



The Research on History II

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Özlem Muraz BUDAK



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Cover and InDesign

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ISBN: 978-1-952092-60-2

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Date of Publication

October, 2023

Publisher

ISTES Organization
Monument, CO, USA

Contact

International Society for Technology, Education and Science (ISTES)

www.istes.org

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Citation

Budak, Ö. M. (Ed.). (2023). *The Research on History II*. ISTES Organization.

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FOREWORD

Thanks to its wide field of study, the science of history has managed to address 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. With these original works written in every field of history, we will be pleased to contribute to the literature and qualified scientific studies related to the auxiliary branches of history.

The first chapter focuses on the preparations for the Ottoman Empire's expedition to Kotor in 1663 under Venetian rule due to its strategic location and commercial activities. Kotor is a city on the Adriatic Sea coast of Montenegro, north of Bosnia and Herzegovina and south of Albania. The Adriatic was an important transit center for both the Ottoman Empire and Venice.

The second part deals with the Herzegovinian uprising of 1875-76. The Ottoman Empire established a military zone in Sarajevo from the second half of the 15th century. After Bosnia came under Ottoman rule, some conflicts between the rulers and the people started to emerge from the 19th century onwards. With the deterioration of the political situation of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, Austria's ambitions on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the policies it developed in this direction led to rebellions in the region throughout the 19th century. Among these uprisings, the most important turning point for the region was the Herzegovinian Uprising in 1875.

In the third part, Turkish-British relations according to British documents and the Montreux Convention of 1936 are discussed. From the 15th century onwards, the Ottoman Empire achieved full sovereignty over the straits by turning the Marmara and Black Sea into an inland sea. Britain's desire to dominate the Mediterranean and Russia's desire to reach the warm seas made the straits an international issue in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. After many political developments, Turkey received the results of intensive diplomatic initiatives on various platforms in 1936. The Montreux Straits Conference, convened after persuasive efforts

to revise the status of the straits, was among the most important developments of the period in terms of Turkish-British relations.

In the fourth chapter, the study on What is Empiricism and Historians' Perspective on Empiricism, which is an important theory that has been used in different subjects, is included. The development process and types of empiricism and empiricism are mentioned, and finally the perspective of historiography on this field is evaluated.

The fifth chapter deals with Turkish-Soviet relations and the Litvinoff Protocol. The military, commercial and political needs of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey, which were established far from the control of Western imperialism, caused them to approach and support each other from the 1920s until the beginning of the Second World War. The 1929 Litvinoff Protocol is an indicator of this solidarity.

In the sixth chapter; the powerful icon of the Seljuk woman: Terken Hatun and her influence on state administration. Hatuns, who entered the Seljuk court through marriage, had the privilege of having equal rights and privileges with the ruling dynasty members. As a result, the Khatun, who came after the ruler in state administration, assumed serious duties in state administration. One of these khatuns was Terken Hatun, the wife of Sultan Sanjar. She managed many state affairs alongside Sultan Sanjar.

The seventh chapter presents a research on female murderers in Ottoman court records. Violence is a phenomenon that has existed with mankind. Although the feeling of anger is not specific to a certain gender, that is, only to women or men, the transformation of anger into violence is much more common in men. The most extreme form of violence is killing a person, in other words murder. The Ottoman Empire allowed women a certain space of movement and relative freedom, provided that they kept their distance in their daily lives. Over time, it is understood that women were able to step out of the roles assigned to them by society in the face of events. It is seen that women who are harmed in daily life do not hesitate to harm others at the expense of protecting their own interests.

The eighth chapter is a study of social life in the region of Māverānānahr in the Islamic period in the light of Arabic sources. The presence of suitable environmental conditions and natural resources for agriculture and animal husbandry in Maveraünnehir contributed to the transformation of societies into its center. The Turkestan region has been the scene of

migrations of various societies from different parts of the world since ancient times. The demographic composition of the Maveraunnehir is composed of Turks, Arabs and Persians.

The ninth chapter focuses on women who took part in witness, discovery and expert activities in Ottoman judicial law. Sharia courts had an important place in the establishment of justice in the Ottoman Empire. Kadı (Muslim Judges) was a person who served as a judge in Ottoman Sharia courts. In addition, people who were not official court officials but who served as witnesses, explorers or experts in some cases helped the judge to make a fair decision. Witnesses played an important role in proving a claim. Although it was mostly men who contributed to the resolution of cases in Ottoman courts as witnesses and experts, it has been determined that women could also be in such a situation. Women made this contribution sometimes by testifying as witnesses, and sometimes by participating in discovery or expert witness committees.

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: THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE KOTOR EXPEDITION AGAINST VENICE IN THE PERIOD OF MEHMED IV

Faruk SÖYLEMEZ 

Hülya GÖZCÜ 

1. Introduction

Kotor is a city in Montenegro which located on the Adriatic Sea coast, in the north of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the south of Albania. In the Adriatic region, starting from Albania, the cities of Avlonya, Draç, Leş, Bar and Ülgün were under Ottoman rule, and Budva and Kotor were under Venetian rule starting from the Ülgün border. From the bay of Kotor to the borders of Obravac, Nova, Klis¹ and Dubrovnik, it was subject to the Ottomans. From the Dubrovnik border, the Dalmatian region was under the control of Venice (Gündüz, 2022). These regions XV. From the end of the XVIII century. Until the end of the century, it formed the Ottoman and Venetian borders from the sea. The Adriatic was an important transit center for both the Ottoman Empire and Venice (Erdoğan 2019)

In Evliya Celebi's words, Kotor; it has the appearance of a very small castle on a rock by the Gulf of Nova. Two sides of the two menzil (post-station)² south of this castle are the Venetian Gulf and the west side is the Nova Bay sea. Between these two seas, ten menzil (post-station) are a large promontory up to the ground. There are forested, stony and unproductive mountains such as the Manya cape in the Peloponnese province, half of it is called Montenegrins and half of it is called Klimente mountains. The people living here are large and strong Albanians with forty-seven thousand rifles and were previously subject to Alexandria³(İskenderiye). Since the war on the island of Crete, these Albanians were subject to Venice and went to help the Heraklion Castle. All seven castles on this Cape Klimente are under

¹ It's a former Ottoman Sanjak and county seat on the Dalmatian coast in Southern Croatia. Cf. Nenad Moacanin, "Klis" *DİA*, C. 26, Ankara 2002, p. 128

² Menzil (post-station) refers to the postal organization that provides more official communication in the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the food needed by the army during the expedition was also stored in these menzil (post-stations). Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Menzil" *DİA*, C. 29, Ankara 2004, p. 159

³ Shkoder is Alexandria of Albania. Alexandrain Liva, commonly known as Albania which is surrounded by Dalmatia in the northwest, Dukagjin in the southeast and the Adriatic Sea in the south. Cf. P.L. İnciciyan- H.D. Andreyan "Osmanlı Rumelisi Tarihi ve Coğrafyası", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, I. 2-3, 4-5, 1974, p. 67.

Venetian rule, their captains Frankish and their soldiers entirely Albanians. (Evliya Celebi 2010).

The Republic of Venice, one of the important and great powers of the 14th century, organized expeditions to take the important port cities of Montenegro, Ülgün, Bar, Budva, Kotor and Nova. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire emerged as a fresh power that organized and managed an area extending from the Balkans to Montenegro. As a matter of fact, this situation brought the Ottoman and Venetian Republic against each other on land as well as at sea, on the borders of Montenegro. The Ottoman Empire organized expeditions to the borders of Montenegro from the beginning of the 15th century to the middle of the 16th century. The Ottomans, who captured Risan in 1481, took Nova, an important coastal city a year later, and with the conquest of Ülgün and Bar in 1571, they dominated the sea coast of Montenegro and consolidated their dominance there. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Nova, Kotor, Budva, Bar and Ülgün have been the areas of constant conflict between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire due to their strategic importance. (Mukoviç, 2022)

In this study, due to its strategic location and commercial activities, the preparations of the Ottoman Empire's 1663 expedition on Kotor, which was under the rule of Venice, will be emphasized. In the context of the Kotor expedition preparations, based on the documents found in the city Manastir (Bitola) Sharia Registry, the logistic equipment that the Manastir and surrounding towns will provide for the Kotor expedition and their quantities will be revealed.

2. Kotor Expedition

Ottoman-Venice relations have a long and deep-rooted history in diplomatic and economic terms. The positive relations that increased over time were interrupted from time to time by the wars. Since the years of its establishment, the Ottoman Empire developed rapidly both in the Mediterranean and on the land in the Balkans and bordered Venice at both points. As a matter of fact, this situation caused wars between the two states from time to time. By 1645, both sides were at sea; They had met both in Crete and on land on the Bosnian side. (Dogan, 2020) The Cretan Expedition initiated by the Ottoman Empire in 1645 turned into an Ottoman-Venetian war, and in the meantime, the Montenegrin supported Venice and the Venetians encouraged the Montenegrin to rebel against the Ottomans. In 1648, as the Venetians captured Klis, the Montenegrin knezs also declared that they recognized Venetian domination. The Ottoman Empire, which did not want to inflict new losses on the Dalmatian coast after the fall of the Klis, sent Derviş Pasha to the region. Derviş Pasha, with his activities in this region,

prevented the Montenegrin from uniting with the Venetians in front of Bar in 1649, and also prevented the Venetian ships from passing in front of Budva. He also eliminated the occupation of Risan, in which Albanians also participated.

The Ottoman Empire first besieged Kotor in 1657 in response to the Venetian attacks. During this siege, which lasted for two months, the Montenegrin helped the Ottomans with the supply of soldiers, transportation and meeting the needs of the army. Although the siege of Kotor had failed, the Ottomans had restored order in Montenegro. (Gündüz, 2022) The reason why this siege was unsuccessful was the geographical location of Kotor rather than the superior naval power of the Venetians. Because the castle of Kotor was built on the slope of a rocky, steep and high mountain starting from the gulf. Again, the bay was surrounded by high rocky mountains, which did not allow the Ottomans to besiege it from land.

There were some political conflicts between the Ottomans and Venice in the process leading up to the 1663 expedition on Kotor. In response to the Venetian attacks, Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha sent edicts to the provinces in 1657 for the preparations for the Venetian expedition, ordering the necessary arrangements to be taken, and then took action. Before the Venetian navy reached the strait, the Ottoman navy had landed in the Mediterranean. Afterwards, the grand vizier was declared as Serdar-ı Ekrem (like commander) by the Sultan and moved to the Bosphorus side with the army under his command, and by checking the soldiers in the second menzil (post-station), he cut the amities of those who were not present and gave them to the suitable ones. On the other hand, the Venetians who came to occupy the Dardanelles Strait were defeated, but the Venetians were attacked from the sea, but they were not successful. As a matter of fact, the fugitives, who caused the defeat and escaped from the Venetians with their tows and barges, were executed by the grand vizier, and the others returned to their ships. The battle lasted for three days with the defense and attack of the Ottomans from the land and the Venetians from the sea. The Ottoman navy, which was incapable of defense, could hold on under the auspices of the artillery on the coast. Meanwhile, a cannonball fired from the mistresses hit the gunpowder cellar of the Venetian admiral and blew up the chieftain. This successful hit ensured the Ottoman army to find strength and victory again (Uzunçarşılı, 2003). Malta and Florence ships, which came to help the Venetians after the Venetian admiral's blow up, withdrew to Bozcaada. Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, under the command of Kurt Pasha, sent some soldiers with thirty-three sailing vessels to Bozcaada, and then Bozcaada was completely conquered. The capture of Bozcaada caused rejoicing in Istanbul, and the

Sultan ordered the seizure of Limnos Island as well. Thereupon, the captain pasha besieged the island for two months and the island was conquered. (Uzunçarşılı, 2003)

Upon all these events, in 1663, in order to take absolute revenge from the Venetians, Mehmed IV had ordered an expedition to the Dalmatian coast by land, and orders were sent to the relevant qadis and beys. It was reported that roads should be opened and all kinds of preparations should be made to pass soldiers and war supplies from the Albanian side. In this context, it was reported that Grand Vizier Köprülü Ahmed Pasha was appointed as serdar to the imperial expedition to be made on Venice in the spring, in the decree dated 20 August 1662 addressed to Beylerbeylik of Rumelia Kaplan Mustafa Pasha, who was sent to the Manastir as qadi. Viziers, mirmirans, sergeants, clerks of the imperial council and the land registry, as well as students and commander (alaybeyi) and those who held fiefs from one thousand to one hundred thousands, were all assigned to the command of Köprülü Ahmed Pasha for the campaign in the Anatolian and Rumelian provinces. The decree was also ordered to be announced to the public in bazaars, towns and other places where people always gathered, so that all the individuals concerned would be informed about the expedition. Accordingly, those appointed for the Kotor Expedition were required to promptly and effectively join the imperial army in Edirne province with useful men and proper war equipment. It was emphasized that if they were not present at the specified location at the time of expedition, no excuses would be given, and they would be subject to punishment. (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:18, p. 80)

3. Provision Collected from Manastir and its Nearby for the Expedition

One of the most important factors affecting the success of the Ottoman campaigns was the army's appropriation and provision issue. In addition to the large military units numbering in the hundreds of thousands, plenty of feed and barley were needed to feed the pack and riding animals in the army. This, in turn, caused a great financial burden on the Ottoman treasury, including the allowance of the soldiers and the feed expenses of the animals. In this context, the central government developed grain supply methods in order to reduce the cost of the state treasury and to meet the army's need for grain. The basis of these methods was the power of the state called *Avarız-ı Divaniyye* to request all kinds of help and services from the people in case of necessity (Murphey, 2007). The *Avarız* tax collected within the scope of *Avarız-ı Divaniyye* was one of the extraordinary taxes and was generally collected when the need arose, such as during war and expedition times. However, at the end of the 16th century, as a result of successive wars, in addition to *Avarız*, extraordinary taxes such as *Nüzül* and *Sürsat* were turned into regular taxes (Sahillioğlu 1991). One of the *Avarız* type of taxes, *Nüzül*, has emerged with

the aim of preparing the desired flour and barley at certain periods in order to provide the food of the army going to and returning from the front in times of war (İşbilir, 2007). While *Avarız* was collected in cash, other taxes like *Nüzül and Sürsat* were collected in kind, such as wheat, flour, fodder, honey and similar goods. Similarly to *Avarız* during the late 16th century, *Nüzül* also began to be collected in cash from distant areas, while it continued to be collected in kind from places closer to the collection areas (Sahillioğlu 1991). In the 17th century, it is seen that *Avarız and Nüzül* were regularly collected in cash every year from Manastir and its surroundings (Söylemez & Gözcü, 2021).

In the context of preparing provisions for the military expedition to Kotor, the Ottoman Empire resorted to the of *Avarız-ı Divaniyye* as *Sürsat Zahire* in kind from Manastir (Çağ, 2022) and its surroundings. In this context, it was great importance for the attendants who would set out on the expedition to have the necessary provisions readily available at the designated locations before the expedition even began, for the expedition to develop in favour of the Ottoman Empire. Because of this, the Ottoman Empire sending the necessary documents to the relevant authorities. In the edict sent to the qadi of Manastir, dated 1073/1662, he stated that some of provision *Sürsat* needed by the army would be supplied from Manastir and the specified amount would be sent to the destination in Resne. On the other hand, in case of a possible need, it was ordered to keep the remaining of provision in Manastir (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:19, p. 46).

Figure 1. The Last *Sürsat* Provision from Manastir for Kotor Expedition

Barley	5000 bushel (kile)
Wheat	450 bushel (kile)
Sheep	450 piece
Butter	400 vukıyye
Honey	200 vukıyye
Fodder	600 weihbridge

Figure 2. The Amount of Provision from Manastir to Resne

Barley	1500 bushel (kile)
Wheat	150 bushel (kile)
Saman Fodder	200 weighbridge

Figure 3. The Amount of Provision as Stock in Manastir

Barley	3500 bushel (kile)
Wheat	300 bushel (kile)
Sheep	450 piece
Butter	40 vukıyye
Honey	20 vukıyye
Fodder	400weighbridge

The distribution collection, transportation and delivery of provisions to the society were primarily the responsibility of qadi and in accidents besides qadi, there were also kethuda yeri, commanders of Yeniceri troops and laborers involved in the procurement of provisions (Gökpınar, 2014). As a rule, each qadi was required to transport the specified amount of provisions from her district to the designated location before the arrival of the army. There she had to hand over flour, bread, barley, fodder, honey, and firewood to the provision the officer. Additionally, the qadi needed to deliver the specified number of sheep for butchering. After completing the delivery, the qadi would receive a receipt (Certificate of Agreement) as a proof of the handover (Selçuk, 2008). For the Kotor Expedition, was ordered that the provision *Sürsat* to be transported to Alexandria which supplied from Manastir and Görice through purchasing (iştirat)⁴ with the money given from the treasury in the form of an edict sent to the qadis of Manastir and Görice (Sharia Court of Manastir, Nu:19, p. 64). In other words, in case of provisions *Nüzül and Sürsat* were not enough, the government resorted to buy provisions with

⁴“İştirat” means “to purchase” in Arabic, “iştirat zahiresi” is a term used to indicate the soldiers’ during the expeditions. M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü II*, Meb Yayınları, İstanbul 1993, p. 104.

free market conditions called as ‘‘Purchasing’’ (Kurtaran, 2012). Purchasing also known as commerce which everyone was obliged to sell the surplus of the provisions they had to state. The state was meeting the money it paid for the provisions. It bought from the central, provincial and army treasuries.

Figure 4. The Sürsat Provision that Was Ordered to Buy from Manastir District for the Kotor Expedition

Provision	Amount-Bushel (Kile)	Mite (Akçe)-(the cost of a bushel)
Barley	3534.5	30
Flour	372	50
Wheat	339	45

Figure 5. The Sürsat Provision that Was Ordered to Buy from Görice District for the Kotor Expedition

Provision	Amount-Bushel (Kile)	Mite (Akçe) (the cost of a bushel)
Barley	1291.5	30
Flour	302	50
Wheat	302	45

In case of the exported provisions for the army’s expedition are not enough, the government need to announce a new decree to supply provisions from the from the same place again through purchasing and it was emphasized that this order need to be fulfilled urgently. In this regard, it was stated that the amount of *sürsat* grain that should be exported to Alexandria for the Kotor expedition, which is included in tables 4 and 5, would not be sufficient, and in addition to the amount specified, it was ordered that the sufficient amount of grain trade from Manastir, Görice and Florina districts be supplied and transported to Alexandria. (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:19, p. 79)

Figure 6. The Amount of Sürsat Provision that sent from Manastir district to Alexandria, in addition to Sürsat provision is for the Kotor Expedition.

Provision	Amount-Bushel (Kile)	Mite (Akçe)-(the cost of a bushel)
Barley	10.000	20
Flour	1500	40
Wheat	1500	35

Figure 7. The Amount of Sürsat Provision that sent from Görice district to Alexandria, in addition to Sürsat provision is for the Kotor Expedition.

Provision	Amount-Bushel (Kile)	Mite (Akçe)-(the cost of a bushel)
Barley	6000	20
Flour	1000	40
Wheat	1000	35

Figure 8. The Amount of Sürsat Provision that sent from Florina district Alexandria, in addition to Sürsat provision is for the Kotor Expedition.

Provision	Amount-Bushel (Kile)	Mite (Akçe)-(the cost of a bushel)
Barley	4000	20
Flour	1500	40
Wheat	1500	35

Total Amount

Barley	Folur	Wheat
20000 bushel (kile)	4000 bushel (kile)	4000 bushel (kile)

Again, as understood from the decrees sent by the Manastir qadi, it was ordered that the price of the Sürsat provision required for the expedition be distributed to the villages of the Manastir per household and collected by the provincial notables and the sub-chiefs (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:19, p. 82). In another document, it was ordered that non-Muslims of Manastir are not exempt from the Sürsat price for the Kotor Expedition. It is also reported that

an increase will be made in the price to be charged in Sürsat price (Manastır Sharia Registry, Nu:19, p. 72).

As mentioned, besides the provision purchases made by the government for the army about to set off on a campaign, the rayah society were also allowed to bring their own provision on carts and sell them within the army. With this method, people could earn money by selling their provisions, fruits and vegetables and at the same time, the soldiers could fulfill their needs (Türkmen, 2003). The payees as officer are sent to whom collect the *Sürsat* taxes in cash by the government and the *Sürsat* taxes were collected based on the prices of agricultural products that were determined by the government.

