP FOR THE MUSLIM PEOPLE DURING THE OTTOMAN

Mustafa ÇABUK 

Chapter Highlights

- The third chapter of the book focuses on the activities of Protestant missionaries in Ayntab during the Ottoman Empire, specifically their efforts to reach out to the Muslim population.
- Initially, these missionaries faced limited interest from Muslims and concerns about the Ottoman administration's reaction, leading them to conduct their activities discreetly.
- To engage with Muslims, the missionaries exploited the existing challenges in the Ottoman Empire's healthcare and education systems, aiming to provide assistance.
- As the central authority of the Ottoman Empire declined, the missionaries intensified their efforts towards the Muslim population. However, their endeavors did not yield the expected results.
- Despite their activities, the missionaries encountered difficulties in converting Muslims to Christianity, highlighting the complexities and challenges they faced in their mission.

1. Introduction

In the missionary activities in the Ottoman lands, the Protestant missionaries carried out their activities in line with the aims of protestantizing the Christian minorities. On the other hand, they looked for opportunities to engage in activities aimed at Muslims. They carried out some activities for Muslims in fields such as education, health. They also preferred to carry out these activities in secret. Since there was not much demand from the Muslim people and they were afraid of the reaction of the Muslims, such activities were also limited. From the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, they increased their activities towards Muslims. Their activities towards Muslims continued increasingly during the war years and the occupation years. In particular, they increased their activities towards the Muslim people

by using the problems in the health system of the Ottoman State. They widely used health and education services in these activities. They worked to get more Muslims to go to missionary hospitals and missionary schools in the region.

The second group of missionaries operating in the Ottoman State Protestants. Although the Protestant missionaries started their activities in the Ottoman lands later than the Catholics, they became the most popular missionary group. American Protestant missionaries, using education and health services, left the Catholic missionaries behind. Protestants also changed the worldview of minorities in Ottoman lands with the schools, hospitals and churches they opened. The first Protestant missionaries to come to Anatolia were American Missionaries named Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk. They came to Izmir in 1820. England and the USA provided the greatest support for the activities of the Protestant missionaries. British and American Protestant missionaries continued their missionary activities together in Anatolia. The activities carried out by the Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman lands came to the fore with their political aspects. It was seen that the activities of the Protestant missionaries were the aims and political aims that America and England, the powers that supported them, wanted to achieve. From the 1870s, Protestant missionaries dreamed of a strong Protestantism that would rise above the political successes of England, America, and Germany. They identified their own successes with the successes of the states to which they belonged (Akyul,2007:30; Tozlu, 1991: 30-32).

From the 1870s, Protestant missionaries dreamed of a strong Protestantism that would rise above the political successes of England, America, and Germany. They identified their own successes with the successes of their respective states (Keiser, 2005:26).

Most of the Protestant missionaries operating in the Ottoman lands were employed by the American Board. The missionary organization called the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was known as BOARD or ABCFM for short. It was one of the largest missionary organizations in America. It was founded in 1810 in Boston, USA by Congregationalists, one of the three representatives of the Puritan movement representing the Calvinist tradition. Although ABCFM was one of the 16 Protestant missionary organizations in the USA in 1868, it alone made 30% of the total expenditures of these organizations and employed 30% of the missionaries belonging to these organizations (Kocabaşoğlu, 2000:13).

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American missionaries, who generally concentrated their activities in cities and towns in Anatolia, increased their activities, especially among Gregorian Armenians. The missionaries recruited members from among the Gregorian Armenians because the Armenian patriarchate could not meet the education needs of the Armenians and the Armenian Patriarchate was gradually weakening in terms of wealth and power. (Aya, 2008:58-60)

The Turkish-American trade agreement signed in 1830, the acceptance of Protestants in the Ottoman States as a separate religious community on November 15, 1847, and the abolition of the death penalty for converts from Islam to Christianity in 1857, upon the request of the representative of the US President, facilitated the work of missionaries in Turkey. Although Turkey was the country where the missionary organization spent the most money in the world, both in terms of people and money, the main target of the missionaries was not the Turks. The main target was the Christians living in Turkish lands. With the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks also became the target group of missionary organizations. Although the missionaries said that their purpose in Turkey was religious, they focused their attention on social and political problems and worked in this direction(Mazıç1, 2005: 19-31).

2. Activities of American Missionaries in Antep

The American missionaries sent a missionary named Henry Van Lennep to Antep in 1847 to investigate the conditions for the establishment of a mission center in Antep and to investigate this issue. Lennep reported that there were opportunities for missionaries in Antep, but there were hostilities of Gregorian and Catholic Armenians against Protestantism in the city. The Armenians, who could not do anything against the missionaries, reacted harshly to those who left their churches and turned to the Protestant sect. Sometimes this reaction went from burning houses to events that resulted in death. After Lennep's report, the missionaries transferred Thomas R. Johnson and Bedros Vartabed from Izmir to Antep. However, the administrators and religious leaders of the Gregorian Armenians in Antep reacted to these and Missionary Thomas Johnson was driven out of the city(Doğanay, 2009:21-22).

Later, missionary Azariah Smith, who was also a doctor, came to Antep in 1847. He started his missionary activities in Antep. This person was able to stay in the city thanks to his doctorate. The owner of the inn he stayed in the city treated his sick wife, which caused him to stay in the city(Baytop, 1920:69). American missionaries in Antep were affiliated with the American Board organization. This organization includes Turkey; He divided it into Western Turkey Mission, East Turkey Mission, Central Turkey Mission, and European Turkey Mission. The city of Antep was also accepted as the center of the Central Türkiye Mission. Missionary activities in cities such as Adana, Antakya, Maraş, Tarsus and Haçin (Saimbeyli) were also managed from here.

As a result of the activities of American missionaries in Antep, the first Armenian Protestant church was opened on January 30, 1848. American missionaries built the first Protestant church in Turkey in Antep. Within a year, the number of members of the church increased to 100. Under the leadership of the missionaries, two schools were opened in Antep, one for girls and one for boys (Stone, 2011:99).

3. American Hospital (Azariah Smith Hospital)

Missionaries also used health services as a tool for their missionary activities. Missionaries said, "Where there are people, there is suffering. Where there is pain, there is a need for a doctor. Where there is a need for medicine, there is a suitable opportunity for missionary work." With his thought; they saw the health mission as the best way to approach people (Doğanay, 2009: 31).

Missionaries expressed the importance of missionary work in the field of health as follows: "Medical Missions are the precursors of Bible teaching. They can grow saplings in places where it is impossible to plant another evangelical tree. The doctor can accept many people directly. When a doctor opens a dispensary wherever he is, he is surrounded by those who apply to him because of his healing ability. This bigoted Islamic mullah (?) or a poor person will kiss his hand; they will plead with him in a voice like the sad supplications of blind, lame, paralyzed people and dying parents." (Güngör, 2005:63-64).

Regarding the activities of the missionaries in Anatolia in the field of health, a missionary expressed his memories with these sentences: "*We wanted to bring not only children but also adults closer to Jesus. The medical business was just about building relationships. Praying in the hospital had become a duty. We made the doctors look like Jesus. We were also raising biblical women. They were going to the villages and they were telling the Armenian women there about Jesus.*" (Çalık, 2000:111).

Missionaries were taking advantage of people's helplessness in the hospital. The goal of the hospital staff was to heal the helpless patients who came to the hospital, not only physically but also spiritually. According to the missionaries, these ignorant and mentally ill people should have benefited from missionary compassion. For this reason, Tuesdays were declared as special prayer days in the hospital. In addition, hymns and passages from the Bible were read to the patients every evening, and Armenian and Turkish Bibles were distributed to them. (Yıldırım, 2009:58)

In the 19th century Ottoman State, infectious diseases were plentiful and health services were inadequate. Evaluating this situation well, missionary doctors and caregivers were receiving attention for these needs of the people wherever they went. Health missionaries gave the educated Protestantized Armenians jobs in hospitals and health institutions, on the one hand, they provided them with economic opportunities, on the other hand, they attached the

Armenians to them (Akgün, 1988: 11). Until 1912, many Armenian girls were educated in missionary schools and trained as nurses in Antep. These girls were assigned to the Red Cross Hospital in Antep during the war.(Shepard: 74).

The impact of health care, especially on Muslims, was very evident. Missionaries were reaching more regions by applying the traveling doctor system. Interviews were conducted by going to the villages of those who had left the hospital without regaining their health. American missionaries, who came with a medical mission, also made suggestions by reading and speaking the Bible at the bedside of the Muslims lying in their sick beds.(Taşkın, 2007: 87-88)

According to the report of Azariah Smith Hospital between 1896-1897, 91 of 201 hospitalized patients were treated for paid and 110 for free. Of those treated as a nation, 123 were Armenian, 60 Turkish, 5 Arab, 2 Syrian, 2 Jewish, 1 Georgian, and 5 other nationalities. In terms of religion, 71 of the patients were Muslim, 178 were Christian, and 2 were Jewish. Twelve of 201 inpatients died at the hospital. (PABCFM), Reel 552, No:114).

In 1910, 42,693 medical interventions were made in the hospital. Of these, 462 were major surgery, 131 eye surgery, 67 stomach surgery, and 63 bone surgery. Nine of these surgeries resulted in death. Of these 42,693 interventions, only 183 were made to the Turks, although they made up the majority of the city's population (Yelken, 1997:31).

During the occupation, the American hospital together with the American College entered the service of the French together with the Armenian doctors. Many Armenians were working in the American hospital as well. Even if many of these Armenians did not participate in the actions, they at least sympathized with the Armenian terrorist organizations. The Muslims, who were afraid of any harm, considered it necessary for their health to stay away from the hospital. For this reason, no Turks were treated in the American hospital in Antep during the years of occupation (Güllü, 2010: 154-158).

4. Activities of Missionaries in the Field of Health for the Muslim People in Antep

In the report that the missionaries sent to their headquarters in America in 1907; They stated that Antep, along with its villages, is mostly Muslim and mostly Turkish is spoken in the villages. In the report, they stated that the villages were neglected and that there was an opportunity to approach Muslims by using doctors and health facilities. (PABCFM, Reel: 660, No: 56).

Missionaries saw medicine as a means of Christianization and tried to reach the masses through orphanages, health and nursing homes. Missionary doctors had the opportunity to go among the Muslims and make propaganda through the patient they treated. Missionaries recommended that the doctor visit Muslim patients at home. Thus, it was possible to propagate Christianity among the Muslims gathered there during the doctor's visit. . Hopkins Moore - M.

Hali - Ö. Ferruh, 2006: 127-128). In the publications made by the missionaries, the following statements were included for the place and importance of health services in missionary activities:

“Under normal circumstances, medical services are the most promising of all missionary services. While tens of thousands of people are being treated in hospitals and clinics; they will be influenced by the spirit of Christianity, so that doubts and hatreds will be replaced by love and sympathy. Now wherever there is a sick and convalescent person; it remains for us to use this favorable environment and read the Bible to them calmly and carefully by stepping among them.”(Uçar, 2011: 40)

Missionaries prioritized medical studies in their activities towards Muslims. Missionary Miligan said on this subject: “Doctors have the opportunity to say a lot to Muslims on the occasion of treatment. If they had heard these words from outside the hospital or from someone who was not a doctor, they would have been filled with rage and wrath” (Kocabaş,2006: 116). German historian Julius Richter argued that for the Christianization of Muslims, health and education services should be provided to Muslims. (Grabill, , 1971: 32). For this purpose, Dr. Azariah Smith established a hospital in Antep. Shepard, the doctor of the missionary hospital in Antep, claimed that Muslim patients who returned to their villages after being treated in the hospital said that Jesus healed them (Riggs, Shepard :79).

The missionaries' reports of 1902 included the following information: "2/5 of the patients of the hospital in Antep are Muslims. Christian propaganda is carried out among the Muslims who come to the hospital. Bibles are distributed to patients who come to the hospital in Antep. Some people specially distribute Bibles to Muslims..." PABCFM, Reel: 660, No: 56).

The fact that many Muslims applied for treatment in the hospital belonging to the missionaries in Antep gave the missionaries the opportunity to work among the Muslims. They read the Bible to the patients in the wards every evening and on Sundays. In the hospital, there were many women who read the Bible and nurses who gave talks on Christianity. It was alleged that there were converts to Christianity while he was being treated at the hospital under the supervision of nurses. In the missionary reports, it was reported that a middle-aged woman in Antep became a Christian a few years ago and that the people around her accused her of insanity. (PABCFM, Reel: 660, No: 88).

5. Activities of Missionaries in the Field of Education for the Muslim People in Antep

American missionary Henry Jessup, in his speech in Saratoga, New York in 1879; He claimed that Britain and the USA had been given a Divine mandate by God to convert Muslims and that political, religious and educational means were provided to these countries to solve this problem. Jessup claimed that the British protectorate over the Ottoman State would also legalize the conversion of Muslims in Turkey. (Grabill, , 1971: 32). Until the 1880s, Muslims showed

little demand for missionary schools. Starting from the 1880s, Muslim students in the Central Turkey Mission began to attend such schools sporadically. These were usually the children of the intelligentsia and the wealthy and some provincial bureaucrats. Muslim families began to increasingly demand such missionary schools after the proclamation of the Republic (Kocabaşoğlu. 138, 148; Budak, 2018:287).

In the report of the missionaries in 1902, it was stated that the District Governor in Antep wanted to send his daughters to the girls' college, but he was afraid of this due to the reaction of the society and asked the missionaries for private teachers to teach his daughters. PABCFM, Reel: 660, No: 56.

According to the annual reports of the missionaries of 1907; 4-5 years ago, 4 Muslim students were attending Central Turkey College in Antep. However, the Ottoman Government banned them from going to college. He invited three of these students to Istanbul and offered them the opportunity to study with state money. In the annual reports of the missionaries, there was also information that in the past two years, a young Turkish boy, who was studying in the lower class of Central Turkey College and whose father was an engineer working in road construction, attended Bible lessons with other children. The missionary who wrote the report included the following statements in the continuation of the report: "To the question of whether we should work among Muslims to convert to Christianity, my answer is yes, there is the possibility. We must do this work. Only Armenians who have become Christians should do this. Armenians, on the other hand, think that foreigners should do this job. In Antep, we do the work among Muslims mostly through local Christians. This post should not be published." PABCFM, Reel: 660, No: 88)

Conclusion

Although the main purpose of the missionaries' activities in the Ottoman lands was to connect the former church members to their own churches, they also looked for an opportunity to engage in missionary activities for Muslims from the moment they arrived in the region. In a country where the state was governed on Islamic principles, they were hesitant to openly target Muslims. The missionaries carried out such activities secretly because they were afraid of the Ottoman administration and especially the reaction of the Muslim people. When the Muslim public became aware of such activities, they became agitated. On the other hand, they tried to recruit members of their churches from among Muslims by emphasizing some humanitarian aspects such as education, health and aid, albeit secretly. Since the missionaries in the region did not receive much demand from the Muslim people and they were afraid of the reaction of the Ottoman administration, their activities towards the Muslim people remained limited. They generally preferred to carry out such activities in secret. On the other hand, they carried out activities for the Muslim people, especially by using the unbelief and problems in the health and education system of the Ottoman Empire. The decrease in the central authority of the

Ottoman State also caused the missionaries to increase their activities towards Muslims. II. Since the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy, they have increased their activities towards Muslims. During the Ottoman Empire's entry into the First World War and the subsequent occupations, missionaries gradually increased their activities towards Muslims. They widely used health and education services in these activities. They worked to get more Muslims to go to missionary hospitals and missionary schools in the region.

Despite their activities, the missionaries could not get the desired results from their efforts towards Muslims. The main reason why the missionaries could not achieve success over the Muslims was that the Muslims saw their own religion as superior. For this reason, missionaries and westerners tried to harm Muslims' understanding of Islam as superior by citing Islam as the reason for the backwardness of Islamic countries. Although the missionaries could not make Muslims accept Christianity, they tried to turn them away from Islam and their own identity.

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Dr. Mustafa Çabuk is an academician and researcher who has made significant contributions to Turkish history. Born on June 26, 1980, in Andırın district of Kahramanmaraş, Çabuk has pursued his educational journey successfully.

The foundations of his educational path began with completing his undergraduate studies in the History Department at Boğaziçi University. He earned his master's degree in the History Department at Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University's Institute of Social Sciences and completed his doctorate in the same university's Institute of Social Sciences in the History Department. His doctoral thesis, titled "Missionary Activities and Armenian Incidents in Adana, Antakya, Antep, Maraş, and Mersin Regions between 1875-1925," garnered significant attention. Additionally, to further strengthen his academic career, he conducted post-doctoral research at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, England.

Mustafa Çabuk actively engages in international work with his proficiency in the English language, and he is capable of communicating at an "Advanced" level in this language. His score in the Interuniversity Foreign Language Exam (ÜDS) is 78.

He has authored a series of important books and articles, including "Sahipsiz Sandılar: Yabancıların Gözünden Anadolu'nun Direnişi" (They Thought They Were Ownerless: Anatolia's Resistance through Foreigners' Eyes) and "Maraş'ta Misyoner Faaliyetleri ve Misyoner Okulları" (Missionary Activities and Missionary Schools in Maraş). Furthermore, he is recognized for his articles published in national peer-reviewed journals and papers presented at various national and international symposiums. An example of these works is his article titled "1895 Yılında Geben'de Ermeni Mezalimi" (Armenian Atrocities in Geben in 1895).

Mustafa Çabuk's research provides significant contributions to Ottoman history, particularly crucial historical periods like the Armenian incidents. He is known as a respected academician both in Turkey and internationally, and his in-depth studies in the field of history have made significant contributions to the discipline.

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CHAPTER 4: A FUTURIST EDUCATOR: İSMAİL HAKKI BALTACIOĞLU

Rıdvan GENÇER^{ID}, Orhan CURAOĞLU^{ID}, Fahri KILIÇ^{ID}

Chapter Highlights

- The fourth chapter of the book offers a comprehensive evaluation of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, a Futurist Educator, examining various aspects of his life and work.
- İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu is noted for being a versatile intellectual who lived through two distinct historical periods, allowing him to draw insightful conclusions by observing significant social changes in both eras.
- Baltacıoğlu is recognized as a prominent figure in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods, sharing similarities with other influential thinkers of his time.
- He engaged with a wide range of societal issues, reflecting his multifaceted approach to understanding and addressing the challenges facing society during his lifetime.
- The fourth chapter provides an in-depth exploration of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's intellectual contributions, shedding light on his role as a thinker in the evolving landscape of late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey.

1. Life of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu was born on February 28, 1886, in Istanbul. His father was Baltacıoğlu İbrahim Edhem Efendi from Mucur, and his mother was Hamdune Hatün from Düzceli. His childhood was spent in his grandfather's house in Cihangir. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu started his primary education at the early age of four and a half in a neighborhood school in Sirkeci, then completed his education in Şemsülmekatip, Meşrik-i Füyüzat, a private school, and Kışlaarkası Primary School. After that, he started his secondary school education at Fevziye Rüştiyesi, and then, upon his and his family's request, he continued his education at Vefa İdadî. (Çubukçu, 1978; Tozlu, 1989; Ulusoy, 2002; Dağlar, 2004; Dikici, 1986; Aytaç, 2019).

Department after graduating from Vefa Idadisi, In 1904, Baltacıođlu enrolled in the Ulum-u Tabiye (Science) Branch of Darülfünun-u Osmaniye and graduated in 1908. The lessons he took throughout his education were the source of his interest in fine arts, literature, and art and contributed to his development (Ata, 2000; Aytaç, 1978; Çubukçu, 1978; Tozlu, 1989; Yeni Adam Magazine, 1978; Baltacıođlu, 1998).

After his graduation, he was appointed as a calligraphy teacher at the DarülmuaUllimin-i İbtidaiyyede (First Teacher's School) opened on February 9, 1909, in Çarşamba, Istanbul, and worked with the reformist educator Mustafa Satı Bey, who was appointed as the principal of the school. In 1910, Baltacıođlu was sent to Europe to study pedagogy and handicrafts with the recommendation of Mustafa Satı Bey and the approval of Emrullah Efendi, the Minister of Education. Baltacıođlu observed schools in Paris, London, Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany and examined what was being done in education in the western world. He made educational studies in a wide range from school architecture to curricula, from lesson hours to children's leisure time activities (Tozlu, 1989; Çubukçu, 1989; Baltacıođlu, 1998; Güngör, 2008; Aytaç, 1989).

When he returned to Turkey in 1911, he worked as a teacher at DarülmuaUllimat, as the Director General of Tedrisat-ı Tâliye, and as the Director General of Heyet-i Teftişıye (Binbaşıođlu, 1995).

In 1913, he was appointed as a professor of Fenn-i Terbiye (pedagogy) at Darülfünun (Yeni Adam Magazine, 1978b; Aytaç, 2019; Dikici, 1986). In 1913, while teaching pedagogy at Darülfünun, Baltacıođlu worked for women to gain the right to higher education. Thus, he pioneered the establishment of "*Inas Darülfünun*," (Aytaç, 2019; Ulusoy, 2002). At Darülfünun between 1920 and 1923, he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Literature. Between 1923 and 1925, he was elected as Darülfünun Emini (university rector) (Ege, 1978; Tozlu, 1989; Akyüz, 1999) and served as the first rector of the Republic (Çağatay, 1978).

Within the scope of the University Reform, he was dismissed from his position at Darülfünun on July 31, 1933, with the law dated May 31, 1933, and numbered 2252 (Aytaç, 2019; Ülken, 1999; Bayraktar, 1992). After his dismissal from the university, he started publishing *Yeni Adam*, one of the essential pedagogical publications in the history of Turkish magazine publishing, on a weekly basis (Aytaç, 2019). The magazine continued to be published for about 46 years, albeit with interruptions (Bayraktar, 1992). With the suggestion and support of Hasan Ali Yücel, Baltacıođlu was appointed as a professor at Ankara University, Faculty of Language and History-Geography in 1942; he was the first faculty member of the pedagogy chair of this faculty (Aytaç, 2019; Bozok, 1978). Thus, he returned to the university from which he had been separated for many years and pioneered the first practices in the history of education. Baltacıođlu gave lectures on pedagogy, the history of education, and teaching method at the Faculty of Language and History-Geography for the spring semester. (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives Annex 2). The fee for these lectures was 25

liras for each lecture hour, not to exceed four hours per week (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives Annex 3).

He continued to teach at the university until March 8, 1943, when, again at the request of İsmet İnönü, he became an MP for Afyon (Çelik, 1999). He was elected as an MP for two terms, from Afyon in 1942 and Kırşehir in 1946 (Baltacıoğlu, 1998). In 1950, he retired and took care of publishing his magazines "Yeni Adam" and "Din Yolu." During his retirement, he gave various conferences, wrote articles and books (Aytaç, 2019; Felek, 1978), published a commentary on the Qur'an, and practiced calligraphy. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, who had a deep knowledge and experience in calligraphy, added a unique value to the field by creating a style called "Hatt-ı muavvec" and "Alev script" in the art of calligraphy (Beysanoğlu, 1978; Yurdadoğ, 1978; Yetkin, 1978). İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu died in 1978 in Ankara (Aytaç, 2019; Ilgaz, 1978; Özen, 2000).

2. Works of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu wrote many works in various fields. The most important works of Baltacıoğlu are directly related to education and training issues (Aytaç, 2019). The fact that a significant weight among his works is directed towards education can be explained by the fact that Baltacıoğlu has a strong educator and pedagogue aspect. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's works transparently reflect the conditions of the period in which they were written. Baltacıoğlu wrote nearly 150 works on education, sociology, philosophy, religion, literature, art, theater, children, and youth. Baltacıoğlu argued that modernization could only be realized in Turkish society by preserving the national culture. His ideas laid the foundations of the cultural understanding of future Turkey (Dikici, 1986).

3. Revolution in Education and Training (1927)

Revolution in Education and Training "*Talim ve Terbiyede İnkılâp*", in which Baltacıoğlu's thoughts on education are given in a scattered manner, is the first work that contains his thoughts on education based on the events he witnessed during his trip to Europe. The work includes a reaction to the education system of the time and criticizes the rote learning approach (Binbaşıoğlu, 1995). This work indicates what Baltacıoğlu, who wanted to bring a new system, wanted to do and what his purpose was. At the same time, he harshly criticizes the existing education system. (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

4. Social School (1942)

He wanted to build a new and original understanding in place of the one he had destroyed in his first work. In this work, he establishes a "*social school*" model based on the pedagogy of

personality and pedagogy of production. Instead of the education system that he wants to destroy, Baltacıoğlu bases the education system he wants to establish in his work titled The Social School "*İçtimai Mektep*" on five main principles:

The principle of personality: According to Baltacıoğlu, education aims to create genuine persons within the social structure. Education should provide the individual with field knowledge and a personality structure specific to everyone based on social reality.

The principle of the environment: Baltacıoğlu's principle of the environment represents the space that creates a context in which real personalities and personalities complete their development. According to Baltacıoğlu, the most real personalities and personalities can only emerge in natural environments.

The principle of work: Accordingly, schools should be a place for "*real work*" in real life, not "*artificial work*" outside. The principle of work should prepare individuals for real life and enable them to create work that touches people's lives.

The yield principle: The principle of efficiency is the main foundation of the working code. Efficiency represents sustainability in meaning. Therefore, when the individual, who is the subject of education, undertakes work within the real-life framework, they must produce a work.

Initiation principle: Education is the process of initiating an attempt to acquire one's social personality. The beginner should start the work, and all kinds of opportunities and facilities should be prepared for the student to start the work (Baltacıoğlu, 1964; Sönmez, 1996). The school is not an institution detached from real life but a place that is intertwined with it. This gives the school the power to shape social life.

Baltacıoğlu created the "*İçtimai Mektep*" inspired by the school model in his imagination. In this respect, the Social School is Baltacıoğlu's answer to how a school should be. This school, which rejects traditional understanding, represents an innovative educational approach. In the shaping of the school, it can be said that it is a model that emerged as a result of Baltacıoğlu's educational experience in primary and secondary school, his trips abroad for educational studies, and the accumulation of his experiences and experiences gained during his teaching and management in various institutions.

5. Collective Lecture (Tedris) (1938)

The purpose of the search for new programs includes efforts shaped around the question of how new generations should be raised for the country's future. The educational programs to shape the future require creating the healthiest and most efficient ones. In this respect, Baltacıoğlu emerges as a figure with solid futurist thinking. Altun (2020) states that seeing and designing

the future is crucial for future literacy. Making connections between the future, present, and past, designing the future, making predictions, building predictions, and controlling the future through these predictions are among the essential components of reading the future. Considering the characteristics of reading the future that Altun puts forward, it is possible to say that Baltacıoğlu had a strong futurist personality who could read the future.

In this context, it is possible to find Baltacıoğlu's futurist predictions in his work titled "*Toplu Tedris*". In this work, Baltacıoğlu explained the methods, techniques, and approaches used in education and training. He provides examples from both the theoretical results he has read and his own experiences of what teachers should do in order for students to develop positive feelings towards school and lessons in the school environment. "*Collective Teaching*" is a guide for teachers and school administrators describing in-school practices. It describes the methods and techniques of teachers on how to make the lesson enjoyable, how to arouse curiosity in students, and how to keep this curiosity alive. Baltacıoğlu also elaborates on the skills and competencies that teachers should possess in this work. Teachers should undergo an excellent training process in terms of knowledge, skills, and values because only a teacher with a good level of knowledge and skill can reveal the hidden gems in the student. No matter how intelligent, hardworking, and talented the student is, if the teacher is inadequate in field knowledge and skills, students cannot succeed. In this work, Baltacıoğlu discusses his unique understanding of education in a broad framework far ahead of its time.

6. Schools in My Dreams (1944)

In this work, Baltacıoğlu conveys what he wants to do with irony as if he had been dreaming. Therefore, this work constitutes a unique example among the world classics of education in terms of its writing style.

Schools in My Dreams "*Rüyamdaki Okullar*" is narrated through seven fictionally constructed dreams. All of the dreams focus on all school and educational environment stakeholders. Each dream is built on what should be related to school and education. Although the topics covered by the dreams are independent, they show a network structure that is generally interrelated.

First Dream: Emphasizes the importance of theoretical education given in school and the practical processes in which this knowledge is put into practice. The purpose of the school is not only to teach knowledge but also to experimentally show and experience how this knowledge is reflected in real life. The student should be able to test the knowledge they receive at school in real life (Baltacıoğlu, 1944).

Second Dream: The main message of the dream is the principle of learning by doing, which is a crucial element of modern education. He recommends using effective teaching techniques in the classroom and states that all fields of art have great potential.

Third Dream: Baltacıoğlu thinks that for knowledge to turn into value, it must contribute to real life. When the knowledge taught at school is used by the student, society can derive benefits and value from it. In their study, Gençer and Altun (2021) state that the content taught in schools is information rather than knowledge and that this can be expressed as knowledge when it has a structure that contributes to real life, which can be presented as a contemporary interpretation of this dream.

Fourth Dream: This dream makes a comprehensive reference to how the education system at school is structured. In the dream, creative methods and techniques to be used by teachers are listed based on how students learn in the classroom. Instead of the traditional teacher roles and lecture techniques criticized in the fourth dream, methods that involve the student in the process and the widespread use of student-centered projects are described. It is pointed out that students should be active in the classroom and that projects provide great opportunities for student discussions. The main idea of the work, which is the main idea of the work in general and which is covered in all the dreams, is that information should not remain in the student's memorization and that a benefit and value should be created from it, is also frequently emphasized in this dream. Baltacıoğlu sees memorization as a burden for the student and a cause of fatigue and explains in the dream that this should be changed.

Fifth Dream: In his fifth dream, Baltacıoğlu argues that the only source of information for education in school is the book, not the rote memorization approach. He evaluates education with this kind of understanding as backward and processes in the dream fiction that this should be changed. In general, the main theme of all dreams, that theory and practice should be given together, is also addressed in the fifth dream. The school system should not blunt student creativity; on the contrary, it should nurture and strengthen it. The productive climate that will increase student creativity can only be possible in schools based on practice and teaching with a student-centered technique. Baltacıoğlu argues that school and life success can be possible with creativity. On the other hand, creativity can be born in free discussion environments that are given the opportunity at school. During the discussion, students ask questions and try to use all their mental skills in the most efficient way to present logical arguments to these questions. The teacher's task is to build productive environments for students.

Sixth Dream: In this dream, Baltacıoğlu sets the standards of modern school architecture by changing the elements that he thinks are unsuitable for education in a school building built by spending much money. The school is a part of education with its entire physical structure. Schools' physical and architectural elements are described as the most critical stakeholders of quality and efficiency in education by depicting a school climate ahead of its time. In the sixth dream, Baltacıoğlu combines the unique school architecture he observed in Europe with local elements.

The Seventh Dream: The seventh dream, the last chapter of the book *Schools in my dream*, focuses on the roles and behaviors of students, teachers, and administrators in schools.

Baltacıoğlu, who primarily advocates school management and student participation in school management, envisions leaving the school management to students for a week so that students and administrators can get to know each other better in the school system. As a result, students who manage their schools will be able to recognize the causes of the problems that arise in the school climate and will take an active role in finding solutions to these problems. Baltacıoğlu states that most of the minor issues in the school will be overcome in a short time in this way. In the seventh dream, Baltacıoğlu presents an example of educational empathy and emphasizes the importance of teachers, administrators, and students understanding each other within the scope of the school climate.

7. My Life. *New Man*. Issue: 142 (1938) - 360 (1941)

In his work "*My Life*", Baltacıoğlu tells his life story in detail through the events he observed and the comprehensive notes he kept on these events. The work deals with Baltacıoğlu's life chronologically. His family life, childhood, education, teaching, civil service, educational trips to Europe, observations, and the rectorate of Darülfünun are all described as a life story.

8. Revolution in Pedagogy (1964)

Baltacıoğlu envisions an educational reform that extends beyond the era and expresses it as follows. "*I am looking for neither Tanzimat, Constitutional, or Republican pedagogy. I am looking for the creative pedagogy that raises the creative person, the creative Turk, befitting the atomic age.*" (Baltacıoğlu, 1964).

The idea that there is a need for reform in the field of education, as in every field, has been an idea that has been shaped since the first years of Baltacıoğlu's education life. The countries he observed during his European trip made this idea more evident. He tried to implement his ideas at every opportunity in the institutions where he started teaching. Baltacıoğlu considers all the facts and phenomena of life as intertwined structures and discusses their socio-political dimensions in his works in a multifaceted way. This work of Baltacıoğlu can be considered a manifesto of his pedagogical understanding, which includes his original ideas and thoughts in the field of education shaped by experiential learning. In this work, Baltacıoğlu, who put forward ideas far ahead of his time, discusses all levels of education and the purposes for which they should act and provides them with a detailed guide.

New Man Magazine

"*Yeni Adam*" magazine started publishing on January 1, 1934, with its first weekly issue publication.

The 1933 university reform caused important ruptures in Baltacıoğlu's life. In the post-university reform period, he began to write his works on all the issues he had been thinking about theoretically for a long time and started to publish the magazine "*Yeni Adam*" as a way of education that could reach the public (Kaçmazoğlu, 2001). In the first issue of the magazine, Baltacıoğlu defined the general aims of the magazine as a channel that mediated the dissemination of the reforms realized based on a democratic society. In addition, although the magazine advocated a line that appealed to the whole public, its targeted audience was students and teachers. Because Baltacıoğlu believed that the values and achievements of the Republic would be carried to the future through students and the teachers who would educate them and that they would strive for this cause. Since the magazine's first issue was published, Baltacıoğlu wrote articles and published his cartoons under the signature Şaban (Dikici, 1986) in line with his multifaceted personality traits as a sociologist, educator, painter, calligrapher, and others. One of the most prominent features of the magazine was the intensive use of pictures, news, and cartoons published in the foreign press, especially foreign newspapers and magazines based in Europe. While the magazine did not have a special editorial team, Nurullah Ataç, Hüsametdin Bozok, Cami Baykurt, Vahdet Gültekin, Dr. İzzettin Şadan, Bedri Rahmi Eyuboğlu, Zeki Faik İzer, Zahir Sıtkı Güvemli, Sedat Nuri İleri, and Zühtü Müritoğlu were some of the significant personalities who frequently wrote for the magazine (Tunalı, 2021).

Yeni Adam magazine has excellent value as a publication that has long been a lens on Turkey's social, political, economic, and sociological processes. Many famous names wrote articles and expressed their opinions in the magazine. In all its aspects, the magazine covered the critical debates and intellectual developments of its time and served as a medium through which current global events and developments were conveyed. One of the best examples of this is the magazine's "*Yeni Adam Mektebi*" (*New Man School*), where the magazine tried to provide education to its readers. This school, which can be shown as an example of Baltacıoğlu's progressive practices and works from an educational point of view, is also important in representing a unique example in the history of education. The experimentation of this method applied in Europe is a perfect example of how Baltacıoğlu followed the era (Tunalı, 2021).

9. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's Thoughts on Education

Baltacıoğlu's thoughts, opinions, and theories on education can be seen in his books, articles, magazine articles, and speeches at conferences between 1912 and 1962, which include different topics and thematic discussions. When all of Baltacıoğlu's works are analyzed, it can be said that each of his works written at different times is a stage in which the developmental periods of his ideas are completed. Some of his works are crucial to look at the development of his ideas on education. When we look at some of Baltacıoğlu's works that include his ideas on education, it is possible to list among his important books *Talim ve Terbiyede İnkılâp*, *İçtimai Mektep*, *Toplu Tedris*, *Rüyamdaki Okullar*, and *Pedagojide İhtilal*. These works, in which Baltacıoğlu

drew the theoretical framework of his understanding of education and put forward a unique pedagogical perspective, were built on his life experiences, the impressions he gained during his European travels, and the intensive reading he did to catch up with age.

Since he had a multifaceted personality, he discussed educational issues, other social events, and public issues in his works. Baltacıoğlu, who had a strong educator personality, did not accept the dominant educational understandings of the period and built his pedagogical understanding. Therefore, the most important of his works were those that dealt with education (Aytaç, 1978; İnan, 1978; Dikici, 1986; Bayraktar, 1992). As an educational theoretician, the aim of education in İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu's pedagogical understanding is to raise individuals as solid personalities, i.e., as having a self, and to respond to the interests, wishes, and needs of students. Education is the process of ensuring the development of areas such as intelligence, interest, relevance, and talent, which are the natural and characteristic features of individuals, making the individual experience the use of their characteristics in social life and preparing the individual for real life (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

From the first experiences of his primary education, Baltacıoğlu advocated a modern critical attitude and an innovative understanding of education. He emphasized that the current education system could not be saved with improvements and that a national education structure that includes modern theories and approaches should be established. Because the existing education system causes the individual to atrophy and prevents the student's personal development with entrepreneurial characteristics, the fact that the education system is based on rote learning makes the individual lazy and does not allow him to learn anything. Based on these reasons, Baltacıoğlu advocated a radical reform movement in education. Recognizing that the solution could not be found by simply abolishing the existing education system, Baltacıoğlu developed suggestions, ideas, and theories on all stages of how the new education system should be. Throughout his life, he tried to develop a unique educational theory that covers all stages, from school architecture to the structure of courses, from the training of teachers to the activities that students will participate in school (Baltacıoğlu, 1995; 1964).

According to Baltacıoğlu, education should make individuals experience life instead of preparing them for life. The education given in schools should not be detached from the life of society and social realities. The society in which the individual lives should be analyzed through deep sociological analysis, and its social characteristics should be revealed. Then the individual living in the society should be examined, and all the characteristics of the individual should be analyzed. As a result of these examinations and analyses, a national education system can be built, and only this education system can raise national citizens. Baltacıoğlu did not accept the behaviorist theory, which was the widespread educational understanding of his time, and instead adopted the constructivist understanding, which exceeded the limits of his time and whose foundations had been laid much more recently (Kaçmazoğlu, 2013; Akyüz, 1985; Öztürk, 1987). Baltacıoğlu produced and defended the social pedagogy system in education. He argued that students could not be understood only by revealing their psychological aspects;

instead, the society in which the individual lives should be analyzed. Because the individual is a product of the society in which they live. An analysis of the individual without analyzing the society will be incomplete. It is impossible for an education system that is designed without recognizing the individual and society to succeed. Because education is a system structured that will respond to the needs of society. The individual and society represent complex structures consisting of intertwined relationships. Establishing an education and training structure is impossible without understanding the individual and society. With his concept of social pedagogy system, Baltacıoğlu advocates a much deeper understanding of education than the world's leading educational theorists.

Closely following the changes in the world, Baltacıoğlu argued that the desired development would only be possible through education. Baltacıoğlu, who considered education a locomotive that transformed society, supported not only boys but also girls to take full advantage of the opportunities provided by education. He argued that social change and progress would be possible if girls were sent to school and included in the education process. Women should be visible in education, not only in manual labor and housekeeping at the back of society. Baltacıoğlu produced ideas on this issue and worked as an educator and administrator to ensure that girls could be present in all areas of education in the institutions where he worked. He played an active role in the establishment of the Inas Darülfünunun (Inas Darülfünunun) to enable girls to receive university-level education (Aytaç, 1978; Aytaç, 2019; Dikici, 1986; Tozlu, 1989; Ulusoy, 2002; Topsis, 2011). When it was forbidden for girls and boys to study in the same classes, Baltacıoğlu, the dean of the Faculty of Literature, allowed girls and boys to study in the same classes (Ülken, 1999).

Baltacıoğlu's studies on European education and educational practices greatly influenced the shaping of his educational ideas. He took detailed notes of the observations that he had been in Europe, reflected on them, and used them in all his works. He visited educational institutions, museums, theaters, and other cultural venues and took notes on them. In Baltacıoğlu's understanding of education, practice rather than theory played a significant role, influenced by his observations on practical education in the schools he visited in Europe. After returning to the country, Baltacıoğlu tried to explain the education system based on practice rather than theory to administrators and the public in his conferences, art exhibitions, books, articles, and writings. In his 1912 work "*Talim Terbiyede İnkılap*", which contains his original ideas on education, he criticized the traditional understanding of education and explained in all aspects what kind of education system should replace it (Aytaç, 1978; Aytaç, 2019; Dikici, 1986, Öztürk, 1987; Tozlu, 1989; Altın, 2014). Since the traditional education system was based on filling the student's mind with dry information, it positioned individuals as passive recipients and the teacher controlled everything. In this understanding of education, there was no space left for the student, and the student was only considered a passive part of the process. For teachers, only those who memorized their lessons and behaved well were considered ideal students (Güngör, 2008). While he was working as a lecturer at the private school named "*Şems-ül Me-katip*", he tried to realize his ideas by initiating field trips, school theater, and mixed class

practices based on practice and going beyond the traditional understanding of education (Dikici, 1986; Tozlu, 1989; Altın, 2014).

Baltacıoğlu considers education as a life capital. In his own words, his understanding that "*Education is the most important capital for life*" (Baltacıoğlu, 1995) shows that Baltacıoğlu was fed by progressivism as an educational philosophy. Considering the meanings he attributed to education and his strong emphasis on the purpose of education to prepare the individual for real life, it is possible to say that he adopted the progressive philosophy of education, which is the interpretation of pragmatist philosophy in the field of education. He criticized concepts such as memorization, rote memorization, and autocratic teaching, which are frequently used in the traditional education system (Güngör, 2008). Instead, he used concepts such as personality, neighborhood, travail, efficiency, and initiation in his educational principles (Ata, 2000).

Baltacıoğlu does not limit education as an action that takes place only within the school walls; on the contrary, he considers education as a process that affects the whole life and occurs at every stage of the individual's life. For this reason, he also made great efforts in public education and put forward ideas on how general public education should be (Göçeri, 2003). Education does not only consist of the school building, the lessons in the school, and the books read in the lessons. Baltacıoğlu criticized the limited scope of education and wrote many articles in the magazine "*Yeni Adam*" to explain this to the public. In addition to his writings, he tried to realize the examples of school architecture he had seen in Europe. In his speeches and conferences on education, Baltacıoğlu argued that the purpose of university education should be to teach the skills of how to produce new knowledge and to carry out practices for this purpose rather than learning ready-made knowledge (Baltacıoğlu, 1998). Baltacıoğlu's view of universities as knowledge production centers can indicate that he defended Humboldt's understanding of the research university.

Baltacıoğlu advocated the practical realization of education and stated that information should be transferred to students concretely. He harshly criticized the theoretical approach away from practice in the education system at every opportunity (Önder, 1978; Ateş & Akyol, 2016). He expressed at every opportunity that art branches such as drama and theater are of great importance for concretizing the lessons given in schools based on practice. Therefore, he attached great importance to including drama, theater, and other art branches in schools. During his teaching years, he used these branches of art as a teaching tool in his classes and lessons (Şener, 1978). Baltacıoğlu (1975) considered the games played by children as a creative theatrical process. He stated that the games children play in and out of school contribute to their physical and mental health and are important because they prepare an environment for practical learning. Therefore, he emphasized the importance of including games that nurture children's creativity in school. From the very first years of his teaching career, he emphasized that physical education classes should be compulsory for students from Sıbyan schools to Darülfünun. He practiced this in his classes. In his lessons, he tried to implement the educational approach he advocated by intensively using nature walks, theater, and drama activities (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

Baltacıoğlu believed that education is a whole with all its stakeholders. The education system represents an intertwined structure consisting of the school, administrators, teachers, students, course materials, and curricula. Baltacıoğlu produced innovative ideas for each education stakeholder and strived for their implementation. Baltacıoğlu's ideas on curricula were far ahead of their time and are among the indispensable elements of modern curricula today. Baltacıoğlu critically addressed all aspects of the system changes of his time regarding education and training and made a general evaluation. Baltacıoğlu (1995) explains his criticisms of the curricula and what needs to be done as follows; *"In our country, everyone pursues the goal of raising educated and knowledgeable men, schools are opened, buildings are built, books are printed, commissions are formed, programs are changed, the newest programs brought from the best schools in the world are implemented. As a result of all these efforts, our schools are producing "knowledgeable, well-mannered, well-memorized, brightly articulate young people; but they are not producing only one thing, and that is men.... Faced with our schools' inability, we find a remedy: changing the programs. Program! Program! But this country's education system has tested the effects of changing programs on men's training for years. The programs that were brought from the schools of France twenty or thirty years ago did not change anything radically in the education of this country". If we want to raise men for this nation, we must recognize the importance of "activity" (experience-activity). These activities should take five forms: activity in the body, activity in the five senses, activity in the idea, activity in the emotion, activity in the will"*. Baltacıoğlu discussed the practice-based education that he advocated included in curricula based on five activities and explained in detail what these activities consisted of.

Tools for bodily activity: Curricula should support students' cognitive, affective, and physical development through physical activities at school. For this purpose, games, music, painting, oratory, rhetoric, handicrafts, sports activities, gymnastics, etc. similar practices should be included to enable students' physical and mental development (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

Tools for activity in the five senses: Students are not only mentally involved in teaching processes. They are involved in teaching processes with their physical and spiritual beings, especially with their five senses. Therefore, education and training processes should be structured considering students' emotional states. Education and training practices, toys, games, paintings, handicrafts, work and technical studies, and all lessons related to objects that appeal to the five senses of students should contribute to the emotional development of children, and their character and personality development should be supported holistically (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

Tools for intellectual activity: One of the most practical goals of education is the development of thought in the individual. Academic education should be the main focus of all lessons at school. Students need to be involved in classroom discussions as part of the lessons. The teacher should creatively structure the classroom environment for this purpose. Classroom discussions for the intellectual development of students are one of the essential practices to be carried out.

Educational practices that move the individual physically and emotionally constitute the basis of intellectual development. Intellectual development should be realized within the individual's free will (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

Tools of activity in emotion: The school is not only an institution that focuses on the mental and cognitive development of the individual. One of the primary aims of education is to realize the individual's emotional development in parallel with their physical development. A true consciousness of the individual is possible within the framework of emotional development. For the individual's emotional development in the school environment, theater, drama, play, music, writing, painting, handicrafts, speeches, conferences, history, and geography lessons, examples of local events occurring in the environment can all be used (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

Means of activity in the will: Education should assist in developing the student's character and bring the individual to true consciousness. School and educational processes should include practices that develop the individual's character, consciousness, and will. The success of all innovations and improvements in education and training depends on understanding the child's character development. Therefore, the education and training structure should include tools, methods, and practices that contribute to developing values and morals (Baltacıoğlu, 1995).

Baltacıoğlu dealt with education in most of the works he wrote throughout his life. During his years as a teacher and administrator, he worked to realize his innovative ideas on education and left deep traces in the history of education. Throughout his life, Baltacıoğlu was a versatile educator, sociologist, literary critic, artist, politician, playwright and playwright, thinker, and intellectual who dealt with issues concerning society and problems on the agenda of the period in addition to educational issues (Ulusoy, 2000). Baltacıoğlu expressed his demand for a radical change in education at every opportunity. He advocated the inclusion of all segments of society and individuals of all ages in education. He adopted an understanding of education based on practice rather than theory and developed theories and suggestions on how this education would be. From the Second Constitutional Monarchy until the 1950s, he worked to systematize a practical and practice-based understanding of education and produced comprehensive works.

Conclusion

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu is a versatile intellectual who lived in two different periods and made strong inferences by observing the social changes that occurred in these two distinct periods. Baltacıoğlu appears as one of the important thinkers of the late Ottoman and early Republican periods. Like the leading intellectuals of the period, he lived in, he dealt with different issues concerning society in a multifaceted way. Although he wrote extensively on various social issues and phenomena, education was one of the fields in which he wrote the most. He tried to popularize practices such as theater, drama, and painting, which he observed intensively in European schools in the education system. He defended traditionalism within modernity and

considered education as a process to preserve cultural authenticity. Baltacıoğlu argued that education should increase student creativity and theoretically and practically treat how schools should be in his works. He radically criticized the teacher-centered and rote-learning structure of schools and worked for the establishment of a new understanding of education.

Later in his life, he served as a national deputy for two terms and became one of the teacher's national deputies in the parliament. Baltacıoğlu was a versatile thinker who wrote hundreds of books, articles, essays, plays, and stories in his 92 years.

Baltacıoğlu imagined a system far beyond the educational understanding of his time and built a unique understanding of education based on this. His uniquely designed education system includes approaches and objectives that form the basis of today's modern understanding. He advocated an understanding based on practice in education. In his main works, he designed an education system that appeals to the interests and desires of students and in which various teaching techniques and methods are widely used. Instead of schools where the individual is prepared for life, he advocated the establishment of a structure where the individual experiences real life. He stated that memorizing the information presented in schools does not create social value and does not contribute to the individual. He advocated the transformation of knowledge into value in real life and stated that the lessons given in schools should serve this purpose. He stated that students should be educated in school intellectually, emotionally, spiritually, and physically. In all his works, in addition to academic education, he also dealt intensively with character education. Baltacıoğlu supported the realization of education through experiential experiences and practices that would directly affect the individual's life. He argued that the individual could only be efficient and productive within an education system woven with such values. A productive individual is an individual who can add value to society both in the city and in the village and be a source of its development and progress. He emphasized that a productive individual cannot be raised in an educational approach isolated from society, based on rote learning, and devoid of practice. Baltacıoğlu not only criticizes the traditional education system but also proposes a model by presenting suggestions with a systematic basis on what kind of education should be established instead.

The most characteristic feature of Baltacıoğlu within the framework of his regular criticisms and original thoughts he produced on different subjects he dealt with throughout his long life is his defense of modernity in a traditionalist line. He adopted a reformist course of action to carry cultural values into the future and make them sustainable within modernity. He evaluated culture as a unique identity element and saw it as the most fundamental feature of being a nation. These meanings that Baltacıoğlu attributed to culture are consistent with the principles that sociologists such as E. Durkheim and Z. Gökalp, whom he followed, based on to define a nation. Baltacıoğlu witnessed the last periods of the Ottoman Empire and the republic's first years and tried to analyze the social, socio-political, and economic transformations. It is possible to say that the most prominent theme preserved in his thoughts is the populist and revolutionary line,

from his first works in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire to his works containing his thoughts that matured after the Republic.

Prof. Dr. Michio Kaku, one of the leading futurists of our age, describes intelligence as predicting the future and taking action to design the foreseen future. Intelligent and successful people create substantial influence by thinking about the future (Altun, 2020). In this sense, humanity is designing the future under the leadership of futurist intellectuals and thinkers. Futurist thinkers guide society and sow the seeds of thought that society will run after.

It is possible to say that İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu produced thoughts with a high degree of impact for the extended future. Baltacıoğlu produced robust predictions about education and other social issues and made significant contributions to the construction of the future, especially in education. When we look at the predictions he designed on education, we can see that he constructed them by taking lessons from his life and experiences and analyzing the conditions of the time he was in, and producing interpretations for the future. Baltacıoğlu, who built his thoughts and ideas on these two focal points, could consistently and efficiently produce ideas that transcended the limits of the period he lived in. Thanks to these futuristic features, Baltacıoğlu grounded the constructivist view of education, one of the dominant educational approaches today, long before it emerged and explained it with comprehensive theories about how the education system should be. Prawat (1996) emphasized that the basis of constructivism in modern educational understanding is that the student is at the center, the educational processes are flexible, and the student constructs knowledge structures instead of memorizing them. It can be said that these items, which form the basis of constructivist understanding, are the basic features of the understanding of education that Baltacıoğlu tried to implement in the education system long ago. In addition, when Baltacıoğlu's ideas expressed in all his works on education are examined, he dealt with the school, students, teachers, and administrators separately, and critically rejected all of the traditional roles and explained how their roles should be in a comprehensive way. In this direction, it would not be wrong to say that all the ideas that Baltacıoğlu defended have an impact that will shape the future.

Baltacıoğlu is a futurist who read and analyzed his own period well. It is possible to say that this feature lies in his critical attitude. From the early years of his education, he opposed the improper practices and understandings he encountered and developed theoretical ideas about what should be done through the existing system. He maintained this attitude consistently throughout his life. Baltacıoğlu compared the education system he was involved in during his student years with the education systems he observed during his educational trips to different European countries in the early years of his teaching career and started to search for what the ideal understanding of education should be. During his years as a teacher and as an administrator at the Darülfünun, he tried to test his original practices in the field experientially instead of the practices and understanding he criticized. It can be said that the search for how the future of a country can be built lies based on these practices carried out by Baltacıoğlu.

As one of the leading intellectuals of both his time and today's world, Baltacıođlu is a perfect example of how an individual touches society. Throughout his life, he addressed every societal issue and offered unique solutions. His suggestions on social events are the product of realistic foresight and serve as a guide for every period. As a great thinker, sociologist, artist, educator, literary critic, and futurist, Baltacıođlu's works, and thoughts have a universal dimension that will serve to design the future.

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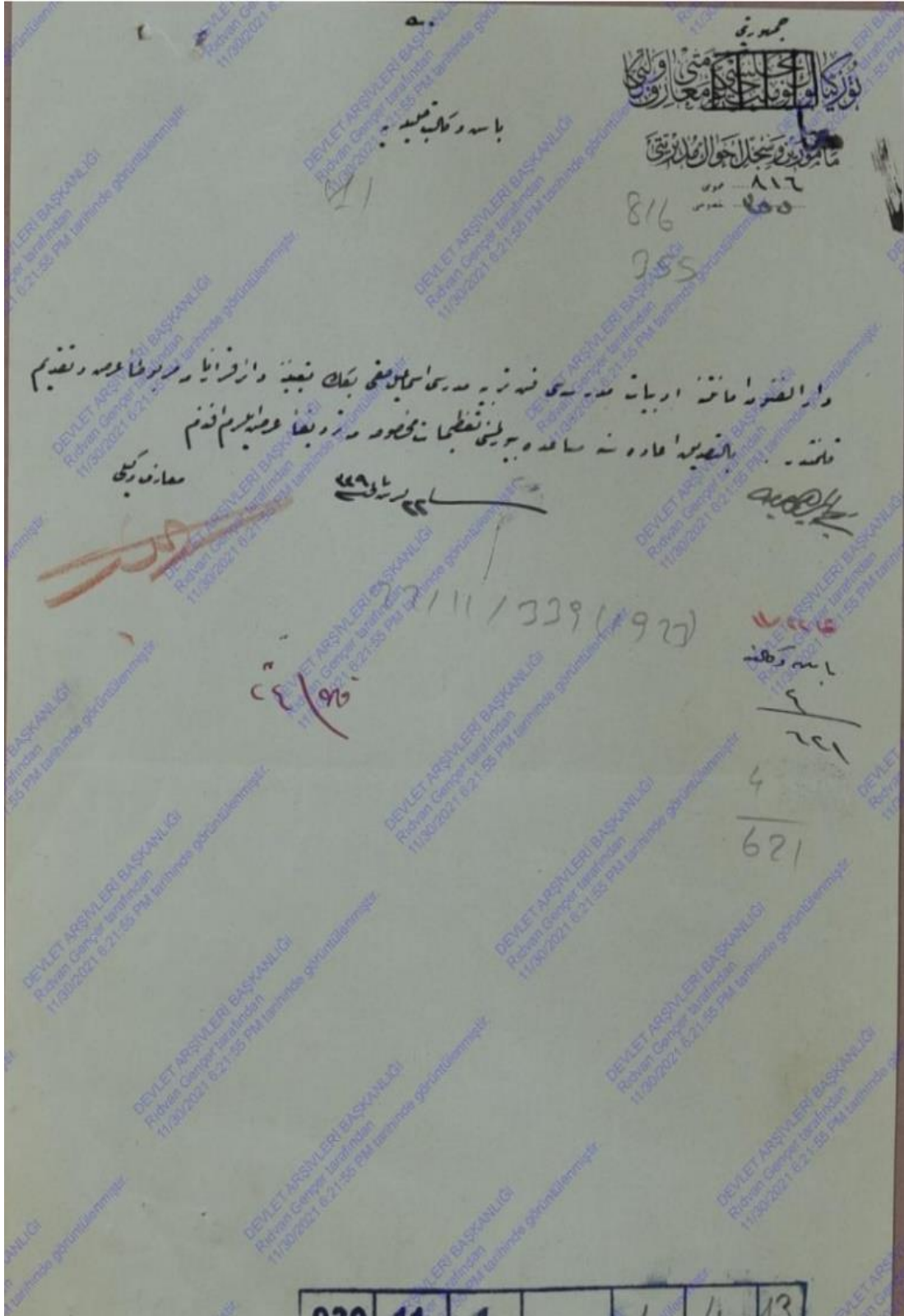
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Annex. 1,



Annex 1: Decision letter indicating Baltacıoğlu's appointment as the Emir of Darülfünun. Source: Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives

Annex. 2

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
KARARLAR DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Karar sayısı:
2



Kararname

15741

1941 18 01 1941 18 01 1941 18 01

Ücretleri umumî muvazene kanununun 4 üncü maddesi mucibince 1940 malî yılı Maarif Vekâleti bütgesinin 689 uncu faslının E cetveline dahil 6 ıncı maddesine mevzu tansisattan verilmek üzere Ankara Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesinde Pedagoji, Terbiye tarini ve tedris usulü mevzuları üzerinde konferans şeklinde ders okutacak olan İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğluna 1/2/1941 tarininden müteber olmak ve haftada dört saati geçmemek şartile, her ders saati için 25 lira ve mezkûr fakülte psikoloji doçenti Şerif Başoğlu'nun talim için silâh altına alınmış olmasına binsen psikoloji mevzuu üzerinde haftada üç dersi aşmamak üzere, keza konferans şeklinde ders verecek olan Türk Maarif Cemiyeti Ankara - Yenışehir Kolleji İngilizce öğretmeni Roy Philips'e beher ders için 15 ve kendisine terfik olunacak mütercime de her ders için on lira ücret verilmesi; Maarif Vekilliğinin 25/I, 3/2/1941 tarin ve 4/192, 4117/II/260 sayılı tezkereleri ve Maliye Vekilliğinin 7/3/1941 tarih ve III7/16688 sayılı mütaleanamesi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetince 10 Mart 1941 tarininde kabul olunmuştur.

REİSİCUMHUR

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu

Bg. V. <i>B. F. Haydar</i>	Ad. V. <i>Fatih Okya</i>	M. M. V. <i>S. Arslan</i>	Da. V. <i>Sayit İyğök</i>	Ha. V. <i>S. Sami</i>
Ma. V. <i>et. Akın</i>	Mf. V. <i>Yıldırım</i>	Na. V. <i>A. F. Celisoy</i>	İk. V. <i>T. Kasım</i>	S. İ. M. V. <i>D. H. Alatao</i>
G. İ. V. <i>B. Karaday</i>	Zr. V. <i>M. K. Yılmaz</i>	M. Mü. V. <i>C. K. Yılmaz</i>	Ti. V. <i>M. Ökmen</i>	

Annex 2: Decision letter indicating Baltacıoğlu's courses in Pedagogy, History of Education and Method of Teaching at the Faculty of Language and History and Geography, and the fees for the courses he would teach. Source: Presidency of the Republic of Turkey State Archives

Annex. 3

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
KARARLAR DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Kararname

Karar sayısı
2
16646



Ankara Dil ve Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesinin son semestrinde okuyan talebeye pedagoji, terbiye tarihi, tedris usulü sahalarında konferans şeklinde dersler verecek olan mülge İstanbul Darülfünunu Terbiye Müderrisi İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu'na 1941 malsî yılı bütçesinin 714 üncü faslının 6 ncı konferans ücreti maddesine konulan tahsistattan 1/10/1941 tarihinden müteber olmak ve haftada 60rt saatı geçmemek şartıyla her konferans için 25 lira ücret verilmesi; Maarif Vekilliğinin 8/8/1941 tarih ve 4/2078 sayılı tezkeresile yapılan teklifi ve Laliye Vekilliğinin 25/8/1941 tarih ve 11117/4150 sayılı mütaleanası üzerine, İcra Vekilleri Heyetince 4 Ocak 1942 tarihinde kabul olmuştur.

REİSİCÜMLÜHUR

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu

Bş. V. Ad. V. M. M. V. Da. V. Ha. V.
S. F. Akdoğan *S. Akman* *S. F. Akdoğan* *S. Akman*

Ma. V. Mf. V. Na. V. İk. V. S. İ. M. V.
S. Akdoğan *Y. Günel* *A. F. Cebesoy* *S. Akman* *S. İ. M. V.*

G. İ. V. Zr. V. Mü. V. Tı. V.
S. Akdoğan *M. Akdoğan* *C. K. Güneloğlu* *M. Akdoğan*

08 0 18 01 02 96 84 20

Annex 3: Decision letter indicating that Baltacıoğlu would give lectures on pedagogy, history of education and teaching methodology at the Faculty of Language, History and Geography and the fees for the lectures he would give. Source: Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives

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Assoc. Dr. Fahri Kılıç completed his language education at Ankara University, Faculty of Language, History, and Geography, Department of History, his Master's Degree at Istanbul University, Atatürk's Principles and Revolution History Institute, and his PhD at Ankara University, Turkish Revolution History Institute. He is still working at Bolu Abant Izzet Baysal University. He works in the fields of the History of the Republic, the History of Education, and Social Studies Education.

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CHAPTER 5: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF DİYARBEKİR IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1515-1876)

Ahmet GÜLENCİD

Chapter Highlights

- The fifth chapter of the book delves into an analysis of the administrative structure of Diyarbekir in the Ottoman Empire, spanning the years from 1515 to 1876.
- Due to its strategic location, Diyarbekir has historically been governed by various principalities and states, featuring a feudal system led by tribal chieftains and beys before Ottoman rule.
- To counter the Safavid threat and consolidate control over the region, the Ottoman Empire implemented a distinct administrative organization in Diyarbekir, differing from other nearby provinces.
- This administrative system remained in place until the mid-19th century, at which point it was restructured during the Tanzimat period, leading to the establishment of a new administrative framework in the region.
- The fifth chapter explores the unique historical context of Diyarbekir's administration within the Ottoman Empire, emphasizing the shifts and reforms that occurred over the centuries.

1. Introduction

The Anatolian peninsula, which is a bridge between Asia and Europe, has been an area where it struggles to dominate the eastern and western civilizations from the earliest years in history (Ramsay, 1960, p. 23). The area in the Anatolian peninsula between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers is known as Mesopotamia, which is the oldest development area of world civilizations and referred to as the cradle of civilizations (İplikçiolu, 1990, p. 45). Diyarbekir, one of the most important cities in this region, is located at the crossroads of the major trade and transportation routes through which the Tigris Rives passes. Diyarbakır, which is home to

many civilizations throughout history due to its geopolitical and geostrategic location, has been called as Amīdi, Amīdu, Amida, Amidi, Kara-Amid, It's called Amed and Amid in the historical process. The name Amid is the name given to the central city of Bît-Zamāni, a tribe of Arāmî in Assyria sources (Yıldırım, 2012, p. 1-2). In Arabic sources, it was expressed as Amid, which means “the end” as it was located at the end of the region between the Dicle and the firat rivers, called Al-Jazeera (Bulduk, 2004, p. 1-3). However, in its records after capturing Diyarbekir and its environs, the Ottoman Empire referred to the province and governorship as Diyarbekir and the governorship's administrative capital as Amid (Erpolat, 2019, p. 14). Furthermore, Diyarbekir was referred as a “holy city” by Evliya Çelebi (Evliya Çelebi, 2008, p. 274).

While the city of Amid served as the Aramean Kingdom's capital in the 13th century BC, it was a significant settlement of Karduks from 189 BC to 184 AD. Amid, of which the Romans took possession in 66 BC (Zahariade, 2012, p. 1), became one of the most important location of the Romans' back defense line (Kütük, 2015, p. 79). During the reign of II. Constantius (337-361) Diyarbekir, growing significantly with migrations and became a major center in both administrative and military care. Constantius II has built strong fortresses and towers around Amida against Sassanids attacks. It was assaulted during Shapur's II rule (309-379), but the Romans ultimately prevailed in the conflict after 13 years of fighting. After a protracted and challenging battle, the Sassanids, who made another assault in 359, succeeded in taking control of the city Amida, the most significant castle of Rome in the east (Kuiper, 2011, p.18).

The castle was enlarged and fortified by Roman Emperor Valentinian I (321-375) by adding to Amida defensive stronghold. During the tenure of Roman Emperor I. Anastasius (430–518), the city was recaptured by the Sassanid Emperor Cabades, but was quickly retaken by the Romans (Selwood & Elr, 2022, p. 938; Zahariade, 2012, p.1). The Roman Emperor Justinian I (485–565) rebuilt the castle's walls after they were damaged and demolished during the Sassanid and Roman wars (Long, 1870, p.122).

With the spread of Islam, the Byzantines were battled throughout the time of the Prophet Muhammad (571-632), and in 631 the Islamic armies marched to Damascus to secure the northern frontiers. However, due to the lack of food and the changing seasons, the Islamic forces were unable to advance therefore retreated back to Medina (al-Vâkîdî, 2014, p. 224-258). In 639, The Islamic armies under the command of İzâz bin Ganm, which Hz. Ömer has tasked with carrying out the conquest of Al-Jazeera, passed through Damascus and took over the environment of Urfa, Amid, Meyyâfârikin (Silvan), Mardin and Hisnica (Hasankeyf) (el-

Belâzuri, 1987, p. p. 252; Yakut al-Hamavi, 1397, p. 56). The city of Amid was renamed Diyarbekir with the takeover of the Al-Jazeera region⁵.

Diyarbekir was governed by officials known as *amil* during the Abbasid era and was a part of the al-Cezire region. The Abbasid caliph nominated Abu Musa Isa bin al-Sheikh bin al-Selîl al-Shaybani as the Diyarbekir governor. In 868, however, Abu Musa Isa rebelled against the caliph and founded the Sheikhogullari principality. From this time forward, Diyarbekir was ruled by the Sheikhogullari until 898, the Hamdanids between 930 and 978, the Büveyhoullar between 978 and 984, and the Marvanis between 984 and 1085 (Mesudî, 2004, p. 36; Yinanç, 1997, p. 607-611).

The Great Seljuks State's ruler Melikşah (1055–1092) commissioned Fâhruddevle Muhammed bin Cehir to liberate Diyarbekir from the Marwanids. Bin Cehir seized the city after a long siege and was appointed as governor by Sultan Melikşah (Al-Bondari, 1943, p.76-77). Following Sultan Melikşah's death in 1092, having been conquered temporarily by Marwanids Nasruddevle Mansur, Diyarbekir was taken back by the Syrian Sultan Tutuş Bey. Diyarbakır was dominated by Syrian Seljuks between 1093-1097 and by the Inalids between 1098-1183. Diyarbekir, which fell under Saladin's dominion as of 1185, was given the responsibility of being governed by Artukids Nureddin Mehmed, a just and beloved member of society (İbnü'l-Esîr, 1985, p. 391-392; Yinanç, 1997, p. 613-616).

The Anatolian Seljuk Sultan Kayqubad I embarked on an eastern campaign in 1226 as a result of the Artuqids' declaration of allegiance to the Egypt Ayyubids Al-Melik al-Kamil, and their alliance with Jalaluddin Khwarezmshah, who was active on the eastern borders of the Seljuks (İbn Bibi, 1996, p. 17).

Diyarbekir and its surroundings were attacked by Mongols in 1230. The Mongolians who invaded the city destroyed many structures in the city, looted people's property, killed people who resisted them and captured those who survived (Ibn Kesir, 1994, p. 258-259). Diyarbekir was captured by the Anatolian Seljuk Sultan Kaykhusraw II in 1240. The battle of Köseadağ between the Anatolian Seljuks and the Mongols in 1243 resulted in the defeat of the Seljuks. The Mongols then occupied Diyarbekir and its surroundings. After this date, Mongols started to use Diyarbekir as a military, logistics and transportation center (Yediyıldız, 2008, p. 30-31).

Diyarbekir briefly fell into the hands of al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāşir al-Dīn II, the ruler of Meyyāfārikīn, in 1257, but was taken back by the Ilkhanid ruler Hülāgū Khan (1218-1265) in 1259 and given to the Anatolian Seljuk Empire, which was subject to them (Göyünç, 1994, p. 466).

⁵After the Arabs conquered the area, the Bekir Bin Vail tribe, a subtribe of the Rebia Arabs who lived in al-Jazira, settled along the Tigris, and through time, thus this area came to be known as Diyar-ı Bekr (Şemsettin Sami, 1308, p. 2207).

From 1277 onwards, Diyarbekir was governed by governors appointed by the Ilkhanids from the centre. Between 1282 and 1284, the administration of Diyarbekir was given to Harun by Hülagu's son Teküder (Alaaddin Ata Melik al-Juwaynî, 2013, p. 36-37). In 1303, Ghazan Khan II (1271-1304) appointed the Mardin Artuqid Sultan al-Malik al-Mansûr Necmeddin Ghazi to govern Diyarbekir and its surroundings. After the fall of the Ilkhanids in 1335, Diyarbekir came under the rule of the Jalâyirids (Spuler, 1987, pp. 111–115; Yinanç, 1997, pp. 618–619; Göyünç, 1994, p. 466).

The administration of Diyarbekir, which was conquered by Timur in 1394, was given to Akkoyunlu Karayülük Osman Bey for his services in the Iraq and Syria excursion. Thus, the Akkoyunlus' domination in Diyarbakır began (Tacu's-Selmânî, 1988, p. 10; Yediöldüz, 2008, p. 32). Karayülük Osman Bey established the Diyarbekir based Akkoyunlu State after Timur's demise (Baştürk, 2004, p. 527). During the reign of Uzun Hasan (1453-1478), the Akkoyunlu were heavily defeated in the Battle of Otlukbeli (11 August 1473) with the Ottoman Empire (Hasan-ı Rumlu, 2006, p. 510-522). Following this time, the Akkoyunlu hegemony in and around Diyarbekir progressively waned. Between 1501 and 1511, Diyarbekir was the scene of struggles between the Dulkadirids, Safavids, Mamluks and Ottomans (Gökhan, 2004, p. 536-537). Diyarbekir, came under Ottoman control following the battle of Chaldiran between the Ottomans and Safavids on August 23, 1514 (Varlık, 1993, p. 195).