4. Gunpowder and Cannon for the Expedition

Gunpowder, one of the most important inventions of human history, has been one of the pioneers of political changes on states and societies. The use of gunpowder and gunpowder weapons had important political and socio-cultural consequences in world history, accelerated the collapse of feudalism and ensured the formation of central political powers. Gunpowder has been the decisive factor of wars and an indispensable necessity of war supporters in all wars, and it has led to the emergence of two factors that will change the course of military history. These are cannon and strong fortification (Solak, 2018). In that way, gunpowder one of the essential materials for firearms, which was produced by mixing certain proportions of niter (güherçile), sulfur, and charcoal. Other materials used in the productions of gunpowder included in canvas (as sailcloth), iron, copper, oil, rope, barrel hoops, buckets, sieves, soaps, sacks, nails, plates and shovels. The recruitment of these materials was done by the gunpowder minister (Baruthane Nazırı). The gunpowder minister was procuring other substances, but primarily sulfur, by mean of purchases (Sevinç, 2010).

During the preparations for the Kotor Expedition, qadi of Manastır, kethuda yeri and Yeniceris ordered a thousand weighbridge gunpowder and two thousand weighbridge cannon from the *Selanik Baruthanesi* for the ammunition of Kotor Fortress (Sharia Court of Manastır, Nu:18, p. 74). In addition, a document sent to the beys of the sanjaks of Delvine, Yanya, Ohrid, Elbasan, Dukagin, Alexandria, Prizren and Thessaloniki and the qadis, mirliva, kethuda yeri fortress soldiers and aghas, province's businessmen, in fact, the transportation of the cannons required for the Kotor expedition of Ali Pasha, the Governor of Rumelia, which was to be conquered and established in the spring, as well as the export and the purchase of agricultural goods, He was informed that he was in charge of the affairs of the roads and the general and

minor affairs of the expedition, and he was ordered to be duly assisted in the matters reported to him and to deliver the expedition ammunition a day and an hour earlier (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:18, p. 75). In other document sent to the qadis of Ohrid, Alexandria, and Manastir was reported that in the early spring, rope was needed to send the cannons to the Kotor fortress, and it should be urgently procured (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:18, p. 79).

The Ottomans knew artillery well and were able to use them effectively since the first period of their empire (Agoston, 2023). In case of not having sufficient quantity of good quality gunpowder, properly stored and preserved, the effectiveness of the cannons would be significantly reduced. After leaving the central arsenals for use in different fronts, gunpowder is highly susceptible to post-production deterioration. While gunpowder is typically transported overland under dry weather conditions, there were instances when it was transported via rivers. Additionally, gunpowder was also used on ships for various purposes. Also, adverse weather conditions due to unexpected conditions, accidents causing damage or delay in the delivery of ammunition could be a disadvantage (Murphey 2007). Considering all these factors, an order sent to judges, kethuda yeri, Yeniceri chiefs, Imams, village kethuda yeri, and workers along the route from Thessaloniki to Alexandria. The order emphasized the importance of ensuring the safety and intact transportation of ammunition, including gunpowder and other supplies, for the siege of the Kotor fortress, It was instructed to take care of the security during the journey and to ensure that the animals used for transportation were provided with enough provisions (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:18, p. 74/75).

Conclusion

Located on the borders of Montenegro, Kotor is located in an important gulf due to its strategic location on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. In the 17th century, the Adriatic was an important transit center for the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice. In the Adriatic region of Kotor, which was subject to Venice, Ottoman Venice formed the border with Venice. One side of the Bay of Kotor was Albania and the other side was Bosnia and Herzegovina, and these regions were under Ottoman rule. In this context, the Ottoman Empire, which wanted to establish a complete dominance on the Adriatic coast, organized expeditions to the Bay of Kotor, but it was not very successful. It is thought that the reason for the failure of these expeditions was the geographical location of Kotor rather than the superior naval power of the Venetians. Because the castle of Kotor was built on the slope of a rocky, steep and high

mountain starting from the gulf. The bay was surrounded by rocky steep mountains, which did not allow the Ottomans to besiege it from land. On the other hand, there were some political and administrative conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and Venice as a result of the Crete campaign of the Ottoman Empire, the attacks and blockades of the Venetian Republic on some islands subject to the Ottoman Empire.

As it understood from a copy of the edict sent to the qadi of Manastir in 1662, the Ottoman Empire decided to expedition to Kotor in order to take absolute revenge from Venice. In this expedition, Köprülü Ahmed Pasha was appointed as Serdar-i Ekrem. And in these documents, it was ordered that the food and ammunition of the army, which would set out for the conquest of Kotor Castle, should be provided from Manastir and its nearby districts. In this sense, it was reported that *Sürsat* Provisions would be procured from Manastir, Görice, Florina through bargaining. As *Sürsat* provision wheat, barley, flour, butter, honey, sheep, and hay.

The aforesaid grain of *Sürsat* was ordered to be supplied from exempt and non-exempt, as well as per household, to the villages of Manastir. As seen in another document, it was stated that the desired speed grain would not be sufficient, and it was stated that some more speed grain should be collected. In the Kotor Expedition, gunpowder and cannonballs, which were the decisive elements of victory in the campaign and castle sieges, were ordered to be sent from *Selanik Baruthanesi* (Thessaloniki Gunpowder Factory) and a thousand weighbridge of black gunpowder and two thousand weighbridge of cannonballs were requested. Necessary orders were sent to the relevant authorities on the expedition route in order to safely deliver the ammunition that needs to be prepared for the expedition and transported to the expedition area. In this sense, when it is considered, at the preparation process of the Kotor Expedition, it is understood that the Ottoman Empire attaches great importance to the complete logistics of the expeditions to be made and to send them to the expedition area in a timely and safe manner. As a result, as it is understood from another decree sent to the qadi of Manastir, even though the necessary preparations were made for the Kotor Campaign, the conquest of Kotor Castle was left for another time as a result of the Austrian State's attack on the Uyvar Castle. (Manastir Sharia Registry, Nu:18, p. 75).

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APPENDICES

1. The distribution book of the grain purchase to be collected from the Manastır district for the ammunition of the Kotor expedition.

Buf Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Dragna Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Rakova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Osperine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Suşa? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5
Kleştine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Kişeva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Asute..? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Noguçan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6.5	Borodim Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3
Bekri Paşa Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Vakfi Bekri Village Peasant Household (Hane)	Orta Bekri Peasant Household (Hane) 7.5	Jabyani Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7	Valuşine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5
Barişan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 12	Haluvan Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Berice Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Uzlukokan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Optıçar Peasant Household (Hane) 13
Bozdaş Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Kastohor Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Guzman Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5	Tarin Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Gormaz? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Olahçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Brosnik Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Tirebol Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Dihovo Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Rubka Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1
İsmolovo Şehri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Trnova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Magarevo Village Peasant Household (Hane) 12	İskoçevir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Yukarıbaş Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5
Rohotine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Sabari Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7	Maluşine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 8	Karani Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Ravene Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3
Sere? Village Peasant Household (Hane)	Doleniçe Kevat Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Asuneşte ? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Usturva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Çernofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5

Ragoriç Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Usturgova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Serice-i Küçük Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Bukova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Ubernik Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5
Çevan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Babine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Doleniçe Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Brezva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Velçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Bustran Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5	Virde Bala Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Bogişte Village Peasant Household (Hane) 8.5	Mirnova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Asubeşte? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4
Bazarnik Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	..bala? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Çerbukazir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Jasle Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Kocişte Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5
Raketiçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Nosil Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Dupubak Bala Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Dupubak Zir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Ohrilova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5
Kuruşeva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Radova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Sopotniçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Beriliçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6.5	Zoriçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6
Karye-i İslipçe Hane 6	Karye-i Morgaş Hane 2.5	Karye-i Kargapova Hane 1	Karye-i Gradişte Hane 2	Karye-i Varadine Hane 1
Ornakofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Shodol Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Korabin? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Luznan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Trnofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3
Karye-i Asuti Todor Hane 3	Karye-i Ubruşan Hane 2.5	Karye-i Serice baş Hane 1	Karye-i Serice Hane 3	Karye-i Çırnabuka Hane 3
İzmir Nova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Lisolay Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6	Lopatiçe Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Sekran Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Dragoran Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5
Kokorcan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Oblakova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Kocişte Şehri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Karkarine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Hraştani Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3

Mogila Village Peasant Household (Hane) 9	Radobor Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5	Trab Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Dobruşan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 11.5	Tuşbal Village Peasant Household (Hane) 8
Lopatiçe Morihova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Podimol Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6.5	Dobromir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6	Viranofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Bilyenik? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5
Ribarçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Novak Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Tibahçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Galeniş Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Polok Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5
İsloviçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Çekül Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5	Nogotin Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6	Brod Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5	Bukova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 20
Popilhan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 8	Branova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Orihova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Latoniçe? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Belçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1
Osteriçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Çer Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Nosilan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5	Direvezi? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Gradişinçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6
Timur Hisar Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Bratendol Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Çerava Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Çırnorıç Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5	Shogırla Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1
Bançar Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5	Asute Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Bresil Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Balaçerkova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Nogodin Zir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5
Vudnan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Pogodin Bala Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	İvanefçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Dragoş Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Nefs-iŞehr Village Peasant Household (Hane) 20
Kefere Şehri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Mescidlü Village Peasant Household (Hane) 8	Lezce Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Laglar Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Hazerofça? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Haberlu Village Peasant Household	Hanalu Village Peasant Household	Bustarika? Village Peasant Household	Rastoviçe Village Peasant Household	Malusheste Village Peasant Household

Household (Hane) 0.5	Household (Hane) 2	Household (Hane) 0.5	Household (Hane) 0.5	Household (Hane) 5
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2. A copy of *Sürsat* register of *Sürsat* provision to be collected from the exempt and non-exempt from the Manastir district for the Kotor Expedition.

Buf Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Dragna Village Peasant Household (Hane) 12	Rakovo Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Obsirine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Soşa? Village Peasant Household (Hane)...
Kleştine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Kişeva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Asureliçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Nogucan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6	Borodim Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5
Bekripaşa Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	VakfıBekri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Ortabekri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7	Rayban Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7	Valuşine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5
Barişan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 12	Halon? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Bustariçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Uzlukokan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Optiçar Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Moroş? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5	Kastohor Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Guzman Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Tarin Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Gurman? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Karye-i Olahçe Hane 4	Karye-i Brosnik Hane 4.5	Karye-i Bronul? Hane 2.5	Karye-i Dihovo Hane 2	Karye-i Rusça Hane 1
İsmolovo Şehri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Tırnova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Magarevo Village Peasant Household (Hane) 12	Askoçevir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Yukarıbaş Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Rohotine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Sabari Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6.5	Maluşte Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7	Kran Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Radna Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2

Live Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Doleniçe Kevat Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Asolişte Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Usturva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Suriçe? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3
Ragoriç Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Usturgova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Suriçe Küçük Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Leskovo Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Ubernik Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5
Çevan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Yanya? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7.5	Dolaniçe Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7.5 ?	Sararova? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Velçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Bustran Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5	Virova Bala Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Bogişte Village Peasant Household (Hane) Hane ...	Mirnova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	İskofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4
Bazarnik Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Hraska Bala Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Hraska Zir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Zaşle Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Rakatiçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5
Nosiltimur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Dupubak Bala Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Ohrilova Village Peasant Household (Hane)...	Ohrilova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Kocişte Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5
Kuruşeva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Radve Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Sobiçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Beriliçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Rurçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4
İslipçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Moribaş? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Kargava Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Gravişte Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Vardine Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1
Ednakofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Shodol Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Korin Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Luznan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Tirnofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3

Asute Todor Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Obrışan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Serçebaş Village Peasant Household (Hane)	Brançe Village Peasant Household (Hane) Hane 3	Çırnabuka Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3
İzmirnova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Lisolay Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5	Lopatiçe Timur Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Sekran Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Dragozan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5
Karye-i Kokoçan Hane 4.5	Karye-i Oblakova Hane 2.5	Karye-i Kocište şehri Hane 2.5	Karye-i Karkarin Hane 1.5	Karye-i Rasban Hane 2.5
Mogila Village Peasant Household (Hane) 7	Radobor Village Peasant Household (Hane) 8	Trab Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Dubroşeva Village Peasant Household (Hane) 11.5	Tuşbal Village Peasant Household (Hane)...
Lopatiçe Morihova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Podmol Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5	Domirovir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Viranofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Balanik? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3
Ribarçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Novak Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Benafçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4.5	Kleşne Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Polok Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
İsloviçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Çekül Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Nogosin Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6	Brot Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5.5	Bukova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 19
Bogilhan Village Peasant Household (Hane)..	Bralova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Orihova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3.5	Lopotiče Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Belçe? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1
Ostriçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2.5	Çer Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	Nosilan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Radomir? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Gradişince Village Peasant Household (Hane) 6

Timurhisar Village Peasant Household (Hane)..	Siretzol Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Hravo Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Çernoriçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1	Shogırla Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5
Asoti Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3	Presil Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Bala Çernova Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Nogodin Zir Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Nogodin Bala Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3
Vudnan Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4	İvanofça Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Dragarli Village Peasant Household (Hane) 1.5	Bostarika Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2	Rastoviçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 2
Maluceşte Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5	Baliçar Village Peasant Household (Hane) 0.5	Total (Yekün) Peasant Household (Hane) 500		

Apart from the township, the city of Nafs, to which *Sursat and nüzil* fees were distributed, was given to Muslims, Jews and villages.

Nefsi Şehri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 20 Amount (Meblağ) 13.600	Kefere Şehri Village Peasant Household (Hane) 3 Amount (Meblağ) 2400	Lurçe Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4 Amount (Meblağ) 2400	Laglar Village Peasant Household (Hane) Amount (Meblağ) 1250	Mescidlü Village Peasant Household (Hane) 8 Amount (Meblağ) 4300
Hanalu Village Peasant Household (Hane) 28 Amount (Meblağ) 14.700	Çayırlu Village Peasant Household (Hane)... Amount (Meblağ) 450	Karye-i Omarlar Meblağ	Viranofça Village Peasant Household (Hane).. Amount (Meblağ) 4300	Çer? Village Peasant Household (Hane) Amount (Meblağ) 1150
Kapanlar Village Peasant	Kevat Village Peasant Household (Hane) 4500	Eyneler? Village Peasant Household (Hane) 5500	Taife-i Yahudiyen Village Peasant	Total (Yekün) Amount (Meblağ) 66200

Household (Hane) 5500			Household (Hane) (Meblağ) 6700	
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To Cite this Chapter

Söylemez, F. & Gözcü, H. (2023). The preparations for the Kotor expedition against Venice in the period of Mehmed IV. In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp. 1-23). ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 2: A GENERAL ASSESSMENT ON THE HERZEGOVINA UPRISING (1875 – 1876)

Yaşar ARSLANYÜREK 

Oğuz ALPOĞLU 

1. Introduction

Starting from the second half of the 15th century, the Ottoman Empire created a military zone in Sarajevo (Djurdjev, 1992, p.298). Bosnia became a sanjak after it came under Ottoman rule. Over time, this place was ruled as a state. In the 1580s, the Bosnian province consisted of 7 sanjaks. This administrative situation of Sarajevo continued until 1866, after this period it became a province (Sezen, 2017, p.129).

After the Ottoman domination of Bosnia, from the 19th century onwards, some disagreements began to occur between the administrators and the people. The military reforms carried out in the region from this period were often the cause of the uprisings. In the uprisings that took place, the rebels demanded full autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina. These rebels were easily dispersed in 1832 due to rivalry and disagreement among them. However, the turmoil in the region continued after that. Since the 1850s, the Ottoman Empire was able to carry out the reforms it thought to implement in the region and strengthened the central authority. During this period, Bosnia was divided into 6 district governorships and Herzegovina 3 district governorships. Sarajevo was also designated as the official center. The current unfavorable conditions in the Bosnia and Herzegovina region led to a series of peasant uprisings there. The most important of the revolts that took place in the Balkans during the 19th century was the Herzegovina Uprising in 1875. This rebellion, which gained a political identity, brought with it the intervention of European states. Bosnia-Herzegovina was given to Austria-Hungary at the 1878 Berlin Congress. The occupation, which started on July 29, was completed on October 20, 1878, and the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina came to an end (Djurdjev, 1992, p.301).

Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, in his book *Maruzat*, describes Herzegovina as a region on the border of Montenegro where “very wild” Montenegrins live (A. Cevdet Paşa, 1980, p.44). On the other hand, Pasha sees the Herzegovina Uprising as a purely political problem in his report (BOA, Y.EE, 39/8-5).

With the deterioration of the political situation of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, Austria's ambitions on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the policies it developed in this direction, whose interest in the region increased even more, caused uprisings in the region throughout the 19th century. These uprisings occurred between 1831-1832, 1849-1851, 1857-1859, 1861-1862. However, the most important turning point for the region is the Herzegovina Uprising in 1875 (Özkan, 2016, p.854).

2. The Causes of the Herzegovina Uprising

Ahmet Cevdet Pasha gives some information about the causes of the rebellion in his report on the Herzegovina Uprising dated April 1, 1894. According to this; The people of Herzegovina acted together with the Governor of Herzegovina, Ali Pasha. Serdar-ı Ekrem Ömer Pasha, on the other hand, defeated the Bosnian beys and captured Herzegovina. During this period, Ali Pasha of Hersek was also executed. Later, he tied the Christians in Herzegovina to the jizya like the Christians in other regions and tried to collect their weapons. Thereupon, the Christians living in the steep mountains on the border with Montenegro started to revolt. The places where they were found were called Nevahi-i Asiye (rebel sub-districts) (BOA, Y.EE, 39/8-6).

The people of Nevahi-i Asiye were wild and braver than the Montenegrins. Montenegrins used to enter and leave this area easily and helped them in times of war. Although the people of this region carried out the revolt, there were many Montenegrins among them. They also received a lot of help from outside. During this period, Niksik village was surrounded between Nevahi-i Asiye and Karadağ. Because of this, the Ottoman Empire had a lot of trouble in sending supplies to the Muslim people in Niksik. This issue continued for years. For this reason, a lot of money was spent and many soldiers were martyred. Meanwhile, an uprising broke out in Shkodër. Cevdet Pasha was sent to that region to stop this revolt. Meanwhile, Fuat Pasha became the grand vizier. As a result of the report prepared and presented by Cevdet Pasha, soldiers were sent to Montenegro from Herzegovina and Shkodër. Thus, Montenegro was punished in this way. However, upon the intervention of the great states, the soldiers sent were dispersed. Nevahi-i Asiye affairs, which the Ottoman Empire tried to solve here and which was its main purpose, were put into the background. Austria tried to attract the notables of Nevahi-i Asiye to its side in order to gain a right in those regions. Fuad Pasha said, "Encourage them to come here, but do not promise them anything and do not make any commitments to them". As Russia was aware of this attitude of Austria, he warned the notables of Nevahi-i Asiye not to approach Austria. Austria, on the other hand, tried to lure the notables of Nevahi-

i Asiye to its side with empty promises such as “Let’s take you to Istanbul and get your rank and insignia” (BOA, Y.EE, 39/8-6,7).

Nevahi-i Asiye notables told about such efforts of Austria to the Ragusa Consul of Russia. On the other hand, the consul said, “Yes, since the Austrians have given you a guarantee, let them sign their promises on a piece of paper. Therewith, the consul said, “Yes, since the Austrians have given you a guarantee, let them sign their promises on a piece of paper, and you send it to the Pive Church to be kept as a promissory note”. Thereupon, Nevahi-i Asiye notables demanded such a deed from the Austrians. However, they stated that they were not authorized in this matter and stated that their words were promissory notes (BOA, Y.EE, 39/8-7).

Political relations between the Ottoman Empire and Russia were quite tense during this period due to the Bulgarian and Serbian issues. Russia proposed the annexation of Nevahi-i Asiye to Montenegro and claimed that the issue could be resolved in this way. Cevdet Pasha also took part in the commission established in this direction. Considering that Nevahi-i Asiye was actually out of the administration of the Ottoman Empire and it was of no use to the state, it was preferred to leave the region and resolve the issue. But Niksik, with several hundred Muslim households, was located within this region. While negotiating about what would happen to these Muslims, the regional policy of the Ottoman Empire suddenly changed. Because Midhat Pasha had always been in favor of going to war against Russia. Damat Mahmud Pasha and Redif Pasha also agreed with Midhat Pasha’s opinion. In addition to this, while negotiating with the officials from Montenegro, they were given a refusal and the commission meeting was interrupted, thus preparing the environment for the war. That’s why Cevdet Pasha shows Midhat Pasha, Mahmud Pasha and Redif Pasha as responsible for the war (BOA, Y.EE, 39/8-8,9).