2. Diyarbekir and its Administrative Structure under Ottoman Rule

As a result of the defeat of the Safavids in the Battle of Chaldiran and Idrîs-i Bitlisî's activities to get the Kurdish tribes and beys in the region to join the Ottoman Empire, the ruler of Jazira Ali Bey, the ruler of Hısnı Keyfa Melik Halil, the ruler of Cemişgezek Pir Mehmet Bey, the ruler of Eğil Kasım Bey and many other tribes and principalities such as Imadiye, Soran, Bohti, Çapakçur, Palo, Atak, Zerifi, Sason and Hizan Beys declared their allegiance to Yavuz Sultan Selim (Solakzade Mehmed Hemdemî Efendi, 2016, p. 439; Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, 1983, p. 169; Halil Edhem, 1329, p. 375). Also the people of Diyarbekir declared their allegiance to the Ottomans and, under the leadership of the ruler of the city Ahmed Çelebi, rose up against the Safavids and began to expel them from the city. Upon the events that broke out in Diyarbekir, the Safavid commander Karahan Ustaclu started to besiege the city. Upon this, Yavuz Sultan Selim sent an army under the command of Yiğit Ahmed Pasha, who was originally from Diyarbekir, to help the people of Diyarbekir. With the help of arrival of Ottoman soldiers under the command of Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha and Rum Beylerbeg Şâdî Pasha, the Safavid commander Kara Han, who was besieging the city, was forced to retreat to Mardin (Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âlî Efendi, 1997, p. 1133-1134. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, 1979, p. 261-272; Müneccimbaşı Ahmet Dede, 1974, p. 474-475; Özcoşar, 2018, p. 6-7). Thus, on 10 September 1515, Diyarbekir officially came under Ottoman rule. On 4 November 1515, Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha was appointed by Ottoman Empire as the Governorship of Diyarbekir (Göyünç, 1969, p. 25).

In mid-November 1515, in the blank *ahkâm* (verdict) papers sent from Edirne to Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha, it was requested to write the sanjak assignments to the Kurdish beys and tribal leaders who helped them during the conquest of Diyarbekir and send them to the centre. Of these 30 *ahkâm* papers in total, 22 are *berat* (warrant), 1 *berat* of Beglerbeg, and the remaining 7 are *Istimalet*. Bıyıklı Mehmed Pasha appointed Idris-i Bitlisi, whom he had recognised for his services, for this task. According to the arrangement made by Idris-i Bitlisi, Diyarbekir became a large province including Diyar-ı Muzar, Diyar-ı Rabia, Mosul and Bitlis (Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, p. 271-272; Ünal, 2004, p. 570).

After the establishment of the provincial structure, surveys were initiated to determine the population, land and real estate in Diyarbekir. According to the 1518 survey (*tahrir*), there were 12 sanjaks under the Beylerbeg of Diyarbekir. These were the sanjaks of Mardin, Sinjar, Berriyecik, Ruha, Siverek, Çermik, Ergani, Harput, Arapgir, Kiğı and Çemişkezek, with Âmid as the centre (Amid (Diyarbakır) 1518 Tarihli Defter-i Mufassal, 2000, p. 86; Barkan, 1980, p. 545-568). In the 1526 survey (*tahrir*), the sanjaks of Mosul, Ana and Deir-Rahbe were attached to the Beylerbeg of Diyarbekir, and the sanjak of Berriyecik was transformed into a district (*kaza*) and attached to the sanjak of Mardin (1526 (h.932) Tarihli Tahrir Defteri, 2013, p. 21-24).

It is seen that Diyarbekir, which was included in the Ottoman administrative organisation in the early 16th century, underwent various changes in terms of administrative structure until the 18th century. When we look at the main reasons for these changes, the geographical, political and socio-cultural structure of Diyarbekir stands out. (Yağlıkçızâde Ahmed Rifat, 1299, p. 257-258; Cezar, 2011, p. 747). From this point of view, the fact that Diyarbekir was located on the border of the Safavid Empire and the tribes and beys living in the region did not fully adapt to the Ottoman rule were the most important factors. Diyarbekir and its surroundings were a favourable place for nomadic tribes with their abundant summer pastures and winter pastures. The region, which had a feudal structure and was ruled by tribal Beys, continued its political existence in a kind of autonomy until the Ottoman rule. (Ünal, p. 97). Considering these issues, the Ottoman Empire, in order to prevent the Safavid threat and to gather the tribes and beys in the region under Ottoman rule, implemented an administrative organisation different from other provinces in Diyarbekir and its surroundings (Uzunçarşılı, 1998, p. 532-533; Baykara, 2015, p. 83).

Ottoman Empire established a sanjak organisation in and around Diyarbekir and began to administer tribes and some beys with a special administration. Eight Kurdish *Bey* were appointed as sanjak beys in their tribes and regions (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, 1992, p. 143; Cezar, 1959, p. 1502). The lands of these sanjaks, referred to as *yurtluk* and *ocaklık*, were inherited from father to son, but they were surveyed and the *timar* system was applied (Avni Ömer Efendi, 1951, p. 388-389; Akgündüz, 1992, p. 463-464). The lands owned by the five Kurdish chiefs were formed as *hükümet* sanjaks. *Hükümet* sanjaks were economically exempt from taxation (Akgündüz, 1992, p. 476-477). However, it was managed by administrators appointed

from the center in both judicial and military matters. Both the yurtluk-ocaklık and the hükümet sanjaks were obliged to participate in the campaign with the number of soldiers required from them during the war (İnalcık, 2009, p. 242; İnalcık, 2003, p.110; Solak, 2016, p. 93-94). At the same time, the Ottoman Empire did not touch the legal order and tax system in Diyarbekir after the conquest of the province, and applied the laws implemented in the region by the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan, thus trying to prevent any reactions from the people (Barkan, 1980, p. 545-568). The changes in the administrative structure of the province of Diyarbekir from the beginning of the 16th century to the end of the 18th century are presented in tables below.

Table: 1.1. Administrative division of Diyarbekir in the 16th century

No	1527-1528 ⁶	1568-1574 ⁷	1578-1588 ⁸
1.	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)
2.	Bayburd	Ruha	Ruha
3.	Çemişgezek	Harput	Ergani
4.	Hazo	Ergani	Deyri Rahbe
5.	Atak	Kabur	Körkil
6.	Palu	Deyr-i Rahba	Siverek
7.	Süleymaniyan	Siverek	Ferak (?)
8.	Birecik	Atak	Nusaybin
9.	Eğil	Nusaybin	Harput
10.	Çermik	Tercil	Kabur
11.	Hısnıkeyf	Çermik	Mazgird (Yurt.)
12.	Kemah	Rakka	Tercil
13.	Cere	Sincar	Pertek ve Cemişgezek (Yurt.)
14.	Çapakçur	Hısnıkeyf	Sincar
15.	Fusûl	Eğil	Rakka
16.	Hilvan	Çapakçur	Atak
17.	Bidlis	Eski Musul	Çapakçur
18.	Sasun	Cammase	Hısnıkeyfa
19.	Cezire	Siird	Aşiret-i Pespan
20.	Hizan	Kabile-i Beni Rabia	Cezire
21.	Siverek	Ağcakale	İmadiye
22.	Berdiç	Mihrani	Masyun
23.	Harput	Kulp	Hacukuk
24.	Hozat	Cemaati Peyzan ve Puzyan ve Zilan	Sason
25.	Zeriki	Gence	Palu
26.	Musul	Görgil	Genç
27.	Çüngüş	Hayzo	Eğil
28.	Pasadi	Hancuk	Zırki
29.	Hacûk		Mihrani
30.	Sincar		Hüsru (?)
31.	Genç		Kabile-i Beni Rabia
32.	Aşiret ve Ulus		Sağman (Yurt.)
33.	Kara-Hamid		Cammase
34.	Ruha		Siird
35.	Arabkir		Esli Musul
36.	Ergani		Kulp
37.	İspir		Aşair-i Beni Taymaa Faik
38.	Kigi		Akçakale
39.			Bozulus
40.			Kale-i Heytun

⁶ (Barkan, 1953, p. 306-307).

⁷ (Kunt, 1978, p. 142-143).

⁸ (Ünal, 1986, p. 31-40).

Table: 1.2. Administrative division of Diyarbekir in the 17th century

No	1609 ⁹	1626-1637 ¹⁰	1653 ¹¹	1673-1702 ¹²
1.	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)
2.	Harput	Hazo (Hükümet)	Harput	Hazzo (Hükümet)
3.	Ergani	Cizre (Hükümet)	Ergani	Cezire (Hükümet)
4.	Siverek	Eğil (Hükümet)	Siverek	Eğil (Hükümet)
5.	Nusaybin	Tercil (Hükümet)	Nusaybin	Tercil (Hükümet)
6.	Hasankeyf	Palu (Hükümet)	Hasankeyf	Palu (Hükümet)
7.	Çemişgezek	Genç (Hükümet)	Çemişgezek	Genç (Hükümet)
8.	Siird	Çermik (Yurt.)	Siird	Çermik (Ock.)
9.	Mefakirin	Sağman (Yurt.)	Çapakçur	Hancûk
10.	Akçakale	Hasankeyf	Sincar	Pertek (Ock)
11.	Sincar ve Habur	Pertek (Yurt.)	Tercil	Hısn-ı Keyfâ
12.	Sağman (Yurt.)	Mazgird (Yurt.)	Kulp	Manazgird
13.	Kulb (Yurt.)	Çemişgezek	Çermik	Çemişgezek
14.	Mihranî (Yurt.)	Harput	Pertek	Harput
15.	Tercil (Yurt.)	Siverek	Mazgird	Siverek
16.	Atak (Yurt.)	Kulb (Yurt.)	Atak	Kulb (Ock.)
17.	Pertek (Yurt.)	Ergani	Pespan-Yurban	Sağman
18.	Çapakçur (Yurt.)	Mihranî (Yurt.)	Sağman	Ağca Kale (Ock.)
19.	Çermik (Yurt.)	Çapakçur (Yurt.)	Miyafarikin	Dasini (Ock.)
20.	Cezire (Hükümet)	Siird (Yurt.)	Mihrani	Sincar
21.	Eğil (Hükümet)	Görgil (Yurt.)	Akçakale	
22.	Kîh (Hükümet)	Ahakis (Yurt.)	Hancuk	
23.	Palu (Hükümet)	Miyafarikîn (Yurt.)		
24.	Hazo (Hükümet)	Bohtan, Zilan ve Bepân		
25.		Nusaybin		
26.		Akçakale		
27.		Sincar		
28.		Atak (Yurt.)		
29.		Hamgerdan (Yurt.)		
30.		Zaho (Yurt.)		

⁹ (Koçi Bey Risalesi, 1971, p. 122; Ayn-ı Ali Efendi, 1280, p. 36-37).

¹⁰ (Turan, 1963, p. 218-219).

¹¹ (Sofyalı Ali Çavuş Kanunnamesi, 1992, p. 32-33; Şahin, 2011, p. 915-916).

¹² (Kılıç, 1999, p. 96).

It is stated that Diyarbekir Province consists of 19 sanjaks and 5 government sanjaks in the travel book of Evliya Çelebi, who came to Diyarbekir in the middle of the 17th century. Furthermore, he said that 11 (Harput, Ergani, Siverek, Nusaybin, Hasankeyf, Meyyafarikin, Akçakale, Habur ve Sincar) of the 19 sanjaks were ruled by Ottoman sanjaks and 8 (Sağman, Kulp, Mehrasi, Tercil, Atak, Pertek, Çapakçur, Çermik) by Kurdish begs and they were given the status of “yurtluk- ocaklık” sanjak by Yavuz Sultan Selim. He stated that these sanjaks were not subject to dismissal and appointment, that the sanjaks were inherited from their fathers to their children with the request of the governor of the province, that the revenues of the sanjaks were written in the ledger, that they had *timar* and *zeamet*, and that these beys participated in the campaign with their soldiers during the war. On the other hand, in the *hükümet* sanjaks (Cezire, Eğil, Genç, Palu, Hazzo), there were no *timar* and *zeamat* and their revenues were at the disposal of the *beys* (Evliya Çelebi, 2008, p. 139).

Table: 1.3. Administrative division of Diyarbekir in the 18th century

No	1717-1730 ¹³	1732-1741 ¹⁴	1746-1747 ¹⁵	1783-1784 ¹⁶
1.	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)
2.	Hazzo (Hükümet)	Siverek	Hani (Yurt.)	Savur (Hükümet)
3.	Cezire (Hükümet)	Çermik	Çapakçur	Hani (Yurt.)
4.	Eğil (Hükümet)	Hani (Yurt.)	Birecik	Hıskeyf
5.	Tercil (Hükümet)	Atak (Yurt.)	Savur (Hükümet)	Beşiri
6.	Palu (Hükümet)	Tercil (Hükümet)	Kulb	Tercil (Hükümet)
7.	Genç (Hükümet)	Salat	Mihranî	Tilbesme
8.	Çermik	Ciska	Siird	Atak (Yurt.)
9.	Hancûk	Savur (Hükümet)	Çermik	Ciska
10.	Hısın-ı Keyfâ	Tilbesme	Siverek	Mihrani
11.	Harput	Beşiri	Ergani	Bakos
12.	Siverek	Harput	Maden	Meyafarikin (Hükümet)
13.	Pertek (Ock.)	Çarsancak	Çüngüş	Siverek
14.	Malazgird (Ock.)	Palu (Hükümet)	Atak (Yurt.)	Çermik
15.	Çemişgezek	Eğil (Hükümet)	Hıskeyf	Siird
16.	Kulp (Ock.)	Çüngüş	Musul-ı Atik ve Cedid	Eğil (Hükümet)
17.	Atak (Ock.)	Hıskeyfa	Sincar	Karakeçili
18.	Ergani (Ock.)	Berazi	Miyafarikin (Hükümet)	Çapakçur
19.	Mihrani (Ock.)	Meyafarikin (Hükümet)	Tercil-i Atik ve Cedid (Hükümet)	Mardin
20.	Çapakçur	Mihrani	Ciska	Salat
21.	Siird	Mardin	Salat	Berazi
22.	Görgil	Siird	Tilbesme	
23.	Meyyâfarikin	Çapakçur	Mardin	
24.	Bestân	Karakeçili	Eğil (Hükümet)	
25.	Nusaybin	Bakos	Bakos	
26.	Habur	Ergani	Berazi	
27.	Sağman	Birecik	Kaza-yı Karakeçili	
28.	Ağca Kala (Uşnu)	Kulp	Samara	
29.	Sincar	Sincar	Cemişgezek	
30.	Dasini	Musul-ı Atik, Cedid	Sağman	
31.		Çemişgezek	Pertek	
32.		Sağman	Malazgird	
33.		Pertek		
34.		Malazgird		

¹³ (Başar, 1997, p. 105-112; Kılıç, 1999, p. 96).

¹⁴ (D.Ş.S., No; 310, p. 27-28; D.Ş.S., 360, p. 7, 16, 25, 35, 41,47, 54, 59, 70, 81, 84, 87).

¹⁵ (D.Ş.S., No; 313, p. 63, 87, 88, 89).

¹⁶ (D.Ş.S., No; 313, p. 12, 15, 18).

Table: 1.4. Administrative division of Diyarbekir in the first half of the 19th century

No	1802 ¹⁷	1831 ¹⁸
1.	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)	Amid (Paşa Sancağı)
2.	Mardin	Hani
3.	Siird	Mazgird
4.	Siverek	Meyafarikin
5.	Hasankeyf	Harput
6.	Beşiri	Sincar
7.	Eğil	Siird
8.	Savur	Siverek
9.	Hani	Ergani
10.	Atak	Anade
11.	Tercil	Hısnı Keyf
12.	Mihrani	Çemişgezek
13.	Çapakçur	Nusyabin
14.	Karakeçili	Çapakçur
15.	Tilbesme	Sağman
16.	Mefarikin	Çermik
17.	Ciska	Kulb
18.	Bakos Başat	İlkis
19.	Salat	Penbek
20.	Berazi	Perterek
21.	Savur	Palu (Hükümet)
22.	Lice	Giyeh (Hükümet)
23.	Hazro	Cizre (Hükümet)
24.	.	Eğil (Hükümet)
25.		Hazzo (Hükümet)
26.		Tercil (Hükümet)
27.		Savur (Hükümet)

As can be seen in the tables above, the number of *sanjaks* and *kaza* of Diyarbekir changed constantly. It is previously mentioned that the first administrative division of Diyarbekir Province was made in 1518. In this first administrative division, Diyarbekir Beglerbeg consisted of 12 *sanjaks* (Amid (Diyarbakır) 1518 Defter-i Mufassal, 2000, p. 86; Barkan, 1980, p. 545-563). Shortly after this date, in the *tahrir* made in 1526, Mosul, Ana and Deyr-Rahbe *sanjaks* were attached to Diyarbekir Beylerbeg, and Beriyecik *sanjak* was transformed into an *kaza* and attached to Mardin *sanjak*. Thus, the number of *sanjaks* under

¹⁷ (D.Ş.S., No; 299, p. 17-18).

¹⁸ (Akbal, 1951, p. 621-622; Baykara, 2015, p.109; Yılmazçelik, 1995, p.133).

Diyarbakir was 14 (1526 (h.932) Tarihli Tahrir Defteri, 2013, p. 21-24). In the financial budget sample for the years 1527-1528, unearthed and transcribed by Barkan, the number of sanjaks of Diyarbakir is 37. In the budget sample, the names of the sanjaks of Diyarbakir are given, followed by the names of those who were in charge of the sanjak during this period. Another noteworthy point in the budget sample is that after naming 9 sanjaks of Vilayet-i Diyarbakir, the remaining 28 sanjaks are classified as Jamaat-i Kurdân (Barkan, 1953, p. 306-307). In 1568-1574, the number of sanjaks under Diyarbakir decreased to 28, and in 1578-1588 the number of sanjaks increased to 40 (Kunt, 1978, p. 142-143; Ünal, 1986, p. 31-40).

When we examine the Diyarbakir Beylerbeylik's administrative structure from the 16th century, it is clear that the Beglerbeg was created from a number of sanjaks in an effort to suppress Safavid threat and firmly consolidate the central authority throughout the state. Some of the sanjaks and *kazas* of Diyarbakir were also tied to the newly founded Beglerbeg of Erzurum and Van when the Safavid threat subsided (Baykara, 2015, p. 83).

At the beginning of the 17th century, Diyarbakir Province consisted of a total of 24 sanjaks, 5 of which were in *hükümet* status and 8 were in the status of *yurtluk-ocaklık* (Koçi Bey Risalesi, p. 122; Ayn-ı Ali Efendi, 1280, p. 36-37). By the middle of the century, the number of sanjaks reached 30, and accordingly, the number of *hükümet* sanjaks reached 6, and the number of sanjaks for *yurtluk-ocaklık* reached 14 (Turan, 1963, p. 218-219). Towards the end of the same century, the number of sanjaks affiliated to Diyarbakir decreased to 20 and the number of *hükümet* sanjaks (6) remained the same, while the number of sanjaks of *yurtluk-ocaklık* decreased to 5 (Kılıç, 1999, p. 96).

By the eighteenth century, the province of Diyarbakir, which at the beginning of the century consisted of 30 sanjaks (6 *hükümet* and 6 *yurtluk*), had 32 sanjaks (4 *hükümet* and 2 *yurtluk*) by the middle of the century (Başar, 1997, p. 105-112; Kılıç, 1999, p. 96; D.Ş.S., No. 313, p. 63, 87, 88, 89). Towards the end of the century, it consisted of 21 sanjaks, 4 of which were *hükümet* and 2 were *yurtluk* (D.Ş.S., No; 313, p. 12, 15, 18).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Diyarbakir Province had the most sanjaks when compared to other provinces owned by the Ottoman Empire. In this period, there were 7 *hükümet* sanjaks in Diyarbakir Province, which consisted of 27 sanjaks, and no sanjaks with the status of *yurtluk-ocaklık*¹⁹.

¹⁹At the beginning of the 19th century, Anatolian Province had 15 sanjaks, Karaman Province had 7 sanjaks, Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid Province had 5, Maraş Province had 5 sanjaks, Sivas Province had 7 sanjaks, Erzurum Province had 14 sanjaks, Trabzon Province had 2 sanjaks, Çıldır Province had 5 sanjaks, Kars Province had 5 sanjaks, Van Province had 16 sanjaks, Raqqa Province had 6 sanjaks, Adana Province had 7 sanjaks and Aleppo Province had 4 sanjaks (Akbal, 1951, p. 621-622; Baykara, 2015, p.109; Yılmazçelik, 1995, p.133).

When the Ottoman Empire conquered Diyarbekir, it initially left the political, financial and legal structure of the region untouched. In order to keep the tribal beys under obedience and to bind them to himself over time, he granted them *yurtluk-ocaklık* and *hükümet* sanjaks. Furthermore, some laws applied in the region (Uzun Hasan laws) continued to be implemented. This situation is important in terms of showing that the conquest methods applied by the Ottoman Empire in its foundation phase actually continued until the end of the empire (İnalçık, 1954, p.103-129).

The administration of Diyarbekir and its environs as a *yurtluk-ocaklık* and *hükümet* sanjaks continued until the Tanzimat period. With the reforms and arrangements made in the provincial organisation during the Tanzimat period, these sanjaks began to lose their special status (Kodaman, 1986, p. 10).

2.1. Administrative Structure of Diyarbekir in the Tanzimat Era

The Tanzimat Era, which started with the reading of *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* (the imperial edict of *gülhane*) on November 3, 1839, constitutes the beginning of a new era, change and transformation in the Ottoman Empire in terms of political, social, economic as well as administrative aspects (Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, p. 1026-1029; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, 1991, p. 7-8; Mehmed Memduh Paşa, 1990, p. 17-37; İnalçık, 1941, p. 255; İnalçık, 1990, p. 38; Hamlin, 1877, p. 46-57).

According to the Tanzimat Edict, the reason why the state lost its former power was that it did not comply with the Sharia and laws. It also stated that states that did not comply with the Sharia and laws would face collapse. The imperial edict of *Gülhane* stated that it was necessary to make new laws in order to manage the state well and to re-strengthen the relationship between the citizen and the state (BOA. MFB. 48/0; Beyoğlu, 2013, p. 35). The effective and efficient functioning of the central administration in all institutions and organizations of the state would bring about the economic, social and political development at the same time. Thus, with the Tanzimat, centralism was brought to the fore and the understanding of decentralization began to be implemented (İnalçık, 2009, p. 231; Ortaylı, 2008, p. 496). The main aim in the decentralization approach is to put an end to the arbitrary practices of the provincial administrators, to ensure that they are connected to the center, and to prevent the administrators from acting on their own, and to establish the central authority on more solid foundations (Mahmud Celaleddin Paşa, 1983, p. 32; Eryılmaz, 2010, p. 112).

The administrative, military and socio-economic innovations planned to be implemented with the Tanzimat were not implemented at the same time throughout the state. Firstly, the implementation of the Tanzimat was started in Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Aydın, İzmir, Konya and Sivas provinces, which were under the strict control of the state (Shaw, 1992, p. 39; Çadırcı, 2006, p. 199). However, it was challenging to put the Tanzimat's innovations into practice in Diyarbekir and the surrounding area, which has long been controlled by a nomadic

system with a multiracial, multireligious, and autonomous structure under the control of tribes and lords. For this reason, although the the rescript of Gülhane was declared in 1839, its implementation in Diyarbekir began six years later, in 1845. The official newspaper of the period, *Takvim-i Vekâyi*, reports on the implementation of the innovations introduced by the Tanzimat Edict in Diyarbekir: “The innovations and implementations introduced by the Tanzimat Edict were implemented in almost all provinces of the state, but the elviye-i selase in Rumelia, the provinces of Diyarbekir and Erzurum in Anatolia, the provinces of Ma'adan-ı Hümayun and some places in the province of Sivas were excluded from these implementations due to various reasons, but as of March, the aforementioned places were included under the *Tanzimat-ı Cedide*”. (*Takvim-i Vekâyi*, 29 Muharrem 1261/7 Şubat 1845).

District governors, clerks and district managers were appointed to Diyarbekir and its sanjaks by the central administration on 28 March 1845 (BOA., İ. DH., 64/5179). Osman Bey, who had served in the Divan Kitabeti of Ali Pasha, the former governor of Baghdad, was appointed as *Defterdar* (provincial treasurer) to manage the financial affairs and collect the taxes of the province of Diyarbekir (D.Ş.S., No: 352, p. 20; Ahmed Lûtfi Efendi, 1999, p. 1186-1187). District governors, treasurer, and other officials were informed that, in accordance with the Tanzimat Edict, tax should be collected in accordance with income obtained after determining each administrative district's income and no one should be subjected to unfair taxes. They were also asked to treat the people well and to maintain public order (D.Ş.S., No: 352, p. 19).

On 10 April 1845, an intelligence report (jurnal) written by the Mareschal of the Anatolian İmperial Army to the Grand Vizier (Sadaret) reported that the implementation of Tanzimat in Diyarbekir had been announced to the people, that the notables of the people had participated in this announcement and that the Tanzimat had been welcomed with joy and happiness by the people (BOA., İ. MSM., 68/1991, p. 1-2). In the meantime, the *Beys* of some sanjaks in the province of Diyarbekir, such as Palu and Eğil, which were administered in the form of *yurtluk-ocaklık* left their lands to the treasury upon the request of the central government and appointed a suitable person from among them as district manager (*kaza müdürü*). The *Beys* appointed as district managers started to receive a salary determined by the central administration in return for this duty. (BOA., A. MKT., 31/97).

It is crucial for the establishment of the central administration that the Tanzimat is put into practice in Diyarbekir, that various officials are appointed by the central administration to their positions of responsibility, and the begs in some sanjaks, which were previously run as *yurtluk-ocaklık*, are appointed as the district directors in their own regions and began to receive state salaries. Although it appears that there was order in the administration of the province and the Tanzimat principles were applied, albeit gradually, the failure of the officials who were in charge of the administration to carry out their duties, both administratively and financially, resulted in a number of problems. According to the news published on 8 November 1845 in the *Takvim-i Vekayi*; since the method applied by the governor of Diyarbekir İsmail Pasha (Palaslı)

during his duty was not in accordance with the Tanzimat principles, he was fired from his position, and Mirimiran İzzet Pasha, who has been administering the people equitably and carefully implementing Tanzimat ideas, from Bolu governor was appointed in his place with the rank of vizier. Furthermore, Diyarbekir State Treasurer Osman Bey was fired for abusing his position, and Ismail Bey, a member of the Assembly of Agriculture who was well-versed in the area, was appointed to the position (Takvim-i Vekayi, 8 Zilkade 1261/8 Kasım 1845, p. 2-3; Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, p. 1202).

Directives and warnings were occasionally provided to the administrators by the center to keep them from misuse of their power and to guarantee that the administration was fully established throughout the state. The directive dated February 4, 1846 states that because Diyarbekir, which was part of the Tanzimat, was remote, mountainous, and ruled by Kurdish tribes and leaders, it was not managed in accordance with the directives previously issued and its security could not be guaranteed. However, although it was not as easy as in places closer to the centre, it was clearly stated in the directive that Tanzimat would also be implemented in Diyarbekir (BOA, MVL, 6/31).

The tribal *begs* and *aghas* who dominated the area started to express some objections in their respective districts when the central administration demanded that the Tanzimat Reforms would be implemented in and around Diyarbekir. On March 18, 1847, an order was given to Anatolian Army Mareschal Osman Pasha in response to the reactions' escalating brutality and the center's becoming aware of them; it was asked that the bandits and vagrants who had attacked the passengers, taken their belongings, and hurt the people be found and jailed right away, that no one should be victimized, and that order be promptly restored in several areas of the Diyarbekir province (D.Ş.S., No; 352, p. 51).

According to the news published in Takvim-i Vekayi on 13 December 1847, it was stated that the aghas ruling in the region ruled with tyranny and therefore the people were miserable, and in order to prevent these practices and to establish law and order in the region, the region should be governed by someone who knew the region well (Takvim-i Vekâyi, 5 Muharrem 1264/13 Aralık 1847, p. 1-2).

In the end, it was decided to establish a new administrative unit under the name of the Kurdistan Province by uniting the province of Diyarbekir, the sanjaks of Van, Muş and Hakkâri, and the district (kaza) of Cizre, Bohtan and Mardin, in order to ensure the administration of the region in a certain order, to ensure its security and make it permanent, and to put an end to the difficulties encountered in recruiting soldiers and collecting taxes (D.Ş.S., No; 352, p. 57; Yılmazçelik, 2019, p. 53).

On 28 December 1847, according to the imperial order (ferman) from the centre, Esad Muhlis Pasha, the former governor of Mosul, was appointed as the governor of the Kurdistan province; Süleyman Pasha, the former treasurer, was appointed as the sanjak governor of

Diyarbakir; and Mustafa Pasha, the former sanjak governor of Van, was appointed as the district governor of Cizre, Bohtan and Mardin by merging the district. In addition, Tevfik Efendi, the former treasurer (Defterdar) of Erzurum, was appointed as treasurer to manage the financial affairs of the newly established Kurdistan Province (BOA., A. MKT., 106/35; Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, p. 1253). The salaries of the administrative and financial officials who would serve in the newly created province were as follows: Due to the size and importance of the province of Kurdistan, the provincial governor of Kurdistan received 80,000 kuruş, the provincial governors of Cizre and Diyarbakir each received 17,500 kuruş, the treasurer of Kurdistan and Mosul received 25,000 kuruş, and the regents of the Kurdistan provinces received 2,500 kuruş (BOA., A. MKT., 103/64).

The table below shows the changes in the administrative structure of the Province of Diyarbakir from the date of the Tanzimat Edict until the establishment of the Province of Kurdistan.

Table: 1.5. Diyarbekir province and its districts between 1839-1848

No	1839-1841 ²⁰	1843 ²¹	1846-1848 ²²
1.	Amid	Diyarbekir Eyaleti	Diyarbekir
2.	Zaho	Şirvan	Beşiri
3.	Mardin	Savur	Sağman
4.	Ergani	Siird	Kulb
5.	Silvan	Harput	Garzan
6.	Çüngüş	Hevdan	Lice
7.	Midyat	Mihrani	Hani
8.	Siverek	Cizre	Hazro
9.	Hani	Bohtan	Silvan
10.	Zıktı	Hacı Behram	Siird
11.	Lice	Midyat	Savur
12.	Genç	Ebkür	Behramki
13.	Çapakçur	Behramki	Çapakçur
14.	Cizre	Türkman	Razvan
15.	Savur	Beşiri	Dirik
16.	Şeyh	Hazro	Zıktı
17.	Bicâr	Razvan	Genç
18.	Hazro	Dirik	Savur
19.	Cebkân	Hani	Deştgür
20.	Ğarzan	Kürdilan	Metinan
21.	Bohtan	Mahal	Mihrani
22.	Şirvan	Mefarikin	Mahal
23.	İs'ird (Siird)	Badigan	Badigan
24.		Tilbesme	Hevidan
25.		Hayan	Künkler
26.		Genç ve Temellek	Karakeçi
27.		Zıktı	Meneşkün
28.		Meneşkürt	Nihalik
29.		Kirnekli	Şirvan
30.		Bicar	Midyat
31.		Çapakçur	Ebkür
32.		Lice	Biçar
33.		Deştgür	Kürdilan
34.		Metinan	Hayan
35.		Ğarzan	
36.		Karakeçi	

²⁰ (D.Ş.S., No; 607).

²¹ (BOA. ML: VRD: d Defter No: 0825, (29.Z.1258/31 Ocak 1843)).

²² (D.Ş.S., No; 352, p. 22, 61).

Because of its vast size and physical hardship, it was really difficult to recruit soldiers and collect taxes from Diyarbekir, which was included in the Tanzimat Reform in March 1845. Furthermore, factors such as Diyarbekir's social structure (various religions, languages, races and cultures) and it is one of the lands that were administered as a *yurtluk-ocaklık* and *hükümet sancaks* for years and conferred on tribal chiefs as hereditary made these tasks difficult. In addition to all these, some officials assigned by the central administration did not comply with the Tanzimat principles and misused their duties, which made it very difficult to establish the central administration throughout the province. The most obvious example of this is the constant change of governors²³ from the inclusion of Diyarbekir in the Tanzimat to the establishment of the Kurdistan Province. As a result of all these reasons, the administrative structure of the region was changed and on 13 December 1847; Diyarbekir Province, Van, Muş and Hakkari Sanjaks and Cizre, Bohtan and Mardin district were combined to form the Kurdistan Province, which spread over a large and wide area (D.Ş.S., No; 352, p. 57; BOA., A. MKT., 106/35; Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, p. 1253). Esad Muhlis Pasha, the former governor of Mosul, was appointed as the governor of the province for his services in the suppression of the Badr Khan Bey rebellion, and Tevfik Efendi, the former treasurer of Erzurum, was appointed as the treasurer to manage its financial affairs (BOA., A. MKT., 106/35; Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi, 1999, 1253). Meanwhile, the former Treasurer Süleyman Pasha was appointed as the district governor on 28 December 1847, to the district governorship of Diyarbekir, which was expelled from the province and converted to the sanjak (BOA., A. MKT., 103/64).

In the state yearbook (salname) dated 1848, Diyarbekir is a sanjak of the province of Harput, and Mirimiran Vasıf Pasha is the district governor (1265/1849 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 82). When the state yearbook of 1849 is examined, it is seen that Diyarbekir was attached to the Kurdistan Province and the district governorship was administered by Mirimiran Ahmed Pasha (1265/1849 Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 45). During his duty, Ahmed Pasha was an understanding and wise man, who treated the people well and established friendly relations with them, he fed the poor and made the people contented (1265/1849 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 45).

On 14 December 1850, according to a letter sent from Istanbul to the mareschal of the Anatolian Army, the Governor of Kurdistan and the Treasurer; Turkmen and Kiki districts were merged to form a separate district, and Çapakçur district was merged with Kığı and Palu district to form a separate district governorship (BOA., A., MKT.MVL., 50/70). In addition, the district of Palu, which was previously administered as a *yurtluk-ocaklık*, was attached to the province of Harput and the district of Eğil was attached to the sanjak of Diyarbekir (BOA., A., MKT.UM., 107/43).

²³ During these 2 years and 9 months, Hakkı Paşazade İzzet Pasha (1261), Hayreddin Pasha (1262), Hamdi Pasha (1263) and Esad Pasha (1264) were in the governorship of Diyarbakır province (Diyarbakır salnameleri, (1869-1905), 1999, p. 16).

On 10 July 1851, the district governorship of Diyarbekir, which was included in the administrative division as the centre of the Kurdistan Province, was terminated (BOA., A., MKT.UM., 66/46). When the Kurdistan Province was founded, Ahlat was considered to be the location of the provincial center; however, Esad Muhlis Pasha insisted for Erzurum to be the center and gave numerous justifications for his demand.

Mareschal Mehmed Pasha of the Anatolian Army also stated that Muş or Erzurum was suitable to be the provincial centre, but the provincial centre continued to be Diyarbekir. From 1851 until 1867, when the Kurdistan Province was abolished, Diyarbekir was the administrative centre of the Kurdistan Province (BOA., A., AMD., 6/9; Sevgen, 1982, p. 111; Yılmazçelik, 1999, p. 233; Arslan, 2019, p. 134; Ülke, 2014, p. 44). The administrative division of Diyarbekir during this period is given in the table below.