The Treaty of Shkodër was signed in 1862. But the problem arising from the rebels in the region was not resolved. The people of the region declared their loyalty to the Montenegrin prince. In addition, the ability of Montenegrin officials to wander around Herzegovina as they wished shows the influence of Montenegro in the Herzegovina Revolt. 160 people⁵ (Mahmud

⁵ There is no certainty about the numbers given on this subject. For example, BOA, Y.EE. 10/21-1 numbered, in a report dated April 27, 1909 and the number 160 is given in Mahmud Celaleddin Pasha’s *Mir’at-ı Hakikat*. However, M. Aydın claimed in his doctoral thesis that this number was 184. In addition, M. Aydın stated that this number was stated as 164 in a letter dated 2 July 1875 sent by British Consul Holmes to Count Derby.

Celaleddin Paşa, 1983; 51; Aydın, 2002; 26) from Nevesin⁶ (Kiel, 2007; 44-45) took refuge in Montenegro, complaining about heavy taxes and the actions of the zabtieh soldiers. In addition, this group did not want to pay cattle tax and took refuge with the Montenegrin Prince Nikola and complained about it. Prince Nikola was afraid of attracting the reaction of the Ottoman Empire at first. However, he told those who took refuge in him to ask Count Ignatyev⁷ (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Nikolay-Pavlovich-Graf-Ignatyev>. (Date of access and time: 1.1.2023 – 18:43), the Russian ambassador in Istanbul, to send an officer to investigate these issues by writing their complaints. In addition, housing the refugees was a huge cost. For this reason, he asked Ignatyev to help 160 people to return to their homeland in mediation before the Ottoman State. Ignatyev also reported the situation to the Grand Vizier Esad Pasha. Esad Pasha allowed the 160 refugees in question to return to their homes as a sign of goodwill and not to spoil the existing relations with Russia (Özcan, 2009, p.27-28).

The beginning of the Balkan crisis that took place between 1875-1878 was the Herzegovina Uprising. The time from 9 July 1875 to 1 July 1876 is seen as the first phase of the “Oriental Depression”. In this first period, Montenegro supported the Herzegovinian rebels covertly and secretly. The reason for the Herzegovina Uprising is that the Muslim population in Herzegovina leads a more prosperous life compared to the Christian population in socio-economic terms, but Christians cannot operate these lands where Muslims are “aggressors” by leasing them. The beginning of the deterioration of the peace was the Ministry of Finance’s request that the tax on the lands in the region be given to tax farmers. However, as a result of the arbitrary practices of the tax farmers, the farmers left only enough money for themselves. Because of this, the farmers started to revolt. In addition, the inability to get yield from the crop in 1874 and the increase in the current tax prepared the last conditions of the rebellion. The indifference of the Ottoman rulers to these events and the rebellion that started in Nevesin led the rebels to massacre many Muslims and loot their properties (Özcan, 2009, p.27).

The fact that the Ottoman Empire had a forgiving attitude towards the aforementioned Christian refugees was evaluated as a weakness by the people of Nevesin. This situation was intended to be used against the Ottoman state. The harsh attitudes of the Muslim landlords in the region, the increase in the tax burden and the injustices of the tax farmers prepared the suitable ground for the uprising. Some events that can be called common in such rebellion

⁶ An old Ottoman town, 25 km from Herzegovina and surrounded by high mountains.

⁷ Nikolay Pavlovich, Count Ignatyev, Pan Slavist diplomat and statesman who played a major role in the administration of Russia’s foreign policy in Asia under Tsar Alexander II.

attempts are also seen in the first phase of the Herzegovina Uprising. The fact that the administrators in Nevesin were forced to flee, the police officers were killed, and the gangs started to kill Muslims by holding roads and bridges can be given as examples of such events. In this way, the Herzegovina Uprising, which started on July 24, 1875⁸ (Turan, 2018, p.636-637; Danişmend, 1972, p.246), ignited the Ottoman-Serb, Montenegro Wars (Karal, 2003, p.74-75).

Some historians, evaluating the causes of the 1875 Herzegovina Uprising, sought the main reason for the uprising in the activities carried out by Montenegro and Serbia in order to establish a great Slavic state in the Balkans, or as a result of the rivalry between these two states. Undoubtedly, although the activities and rivalries of these states affected the uprising, it would be more accurate to evaluate this event by taking into account the work carried out by Russia within the framework of the Pan-Slavism ideology. It would be more accurate to evaluate this event by taking into account the Slavs' aid in Dalmatia and Croatia. However, if attention is paid to the fact that Serbia became the intellectual center of the uprisings in the Balkans against the Ottoman Empire in this period, it will be noticed that Serbia played an important role in the Herzegovina Uprising gaining a Panslavist character (Aydın, 2005, p.923-924).

Apart from the political reasons mentioned above, the Herzegovina Uprising had economic reasons. Agriculture is one of the main economic reasons. Despite all the efforts of the Ottoman Empire, the inability to find a serious and permanent solution for agriculture was effective in the loss of Ottoman dominance in the region. The loss of dominance also led to the beginning of rebellions. Another problem in agriculture is that the drought and bad harvest period experienced about a year before the Herzegovina Uprising provides suitable conditions for the rebellion. Despite the drought, the negative attitudes of the tax farmers in the region on tax collection revolted the Christian farmers in many villages against the Muslim landlords (Güran & Uzun, 2006, p.894).

Conte, the Spanish ambassador in Istanbul, stated in his report on 20 July 1875 that an uprising broke out in Herzegovina and this situation was reflected in the European press. He stated that the only reason for the uprising was the harsh attitude of the Ottoman administrators in the region towards tax collection. He claimed that the uprising did not have a political identity until the beginning. Stating that the Ottoman Empire did not care about the uprising, Conte

⁸ Although it is stated in many sources in the literature that the uprising started on July 24, it is contradictory that Conte, the Spanish ambassador in Istanbul, mentioned the rebellion in his report dated July 20, 1875. In addition, İsmail Hâmi Danişmend states that the uprising started on April 13, 1875.

stated that this uprising broke out suddenly with the support and assistance of foreign organizations that adopted the Panslavist ideology rather than local factors (Turan, 2018, p.636-637).

Another diplomat who gave information about the Herzegovina Uprising, apart from the information given by the Spanish ambassador, is the British consul in Sarajevo, Holmes. The information conveyed by the consul is as follows:

The war in Herzegovina is continued by the inhabitants of the region where the uprising took place. This population was actually independent from the Ottoman Empire for the last fifteen years with the support of Montenegro. Since the important thing for these people was to disturb the Turks, they continued their activities in line with the orders they received from Montenegro and Russia. As a result, promises of reform for the region or autonomy for Christians will not make sense until Montenegro is somehow persuaded to peace... (Özdem, 2012, p.189) is expressed.

3. The Development of the Herzegovina Uprising

Conte, the Spanish ambassador of the period, conveyed the following information about the development of the Herzegovina Uprising. The uprising, which started in the town of Nevesin and spread to Trebin, concentrated in the countryside between Mostar and Ragusa. He stated that there were no incidents in places other than these regions. He stated that the Ottoman government sent enough soldiers to the region to prevent the spread of this uprising. If the information in this report is correct, a suspicion arises about the information in the domestic sources of the period that the rebellion was not responded to quickly. However, it is possible that the situation stated by the Spanish ambassador in his report consists of his own estimation and foresight (Turan, 2018, p.637).

There is more detailed information about the rebellion in the report of the Spanish ambassador. For example, the information sent to their ambassadors by the representatives of foreign countries in Serbia and Herzegovina states that the number of rebels is more than a thousand. Despite the help of Serbia and Montenegro, Conte thought that if Austria and Russia did not support the rebellion, except for England, which followed a more conciliatory policy in this period, the rebels would disperse quickly and the rebellion would not last long. In addition, Conte states that the visit of the Austrian Emperor Francisco I to the Slavic settlements in the region may have had a negative effect. He connects the basis of this claim with the idea of

Austria's idea of spreading to Slavic countries through the uprising. However, he also stated that it was not possible for the emperor to support the uprising, since the existence of different ethnic elements living in Austria created a concern about the same kind of movements. Conte emphasized that the uprising was exaggerated by the European press and that in reality there was a small rebel group of a thousand people. He also claimed that the European states did not support the uprising yet and that the revolt would end in a short time (Turan, 2018, p.639).

4. Herzegovina Uprising and Russia

4.1. Russia's Ambitions on the Balkans

The revolts that started on July 24, 1875 in Nevesin town of Herzegovina province grew in a short time by including Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria in 1876 with the negative effect of Russia. These events, which were an internal problem of the Ottoman Empire, gained an international dimension in a short time and, with the influence of Russia, caused the states that signed the 1856 Paris Agreement to intervene. Russia's aim was to create a so-called great Slavic union by removing all Slavs from Ottoman rule in the Balkans. He believed that if Russia could achieve this, it could achieve its goal of reaching the Mediterranean by limiting the Ottoman Empire's dominance area, which was accepted among the European states with the Paris Treaty of 1856 (Köse, 2006, p.265-266).

Under the chairmanship of the Russian ambassador Ignatyev and at his request, nine secret meetings were held between 11 and 22 December 1876 with representatives of other great states. In these meetings, Ignatyev made other states accept the idea of introducing foreign troops to these regions as a guarantee of the autonomy to be demanded for Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to this idea, it was claimed that Bulgaria was in danger and there was a consensus on the idea of sending troops to Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this way, the idea of de facto intervention in the Ottoman Empire was accepted. These resolutions were tried to be imposed on the representatives of the Ottoman government at the Istanbul Conference on December 23, 1876. The Ottoman government, on the one hand, could not make sense of the negative policy of England, which had changed against it, and on the other hand, could not reconcile the decisions and proposals made with the principle of independence. For this reason, all Ottoman statesmen rejected the proposals of European states at the General Assembly, where the heads of all religious communities were present, on January 19, 1877 (Köse, 2006, p.266-267).

4.2. The Effect of Pan-Slavism Thought in Herzegovina Uprising

Considering the influence of Pan-Slavism in the Herzegovina Uprising, the influence of Montenegrin Pan-Slavists on this issue is remarkable. Montenegro has directed its domestic and foreign policies within the framework of this issue. Pan-Slavists, who took an active part in the 1862 Ottoman-Montenegrin Wars, influenced the public through the press by communicating with agents and consuls. This Pan-Slavism influence in Montenegro made Montenegro the preparer of the Herzegovina Uprising in 1875. Separatist thoughts that developed within the framework of nationalist ideas also showed themselves in the first newspaper of Montenegro, “Crnogorac” in 1871. However, this newspaper was banned in a short time due to its anti-Ottoman and anti-Austrian publications. In addition, Russia’s education of girls in the region through nuns through the schools opened in Montenegro is important in terms of showing the Russian influence on Montenegro and the region (Özcan, 2009, p.29-30).

In a document dated March 27, 1882, it was claimed that the main reason for the Herzegovina Uprising was the Russian Pan-Slavist Society, and that the society was very effective in this rebellion (BOA, Y.PRK.AZJ, 5/22-1). After the start of the Herzegovina Uprising, the influence of Pan-Slavist thought also showed itself in the Serbian and Montenegrin public. In this direction, the groups that supported the uprising began to put pressure on the idea of taking advantage of the troubled situation of the Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, the financial and moral support of the Pan-Slavists, on the other hand, the activities of the Russian ambassador Ignatyev and their consuls increased the influence and pressure on Serbia and Montenegro. Although these pressures affected the war-loving Montenegrin prince Nicholas, the prince hesitated, considering that Serbia was not ready for war yet. Under these conditions, Milan would either put its country at risk by going against the wishes of the anti-war European states, or it would endanger its power by opposing the public opinion of pro-war Serbia. In the midst of this dilemma, although Prince Milan initially dismissed the pro-war government, he could not stand the pressure of the public and had to withdraw his decision (Aydın, 2004, p.139-140).

4.3. The Role of Russia in the Herzegovina Uprising

Cevdet Pasha expressed the influence and connection of the Russians on the Serbs and Montenegrins in his report. According to him, Serbs and Montenegrins are of the Slavic race. Their language was also Slavic. In addition, the Russians protected the peoples who had

Pan-Slavism thought more than other nations. Since Montenegrins have always acted in accordance with Russia's policies, Russia has kept them in the foreground compared to other elements. The majority of the people of Herzegovina were the same as Montenegro in terms of both denomination and language (BOA, Y.EE, 39/8-6).

The following points are noteworthy in Ranko Alimpic's report to the Serbian government. Montenegrin Prince Nikola was acting on the orders of Russia, not of his own will. It is stated that this uprising was under the control of Nikola, but the prince could not do any work without their knowledge, since the financial support for the uprising was provided by the Russians. Therefore, the role of Nikola and Dubrovnik Consul Jonin, who had to take into account the wishes of Russia, in the uprising is pointed out. Jonin was surprised that the Serbian representative, Alimpic, had stayed in Çetine for so long. Because the Russians said that the right time for an alliance between Serbia and Montenegro had not yet come. In this direction, as of March 1876, the Prince of Montenegro was hesitant to sign an alliance agreement. Prince Nikola would enter the war on the side of Serbia by signing the alliance treaty for war at a time desired by Russia (Baltalı, 1987, p.833-834).

Prince Nikola gave dubious answers to Austrian Governor-General Rodic in Dalmatia, Gorchakov's special envoy Veselitsky, and the French consul in Shkodra in order to use Austria's influence in the region to suppress the Herzegovina Uprising by the rebels. This situation shows how the rebellion administration was carried out by whom. In the answers given by Nikola to the people in question, he stated that he had an influence on the rebels, but that nothing could be done about suppressing the rebellion. Because he stated that the rebels would make such heavy demands that the Ottoman Empire could not accept. The Russian Consul Jonin, who is an extreme Pan-Slavist, recommended in a letter that the Prince act peacefully and stay away from actual intervention in the rebellion until the current situation in Istanbul is clarified. With these words, Jonin stated that he made a recommendation for the suppression of the rebellion (Baltalı, 1987, p.834).

Meanwhile, Russia did not want the Serbs to cooperate not only with Montenegro but also with Bulgarians to unite. A Serbia, which would become a great state by uniting with the Bulgarians, would constantly raise the straits question due to its geographical proximity (Baltalı, 1987, p.833-834).

5. Support of Serbia and Montenegro to the Rebels

Herzegovina Uprising was supported financially and morally by Serbia at every opportunity and aroused great excitement. From the very beginning of the uprising, this support was de facto manifested in the form of “constantly” Serbs crossing the border and joining with the rebels. The number of Serbs joining the rebels had increased at times. For example, in the information given by Ahmet Muhtar Pasha from the region where the rebellion took place, it is stated that the number of Serbs and Montenegrins reached fourteen thousand. The reports sent by the Ottoman commanders in the region in March-April 1876 showed that most of the rebels consisted of Serbs and Montenegrins. It was determined that there were former Serbian officials among the rebels participating in the Herzegovina Uprising. Serbs, who have great support to the rebels in the region, sometimes entered into direct conflict against the Ottoman forces (Aydın, 2005, p.924).

In fact, the Serbian authorities admitted that they supported the uprising. However, Serbian administrators did not accept that official authorities contributed to this support. According to the Serbian rulers, those who supported the rebellion were volunteers from Serbia, not official Serbian representatives or officers. The reason for the statements of the Serbian administration in this direction was to eliminate the reaction of the Ottoman Empire and the European States, considering that Serbia was not ready for any war against the Ottoman Empire in this period. However, the Serbs viewed the rebellion positively and gave all kinds of support (Aydın, 2005, p.924-925).

The uprising, which was constantly supported by the European states, was expanding into a general Balkan crisis. Considering the period, the Ottoman Empire was caught unprepared for such an uprising. Ottoman statesmen, who were insufficient to suppress this uprising, made diplomatic initiatives by meeting with European states in order to prevent the uprising from being fed by foreign support. According to the information given by the Ottoman government to the European states, the uprising was suppressed in a short time. In this information, it was clearly stated that the governments of Montenegro and Serbia supported the bandits and sent soldiers to the border, emphasizing that this situation encouraged the rebels. Therefore, it was stated that both governments should give up military shipments. However, the diplomatic initiatives of the Ottoman Empire did not yield any positive results in preventing the foreign support given to the uprising (Aydın, 2005, p.925).

6. The Attitude of European States in the Herzegovina Uprising

The rebellions that took place in Herzegovina are the result of a situation created by the idea of Panslavism, and their source is the support of foreign states, especially Austria. For this reason, the rebellion had to be suppressed quickly. Conducting a military operation that can cut the Austrian border as much as possible and it was necessary to prevent the rebels from helping each other by always keeping the region in mind (ATASE, OSK, 3-0-99/2; Askerî Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, 1996, p.4).

In response to Russia's policies developed in line with the Pan-Slavism ideology, Austria, in central and southern Europe with a view to regaining lost territory and prestige against Germany and Italy, Austria placed his policy in the Balkans on a new foundation. This basis was to take over Albania and Macedonia, after conquering Bosnia and Herzegovina, and from there to Thessaloniki. On the other hand, Germany, despite not having any direct interest in the Balkans during this period, was thinking of preventing France from pursuing a policy of revenge against it. For this reason, Germany considered it beneficial for its own interests that France was busy with the problems in the Balkans (Karal, 2003, p.14-15).

England, on the other hand, was against Russia in particular and against other European states in general regarding the change in the status quo in the Balkans. But it was impossible for England alone to maintain this status quo. For this reason, England, acting with the thought that the Ottoman Empire should make concessions on some issues in the uprisings that took place in the Balkans, chose the way to suppress the events with some coercion (Karal, 2003, p.15).

Volunteers who went to the rebellion zone with the support of Serbia and Montenegro organized hit-and-run operations, also known as guerrilla warfare, against the Ottoman troops, causing both the rebellion and the war to prolong. In addition, the Serbian press, openly broadcasting in favor of the Yugoslav (South Slavs) union, was in favor of the unity of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bulgarians. Such publications were encouraged by Russia and Austria. During this period, Russia had engaged in a very effective propaganda activity in the Balkans. Slavic unity (Panslavism) was the basis of Russian propaganda. Its purpose was to separate the Balkan Slavs from Ottoman rule (Karal, 2003, p.14).

7. The Ottoman State's Attitude Towards Herzegovina Uprising

Although Bosnian Governor Derviş Pasha immediately made an attempt to suppress the Herzegovina Uprising, Grand Vizier Esad Pasha had a different opinion on suppressing the

rebellion. Esad Pasha was not in favor of suppressing the revolt by force. Because Esad Pasha considered that the cause of the Herzegovina Uprising was not political and had a regional administrative feature. Esad Pasha's thought here can also be explained as not provoking Montenegro and not causing Russia's intervention in the event. Esad Pasha believed that sending an advisory committee rather than sending military forces to the region was a more solution-oriented approach. The basis of this thought and belief was to disturb Montenegro and prevent the event from gaining international clarity as a result of the intervention of Russia and other European states. This intervention could clearly have made the Ottoman Empire guilty. However, the fact that the rebels were determined in the rebellion can be understood from their rejection of the advice committee sent by the Ottoman State. Esad Pasha's reluctant attitude to intervene in the rebellion and the fact that the event was ignored by the Ottoman statesmen caused the revolt to spread (Özcan, 2009, p.30-31).

7.1. Planned Military Operation Against Herzegovina Uprising

From the piers in the direction of Shkodra, Montenegro, Bar and Ispiç piers should have been designated as ammunition and grain ports. It was deemed appropriate to plan the movement of the İspicek large assault division first. In other words, the assault division to be dispatched from the direction of Shkodër had to be larger and superior to the Montenegrin bandit. In order to meet this condition, the division to be sent would consist of 50 battalions, each consisting of 800 soldiers. Five battalions of this division should be left to guard areas such as Medun, İşpoz, Podgoriçe and Jabyak. Thirty of the remaining forty-five battalions were to be sent to İspiç from Karince (Çarince) region of Bir district with six days' provisions. The last fifteen battalions were to be put on the lake ferries prepared in Shkodra and sent to the Vir region of this township on the shore of the Shkodra lake. The military units sent from İşborçin Vapar should have united in the Ayvanukçe direction of this township and advanced rapidly towards Çakne. On the second day of the movement of the large assault division advancing from the İspiç point and the first day of the movement of the small assault division leaving the Vir market, they would be able to reach Ayvanukçe point and from there to Çetine the next day. Since there was water in Ayvanukçe, but not until Çetine, the soldier's two-day water had to be shipped with flasks, goldfinches and barrels. After reaching Çetine, the Rika region had to be captured, then grain and ammunition had to be obtained through Rika water via Shkodër. On the day of departure from İspiç, an assault division of fifteen battalions had to go to Grasve and make fake maneuvers to facilitate the operation of the Shkodra battalions from there. To the extent possible, this division had to cut off all roads leading to Dalmatia. In this case, a small

part of the Montenegrin bandit would have to retreat to Dalmatia, and the remaining majority into Montenegro. Since the road to the right of the Biyelepavliç plain, where the Montenegrin bandit supplies grain and ammunition, is closed, they will not be able to hold out even for fifteen days and they would lay down their arms without a fight. It was thought that the events would come to an end with the removal of the rebels and bandits from the Dalmatian border (ATASE, OSK, 3-0-99/2; Askerî Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, 1996, p.8-9).

After the Çetine and Rika regions were captured, ten battalions of soldiers from both the Herzegovina division and the Niksik and Shkodra divisions had to leave Ishpoz and hold between Ustruk and Urbaluk. Supply and ammunition should have been provided through Ispoz and these battalions should have remained in the mentioned area until the rebellion was suppressed. In the meantime, soldiers should be sent to scan the Montenegro region in the west, and this line should be abandoned after the bandit surrenders (ATASE, OSK, 3-0-99/4; Askerî Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, 1996, p.9).

Although the Yenipazar division would not attack, it should have sent a division of five or six battalions to the sub-districts of Sharan and Yezeru, as it would have to intervene when necessary to prevent the Montenegrins and Serbs from uniting. Since the operation of this division would prevent the unification of Montenegro and Serbs, the necessary support was provided to this division from the Herzegovina side. Since the important points of Kolašin and Kuzine directions of Karadağ were protected by the Ottoman forces and the Muslim people of that region were also musketeers and warriors, it was evaluated that there was no danger from the southeast side (ATASE, OSK, 3-0-99/4; Askerî Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, 1996, p.9-10).

Five or six battalions from the Yenipazar division would be sent to the regular division to be assembled in Yezeru, and three or four battalions would be sent to important positions across the Montenegro region for the offensive operation to be made on Serbia. Apart from these, five of the remaining twenty-five battalions were to be reserved for the necessary positions across Serbia. The remaining fifteen battalions and the division in the region would make a false operation over Seniçe in the direction of Ayvaniçe and Karayavaç, destroying elements such as telegraphs and bridges in Serbia. In addition, it was stated that irregular units consisting of Bosniaks, Albanians and Circassians from other borders of Serbia should be assigned to organize attacks. It was reported that these troops were warned that they should not go beyond a distance of one day. It was emphasized that a guard force consisting of five or six battalions from the Bosnian division should be in front of Izvornik and be a reserve force for

the soldiers who will make a fake offensive operation into Serbia from the stray soldiers. It was requested that a perfect redoubt should be built on the hill in small Izvornik, which is to the left of the big Izvornik (ATASE, OSK, 3-0-99/4; Askerî Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, 1996, p.10).

It is planned to assign the Niş Division to the offensive operation on Serbia. It was thought that this division should be composed of sixty battalions and should take a pontoon bridge team to cross the Morava water by heading towards Karaağaç. While the planned army was heading towards Belgrade from Karaağaç, the Vidin division would go to Belgrade and besiege it when necessary, after uniting the right wing task of the army on the leaf Karayuvaç. Ottoman forces had to place armored pontoons on the Danube river between the two to prevent the Wallachian Moldavia and Serbian uprisings. Thus, a suitable area along the Danube had to be kept in order to spy on the bandit who was expected to pass through Moldavia and Wallachia. This region consists of Lom, Rohava, Niğbolu, Zıstav, Ruse, Tutrakat, Silistra, Harasova, Haçin, İsakçı front lines, and since Ruse and Rohava are close to the Balkans, the most forces should have been sent to these regions. A battalion and four companies should be placed in other positions. If necessary, a direct attack should be made against Bucharest over the Yergök region. In the emergence of the Serbian, Montenegrin and Wallachian Moldavian problem together, the Muslim people, who acted as guard soldiers in a sense, should have been tasked with arming and protecting the position (ATASE, OSK, 3-0-99/4; Askerî Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, 1996, p.10).

8. Reflection of Herzegovina Uprising to the Press

The process that started with the Herzegovina Uprising had a profound effect on the 19th century Balkan history. It is possible to follow this uprising in the newspapers of the period. For example, the news of the Bosnian Newspaper on July 27, 1875 that the people living in the villages of Zoydol and Belgrade have been in opposition to the Ottoman Empire for seven or eight months is remarkable. The details of the news are as follows:

Hersek sancağına tâbi‘ Nevesin kazasına muzâf Zoydol ve Belgrad karyeleri ahâli-i ma‘lûmesinden bazı fasıda yedi sekiz mâhdan bir ve hükümete itâ‘atden rugerdân ve vâdi-i gecrevi şekâvet ve şikâkda Puban ve civar karyeler ahali-i matba‘asına envâ‘ tehdîdât icrâsıyla kerhen kendülerine münâba‘atla tebsî‘ da‘ire’-i şekâvetkâriye şitâyân oldukları iş‘ârât mahalliyeden müstebân olduğuna ve muktezâ-yı şân ve merhamet hazret-i pâdişâhiden olduğu üzere ile haklarında icra-yı va‘az ve nasihat olunarak terk-i silâh ittirilmesi esbâb hekimânesine i‘tinâ

kılınması cânib-i alî vilâyet penâhiden livâ-yı mezkûr mutasarrıflığıyla kumandanlığına bi'l-defe'at olunan iş'ârât üzere mutasarrıf ve kumandan müşâr ve muma ileyhima ma'arifetleriyle o yolda ittirilen tebligatın ve merkez vilâyetden mahsûsen i'zâm olunan meclis-i idare-i vilayet a'zâsından ref'etlü Haydar Bey ve ref'etlü Petrâki Efendi vasıtalarıyla idilen vasâyâtın ve Bâb-ı Âli'den bi'l-istizân şeref vâki' olan emrû irâde-i hazret-i sadaret penâhi ile mahal-i mezkûre i'zâm kılınan Karadağ hatt-ı hudûd komisyonu me'mûru, üçüncü ordu-ı hümâyûnu erkân-ı harbiye re'isi mirliva sa'adettü Hasan Edib Paşa ve sa'adettü Kastan Efendi ma'arifetleriyle ittirilmiş olan nesâyihin kat'iyen te'siri olamadığından başka gün yekûn harekât serkeşânelerini artırub ve adetâ ilm û efrâz yani ve isyan iderek Nevesin ile Mostar arasındaki tariki kesüb orada tesadüf ittikleri kâravânı otuz beş ve elli yük kahve ve şeker ve pirinc ma' hayvanat alub karyelerine götürmüş ve yedi nefer İslam kirâcıyı a'dâm ve başlarını dahi kat' itmiş ve o civarda bulunan zabtiye seyyâr kolunun üzerine dahi bi'l-hücum tüfenk indahtına mübâşeretle bir pandur tefrîni şehid eyledikleri ve bî muhâben Nevesin kasabasının yanı başına gelerek ahâlinin hayvanatını sürüb götürmeğe mansıdı oldukları me'mûrin-i muma ileyhim tarafından müşâhede olunması üzerine orada bulunan kumandan mirliva sa'adettü Selim Paşa tarafından hareket-i askeriye nümâyişi gösterilmesinin te'sirâtıyla hayvanat-ı merkûme bıraktırmış ve eşkıya-yı merkûme gerüye çektirilmiştir (Çoban, 2022, p.56-57).

As understood from the text above, Zoydol from Nevesin district of Herzegovina sanjak and some rebels in Belgrade had been uprising against the government for 7-8 months. The aforesaid sanjak governor, sanjak commander, Haydar Bey, Petrâki Efendi, Montenegro border commission officer, 3rd Army Commander Hasan Edip Pasha and Kastan Efendi were assigned by the Ottoman State to advise these rebels. However, the advice of the delegation in question had no effect on the rebels. In fact, these advices fueled the separatist activities of the rebels with the opposite effect. Because these rebels cut off the road between Nevesin and Mostar, usurped the goods of the caravans passing here and killed seven Muslims. Moreover, they dared to organize attacks on the Ottoman security forces in the region. Some of the Ottoman security forces were also martyred in these attacks. With such movements, the rebels came as far as Nevesin town. The rebels continued to increase their banditry activities in the region. However, as a result of the military activities of Selim Pasha towards the region, the rebels had to retreat.

Şimdiye kadar Hersek cihetine bilcümle mühimmat ve edevât-ı harbiye ve sâ'ireleri muntazam ve mükemmel olduğu halde sevk olunan asâkir-i şâhânenin miktarı 21 tabura bâliğ olmuştur. Eşkîyanın dört tarafı muhasara tahtına alınır gibi tazyik olunarak çaresiz imtiyazlarını mültezim olmak üzere bir fırka-ı asâkir-i şahane Yenipazar'da Seniçe mevkiine ve bir fırka da Vidin'e ve bir fırka dahi Niş'e tertip olunarak Hersek Fırkasıyla beraber hareket lâzımaya teşebbüs edileceklerdir. Dünkü nüshamızda yazdığımız ve vecihle Niş fırka-ı askeriyesi kumandanlığına Yemen Valisi sâbık Devletlu Ahmet Eyyüb Paşa hazretleri ta'yîn buyrulduğu misüllü diğer iki fırka dahi muktedir zevat kumandasına verilecektir (Gümüş & Yüksel, 2020, p.36).

As can be understood from the text above, ammunition and war materials were sent to the Herzegovina region properly. The total number of soldiers sent here is equivalent to twenty one battalions. In order to besiege the bandits from all four sides, a group of soldiers was sent to Seniçe, Vidin and Niş, and it was planned to act together with the Herzegovina military unit. The former governor of Yemen, Ahmet Eyüp Pasha, was appointed to the command of the Niş military unit and the commander of the other two groups.

According to the telegram sent by the Bosnian Governor Ahmet Hamdi Pasha on September 2, 1875; In the clash that took place between the bandit who wanted to seize the strait in Gaçka and two battalions of soldiers sent from Gaçka, the bandit was defeated and suffered more than one hundred and fifty casualties. It is also stated that the same amount of captives was taken from the bandit. The news that the bandit could not seize the strait and that he had to retreat in a miserable state reaffirmed this situation (Gümüş & Yüksel, 2020, p.36-37).

Herzegovina Uprising attracted the attention of the European press in a short time. Many Western journalists quickly went to Herzegovina to find good news for themselves. But what was expected of these journalists and what they were asked to write were not facts. For this reason, journalists sent many false and fabricated news to their countries with their articles. These news, which are directly proportional to the dreams of journalists and the interests of European states, took place frequently in the Western press. In the content of the news, thousands of stories were told about the barbarism, massacre and difficult migrations of the Ottoman administration in general. In this context, in the eighteen months following the revolt, nearly three thousand articles condemning the Ottoman Empire were written in two hundred of

the European Newspapers. The brochure titled “The Bulgarian Horrors and Question of the East”, dated 6 September 1876, published by the head of the Liberal Party, the Opposition Party in England, Gladstone, was sold two hundred thousand copies in the first day alone (Gölen, 2010, p.455).

Conclusion

When we look at the 19th century Balkan history in general, it is necessary to analyze the rebellions well in order to understand how the Ottoman domination in the region ended. Among these revolts, the most striking one in terms of its effect is the Herzegovina Uprising. Because the process that started with the Herzegovina Uprising and the Ottoman - Serbian, Montenegrin and Russian Wars that followed, to a large extent, brought the end of the Ottoman administration in the region.

When we look at the causes of the Herzegovina Uprising, it is evaluated that there is no single reason, and that many political, economic, social and military issues emerged as the cause of the uprising. However, it is important from which perspective the events are viewed. Because a European, while evaluating the Herzegovina Uprising, pointed to the Ottoman Empire as the culprit. On the other hand, when the causes of the rebellion are investigated, it is seen that there are many different aspects of the event.

Considering the attitude of the Ottoman Empire towards the Herzegovina Uprising, it is seen that the statesmen could not follow a sufficiently effective policy regarding the uprising and they underestimated the rebellion. In this regard, it is understood that the policy that Esad Pasha tried to carry out against Russia did not yield any results. The Ottoman Empire followed a two-type policy against the Herzegovina Uprising. On the one hand, important statesmen and commanders were sent as an advisory committee in order to disperse the rebels who revolted in the region with advice. On the other hand, it is considered that the military action plans to be realized in case this advisory committee is not effective are carried out simultaneously. In addition to sending an advisory delegation to prevent the activities of the rebels, the Ottoman Empire prepared a military action plan against the bandits and made diplomatic initiatives with the European states. However, all these attempts did not yield any positive results.

It is clear that all European states had an influence on the occurrence of the Herzegovina Uprising. However, it has been determined that Russia and the Pan Slavism policy it followed were more effective in the uprising than other states. Russia’s significant success in this policy is evident from the fact that it achieved autonomy and later independence for the Slavs in the

region. The policy followed by Austria as well as Russia, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, resulted in the occupation of the region and then its annexation. It was determined that the policy of England to preserve the current status quo in the Balkans did not yield results and that Russia gradually increased its influence in the region.

Although it is seen that Serbia and Montenegro are in favor of the Herzegovina Uprising, it has been determined that they secretly and highly supported the rebels in this direction. Because in some periods it is understood that the majority of the rebels in the region were Serbs and Montenegrins. As a result of this support, it was seen that the rebels took their attitudes forward. In addition, the presence of some Serbian officials among the mentioned rebels is important in terms of showing the extent of Serbia's support for the Herzegovina Uprising. The fact that the rebels entered into armed conflict with the Ottoman forces as a result of such support shows the dimensions of the rebellion.

It was seen that the malicious news reflected in the European press of the period were against the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, since it is necessary to see and evaluate such news within the framework of the politics followed by the European states, it is understood that such news is not a source to be consulted about the uprising.

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To Cite this Chapter

Arslanyürek, Y. & Alpoğlu, O. (2023). A general assessment on the herzegovina uprising (1875-1876). In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp. 24-47). ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 3: TURKISH-BRITISH RELATIONS AND THE MONTREUX CONVENTION OF 1936 ACCORDING TO BRITISH DOCUMENTS⁹

Mustafa Edip ÇELİK 

1. Introduction

As of the 15th century, the Ottoman Empire provided full control over the straits by making the Marmara and Black Seas an inland sea. Britain's desire to dominate the Mediterranean and Russia's desire to reach the warm seas made the straits an international issue in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish nation, which started the National Struggle against the invasions after the First World War, has taken its place at the table at the Lausanne peace talks. One of the most important issues discussed in Lausanne was the status of the Straits. At the Lausanne meeting, the demilitarization of a certain part of the Straits and the supervision of the region by the International Straits Commission under the chairmanship of the Turkish representative were envisaged. While Britain achieved what it wanted on the straits during the meeting, Turkey and Russia, which supported Turkey, were not satisfied with the result. However, Turkey has consented to this outcome in order to achieve peace.

The resumption of the armament process after 1930 was among the issues that worried Turkey. As a result of the developments, the Disarmament Conference convened in 1932. During the conference, while Great Britain advocated the idea that armament should be prevented in order to achieve peace, Turkey supported this idea. However, this conference did not give the desired result and Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany at this time. The policies pursued by Germany under Hitler and Italy under Benito Mussolini have caused concern on the part of Turkey. The developments that have taken place have created an opportunity for Turkey, which was not satisfied with the conclusion reached on the status of the straits in the Lausanne treaty. After 1930, Turkey began to establish warm relations with Britain and made efforts on every platform to convince them to change the status of the Straits. Taking into account of the position of Turkey and the developments that took place after 1930, Britain has also become open to giving a new dimension to its relations with Turkey. Within the framework of these developments, Turkey expressed its demand for changes in the status of the Straits at the

⁹This study is based on his doctoral dissertation titled "Turkish-British Relations between 1930-1939 According to British Sources".

Disarmament Conference in 1933 and at the Council of the League of Nations in 1935, but did not receive the support that he wanted from Great Britain. Turkey has seen the support that he was looking for in this regard from the Union of Soviets. One of the reasons why the Soviets supported Turkey, which wanted to ensure its security by arming the Straits, was that they wanted to provide the weapons themselves for arming. In the face of the expansionist policies of Germany and Italy. Britain also began to look positively at Turkey's demands on the Straits as of 1935. Therefore, this process has brought Turkey and Britain closer to each other.

On April 11, 1936, Turkey sent a diplomatic note to the countries involved in the Straits convention to amend the status of the Straits. The country that made the first positive return to Turkey's diplomatic note was Britain. Britain has been intending to draw Turkey to its side against countries that pursue an expansionist policy by getting closer to Turkey. In this way, it has aimed to have the biggest say in determining the new status of the Straits.

Turkey's role as a bridge between Asia and Europe as a result of its geopolitical position and its dominance over the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles are among the important factors guiding Turkey's foreign policy. Therefore, the desire of the Russians to control the Straits and the policies of France and Britain to stop them have been a factor affecting Turkey's relations with these states (Aydın, 1999, p. 157).

Turkey received the results of intense diplomatic initiatives on various platforms in 1936. The Montreux Straits Conference, which was convened after the efforts of persuasion to reconsider the status of the Straits, was among the most important developments of the period in terms of Turkish-British relations.

The Montreux Straits Convention, which was signed in 1936 and reorganized the status of the Turkish Straits, took place of the Lausanne Straits Convention signed in 1923. Montreux has two important features; the first of which is that it responds better to Turkey's security than Lausanne, and the other is that it better maintains the balance between the states that have a coast and the states that do not have a coast to the Black Sea (Sander, 2008, p. 105).

The agreement signed in Lausanne on July 24, 1923, had Turkey on one side and the Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Russia and Yugoslavia on the other side. According to Lausanne, passage through the Dardanelles Strait, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosphorus Strait of Istanbul, by sea and by air would be free. In order to ensure the security of the passage, both sides of the straits and the islands in the Sea of Marmara were going to be

demilitarized. It was to be forbidden to build fortifications and have soldiers from the established borders in these regions. By taking the security of the region under the guarantee of the League of Nations, a “Straits Commission” consisting of representatives of other signed states was established under the chairmanship of the Turkish representative and the executive authority was given to this commission (Eyicil, 2005, p. 408). There were two main reasons why Turkey accepted a contract that carried many negative consequences for itself; one of them was that it could not find another solution under the conditions of the 1923 period, and the other was that it believed that the League of Nations would protect international peace and security (Sander, 2008, p.105).

The failure of disarmament efforts and the implementation of the collective security system, have led to a weakening of hopes for the League of Nations. This institution has started to lose its function increasingly, especially because of the states that wanted the status quo to change. Turkey, which found an opportunity for its demands on the Straits in the face of developments, raised its wishes for the first time at the Disarmament Conference on March 24, 1933, but did not get a result (Uçarol, 1985, p. 469).

Developments such as the armament of Germany since 1934 and the starting compulsory military service system in March 1935 caused Turkey to pursue a policy on the Straits issue more persistently. Turkey opened the issue at the Council of the League of Nations on April 17, 1935 to discuss the armament of Germany and proposed a change in the status of the Straits. After a conversation made by Tevfik Rüştü Aras, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, on the subject, Turkey’s thesis did not receive attention from Britain but it found support from the Soviets (Armaoğlu, 1987, p. 343).

Italy's attack on Abyssinia in 1935 and Germany's occupation of the Rhine region despite the Treaty of Versailles, caused concern for Turkey. On April 11, 1936 Turkey sent a diplomatic note to the countries that are parties to the Straits Convention and demanded its amendment, stating that the convention agreed in Lausanne was no longer sufficient to ensure the security of the Straits under the conditions of the day. This sincere initiative of Turkey garnered sympathy and the first positive response came from Britain. While Britain had stood against to such a change before, made a shift on its policy considering both the Soviet and Italian danger and made a positive turn to its wishes in order to attract Turkey to its side. The Conference started on July 22 1936 and the Montreux Straits Convention was signed on July 20, 1936 (Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı, 1993, p. 45).