Table: 1.6. Administrative division of Diyarbekir during the Kurdistan province period

No	1854-1855 ²⁴	1856-1860 ²⁵	1861-1866 ²⁶	1867-1868 ²⁷
1.	Nefs-i Diyarbekir maa Kuraha-i Şark ve Garb	Diyarbekir nam-ı diğer Amid maa Nevahi-i Şark ve Garb	Diyarbekir nam-ı diğer Amid maa Nevahi-i Şark ve Garb	maa Nevahi-i Diyarbekir
2.	Türkman	Kiki maa Türkman	Kiki	Hazro
3.	Hevidan	Mahal	Türkman	Mihrani
4.	Mihrani	Metnan	Mahal	Silvan
5.	Padigan	Direk	Metnan	Hani
6.	Çitan?	Deştikur	Direk	Lice
7.	Deştikur	Behramki	Deştikur	Çapakçur
8.	Çapakçur	Beşiri	Behramki	Menişkur
9.	Kiskin/Gisgin?	Silvan nam-ı diğer Mefarikin	Beşiri maa nevahi	Kih
10.	Behrami	Kulp	Silvan nam-ı diğer Mefarikin	Kulb
11.	Beşiri	Padigan	Kulp	Becar
12.	Silvan	Hiyan	Padigan	Cenan?
13.	Hani	Göynükler	Hiyan	Badigan
14.	Hazro	Çapakçur	Göynükler	Behramki
15.	Deyrek	Menişkur	Çapakçur	Türkman
16.	Lice	Kih (Genç?)	Menişkur	Direk
17.	Bekran? ve tevbaii,	Yahtek	Kih (Genç?)	Metnan
18.	Mahal	Zıkti (Zıkni?)	Yahtek	Mahal
19.	Becar	Nahiye-i Herta	Zıkti (Zıkni?)	Abkur
20.	Genç	Becar	Nahiye-i Herta	Beşiri
21.	Zıkni	Nahiye-i Tavus	Becar	Deştikur
22.	Menişkun (Menişkur?)	Heviydan	Nahiye-i Tavus	Siverek
23.	Göynük	Mihrani	Heviydan	maa Nahiye-i Hamsi
24.	Ebkud	Hazro nam-ı diğer Tercil	Mihrani	maa Nahiye-i Herita
25.	Metinan	Lice maa Atak ve Telseme	Hazro nam-ı diğer Tercil	maa Nahiye-i Tavus
26.	Kulb	Hani nam-ı diğer Pali Maden maa Çıska	Lice maa Atak ve Telseme	Zıkni
27.	Bahlik	Abkur	Pali Maden maa Çıska	
28.			Nahiye-i Bektaş	
29.			Abkur	

²⁴ (1271/1855 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 89).

²⁵ (1272/1856 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 100; 1273/1857 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 106; 1276/1860 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 114).

²⁶ (1277/1861 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 149; 1278/1861 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 149-150; 1279/1862 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 156-157; 1280/1863 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 156-157; 1281/1864 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 185; 1282/1865 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 173; 1283/1866 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 170-171).

²⁷ (1284/1867 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 181-82).

When the districts of the Diyarbekir Province (1839–1847) are compared to those of the Kurdistan Province period (1847–1867), it can be seen that some districts, such Siirt and Savur, were not connected to Diyarbekir during this time. The main reason for this situation is the new administrative division made in the region with the establishment of the Kurdistan Province.

The province of Kurdistan, which was established in order to implement the innovations brought by the Tanzimat, to ensure the security of the region and make it a permanent state, to solve the problems arising in the supply of soldiers and tax collection, was abolished on 28 June 1867 when it failed to produce the expected results. In its place, the province of Diyarbekir, which was formed by merging Mamuratulaziz and Kurdistan provinces, was established and Esseyid Mustafa Efendi was appointed as its governor (BOA., A., MKT.MHM., 387/5, p. 2). At this time, the province of Diyarbekir consisted of four sanjaks, namely Diyarbekir centre, Mamuretü'l-Aziz, Mardin and Siird (1285/1868 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 105, 186-187).

During the governorship of Ismail Hakki Pasha, there was no change in the number of sanjaks affiliated to Diyarbekir (1286/1869 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 138-139; 1286/1869 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 46-70). In 1870, in addition to Diyarbekir centre, Mamuretü'l-Aziz, Mardin and Siird sanjaks, Malatya sanjak was also attached to Diyarbekir Province (1287/1870 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 153-154; 1287/1870 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 43-75).

The topic of whether the Rasulayn and Nusaybin districts, which belonged to the Diyarbekir province, were annexed to the Zor governorship while the Mardin district remained in the Diyarbekir province as it had in the past, was raised on May 19, 1871. The traders and farmers in the aforementioned districts disapproved of this, though, and sent telegrams asking for the Rasulayn and Nusaybin districts to be returned to the Mardin sanjak or for the Mardin sanjak to be completely connected to the Zor governorship. Meanwhile, Arslan Pasha, who was the governor of the Zor sanjak, declared that it would not be beneficial to connect the Mardin sanjak, Resulayn and Nusaybin districts to the Zor governorship, and stated that the continuation of the old status would be more appropriate (BOA., ŞD., 1453/25).

The status of Diyarbekir province and Diyarbekir center, Mamuretü'l-Aziz, Mardin and Siird sanjaks remained unchanged until 1876. The sanjaks and districts of Diyarbekir province between the years 1869-1876 are given in the table below, based on the data in the state and province yearbooks.

Table: 1.7. Administrative division of Diyarbekir during the Diyarbekir province (1869-1876)

	1869 ²⁸	1871 ²⁹	1872-1875 ³⁰	1875-1876 ³¹
Diyarbekir Sanjak	Diyarbekir	Amid	Diyarbekir	Siverek
	Siverek	Siverek	Siverek	Lice
	Lice	Lice	Lice	Silvan
	Silvan	Silvan	Silvan	Ergani Madeni
	Resülayn	Resülayn	Ergani Madeni	
		Ergani Madeni		
Mamuretü' l- Aziz Sanjak	Maden-i Keban	Harput	Harput	Palu
	Maden-i Ergani	Palu	Palu	Arapkir
	Kâhta	Arapkir	Arapkir	Çarsacak
	Malatya	Çarsacak	Çarsacak	Eğîn
	Hısn-ı Mansur	Eğîn	Eğîn	Maden-i Keban
	Palu	Maden-i Keban	Maden-i Keban	
	Harput			
Mardin Sanjak	Mardin	Mardin	Mardin	Midyat
	Midyat	Nusaybin	Nusaybin	Cizre
	Cizre	Midyat	Midyat	Avine
		Cizre	Cizre	Şırnak
			Avine	
Siird Sanjak	Şirvan	Şirvan	Şirvan	Şirvan
	Garzan	Garzan	Rızvan	Rızvan
	Eruh	Sason	Sason	Sason
		Eruh	Eruh	Eruh
Malatya Sanjak		Malatya	Behisni	Behisni
		Behisni	Kâhta	Kâhta
		Kâhta	Ağçadağ	Ağçadağ
		Ağçadağ	Hısn-ı Mansur	Hısn-ı Mansur
		Hısn-ı Mansur		

During the Tanzimat period, the districts and sanjaks of Diyarbekir took their final form after passing through three stages. These stages are; Diyarbekir Province period (1839-1847), Kurdistan Province Period (1847-1867) and finally Diyarbekir Province period (1867-1876). As it is mentioned the main reasons for the constant change in the administrative structure are

²⁸ (1286/1869 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 201).

²⁹ (1288/1871 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 167-168; 1288/1871 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 43-80).

³⁰ (1289/1872 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 158; 1289/1872 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 40-77; 1290/1873 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 252; 1290/1873 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 49-76; 1291/1874 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 253; 1291/1874 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 41-86).

³¹ (1292/1875 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 251; 1292/1875 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 50-78; 1293/1876 Tarihli Salnâme-i Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, p. 251; 1293/1876 Tarihli Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Diyarbekir, p. 93-129).

insecurity in the region as a result of the opposition of some tribes and *Begs* to the centralization policy of the Tanzimat.

Conclusion

Diyarbakır has historically been ruled by a number of principalities and states due to its geopolitical and geostrategic position. In addition, Diyarbakır has a cosmopolitan city identity where people from various races, languages, religions and sects live together. Diyarbakır and its surroundings came under Ottoman administration in 1515 after the tribe chiefs and local *Begs* swore allegiance to the Ottoman Empire led by Idris-i Bitlisi. As can be seen, Diyarbakır, which was a part of Ottoman administration at the start of the 16th century, underwent a number of changes up until the 18th century. The physical, political, and socio-cultural structure of Diyarbakır is impressive in considering the primary causes of these changes. The proximity of Diyarbakır to the Safavid State and the fact that the local tribes and lords did not fully adapt to Ottoman rule are two of the most crucial aspects from this perspective.

Diyarbakır and its surroundings were a favourable place for nomadic tribes with their abundant pastures and winter pastures. The region, which had a feudal structure and was ruled by tribal leaders and *beys*, continued its political existence in a kind of autonomy until the Ottoman rule. Considering these issues, the Ottoman Empire, in order to prevent the Safavid threat and to gather the tribes and *beys* in the region under Ottoman rule, adopted an administrative organisation different from other provinces in Diyarbakır and its surroundings. This administrative organisation emerged in the form of *yurtluk-ocaklık* and *hükümet* sanjaks. Starting from the 16th century and continuing until the middle of the 19th century, this administrative system was intended to be terminated in the Tanzimat period. This political and socio-economic situation in the region led to the implementation of the Tanzimat Edict in Diyarbakır in March 1845.

The problems arising from the implementation of the Tanzimat Edict in and around Diyarbakır resulted in a new administrative organisation of the region by the state. The main objectives of both the Kurdistan Province period (1847-1867) and the Diyarbakır Province period (1867 onwards) were to intervene more effectively and efficiently in rebellions that might arise in the region and to ensure that the principles and reforms of the Tanzimat were implemented more easily. Changes in the administrative organisation naturally led to changes in the borders of Diyarbakır, and as a result, the number of sanjaks, districts and villages in the province decreased or increased.

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CHAPTER 6: TEACHING HISTORY WITH NEW TECHNOLOGIES: REFLECTIONS AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

Alpay AKSİN 

Chapter Highlights

- The sixth chapter of the book explores the integration of new technologies into history teaching, focusing on the evolution of technology in education in Turkey.
- The study examines the progression of technology utilization in education, starting with non-formal education initiatives like radio and television usage, as outlined in the Development Plan.
- After 1995, there was a significant shift towards incorporating computers and the Internet into the formal education system, primarily targeting young learners.
- While technology in education has historical roots in tools like radio, TV, video, and overhead projectors, the most transformative development influencing educational institutions today is the widespread adoption of computers, the Internet, and related technologies.
- The sixth chapter delves into the impact of these technological advancements on the development and quality of educational institutions, emphasizing the pivotal role played by computers, the Internet, and associated tools.

1. Introduction

Planning for the use of technology in education in Turkey started in the 1970s with the 3rd Five-Year Development Plan, which envisaged the use of radio and television for non-formal education. The use of computers and the Internet in education, which became widespread after 1995, has been developing with the characteristics of being part of the formal system and being directed towards young people. Although the use of technology in education can be traced back to the use of radio, TV, video and overhead projectors in schools, the most important development affecting the development and quality of educational institutions today

is the computer, the Internet and related technologies. These are generally referred to as information and communication technologies (ICT) (Aksoy, 2003, p. 12).

In its broadest sense, ICT encompasses all types of technology that can be utilized for the transmission of information. As can be seen from this statement, in addition to tools such as telephone and television, it also includes related developments such as computers and the Internet. With the rapid improvements in Internet technology in the last decade of the 20th century, the expansion of the web world and the possibility of a wide range of file transfers via e-mail, it was thought that these would have an impact on education. As a result, the abbreviation "IT" (Information Technology) was changed to "ICT". (Haydn, 2004, p. 27).

2. Current State of ICT

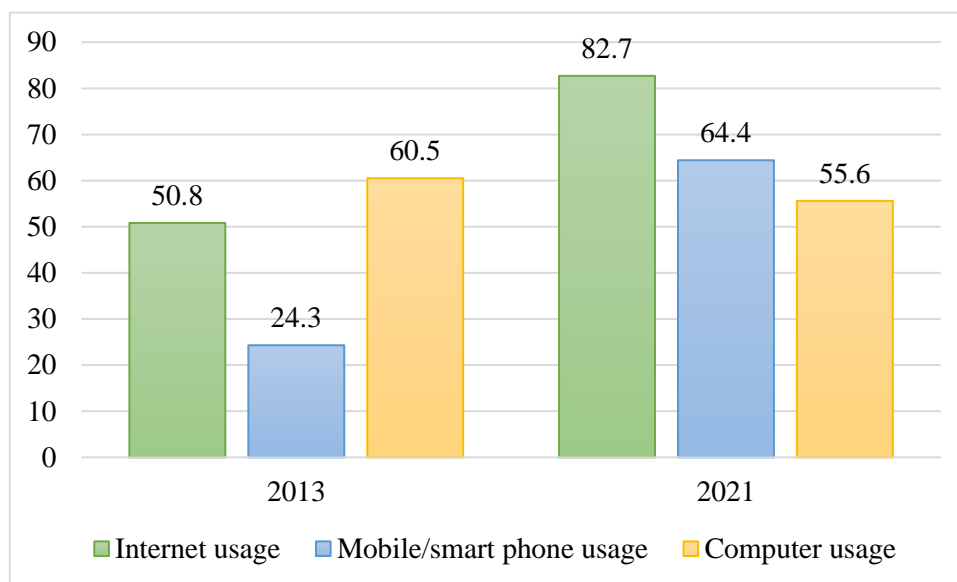
It is difficult to dispute the impact that Information and Communications Technology has had on society in general in the Turkey. For the first time in 2013, children aged 6-15 were asked about the use of information technologies, their frequency of use and purposes of use, in order to compile data on information technologies used by children. The research was repeated in 2021 in order to monitor the change in children's use of computers, internet, mobile phones, digital games and social media.

According to survey on ICT usage by children results as shown in Figure 1; while the internet usage rate was 50.8% in 2013 for children aged 6-15, it became 82.7% in 2021, the rate of children who regularly use the internet increased. In the activities carried out through the Internet by children aged 6-15 using the Internet regularly, participation in online classes with 86.2% took the first place, while using the Internet for homework or learning with 83.6% took the second place in 2021. In addition, while 64.4% of the children used smartphones, smartphones were mostly used for participating in online lessons (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2021).

However, this does not mean that the computer has as a great impact on schools as it does on other institutions. It is possible to do a wide range of exciting and interesting things with computers compared to, for example, blackboards, but this does not necessarily mean that computers offer a large number of potential educational benefits or are an effective learning mechanism (Haydn, 2004, p. 60).

Figure 1

Information and communication technology usage of children by age group (%), 2013, 2021



The Turkish Education System has been considering the issue of ICT integration into teaching and learning environments for quite some time and has been trying to ensure that its schools have access to computers and other educational technologies that students can use interactively. For example, the Basic Education Project, implemented with World Bank support between 1998 and 2004, provided computer laboratories and instructional technology tools to schools and aimed to improve the quality of basic education. However, the inadequacies reported by the World Bank were that the software provided to schools was inadequate, the courses conducted by ICT trainers only covered laboratories and emphasized basic computer skills. Importantly, it was emphasized that subject teachers lacked training and experience in technology integration appropriate to the content (Education Reform Initiative, 2013, p. 4; World Bank, 2004, p. 8).

As a result of the traditional ways of conducting education, the expectations of the information society in the current technological age cannot be addressed. To overcome this situation, many countries have introduced educational innovations that emphasize new approaches such as flexible learning and blended learning to make improvement in quality education and learning. In addition, new technologies, such as e-books, are being implemented in schools and their results are being evaluated, thus revealing the impact of alternative approaches. These and other advanced technological possibilities and their positive impact provide societies with rapid access to information, mobility, comfort, convenience and many personalized learning opportunities (Keskin et al., 2014, p. 84).

In this context, Fatih Project initiated by Ministry of National Education, under the "Movement of Enhancing Opportunities and Improving Technology", has been designed to

provide every student with the best education, the highest quality educational content and equal opportunities, tablet computers and internet network infrastructure to all schools in basic in an attempt to enhance equality of opportunity in education and to improve ICT use in teaching and learning processes in schools. This project is the greatest and the most comprehensive educational movement implemented for the use of educational technologies. The project aims to enhance the quality of education environment within the framework of equality and fairness by providing efficient use of ICT in the classrooms. The project, which provides ICT equipment to all schools and classrooms in the country, consists of hardware, software, network infrastructure, internet access and educational elements such as e-content for students and teachers. In addition, the project aims to diversify the means of access to information as required by the current era and to establish IT classrooms equipped with the necessary equipment in all schools, so that teachers and students have the educational technology required by the age (Ministry of National Education of Republic of Turkey, 2012). Teachers' perceptions of technology access clearly had a direct influence on their use of digital primary sources. Teachers who used digital primary sources with high-frequency had virtually unlimited access to this equipment, while low-frequency users see a number of barriers to acquiring it due to their instruction (Friedman, 2006).

As seen in recent years, most governments have made improvements in schools by investing heavily in ICT. For this reason, the quality of education-teaching tools of all schools, especially ICT and connectivity, has increased to a great extent recently. However, international studies show that new technologies are still not fully integrated into teaching and learning processes. It is likely that teachers do not consider themselves skilled enough to effectively use ICT with new digital technologies to implement existing teaching practices. As higher-educated individuals, teachers have comparatively advanced ICT skills, but this declines markedly with the age factor, especially for older teachers (OECD, 2016, p. 9).

Today, formal schools and education systems do not benefit sufficiently from the significant impact of technology. Several problems cannot be overcome due to the differences between the expectations of teachers and students and the current situation. These include the lack of digital competencies, the unavailability of quality technological learning materials and software, and how to integrate technology and subject matter content meaningfully into the teaching and learning process. Schools and governments have a major role to play in overcoming these problems (OECD, 2016, p. 10).

Teaching is becoming more sophisticated as a result of the diversification and increase in the availability of tools and digital technologies that can be used for instructional purposes (Koehler & Mishra, 2009). It is a fact that ICT has a very significant power to improve the teaching and learning processes carried out in classrooms and to provide new perspectives. However, this is not possible with the availability of technology alone; it is only possible with a good educational technology infrastructure and good teachers. In order to realize this

improvement, technology integration with contemporary teaching approaches is necessary rather than overcoming ICT-related challenges (OECD, 2016, p. 10).

In addition to computers, the availability of technological products such as tablet computers, internet, and printers at school and their frequent use by students increase their academic performance in related fields (Bilican Demir & Yıldırım, 2016, p. 259). In addition, it should be taken into account that education and educational technologies are not the only variable that affects student success, and how these technologies are used in teaching environments is also important. The benefits and uses of computers may vary for teachers. This varies according to the subject matter to be taught, the knowledge about the subject matter, and the ideas about how the subject matter should be taught to the students. Each ICT application can have various benefits according to the nature of the subject matter (Haydn, 2004, p. 19).

3. Interchange: Digital History in History Classroom

Since history is one of the main subjects taught in secondary education, its relevance and continuity in the 21st century requires the appropriate application of ICTs, which combine text, sound and color motion pictures such as videotapes, television and multimedia computer software. These software can be used to involve the student in the learning process as well as to provide challenging and original content that will embody learning (Adesote & Fatoki, 2013). The effect of ICT on how students learn history is very significant. Just as technology influences and supports what is learned in schools and higher education institutions today, it also helps students (Adesote, 2022, p. 237).

Along with identifying exactly what various ICT tools or softwares can offer history teachers, it is also significant to understand the barriers to history teachers' use of ICT. Feedback from history teachers suggests that most of them are not dismissive of new technology and are interested in exploring ways to improve the instruction of their subjects, but see lack of time and limited access to computers as major barriers to this (Haydn, 2002). If educators are to make fundamental or secondary changes to their classroom teaching practices, teachers need to examine themselves and their beliefs about teaching, learning, and technology. Eventually, the decision on whether and how technology will be used for teaching rests on the shoulders of teachers (Ertmer, 2005, p. 27). Access issues continue to be a significant factor hindering the daily use of ICT in history lessons, followed by 'lack of trust' and 'lack of time to plan how to integrate computer use into lessons' (Haydn, 2002, p. 100).

The priority needs to be upgrades in the teaching design of history software, the improvement of a set of simple-to-use resources and classroom applications, and teachers' reflection and planning on how to integrate ICT into their instruction. Hillis (2002) concludes in his article that some of the criteria must be met for meaningful integration of ICT into the History class. History software should be in line with best practices in History teaching in that it encourages students to develop critical thinking skills by encouraging discussion, debate,

inquiry, research, and presentation of results. The product range should include media such as photography, film, written sources and databases, but these must be presented in appropriate contexts. The software should look visually appealing with due care to color, font size, graphics, amount of text per card, buttons and the inclusion of film, sound and animation.

Teachers often prioritize selection of the ICT tool in instructional decision-making rather than the instructional or pedagogical objectives (Harris & Hofer, 2011). Therefore, effective use of technology depends on strong instructional planning by teachers across content areas (Van Vaerenwyck et al., 2017, p. 159). Whether educational technology achieves its purpose or not depends on the quality of the teaching concept and content behind the technology, the appropriate use of the strengths of this technology, and the creation of an environment that allows learning. Therefore, before starting to "install instructional materials to the computer", it is necessary to know what one wants to do and why one wants to use a computer to help do it (Deacon, 1998, p. 4).

There is a difference between a history teacher knowing how to use technology and knowing how to teach with technology. Therefore, it is necessary to focus not only on technology but also on the curriculum. In order for digital technologies to benefit both students and teachers, there needs to be a coherent and meaningful link between teacher training, curriculum and educational materials that will provide technology-supported teaching.

In general, due to the traditional nature of current history teaching, classroom learning practices become meaningless and monotonous for students. As a result, students' academic performance suffers (Villena Taranilla et al., 2022, p. 608). Moreover, it is seen that the resources used by teachers in history teaching are more often non-digital resources rather than digital or particularly web-based resources (Lee & Doolittle, 2006, p. 297). As it is known, making a good teaching requires an important intellectual work and the use of technology cannot take over our responsibility in this work. Computers can only be great teaching aids when used in partnership with good teachers (Deacon, 1998, p. 4).

Ertmer et al. (2001) put forward that teachers' visions or beliefs about the use of technology in the classroom do not always coincide with what they do in the classroom. Although most of the teachers described themselves as having a constructivist philosophy, they applied technology best in a way that represented a mixed approach. Teachers' explanations of these inconsistencies often include references to contextual constraints such as curriculum requirements or social pressure exerted by parents, peers, or principals.

In addition to these, there are other factors affecting teachers' acceptance and intention to use ICT. In a study conducted by Avcu & Gökdaş (2012), it was concluded that teachers' acceptance and intention to use ICT did not vary according to branch, and teachers with more seniority had higher levels of anxiety regarding their acceptance and intention to use ICT.

Doppen (2004) discussed teachers' efforts to use ICT in history classrooms to teach their students historical thinking and historical inquiry, especially perspective taking and historical empathy. He concluded that teachers often have difficulty using computers to engage their students in historical inquiry, especially when they are trying to help their students understand the concepts of historical thinking and historical empathy.

Although history teachers experience some problems in integrating technology into their lessons, this should be taken for granted and progress should be expected over time. This does not negate the potential impact of digital historical resources or technology on history teaching. As an example of this impact, Villena Taranilla et al. (2022) focused on analyzing the eventual benefits of Virtual Reality in the teaching of history and compared its results with traditional teaching resources in terms of academic performance and the motivation of students. The results showed statistically significant differences in favor of those students who used Virtual Reality, both in motivation and in academic performance.

In parallel with the increase in access to the Web, especially by schools and end-users, web-based software or resources have also diversified. According to Lee (2002), although there are obvious similarities, digital historical sources differ markedly from non-digital materials in some ways: Digital historical sources are more accessible, encourage increased archival activities and social networks, are more easily manipulated, searched, more It is flexible and includes an organizational strategy regarding the content of the collection.

Lee (2002) also argues that the four key features of digital historical sources offer several advantages over non-digital sources. One is that digital documents can be manipulated in ways that increase the usability of the document. For example, a user can cut and paste material from an electronic document or view a document in a different language. Individual digital documents can also be in hypertext format and are almost always portable. Second one is the searchability. Making it easier to find not only the documents but also the information within the documents makes it easier for students to find and use meaningful information. The third structural difference is the flexibility. Digital presentation provides a means for students to explore alternative representations of their findings. Non-linear hypertext narratives can be used to connect arguments to evidence and hypertexts give readers more autonomy. The fourth is the ability to reflects the characteristics of a collection. The web allows individual documents and collections to be organized in logical and easy-to-use formats. Students creating digital collections can organize them in a non-linear way that can reflect some of the unique characteristics of the documents.

Besides the availability of digital resources with all these features, one of the main ways to ensure the positive contribution of ICT to history education is to know the distinction between what ICT can offer historians and what it can offer history teachers and students in schools. The ability to access and retrieve information, including the ability to search the internet, is a relatively low-level skill in history lessons. The key to developing students'

historical understanding is their ability to analyze and use information once they have access to it (Haydn, 2002).

Developing students' historical thinking skills are as important as the acquisition of basic facts (Lee, 2002, p. 299). Therefore, whatever the ICT application, it is necessary to address two significant principles that underpin the effective use of new technology in developing students' historical comprehending. The first of these is that students are asked to do something with the information presented to them, simply not giving them access to a greater amount of historical information. Second, the activities students participate in should have a valid historical purpose rather than simple comprehension, matching, and representation exercises. This could take the form of asking students to connect and demonstrate their understanding of other fields or aspects of historical knowledge, or to offer them a choice between two or more alternatives and to make smart choices between them based on the principles that underlie history as a discipline (Haydn, 2002, p. 105).

Conclusion

On the path to modernization, curricula that promote competence and performance are now preferred. The curricula adopted by developed countries emphasize skills and focus on how to use knowledge rather than what it is. ICT and instructional technologies support and promote curricula based on competence and performance. Teachers who wanted to adopt these curricula were limited by the resources and tools available to them during the development of technology. However, with the widespread use of modern technologies, many limitations and obstacles have disappeared.

The impact of ICT on how students learn history is very important. Technology influences and supports what students learn in schools and also supports changes in the way students learn. With the shift from content-centered to competency-based curricula, there has been a shift from a teacher-as-transmitter role and centrality to student-centered forms. The adoption of technology-supported approaches in contemporary learning environments encourages students to take responsibility for their own learning. In the previously widely adopted traditional teaching approaches, students were more comfortable as listeners. Their expectation was that the information in the curriculum would be presented to them by others. The widespread use of ICT for teaching has and will continue to change the way teachers and students approach learning (Kamal & Banu, 2010).

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CHAPTER 7: THE SITUATION OF BEKTASHI TEKKES IN THE BALKANS WITH THE END OF THE OTTOMAN RULE IN THE BALKANS

Mustafa ASLAN 

Chapter Highlights

- The seventh chapter of the book delves into the status of Bektashi tekkes in the Balkans following the decline of Ottoman rule in the region.
- As various Balkan nations gained independence from the Ottoman Empire, they initiated the removal of structures associated with the Ottoman regime, especially religious ones. This included Bektashi tekkes, which had spread in the Balkans during Ottoman rule and continue to exist in countries like Albania and Macedonia, albeit in small numbers.
- Many Bektashi tekkes encountered similar challenges as other Ottoman religious institutions in the region, leading to their destruction or conversion into churches.
- Despite this, the Ottoman Empire sought to preserve property rights and maintain religious and cultural connections with remaining religious institutions in the Balkans.
- The continued ban on Bektashis until the Ottoman Empire's collapse created diverse perspectives on loyalty to the empire within some Balkan Bektashi tekkes, shaping their historical trajectory.

1. Introduction

After the Ottoman Empire lost its sovereignty in the Balkans, many Balkan nations gained their independence and started to eliminate many structures affiliated with the Ottoman Empire, especially religious structures. One of these institutions is the Bektashi tekkes, which spread in the Balkans with the Ottoman Empire and continue to exist -albeit in small numbers- in many countries such as Albania and Macedonia today. Therefore, these Bektashi tekkes faced the same difficulties as other Ottoman religious buildings in the region. Many Bektashi tekkes were either completely destroyed or converted into churches. In this situation, the Ottoman Empire wanted to protect the property rights of the remaining religious

institutions in the region and tried to maintain its religious-cultural ties with them. However, the fact that Bektashis were still in a state of prohibition until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to different views on loyalty to the Ottoman Empire in some Balkan Bektashi tekkes.³²

2. The Situation of Abandoned Bektashi Tekkes in Bulgaria

The heterodox faith, which took its roots from Anatolia and spread to the Balkan geography over time, first reached the lands of Bulgaria and Greece due to their proximity to Anatolia (Akdağ, 1995, p.117). In this respect, especially the eastern part of Bulgaria has been a region where heterodox religious groups have lived intensively since the 13th century. (Acar, 1999, p.1). The Bektashis, one of the representatives of the heterodox Islam that spread here from this century onwards, appropriated the local saint cults in the region and fused them into the Bektashi cult, thus easily Islamising many Christians (Hasluck, 2012, p.52). However, with the Ottoman Empire's loss of sovereignty in the region, the situation reversed and Christians tried to turn Bektashi tekkes into churches in the hope of reestablishing their old sanctuaries.

During these transformations of religious institutions on the territory of Bulgaria, many Bektashi tekkes experienced a number of problems. The most prominent of these problems were the abuses and interventions made by the officials of the Bulgarian State. For this reason, Ottoman officials in the region monitored the activities of the Bulgarians and kept a list of the abused areas (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 314-3, 1880). One of these was the Kavak Baba Tekke in Tırnova. According to the complaints of the dervishes tekke in the region, Kavak Baba Tekke was converted into a church in violation of the Berlin Treaty. When the officials of the Ottoman Empire investigated the situation in line with the complaints of the dervishes of the tekke, they

³² As it is known, Bektashism is a heterodox tariqa that came to life after the Babai Rebellion that emerged in Anatolia in the 13th century, when the groups participating in the rebellion migrated towards the western part of Anatolia. In the foundation period of the Ottoman Empire, the fact that Bektashism was a heterodox tariqa did not pose a problem for the state. However, with the accession of Sultan Selim at the head of the Ottoman Empire, instead of a generalised Islam, they were inclined towards a stricter Sunni understanding that led to internal discrimination. Accordingly, the Ottomans could not only be Muslims. They also had to be Hanafi Muslims. Sultan Selim's harsh policy towards Alevi-Turkmens reinforced this endeavour. As a matter of fact, Bektashis and other non-Muslim groups who could not find a place in this understanding were liquidated. At this point, the Bektashis' good relations with the Janissaries delayed their liquidation until 1826. By 1826, the abolition of the Janissary army had led to the liquidation of the Bektashis (Akdağ, 1995, p.117).

found that the tekke had been converted into a church in 1878 and opened for use as a church in 1881 (BOA, HR.TH, 40-14, 1881).

The general behaviour of the Bulgarians in the region during these years was also investigated by Ottoman officials. The person who investigated these attitudes was the Bulgarian Commissioner Nihat Pasha who, as the official who signed the Berlin Treaty on behalf of the Ottoman Empire, was aware of the situation in the region and the operation of the law. According to Pasha, the Bulgarians were acting in violation of the articles of the Treaty of Berlin concerning the disposition of property related to religious buildings. With these actions, Bulgarians confiscated the properties of Muslims belonging to religious buildings such as tekke, zawiya and mosques. Most of them were either demolished or rendered unusable. Although many protests were made against these situations, there was no improvement and the Bulgarians gradually increased these behaviours. Muslim rights in the region had to be protected against these Bulgarian attacks. Nihat Pasha informed the Sultan about the situation in the region in order to take measures for this as soon as possible (BOA, HR.TH, 40-14, 1881).

Another Bektashi tekke in Bulgaria that is experiencing problems is the Akyazili Sultan Tekke in Varna, which is a very old and large tekke. The problem was revealed upon the complaint of Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi, the sheikh of the tekke. According to the complaint, several rooms, some land, goods and animals of the tekke were sold by the Bulgarian local government. The land revenues of the villages connected to the tekke were also shared among the Bulgarian dignitaries (BOA, DH.MKT, 1388-88, 1886). The Ottoman Empire instructed the relevant government officials in the region to take the necessary steps to prevent these actions of the Bulgarians (BOA, DH.MKT, 1442-21, 1887). A few years later (1887), there were reports that the sheikh of the tekke had sold the entire tekke to Bulgarians, contrary to his claims (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 494-37, 1890). There is no information about sheikh Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi, who was probably involved in these activities either in agreement with the Bulgarians or by force. Although the sheikh of the tekke had changed in 1903, the presence of Bektashis in the tekke indicates that the tekke had not been completely sold. It is also possible to infer from this that the Ottoman State prevented the sale of the tekke.

In the same year, the sheikhs and dervishes of the tekke sent Eid al-Adha congratulations to the sultan, and the sultan conveyed his satisfaction with these congratulations, and it is seen

that the tekke and the Ottoman Empire tried to maintain their mutual loyalty (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 674-37, 1903). This loyalty also continues in terms of providing the needs of the tekke. This is evidenced by the fact that the dervishes of the tekke requested these needs from the Ottoman Empire, not from the state where the tekke was located. This shows that the Bulgarians acted contrary to the principle of equality in the treaties and that the Ottomans provided assistance in every aspect to protect the tekke. Accordingly, İbrahim Hakkı Efendi, the new sheikh of the tekke, applied to the Ottoman Empire for a chandelier for the tekke and also for the resolution of the tax dispute between them with the Bulgarian government (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 487-76, 1903). Although the Bektashis tried to solve their problems by applying to the Ottoman Empire, the Bulgarian interference in the Bektashi tekkes continued. This is evident from the fact that İbrahim Hakkı Efendi reported his problems to the merchant representative of the Ottoman Empire in Varna. One of the main problems was that he was frequently harassed by Opština officials on the grounds that military ammunition was found in his house. The merchant representative had also applied to the Varna Government to prevent these unseemly interventions. However, he reported to the Ottoman State Commissioner in Sofia that he did not get any result (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 488-13, 1904).

Finally, we learn from a petition written to the centre that a few months after this incident, the tekke was again in trouble due to the tax issue. According to the petition, the Bulgarian government was trying to sell the tekke on the grounds that it did not pay taxes (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 704-39, 1904). Since this problem occurred so often, in the Istanbul Treaty after the Balkan War, which took place a few years after the incident, the Ottoman Empire included a clause in the articles of the treaty that the property of the Muslim communities could not be forcibly sold by the Bulgarian Government (Erim, 1953, p.462). However, this was not enough to protect the tekke; Hasluck, who conducted research in this region until 1916, writes that towards the end of the Balkan Wars, in 1914, the Akyazılı Sultan Tekke was seized by the Bulgarians. He also states that a Bulgarian priest placed a cross on the roof of the tomb of the tekke and tried to turn it into a shrine of the Christian Saint Athanasios, and that the Romanian army, which occupied the place for a short time, removed the Ottoman crescent symbol (moon) from the tekke (Hasluck, 2012, p.80). At this point, Semavi Eyice states that the tekke was preserved as a Muslim temple during the Romanian State occupying the region during World War I (Eyice, 1989, p.303).