At the Montreux Straits Conference, Turkey's relations with the Soviets and with Britain developed differently. While the Soviets were trying to get their thesis accepted through Turkey, Britain wanted to attract Turkey to its side before a possible war by supporting Turkey and chose to change its policy, which it had previously implemented regarding the Straits. When the Montreux Straits Agreement was signed, Turkey acted together with Britain. In the following period, Turkey's relations with Britain reached a full level of friendship, while relations with the Soviets were damaged.

2. The Process Leading Up To The Montreux Convention

The decisions taken in the Lausanne Straits Convention had pleased neither Turkey nor the Soviets. Turkey, a newly established state at that time, wanted to deal with its internal issues by resolving foreign issues as soon as possible, so it made concessions from some of its own wishes in the face of Britain's wishes. In addition, Turkey believed that the security system of the League of Nations would also work. However, the changing world conjuncture after 1930 would have encouraged Turkey to demand a change in the status of the Straits.

On the way to the Montreux Straits Convention, Turkish-British relations began to take shape in 1933. Citing the changing world conjuncture, Turkey requested for the first time at the Disarmament Conference in 1933 to abolish the provisions of the Lausanne Straits Convention that demilitarized the shores of the Straits and the islands other than Imralı in the Marmara Sea. This request made by Turkey was not taken into account because it was excluded from the subject of the conference.

Turkish-British relations, which began to take on an air of friendship after 1930, suffered a blow in March 1933 due to the disarmament plan prepared by the Britain. Turkey thought that it had been humiliated in this plan by the efforts of Britain and was offended. As a result of the negotiations, the misunderstandings between the two countries were resolved. Having cleared up misunderstandings with the Britain, Turkey has seized the opportunity to offer to re-deploy troops to the demilitarized zones of the Straits. This proposal made by Turkey was supported by a small segment, but it was not considered relevant and was suspended for further consideration (TNA, FO 371/17959, E 596/596/44, p. 5).

In British documents, it is stated that after Turkey joined the League of Nations in a ceremonial mood, it began to criticize the league as of 1933. Tevfik Rüştü Aras, who participated in the Disarmament Conference on behalf of Turkey, stated in his speech that they resented the British government for the points related to Turkey in the Mc Donald plan. In the

continuation, in order to take advantage of this plan, he made a proposal for the rearmament of the Straits. Their criticisms against the league have been made because of their negative impact on the decisions taken by the League of Nations in the past. In addition, he stated that the league played a delaying role in the good progress of relations between the Britain and Turkey (TNA, FO 371/17959, E 596/596/44, p. 4).

The problems between Turkey and the Britain during the conference were caused by the fact that Turkey considered itself neglected. The British official Mr. Morgan, who met with Turkish Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü Aras about the issue, informed London of the result of this meeting. The Turkish government are worried about their security because they are disturbed by the developments taking place. That is why they want to go to arming in the straits. Mr. Morgan states that the problem actually stems from the fact that the Turks do not fully understand the policies of Britain either. Morgan states that while Britain is making efforts on disarmament, its positive view to Turkey's offer may cause the work done to be wasted (TNA, FO 371/16986, E 1575/1575/44, p. 73–76). Cemal Hüsnü Bey from the Turkish delegation made an assessment at the conference about Turkey's perspective on the British plan. Hüsnü Bey stated that the freedom of the Straits is possible with the resettlement of soldiers in the area (TNA, FO 371/16986, E 1828/1575/44, p. 80). Tevfik Rüştü Bey later stated that Turkey does not intend to back the obligation to keep the straits open or closed on its own and that they will stick to the decisions of the conference as long as it is satisfied (TNA, FO 371/16986, E 1893/1575/44, p. 83).

In another meeting that took place between Mr. Morgan and Mr. Aras, Mr. Morgan tried to reassure Turkey's concerns. He stated that Britain does not support a situation against Turkey and that Her Majesty's government has shown this with its friendship. Accepting this well-intentioned approach, Mr. Aras informed that Turkey would withdraw its offer. However, he also underlined that the international delegation should accept Turkey's right over the straits. He also stated that the Straits are not fortified areas at the moment and that it is not possible for a power other than Turkey to close the straits and stated that Turkey will have the opportunity to keep the Straits open in the future (TNA, FO 371/16986, W 3297/40/98, p. 77–78).

In the meeting between Turkish Foreign Minister and the British ambassador Sir Clerk on June 1, 1933, Aras stated that Turkey's attitude at the conference was actually an indication that he wanted to change the decisions taken in the Straits Convention. Sir Clerk reported this meeting to London on 1 June. The Ambassador stated that he understood from his meeting with

the Minister that Turkey insists on changing the status of the Straits. According to the ambassador, Turkey accepted many articles at the Lausanne talks as an indication of his aim to contribute to peace and to gain the independence of the state. However, the change of the world conjuncture requires to reconsider the situation of the straits (TNA, FO 371/16986, E 3175/1575/44, p. 176). It is seen from the ambassador's statements that a British official understands Turkey's approach.

3. Turkey's Efforts to Convince the Britain

Turkey, which did not get any results from the attempts it made in 1933, continued a more intensive diplomacy in order to convince Britain as of 1934. The British ambassador to Ankara, Sir Percy Loraine, conveyed Tevfik Rüştü Bey's views on the Straits in the report he sent to London in May 1934; *“Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs told the Counsellor on May 3rd that certain provisions of Straits convention no longer corresponded to general world conditions. The world trend was towards rearmament. Turkey would follow the current. If the world tended to disarmament Turkey would leave things in Turkey as they are. If nations rearmed Turkey was entitled to behave as they. She would not accept different treatment and would remilitarise the Straits. Bulgaria was rearming. Aegean Islands were being militarised. He implied whole trend elsewhere was towards rearmament. Turkey had now everything ready for remilitarising the Straits in twenty-four hours and on the signal being given they would be remilitarised in that time. No legal argument of word would stop her. He said that Turkey was strong enough to disregard words and even force which however no one could or would employ against her. She knew her strength and when she decided on any action she knew she could carry out her decision. He had already spoken in a similar sense to the French Ambassador. He added he would shortly make a public pronouncement on the subject. I surmise he will do this at Geneva where he is going shortly taking Bucharest and Vienna on the way...”* (TNA, FO 371/17961, E 2874/1345/44, p. 376). Turkey is able to take measures on its own in the Straits, but it did not find it appropriate to act alone, adhering to the promises it made when joining the League of Nations. In the current period, many of the states threatened to leave the league when had disagreements with it but Turkey did not want to resort to this path and tried to convince the opposing states by holding negotiations (Cumhuriyet 12 Nisan 1936).

The British ambassador conveyed Turkey's reasons in the reports he sent to the Britian and met them with understanding. However, the British government, in the telegram it sent to their ambassador in Ankara, informed that it did not agree with the Turkish government and

that they were against to their ideas. While the British Government does not find Turkey's attitude correct, it has stated that it will give harm to take an attitude against the provisions set out in the Lausanne Straits Convention. He also asked his ambassador to dissuade the Turkish Government from this idea. They stated that Lausanne was not an imposition and that it was signed as a result of the parties reaching an agreement. In the telegram, it was stated that the Britian considers Turkey as a friend, does not want any harm to happen to this, and Turkey should not demolish what he has built so far. Britain believes that Turkey was provoked by the Soviets on this issue (TNA, FO 371/17961, E 2874/1345/44, p. 378). In addition, the French Ambassador stated that the Turkish Foreign Minister had also raised the issue with similar statements to him, while saying that he had reported the issue to Paris. The ambassador asks his country to take drastic measures against rearmament (TNA, FO 371/17961, E 3000/1345/44, p. 385). The British Ambassador informed London about his meeting that he held recently with the Italian Ambassador. Although Tevfik Rüştü had spoken to the Italian Ambassador about the Straits during 1933, he did not use similar expressions. However, the Italian ambassador also stressed to Sir Percy Loraine that Italy is also opposed to the idea of arming, and at least France, Great Britain and Italy should unite and dissuade Turkey from this idea (TNA, FO 371/17961, E 3001/1345/44, p. 387).

Turkey's approach on the straits issue has also been raised in the British parliament. Mr. Levy, the parliamentarian, asked whether Turkey would raise the issue of arming the Straits in Geneva and what would be the position of Her Majesty's government on this issue. It has been stated that Turkey is not supported in this regard and requests have been made from other states to dissuade Turkey (TNA, FO 371/17961, E 2904/1345/44, p. 381).

Turkish Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü and British ambassador Sir Percy Loraine had a meeting on May 10, 1934 before the minister's trip to Geneva. The Ambassador stated to the Minister that Turkey should act carefully on the straits issue in order not to get into a difficult situation in front of Her Majesty's Government and the British public opinion. The Minister stated that they do not intend to maintain the balance, but they deserve to be treated equally. Turkey's raising the straits issue again is due to the developments taking place in the world. The arming of Bulgaria with the support of Italy poses a danger to Turkey. He argues that it is necessary to arm in order not to fall into a difficult situation. Staying out in a process where the world is blocked may leave Turkey in a difficult situation. The fact that Italy attaches special importance to the straits issue and supports Bulgaria, has prompted Turkey to take precautions. While Turkey was making demands for changes in the straits issue, it was also taking into

account the goals of the UK. The ambassador stated that it would be a more appropriate way for Turkey to find a solution to these problems by an agreement (TNA, FO 371/17961, E 3072/1345/44, p. 402–404).

Turkey has also held talks on the issue with the British authorities in Geneva. Minister Aras stated in his statements that Turkey does not want to remain unresponsive against the armaments taking place in the world. He stated that Turkey would arm the straits within 24 hours if they wanted and that no legal arguments could stop it. British Minister John Simon advised Turkey not to go over the issue for now. Minister Tevfik Rüştü, who was convinced, stated that he believed that Turkey's rights would be defended in this regard and stated that the issue of armament should be resolved as soon as possible (TNA, FO 371/19037, E 854/854/44, p. 8).

The British Government considers Turkey's move on the straits as an opinion poll. Turkey wanted to measure the reaction of Europe and postponed the issue to a later date in the face of reactions. The Ambassador states that after his meeting with the Minister, Turkey postponed their requests (TNA, FO 371/17961, E 3631/1345/44, p. 445).

In the face of its expansionist policies of Italy, Turkey continued its policy of demanding a change in the status of the Straits in 1935. Britain's approach to the issue is important for Turkey. That is why, taking into account the development of friendly relations with the UK, he decided to wait for the appropriate time. Turkey, which developed good relations with the Soviets, Iran and Iraq in 1935, had the opportunity to shift its troops to the western border. This precaution, which he took in case of an Italian attack that might come in the West, disturbed Bulgaria. Bulgaria considered that this move was made against itself. The Turkish authorities, on the other hand, stated that they also made such a move in order to help their allies in the Balkan Pact if necessary. It has been stated that Bulgaria's non-participation in the pact requires caution towards it as well (TNA, FO 371/20091, E 933/933/44, p. 3).

Minister Aras stated to the British ambassador Loraine that Turkey wants to arm the Straits, but they do not intend to take unilateral steps on this issue. Turkey tends to resolve the issue by reaching mutual agreement. In April, Turkey's requests were once again conveyed by Aras to the British Foreign Minister. However, the British Minister's approach to the issue was not enough to encourage Turkey. Aras stated that this situation precludes the possibilities of an agreement. In the face of Turkey's persistent attitudes, Ambassador Loraine discussed the issue with the British authorities. Loraine stated the importance of discussing the issue with the

Turkish authorities again. Aras expressed his gratitude for the British friendship during his meeting with the British Charge d'affaires in June. Aras, who thinks that England will adopt the Straits problem later, stated that this situation will not harm their friendship. Although the parties did not reach a full agreement on the issue in 1935, this situation did not harm relations (TNA, FO 371/20091, E 933/933/44, p. 6–7).

4. The Changing Perspective Of Britain

Not satisfied with the decisions taken on the straits in Lausanne, Turkey put forward the changes that occurred in the world conjuncture after 1930 and began to demand changes in the status of the straits. At first, Turkey's approaches to this issue were not supported by Britain. However, after Germany started to arm itself and developments such as Italy starting to pose a danger in the Mediterranean as of the end of 1935 started to change Britain's ideas.

In April 1935, Turkey requested permission at the Council of the League of Nations to fortify and have a garrison at the Istanbul and Dardanelles straits. However, this request was not accepted by Britain and France. Because at that time the Italian danger had not yet appeared. The Italian attack on Abyssinia at the end of 1935 changed the situation. Britain has started to look warmly at Turkey's proposals (Graves, 1999, p. 158–159, Uyar, 2007, p. 181). The rumours about the rapprochement of Germany-Japan and Germany-Hungary in 1936 also caused Britain to begin to put forward a position in favour of armament (Cumhuriyet, 9 Şubat, 1936).

The Italian attack on Abyssinia posed a threat to Britain's Mediterranean supremacy. In addition to the threat posed by Italy, Germany's efforts to get closer to Turkey have made Turkey a more important ally to Britain (Oran, 2009, p. 271). Britain's support for Turkey would also allow it to strengthen its positions in this country. The Turkish-Soviet friendship also had an effect on Britain's distancing itself from Turkish theses in the first place. However, if he acted together with Turkey, he would also have the opportunity to reduce the influence of the Soviets and distance them from the Soviets (Jivkova, 1978, p. 95).

On April 11, 1936, Turkey decided to take action in the face of the aggressive policies of Germany and Italy and gave a note to the countries that are parties to the Straits convention. Turkey stated in the note that the agreement in Lausanne is no longer sufficient to ensure the security of the straits under the conditions of the day. Considering the conditions of the day, Britain responded positively to Turkey's note. Britain stated that they were satisfied with the

honesty of the request (Cumhuriyet, 14 Nisan 1936). The Times reported that Turkey's initiative was appropriate and that the decision needed to be taken due to possible dangers in the Mediterranean (The Times, 13 April 1936). The Morning Post reported that the reasons for the changes that Turkey has wanted for a long time have occurred and found the Turks' demands in place (Morning Post, 13 April 1936). The Daily Telegraph stated that in the conditions of the day, there was nothing to be surprised about Turkey's demands, and Germany's actions that threatened the Treaty of Versailles, which followed one another, brought the events to this point (Daily Telegraph, 13 April 1936).

On May 20, 1936 at House of Commons, Mr. Purbrick asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, in view of the Turkish Government's statement that recent happenings have made the Straits Convention signed at Lausanne in 1923 no longer an effective guarantee of Turkish security, he will state whether any grounds exist for the fear that any foreign country contemplated invading Turkish territory? Secretary Mr Eden said that The Turkish Government based their request for a revision of certain portions of the Straits Convention on changed political and military circumstances. He told he is not in a position to amplify their statement. Mr. Cocks asked: "is it not a fact that Turkey has been threatened with attack by Italy?" (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1936-05-20/debates> , 22.12.2013). It is seen from the talks that the conditions is not changed only for Turkey but for Britain as well.

On April 11, 1936, the British Foreign Minister had a meeting with the Turkish Ambassador to London. The ambassador informed the Minister that they had given a note for regulation on the status of the straits. The Minister stated that in view of the current conditions, it is necessary to make a change in the status of the straits. The Minister stated that Turkey has the right to arm the straits and that this also serves British interests. The Minister then informed the Turkish ambassador on April 16 that a conference would be take place in Montreux on June 22, 1936 (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3583/26/44, p. 292).

Turkish foreign Minister Mr. Aras discussed the issue of changing the status of the straits with the British for the last time in Geneva and during his visit to Britain on May 29. Mr. Aras has requested the Secretary of State to send representatives to the conference to be held. The Secretary informed that the British government will participate in the conference with great satisfaction. It is stated that all countries affiliated to the British kingdom will comply with the decisions to be taken. Lord Stanhope was chosen to head the British Delegation. Lord Stanhope, who will depart from London on June 20 to attend the conference, has been instructed to comply

with the decisions to be taken for the armament of the straits. Britain is aware that developing friendship with Turkey goes through drawing up a harmonious agreement with them at the conference (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3583/26/44, p. 293).

On June 17, 1936, Mr. Rendel, the head of the British Foreign Office in the East, had a meeting with the counsellor of the Italian Embassy. Signor Vitetti asked Mr. Rendel who would take part in the British delegation. After Mr. Rendel answered him, he wanted to get information about the Italian representatives. Signor Vitetti said that Italy will not participate in the conference and that they have informed the Turkish Government about this. Italy thought that the council should convene and hold a meeting before the conference and then move on to the conference. But when he learned that the conference would be held directly on June 22, he decided not to attend. Mr. Rendel told the Italian consultant that the Italian Government had made a big mistake with this decision. He also reported that this conference is very important. Because if the states do not come together and take decisions about the Straits, the powers that are directly concerned about the issue, namely Turkey, could take steps to act unilaterally. Therefore, it was of great importance to support Turkey in this regard in order to make decisions together. Signor Vitetti has accepted these views of Mr. Rendel. However, he also wanted to draw attention to Italy's recent policy. Italy has decided not to participate in any cooperation and conferences until the sanctions are lifted. It was very unacceptable for him to participate in this meeting, when he had decided not to participate in other negotiations. He also stated that Turkey has a bad attitude towards Italy. Mr. Rendel, on the other hand, denied this view and said that there was no evidence that Turkey was in a bad attitude (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3671/26/44, p. 2–3).

5. Turkish-British Relations During the Montreux Straits Conference

One of the issues that closely concerned Turkey and Great Britain during the Montreux Straits Conference was the division of the Dardanelles territories transferred to the British with the decision taken in the Treaty of Lausanne. According to the 129. clause of Lausanne, the lands transferred to the British Empire could only be used for the specified purpose of use. When the British wanted to visit Çanakkale with a group of more than 150 people, they had to get permission from the Turkish Government. The British and Anzac graves in the area were built during this period. The lands have been transferred to Turkey with Montreux, but the British will have rights in the section where the graves are located, without going beyond the definition of right of use. However, Turkey will not charge a tax for the section where the graves

are located. Authorized employees will be Turkish in these places. Mr. Numan stated that those who will visit the graves will be controlled by the Turkish government. The British who had previously lived on this land would also not be touched. If they wanted to leave Turkey, the value of their land would be converted into sterling (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3609/26/44, p. 316–333).

At the second session of the meeting on June 23, the draft prepared by Turkey regarding the passage of warships through the Straits was accepted by all members. In particular, the Soviets accepted the clause that the warships of the states that do not have a coast to the Black Sea would be restricted from passing through the straits, and it was emphasized that the Baltic Sea could also be included in this (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3759/26/44, p. 82).

In addition to Britain and the Soviets, representatives of France, Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria also made speeches at the conference stating that they welcomed Turkey's wishes positively. Although many countries acted in line with their own interests during the conference, the first accepted article was the one that gave Turkey the right to arm the Straits. Great Britain wanted merchant ships to enjoy freedom of passage within the Lausanne principles. Great Britain considered that the maximum tonnage of warships that all states can have in transit in the Straits and the total tonnage of warships that states with a coast to the Black Sea can have in this sea should be slightly higher than stipulated in the Turkish thesis (Uyar, 2007, p. 184).

During the negotiations, there was a disagreement about one issue because of the Soviets. Although the Soviets supported the application of weight restrictions on ships entering the Black Sea, they did not provide the same support for ships entering the Mediterranean from the Black Sea and did not want the weight application to be valid for ships entering the Mediterranean from the Black Sea. Britain opposed this thesis of the Soviets. The head of the delegation stated that the Black Sea is recognized as an international sea in Lausanne and that the application should be valid within both entrances. Turkey agreed on this issue. Turkey already considered it appropriate to have restrictions on transit issues because it wanted to have dominance of the straits. Since no conclusion was reached on this issue, it was deemed appropriate to discuss it later (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3808/26/44, p. 97–98).

During the negotiations, the Turkey wanted to prohibit the passage of submarines. Mr. Rendel, who is in Montreux, and the British team wanted to consult with Mr. Bennet at the foreign office in London on how they would be affected by such a situation before making a

full decision on the situation. According to the Head of the Delegation, Lord Stanhope, they would have to accept this in the long term. Then, if they accepted immediately, they would have the chance to make a good impression. If they left the reception until later, it would only cause tension in the atmosphere, which could hurt relations with Turkey and benefit the Soviets. Later, the navy was contacted and they stated that it was impossible for them to decide on this situation within a short period of time. But they stressed the importance of sending submarines to the Black Sea for themselves and stated that it would not be good for them to limit it at the conference. Of course, they wanted the situation not to apply in case of war (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3853/26/44, p. 120–121). However, tensions will start in the relations between the Soviets and Turkey in the process.

During the conference parliamentarian Mr. Purbrick asked Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what action the government propose to take at the conference at Montreux in regard to the Turkish Government's request to be allowed to refortify the Dardanelles. Mr. Purbrick is strongly opposed to any form of concession to Turkey over the Straits. Viscount Cranborne, The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs replied that The United Kingdom representative at the conference has made it clear that His Majesty's Government are for their part prepared to agree to the Turkish request, assuming that it is found possible to agree upon a convention which will settle, in a manner fair and just to all parties, the various issues which the request has raised. In fact, a part of the UK is not very satisfied with the situation in which the Government supports Turkey's wishes. While it is stated that there is no weight limitation on ships passing from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean in the current agreement, they state that this should not be accepted, suggesting that Turkey also wants this requirement in the new agreement (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3855/26/44, p. 123–126). According to a news report that published in The Times on Dec June 23, 1936, Turkey had brought the parties together to make them accept their requests (The Times, 23 June 1936).

In the British documents dated June 24, 1936, a situation that was a problem for the British Government and the Ministry of Admiralty was highlighted. This problem arises from the fact that the Soviets want to enter and exit the Black Sea without being subjected to tonnage problems. The British are absolutely against the Soviets having such a right. It told in the documents that the desire of the Soviets to have freedom for their naval forces to come out from the Black Sea should be used as a bargaining factor to obtain the desiderata of His Majesty's Government but should not be opposed for its own sake (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3868/26/44, p. 150–152).

On June 26, 1936, at the Montreux Conference, Mr. Numan had a private conversation with Mr. Rendel about the Soviets' attitudes at the conference. Mr. Numan considers the Russian requests exaggerated and stated that even if all other powers accept the Russian requests, Turkey will not be able to accept them. The attitude and behaviour of the Russians at the conference are also contrary to the decisions taken at the pre-conference meeting in Ankara. While the Russians want restrictions on the entry of countries that do not currently have a coast to the Black Sea, they want unlimited freedom of entry and exit for themselves. Thus, they will be able to further strengthen their forces in the Black Sea. This situation does not suit the Turkish Government. What Turkey wants is to prevent this place from turning into a Russian lake by restricting the entrances to the Black Sea. Mr. Rendel informed that he would inform the British Government about the situation and that they would reach a solution to this issue in consultation (TNA, FO 371/20075, E 3894/26/44, p. 167–168).

In a report sent to London, the British Ambassador stated that from the impressions he had received, Britain was doing everything possible to ensure friendly relations in Montreux. In the report he sent to Mr. Rendel, the Ambassador stated his impressions on Turkish-Soviet relations. He has stated in the reports he has written up to this time that Turkey's Russian reservation in the Black Sea still continues. It is seen that this situation continues to exist. Therefore, a good Turkish-Russian relationship will be in trouble. Mr. Rendele stated that he agreed with the ambassador's emphasis on Turkish-Russian relations in his answers, but expressed that he thought Turkey would not enter into a conflict with Russia. He also stated that he thought the Turkey is developing good relations with the Soviets to use it as leverage against the west. He stated that he could not believe that the Turkey was still continuing their policies during the War of Independence in the current situation. Another event that amazed him was the submission of Mr. Aras to Mr. Litvonaov. Mr. Aras and Mr. Numan, who stated that they disagreed with Russia when they talked among themselves, avoided stating their opinions during the conference. Rendel finally stated that it was up to the British to solve the case again (TNA, FO 371/20081, 5115/26/44, p. 484–488).

Turkey, which maintains good relations with the British in every field, continues its friendship with the Soviets. On December 17, 1925 the Turkish-Soviet Non-aggression Pact was signed in Paris and was extended for another ten years on December 20, 1935 (TNA, FO 371/20087, E 353/353/44, p. 397). However, in the Montreux Straits Convention, Turkey's inability to fully agree with the Soviets on the Straits caused some problems. The problems between the two countries have been felt by other states as well. The British Ambassador to the

Soviet Union, Lord Chilston, stated that a new era had begun in the relations of the two countries. According to the ambassador, the friendship, which has been exaggerated until now and based on the development of both countries based on the freedom of their peoples, has now taken a new course. Because the new situation of the Straits and the Black Sea problem have caused them to look at events differently now. In addition, the expectation that the new fleet that the Soviets will establish in the Black Sea will also be effective in the Mediterranean has caused Turkey to review the situation once again. The Soviets were not very pleased that Turkey could not reach a full consensus with the Soviets on the status of the Straits. Relations, which were moving in a diplomatic direction, began to become less and less cordial. In addition, if it is true, the fact that the Turks gave the job of strengthening the Straits to the Germans also greatly offended the Russians. The ambassador also mentions a conversation he had with the Bulgarian Minister on this issue. Accordingly, the Turkish Ambassador states to him that the contract has been made. In addition, the Minister notes that the developing events have pushed Turkey to make a pact with Britain and Italy in the Mediterranean instead of an agreement with Russia (TNA, FO 371/20087, E 4541/353/44, p. 402–403).

One of the problems between the Soviets and Turkey during and after the Montreux Conference was the issue of arming the straits. The Soviets demanded that the straits be armed by themselves. Again, after the conference, he presented a bilateral entente proposal to Turkey at the League of Nations General Assembly in October 1936. The Soviets, who demanded that the straits be armed by themselves, also asked Turkey to accept its obligation not to allow the passage of a force that would attack the Soviets from the Black Sea. Upon this request, Turkey, on the other hand, asked for a promise from them to help Turkey with at least the power of the aggressor in case of an attack on Turkey from the Mediterranean. The Soviets, who did not fall under this obligation, offered to meet in Moscow. Turkey, on the other hand, informed Britain about these developments. Britain stated that a new contract to be signed would disable Montreux, and if the alliance to be made is within the framework of Montreux, it would be unnecessary. The Soviets accused Turkey for waiting Britain's approval, claiming that the agreement could not be made because of Britain's indoctrination (Oran, 2009, p. 321).

When Turkey obtained the right to arm the straits, it preferred to give this tender to British companies (Oran, 2009, p. 273). Due to this preference of Turkey, Soviet foreign Commissar Litvanov conveyed that they were offended by Turkey for not placing arms orders to them (TNA, FO, 371/20094, E 5280/5280/44, p. 139–140). The Montreux Straits Convention was signed on July 20, 1936. During the conference process, there were breaks in the relations

between the Soviets and Turkey due to differences of opinions. The fact that Britain developed close relations with Turkey and supported her thesis, left mark on the decisions taken at the conference. It has been seen that Turkish-British relations have progressed further in the next period.

Mr. Eden explained the ideas of the British government about Montreux in his speech in the House of Commons on August 8, 1936. Mr. Eden stated that the results of the conference were welcomed from their point of view. According to Mr. Eden, there are lessons that can be learned from this conference. He emphasized that unilateral rejections and commitments made do not work, and it is necessary to take decisions in the exchange of ideas. The conference has been an example to Europe that decisions can be made in peace. As a result of the decisions taken under these conditions, Turkey's dominance in the Straits again is a situation that Britain welcomes. Since the issues of passage through the straits are close to the wishes of Britain, Britain has felt a special satisfaction. One of the most important issues for the British was the condition of the graves in Gallipoli. Mr. Eden announced that they have resolved this issue in an atmosphere of friendship with Turkey. He also expressed his gratitude for the sensitivity shown by Turkey to Britain on this issue. Mr. Eden continued his speech by mentioning the rapprochement achieved by the Montreux Conference between Turkey and Britain. Mr. Eden expressed his satisfaction that the conference has carried the existing friendship between the two countries further. He also thanked the Turkish Foreign Minister and the Turkish delegation for their patience and understanding during the conference. He also thanked the British delegation for working patiently with the Turkish delegation on sensitive issues and reaching good results (BCA, 030.0.010.000.000.234.580.17, p. 2-3).

On November 1936 in his speech at the Parliament of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk described the contribution of Montreux to the relations between the two countries and stated that Turkey's rights were given back by the Montreux Treaty. He also said that he had no doubt that this treaty would have beneficial effects on the relations between the two governments.

In his speech, Atatürk emphasized that the fifteen-year friendship between the Soviets and Turkey would also be preserved (TBMMZC, D. 5, C. 13, p. 6).

Conclusion

Turkey had accepted the decisions on the straits at the Lausanne Conference in accordance with the conditions of the period. The decisions taken in Lausanne have limited Turkey's rights and powers over the Straits. In addition, the disarmament of a certain part of the

straits has also posed a security problem for Turkey. The fact that states such as Germany and Italy started arming after 1930 offered Turkey an opportunity to raise the issue of the status of the straits in the international arena. Turkey stated that the current agreement should be changed in the face of the developments experienced. The most important justification used by Turkey in this regard has been the issue of security. Turkey wanted to rearm the straits due to the developments that have taken place.

The most important state that Turkey had to convince on this issue was the Britain. After 1930, there was an improvement in relations between the two countries. However, Britain pursued a policy against armament in order to preserve the status quo formed after the First World War. Therefore, he did not take kindly to the wishes expressed by Turkey at the 1933 Disarmament Conference. Turkey expressed its determination on this issue at every opportunity in 1933, 1934 and 1935. During this process, he also stated that he intends to solve the problem by agreeing with Britain in accordance with the friendly relations of the two countries. Britain stated to Turkey that they should be patient and wait for the right time.

The Italian invasion of Abyssinia posed a danger to Britain. The danger that Italy posed in the Mediterranean gave an opportunity to Turkey. Seeing that the current situation poses a danger to its interests, Britain stated that conditions have been created and supported Turkey in this regard. While supporting Turkey, Britain pursued a policy aimed at preventing the Soviets from exerting influence on this country. Britain has developed good relations with Turkey before and during the conference. Turkey's close cooperation with Britain on the straits has also influenced its foreign policy. Having developed good relations with the Soviets since the war of independence, Turkey's friendship with Britain has begun to be effective on Turkey's foreign policy after 1935. The decisions taken at the conference strengthened Turkey's dominance over the straits and Turkish-British relations.

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To Cite this Chapter

Çelik, M. E. (2023). Turkish-British relations and the montreux convention of 1936 according to British documents. In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp 48-67). ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 4: WHAT IS EMPIRICISM AND VIEWS OF HISTORIANS TO EMPIRICISM

Caner AYDEYER 

İsa KALAYCI 

1. Introduction

What is empiricism? To answer this question, it is essential to know what it means (Carruthers & Macdonald, 1990). Empiricism is the philosophical theory and method that refers to experiences. According to empiricists, all knowledge comes from experience. The human mind is empty when we are born, and as a result it can be shaped by experiences. Before explaining what empiricism means, it is useful to examine its origin. Historically, the term ‘empiricism’ originated from the ancient Greek word *empeiria*, which means experience; it was first used in the 17th and 18th centuries, especially by the materialists and also by people with idealist tendencies, such as Francis Bacon, Pierre Gassendi, and Thomas Hobbes (Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism, Jan 01, 2010, pp. 213-214). The greatest empiricists included John Locke (1632-1704), George Berkeley (1685-1753) and David Hume (1711-1776). However, many critics have commented that their ideas of a doctrine could not really be called empiricism because they were premature.

According to Locke, cited in Meyers, real knowledge can be attested only to by real evidence; because the existence of God can only be attested to by the real existence of other things, real knowledge of other things outside of us can be proven to us only by our senses. However, we are aware of our own knowledge through a belief higher than our feelings, giving us the knowledge of other things; this comprises inner sensation, self-awareness and our sense that “from whence therefore may be drawn, by train of ideas, the surest and most incontestable proof of God” (Meyers, 2006, p. 1).

Empiricism concerns a specific subject, which does not accept the corresponding version of deduction thesis that knowledge comes innately. Empiricists believe that our knowledge is a posterior-related sense experience, which negates the implication of the corresponding innate concept; that innate ideas are had in a given subject area because the source of our ideas are only sensory experiences (Rationalism vs. Empiricism, Sep 02, 2021).

According to Davies, empiricism is the idea that real knowledge only comes from sensory experience, and this has widely subversive implications for ideas about knowledge that have historically been broadly held. Therefore, it can be said that knowledge is not similar to belief or opinion, and is not the same thing as certainty; for many empiricist philosophers, real introspection or reason can reveal the truth of an expression that is true by explanation alone, and thus does not require reference to the physical world for approval. Because knowledge can be gained from experience, there can be no innate knowledge or ideas. Therefore, intuition is not a viable source of knowledge (Davies, 2003, p. 1).

It would be beneficial to give an example in order to clarify the meaning of empiricism. As mentioned above, the idea is that all knowledge depends on experience; this is the most plausible theory because when babies are born, they have no skills or knowledge about what they are doing. They cannot walk or talk or carry out any purposeful movements; they simply have the capability to make some pointless movements. However, when they begin to grow and observe their family and environment, they try to copy behaviour that they observe in their surroundings. This observation and imitation is the first form of knowledge they acquire; some basic skills are developed slowly over time, rather than suddenly, and they gradually learn how to walk, talk and do other basic things. For instance, talking is learned over time, beginning with simple words; babies then begin to form longer sentences once they have acquired enough observation of their environment and experience with words. This can be used as a general example of empiricist beliefs.

2. On the Development Process of Empiricism

Empiricism is derived from the Greek words *emperia* meaning “experience” and “*emperios*” (*peria*=based on experience) meaning “skilled” (Stevenson, 2015). In its most general definition, it is a doctrine opposed to rationalism, which states that the source of true knowledge is our sensory data (Esen, 2020, p. 3).

Although not as it is understood today, the emergence of empiricism dates back to ancient times. Empiricism as a philosophical position is not unique to the modern period. Its origins date back to medieval and ancient philosophy. Heraclitus: “I prefer things that are sight, hearing and experience” (Graham, 2010, p. 149) the word also reminds historians of philosophy of empiricism, and historians of philosophy state that Aristotle can be considered an empiricist compared to Plato (De Groot, 2014, p. 1).

It is discussed how the empiricist tradition, which argues that the source of human knowledge comes from experience, approaches the subject of logic and logic principles in both classical and modern understanding. Endless trust in the individual, his mind and experiences are one of the most distinctive features of the 18th century enlightenment age.

Since Aristotle, it has been seen as a task of logic to investigate the basic laws of thinking or the main principles of logic. Since logic is the science of thinking and thinking is a form of knowing, it has been considered as a part of the theory of knowledge. To think! But how to think? Thinking requires correct and proper thinking. So, knowledge theory and logic deal only with knowing and thinking, which is directed towards truth and aims to be true (Von Aster, 1994, p.11). This logical questioning has also been experienced among historians. Because the branch of science that historians deal with is the guarantee of truth and accuracy.

At this point, epistemology, which tries to provide an explanation that focuses on the experience of the knowing subject, to basic epistemological problems such as the subject, problem, criterion, possibility and source of knowledge; Empiricism emerges as the doctrine of knowledge that claims that the main source of human knowledge is experiment (Fırıncı Orman, 2015, p. 242).

The scientific revolution that took place between the 16th and 18th centuries radically changed the conception of the universe by creating a domino effect. For the first time in this period, studies on the nature of light enabled us to observe micro- and macro-scale entities. Again in these centuries, the acceptance of mathematics as a tool in scientific research methods emphasized the predictive success and value of science. It has been interpreted as an important dynamic that enables the scientist to produce successful scientific theories, reinforce and protect the trust in science. Thus, scientific theories became indispensable for scientific research (Esen, 2020, p. preface).

The process, which started from the 16th century and continued as the age of enlightenment, brought along many findings and ideas. As a result, the first quarter of the 20th century created a transition period in which many thinkers were influential. In this new age, many new trends have emerged, and along with this, some traditional thinking structures have also preserved their influence. Especially since 1922, at the University of Vienna, with the initiative of Moritz Schilick, a school known as the "Vienna Circle" has emerged as a result of the meetings attended by scientists from different fields (Fırıncı Orman, 2015, p. 253-254).

"Neopositivism" or "logical empiricism", which emerged with the work of the Vienna Circle in the 1930s, voiced its claim to be an alternative to the classical theory of knowledge and displayed an anti-philosophical attitude. However, in the final analysis, these attempts could not meet the need for philosophy in the field of science (Türer, 2022, p. 481).

The twentieth century is a period in which important developments were experienced in the field of philosophy of science. Considering the benefits of scientific studies towards the product, explanations about how a scientific research method should be have gained utmost importance in this period. The historicalist understanding led by W. Dilthey, phenomenology developed by E. Husserl, and logical positivism founded under the leadership of M. Schlick and later developed by R. Carnap, H. Reichenbach, B. Russell, which come to mind at first and completely different from each other, focus on the functioning of science. They tried to bring new interpretations based on different foundations (Daştan, 2017, p. 46). This situation has added a cumulative value to the empiricism debates in the 21st century.

Of all the current debates on empiricism, it is structural empiricism that will put historians in the most difficult position. Because constructive empiricism; science is only intended to give us empirically sufficient theories; and the belief that accepting a theory is only believing empirically sufficient. Bas C. van Fraassen argues that science is based on what is observable and does not aim for an assertion that what is not observable, therefore opposes scientific realism. Because for the constructive empirist; acceptance of a scientific theory is possible only if it has the belief that the theory is experimentally sufficient.

3. Types of Empiricism

Interpretations of empiricism vary widely: Idealist George Berkeley (1685-1753), materialist Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), Dualist John Locke (1632-1704), and neutral monism advocate Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) developed their own views of empiricism. The models of interpretation put forward by empiricist philosophers clearly show that the empiricist is not against or advocating religion. Throughout history, both theistic and atheist interpretations of empiricism have been developed. For example, While Hobbes, Locke and Berkeley defended empiricism as a theist, David Hume (1711-1786), John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Russell expressed their thoughts as atheists (Esen, 2020, p. 4-5).

Although it is possible to classify empiricism in many ways, it is grouped under three headings in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: a) Explanatory Empiricism b) Genetic

Empiricism. c). Justification Empiricism. Ernst March can be shown as the first known representative of explanatory empiricism. March rejected the atomic theory as it was unobservable for most of his life. A contemporary version of explanatory empiricism is presented by Bas Van Fraassen. Fraassen says that the purpose of science is to produce empirically adequate theories, which excludes unobservable entities. Genetic empiricism, represented by John Locke, argues that anything that is not in the senses cannot be in the mind. Justifiable empiricism, on the other hand, argues that although it tolerates the unobservable, unlike explanatory empiricism, the inferences that make up our knowledge must be constantly tested and justified (Esen, 2020, p. 5).

4. Historians' View to Empiricism

In the science of history, the concepts of "experimenting" and "experiencing" have been confused with each other, and it has been concluded that it is not possible to experiment in historiography. At the heart of this idea is the understanding that "history does not repeat itself". Of course, historical events do not repeat, but the main axis shift here is related to ignoring the cumulative aspect of historical science. As in all branches of science, experience and epistemology are extremely important in the science of history. "Knowing knowledge" or "knowing the way of knowledge" is the most vital issue of 21st century historiography. The background of reaching this level in the science of history needs explanation.

For historians, empiricism has an important role. If approached from a historical perspective, empiricism is a method of historical enquiry and a theory of knowledge, an epistemology. The empirical approach to historical research has its genesis in the scientific revolution of the 16th and 17th centuries and was vital to the natural philosophy of the period. Francis Bacon held the belief that knowledge should be gained from observation and by watching the material world; this naturally challenged the control exercised by the church and its clerics over the creation and dissemination of learning (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 1).

Until the 1800s, many historians drew their professional ideas and beliefs from the theory of empiricism, as a central doctrine. Empiricism is the idea that real knowledge of the world is finally gained from sense statements which underlie most of the practices and arguments of professional historians. Empiricism can be defined as a doctrine of epistemology, and the question "What do we do and how do we know it?" must be answered. Any person who makes a real impression in the world has to be able to answer the question "How do you know

that?" This is the main and most important point considered by historians; for them, this is related to empiricism because it is the argument that one's knowledge of the world depends on and is obtained from experience or observation. This is the evidence to show sense, because the experience that can present knowledge can either be unmediated and direct or an indirect way to reach knowledge, via witnessing another person (Davies, 2003, pp. 1-2). This point of view also laid the groundwork for historians' discussions on the concept of "source". These discussions, which focus on the reliability and objectivity of the source of historical knowledge, are united in the fact that history is an experience.