Another Bektashi tekke experiencing similar problems is Hızır Baba Tekke in Harmanlı District. Attempts were made to seize the lands of this tekke by selling them to other people. Fatma Şerife Hanım, who had been the trustee of the tekke for generations, reported the matter to the Ottoman Empire. Mrs Fatma firstly expressed her legal rights in the tekke and stated that they had the right to dispose of the tekke and all kinds of property belonging to the tekke for centuries until this time. She claims that they have the official documents showing these rights and that although they reported this, the Harmanlı District Governorship intervened by trying to sell the lands belonging to the tekke to others. In order to prevent these interventions, the Ottoman Empire applied to the district governor's office and demanded that the procedure be applied as "the calculation of the 'ashar'³³ collected by the Bulgarian Government since 1878 in accordance with the regulations of the foundations and the remaining part of the income obtained from the lands of the tekke after the taxes are deducted is left to the tekke". In addition, in accordance with the conditions of the foundation, the fee allocated for the construction of the tekke should be allocated to the repair of the farm connected to the tekke (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 291-17, 1893).

The Ottoman Empire also kept a list of the foundations on the Bulgarian side in order to better protect the law of the Muslims against these land occupations. Among these records, a record dated 1902 mentions the names of several Bektashi tekkes. According to the information we learnt from this record, 4 tekkes are mentioned in the record dated 1902 and information is given about their locations and their status at that time. The first of these tekkes is Kılıç Baba Tekkesi, the location of which is described as "on the slope leading to Kapan'a on the Saray side", followed by a note that the tekke was demolished by the Bulgarians and the land sold. The second tekke is the Cafer Baba Tekke and its foundation, which is located in the place described as "on the road from Kazancı to the salt bazaar". This tekke was also destroyed by the Bulgarians and 3 shops belonging to the tekke were sold. The third tekke in the list is Çoban Baba Tekke, which also has a foundation. The location of this tekke is described as "around Bali Efendi", and like the others, it was also destroyed by the Bulgarians together with its tomb. Tekkeye ait olan 10 dönüm kadar tarlaya da el konulmuştur. The fourth tekke is the Mercan Baba Tekke and its foundation, described as "around Hacı İlyas Mosque". A field and

³³ Ashar (Modern Turkish: Öşür or Aşar) was a tax in the Ottoman Empire, based on the traditional practice of muqasama (which means "sharing"), a traditional tithe in the Fertile Crescent (Cosgel, 2006, pp.332-356).

meadow belonging to this tekke were confiscated and the entire tekke was demolished (BOA, EV.d, 3723, 1902; İpşirli, 1989, p.207). The importance of keeping these records is that they are evidence for the state to protect Muslim rights in international public opinion. With this evidence, in future treaties -such as the Treaties of Constantinople and Athens- these will be included in the treaty articles as provisions to protect the property rights of Muslims.

The looting of Bektashi tekkes in every region of Bulgaria continued. One of these was the Hızır Baba Tekke of the Bektashi tariqa in Rusçuk. This tekke was also destroyed by the Bulgarians in 1907 and all its property was confiscated (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 708-55, 1907). In the Bektashi tekkes that it could not confiscate, the Bulgarian government took actions to prevent their functioning and restricted the property dispositions of the residents of the tekkes. Otman Baba Tekke in Hasköy was one of the lodges subjected to these restrictions. According to the statements of the two brothers, who jointly held the tomb and trusteeship of the tekke, a foundation land covering 1500 decares of black fields and a village of 2000 decares had been in their hands for eighty years by inheritance from their father. These lands had been cultivated and harvested with the paid labour of the Muslim community consisting of 20 houses. Until this period, no one interfered with the spending of the income of the lands for the needy people who came and went in accordance with the conditions of the foundation, and no claims were made about the lands. However, after the Bulgarian occupation, the inhabitants of the Bulgarian village of Elhaça, close to the tekke, claimed that they were partners in the tekke lands. While the Hasköy Forestry Office was determining the boundaries of the lands, they submitted petitions claiming that some of the tekke lands belonged to them and asked for the prevention of the tekke's right of disposition in the forest. Taking these petitions into consideration, the forestry office ignored the tax that the tekke paid every year for these lands and did not allow the members of the tekke to use their lands in the forest. Although the sheikh of the tekke sent the relevant documents to Sofia showing that they owned the lands, the villagers of Elhaça revolted, fearing that the properties would belong to the tekke. With the uprising, they occupied the lands of the tekke and thus cut off the income of the tekke. As a result, the tekke fell into ruins and the Muslim villagers in the region lost their jobs. The sheikh of the tekke demanded that the ownership of the tekke's property was well known to the Bulgarian government and that the Bulgarian villagers of Elhaça should be prevented from interfering with the tekke as soon as possible. As a result of the demands of the sheikh and the Ottoman State, the Hasköy

District Governorate decided to restore the right to dispose of the tekke's land, but this decision was not implemented. Although the Ottoman Empire and the residents of the tekke made attempts to implement the decision, the Bulgarians did not provide any solution to correct the problem (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 708-31, 1907).

Another Bektashi tekke that had problems with the Bulgarians over the land of the tekke was Demir Baba Tekke in Hezargrad (Razgrad). Abdülğafur Efendi, the trustee of the foundation to which the tekke was attached, claimed that there were some properties and lands attached to the foundation that had been seized by the Bulgarian population. He wanted to go to Sofia to reclaim these lands. However, the Bulgarian courts declared that Abdülğafur Efendi had lost the case on the grounds that he did not have any documents about the lands of the tekke and that there were no people from the people of Hezargrad to testify against him. Thereupon, the Ottoman Empire decided to provide the necessary assistance to the trustee in order to save the tekke. When the necessary negotiations were made with Bulgaria, the relevant documents had to be given to Abdülğafur Efendi and either a proxy or he himself had to be sent to Bulgaria. (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 710-15, 1909). As a result of the attempts of the Ottoman Empire, a commission was formed in Bulgaria, in which Abdülğafur Efendi would also take part, to decide on the tekke properties. As a result of all these attempts, Abdülğafur Efendi stated that the Bulgarians in the commission delayed the resolution of the case rather than reaching a conclusion (BOA, HR.SFR.04, 710-11, 1911). However, with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars a year later, such cases remained unresolved and the state lost some of its territories in Eastern Rumelia for a while (Örenç, 2012, p.32).

With the Balkan Wars, the Bektashi tekkes, which had fought all kinds of legal struggles in order to survive until this period, had their resistance broken to a great extent with this period. The Ottoman Empire, which had suffered a great defeat in the Balkan Wars, was no longer able to defend the rights of the tekkes, of which it had been the guarantor until this period. In this process, even Edirne and Kırklareli were lost to Bulgaria, which made Bektashis and many other Muslims uneasy, and many Muslims started to migrate towards the Ottoman borders (Okar, 2018, p.216). Bulgaria, which had already tried to confiscate the properties of Bektashi tekkes through many unlawful means until this time, would not recognise the legal guarantees

of the Muslims in the bilateral treaties concluded with the Ottoman Empire until this period when it left the war victorious.

As a result of the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Empire regained some of the places it had lost and Bulgaria, which had lost the war, asked for a peace treaty. Upon this, the Treaty of Istanbul was signed between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire (ATASE, 1999, p.3). With this treaty, the Ottoman Empire hoped to protect the rights of Muslims and Bektashis in the region.

Although the Treaty of Istanbul protected the rights of the Bektashi tekkes with regard to their property, the Bulgarians continued to create problems with regard to the tekke lands in violation of the provisions of the treaty. One of these problems was related to the harvesting of the products of the Bektashis' lands on the Bulgarian side. Accordingly, the Ottoman authorities had determined that the crops belonging to the Bektashis on the Bulgarian side were being harvested by the Bulgarians of Devedere. There were also reports from the District Governorate of Simenli that the applications made by the Ottoman State to the Ortaköy District Governorate from the Bulgarian authorities were ignored and the harvesting of the crops continued. This situation was clearly contrary to the provisions of articles 11th and 12th of the Treaty of Istanbul concerning the property rights of Muslims (Erim, 1953, p.462).³⁴ Reminding the Bulgarian authorities of these treaty articles was of no avail. On the contrary, the Bulgarian government claimed that the Ottoman officials were preventing them from doing so. However, the Bektashis claimed that when they asked the Bulgarian District Governorate of Ortaköy, through the border post of the Ottoman Empire, for permission to cross in order to cultivate their lands on the Bulgarian border, this permission was denied. The Bulgarians, however, did not accept these allegations and gave the example that the Bektashis, together with the villagers of Gölcük and Yaylacık in the region, harvested their crops and sent them to Turkey and that no obstacles were

³⁴ According to article 11th of the Treaty of Istanbul, the rights of Muslims in the lands left to the Bulgarians, which were determined according to the laws of the Ottoman period, will be valid and will not be restricted unless the Bulgarians make a new law. Persons who do not live within the borders of Bulgaria but whose lands are located there will also benefit from these rights. In addition, they will be able to manage their lands by way of charter or through third parties. The lands in the abandoned lands, such as the detached, müstesna (uncontrolled foundation by the state), mülhak (state-controlled foundation), icâreteyn (leasable foundations), mukataa (annual fee paid in advance according to the value of the land), icare-i vahideli evkaf (short-term leased foundations) and aşarlı vakıf (foundation with ashar) will be treated according to the Ottoman laws. They would be administered as required and no corrections or changes could be made to them. It is observed that these treaty provisions were not respected. (Erim, 1953, p.462).

imposed at the border (BOA, HR.SYS, 1998-2, 1914). Although the Ottoman Empire repeatedly asked the Bulgarian government not to violate Muslim law in the case of Bektashis, it is clear that this did not lead to the desired result. The unlawful behaviour of Bulgaria continued in the following periods. For this reason, Turkish migration, which had already started in 1878, would continue until the 1980s (Karpas, 2012, p.266). Many Bektashi tekkes in the region were left empty and abandoned to their fate

3. The Situation of Abandoned Bektashi Tekkes in Greece

As in Bulgaria, the Bektashi presence in Greece dates back to the 13th century. In fact, one of the important Bektashi centers, Kızıldeli Tekke, was located in Dimetoka, Greece. In this perspective, the spread of Bektashism in Greece, an important region for the tariqa, was realized through the migration of heterodox religious groups and during the Ottoman conquests. However, unlike other regions, the Janissaries also played a major role in the spread of Bektashism in important cities of Greece such as Thessaloniki. Because Thessaloniki was also one of the places where Janissaries were trained (Maden, 2017, p.137).

We can say that the Bektashi presence in Greece began to decline with the loss of the Ottoman Empire's power in the region, just as we said in Bulgaria. However, unlike the Bektashi tekkes in Bulgaria, it is noteworthy that some of the Bektashi tekkes in this region did not think the same way about loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. Despite such differences, the Bektashi tekkes in this region suffered the same fate in terms of problems. With the 1830 London Protocol, Greece, which gained its autonomy, had managed to take some territories from the Ottoman Empire. However, since these territories were generally populated by Greeks and covered a small part of the country, the legal situation regarding Muslim rights had not developed much. The real situation arose when Greece was granted the region of Thessaly by the Istanbul Convention of 1881. Although the treaty guaranteed the citizenship and property rights of Muslims internationally, the Greeks, like the Bulgarians, did not comply with these treaties. Moreover, not only did they not abide by these treaty articles, but they also put Muslims in a difficult situation with different measures. One of the most important of these was the attacks on Muslim settlements in order to reduce the Turkish population in the regions they captured. One of these was the burning of a Muslim village and a Bektashi tekke in Chania. In response to these attacks, the Ottoman Empire sent ships to rescue the Muslims in the region,

as well as the Jews who also suffered from the attacks (BOA, Y.PRK.MYD, 18-75, 1897). This was not only limited to Chania, but also spread to many other places where Turks were concentrated, such as Crete, Thessaly and Trikala. In addition, in violation of the treaties, conflicts were created between Muslims and Christians in such places. The purpose of this was to justify the occupation of these regions by claiming that *Christians were being killed*. (BOA, HR.SYS, 1715-47, 1890). In reality, however, the Greek State and the Christian mobs under their control were attacking Muslim settlements and massacring them (BOA, Y.PRK.ASK, 127-5, 1897). In addition, Muslim places of religious worship such as tekkes and mosques were given to Christians and turned into churches or taverns. Some Muslim girls were forced to marry Christians and made to do inappropriate work in taverns. Again, dying Muslims in the hospital were forced to drink wine and were buried with gypsies (BOA, HR.SYS, 1715-73, 1893).³⁵ In addition to being massacred, many Muslim populations were forced to migrate to the Ottoman Empire because of such humiliating acts against Muslims (BOA, HR.TH, 190-95, 1897).

While the general situation of Muslims in Greece continued in this way, Bektashis were trying to continue their normal functioning in their tekkes. In order to maintain their normal functioning, there were Bektashis who maintained their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, as well as Bektashis who tried to come to an agreement with the new administration. In response, the Ottoman Empire intervened in these tekkes and tried to keep them loyal to the state. An example of this situation was the Durbali Sultan Tekke, which remained in the region after Thessaly was ceded to Greece in 1881. To summarize the development of the subject; After the death of Sheikh Bayram Baba, who was the postmaster of Durbali Sultan Tekke, without leaving any heirs, the regulars of the tekke elected among themselves and put Dervish Nazif in his place. Dervish Nazif was deemed inappropriate to be the sheikh of the tekke due to his improper actions on the tekke properties and his election to this post without Ottoman control, and the

³⁵ Since their first appearance on the stage of history, Gypsies have been viewed with interest and suspicion due to their physical characteristics and their way of life, and the narratives, myths, etc. about them have caused Gypsies to be seen as social problems and dangerous people in almost all countries. In this context, for the people at that time, such an event related to gypsies was seen as a humiliating situation (İlhan-Firat, 2017, p.265). Moreover, since drinking was forbidden for Muslims, such acts were very disturbing for them.

Ottoman Empire asked him to be removed from the tekke (BOA, BEO-2658-199276, 1905).³⁶ After Dervish Nazif was dismissed for these reasons, it was decided to appoint a suitable person for the vacant post, and Mustafa Yesari Efendi was sent from Anatolia to be the sheikh of Durbali Tekke (BOA, BEO, 2643-198155, 1905). The appointment of Mustafa Yesari Efendi as sheikh from Anatolia was opposed by the dervishes of the tekke, and from this point on, problems began to arise between the tekke and the state (BOA, BEO, 2802-210122, 1905).³⁷

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested information from the Embassy in Athens as to why the members of the tekke opposed this appointment. Accordingly, the embassy contacted the Greek government and sent several letters regarding the approval of Mustafa Yesari Efendi's appointment and his taking office. After a while, the Greek Government was forced to approve Mustafa Yesari Efendi's appointment upon the Ottoman Government's insistence. However, the Greek government, taking into account the objections of the dervishes, later announced that it would not approve a dervish from Anatolia. The Ottoman Empire then had to stand firm on the appointment of Yesari Efendi in order not to lose the loyalty of the dervishes in the region to the Ottoman Empire and as a matter of prestige against another state. For this reason, we understand that they were also in contact with the Bektashi center, as the Haci Bektash Veli Asitanesi was also involved in the matter. The Bektashi center, on the other hand, demanded the right to "appoint a person appointed by the Bektashi center to Bektashi tekkes", which was already included in Ottoman law until 1826. What is also important here is that while the Ottoman Empire ignored these demands of the Bektashis, it gave the possibility that it could use this right in the case of Durbali. The Bektashis supported Yesari Efendi's appointment, both in terms of exercising their right of appointment and in terms of supporting the Ottoman Empire against a foreign state. However, as this process took a long time and the

³⁶ During Derviş Nazif's tenure as sheikh, he made an agreement with İsmail, Bayram Baba's acquaintance, İslam Bey, the Deputy Director of Finance of the Premedi District, and a few others to use the movable and immovable properties of the tekke for their personal benefit, and they also sold their farms and divided the properties jointly. About a month later, on June 19, 1321, there was no information about Derviş Nazif's presence in Istanbul and it was understood that he had fled to Thessaloniki and then to the Rumelia Province. However, there was no information on which province he was in (BOA, BEO-2658-199276, 1905).

³⁷ According to custom, when the sheikh appointed to the tekke died, he was usually replaced by his son. In the absence of a son, the dervishes in the tekke would vote for one of their own, or a suitable Bektashi dervish would be sent from other Bektashi tekkes. Of course, all this was done upon the recommendation of the Haci Bektash Veli Asitânesi to the sheyhulislam and if the sheyhulislam authority deemed the candidate suitable, the appointment was made (BOA, BEO, 2802-210122, 1905).

Greek government delayed its approval, Yesari Efendi returned to Anatolia. Seeing this as an opportunity and not wanting to fulfill the Ottoman request, the Greek government appointed a substitute and informed the Ottoman Embassy that Yesari Efendi could not be appointed due to his absence from the tekke (BOA, BEO, 2802-210122, 1905).

After a while, the Greek authorities reapproved the appointment of Mustafa Yesari Efendi to the tekke due to the Ottoman State's firm stance, but the dervishes of the tekke did not accept this coercion and did not recognize Yesari Efendi as the postnishin. When asked why, they cited reasons such as Mustafa Yesari being married and not knowing the language of the region. This time, they chose amongst themselves again and appointed Dervish Tahir Effendi as the postnishin instead. When the Ottoman Empire learned of this situation, it asked the embassy not to accept it and to have Mustafa Yesari Efendi introduced to the dervishes as a sheikh. However, the embassy replied that the position of sheikh in the Durbali Tekke was reserved for unmarried people and that Yesari Efendi could not serve as sheikh in the tekke because he was married and not familiar with the local language. It was also stated that the appointment of a sheikh to the tekke by the Ottoman Empire caused problems, that the affairs of the tekke were quite complicated and that appointing a sheikh from outside would be contrary to the current organization of the tekke. It was also emphasized that the appointment of sheyhs in the Durbali Tekke was determined by the votes of the dervishes of the tekke, a procedure they had been practicing since time immemorial. Attempting to introduce Mustafa Yesari to the dervishes of the tekke would have caused more confusion in the tekke and would have given the Greek Government an opportunity to intervene. Since this would have brought more trouble for the Ottoman Empire, it would have been appropriate to allow Mustafa Yesari Efendi to return to his hometown on condition that his expenses were covered by the tekke, and to approve the appointment of Dervish Tahir, who was elected by the dervishes of the tekke (BOA, BEO, 2665-199801, 1905).

Despite the embassy's response, the Ottoman Empire did not give up on Mustafa Yesari Efendi as the postnisha of the tekke and continued to investigate the matter. As the investigation deepened, the dimension of the matter took a different turn. Accordingly, the investigations revealed that Hüseyin Efendi of Premedili, the Director of Düyün-ı Umumiye in Thessaloniki, was behind the attempts of the tekke's members to prevent the sheikh sent by the state on the

grounds that he was married and did not speak the language of the region. Premedili Hüseyin Efendi not only encouraged the residents of the tekke to oppose the appointment of Mustafa Yesari Efendi, but he also occupied the farms of the tekke and made suggestions to a man named Ismail who claimed succession. For this reason, both of them were prevented from interfering in the affairs of the tekke and asked to be removed from the tekke (BOA, BEO, 2743-205667, 1906).

While the state continued to work for the appointment of Mustafa Yesari Efendi as sheikh following these events in the tekke, Tahir Baba, who was elected as sheikh by the votes of the tekke's followers, realized that the Ottoman State would not approve of his sheyship and applied to the Greek Government. Tahir Baba told the Greek Government that the Durbali Tekke was not affiliated with the Ottoman Sheyülislam office and had no relations with the Islamic religion. Tahir Baba also claimed that the Ottoman State had not interfered in the affairs of the tekke from the beginning, that the tekke was managed on its own, and that after Bayram Baba's death, a suitable person was appointed as sheikh according to seniority and certain customs. Since Tahir Baba also gained supporters from Greek deputies in these attempts, the attempts made before the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the appointment of Yesâri Efendi were fruitless. In response to these allegations, the Ottoman Empire requested the office of the Sheyhulislam to learn about the practices regarding the appointment and election of tekke sheyhs in Thessaly before the annexation of Greece and to investigate the issues mentioned by Tahir Baba (BOA, BEO, 2843-213208, 1906).

In its reply, the Sheyhulislam Office stated that first of all, Tahir Baba's appointment to the dervish lodge should be authorized by a decree signed by the postnîsh of the Hacı Bektash Veli Dargah. Then, in order to prevent Tahir Baba's misleading statements about the selection of sheikh appointments in Thessaly, a decision regarding his dismissal should be taken from the postnîshin of the Hacı Bektash Veli Dargah. Then he gave information about when and how the appointments made by the Ottoman Empire to the Durbali Tekke by the office of Sheyhulislam were realized. Accordingly, all tekkes and zawiya affiliated to the Ottoman Empire were required to have a *berat*³⁸ written by the sheyhulislam in order to be appointed to

³⁸ Berat: A document with the sultan's tughra on it, indicating an appointment, a duty or an exemption (Kütükoğlu, 1992, p.472).

the office of sheikh. In this way, Hüseyin Dede was appointed to Durbali Tekke on November 5, 1821, Hasan Dede on May 28, 1825 and Bayram Baba on November 22, 1870. In addition, as it can be seen in the official records of the Assembly of Mashayikhs and the Treasury of Evkaf-i Humayun regarding the Greek territories, appointments to Bektashi tekkes were made with a warrant until the annexation of Thessaly by Greece. After that, in accordance with the decisions taken, appointments would be made verbally for the territories that had been ceded (BOA, BEO, 3348-251061, 1906).

At the embassy, the Greek government investigated the matter and an official from the Embassy in Athens contacted a Greek official named Monsieur Iskozpmi. The embassy informed M. Iskozpmi that there was no substance to these allegations and that the office of the Sheyhulislam always had the right to intervene in Bektashi tekkes in matters such as the appointment of a sheikh. However, due to reasons such as the involvement of many Greek deputies in the issue and the fact that some ambitious lawyers wanted to benefit from the high income of the tekke, the Ottoman Empire asked the Greek Embassy to write down the problem item by item to M. Grayaberli. When the Greek Embassy applied to the office of the Sheyhulislam and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to obtain information on this issue, it was requested that the appropriate response be given (BOA, BEO, 2882-216144, 1906).

Upon the request of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek Government itemized the problem and asked a number of questions:

- Is the religion of the Bektashis in the Durbali Tekke Islam?
- What are the rules governing the appointment of sheikh to be the postnishins of such tekkes, provided that they do not show an un-Islamic character that would show their independence in appearance and spiritually, as the person named Tahir Baba claims?
- According to the rules applicable to the sheikh of Bektashi tekkes, can the Sheyhulislam himself appoint a sheikh without the permission of the dervishes of the tekke?

The Ottoman Empire assigned the relevant authorities to answer these questions. Accordingly, the Sheyhulislam stated that since the appointment of sheikh to tekkes were religious matters, no outside intervention could be made. It was also reported that since the Durbali Tekke was a part of the Islamic community and an Islamic institution, Mustafa Yesari

Efendi, who was appointed to the tekke, should sit on the post, since his ties with the Sheyhulislam would always be preserved. While this decision of the Sheyhulislam was to be sent to the Greek Government, information was given about the irregularities committed by Mustafa Yesari Efendi from the Athens Embassy in the tekke. Therefore, it was requested that the appointment of Mustafa Yesari Efendi be cancelled. For the time being, it has been decided that it would be appropriate for Tahir Baba, who claims to be a sheikh, not to speak out for the time being, since the approval of another sheikh candidate by the Greek Government would pose a problem (BOA, BEO, 2977-223245, 1907).³⁹

While events were unfolding in this way, with the death of Mustafa Yesari Efendi, M. Griparis from the Greek Embassy applied to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs to reach a conclusion about the sheikh position of the tekke. However, he did not get any results and sent a telegram dated March 4, 1908, asking the Ottoman Empire to speed up the procedures in order to solve this problem as soon as possible. With the death of Mustafa Yesari Efendi, the Ottoman Empire chose Ahmed Baba, who was another Bektashi father from Anatolia, to replace him. When he reported this to the Greek Government, the Greek Government refused, stating that the tekke had already elected its own sheyhs and that Ahmed Baba could not be appointed. The Ottoman Embassy stated that wrong information was given to the Greek authorities on this issue, that the correspondence on this subject was null and void after the death of Mustafa Yesari Efendi and that Ahmed Baba's appointment was approved (BOA, HR ID, 2039 58, 1907). When this dispute could not be resolved in the desired way, the Ottoman Empire decided to use its rights arising from international law in accordance with bilateral treaties. Accordingly, the Ottoman Empire decided to dismiss Tahir Baba by reminding him of

³⁹ In this particular issue, we see that attitudes towards Bektashis were not the same in every region of the state. It was conveyed to Greece that the Bektashis in the Durbali Tekke were devoted to Islam and that the Ottoman Empire and the Bektashis would always maintain their ties, even if only in words. Even the Sheyhulislam, the highest institution of the Ottoman Empire representing Sunni Islam, stated that contrary to what was claimed, the Bektashis were not in a situation contrary to Islam. However, we observe that the state showed the opposite attitude towards the Bektashis in Sinop. The worship of the Bektashis in Sinop was monitored, it was claimed that they were acting contrary to Islam and that they were leading the Sunni population astray. The state, which embraced the Bektashis in Thessaly and did not see them as separate from the Islamic religion, characterized the Bektashis in Sinop as a harmful community contrary to Islam. Of course, the aim of the state here was to try to retain the Bektashis in the region due to the sensitive situation in the Balkans. Another remarkable element is that when the Bektashis in Sinop were prosecuted, they argued that they were not un-Islamic as claimed, while some Bektashis in Thessaly claimed that they were un-Islamic. However, we believe that the situation in Thessaly was motivated by personal interests and provoked by some Greek government officials. Document of the investigation into the Bektashis in Sinop: BOA, DH. MKT, 1154-35, 1909.

the article in the treaty signed with Greece in 1881 stating that "Greece will respect the religious and sectarian customs of the inhabitants of the areas ceded to Greece and will not interfere with the organization and independence of the Muslim community and will not interfere with the transactions of the community with its religious leaders in matters of sectarian affairs". It was also requested that all the appointments made to the Durbali Tekke until today be revealed and a copy sent to the Greek Government (BOA, HR. HMS, İŞO. 53-21, 1910). In this way, the Ottoman Empire showed the Greek government how the appointments to the tekke had been made so far and informed it not to interfere in the functioning of the Muslim community hierarchy in accordance with the treaties.

Another important point in this event is that some of the rights that Bektashis had been demanding from the state since 1826 were restored. Of course, this was not applied to all tekkes across the country. Although it is known that this was limited to this incident, the state's acceptance of the procedure that "appointments to Bektashi lodges can be made from the Bektashi tariqah" was an important step.

Until this period, the state had tried to protect the Bektashi tekkes through various diplomatic means. Although some Bektashi dervishes claimed that they had no loyalty to the Ottoman Empire and tried to break the tekke religiously and politically, the state tried to prevent this. Nevertheless, despite these problems, the state continued to protect the tekkes. However, this situation disappeared with the Balkan Wars. Many Muslims had already left the region before and after this war. Many of those who resisted to stay were massacred and their dervish lodges, mosques, etc. were destroyed (BOA, HR.SFR.1, 170-7, 1913). After the war, although many articles protecting Muslim law were confirmed to Greece, this would not last long. During World War I and the Turkish War of Independence, Bektashis would be massacred along with many Muslims who remained in the region. One of these massacres was revealed in Refet Pasha's report and he asked for intervention to prevent it as soon as possible. In his report, he wrote that the Greeks killed many Muslims in Langaza, Karaferye, Kılıkış and Karacaabad and that those who fled from these places went to Thessaloniki. However, this situation continued in Thessaloniki, where many Muslims were killed along with prominent people of the city such as Bektashi sheikh Hasan Baba and İskenderpaşazade Sabri Bey (BOA, HR. İM, 42-4, 1922).

4. The Situation of Abandoned Bektashi Tekkes in Other Balkan Regions

Militia forces that were not within the borders of Greece and Bulgaria, but supported by them and other states, were also attacking Bektashi tekkes in Balkan regions where they had not yet gained control. Since similar situations were occurring all over the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire had difficulty in reaching every region in need of help. Moreover, it was difficult to pursue disorganized gangs with the army. For this purpose, hunter battalions were established under the Third Army Command in Rumelia to fight only against Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian gangs. These battalions, led by Ottoman officers who had graduated from the military academy and composed of specially selected soldiers, acted like gangs using guerrilla tactics (Okar, 2018, p.44). But despite these efforts, the state was unable to protect Muslims from the attacks of these separatist gangs.

The Macedonia region was one of the places where the gangs mentioned above were active. The Hızır (Hıdır) Baba Tekke ⁴⁰ in a region between Kircova(Kichevo) and Pirlepe(Prilep), which today is also within the borders of the country of Northern Macedonia, was constantly under attack by gangs. Hasan Baba, the sheikh of the tekke, repeatedly appealed to prevent this, but no permanent solution was offered other than the temporary presence of soldiers. If we talk about the situation of the tekke, it is located far from the surrounding Islamic villages and in a deserted location. For this reason, because of its vulnerable location, until this period, the tekke's outpost had been manned by about fifty soldiers at certain times. However, since a month only about ten soldiers were left at the outpost and the others were moved away from the tekke (BOA, TFR.I.MN, 70-6927, 1905).

⁴⁰ The exact location of the tekke is in a town in North Macedonia, today called Makedonski Brod.

Although the location of the tekke was in the middle of nowhere, it was one of the most strategic points of the region, at the starting border of the Balkans called "mebde-i hudud" and in a key position. The Hizir Baba Tekke, which was in such an important location, also attracted the attention of the Bulgarian Government, and therefore secretly mobilized the Bulgarian gangs in order to seize this place. Acting with this purpose,⁴¹ Bulgarian gangs started to increase their aggressive behavior against the tekke day by day. In one of these attacks, they burned more than 20000 kilos of grass in the tekke's farm during a raid. These actions of the Bulgarian gangs were not limited to the tekke, but also took place in the villages around the tekke. In the village of Esladana, which is located right near the tekke, clashes could happen at any time. Often they even raided houses, forcing the villagers to flee (BOA, TFR.I.MN, 50-4933, 1904).

The behavior of the Bulgarian gangs became unbearable and the Muslim population in the region demanded measures to be taken. For this reason, Hasan Baba who the sheikh of the tekke, complained to the Ottoman government and asked for soldiers to protect them. The government responded positively to this request and stationed soldiers in the tekke. However, considering that the conflicts in other regions were more urgent, the troops stationed here were withdrawn after a while. Requests for the re-deployment of troops were fruitless and no results were obtained due to the government's lack of interest in this issue. Whereas the deployment of troops in the region was vital and it had been voiced many times that it should be reintroduced. Because, as we mentioned above, this location, known as Pirlepe Street, which was an important route in the Balkans, defined the Kircova-Pirlepe-Manastir line. It was seen that there was no need for a large military unit to protect this important route, and this problem could be solved with a few soldiers. According to the sheikh of the tekke, in the last clash, despite the numerical strength of the gang, they ran out of ammunition, and if there were enough soldiers in the police

⁴¹ The Bulgarian gangs operating in the region had emerged with the aim of engaging in ordinary banditry rather than nationalist sentiments. (İnalçık, 1992, p.26) However, from the beginning of the XIXth century, with the influence of the nationalism movement, Bulgarian gangs, like the gangs of other Balkan nations, started to take on a national character. After the Treaty of Berlin, Bulgarians became interested in Macedonia with the support of the Russians, and Bulgarian gangs shifted their activity to Macedonia. As the number of Bulgarian gangs increased, other Balkan nations also started to engage in gang activities in the region, and Macedonia became a place where gangs were intensively organized, especially in the 1890s. It was only after 1897 that the Ottoman Empire began to realize the power of these gangs. (Saatçi, 2004, p.163), 163. Since 1896, Bulgarian gangs, also known as the Macedonian Committee, had undertaken many actions in Macedonia to provoke the Ottoman Empire in order to gain the support of not only Russia but also European states. (Abbott, 2013, p.84). They organized attacks on Muslim villages in order to provoke them and in return they expected the Ottomans and Turks to attack Bulgarian villages.

station, they would have been able to defeat the gang. The presence of soldiers here was not only essential for the peace of the region and the tekke. Solving this situation would also prevent the migration of the residents of the tekke and the region and ensure the safety of the travelers using the road here. For this reason, it is clear that the presence of some soldiers would solve the problem here in every respect (BOA, TFR.I. ŞKT, 72-7128, 1905).

The Ottoman Empire had asked for an officer to be sent from Kırcova to determine what Hasan Baba had told about the situation of the tekke. In the investigations that followed, it was stated that due to the security of the tekke and the intensive use of Pirlepe Street, it was necessary to have a police station here. Although there have been no recent incidents, increasing the number of soldiers in the tekke's police station from 10 to 20 would be sufficient for the security of both the tekke and the street. It would also be useful as a rear support to the Leskovice Police Station, which is three hours away (BOA, TFR.I. ŞKT, 72-7128, 1905).

That the sheikh of the tekke was right in his security concerns can be seen from the incident that took place a few years later in a tekke in the vicinity of Prespa, close to the region. According to a report by the sheikh of Koç Baba Tekke, a Bektashi dervish who had come to the tekke as a guest from Skopje was murdered in the vicinity of the tekke. Although it is not clear who committed the murder, the main suspects were Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian gangs who constantly organized attacks on Bektashi tekkes in the neighborhood (BOA, TFR.I.MN, 157-15694, 1908).

Bektashi tekkes and Bektashis in the region were targeted by these gangs primarily because they symbolized Islam in the Balkans. The presence of a Bektashi tekke in almost every region of the Balkans ensured that these gangs could not defend the region as a place that belonged entirely to their own nation in the eyes of European states. Therefore, their primary goal was to eliminate the Bektashi tekkes. Another important reason was that the Ottoman army in the region, especially the Ittihadists, used Bektashi tekkes as outposts when they traveled from one place to another. Whenever they went to a region, they preferred to stay there if there was a Bektashi tekke and they learned the pulse of the region from the tekke. In addition, a significant number of these Ittihadist soldiers were also Bektashi (Okar, 2018, p.123)

Conclusion

Many Bektashi tekkes in the Balkans were seen as targets, like other Ottoman elements, by the newly established Balkan states that shared the Balkans between them, and they increased their attacks as the Ottomans began to leave the region. Most Bektashis, with the exception of some Bektashi tekkes and dervishes, struggled extraordinarily to protect their tekkes, and when they were unable to do so, they turned to the Ottoman Empire for help. The Ottoman Empire closely monitored the situation of the tekkes in the region and tried to protect their rights through legal means as much as possible. However, there were also Bektashi tekkes, like the Durbali Tekke in Greece, that cooperated with the newly established states in the region against the Ottomans. The Bektashis of this tekke went so far as to claim to the Greeks that they had no relations with the Ottoman Empire and that they had nothing to do with Islam. In the face of these allegations, the Ottoman administration took a pragmatist approach and, contrary to its practices since the banning of Bektashism, for the first time defended the right of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Asitânesi, the center of the Bektashi order, to appoint officials to other Bektashi tekkes. However, he refrained from granting the right to appoint sheikhs from the center, which he claimed for the Balkan tekkes, to the Bektashi tekkes in Anatolia under his control.

As a result, the cooperation of the Bektashi tekkes with both the Ottomans and the Balkan states in order to maintain their existence in the region could not save them from the inevitable. After the Balkan Wars, many places almost ceased to be Ottoman territory. Nevertheless, in order to protect the security and existence of the dervish lodges, the Ottoman Empire guaranteed their rights in the treaty articles based on international law. Despite this, the Balkan states, especially Greece and Bulgaria, disregarded this law and seized many Bektashi tekkes and converted them into churches or similar structures while Bektashi dervishes were still present in them (Hasluck, 2012).⁴²

⁴² A Bektashi tekke in Tekkeköy, near Skopje, was claimed in the name of St. Georgios by erecting a cross, even though there was only one Bektashi inside. A Bektashi tekke in Tetovo was about to disappear due to Serbian taxes. The Durbali Tekke, which managed to survive until this period, would probably be converted into a church. (Hasluck, 2012, p.80).

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CHAPTER 8: WOMEN'S CONVERSION MOVEMENTS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE PRE-TANZIMAT PERIOD

Mine KARTAL 

Chapter Highlights

- The eighth chapter of the book explores the conversion movements of women in the Ottoman Empire during the pre-Tanzimat period.
- The Ottoman Empire was home to people of various faiths for centuries, and despite granting non-Muslims significant religious freedom, some individuals chose to convert to Islam, a phenomenon known as "ihtida" in Islamic law.
- The process of conversion in the Ottoman Empire was influenced by a wide range of factors, including religious, economic, social, and psychological considerations, both material and spiritual.
- This chapter delves into the diverse motivations and circumstances that led to individuals, particularly women, embracing Islam during this historical period.
- By examining the reasons behind these conversions, the chapter sheds light on the complex interplay of factors that shaped religious identity in the Ottoman Empire before the Tanzimat reforms.

1. Introduction

For many years, many people with different beliefs lived together in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. However, although the Ottoman Empire gave freedom of religion to non-Muslims in a wide way, some of them changed to Islam by changing the religion they believed in for various reasons. This situation has been called Conversion in Islamic law. In the Ottoman Empire, many material and moral causes such as religious, economic, social and psychological have been effective in the phenomenon of converding. These reasons in question may differ in terms of male and female gender. Because a non-Muslim man and non-Muslim woman have been able to choose the path of conversion for different reasons. In particular, factors other than

moral elements have been able to affect men and women in different ways. In this sense, the notion of gender has emerged as an important variable in case of conversion.

The studies conducted on the phenomenon of pre-Tanzimat conversion have generally been explained without making any distinction between men and women. The conversion studies discussed are also generally male-oriented. For this reason, looking at the incident of conversion from the point of view of women has been seen as an issue that needs to be addressed in particular. In this context, the issue of conversion in Ottoman society will be discussed in terms of women and the effects of the factors in the conversion movements on the female gender will be mentioned. In the study, firstly, the incident of the Conversion was explained within the framework of the rules of Islamic law, and then the application of these rules in the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman approach to non-Muslims began to be explained. After that, the process of a woman becoming a Muslim while belonging to a different religion in the Ottoman Empire was divided into parts as factors affecting women's conversion, the stage of women's conversion, and the situations women experienced after the conversion. Thus, some evaluations were made by having an idea about the issues faced by women muslims in the Ottoman Empire during the conversion.

2. The Impact of Ottoman Non-Muslim Relations on the Conversion Process

According to Islamic law, it is called a conversion for people from different religions to convert to Islam. The only condition of the conversion acknowledges to recite the kalima shahadah and the oneness of Allah and the prophecy of Muhammad. It is to accept the prophecy of Muhammad.(Köse, 2000, p. 554-555). A person who converts is called a mühtedî (C.ADL., H.1177, 1/38). For women, the term woman mühtediye is used (AE.SABH.I., H.1188, 278/18702). According to Islam, the choice of religion should be based on people's own free will. It is clearly stated in the Qur'an that there is no compulsion in religion (Qur'an: Baqara/256, 2011, p.51). No one has the right to interfere with someone else's faith, force them to believe, or put their faith under pressure. Since faith is an affirmation made with the heart, people need to believe with their own volition (Güneş, 2005, p.9). As a matter of fact, the Qur'an has given freedom of belief as a fundamental right to man. For this reason, the protection of a person's freedom of belief is a religious necessity. Therefore, freedom of belief and religious tolerance

in Islamic societies should develop within the framework of this understanding (Akdemir, 2016, p. 45).

The Ottoman Empire was based on Islamic law. For this reason, the way in which the freedom of belief in Islam was put into practice was seen in the Ottoman Empire. As a matter of fact, the Ottomans have ruled Muslims and non-Muslims together in their territories for centuries with an understanding of mutual trust and tolerance. Because the Ottomans, who had a dense Christian population in their territory for a long time, protected their rights (Bozkuş, 2007: 55). In the Ottoman Empire, Muslims were seen as the main element of the country and those belonging to other religions were seen as people under the protection of the state (Kazıcı, 2017, p. 162). Non-Muslims of the people of the book (who believe in the heavenly book), who have earned the right to live permanently in the territory of an Islamic state without changing their religion by a contract and to benefit from citizenship rights with some exceptions, are called dhimmi. While the term dhimmi (zımmi) is used for men, the term dhimmi (zımmiye) is used for women (Yurtseven, 2000, p. 440-441). According to this agreement, Non-Muslims agree to pay jizya to the state within this framework, the Ottoman Empire has granted them freedom of religion and certain legal rights by ensuring the safety of the lives and property of Non-Muslims within its structure (İlgürel, 1999, p. 941-942). Non-Muslims who got used to living together with the Ottomans found the opportunity to get to know the Islamic religion better over time, and thanks to the state's policy of tolerance, they were able to warm up to Islam and become Muslims (Çolak, 2000, p.101). In this context, it is known that conversion movements have taking place since the time when the Ottoman Empire was just established.(Neşri, 1967, p. 1-165). Although the Ottoman Empire did not attempt to forcibly Islamize, there were many cases of conversion in the territories it dominated (Ercan, 2001, p. 198-200).

In Islam, no one is allowed to be forced to convert to Islam. Only the religion of Islam can be invited by being told. Non-Muslim people are allowed to worship by preserving their places of worship in the state, and their worship cannot be prevented for any reason (Karaman, 2019, p.200). The Ottoman Empire did not marginalize its non-Muslim citizens based on the rules for non-Muslims in Islamic law (Kazıcı, 2021, p.70-71). Islam has strongly opposed the forced Islamization of even slaves. Slaves bought by a Muslim could only change their religion

voluntarily (Sak, 1992, p.82). Because Islam gives freedom of belief to all non-Muslims, whether they are free or slaves.

A person can choose the lifestyle he wants and is free to worship what he wants or not. Islam advises believers to try to dissuade disbelievers and polytheists from false beliefs and habits through persuasion. (Yavuzer, 2012, p.227). The Ottoman Empire also encouraged the conversion from time to time in both the Balkans and Anatolia (Aslan, 2010, p.14). Within the framework of the rules of Islamic law, people belonging to different religions and sects continued their lives within the framework of respect in Ottoman society. The lack of despotic religious institutions of the Western Middle Ages enabled Non-Muslims within the Ottoman Empire to benefit from religious tolerance and privileges (Yavuzer, 2012, p.231). In this context, the Ottoman Empire has given some allowances to the newly converted Muslims since the foundation years. Since the 18th century, it has been customary to pay some dress or dress price to those who have converted to Islam (Selçuk, 2002, p. 95-96). Because in the Ottoman Empire, Muslims and Non-Muslims were separated from each other by their clothes (Ercan, 2001, p.180).

While conversion was not carried out within a certain rule from the establishment of the Ottoman Empire until the 19th century, especially the Tanzimat, the conversion events that occurred after the Tanzimat were carried out within the framework of certain legal procedures (Çetin, 1999, p. 4-5). The Millet implementation, which was systematized during the Fatih period, continued until the Tanzimat period. After the Tanzimat, the embezzlement status was abolished and the concept of Ottoman citizen was established without distinguishing between Muslims and Non-Muslims. Thus, it was aimed to partially ending the differences in legal status and to make everyone subject to the same rules of law (Karadağ, 2005, p. 34).

3.Factors Affecting The Conversion of Women

In the pre-Tanzimat period, the factors that caused women to choose to convert in the Ottoman Empire were not reflected in official documents. In the records related to conversion, the reasons for which the converts converted were generally recorded in the official records when there were disputed issues. In addition, since the phenomenon of conversion is related to the inner world of man, it is very difficult to make concrete inferences on this subject. However, in the light of the documents that can be identified despite these difficulties and with the support

of the studies on the subject of conversion, it is possible to make inferences about the factors of conversion.

Factors such as the unsatisfactory acceptance of the religion believed, the negative attitudes and behaviors of the members of the religion and the clergy, the increase in life experience, marriage, obtaining financial benefits, and being influenced by religious suggestions play a role in conversion. From the point of view of the psychology of religion, it is a controversial issue that various factors, including internal and external factors, are effective in the conversion event, which is a complex process, but which of them is more effective (Başkurt, 2006, 176). In the researches carried out, it has been emphasized that there must be important reasons affecting a person to change his religion and switch to another religion. These reasons have varied according to time and place throughout history. Because as conditions change, the elements that human beings are affected by differ. It has been stated that people are affected by economic, political, religious, socio-cultural and psychological factors in general during the conversion incident. Although the majority of those who have converted to Islam throughout history have actually accepted the Islamic religion by adopting it, there have been people who have converted in order to obtain various interests (Çolak, 2000, p.85).

Looking at the conversion process from a general perspective, it is highly likely that the state's moderate approach to converts had an impact on both men and women. As a matter of fact, various warnings were made from the center not to persecute or offend the people who converted in the Ottoman Empire. In this context, warnings were given not to demand taxes such as *ispence* and *jizya* (Adıyeke, 2002, p. 567). Therefore, this situation can be shown among the important characteristics that lead Non-Muslim men and women to conversion. Because this attitude of the state towards the converts has made it easier for non-Muslims to accept the religion of Islam.

When the non-Muslim male and female conversions before the Tanzimat are examined numerically, the difference in the number of male and female conversions stands out. Between 1467 and 1799, 427 men and 52 women converted in Bursa (Çetin, 1999, p.34). In a determination made based on the Kayseri şer'iyye records covering the years 1645-1665, it was stated that 51 of the 58 conversion records were men and 7 were women.(Selçuk, 2002, p. 170). In a study conducted on the Adana şer'iyye records covering the years 1750-1799, the number of men who converted in Adana was determined as 22 and the number of women as 10

(Himmetoğlu, 2020, p. 145). In a study conducted according to the Trabzon court record of 1654-1655, it was determined that 9 out of 10 people who converted to Islam were men.(Yegin, 2009, p. 99). According to the 18th century Diyarbekir şer'iyye records, it is stated that 35 of the 46 converts were men and 11 were women (Güler, 2019, p. 468). In another study discussing of the first half of the 19th century, it was found that 106 of the 150 conversion records evaluated belonged to men and 44 to women. It was thought that the fact that there were such differences in conversion rates between men and women was a result of the fact that men were at the forefront of the Ottoman social structure. In addition, it was emphasized that not all conversion events may have been recorded in the record (Karadağ, 2005, p. 73). Çetin, attributed the reason why the number of female converts was very rare in the Bursa court records to the fact that women did not have much activity in social life at that time, and therefore not all of the women who converted were registered in the court records (Çetin, 1999, p. 38-39). According to the numerical determinations given in the studies conducted according to different cities in different centuries before the Tanzimat, it is seen that the number of female converts is less than that of men. Therefore, the reason why the conversion of men in the pre-Tanzimat period was higher than that of women is related to the position of women in the social structure of the period and the fact that women's conversions were not recorded in court. However, in addition to this, it should not be ignored that different reasons that lead men to conversion may also have been effective in conversion cases.

The causes of conversion may vary according to men and women. First of all, it should be noted that there were elements that affected men more than women in the case of conversion in the Ottoman Empire. As a matter of fact, especially since the beginning of the 18th century, it is stated that there are many applications (petitions) indicating the desire of newly Muslim men to enter the guild of janissaries or cavalryman class. In addition, a man who had converted to Islam was relieved of the obligation of jizya. In addition, men could have been asked to serve in various state levels such as mints (Antov, 2000, p. 97-98). The jizya was an annual tax levied on Non-Muslims, and women, slaves, children, religious workers, the poor, and those who were too old and disabled to work were exempted from the obligation of jizya (Eryılmaz, 1990, p.22). Especially for Non-Muslim men, the idea of obtaining office and position and the fact that the tax obligation of those living as Muslims in the Ottoman Empire was lighter than that of Non-Muslims could cause them to convert. However, these factors do not seem to be valid for Non-

Muslim women in the social structure of the period. Therefore, it is the factors other than these that lead women to conversion.

In this regard, Baer, he emphasized that Minkârîzâde Yahya Efendi, one of the Ottoman shaykh al-islam of the 17th century, mentioned that men converted to convert voluntarily as well as reluctantly, unlike women. In this context, he pointed to Non-Muslim men who converted while fighting or being taken prisoner with Muslim soldiers, being imprisoned while drunk, arrested (Baer, 2004, p. 439). Therefore, these factors are also different from the factors that lead women to conversion.

In the conditions of the period before the Tanzimat, men had more interaction with Muslims than women, and therefore they had the opportunity to get to know Islam more closely. Therefore, when this situation is taken into consideration, the religious influence of the multitude of male converts is also considered. Again, psychological pressure and isolation that may come from the community they left after conversion can be seen among the factors that make it difficult for women to make the decision to convert. Because, according to Islamic law, while the conversion of the man did not affect the family structure, the conversion of the woman caused the dissolution of the family union if her husband did not agree to convert to Islam (Yegin, 2009, p. 99).

There is no doubt that there are many other factors in the conversion incident besides the factors mentioned above. When we look at those who are influential in the conversion of women, the invitation to Islam can be included among the factors that cause women to convert. For example, in a document in the Kayseri record dated 1653, Abdullah's daughter Cemile reported that she converted as a result of Gesi Imam Şaban Halife telling her about Islam (Selçuk, 2002, p. 169). As it can be understood from this record, the explanation of Islam as an invitation to Islam was effective in the decision of some women who later turned to Islam in the Ottoman Empire to convert.

It can be said that kinship relations also have an effect on women's conversion to Islam. As a matter of fact, in a record determined in the Bursa court, it is stated that the daughter of a non-Muslim woman, who was previously left with her Muslim brother Şakir, converted to Islam with the effect of living with Muslims without anyone's compulsion (Çetin, 2011, p. 76). As can be seen in this record a Muslim has been able to serve as a bridge for some of his non-

Muslim family to convert to Islam. At the same time, this situation showed the effect of the socio-cultural relationship of Muslims and non-Muslims on the person in the case of conversion.

Some non-Muslim women were also thought to have converted to Islam due to the poor financial conditions they were in. As a matter of fact, in a desire dated 1722, an Armenian woman from Istanbul was left a house from her deceased husband. This woman, who owed 200 cents, rented the house left to her from her husband to a foundation for 1.5 mite. However, his son later took himself to court for the right of inheritance over the house. Just when her son was about to win the court, the woman became a Muslim and asked the sultan for help in solving the problem (Antov, 2000, p. 94).

Marriage has also been an influential factor in women's conversion. As a matter of fact, although Islamic law allows a Muslim man to marry a non-Muslim woman, in some cases he has been able to encourage the non-Muslim wife of the Muslim husband to become a Muslim (Adıyeke, 2002, p. 564). Sometimes, when the Muslim man could not convince his wife to convert, he could go for divorce. For example, in the Cyprus court records of 1610, a Muslim named Yusuf, the son of Mehmed, asked his wife Elyasi daughter Meryem to accept Islam. When Meryem did not accept Islam, it was determined that her husband Yusuf divorced her (Erdoğan, 1999, p. 169). Although there is no prohibition in Islam for Muslim men to marry non-Muslim women, women who convert before or after marriage can be identified in the records. Women who converted after marriage were generally influenced by their Muslim husbands.

It has been pointed out that non-Muslim women may have converted in order to be able to get rid of existing marriages. In this context, Jennings stated that the Non-Muslim woman who faced difficulty in divorce before the law in her own community may have seen the solution to convert to Islam in order to facilitate the divorce. (Jennings, 1993, p. 166-167). As it is known, the affairs of non-Muslims regarding the marriage contract, annulment of marriage, alimony, inheritance and will among themselves were heard in their own community courts (Küçük, 1999, p. 210). However, the divorce issue of Non-Muslims, especially Christians, in Ottoman society is quite difficult. Because in Christianity in general, marriage was seen as a sacred and insoluble union. For this reason, some Non-Muslims have been able to apply to the Spiritual court on some issues (Sak, 2012, p. 125). Therefore, non-Muslim women were able to

convert to Islam in order to end their unhappy marriages. In this context, an Armenian woman named Hasne, the daughter of Murat, said that after her husband Merker constantly tormented her, she converted to Islam and took the name Ayşe to get rid of him. When the husband of the Armenian woman named Hasne refused to become a Muslim, the divorce took place (Özkul, 2010, p. 224). In this document, it is understood that the persecuted Non-Muslim woman became a Muslim in order to get rid of her marriage. Therefore, for some Non-Muslim women, conversion to Islam was seen as a salvation.

There are also many concubines among women converts. When we look at the reasons for their conversion; religious, social, cultural, etc. factors come to the forefront. Islam's recommendations on the emancipation of slaves and its provisions for the good treatment of slaves led to the fact that slaves and concubines were considered household members in Muslim homes and that they were treated as members of the household. This situation caused the Muslims with whom slaves and concubines lived together over time to adopt their cultures and religions and to convert by changing their religion (Çetin, 2011, p. 82). In this context, it is seen in many records belonging to the Ottoman courts that the concubines converted to Islam. As a matter of fact, in a document reflected to the court on the issue of inheritance sharing in the Harput record, it was determined that a deceased concubine had converted to Islam (Akdemir, 2023, p. 176)). It is likely that the fact that this concubine stayed with a Muslim family was influential in her conversion to Islam. In addition, Baer states that conversion seems to be a more important act of partial emancipation for slave women than for free women. According to him, although converting to Islam or marrying a free man did not liberate a slave, it could lead to his entering into a more radically different status (Baer, 2004, p.444).

In the above examinations, the main factors affecting women's conversions have been emphasized. These factors differed from place to place according to the conversions of men. In addition, factors such as the possibility that conversion events were not recorded in official records, the structure of society, the exemption of men from the jizya tax unlike women converts and the idea of obtaining a position of authority significantly affected the fact that the number of men converts was higher than the number of women converts in the pre-Tanzimat period. Common factors influencing conversion for both male and female converts have been related to religious and economic issues. In general, mutual interaction, economic interests and psychological factors can be shown among the leading reasons that trigger women's conversion.

In addition to these, it should be noted that uninterested acceptances are not recorded much. In particular, it should not be overlooked that controversial issues have been put on the official record.

4. The Stage of Women's Conversion

A woman who would become a Muslim in the Ottoman Empire would have legally converted to Islam after applying to the Meclis-i Şer, just like men, reciting the kalima shahadah in the presence of witnesses and being given the name of Muslim woman. The fact that the woman had converted was recorded in the court in the form of a conversion notice (an official decision announcing the court's decision). In addition, the woman who preferred Islam was later allowed to marry a Muslim man (Şeker 2007, p. 84).

In the Ottoman court records, there are many conversion i'lams about the conversion of women. In official şer'iyye registers, it is seen that Non-Muslims voluntarily became Muslims. For example, people named Fatma, Ayşe and Mehmed stated that they were "honoured with hidayet-i Rabbani erişüb şeref-i Islam" and that they had converted to Islam as a result of being told about Islam (C.ADL., H.1177, 1/37). In another example, it is stated that a Non-Muslim woman named Maryem was honoured with Islam and took the name Rabia (Eyibil, 2022, p. 82). In 1567, a woman named Marola took the name Ayşe as a Muslim in the court of Istanbul Balat (Çolak, 2000, p.123). As can be seen from these records, it is seen that conversion took place in the Ottoman Empire when a non-Muslim woman declared that she accepted Islam of her own free will without any compulsion before a judge. This clearly reflects that Non-Muslims are not pressured to accept Islam. In addition, in these records, it is observed that women changed their names after converting and took Muslim women's names.

In the Ottoman Empire, converts can be seen among the captive women. They, like free Non-Muslims, became Muslims and took Muslim names by bringing the word martyrdom (C.ADL., 82/4925, H.1207). There are also many concubines among the female converts. It is understood from the names of the fathers that they were converts. Indeed In the Ottoman Empire, non-Muslims, after accepting the religion of Islam, used the name Abdullah instead of the names of their Christian fathers (Kurt, 1995, p.215). In the Ottoman Empire, when concubines converted to Islam, their fathers' names were mostly recorded as Abdullah (Akdemir, 2023, p. 176). All slaves and concubines whose father's name is Abdullah are

converts. Otherwise, according to Islamic law, it is not possible for them to be slaves and concubines. Because, according to Islamic law, Muslims cannot be slaves or concubines. When the documents are examined, slaves and concubines who were Muslims generally used the name Abdullah as their father's name (Çolak, 2000, p. 119).

In the pre-Tanzimat period, it was sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly determined that women had converted. It was learned directly through the records in the form of conversion (Eyibil, 2022, p.82) and indirectly learned from the concept of conversion used in documents submitted to the court for a different subject that non-Muslim women had converted (Özdemir, 2022, p. 345). It was understood that her conversion was realized when a non-Muslim woman declared that she accepted the religion of Islam by bringing the word of martyrdom of her own free will without any compulsion before the judge. This clearly reflects that Non-Muslim women are not pressured to accept Islam. After converting to Islam, the women changed their own names as well as the names of their Non-Muslim fathers.

5. The Situations that Women Experience After the Conversion

The conversion had various legal and social consequences for women. After conversion, a new page was opened in the lives of converted women. In this new order, converted women were bound by the rules of Ottoman law. While converted women experienced the privilege of Ottoman law in many matters, they also faced various troubles from time to time.

The clothes of non-Muslims and Muslims in Ottoman society have different characteristics from each other. Non-Muslims were not supposed to wear clothes that resembled Muslim clothes. For this reason, it was expected that there would be changes in the clothes of the converts. In this context, in order for converts to obtain the clothes worn by Muslims, the converts were given a dress or dress price by the state as required by law (Şeker, 2007, p. 96-98). There are many records of desires that women who converted to Islam submitted to the state in order to receive the price of clothes or dresses (AE. SABH. I., H.1188, 278/18698; AE. SABH. I., H.1188, 278/18705; AE.SABH. I., H.1188, 128/8604). The desires of two women, Ayşe and Fatma who were converts, were only one of them. These two women had stated with a desire that they had converted to Islam in order to receive clothing aid from the state (C.ML., H.1177, 28/326). Accordingly, there are various records of the dress allowances to be given to converts and converts who accept Islam (AE. SOSM. III., H.1168, 86/6622; AE. SABH. I., H.

1188, 278/18698). These records show that there was a change in the dress of the woman who converted to Islam, as well as her name. In a study conducted for the pre-Tanzimat period, it was stated that the amount given to converts for dresses was quite high.(Antov, 2000, p. 94).

After the conversion of women, the most common phenomenon was their marriage with Muslim men. As a matter of fact, Islamic scholars are in agreement that a Muslim woman cannot marry a non-Muslim man in Islam (Dalgın, 2003, p. 137). For this reason, converted women married Muslim men. In a research conducted on the Bursa şer'iyeye records, Ümmügülsüm, a convert from the Molla Arap neighborhood of Bursa, married Mehmed, the son of İbrahim with 10 Mite dowry, in the presence of witnesses (Çetin, 1999, p 76).

If one of the dhimmi couple accepts Islam, this will directly affect the continuity of the marriage. Because it is religiously forbidden for a Muslim woman to marry a Non-Muslim man. In this case, first of all, the husband is offered to become a Muslim, and if he refuses, the marriage ends. If the husband agreed to become a Muslim, the marriage would continue. (Yurtseven, 2000, p. 452). Women were able to take their marriages, which existed after conversion, to court with divorce proceedings. While the Islamic religion allowed a Muslim man to marry a Non-Muslim woman, it did not allow a Muslim woman to marry a Non-Muslim man. Therefore, if the husband of the Muslim woman did not accept Islam, the court decided to divorce them. Women who converted to Islam in the Ottoman Empire were able to divorce their Non-Muslim husbands by court decision. For example, Vilahu's daughter Erakine, who stayed as a guest in Galata from the Hora people of Tekfurdağı in the Mediterranean, reported that she divorced her Non-Muslim husband Marko, who was in Tekfurdağı, by court decision after stating that she had converted to Islam and took the name Hanife. (C.ADL., H. 1204, 19/1150).

Non-Muslim women divorced their Non-Muslim husbands who did not convert to Islam after converting to Islam. However, it was later determined that they had received permission from the court that there was no obstacle to their marriage in order to remarry another person. In the Konya court records dated 1710, Abdullah daughter Ayşe from the Yediler neighborhood, who became a Muslim while she was a Non-Muslim, offered her husband to convert to Islam, but when her husband did not accept, she divorced her husband. After the divorce, she stated that the period of delay (waiting period) was completed and asked the court

for permission to marry someone else. It was then determined by the court that Ayşe had been given permission to remarry (Sak, 2012, p. 129).

When a Non-Muslim woman became a Muslim, her Non-Muslim husband was offered to convert to Islam, while when the Non-Muslim man converted to Islam, the Non-Muslim wife was not offered to convert to Islam and this choice was left to their decisions. According to a record in the Cyprus court record, the convert Abdullah's son Mustafa converted to Islam and converted his son and daughter to Islam. However, his wife, Lena, daughter of non-Muslim Vasil, did not agree to change her religion. Mustafa the convert applied to the court and complained that his wife had mistreated him because he was a Muslim. Thereupon, the Spiritual court asked Lena to fulfill her duties towards her husband (Özkul, 2010, p. 226). As can be seen, the Ottoman court did not make any comment on the belief of a Non-Muslim woman who was married to a Muslim man. The non-Muslim woman was released in the religion she believed in.

The narratives of the travelers who came to the Ottoman Empire can offer sections of the lives of their wives after the conversion of their husbands. As a matter of fact, it is stated that Stephan Gerlac, who came to the Ottoman lands in 1573, declared that a woman had the same rights as a woman in Islam after marrying a Muslim man in the Ottoman Classical period. It is also pointed out that the Non-Muslim woman is allowed to fulfill the conditions of her religion that she believes in. (Şahin, 2022, p.58). In the researches conducted on this subject, it has been revealed with documents that non-Muslim women can continue their marriages despite the conversion of their husbands (Aydın, 2018, p.80). Although there is no obstacle for the Muslim man to continue his marriage with the non-Muslim woman, both spouses cannot be heirs to each other at the time of death because the religious difference between the two will create an inheritance barrier. At the same time, the difference in religion prevents children from inheriting from their Non-Muslim mothers (Aydın, 2018, p. 80).

One of the most important problems faced by women who converted was inheritance and, if they had children, their religious and legal status. If the Spiritual court did not convert to Islam after the woman converted, she would often give the child to the Muslim mother (Erdoğan, 1999, p. 161). There is a difference in religion within the obstacles of inheritance law in the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, those who inherited an inheritance and those who had religious differences could not inherit. Therefore, a Muslim could not inherit from a Non-

Muslim and a Non-Muslim could not inherit from a Muslim (Ekinçi, 2021, p. 464). For converts, whether or not they could be heirs depended on the situation at the time of death. In other words, a dhimmi can be an heir if he changes after the death of his father or mother, but he cannot be an heir if he has changed during the health of his parents (Aydın, 2019, p. 303). For example, from the Çorlu district, the convert Ayşe inherited from her non-Muslim mother, who died before she became a Muslim. However, when he became a Muslim, his non-Muslim brother prevented him from receiving the right to inherit. Ayşe also asked the state for help in obtaining her rights (A.DVNSMHM.. d., H.1124, 118/2020). Like converted women, converted men were able to face such problems. As a matter of fact, a convert named Selim from the people of Ahyolu town stated that he became a Muslim after his mother and father died. Despite this, he did not receive the inheritance from his deceased father and mother. Because Selim had converted to Islam, his Non-Muslim brother-in-law did not want to give him the right to inherit. Convert Selim, who was in this situation, offered his desire to the state to take his right from his brother-in-law (C.ADL., H.1240, 69/4160). In a record dated 1641 identified from the Konya court records, a person named Convert (Mühtedi) Mehmed demanded his legal share from his father, who confiscated the inheritance left by his mother with the death of his mother Karagöz's daughter Kameri. Later, Mehmed stated that his mother had died before his conversion and that he had received his remaining share from his father. (Aköz, 2000, p. 555). As it can be understood from the documents, the religious difference between the heirs has caused inheritance problems in various ways. In the documents in question, although the converts had the right they had obtained before the conversion, they wanted to take away their inheritance rights. This situation is actually a reaction given to converts by non-Muslim families.

One of the problems that women face after they become Muslims is the claim that they are forced to become Muslims. This is seen in a research on Kayseri records. In a document dated 1649, a woman named Zahide claimed that her father, who was in Istanbul despite the fact that she had voluntarily converted to Islam, had forcibly converted her daughter to Islam. Upon this, it was determined that no one had any interest in Zahide becoming a Muslim and that he became a Muslim by his own choice because he had attained guidance (Selçuk, 2002, p. 168-169). As can be seen, after the conversion events, some reactions could be given by the relatives of the converted woman. In a document in the Cyprus court record dated 1610, a

woman named Çako, the daughter of Manoil, converted to Islam and took the name Fatma and married Mustafa Beşe, the son of Mehmet. Later, Çako's ex-husband complained about this situation and claimed that his wife had been kidnapped and detained. However, Fatma, formerly known as Çako after she became a Muslim, said that she was there voluntarily. After Fatma actually converted to Islam, the court decided to leave her because her husband did not accept to become a Muslim (Özkul, 2010, p. 225).

The extent of the reaction shown to the Convert (Mühtediye) by their former co-religionists to women has at times reached very severe dimensions. As a matter of fact, a woman named Ayşe, a convert living in Harput, was subjected to adultery accusations by her relatives after she became a Muslim. Due to the lack of sufficient evidence, the court decided that Ayşe was innocent. However, a striking point in this claim was that her Non-Muslim father Hazer was among those who slandered Ayşe. Fortunately, with the testimony of the society, it has been understood that this accusation is unfounded (Uzun, 2022, p. 498).

After conversion, some converted women were able to have some economic problems with their families. When these problems could not be solved, the matter could even be taken to court. As a matter of fact, according to a determination made from the Ankara court record, Elyak's daughter Ayşe, who was Jewish but later became a Muslim, applied to the court. Ayşe stated that after she became a Muslim, she could not get two pillows, two rugs and two cushions from her family. The court then decided that the properties of Ayşe, who became a new Muslim, should be handed over to her (Köç, 2014, p.8). The confiscation of Ayşe's belongings by her non-Muslim family is a reaction against her conversion to Islam.

It is thought that some abductions may also be a reaction to conversion. As a matter of fact, a man named Osman informed the state that his wife Fatma and her four young children, who were converts, and her four young children, who were Muslims, had been deceived by her non-Muslim mother-in-law Katarine and abducted to Yaş, and presented a desire to the state for their surrender (C.ADL., H. 1182, 58/3517). In another example, Hatice, the younger daughter of converted convert Fatma from the town of Bucharest in Wallachia, disappeared (AE. SMST. III., H.1176, 253/20272). The fact that the women were converts in both of these abduction records led to the suspicion that the women may have been subjected to these abductions because they had converted to Islam. Moreover, the abduction of the converted woman by her Non-Muslim mother in the first record strengthened this suspicion.

Although documents pertaining to the expenditure of converted women for charitable work have been identified, it is stated that women who go on pilgrimage among them are not often seen. The reason for this was that they did not have enough property to go on pilgrimage and the difficulties they may encounter during the pilgrimage (Çetin, 2011, p. 92).

Although there is no obligation to free the slaves and concubines who convert in Islamic law, it is stated that they have been freed to a significant extent (Çolak, 2000, p. 118). Converts who converted to Islam were forbidden to leave Islam afterwards. In Islamic law, a Muslim person's exit from Islam is referred to as conversion. The man who converts is called an convert (mürtedd) and the woman is called an convert (mürtedde) (İnce, 2008, p. 88). Explicit abandonment of Islam has been considered a crime. The punishment for men who commit this crime is death and the punishment for women is imprisonment (Aydın, 2019, p. 190-191). Despite this prohibition, some Non-Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire returned to their old religions after conversion, that is, they were in contact (Çolak, 2000, p.123-124). As a matter of fact, a woman named Varvar was caught by the state agents for converted in Trabzon and then became apostate, but she was later released (C. ZB., H.1245, 77/3826). Without any coercion in this document, the woman named Varvar was released after a while of detention despite committing the crime of irtidad. This situation suggested that the punishment for the crime of irtidad was not fully applied in the Ottoman Empire.

In the pre-Tanzimat period, in the context of archival sources and the results of studies based on archive sources, the conversion event affected women in many ways such as social, psychological and economic. The convert (mühtedi) now had the same rights as the Muslim women living in the Ottoman Empire, and she was granted the price of a dress or dress for converting to Islam. In addition, convert (mühtedi) were forced to struggle with various difficulties after conversion. These difficulties were inflicted on women by their former co-religionists.

Conclusion

In this study, the reasons for conversion of Non-Muslim Ottoman women before the Tanzimat, the stages of conversion and the situations they encountered after conversion were examined within the framework of Ottoman law. As a result of the examination, it was seen that the social structure of the Ottoman Empire, especially in the pre-Tanzimat period, had

affected the conversion of women. In the Ottoman Empire, it was understood that there were more factors that led men to conversion than women. Despite this, it was determined that there were many factors affecting the conversion of women to Islam. These elements differed for each woman. However, the conversion of non-Muslim women was especially influenced by the Ottoman moderate approach to Non-Muslims, the interaction created by living together with Muslims, marriage and economic interests.

In the pre-Tanzimat period, the reasons that led women to convert in the Ottoman Empire could differ from those of men. The fact that the number of convertible women is much lower than the number of converting men is related to the difference of these reasons and the social impact. During the conversion phase, non-Muslim women became Muslims by bringing martyrdom. Non-Muslim women voluntarily changed their religion without being subjected to any pressure by the Ottoman Empire. In addition to changing their own names, women who converted to Islam often chose to change the names of their Non-Muslim fathers. In addition, the clothes of Non-Muslim women have also been changed. After becoming Muslims, women were subject to the rules of Islamic law. Therefore, they have benefited from the privileges given to women by Islamic law. However, when Muslim and Non-Muslim people in the Ottoman Empire were confronted for some personal reasons, the Ottoman judges, acting with justice, did not discriminate between religions. Non-Muslim women divorced their Non-Muslim husbands who did not convert to Islam after converting to Islam. Because, according to Islamic law, it is forbidden for a Muslim woman to marry a Non-Muslim man. Therefore, converted women could only marry Muslim men. Women who converted to Islam were also exposed to severe reactions from time to time. In this context, women have sometimes faced financial injustices, sometimes they have been alleged to have been forcibly converted, and sometimes they have been subjected to severe slanders. These reactions were mostly carried out by the close circle of the converted woman, that is, by her former co-religionists. However, these difficulties did not generally discourage women who converted to Islam. Converted women who have been wronged have regained their rights through legal means.