There are three important core tenets of scientific, empirical history as it stood at the turn of the century, outlined as follows:

- The exact examination and knowledge of historical evidence, confirmed by references
- Objective research, devoid of a priori belief and prejudices
- An inductive method of reasoning, from the specific to the general

With these three research rules comes a particular theory of knowledge. Firstly, the past has existed free of the mind, and is both observable and classifiable; secondly, with the research rules above, historians should represent the past truly and objectively (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 3); this is the method that should be used by empirical historians.

The essential premise was the empirical opinion that as knowledge comes only from experience; knowledge of the past comes from indirect experience of it from the source, which is the physical enduring of the past. This means that a work of history should include only what could be found at the source; any claim or real statement should be made by being directed by references to a source. If challenged, this shows that there is no room for thoughts or intuition, or for statements based on feelings or a priori theory, such as a principle about human nature (Davies, 2003, p. 28).

Empiricism can help to protect the objectivity of history, because history must tend towards the truth and historians have to present the past objectively. In order to achieve this, they have to base their knowledge on real references. It can be said that, via the empiricists and historians who accept empiricism as the theory of the source of knowledge, everything which came from the past is based on experience, because events that happened in the past depended on the experience of people who lived at that time.

Some theorists, such as rationalists, are against empiricism. These people claim that real knowledge does not come from experience because it is already present when we are born, so knowledge has existed since the beginning of life. These rationalists argue that knowledge is innate and experience is just a way to help us to understand or be aware of this knowledge. This is known as the innate thesis. According to this concept, some of our knowledge is gained from experience, because sensory experience may trigger a process by which the knowledge is brought into consciousness; experience does not assure the knowledge or decide the information it contains (Rationalism vs. Empiricism, Sep 02, 2021).

For some historians, empiricism is not enough to reflect the power of the past and studies of this. A few historians are against the use of empiricism as a research method in the field of history, and usually employ analytical tools and protocols developed over the past 150 years. Empiricism is also under attack by postmodernists (Green & Troup, 1999, p. 1). According to Davies, historians have some difficulties studying the past from an empiricist perspective, because the past cannot be experienced directly beyond the lifetime of the observer; thus, our knowledge about the past is indirect and rests upon witnessing the evidence that has survived to the present. Some pessimistic historians maintain that the past is entirely unknowable and is separated from us by the dense veil of time; as it is no longer with us, the historians therefore cannot experience it directly (Davies, 2003, pp. 3-4).

The sensations that were absolutized by the empiricists also opened the door to more specific criticisms. With this understanding, where there is full trust in sensations, a limitation has been made indirectly on both the area where the information is obtained and the subject who obtains this information. With the empirical limitation drawn in the acquisition of knowledge, it has become necessary for the entire field of reality to be the field of concrete facts. Science, as a device that regulates phenomena, has been compelled to deal only with the existing and its changeable forms in the future, and in this respect, it has emerged as a necessity to keep the entire field of existence under a single roof on factual ground (Horkheimer, 1937, p. 299-301) In this context, since it is not possible to talk about an object or a reality that lies behind singular phenomena or their relations that cannot be given according to empiricism, everything outside this field has been forced to be reduced to factual ground. Thus, the sensory field, which was actually scientifically designed to obtain the truth, turned into a distorted ghost over time, since it could not meet everything that exists, and empiricists were very effective in the emergence of this mistake (Daştan, 2017, p. 52).

According to the historians who are against empiricism, the past cannot be experienced directly because it can only be known from others; consequently, historians are not able to know whether the past is based on intuition or experience.

Conclusion

Empiricism is an important theory that has been used in different subjects. According to empiricists, human knowledge comes only from experience. This means that the human brain is a blank slate, and experience is the only way to fill this up. From this, it can be said that the source of knowledge can only be experience. However, this theory is criticised by those who hold the opinion that knowledge already exists in the brain, thus it is impossible to gain it through experience. Although empiricism is used by some historians as a method of researching the past, some historians claim that the past is based on experience. Empiricism is valid according to this idea; however, some historians do not accept this theory; maintaining instead that historians are unable to know where real knowledge comes from.

The empiricist tradition, which thinks that the basic source of human knowledge comes from experience, makes both similar and different explanations about logic and logic principles with its classical and modern views. It can even be said that the fundamental difference in these two empiricist perspectives corresponds precisely to the difference in the interpretation of logic. In the traditional empiricist point of view, logical principles are thought to be derived from experiment; on the other hand, it is seen that modern empiricism does not base logic and mathematics on an experiment, and these fields, which are perceived as purely intellectual relations, are thought to be analytical/tautological. In this sense, logic has no relation to reality; logic is about language. We are talking about the logic of language, not the logic of reality. Experiential debates among historians, on the other hand, are replaced by "reaching real knowledge".

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To Cite this Chapter

Aydeyer, C. & Kalaycı, İ. (2023). What is empiricism and views of historians to empiricism. In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp. 68-78). ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 5: TURKISH - SOVIET RELATIONS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE XXTH. CENTURY AND LITVINOFF PROTOCOL

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1. Introduction

The new searches, which began to appear since the middle of the XIXth Century, brought social unrest in the XXth Century. Western imperialism began to exploit the newly discovered continent America and the relatively weak people of Africa and Asia. After the French Revolution, the abolition of absolutist regimes and their replacement in the nation-states created the bourgeois class, which destroyed the aristocrats blessed by many of the absolutist regimes. By the way they gave birth to a new system of slavery that enslaved the peasants, called “land-bound slavery.” The people living in their villages in economic difficulties migrated to the cities, where they became the workers who carried out the industrial process created by the Industrial Revolution. (Görgün, 2009, s.382-388) The working class, the biggest stakeholder in the atmosphere of production that emerged with the industrial revolution, was influenced by the discourse of socialist intellectuals who predicted social revolutions such as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Rosa Luxemburg. Because some of the great empires failed to realize the emerging industrial breakthroughs and scientific advances, they were unable to meet the needs of the people they ruled over time, and they steadily declined in the face of their rivals. In the first quarter of the XX.th century, the small or large communities of the great empires, which had been weak, began to have the infrastructure to settle accounts with the power of the elites who ruled them. These people, who wanted to have a role in the administration, mostly consisted of low – income people, and the rulers led a rich life away from their poverty. Since the internal revolts that were seen in almost every state in the previous centuries were not social revolutions and were solved by palliative techniques, so the rulers of these great empires did not expect major revolutions that would lead to regime change. However, now the governed had become prone and capable of making revolutions with the psychology of oppression.

In the days when the social tissues that were pregnant to such a great movement a world war began. This war has been known as “The Great War”. This world war, which was officially called as the “first”, was embodied in blocks of states.

Germany, which joined the colonial race later because of its late integration, was on one side with Austria-Hungary. Austria – Hungary Empire, which was a terrestrial state, was strong both in Central Europe and the Balkans and wanted to dominate the coasts of the Black Sea and Aegean Sea. The other ally was Ottoman Empire. For nearly two centuries, the Ottoman Empire had been steadily declining in political, militarily, commercial and economical aspects and she was in need of a leap. The last was Bulgaria. She had just gained its independence and wanted to expand.

On the other side there was England, which wanted to avoid the danger of losing her colonies, desired to acquire the oil regions that were considered to be a new source of energy by taking control of the routes. France, which wanted to maintain its presence in Africa and wanted to become the great ruler of the Mediterranean with the new people obtaining from the Ottomans in Asia, was in the aim of becoming the leader of continental Europe. Another ally was Italy, which changed its initial bloc in the thought that it would be closer to its goals for the land and waters it wanted to conquer in Africa and in Asia Minor. The last big empire was Russia, which had been wanting to expand into warm lands and seas for centuries.

It was inevitable to lose a lot for the defeating side of the war between these two big blocs. For one to continue, the other had to be destroyed. Thus, after the war, the German Empire was overthrown, the German Weimar Republic was established. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was overthrown, several states emerged from it and a small territory was given to them from Central Europe. The Russian Tsarism was overthrown before the war ended, the Soviet Union was established. The Ottoman Empire was overthrown, and the Turkish Republic was established instead. (Akyılmaz, 2015, s.513) The Soviet Union and the Republic of Türkiye were established outside the wishes and organization of the western imperialists.

In our study, Litvinoff Protocol, which was one of the concrete reasons of political and diplomatic relationships between the Soviet Union and Turkish Republic, will be handled.

2. Turkish – Soviet Relations Developed on the Way of International Peace After “the Great War”

The Russian Tsarism, a powerful but distant member of the Allies, had a difficult time in domestic politics as well as on the fronts during the first World War. Logistical support from its allies in the West was necessary for the Russians to keep their regime alive and to continue the war. However, the Ottoman army, which had a very poor military performance in the

Balkan Wars just three years ago, quickly gained a superior power thanks to its restoration and defeated the Allies that had presumed that they would quickly provide support to Russia by crossing the Turkish straits. The roots of rebellion, which had accumulated in Russia for many years, erupted in a great way as the Allies failed to provide the necessary aid, and in October 1917 the Bolsheviks succeeded in overthrowing the tsarist regime. The Russian Tsarism, which had been pretending to be a protector over the Orthodox communities of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, could not prevent the Bolsheviks by not getting the support it hoped for from Allies and was erased from the stage of history before the Ottoman Empire (Yetişgin,2015). The Ottoman army, which prevented the delivery of aid to the Russian tsarist regime by keeping a half-million enemy force in front of the Dardanelles Strait for a period of six months, facilitated the collapse of Tsarism and, as the British and French representatives insisted at the peace conferences after the war, the Turkish resistance on this front caused to prolong the war for two years. The armies of the Allies had to fight for months in the face of the Turkish resistance, which they assumed would be easily broken and even finished within hours and they were not only defeated but also weakened materially and spiritually. Russia was destroyed and the nations which had been exploited by imperialists all over the world started to hope for their freedom. (Belen, 2016, s.323) The Bolsheviks, who overthrew the Russian Tsarism, first withdrew from the war and then began to fight internally for the establishment of a new regime. The Bolsheviks abolished the systems of the previous regime and became the certain ruler of the country. The new regime chose socialism as its ideology and because it was not yet strong enough on the international platform, aimed to establish peaceful relations with neighboring states. Therefore, it would be possible for her to create grounds to spread its ideology as much as possible. Under Lenin's direction the Soviet Union prioritized ideological expansionism over military aggression. (Yetişgin, 2015, s.15) The main goal of the Soviet administration during this period was to survive, and they had to stay away from pursuing an expansionist policy such as the Russian Tsarism they had overthrown. Stalin, who came to power after Lenin's death, tried to maintain this peaceful policy until the 1935s. However, there was no doubt that the Soviet territory would be the target area of the approaching Second World War and it was difficult for them to survive in a peaceful line. (Akyılmaz, 2015, s.514)

The Ottoman Empire, which had maintained its existence for centuries with a single dynastic family, did not engage in processes that changed world history such as geographical discoveries, colonialism and industrial revolution, but rather aimed to maintain its territorial existence in the geographies where it was located. This multinational structure, which was

ruled with an absolute regime away from democracy, had experienced serious internal crises when it passed into the constitutional administration in order to adapt to the requirements of the time and had lost most of the lands it was aiming to protect, either formally or in effect. The new Ottoman administration aiming to regain and continue its existence by entering the war on the side that is strong in the first World War, first wanted to take part in the Allies. In early July 1914, Cemal Pasha, Minister of Admiralty, proposed an alliance in France, but was not accepted on the grounds that they could not obtain Russian consent from this bloc as a state they wanted to share, and joined the war on the side of the Axis states in the developing conjuncture.(Belen,2016) The Ottoman army forces, which had been more successful than expected initially However, she lost geographical contact with Germany because of the withdrawal of Bulgaria. Ottomans were deprived of the logistical support they would receive from big ally, Germany. By 1918, the Ottoman Empire had to withdraw from the war by accepting defeat with the Armistice Agreement of Mondros and had to accept the occupation of Anatolian cities, the core Turkish territory. At this stage, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was sent to Anatolia by order of the Istanbul Government with the task of calming the Turkish people who started to resist, aimed the opposite of the surrender duty and organized local Turkish forces who were trying to resist with scattered and unorganized movements and led a revolt under his command. The Bolsheviks, who replaced the former Russian regime, published a secret agreement text and as a result the occupying Allies' trust in each other was shaken and they began to withdraw from Anatolia, where they suffered a lot of losses. Even the French and Italians made agreements with the Turkish resistance movement and returned to their countries by selling some of their weapons and donating some of them including 10 fighter aircrafts and 4464 rifles. (Selek, 2010, s.708) In this process, the command of the Turkish National struggle Movement was given the most economic, logistical and political support by the newly formed Soviet Union. (Selek,2010, s.696-705)

For the Turks, the new problem in Anatolia was the Greek occupation. None of the former Allied powers wanted to fight the Turkish National struggle forces anymore. The Greek Kingdom, after the first World War, which it did not actually participate in, entered Turkish territory with the promise of support of England, asserting the Greek presence before BCE with a maximalist approach and tried to expand as much as possible. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who motivated national feelings of the Turkish people, started the process of statification, first with the Soviet administration and then with other states later via political agreements, and ensured that the Istanbul Government, which had signed the Treaty of Sèvres and now confined the

Turks to an area of 250,000 square kilometers, lost its legitimacy. The armies led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who saved Western Anatolia from the Greek occupation, and the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye announced their own constitution and then forced the occupying commission of the Entente States led by the British to evacuate Istanbul. After the Turkish Parliament Government, which was declared in 1920, took full control, on October 29, 1923, it announced to the whole world that new Türkiye now governing by the republican regime.

The founders of the young Republic of Türkiye, which had problems in its tumultuous relations with Western states on international platform, were planning to avoid many of the new problems that they might face by finding supporters. However, it was becoming increasingly impossible to find a steady partner from the West. Orientalist Westerners had been intending not to give Turks the right to live in this geography, as it can be understood from the Treaty of Sèvres, which they imposed at the end of the first World War. However, considering their armies, which could not afford to fight any more in the interior regions of Anatolia, and their internal public opinion, which was impossible to convince the rightness of such a war, the task of implementing the plan to expel Turks from Anatolia was offered to the Greeks by the British and they took it on. (Zürcher, 2013, s.221) During the first World War, Britain's allies France and Italy did not support Britain and the Greeks who were excited by the British. (Köylü, 2017, s.246)

The fact that the new Soviet State, founded on the legacy of the old Russian Tsarist in 1917, and the new Republic of Türkiye, founded on the legacy of the old Ottoman Empire in 1923, needed to stay away from the new wars more than ever.

Immediately after the Bolshevik revolution, which was recorded as the October Revolution, the first task of the new Soviet administration was to withdraw from the war by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Then, on January 13, 1918, decree no. 13, issued by the joint signature of communist leaders Lenin and Stalin, promised self-determination to the communities whose rights were usurped during the Tsarist period. (Gürün, 1991, s.3) In this way, the Communists tried to break down the power of the still resisting Tsarist White Army forces and to prevent an internal problem.

The first actual contact of the Communist leaders with the Turkish National struggle movement was a statement addressed to the Turkish workers and peasants, co-written by Chicherin and Neriman Nerimanov of Azerbaijan, on September 13, 1919. After the correspondence between

Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Lenin, an agreement was signed in Moscow on March 16, 1921. In this agreement, the Turkish side was represented by Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Rıza Nur, Yusuf Kemal Tengirşek, the Soviet side Chicherin and Cemal Korkmazov. The content of this agreement was the straits, and the agreement envisaged that the precise status of the straits should be determined by a conference of countries bordering the Black Sea. Moreover, important provisions such as the abolition of all responsibilities of the Tsarist period, the removal of capitulations, and a critical stance such as the rejection of imperialism were the basis of this agreement. On January 2, 1922, Frunze was appointed as the representative of Socialist Ukraine, Aralov as the representative of Soviet Russia and Abilov as the representative of Socialist Azerbaijan in Ankara. (Akın, 2015, s.3)

On April 23, 1920, the new Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Pasha opened the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, the center of the new Turkish movement, in Ankara. Just three days later he received a positive response to the letter he sent to the administrators of the Soviet Union on April 26, 1920, finding the source of weapons and ammunition he needed urgently. In the first talks in July, Soviet representatives, who had promised arms assistance, first demanded that Kars and Ardahan be given to them hoping to take the advantage of Türkiye's plight. They were decisively rejected. In the negotiations that resumed in August Soviets demanded Van and Bitlis, or at least a small part of Bitlis, to be given to the Armenians. Mustafa Kemal Pasha sent a letter to Bekir Sami Bey stating that he doubts the sincerity of the Soviets, who constantly demanded territory. Understanding that it would not be possible to get what they wanted after this strict warning letter, the Soviet authorities handed over a hundred thousand pounds worth of gold to Halil Pasha, who was sent to Russia after the Sivas Congress. He was able to bring this money to Erzurum overland on September 8 by passing cross the regions where the Armenians were located with big difficulties. More urgent and important weapons and ammunition reached Trabzon in late September 1920 via the Black Sea ports under Bekir Sami Bey, and then in October 1920, Economy Minister Yusuf Kemal Tengirsenk Bey came to Ankara with a million rubles. (Müderrisoğlu, 2013, s.508-510)

With the aim of establishing good relations with other countries besides Türkiye, which they saw as a privileged place among its neighbors, Soviets continued to sign peace agreements in 1921 and later. Although some attempts were made to break Germany out of them in order to prevent Western states from forming blocs, they were unsuccessful. In 1922, a meeting in Genoa to regulate trade relations between the Soviet Union and Western countries was held. Secret talks between Soviet officials and German statesmen were practised and subsequently

they signed the Rapallo Agreement. This agreement also included German training of Soviet soldiers in violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. This agreement, which was signed in the period when Germany was looking for a way out of the crisis and an international partner in the face of the harsh provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, one of the agreements that ended the first World War, did not show the expected effect. On December 1, 1925, Germany's signed Locarno Agreement with western states; France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Rapallo Agreement which was signed between the Soviets and Germany and the aim to develop a partnership between these two countries became ineffective. (Akbiyik, 2014, s.420-421)

With the Locarno Agreement, Germany, wanting to normalize its relations with the countries where it constantly had lived together in the same continent, rejoined the European system by agreeing to France's "certainty of Germany's western borders". This agreement was beneficial in the short term by creating a 6-year peace period. However, it was harmful in long term to European unity by opening the way for German or Soviet expansion of being at the east of Germany. Inasmuch as by this agreement Britain and France aimed to protect the states at the west of Germany. Poland and Czechoslovakia states that were at the east of Germany. Quite so, considering the starting way of the Second World War it can be seen that Adolf Hitler used this obvious point.(Sander,2017,s.35-36)

It was a disappointment for the Soviet Union to see that the Treaty of Rapallo was forfeited with the signing of the Treaty. For the Soviets, whose aim was to acquire allies against the western imperialist, Germany's getting closer to the western states, and even her adherence to the League of Nations in 1926, which the Soviet Union did not join and observed with solicitude, was seen as a great loss.