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CHAPTER 9: SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE RELATION OF GODS AND KINGS ON STEPPE SOCIETIES IN THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION FROM POLYTHEISM TO MONOTHEISM

Said Mübin ÇALIŞ 

Chapter Highlights

- The ninth chapter of the book explores the evolving relationship between gods and kings in steppe societies during the transition from polytheism to monotheism.
- Extensive research in archaeology and literature has revealed that polytheism was the predominant form of religion worldwide. However, over time, societies began to favor the most powerful deity, leading to the dominance of monotheism.
- Steppe societies, based on both archaeological findings and written records, exhibit a long-standing belief in the connection between gods or goddesses and their rulers.
- Kings in these societies often solidified their authority by establishing links between their political power and deities, a practice that contributed to the consolidation of their rule.
- The ninth chapter delves into the historical patterns of belief systems in steppe societies, shedding light on the role of god-king relationships in shaping political power and religious beliefs.

1. Introduction

As a result of archeology and literature researches on ancient societies, it is understood that the common religious form in the world is maintained as polytheistic. Ancient societies; they have been in a closer relationship with nature than any today's society and have tried to maintain the continuity of their lives in a very risky environment due to the difficulties they encounter with nature in daily life. While ancient people struggled to find the source of the rewards and punishments that nature brought them; they thought that the natural order was provided by beings much more powerful than themselves, and they considered it appropriate to realize this explanation with the existence of gods or goddesses corresponding to all kinds of rewards or punishments of nature. Ancient societies; they wanted to explain the problems which

encountered in life, they attributed these explanations to the effects of beings with superior power and intelligence on their lives. When the ancient world religions are examined; it is seen that the majority of the gods or goddesses believed to represent the difficulties that people face in life. Hence people's relations and ties with nature in ancient times were much more than today, their existence; has been due to the disruption of the order of nature. The order of ancient life was mostly provided by the understanding of polytheism. Later on, people chose the strongest among the gods or goddesses and ensured that monotheism prevailed in the world (Assman, 2007, pp. 17-21; Bamunusinghe, 2019, pp. 1-4; Doğan & Çalıř, 2022, pp. 433-435).

The focus of scientific research in the philosophy of religion, history of religions and theology began to change in the XX th century. In the period before the XX th century, the traditional and conservative view was firmly rooted in the perception of god, which for a long time led to the preeminent position of monotheism. The polytheistic origins and infrastructure of monotheism have often been overlooked, especially in research in the history of religion. Therefore, in order to fully understand all the monotheistic religions in the world, it is absolutely necessary to know the polytheism well (Šestak & Musa, 2022, pp. 511-512).

2. Gods and Kings Relations in Scythian, Sarmatian and Kushan Societies

The religious tradition of steppe societies was generally based on the sanctification of the forces of nature. The effects of this belief tradition in steppe societies were not only limited to Inner Asia, but also deeply felt in the geographies where these societies spread. The clearest information about the religion of the steppe societies that migrated to Europe in ancient times belonged to the Scythian period. There is not enough information in the ancient Greek sources about the religion of the Cimmerians and Sarmatians. When the ancient sources containing information about the beliefs of steppe societies are examined, it is understood that steppe societies were included in the polytheism system in their early history. Herodotus gives the following information about Scythian beliefs and pantheon:

“The only gods whom they propitiate by worship are these: Hestia in especial, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they deem to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice also to Poseidon. In the Scythian tongue Hestia is called Tabiti: Zeus (in my judgment most rightly so called) Papaios; Earth is Apia, Apollo Goetosyrus, the Heavenly Aphrodite Artimpasa, and Poseidon Thagimadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god (Herodotos, IV, LIX).”

chief god, may be a Greek name and the god known as the Scythian chief god may have another name. According to the writings of Herodotus, it is understood that the Greeks did not know the exact names of Scythian gods or goddesses during his time, but they knew about the function or role of these gods and goddesses. Herodotus matched the Scythian gods and goddesses with Greek god-goddesses in terms of their function and used the Greek pantheon to name of them.

About Rabatak Inscriptions, which contain details about the beliefs and pantheon of the Yuezhi - Kushan societies:

King Kanishka, then as the king of kings, The son of the gods. Kanishka had given orders to do, Shafar the lord of the marches made this sanctuary. ...King of kings, Kanishka the Kushan, forever healthy, fortunate [and] victorious! And the king, the son of the gods, was pacifying all India from the year one to the year six. ...King [Kanishka] gave the fortress to the gods, and for these freemen... (Sims-Williams, 2004, pp. 56-57)."

It is possible to make various assumptions about the identity of the character, who is often depicted in Scythian daily items and is half female, half serpent, and is understood to have religious-mythological features (Figure 1). This character reminds a part of Herodotus' narration, and it is compatible with the information in the legend told by Herodotus about his Scythian origin. One of the legends seen in Herodotus about the emergence of the Scythians is about a person named Heracles. Herodotus gives the following information about this subject:

"One day, Heracles met a woman who was human - snake and from this woman he had three sons named Agathyrsos, Gelonos and Skythes. While Targitaos' sons Agathyrsos and Gelonos did not do what he wanted and were expelled from their country, his youngest son Skythes remained true to his word. Scythian kings are also descended from Skythes (Herodotus, IV, IX-X)."



Figure 1. Scythian goddess Tabiti and her depiction on plate with predators (Rice, 1957, p. 87)

As a result of the observations and evaluations made on the archaeological findings about the Scythians, it is understood that the Scythian kings received their administrative power from their goddess named Tabiti. It is known that the woman-snake character depicted on

various objects is the Scythian goddess Tabiti. This goddess is generally likened to Artemis in Anatolia. As can be understood from his descriptions on works of art, Tabiti is the political protector of the Scythians (Guliaev, 2003, p. 121). There are many archaeological findings regarding the connection of the king's power with Tabiti between IVth BC and IIIrd BC centuries. There are many findings belonging to the period between the depiction on the small gold plate found in the Kul Oba Kurgan easily explains this situation (Rice, 1957, p. 143). In the depictions here, the political power of the Scythian king is tied to Tabiti and the Scythian king is under the protection of this goddess. On this plate; It can be seen on this plate that the Scythian king, drinking from a holy pot in front of the goddess Tabiti, took refuge in her protection and power (Grakov, 2008, p. 167).



Figure 2. Ring of Scythian King Skyles and Scythian goddess Tabiti (Christodoulou, 2016, p. 230; Rice, 1957, p. 142)⁴⁶

The signet ring, which is thought to belong to the Scythian King Skyles, and which was obtained from the coastal region of the city during the archaeological researches of the ancient city of Histria, contains all Greek letters on it (Figure 2). However, the figure, which is understood to be the goddess Tabiti on the seal, shows that although the Scythian kings started to become Greek in terms of language, the people had not yet been influenced by the Greeks in terms of life and belief. The Greek inscription "KEΛΕΟΕΑΡΓΟΤΑΝΙΑΠΙ ΙΑΝΕ", which surrounds the lower and side parts of the ring, means "Tell me you are with Argotas." Argotas is thought to be one of the ancestors of Skyles, from which it is deduced that Argotas also had a protective effect on Skyles (Hind, 1992, p. 99; Ustinova, 1999, p. 120).

On the early steppe societies, the sanctification of the powers of the kings was not only limited to the Scythians, but also existed in various geographies and periods. Tilya Tepe; It is very important in terms of being a region that exhibits the belief in goddesses in Inner Asia. It is known that important archaeological finds related to the Yuezhi and Kushan societies, which dominated the Bactria and Sogdiana for a long time, are found in Tillya Tepe. According to the inscriptions on the goddess, who is often depicted on Kushan coins and is seen sitting on a lion, it is understood that this is a Kushan goddess named Nanaia. Although it is understood that

⁴⁶ Edited and taken.

Nanaia was a goddess adopted by the steppe peoples in Western Asia, she is also found as an anthropomorphized figure on Kushan seals and depictions of everyday objects, apart from coins. The existence of many Nanaia depictions on the temple walls located in the important archaeological sites of the Kushan society, especially in Dalverzin Tepe and Tillya Tepe. Although the belief in the existence of a god or goddess belonging to the cities during the Kushan period is understood, it turns out that Nanaia was adopted as the goddess of Panjakent. Along with the Panjakent archaeological excavations, the temple walls and the presence of Nanaia figures in important parts of the city were observed (Minardi, 2013, p. 130). In terms of both its appearance on the goods and its function in the society in which it is located, Nanaia; she is likened to the Greek goddess Artemis and the Persian goddess Anahita. Some researchers argue that the Nanaia belief may have entered the Kushan religion as a result of the influence of the Greek and Persian societies settled in the Bactria and Sogdiana through geographical proximity (Tanabe, 1995, p. 309; Mitchener, 1973, p. 57; Ghose, 2006, p. 98).

When looking at the coins minted in the name of Kushan King Kanishka, there is a depiction of himself on one side of the coin, while the depiction of the Kushan goddess Nanaia is embroidered on the other side and “NANAIA” is written next to it in Greek letters (Figure 3). Looking at the description of Kanishka, it is seen that he dresses like the steppe peoples and uses a pointed headdress. However, the use of Greek letters on these coins and the inscriptions “ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗΨΚΟΥ⁴⁷” on the Kanishka side of the coin directly show the Greek cultural influences existing in the Kushan society. The name of the goddess Nanaia, which is frequently seen on Kushan coins, can be learned through the inscriptions placed right next to it. Although it is understood that there is a goddess figure depicted sitting on a lion, as seen on Kushan coins by the Scythians and Sarmatians, it is not known whether this goddess was given the name Nanaia as in Kushans. As a result of the comparisons made, it is revealed that the Kushan, Scythian and Sarmatian societies adopted the belief of a goddess with the same visual form, but whose exact name could not be reached (Loeschener, 2012, pp. 6-8; Tandon, 2011, pp. 2-3).



Figure 3. Minted coin in the name of Kanishka I, King of Kushans (Loeschener, 2012, p. 8)

⁴⁷ =King Kanishka.

Although there are thoughts that the Kushan goddess Nanaia emerged among the Kushans with the religious influence of Buddhism, the existence of Nanaia-like depictions among the European Scythians; these are the findings that strengthen the thoughts that this goddess is not only limited to the Kushans or steppe peoples in India, but also exists directly in the own culture of all steppe peoples. The figure of Nanaia, which is frequently seen on Kushan coins and is generally depicted as sitting on a lion, appears as a figure on ornaments used by the European Scythians between IVth BC and IIIrd BC centuries. Nanaia-like depictions can be seen on the gold ornament found in the Bliznitsa Kurgan (Boardman, 2012, p. 108).

With the oldest examples can be found starting from the Vth century BC, it was determined that the goddess figures sitting on any animal were also found on the daily belongings of the Scythian and Sarmatian societies in the north of the Black Sea (Tanabe, 1995, p. 319). It is understood that the belief in a goddess like Nanaia was continued by the Sarmatians in Eurasia after the Scythians, and continued to exist as a figure frequently used on objects. The Nanaia belief, which is understood to have survived among the steppe peoples living in Central Asia, India and Europe; In different geographies, in the same situation, it was embroidered on works of art on a lion. Depictions of Nanaia on a lion are frequently encountered at Tillya Tepe (Sarianidi, 1980, p. 128; Treister, 1999, pp. 567-568). In this case, it is thought that there is a common belief between the Kushans, Scythians and Sarmatians. In some Sarmatian works of art, a goddess figure in Greek clothes sitting on a goat and the depiction of Eros on it draw attention. The goddess figure sitting on a goat is thought to represent Aphrodite (Treister, 1999, pp. 567, 568, 574; Harmatta, 1970, pp. 34, 38).

Depictions of goddesses like Nanaia seen on Sarmatian phaleras are also very important in terms of revealing the cultural and religious connection between the Sarmatians and the steppe peoples living in the Bactria and Sogdiana (Harmatta, 1970, p. 38). This connection enables certain assumptions to be made regarding the presence of the Sarmatian society in the Bactria and Sogdiana during a certain period or if it has a common origin with the societies living there.

It is noteworthy that some of the god or goddess depictions found in Tillya Tepe are the same as the Scythian society in Europe. There are very small differences between the goddess figure, which is supposed to be a Scythian goddess, which is among the archaeological findings obtained from the Kul Oba Kurgan, and the god figure found on Tillya Tepe fighting with dragons. However, the existence of sacred figures depicting the struggle of gods or goddesses with dragons was also found in the Kara-Bulak archaeological center located within the borders of present-day Kyrgyzstan dated between IIIrd and IVth the centuries (Rostovtzeff, 1922, pp. 14-15). Therefore, it is thought that there are common belief elements between the European Scythians in different geographies and the Yuezhi societies in Inner Asia, and that the steppe peoples have a common religious understanding. Although the sacred elements of the steppe

“Karı yol teñri men sınıkıñın sapar men üzükiñin ulayur men elig etmis men edgüsi bolzun ter, ança biliñler “

In English; “I am the old road god. I fix your broken parts (and) I join together your torn things. I have organized the realm. May there be the good of everything! it says”.

On the east side of Kül Tigin Inscription (Orkun, 1987, p. 44);

𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰰: 𐰠𐰪𐰏𐰤𐰎𐰵𐰽𐰿: 𐰠𐰏𐰤: 𐰠𐰏𐰤𐰿𐰰: 𐰠𐰏𐰤: 𐰠𐰏𐰤: 𐰠𐰏𐰤𐰿𐰰

“Umayteg ögüm katun kutuna inim Kül Tigin arat boldı.”

In English; “*With the holiness of my mother, who looked like Umay⁴⁸, my brother took the name Kül Tigin.*”

On the west side of Tonyukuk Inscriptions (Orkun, 1987, p. 113):

𐰏𐰤𐰿𐰰𐰾𐰿𐰰: 𐰠𐰏𐰤𐰿𐰰𐰾𐰿𐰰: 𐰠𐰏𐰤𐰿𐰰𐰾𐰿𐰰

“Tengri Umay iduk yer sub basa berti.”

In English; “*Goddess Umay, holy place, the waters gave heedless (for us to them).*”

When various parts of the Irk bitig and Orkun Inscriptions belonging to the medieval steppe societies are examined in detail; although steppe societies in this period had a religious understanding dominated by monotheism, it can be seen that they could not completely abandon their old religious understanding of polytheism. The existence of various gods or goddesses such as "Umay" and "Road god", apart from "Kök Tengri" which is their main god, is also a remarkable detail. In these periods Kök Tengri; although gathered the powers of all the old gods within himself, he could not completely eliminate the traces of the old religious understanding of polytheism.

⁴⁸ Goddess Umay does good deeds, determines the children to be born. It has three horns. She is in a white dress. He has white, silver hair that reaches down to the ground. His appearance is not old, he is middle-aged. It can disguise itself as a bird and has wings. She is the owner of the tree of life, she. It protects children. She distributes abundance to the earth. It shines light all around. Sometimes he can get angry and scare people. Those who do not have children make sacrifices to him. It lives in the sky. Sometimes it descends to earth. He is depicted with a swan or a graceful horse next to him. It protects pregnant women and baby animals (Bayat, 2017, pp. 53-54).

3. Gods and Kings Relations in Hun and Kök Türk Societies

The deification of the king's authority by Tabiti and Nanaia in the religious understanding of early steppe societies appears with the concept of "kut" in later periods. According to the kut, the ruler attaches his sovereignty to Kök Tengri and thinks that he was sent by him to rule the society. Kut can be explained as a powerful spirit that the god only gives or takes from the rulers when he thinks it is appropriate. Kut is also known to mean the leaven of life (Tellioglu, 2005, pp. 66-69; Grakov, 2008, p. 166).

In a general definition, kut means political power. The right to rule was given to the ruler by God as a divine favor. The king has the right to rule because God wills and gives him kut (state, fortune, goodness, fortune) and ülüg (fortune). The Turkish kağan (king) is almost like the representative of the sky and god on earth (Ahmetbeyoğlu, 2020, p. 36).

As it can be understood from the Chinese records, it is understood that the belief that all the powers of the ruler were received by God was dominant in the Hun State and the Kök Turk State. It is known that Turkish rulers see themselves as the owner of all the lands under the sky within the framework of the divine authority they receive from God. This belief was more widely accepted by the Huns, and the Huns considered it appropriate to use the title "son of the sky" for their rulers. (Grakov, 2008, p. 166; Ögel, 1979, pp. 214-220; Kafesoğlu, 2009, pp. 248-250).

In the "An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish" written by Sir Gerard Clauson, the concept of kut is explained as follows:

"Originally 'enjoying the favour of heaven'; hence, more generally, 'fortunate, happy, blessed'" (Clauson, 1972, p. 601).

In the forty-seventh chapter of Irk Bitig, there is the following information about the subject (Tekin, 1993, p. 20):

:𐰆𐰺𐰍𐰏 :𐰇𐰏𐰊𐰏𐰔 :𐰆𐰇𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰇𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰇𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰆𐰇𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏
𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏 :𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰇𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 :𐰇𐰏𐰏

"Er ümeleyü barmıs teŋrike sokusmıs kut kolmıs kut bermis agılıŋta yıldıŋ bolzun özün uzun bolzun temis ança biliŋler edgü ol"

In English; *"A man went visiting (and) met a god. He asked for his divine favor (kut). (The god) gave his divine favor (kut) (and) said: 'May you get livestock in your pens! May your life be long!' Know thus: (The omen) is good."*

In English: “*Tengri said: I gave a king, you put your king and you came under rule. God gave death because he was dominated. The Turkish nation died, was destroyed, disappeared. There is no community left in the place of the Turkish nation*”

On the southern side of Tonyukuk Inscriptions (Orkun, 1987, p. 105);

ᠰᠤᠰᠢ ᠠᠯᠲᠢ ᠪᠢᠨ ᠡᠷᠮᠢᠰ ᠡ᠖ᠢ ᠪᠢᠨ ᠡᠷᠲᠢᠮᠢᠰ ᠰᠦᠨᠦᠰᠢᠳᠢᠮᠢᠰ ᠲᠡᠩᠭᠢ ᠶᠠᠷᠯᠢᠬᠠᠳᠤ ᠶᠠᠶᠳᠢᠮᠢᠰ ᠤᠭᠦᠵᠦᠵᠦ ᠲᠦᠰᠢᠳᠢ
ᠶᠠᠶᠳᠤᠬ ᠶᠣᠯᠲᠠ ᠶᠡᠮᠡ ᠥᠯᠲᠢ ᠬᠥ᠎ᠠ ᠠᠨᠳᠠ ᠥᠷᠦ᠋᠋ ᠣᠭᠤᠵ ᠣᠬᠢᠨ ᠬᠡᠯᠲᠢ.

“*Süsi altı bin ermiş eki bin ertimiz sünüşdimiz tengri yarlıkadu yaydımız üğüzke tüşdi yayduk yolta yeme ölti kök anda ötrü oğuz okın kelti.*”

In English; “*Their armies were six thousand men. We were two thousand people. We fought. Tengri retained. We were devastated, some fell into the river. Those who were devastated died while fleeing on the roads.*”

In the book of Kutadgu Bilig, written by Yusuf Has Hacip (Yusuf Balasaguni) in the XI th century, he made some explanations with the concept of kut. In line 740 of Kutadgu Bilig (Yusuf Has Hacip, 2008, p. 208):

740. *Kelir kut kişike atı çavlanur.*

Yangı ay teg artar yarukı tolır.

In English; “*When Kut visits the person, the person becomes famous, gets bigger and bigger like the new moon, and his light becomes perfect.*”

In the Turkish dictionary written by Mahmud of Kashgar (Mahmud al-Kashgari) in the 11th century (Kasgarli Mahmud, 1985, p. 320):

Kut kuvig berse idhim kulinga,

Künde işi yükseben yokar agar.

In English: “*If God gives kut and majesty to a person, his work will rise every day.*”

Conclusion

It has been understood that the process of turning from a polytheism to a monotheism, as the general belief understanding of various societies, was followed in a similar way in steppe societies. Steppe societies, which have belief in many gods and goddesses, exalted the greatest of these gods and goddesses in the Middle Ages and abandoned the others over time. The parallel progress of this process with other world societies in particular for Steppe societies reveals the interaction of societies with each other in terms of religion.

The order of needs formed in various periods of societies affected their belief characteristics and as people increased their power to control nature, in parallel, polytheism left its place to monotheism over time. Therefore, gods or goddesses associated with natural events, which can be explained logically, lost their importance over time, and the greatest god in the polytheistic understanding was able to preserve its existence due to its features as the greatest source of life order.

When the goddesses of the Scythians, Sarmatians and Kushans are examined; who are among the Iron Age steppe societies, it is observed that these goddesses have many similarities in terms of their duties and descriptions, although their names are different. There are great similarities between the beliefs and lifestyles of these societies, which have a common life style, and it is understood that some glorified goddesses or gods are determined according to social norms. Therefore, steppe societies that separated from each other in various periods and spread to distant geographies did not lose their characteristics in terms of their root beliefs for a long time and they managed to maintain their goddesses independently of each other.

According to archaeological and written sources, steppe societies have had a similar belief in terms of god-king relations since the earliest known periods. This is how kings consolidated their dominance by somehow attaching their political power to gods or goddesses. While goddesses such as Tabiti and Nanaia gave authority and power to the kings in the period of the Scythians, Sarmatians and Kushans, this divine authority given to the kings with the transition to monotheism became "kut", which could only be given by Kök Tengri. Despite living in distant geographies and different periods, steppe societies have managed to preserve and maintain their religious-administrative traditions. Even if there were some changes in the names of gods or goddesses, the basis of dominance of the kings remained the same.

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CHAPTER 10: MUSTAFA KEMAL'S FAMILY, EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE, AND TEACHERS IN THE PROCESS THAT MADE HIM ATATÜRK

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Chapter Highlights

- The tenth chapter of the book focuses on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey and the leader of the War of Independence.
- Atatürk was born in 1881 in Thessaloniki, a city that was part of the Ottoman Empire at the time. He was not only a successful military leader but also a visionary thinker.
- This chapter delves into various aspects of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's life, including his family background, the educational institutions he attended, the influential teachers who shaped his thinking, and the significant friends who played important roles in his life.
- By exploring these elements, the chapter provides insights into the formative experiences and relationships that contributed to making Mustafa Kemal into the iconic figure known as Atatürk.
- Through this study, readers gain a deeper understanding of Atatürk's personal and intellectual development, shedding light on the man behind the monumental role he played in Turkey's history.

1. Introduction

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the commander-in-chief of the War of Independence and the founder of the Republic of Türkiye. He is the savior and founding leader of the citizens of the Republic of Türkiye. He was born in 1881 in Thessaloniki, which was under Ottoman rule. Since the date of Kemal Atatürk could not be determined as a day and month due to the conditions of the period, May 19, an important day for him and the Republic of Türkiye, was accepted as his birthday and was recorded as such. Besides being a successful soldier, Atatürk also emerges as a strong thinker and intellectual. To understand Atatürk, first of all, the "idea and scientific infrastructure", which affected the formation of his personality and knowledge, is a subject that is curious and must be investigated and revealed. This study has been written about the process that made Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, his family, the schools where he was educated, the teachers who left a mark on his life, and his friends who were important to him.

2. Atatürk's Birthplace and Ancestors

Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) was born in 1881 (Julian 1296) in a pink-painted, three-story house in the Ahmet Subaşı (or Hoca Kasımpaşa) district of Hatuniye Neighborhood in Thessaloniki (Güler, 1999, p. 969; Mango, 1999, p. 29; Turan, p. 1). Mustafa's father is Customs Officer Ali Rıza Bey (who is known to be a militia officer, a foundation clerk, and a lumberjack) and his mother is Zübeyde Hanım (Üner, 2023).

When we look at Atatürk's ancestry, his parents are descended from Yörük (Yoruk) or Turkmen, who immigrated from Anatolia and settled in Rumelia (Kocacık) to Turkify the conquered Rumelian lands (MSU; <https://www.msu.edu.tr>). Namely, Ali Rıza Efendi's father is Hafız Ahmet, also known as "Red Hafız". The family was from Kızıloğuz or Kocacık nomads who had immigrated from Anatolia. Zübeyde Hanım's mother is Ayşe Hanım and her father is Feyzullah Ağa. This family, on the other hand, was one of the Turks called "Konyars", who first migrated from Karaman to Sarıgöl, a subordinate of Vodina Sanjak (today Edhassa), and later moved to Langaza (Güler, 1999, p. 969; Turan, p. 1).

Atatürk's father, Ali Rıza Efendi, as described by Andrew Mango, was a small civil servant who belonged to the lower strata of the middle class. Ali Rıza's father, Ahmet, was known as Hafız Ahmet Efendi. The title "Hafız" shows that he knew the Qur'an by heart, which indicates that he was educated. Likewise, the title of "Master" used for Ali Rıza Bey shows that he was educated. (Aydemir, 1963, p. 24; Mango, 1999, p. 30).

Atatürk's mother was called Molla Zübeyde and his grandmother was called Molla Ayşe, in which case these two women were both educated. Molla Zübeyde's father, Sofuzade⁴⁹ Feyzullah Ağa, lived by farming and trading in a small town called Langaza (now Langadha) east of Thessaloniki (Aydemir, 1963, p. 35; Mango, 1999, p. 31).

Atatürk's mother, father, and all his relatives spoke Turkish as their mother tongue. The fact that their mother tongue is Turkish indicates that Atatürk's ancestors were mostly Turks who immigrated from Türkiye. Because, as Andrew Mango emphasized, in this region, Muslims of Albanian and Slavic origin, who had no ethnic ties to Turkey, spoke Albanian, Bulgarian, or Serbo-Croatian, at least while living in their lands. However, Atatürk had blue eyes and blond hair, just like his mother but his paternal grandfather's nickname 'Red' means that he also had blond hair. Atatürk himself stated that his ancestors who settled here after the conquest of the Balkans by the Turks were Turkish nomads (Yoruks) (Şapolyo, 1944, p. 15; Mango, 1999, p. 31).

Mustafa had four siblings. When we look at the birth dates of his siblings; it is estimated that Ahmet was born in 1874, Ömer in 1875, Makbule in 1885, and his youngest brother Naciye in 1889. Unfortunately, three of Mustafa Kemal's brothers died at an early age due to the difficult conditions of the period and epidemic diseases (Üner, 2023), only his sister Makbule (Atadan) survived.

⁴⁹ Sofuzade: It means the son of a religious family (Garnett, 1890, p. 102 (II); cited in Mango, 1999, p. 31), which shows the similarity of both the maternal and paternal sides of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in terms of belief.

3. Atatürk's Educational Life

Local School (Mahalle Mektebi): Atatürk completed the age of six in 1887 and started his education life at the "Fatma Molla Women's Local School", which gave classical education as a result of the insistence of his mother, Zübeyde Hanım (İnan, 1999, p. 3; Turan, 1; Mütercimler, 2016, p. 71). In the aforementioned local school, the school starting ceremony was held under the name of "bed'i elifba (starting the alphabet)" (Unat, 1964, 611). During the ceremony, the children who were going to begin school were lined up and the teacher who would teach the Qur'an would come to the fore, and prayers and hymns were sung while the lectern was carried on the head, where the juz and pages of the Qur'an would be memorized by the child (Mango, 1999, p. 36). Due to this traditional structure of the school, Zübeyde Hanım insisted on this school⁵⁰. Ali Rıza Efendi, on the other hand, wanted his son Mustafa to attend the Şemsi Efendi School, which was newly opened at that time and provided education with new methods (Yalçın, 2006, p. 33; Güler, 1). This school was very close to their home in the Koca Kasım Paşa Neighborhood and the teacher of the school was Hafız Mehmet Efendi. As a result, what his mother wanted was realized and Mustafa started the "Fatma Molla Women's Local School" in 1887, which is very close to their home in the "Hoca Kasımpaşa District" (Unat, 1964, p. 611). Atatürk later said, "When I started primary school, no one asked my opinion" (Cebesoy, 1967/I, p. 12-13). Unlike Zübeyde Hanım, who had a "religious" personality, Ali Rıza Efendi was an innovator. Shortly after Zübeyde Hanım's heart was welcomed by Mustafa being started in the Local School, Ali Rıza Efendi took his son Mustafa from the Local School and enrolled him in the Şemsi Efendi School, which provided education with new teaching methods (usul-i cedide) (Kocatürk, 2007, p. 1). The teacher of the school, Şemsi Efendi, appreciated the intelligence and abilities of his new student Mustafa, and was pleased that he was educated in his school (MSU, <https://kho.msu.edu.tr/>). It is known that the above-mentioned school, which was opened in 1873, was the first private school opened by the Turks in Thessaloniki (Yalçın, 2006, p. 36).

Şemsi Efendi School: Şemsi Efendi (1852-1917), who was the primary school teacher of Mustafa Kemal, is known as the first person who established the primary school in Thessaloniki where new teaching methods ("usul-i cedide") were practiced and where Muslim children would receive education (1872). The Şemsi Efendi School, which implemented the usul-i cedide, was opened in Thessaloniki and simultaneously in the Capital City (İstanbul).

According to Ali Güler's research, in the classroom of Şemsi Efendi School, there were desks for students, a blackboard, an eraser, chalk, a teacher's desk, and education was given with plaques that facilitate reading and writing on which letters and syllables were written (Güler, p. 1). In other words, Şemsi Efendi was an educator who practiced new methods such as the spelling method in teaching literacy (Balevi, 2019, p. 42). In addition, classes were given a break every hour in this school. In the meantime, on the one hand, the students were given

⁵⁰Mustafa Kemal described the school enrollment event in 1922 as follows: "The first thing I remember about my childhood belongs to the issue of going to school. Because of this, there was a fierce struggle between my mother and father. My mother wanted me to start school with hymns and go to the local school. My father, who was a civil servant in the rusumat, was in favor of me attending the school of Şemsi Efendi, which was newly opened at that time, and studying on the new method. Finally, my father got the job done skilfully: First of all, I started the local school with ceresim-i mu'tade (customary ceremony). In this way, this is how it was made my mother's own heart. A few days later, I left the Local School. I was enrolled in Şemsi Efendi's School." (Guler, p. 1).

gymnastics in the school garden, playing games and allowing them to have a pleasant time, while on the other hand, the doors and windows of the classrooms were opened and ventilated. Şemsi Efendi also made sure that the students did not fight or say bad words to each other during the game. He also had interesting practices in the discipline. He paid great attention to the disciplined upbringing of his students. He asked them to salute their teachers at the side of the curb when they came across them. Şemsi Efendi, who was both the owner and the teacher of the school, appointed one of the hardworking students from the upper classes, a *lala* (personal instructor) for each newly enrolled student. In this way, student would be caretaken by the lala. Thereby lala would bring the new student to school, take him from school, and take care of his education. On the other hand, it is known that Şemsi Efendi took his students on city tours in order (Güler, p. 1). As a result of all these, the students at Şemsi Efendi school were able to read, write better, do calculations, and understand geographical maps better than the students who were in the final year of middle school, even though Şemsi Efendi School students were in primary school (Sözcü). Mustafa Kemal learned how to read and write in this school and continued his education in this school until his father's death (Unat, 1964, p. 612).

It is seen that the education provided by Şemsi Efendi School, which was a private school, was carefully followed and supported by the state authorities. In the document dated August 2, 1876, it was stated that if the education degrees of the students of the primary school opened by Şemsi Efendi in Thessaloniki were made compatible with the secondary school schedules, the school would be given a privilege and Şemsi Efendi would be rewarded for his work on this subject (BOA, 40-114/MF.MKT./H-11-07-1293). In the document dated March 6, 1878, it is seen that Şemsi Efendi requested books free of charge for his students and that the state authorities responded that only the books requested for a small fee would be sent to the school, such as the collection of binding (Mushaf) fees (BOA, 53-150/ MF.MKT./ H-02-03-1295). In the document written from the Capital City (“Payitaht”) dated April 28, 1880, it is said that Muallim Şemsi Efendi diligently provides educational services, and this reached the authorities. In the article, information was requested from the administrators in Thessaloniki about the fate of this rumor (BOA, 65-10/MF.MKT./H-15-05-1297). On the other hand, the document dated October 9, 1888, is about the betrothal of Şemsi Efendi, by the Principal of the School in Thessaloniki (BOA, 1102-86363/İ.DH./ H-03-02-1306). In addition, the use of new pedagogical methods in education, such as teaching letters on plates, arranged by Şemsi Efendi in a way that surprised everyone, attracted the attention of the Governor of the period, Mithat Pasha. So much so that Mithat Pasha appreciated and rewarded Şemsi Efendi in this regard. (Aksoy, Şemsi Efendi School, p. 1). These documents are also important in terms of showing the efforts of the post-Re-Organization period administrators in the Ottoman Empire to develop and expand education. It is understood from the documents that he was even closely interested in a private school.

Şemsi Efendi School merged with the “Fevziye school” while Mustafa Kemal was studying here and it became a school with eight classrooms and a secondary school. The date of death of Ali Rıza Bey is known as 28 November 1893 (Unat, 1964, p. 612). Mustafa Kemal left school when his father died and went to his uncle's farm with his family. In other words, he continued to study at this school until his father's death. Therefore, it is understood that Mustafa Kemal studied at the secondary school of Şemsi Efendi (Fevziye) school for 2 years.

After all, Şemsi Efendi School, which adopted the principle of raising modern generations, and Şemsi Efendi, who provided education in this school, undoubtedly played a great role in the formation of Mustafa Kemal's education life, personality, and thoughts (Yalçın,

2006, p. 36). It is seen that Şemsi Efendi rightfully gained a reputation in his environment during the period in question, both as a teacher and with the schools he opened and the education he provided. The fact that Ali Rıza Efendi sent his son Mustafa to Şemsi Efendi School also indicates that he was an enlightened person who foresaw the future.

Şemsi Efendi was a famous educator of the period. The influence of Şemsi Efendi, as a primary school teacher and his modern educational approach, which practiced new methods such as spelling in teaching literacy, on Mustafa Kemal is certain. Eren Balevi also mentioned in his study that when Mustafa Kemal went to visit his primary school years later, and he said: "It was a hit" when he learned that the first school he went to, "Fatma Molla Kadın Women's School" was closed (Balevi, 2019, p. 42).

Farm Life: Due to the economic difficulties experienced after the death of Ali Rıza Efendi, Zübeyde Hanım took Mustafa and her other children and went to her sister's farm in Langaza (near Thessaloniki). Mustafa had to take a break from his education life under these conditions. Although his family thought of sending Mustafa Kemal to the Greek Church School, which was close to the village, within the possibilities of the farm conditions, he did not accept this (Yalçın, 2006: p. 37). The rejection of Mustafa Kemal's offer to be sent to the Greek Church School at an early age is also a remarkable point as one of the important decisions he took in his life (Aslan, 2009: p. 4). Mustafa's family, who were restless because his education life was interrupted, noticed this uneasiness and sent him to Thessaloniki to continue his education upon the call of his aunt Emine Hanım in Thessaloniki (MSU, <https://www.msu.edu.tr>; Unat, 1964, p. 612). It is seen that the short farm life also affected Mustafa Kemal's personality. Because, experts evaluate that this natural life on the farm where he lived as a child had an impact on the development of his creativity and love for trees and animals in his spirit (Yalçın, 2006, p. 38; Aslan, 2009, p. 5).

Mulkiye Middle School ("Mülkiye Rüştiyesi"): Returning to Thessaloniki, Mustafa first started at the Mulkiye Middle School. The vice principal of this school, nicknamed Kaymak Hafız, beat Mustafa for getting involved in a fight in the classroom and not giving in to injustice. Due to this sad event, his grandmother Ayşe Hanım took her grandson Mustafa from the aforementioned school (Turan, p. 2). The fact that his grandmother took Mustafa Kemal from the school is an important situation in terms of his becoming a soldier and shaping his future.

Thessaloniki Military Middle School ("Selanik Askeri Rüştiyesi"): Mustafa Kemal, who had a great interest in the military disciplines since his childhood (Üner, 2023), left the Mulkiye Middle School due to Kaymak Hafız, took the exams of Thessaloniki Military Middle School in July-August hidden⁵¹ from his mother and succeeded in the exam (MSÜ <https://www.msu.edu.tr>).

It is known that his neighbors' children (Kadri Bey's son Ahmet, etc.) who went to the Military Middle School in uniform and uniformed officers he saw on the streets caused him to be interested in military service (Yalçın 2006, p. 39; Aslan, 2009, p. 5-6). Thessaloniki Military Middle School had a very beautiful new building on Thessaloniki's Mithat Paşa Street at that time (Unat, 1964, p. 613). Mustafa Kemal continued his education here after he passed the

⁵¹ Zübeyde Hanım did not want her son to become a military officer. Mustafa took the exams of the Thessaloniki Military Middle School, which was hidden from her because he knew that his mother would object it (Aslan, 2009, p. 5-6).

Thessaloniki Military Middle School exam, even though he had financial difficulties with his family due to the absence of his father (İnan, 1999, p. 3). Faik Reşit Unat stated that “*Mustafa was admitted to the third grade of the four-year school due to his success in the Thessaloniki Military Middle School examination and this event must have taken place between July and August 1894*” (Unat, 1964, p. 613). The fact that the notebook showing his middle school grades of the fourth grade is dated 1895 also confirms this information. Because, as stated above, before the death of his father, Mustafa Kemal studied at the Şemsi Efendi School for two more years at the middle school level as a continuation of primary school. Mustafa Kemal (Efendi) graduated from the last year of Thessaloniki Military Middle School at the age of 15 at the end of 1895 (December) or at the beginning of 1896 (January) (Güler, p. 2-3; Aslan, 2009, p. 6).

Table 1: Mustafa Kemal's education report in the fourth grade of Thessaloniki Military Middle School

Learned Courses	Logic, Calculation, Procedural Notebook, Geometry, Geography, French, History of Islam, Turkish Spelling, Ottoman Regulations, French Writing Knowledge, Painting.
Course scores	While French Writing Knowledge and Painting courses are 20 points each, the other 9 courses are 45 points.
Total score of the courses	The total score of the courses is 445.
Score (number) from the courses	While Mustafa Kemal got 43 points in the History of Islam course, he got full points in all other courses.
Order of success in class	Mustafa Kemal, who was seen to be registered with "Ahmet Subaşı Neighborhood" in the Number Book, got two points less than the full score in one of his classes and came in fourth in the class with a total of 443 points.

References: Güler, 2-3. Güler, 2000:13-14.

According to the registry of the Turkish Military Academy, the courses, grades, and course success of Atatürk in the fourth grade of Thessaloniki Military Middle School are given in *Table 1*. There are a total of 11 lessons in this class, nine of which have a full score (number) of 45, and two of them are 20. The total score of the courses is 445. Mustafa Kemal, who is seen to be registered as Ahmet Subaşı Neighborhood in his school record, was 15 years old, got full points in 10 of 11 courses, two less than a full score in one of them, a total of 443 points, and graduated fourth in success.

Mustafa Kemal, who studied and graduated from Thessaloniki Military Middle School, took the first step to reach the military profession. This school, which he enrolled in voluntarily, contributed to both his professional life and his intellectual life. Because the school in question was a disciplined and orderly institution. So much so that the majority of both the administrative staff and the teaching staff were made up of officers, and the courses were taught based on specialization. Besides, the teachers of the school were well-informed and enlightened

educators. It is known that both Turkish teaching and foreign language education were taken great care at the school. (Çam 1991, p. 173; Aslan, 2009, p. 6; Yalçın, 2006, p. 41). In this school, Mustafa Kemal became an outstanding student to attracted the attention of his teachers and school administrators. One of the teachers who noticed Mustafa's intelligence was Mustafa Sabri Bey (Captain Mustafa Bey) from Skopje, a graduate of the Military Academy in 1882 (1297), while the other was Captain Nakiyüdin (Yücekök) Bey (Unat, 1964, p. 613) (Akyüz, 1987, p. 72).

Monastery Military High School (“Manastır Askeri İdadisi”)⁵²: After graduating from Thessaloniki Military Middle School, Mustafa Kemal planned to continue his education at İstanbul Kuleli Military High School. However, Hasan Bey, who was appointed as a supervisor to the Thessaloniki Military Middle School at that time, persuaded him to abandon this thought and go to the Monastir Military High School. (Cebesoy, 1967/I, p. 17). Therefore, Mustafa Kemal, who spent his holiday in Thessaloniki until the middle of March 1896, went to Monastir from Thessaloniki to continue his education at the Monastir Military High School following the advice of his teacher Hasan Bey at the end of the holiday (Turan, p. 2). At that time, Monastir was one of the important provinces of Macedonia (like Kosovo and Thessaloniki), which played an important role in the education and intellectual development of Mustafa Kemal (Aslan, 2009, p. 6; Yalçın 2006, p. 44). Namely, Thessaloniki Military Middle School offered Mustafa Kemal the opportunity to train himself in every field. Apart from the courses, he, here, made research in political, administrative, social, economic, and similar fields and discussed the country's issues with those around him. Thus, he gained the courage to express his ideals and ideas (Gündüz, 1973, p. 13; Aslan, 2009, p. 8). In addition, the students of the Monastir Military High School consisted of young people coming from Thessaloniki as well as from Skopje, Shkodër, Ioannina, and Monastir, where, as Faik Reşit Unat stated, Mustafa Kemal had the opportunity to be with young people with different characters and temperaments. For example, here, with the influence of his classmate Ömer Naci, he became interested in literature and turned to examine the poets who dealt with the subjects of homeland, nation, and freedom, especially Namık Kemal and Tevfik Fikret. However, upon the warning of his epigraph (composition) teacher (Regiment Military Officer Mehmet Asım Efendi) that this would not be compatible with military service, he left literature and became interested in history (Unat, 1964, p. 614). Afet İnan also stated that Mustafa Kemal was interested in poetry and literature at the Monastir Military High School, wanted to learn how to write beautifully, and attended courses at the Frerler School in Thessaloniki to improve his French during his holidays (İnan, 1999, p. 3).

An official document could not be found in the research about the first-year student life of Mustafa Kemal, whose "Epaulette Number" was 7348 in the Monastir Military High School, however, there is information about the 1897-1898 academic year when he was in the second grade and the 1898-1899 academic year when he was in the third grade (Güler, p. 3).

⁵² ACCORDİNG TO AKSOY'S RESEARCH, THE MONASTİR MILİTARY HIGH SCHOOL STARTED EDUCATION İN 1847-1848 AND CONTİNUED İTS EXİSTENCE UNTİL THE END OF 1909. THE MILITARY HIGH SCHOOL, ESPECİALLY HAD THE DİSTİNCTİON OF BEİNG A SCHOOL THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE TRAINİNG OF THE LEADİNG MILİTARY AND POLİTICAL PERSONALİTİES SUCH AS MUSTAFA KEMAL, ENVER PASHA, ALİ FETHİ (OKYAR), KAZİM (ÖZALP), KAZİM (DIRİK), AHMET İZZET (FURGAÇ), HAFİZ HAKKİ PASHA, CAFER TAYYAR (EĞİLMEZ), NURİ (CONKER), FUAT (BULCA), WHO HAVE BEEN İNFLUENTIAL İN THE İI. CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY AND LATER THE REPUBLICİAN PERİOD. (AKSOY, P. 1).

Table 2: Mustafa Kemal's education in the second year of Monastir Military High School

The courses of second grade	Trigonometry, Geometry, General History, Inscription, French, Painting, Hatching, Gymnastics
Points of the courses	In the above order, the first three of the courses are 45 points, 2 lessons are 44 points, and 3 lessons are 20 points each. There are 8 lessons in total.
Success ranking	In the second year, Mustafa Kemal got a total of 283 grades among his 52 friends and went to the third grade. Mustafa Kemal got full numbers from 6 lessons.
Success ranking	In the success ranking of the same class, Ahmet Tevfik was the first with 284 points; Recep Fahri (Kayalar) was the second with 283 total marks. With the same score, Mustafa Kemal came in third.

References: Güler, p. 3; Güler, 2000, p. 15-17.

As given in *Table 2*, in the second year, Mustafa Kemal got a total of 283 grades among his 52 friends and went to the third grade. The total grades of the students (Recep Fahri Kayalar) who are ranked second in the success order are the same.

Table 3: Mustafa Kemal's education in the third year of Monastir Military High School

Third-grade Courses	Machinery, Cosmography, General History, Ottoman History, Scripture, Logic, Doctrines, French, Painting, Hatching, Gymnastics (There are 11 courses taught in this class.)
Points of the courses	While the first 8 courses mentioned above were 45 points each, the last 3 courses were 20 points each.
Success ranking	The number of third-year students is 54. In the third grade, Mustafa Kemal got 420 full marks and graduated from the Monastir High School second among 54 students after Ahmet Tevfik, whose grade point total was the same as his.
About being second on the success ranking	Mustafa Kemal got full numbers from all courses (11 lessons). However, he graduated from the school in second place.

References: Güler, p. 3; Güler, 2000, p. 17-19; Balevi, 2019, p. 45-46.

As can be seen in *Table 3*, Mustafa Kemal received a total of 420 full marks in the third grade, which had 54 students and graduated from the Monastir Military High School second only to Ahmet Tevfik, who had the same grade point total as himself. Thus, in November 1898, he graduated from the high school with second place (Turan, p. 2).

İstanbul Military Academy (Harp Okulu): Mustafa Kemal enrolled in the infantry class of the İstanbul Military Academy in March 1899 and started higher education (İnan, 1999, p. 3). His enrollment was made as the tall, white-faced Mustafa Kemal Efendi, the son of the deceased Ali Rıza Efendi, one of the customs officers in Thessaloniki Koca Kasım Neighborhood and Thessaloniki, 96 (1296) (Turan, p. 2). Epaulette Number is 1283. Mustafa Kemal was given the rank of sergeant at the Military Academy. In addition, a yellow stripe showing that he knew a foreign language was attached to the Sergeant sign, as he had achieved the desired success in the French exam held here.⁵³ (MSÜ, <https://www.msu.edu.tr/>).

It is seen that Mustafa Kemal started to deal with the problems of the country in the Military Academy. According to Şerafettin Turan; in Cebesoy's memoirs, he stated that when he heard that Mustafa Kemal was one of the Ottoman intellectuals who were exiled, he read the French Declaration of Human and Citizen's Rights and clenched his fists. When he and his friends decided to publish a magazine to convey libertarian ideas to their friends, Mustafa Kemal undertook the task of preparing it (Turan, 2). In one of his speeches, Mustafa Kemal mentioned that while he was studying at the Military Academy, he and some of his friends began to find out that "new ideas were emerging and that there were bad things in the administration and politics of the country" (Turan, p. 2).

⁵³ Ali Fuad Cebesoy in his memoirs "... Meanwhile, the yellow stripe on the sergeant's sign caught my attention. I asked what it meant. It turns out that he took the French exam and was successful, so they added this strip. At that time, learning a foreign language at Turkish schools was not easy. It was clear that he was working on himself and putting in a lot of effort. He said that in the first grade, which totaled seven hundred and fifty people, the number of people who could speak a language like him was too few to be counted with fingers..." (MSÜ, <https://www.msu.edu.tr/>).

Table 4: The Courses Mustafa Kemal took at the İstanbul Military Academy

First grade	Fundamentals of Faith (<i>Akaid-i Diniye</i>), Topography Theory (<i>Nazariyatı</i>), <i>Hendese-i Resmîye</i> (The part of geometry that is related to drawing and depiction), Physics (<i>Hikmet-i Tabiiye</i>), Chemistry, Correspondence (<i>Kitabet</i>), Theory of Training (<i>Nazariyatı</i>), Military Information and Training (<i>Malumat-ı ve Terbiye-i Askeriye</i>), Map Drawing (<i>Tersimi</i>), Geometry Official Forms (<i>Eşkâli</i>), Topography Application (<i>Ameliyatı</i>), Training Practice (<i>Ameliyatı</i>), French Language (<i>Lisan-ı Fransevî</i>), German or Russian Language
Second grade	Fundamentals of Faith, Services of Expedition, Imperial Internal Affairs Law (<i>Dâhiliye Kanunname-i Hümayun</i>), Technical Architecture, Theory of Scientific Horse Breeding, (<i>Atıcılık Bilimi Kuramı</i>), Language of French, Theory of Training, Military Information and Training, Moral Science, Sword Training, Military Expeditions (<i>İstikşâfât-ı Askeriye</i>), Map Drawing (Sketching), Training Practice (<i>Ameliyatı</i>), Imperial Penal Code (<i>Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayunu</i>), German or Russian Language
Third grade	Third Grade Tactics Course (<i>Sınıf-ı Salise Tabiyesi</i>), Simple Fortifications/Structures (<i>İstihkâmât-ı Hafife</i>), Weapons Science (<i>Fenn-i Esliha</i>), Soldier's Health Protection (<i>Hıfzı 's- Sıhha-yı Askerî</i>), Military Geography, Ottoman Army Organization, Theory of Training, Military Information and Training, French Language (<i>Lisan-ı Fransevi</i>), Military Expeditions (<i>İstikşâfât-ı Askeriye</i>), Fortification Description (<i>Direnek Şekilleri</i>), Training Practice (<i>Ameliyatı</i>), Tactical Practice, German or Russian Language

Reference: Balevi. 2019, p. 47-49.

Mustafa Kemal took the courses listed in *Table 4* at the Military Academy. According to Güler's research, Mustafa Kemal received a total of 484 grades among his 610 friends who continued their education in the first grade (*infantry class*) (1899-1900) and passed to the second grade as 9th. In the second grade (1900-1901/*Infantry class*), he received a total of (522) grades among his 445 friends and passed to the third grade as 11th. Mustafa Kemal graduated from the Military Academy in the third year (1901-1902) as 8th among his 459 friends and on the sum of his three-year grades (Güler, p. 4-5).

War Academy (“Harp Akademisi”): Mustafa Kemal (Turan, 2), who graduated from the Military Academy as an infantry lieutenant on January 10, 1902, entered the Military Academy on Monday, February 10, 1902.

During this period, the Military Academy (Erkan-ı Harp) Class students graduated as "Staff Captain" and were promoted to "Senior Captain" two years later (Güler, p. 5-6).

Table 5: The Courses Mustafa Kemal took at the Military Academy

First grade	Strategy Geography (<i>Coğrafya-yı Sevkü'l-Ceyş</i>), Talimgâh-ı Hafife Tatbikatı, Weapons Science Theory (<i>Fenn-i Esliha Nazariyatı</i>), War Science History (<i>Tarih-i Fenn-i Harp</i>), French, Mathematics Topics (<i>Matematik Konuları</i>), Trainin Theory, Military Correspondence (<i>Kitabet-i Askeriye</i>), Tactical Theory, Well-Known Battles Debate, (<i>Muharebat-ı Meşhure Münakaşası</i>), German or Russian Detailed Topography, (<i>Mufasssal Topografya</i>), (Military Expeditions (<i>İstikşâfât-ı Askeriye</i>), Training Theory (<i>Ameliyatı</i>)
Second grade	Artillery and Artillery Bastion, Well-Known Battles Debate, Geography Strategy, Fortification, Tactical Exercise (<i>Tabiye</i>), Foreign Army Organization, Earth Science, French, Training Theory, Controversial Mathematics, German or Russian, Military Expeditions, Training Theory (<i>Ameliyatı</i>)

Reference: Balevi. 2019, p. 52-53.

Table 5 shows the courses Mustafa Kemal took. When Mustafa Kemal started the Academy, he finished the first grade with a class size of 42 (with a total of 479 points) in the 8th place, while in the second grade (with a total of 480 points) he finished 6th (Güler, p. 5-6). He successfully graduated from the Military Academy on January 11, 1905, as a staff captain. However, while they were waiting for the order to be appointed, an investigation was launched against them, together with Cebesoy, upon notification that they would attempt an assassination attempt against the Sultan. In his own words, they were found not guilty months later and were released. Upon this incident, he was appointed to the army in Syria instead of Macedonia, where he wanted to take charge (Turan, p. 2)

4. Teachers and Some Friends Who Had an Important Place in Mustafa Kemal's Educational Life

The teachers who raised him had an important role in the formation of Atatürk's personality. Atatürk had teachers who were successful in their profession and had the qualifications required by the profession, which was a great happiness for him and the Turkish nation. His teachers provided him with very useful guidance and influenced him in many different ways. In addition to being Atatürk's teachers, some of these teachers came up with very new ideas for that period and started new practices in pedagogy. For these reasons, these teachers also have an important place in the history of Turkish education. In a speech addressed to teachers in Samsun, Atatürk confirmed this situation by stating that he received his "inspiration and strength" largely from Nakiyüddin Bey, the French teacher in the Military High School (September 1924) (Akyüz, <https://isteaturk.com/>).

Şemsi Efendi: Şemsi Efendi, Mustafa Kemal's primary school teacher, was an experienced educator who had taught for many years. Şemsi Efendi Primary School was also a popular school that provided education according to the new pedagogical systems. The students of this school grew up more knowledgeable than the students in Middle School. Undoubtedly,

Şemsi Efendi's teaching and practices have a great share in Atatürk's innovative ideas and the development of his sense of discipline (Akyüz, 1987. p. 71; Sözcü). When the school merged with the Fevziye School, it was made into 8 classrooms, including the middle school. Mustafa Kemal studied in the middle school part of this school for two years.

Captain Mustafa Bey: One of Mustafa Kemal's teachers at Thessaloniki Military Middle School, Mathematics teacher Captain Mustafa Bey is an important educator who saw the differences, maturity, talents and leadership characteristics of his student Mustafa and added Kemal to his name Mustafa, seeing his difference and superiority from himself and other students, and motivated him towards beauty and good (Akyüz, 1987.p. 72; Inan, 1999, p. 3). With this move, Captain Mustafa Bey showed that Atatürk was different from other students and contributed significantly to the emergence of his leadership characteristics and the formation of his self-confidence. In addition, Captain Mustafa Bey, realizing Atatürk's interest and love for mathematics and his success in this field, became a good guide for him in mathematics. As a result, mathematics took an important place in Mustafa Kemal's life. Mustafa Kemal's increasing interest in mathematics every year has been effective in his ability to think analytically, to produce solutions to problems, and to increase his self-confidence (Sözcü).

Captain (“Yüzbaşı”) Nakiyüddin Bey: One of the teachers who paid special attention to and appreciated Mustafa Kemal and left a mark in his life at the Military Middle School is the French teacher Captain Nakiyüddin Bey (Yücekök) (Unat, 1964, p. 613-614; Akyüz, 1987, p. 72). Nakiyüddin Bey supported Mustafa in learning French, instilled in him a love of learning foreign languages, and "prepared educational environments" that would enable him to access different resources. He introduced the French philosophers to him during this period. It paved the way for him to reach and examine the sources in the political, military, sociological, and economic fields related to foreign languages. By doing this, he opened new horizons for Atatürk and increased his "effectiveness" while making decisions. Moreover, Nakiyüddin Bey, like his other teachers, contributed to the formation of the foundations of ideas such as Turkish culture and patriotism in Atatürk (Sözcü). *“In a speech, Atatürk delivered in Samsun in September 1924 to the teachers, he mentioned that he got his inspiration and strength largely from Nakiyüddin Bey, the French teacher at the Military High School, and that Nakiyüddin Bey gave the first ideas for the future (future) while he was teaching elementary things to him”* (Akyüz, 1987, p. 71).

Ömer Naci: Mustafa Kemal became friends with Ömer Naci at the Monastir Military High School. It is known that Ömer Naci, who was famed as a famous orator in the following years and died of typhoid while serving in the Special Organization Detachment Command in the First World War, played an active role in the formation of a love of rhetoric and literature in Mustafa Kemal (MSÜ, <https://www.msu.edu.tr/>). So much so that, Mustafa Kemal's love of reading, who started a conscious reading activity with the influence of Ömer Naci, would continue to increase in the following years and this would last until the end of his life.

Mehmet Tevfik Bey⁵⁴ (Bilge): Known as one of the teachers who influenced Mustafa Kemal, Artillery Captain (Topçu Kolağası) Mehmet Tevfik Bey, a history teacher at the Monastir Military High School, was a teacher who knew Turkish history well and made his students love reading Turkish history (Cebesoy 1967/I, p. 18; Unat 1964, p. 613). Mustafa

⁵⁴ M. Tevfik Bilge (1865-1945) who was elected deputy of Diyarbakır in the 5th term of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and was a member of the Turkish Historical Society (Unat, 1964, p. 615).

Kemal loved to read history from his school days and was busy with various history books and issues in every period of his life. His love of history and awareness of history formed one of the basic characteristics of the Turkish revolution. Mustafa Kemal, who attached great importance to history; “*History is the most accurate guide that shows what a nation is capable of and what it is capable of accomplishing*” (Aksan 1986: 115), he expressed how important history was in life of the nation (Aslan, 2009: p. 8).

Mehmet Asım Efendi: Mehmet Asım Efendi, who was a teacher of epigraphy (composition) at Mustafa Kemal's Monastir Military High School, was the teacher who prevented his students from getting too caught up in literature, which was a bit contradictory to military service (<https://www.atam.gov.tr>).

His Teachers at the Military Academy: The most influential teachers at the Military Academy were French teacher Necip Asım Bey, training teacher Rahmi Pasha and Captain Naci Bey (Akyüz, 1987: 72). The most influential teachers at the Military Academy were Ahmet Muhtar Pasha, a former Ottoman Expeditionary teacher, Staff Captain Refik Bey, a teacher of the Napoleonic Wars, Staff Lieutenant Colonel Mecit Bey, a Higher Mathematics teacher, and Staff Lieutenant Colonel Nuri Bey, a Turkish Military Academy teacher. These teachers were especially effective in expanding Atatürk's military knowledge (Akyüz, 1987, p. 72).

Ottoman intellectuals of the period: It is known that the Ottoman intellectuals Namık Kemal, Ziya Gökalp, Tevfik Fikret, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, and also the books he read had an impact on Mustafa Kemal's upbringing, especially on the development of his Turkist views (<https://www.atam.gov.tr>). Mustafa Kemal, who spent his school life following Namık Kemal's thoughts and disseminating them in the school, had the distinction of being a student who was also interested in subjects that were not unusual for a military student of that period, such as foreign language, poetry, dance and rhetoric throughout his military training (MSÜ, <https://www.msu.edu.tr/>).

Mustafa Kemal's friends: Mustafa Kemal, who became friends with his classmate Fuat (Bulca) at the Thessaloniki Military Middle School, made two more friends in the Monastir, whose friendships lasted for life long. These were Ali Fethi (Okyar) and Kazım (Özalp), Fethi Okyar, who spoke a foreign language, also had the feature of being a friend who helped Mustafa Kemal, who attended the Frerler school in Thessaloniki during the holidays, for this purpose, who wanted to improve his French. After Mustafa Kemal started the Military Academy in İstanbul, within two months, he showed up and became a class sergeant. He has made two new friends here. These were Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) and Asım (Gündüz).

As in the secondary education period, Mustafa Kemal continued to be interested in literature and mathematics courses and eloquence, as well as giving great importance to military lessons both in the Military Academy and the War Academy. He was recognized among his teachers and friends for his intelligence, talents, and superior personality, and earned their respect and love (MSU, <https://www.msu.edu.tr/>). As in the Academy, they continued to publish a newspaper/magazine with their friends in the staff class. The writings were mostly written by his pen. However, when the school administration became aware of this, they had to stop publishing the newspaper (Turan, p. 2). According to Afet Inan, Mustafa Kemal, who started the War Academy in 1902, was thinking about the state of the country's administration. However, he studied the main military courses and developed his professional knowledge of them. Also, Mustafa Kemal and other young students of the War Academy were interested in

new free ideas. Because, while Mustafa Kemal was studying for his normal courses, on the other hand, they read free-thinking poems and articles and had discussions with their friends outside the classroom. At the same time, he was interested in speaking well and gathered his friends around him and made these experiments (İnan, 1999, p. 3-4). According to Müşerref Avcı's research, Mustafa Kemal learned German as well as French during his school years. Learning these languages was not unique for him, since these were the foreign languages taught in schools, it could be said that it became a kind of necessity (Avcı, 2020, p. 535). However, it is obvious that Mustafa Kemal did not find the education provided by the schools sufficient and made great efforts to improve his foreign language level, and took special courses for this purpose.

It should be noted that, as in his later career, Mustafa Kemal was not alone in the choices he made in his childhood. But his abilities were unique. Mustafa Kemal was a good staff officer, an enlightened citizen who thought about the future of the country, the leader of a struggle to gain independence for his nation, the founder of a new state, and the planner and implementer of a revolution for modernization in every field. The biggest share among factors that made him gain his qualifications was his passion for reading, thinking, and questioning, which he continued until his last breath, starting from school desks (Turan, p. 49).

Conclusion

Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) was born in Thessaloniki in 1881. His ancestors are Turks of Yörük or Turkmen origin, who immigrated from Anatolia within the scope of the Ottoman Empire's policies to Turkify the conquered lands during the conquest of the Balkans. Mustafa Kemal was born into a Turkish-speaking, Muslim, educated, and middle-class family. His father was a Customs Officer Ali Rıza Bey, and her mother was Zübeyde Hanım, nicknamed Molla. He always attracted attention with his enlightenment and intelligence in his educational adventure from the neighborhood school, where Mustafa Kemal started his education life to the war academy, and he always crossed paths with good educators who would add even more success and determination to his life. He became companions with intellectuals who would build up the foundations of the Turkist thought that he adopted as a life motto.

Along with all these, what makes Mustafa Kemal different is his effort, desire, and effort, such as his industriousness, love of reading, and understanding of what he reads. As it is tried to be explained above, Mustafa Kemal had a very successful education life, full of degrees, from primary school to the Military Academy. It is also known that, as in foreign language education, he was not satisfied with the education he received at school and was constantly engaged in activities that would improve himself. Mustafa Kemal was not alone in his choices. But his abilities were unique. He continued his passion for reading, thinking, and questioning, which he started in elementary school, until the end of his life. This is the characteristic that gave Mustafa Kemal Atatürk a good officer who loved his country and his citizens, an intellectual who thought about the future of his country, a person who was passionate about independence, the savior and founder of his country, the person who contributed to the peace of the world, and the person who became an example and hope for the societies living under colonial rule.

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Appendices

Annex 1

SELANİK RÜŞDİYE-I ASKERİYESİ														
DÖRDÜNCÜ SENE ŞAKIRDANI														
SIRA NUMARASI	ESAMİ (İsimler)		MANTIK	HESAB	USUL DEFTERİ	HİNDESE	COĞRAFYA	TARİH-İ İSLAM	KAVALD-İ OSMANİYE	FRANSSIZCA	MİLA-İ TÜRKİ	HATT-İ FRANSEVİ	RESİM	YEKÜN
			45	43	45	45	43	43	45	43	20	20	445	
			15	15	15	15	23	23	23	23	14	14	207	
1	Ahmet	Tevfik	Ehmed	Taracı	45	45	43	45	45	44	45	20	20	444
2	Süleyman	Adil	"	Şahabeddin	45	45	45	45	45	44	45	20	20	444
3	Mehmed	Şeniz	"	Ahmet Subaşı	45	45	45	45	45	44	45	20	20	444
4	Mustafa	Kamal	"	Ahmet Subaşı	45	45	45	45	43	45	45	20	20	443
5	Osman	Nuri	"	Sinançık	45	45	45	45	45	44	44	45	20	443
6	Mehmet	Tevfik	"	Abdulrah Kadri	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	20	13	428
7	İsmail	Hakkı	"	İki Şerefe	45	45	45	43	45	40	44	45	20	431
8	Da'fet	Efendi	"	Hamidiye	43	45	45	45	43	42	42	18	12	426
9	Mehmet	Makbul	"	İki Lüle	45	40	41	41	43	43	37	45	41	404
10	Ki		"	Ahmet Subaşı	44	42	33	25	42	42	40	29	45	402
11	Mehmet	Egref	"	İki Lüle	45	44	44	27	30	41	42	45	18	401
12	Hamdi		"	Hacı İsmail	41	38	45	38	40	35	44	44	43	401
13	Ziya	?	"	Yedi Kule	45	25	44	34	45	40	44	40	20	398
14	Murad	Nihat	"	Katip Muslihiddin	43	40	43	37	43	33	43	42	18	397

M. KEMAL ATATÜRK'ÜN SELANİK ASKERİ RÜŞDİYESİ 4 NCÜ SENE NOTLARINI GÖSTERİR RUMİ 1311, HİCRİ 1313, MİLADİ 1895 TARİHLİ NUMARA DEFTERİNİN TÜRKÇE TRANSKRİPSİYONU. (K.H.O ARŞİVİ 13 NOLU NUMARA DEFTERİ)

Reference: Balevi, 2019, p.133.

Annex 2

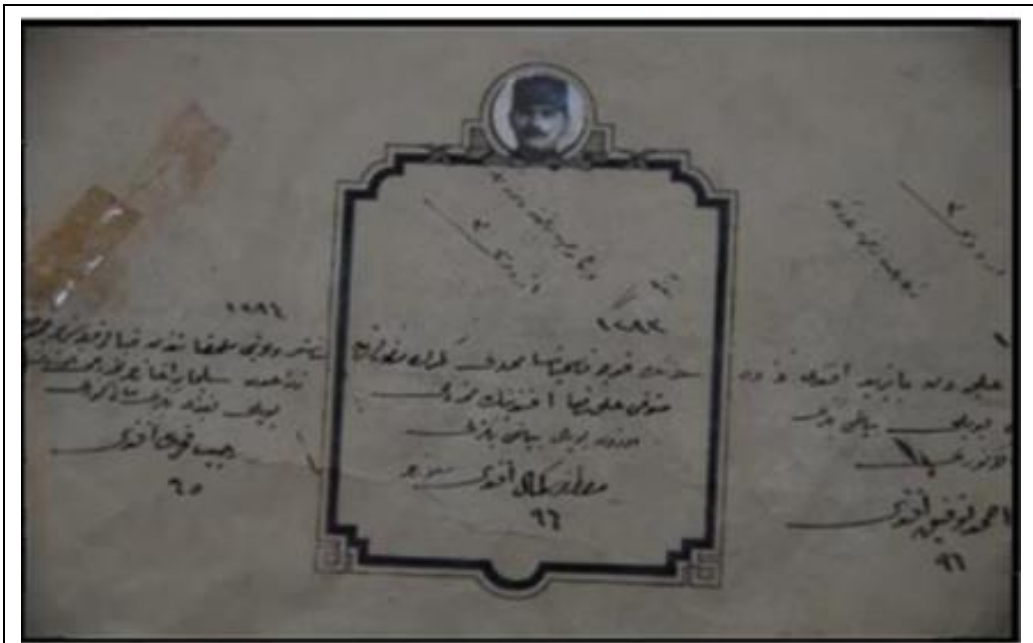
MANASTIR'DA KAIN MEKTEB-I İDADI-I ŞAHANE														
ÜÇÜNCÜ SENE ŞAKIRDANI														
SIRA NUMARASI	ESAMİ (İsimler)		MAKİNA	KOZMOGRAFYA	TARİHİ UMUMİ	TARİHİ OSMANİ	KİTAPET	MANTIK	AKAİD	FRANSTZCA	RESİM	TARAMA	CİMNASTİK	YEKÜN
		BEHER DERSİN TAM NUMARASI		45	45	45	45	45	45	45	20	20	20	
	BEHER DERSİN İS MİZANI		19	19	22,9	22,9	22,9	19	22,9	22,9	12,9	12,9	12,9	198
1	Ahmet Tevfik	Efendi Selanik	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	20	20	20		420
2	Mustafa Kemal	" Selanik	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	20	20	20		420
3	Recep Fahri	" Kayalar	45	45	45	44	45	45	45	20	20	20		419
4	Ali Şevket	" Üsküb	44	45	45	45	45	45	45	20	20	20		419
5	Ömer Abdulkadir	" Yanıya	45	42	45	45	45	45	45	20	20	20		417
6	Hüseyin Avni	" Köprülü	45	42	45	45	45	45	45	20	20	20		417
7	İsmail Hakkı	" Köprülü	44	44	45	45	43	43	45	20	20	20		413
8	Abdubaki	" Üsküb	45	42	45	45	41	43	45	20	20	20		410
9	Abdurrahman	" Selanik	45	39	45	44	39	39	44	20	20	20		394
10	Ömer Naci	" Deralye	43	38	45	45	45	45	30	19	20	19		394
11	Bekir Hıfzı	" Ghrı	45	40	45	37	39	41	45	20	20	20		386
12	Ali Tevfik	" Selanik	42	41	45	44	41	39	45	20	20	20		387 *
13	Şevket Şukru	" Üsküb	41	38	44	43	43	42	44	25	20	20		380
14	Caıid	" Selanik	41	30	40	38	39	44	45	18	17	20		376 *
15	Ali Yaşar	" Uşrumca	37	30	44	39	43	43	45	27	19	17		369

* Ali Tevfik Efendi-Selanik'in not toplamı 386 değı 387, Caıid Efendi-Selanik'in not toplamı 371 değı 376'dır

M. KEMAL ATATÜRK'ÜN MANASTIR ASKERİ İDADISI 3 NCÜ SENE NOTLARINI GÖSTEREN RUMİ 1314, HİCRİ 1316, MİLADİ 1898 TARİHLİ NUMARA DEFTERİNİN TÜRKÇE TRANSKRİPSİYONU. (K.H.O ARŞİVİ 15-16 NO'LU NUMARA DEFTERİ)

Reference: Balevi, 2019, p.137.

Annex 3: Mustafa Kemal's ID inscribed in the Military Academy (Okulu).



Reference: Balevi, 2019, p.139.

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Erkmen, A., & Budak, Ö. M. (2023). Mustafa Kemal's Family, Educational Experience, and Teachers in The Process That Made Him Atatürk. In Ö. M. Budak (Ed.), *The Research on History I* (pp. 182–203). ISTES Organization.

This book covers religious, economic and political developments as well as educational activities in Ottoman cities from the Tanzimat edict until the first years of the republic. In addition to the historical texture of the cities of Ayntab, Diyarbakir and Amasya, the level of missionary activities is presented based on archival documents.

In addition, the conversion requirements of the peoples within the borders of the Ottoman state are also discussed in detail. Although non-Muslims within the Ottoman subjects were given religious and economic rights, their conversion to Islam is a remarkable feature.

In addition, it is also important that the teachers of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, who left a mark on his life, are also the subject of this book.