During those dates, in the Mosul issue the anti-Turkish attitude of the League of Nations brought the Soviet Union, which was losing Germany, closer to Türkiye. On the other hand, Türkiye became closer to Soviet Union against the westerners that were standing as a bloc. (Akbiyik, 2014, s.421) Just two weeks after the signing of the Locarno Agreement, which the Soviets were dissatisfied with, and just one day after the Mosul issue was concluded to the dissatisfaction of the Turks, the Agreement of Neutrality and Non- Agression was signed on 17 December 1925 between the Soviet Prime Minister Chicherin and Turkish Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü Uras. Following this agreement Chicherin wrote a secret letter to Uras and concluded with the sentence "*I would like to state that this agreement will be the basis for*

relations between us in case of war with one or more the third of states” in which Soviet side not only wants mutual non-aggression, but also the establishment of a military alliance in need.(Soysal,2000,s.278) Although the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics began to be recognized by the westerners one by one, the westerners that acted together in Locarno Treaty, were seen as a threat to the Soviets. Türkiye, which had a very important geopolitical position and started an attack movement with its new state model, was a candidate to be a reliable ally. (Oran, 2003, s.315)

Britain, which led the Greek occupation of Anatolia behind the scenes, made itself visible as the main actor and the implementer of anti-Turk thesis in the meetings where the Mosul issue was discussed. As a result of these meetings, Britain aimed to prevent Türkiye’s international reapproachment with the Soviet Union, which could not get the target she wanted in Mosul. Britain, which had rejected Türkiye’s demands in the Mosul issue, put forward the thesis that it was necessary for her to join League of Nations, in order to be protected from Italy and Greece which had claims on her lands. In other words, Britain put Türkiye under pressure by using the expansionist perspectives of Italy and Greece. With this policy the British aimed to both control Türkiye and isolate the Soviet Union. Even Britain implemented economic emborgoes to drive Türkiye away from the Soviet Union, but these attempts brought Türkiye and the Soviet Union closer, contrary to the British expectation of getting the desired results on Türkiye. Concrete results were achieved in the negotiations between the foreign ministers of the two countries in 1926 in Odessa to bring order to trade and increase the trade volume (Akbıyık,2014,s.422), and in 1927 the “ Trade and navigation Agreement” was signed the two countries in Ankara.(Köylü,2017,s.368) According to this agreement it was accepted that the Soviet Union would open trade representations in 7 cities (Istanbul, Izmir, Trabzon, Mersin, Erzurum, Konya and Eskişehir) except two of 9 Turkish cities (Artvin and Kars) and diplomatic privileges were granted to these representations. For the Turkish side, it was given the opportunity to use the Batumi Port without being subject to customs for the goods that Türkiye will send to a third country. (Dilan, 1998, s.60)

It is seen that Türkiye was more committed than the Soviets to the principle that the Turks and the Soviets get each other’s approval as the opposing party in the agreements to be made with third countries, which was a condition stipulated by this agreement. While the Soviet Union, which signed an agreement with France in 1935 and Bulgaria in 1940, did not receive Türkiye’s approval, Türkiye, which signed a pact with Britain and France in 1939, revised the agreement in a way that the Soviets would approve. (Oran, 2003, s.318) Moreover, when Republic of

Türkiye joined the League of Nations in 1932, she received the approval of the Soviet Union. (Köylü, 2017, s.369)

“The Great Depression” that emerged in 1929 shook the world economy and states began to create economic programs to get out of this grip. The last years of the Ottoman period passed with constant wars and the Republic of Türkiye which was established afterwards had to grapple with the financial crisis in the world, while she was in a serious debt burden and lack of economic resources.

In this environment, young Turkish Republic administrators, who were in search of new solutions, first accepted the principle of Statism. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who acted with the foresight that there would be no political independence without economic independence, the state took measures against this global economic problem with this revolution that the economy should be financed with internal resources, the economy should be directed by the state and the state should be the pioneer in business and investment. Thanks to the five- year industry and development programs it put into practice, the only state was Soviet Union which was almost unaffected by this crisis . In order to get results in the Statism principle Türkiye wanted to benefit from the experience of the Soviet Union which was successful in practice. Regarding this, İsmet İnönü visited the Soviet Union in 1932 and made observations. Subsequently, a delegation from the Soviet Union came to Türkiye and determined the basic trends of the Turkish industry and presented a report on the progress in the cotton, linen, hemp, cannabis, chemistry and iron industries.(Özbay, Genç, 2020) After this report and another report prepared by the Americans, the Republic of Türkiye implemented the First Five- Year Industrial Plan in 1934. Although they received opinions from other countries, Turks mostly preferred to apply the Soviet practice in the economy. Developed political relations have greatly affected Türkiye in these years in terms of economy and social point of view. (Özder, 2017, s.145)

The Turkish – Soviet friendship relations also had some reflections in domestic politics. The basic ideology of newly established Turkish republic was Turkish Nationalism. When the formation of this idea is examined, the reflections of the political situation in the world on the Ottoman Empire after the French Revolution and the intellectual activity of Turk Ocaks (Turkish Association) established during the Balkan Wars in the society can be seen. The sad results of the Balkan Wars, which the Ottoman Empire waged without the support of any state, matured the idea of Turkish Nationalism. Nationalists first started to publish Türk Yurdu

magazine and then established the Turk Ocaks as an umbrella organization. The Turk Ocaks were very influential during the years of the National Struggle and the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye. More than just an intellectual movement, the Turk Ocaks, which had a direct influence on the administration of the state due to the fact that the majority of the leaders of the republic, especially Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, were members of this association, was an activist organisation acting in the line of Turkism - Turanism.

In 1931, this structure, which had 276 branches and more than 32000 members, started to disturb the Soviet administration with the discourse of Turanism.(Güz, 2011, s.283) In the same period, the number of members of the Republican People's Party, the political party representing the will that founded the state, was, in Atatürk's own words, 4000 despite all efforts. This situation disturbed Atatürk and the fact that the hearths (Turk Ocaks) took a close stance to the newly established Free Republican Party caused Atatürk to develop the idea that the hearths could be a political threat.(Erdem, 2022) It has been thought that Soviet complaints were also effective in the decision to close the Turk Ocaks after Soviet Ambassador to Türkiye Surits and Azerbaijani Ambassador Abilof expressed their discomfort with the idea of Turanism in the Turk Ocaks (Güz,2011,s.284) and the suspicion that the association were involved in politics coincided with the same periods.

Seeing that the Rapallo Treaty with Germany, which it had tried to attract during its attempts to find a partner from continental Europe, was invalidated by the ground formed by the Western powers and that it had actually lost Germany after Locarno Treaty, the Soviets, thinking that they were cornered, felt the need to take a series of measures to secure themselves against this political bloc. For this reason, it aimed to keep good relations with its neighbours and to form alliances.

Although the Soviet Union attempted to establish non-aggression pacts with Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania in 1926, and even with France in 1927 in order to prevent the formation of pacts against her, she was only able to conclude an agreement with Lithuania on 28 September 1926. Unable to achieve the alliance and security results they wanted to create on their European borders, the Soviets turned eastwards and signed non-aggression pacts with Afghanistan in August 1926 and with Iran in October 1927.(Armaoğlu,2004,s.169)

In the aftermath of the First World War, all the countries that could not overcome the pain and devastating effects of the war took measures to prevent a new war. France's foreign minister

Aristide Briand proposed a treaty to the United States of America, which was seen as unlikely to go to war between them because of their geographical distance and their view of the world, declaring it illegal for them to fight. For the above-mentioned reasons, US Secretary of State Kellogg did not consider such a narrow agreement realistic, and proposed that the obligation to make war an option should be achieved through multilateral agreements. Thereupon, the Briand - Kellogg Pact was established, signed by the USA, France, the UK, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Japan, Czechoslovakia and Poland.(Sander,2017,s.38) Established on 28 August 1928, this peace pact entered into force in the summer of 1929 upon the completion of the ratification procedures of the states parties. Türkiye joined this pact on 8 July 1929.(Soysal,2000,s.366-367)

The Soviet Union, fearing that the Western countries would come together with an anti-war rhetoric and form a new bloc against it after Locarno, joined this pact immediately upon the invitation. Over time, more than fifty countries became parties to the Briand - Kellogg Pact, which at that time meant almost all the states in the world.(Soysal,2000,s.367)

The Soviet Union signed the Briand - Kellogg Pact with the comment that it did not attach the necessary importance to disarmament. In the meantime, the establishment of the peace envisaged by the pact in order to eliminate the risk of aggression by the Eastern European states, which they had tried but failed to convince in 1926, was a result that the Soviet authorities urgently wanted to achieve.(Armaoğlu,2004,s.169)

The Soviet administration, which quickly obtained the approval of the Briand - Kellogg Pact from its own organs against the possibility of any problems developing in the time period that would pass with the parliamentary approval of the countries, was not satisfied with this and immediately organised a non-aggression agreement with a protocol covering the countries to the west, which it wanted to agree with before, by taking advantage of the peace environment created by the pact. The Soviet aim was to take the lead in creating a climate of peace in its region. On 9 February 1929, approximately seven months before the Briand - Kellogg Pact was ratified by all parties, the "Litvinoff Protocol", named after the Soviet Foreign Minister Maxime Litvinoff, was signed in Moscow with Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Romania. The first article of the 7-article protocol states that this protocol was an integral part of the Treaty signed in Paris on 27 August 1928 (Briand - Kellogg Pact), the second article states that this protocol was valid regardless of the entry into force of the Treaty, and the fifth article states that this protocol is open to the participation of the governments of all countries.(Soysal, 2000, s.373-375)

The Republic of Türkiye had similar concerns with its neighbour, the Soviet Union. On 4 March 1929, approximately 25 days after the signature of the Protocol by the states parties, Türkiye joined the Litvinoff Protocol after Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Uras, Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that Türkiye had joined the Protocol with joy, after making an introduction appreciating the fact that his own side had been informed about the Protocol.(Soysal, 2000,s.376)

In 1929, Maxime Litvinoff, the new Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, appointed to replace Chicherin, wanted to build a collective security policy. However, Litvinoff was frightened by the thought that with the rise to power of Adolf Hitler in Germany in 1933, the territory of the Soviet Union would become the target of this expansionist leader and that the Western powers would not do enough to stop this racist dictator.(Armaoğlu,2004,s.169) Indeed, in the following years, Hitler's attack on Poland, which was not protected by the Western powers in the Locarno Treaty, and the following events of the Second World War justified Litvinoff's fears.

Conclusion

Neither the establishment of the Locarno Treaty and the subsequent Briand - Kellogg Pact by the western states, nor the Litvinoff Protocol, which was established by the Soviet Union, which tried to secure its own territories by seeking to create a peaceful environment without weapons and war, by including Türkiye, were sufficient to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. The Turks, who did not recognise the surrender provisions imposed by the Treaty of Sèvres, imposed at the end of the First World War, never allowed this treaty to be put into effect and subsequently expelled the imperialist powers from their lands and established the Republic of Türkiye. The Treaty of Versailles, which the victors of the war made the defeated Germany sign, had a different result than what happened in Türkiye. A racist, expansionist social structure emerged in the German people, who thought that they had been too much damaged by this treaty. When a ruthless leader, Adolf Hitler, who managed to manage this feeling, came to power in 1933, the process leading to the Second World War began and those treaties and pacts we have mentioned no longer had any function. Unlike the Ottoman Empire, which failed not to participate in the First World War, the Republic of Türkiye was able to maintain its peaceful policy by not participating in the Second World War, the bloodiest and most harmful war in history.

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To Cite this Chapter

Yıkıcı L. (2023). Turkish - Soviet relations in the first quarter of the XXth. century and Litvinoff Protocol. In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp. 79-93). ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 6: THE POWERFUL ICON OF SELJUK WOMEN: TERKEN HATUN AND HER IMPACT ON STATE ADMINISTRATION

Abdullah BAYINDIR 

1. Introduction

Women have assumed significant roles in different civilizations, cultures, and societies throughout history. Among these civilizations, the role of ancient Turkish societies is quite substantial. The governance structure, political decision mechanisms, and social arrangements of these societies are crucial in terms of the status and contributions of women of the time.

The Great Seljuk Empire, founded in the mid-11th century under the leadership of founders Tughril and Cagri Beys, emerges as a significant Turkic-Islamic civilization, exerting dominion over a broad region stretching from Iran to Anatolia, and Iraq to Syria¹⁰ (Turan, 2014, p.106-109; Kafesoğlu, 1992, p.73). This civilization, shaped by the influence of Islam, is known for its just and centralized administrative approach and has made significant contributions to the development of art, science, and literature. However, the role and societal influence of women in the Great Seljuk Empire, often considered a male-dominated era by many historians, is a subject that has been scarcely researched.

Women are present in almost every aspect of social life. In addition to managing the affairs of their households, women have also contributed to the production. They have even found their place in wars, riding horses and wielding swords (Sutay, 2018, p.307). In addition to all these, women who are spouses of the ruler have been able to elevate their status by receiving the title of Hatun. Hatuns who entered the Seljuk palace through marriage had the privilege of having equal rights and privileges with the members of the ruling family's dynasty. In other words, they held the same status and the same privileges as the members of the dynasty, taking their place in the palace. This suggests that they held a special position within the palace and had the opportunity to contribute to important government affairs. As a result, the Hatun,

¹⁰ For detailed information on the organizational structure and expansion policy of the Great Seljuk Empire, see Kafesoğlu, İ. (2014). *Umumî Türk tarihi hakkında tespitler, görüşler, mülâhazalar*. İstanbul: Ötüken yayıncılık. p.271-303.

who is the next in line after the ruler in state administration, undertook serious roles in state management (Kuşçu, 2016, p.174-176).

In ancient Turkish societies, the status of women in society and their position against men varied depending on the period, geography, and characteristics of the society. In some cases, women might be in a better position compared to other world societies, while in other cases, they might be equal or of lower status. The role of women in society has been an evolving field, subject to constantly changing dynamics throughout history. In other words, ancient Turkish societies are characterized by various economic, social, and cultural structures due to their broad geographies and different periods over time. Therefore, the status of women in society and their position against men could also change depending on time and place. In view of these, it would not be wrong to say that women in ancient Turkish societies were in a better position compared to other societies of the same period (Kapar, 2022, p.211).

In Turkish societies, both in the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods, women have always taken an active role by participating in activities alongside men. Due to these attributes, Turkish women hold significant influence not only in social life but also in the functioning of the state (Kapar, 2022, p.207).

Throughout history, the contributions of the wives or mothers of rulers to state affairs in Turkish dynasties have been of significant importance. These women have actively participated in historical events through their strong leadership skills, ability to manage intrigues, and strategic intelligence. This situation emerges as a result of the structure of Turkish society¹¹.

In this context, when looking at the Seljuk state, Hatuns have not only been present alongside the ruler but also continued their existence as influential political figures even away from the center of the state (Akarsu, 2019, p.54-56). They diligently followed the state's affairs with the sultan, contributed to the governance, and effectively participated in significant political decisions. With all these characteristics, Hatuns have played an important role in the political arena of the Seljuk State, taking their place in history as wise advisors and strong decision-makers (Kuşçu, 2016, p.177).

¹¹ For the influence of women on governance in ancient Turkish states, see Atınay, R. & Çeçen E. (2023). "Türkiye Selçuklu Devleti'nde kadınların yönetim üzerindeki etkileri: Moğol istilasına kadar". *History Studies*, 15(2), pp.347-359.

On the other hand, there were numerous instances where it was not mandatory for Hatuns to be alongside the Sultan, and they could reside in palaces in other cities for various reasons. These situations could be linked to differences and needs in political, social, cultural, and power structures. Regardless of whether they lived with the Sultan or not, they commanded small-scale administrative and military units, had a private treasury, a personal vizier, and other officials. The Hatuns, who were in a separate positions of power with their own palaces, treasuries, and military, were directly influencing state administration. If needed, they could leave their location and rush to the Sultan's aid. Nevertheless, in some situations, while Hatuns preferred to be with the Sultan, at other times, they spent their time in their own spaces to attend to their own affairs (Gündüz, 2012, p.139-140).

Alongside these privileges, the fact that Hatuns had their own land grants, or Iqta's,¹² sometimes caused complications from the state's perspective. Those at the center of the state were directly involved in the events taking place in the administration, while Hatuns were indirectly aware of the state administration. Consequently, their direct interventions and impacts on state affairs were limited.

As a case in point, we can consider Altuncan Hatun, the wife of the founder of the Seljuk State, Tughril Bey¹³ The Seljuk state stability was threatened when his stepbrother, Ibrahim Yinal, claimed the throne and besieged Tughril Bey in Hemedan as a result of his rebellion in 1058 (Bayındır, 2020, p.224-229; Kuşçu, 2016, p.186-187). Faced with this situation, Tughril Bey sought help from his nephews, his vizier, and his wife, Altuncan Hatun, and managed to escape this threat thanks to their assistance. Despite Vizier Amidü'l-Mülk Kündürî and his son Enûşirvan's attempts to hinder her, Altuncan Hatun gathered a sufficient force to rescue her husband, Tughril Bey, from the most dangerous situation he faced during his long reign (Öngül, 2014, p.32-33; Kapar, 2022, p.211).

Altuncan Hatun assumed a highly significant role within the family and in the state affairs. In terms of her position within the family, she was not only the wife of Tughril Bey but also a counselor, supporter, and trusted companion. Her respected and influential personality allowed her to play a decisive role in the social and political life of the palace (Sutay, 2018, p.309).

¹²For information on the Seljuk state's Iqta' system, see Göksu, E. (2010). *Türkiye Selçuklularında ordu*. Ankara: TTK yayınları. p.79-89.

¹³ For the era of the first Seljuk ruler, Tughril Beg, see also (Turan, 2016: 57-81; Bayındır, 2020, p.96-103).

In addition to Altuncan Hatun and the Hatuns mentioned above, there are many other significant Hatun characters in Seljuk history. These Hatuns, whom we will merely mention by name here, actively participated in state affairs and governance in their own times. Most of these Hatuns, coming from noble families, held equal status with the rulers in the eyes of the state. In this context, Hatice Arslan Hatun, the daughter of Cagri Bey, is another example of these female characters. She married the Abbasid Caliph Al-Qaim Biemrillah, establishing one of the significant political alliances for the Seljuk state. Hatice Arslan Hatun is known for upholding the Turkish tradition wherever she went and being a strong character (Sümer, 1986, p.8-13).

Another prominent Hatun is Terken Hatun, the wife of Sultan Sanjar. This Hatun also hails from the Karakhanid dynasty and is the daughter of Muhammad Arslan Khan (Özaydın, 1991, p.401). She managed many state affairs alongside Sultan Sanjar (el-Hüseyni, p.66). Terken Hatun, who played a crucial role in the conflict that erupted between Sultan Sanjar and her father Muhammad Arslan Khan, was taken captive along with her husband during the Oghuz rebellion and passed away during this captivity.

Another example of Seljuk Hatuns is Gevher Hatun, the daughter of Cagri Bey and the sister of Sultan Alp Arslan. Gevher Hatun also asserted her presence as a strong and ambitious character. She was married to Erbasgan (Elbasan, Erbasan), the son of Yusuf (Yunus) Yinal. Unfortunately, Gevher Hatun, who married someone of her own lineage, found herself in the midst of political struggles. This is because during Tughril Bey's reign, the rebellions against his rule by the Yinal family led to difficulties for Gevher Hatun as well. This situation started during the reign of Alparslan and continued until the reign of Malik Shah (İbnü'l Cevzi, p.136).

Along with all these examples, this study aims to shed light on the limited research conducted on the role of women in social and political life in the Great Seljuk Empire, with the intention of understanding their place. Based on the data emerging from reviewing resources and research to comprehend the administrative structure of the state, it will evaluate the probable roles women played in political decision-making, societal arrangements, and fields of art and culture.

Terken Hatun is prominently featured as an example in the topic we are addressing. She was a powerful Hatun in the Great Seljuk Empire with political influence and was actively involved in state affairs. Particularly in the final years of Malik Shah's reign, she was known to have considerable influence in state administration. Her ambitious, persevering, and determined

nature left deep imprints on the history of the Seljuk state. The study attempts to reveal how significant a Hatun she was, with detailed information about this historical character who is central to our topic in the subsequent stages.

As a result, the role of women in governance in the Great Seljuk Empire is an important subject that necessitates examination from a historical perspective. This article aims to contribute to a better comprehension of women's position in society and underscore the significance of women's contributions and impact throughout history.

2. Terken Hatun at the Seljuk Palace

Although the full name of Terken Hatun is not known, she is commonly referred to as *Celâliye Hatun*, derived from her husband Sultan Melikşah's epithet “Celâlüddevle” (Celâlü-d-Devle). Among historians, it is widely accepted that the name *Terken* is more likely a title (Bezer, 2011a, p.509).

The term *Terken*, which is commonly used as a title, particularly among Karakhanid princesses, is believed to have been borrowed from Turkic into Mongolian. Moreover, in Mongolian, the expression *Töregene* (*Turakine*) has also been used frequently for Mongol female sultans¹⁴. Additionally, it can be noted that the prevalence of this title increased further with the marriages of Seljuk dynasty members to Karakhanid princesses (Bezer, 2011b, p.510; Kapar, 2022, p.211).

Sources mention that Terken Hatun is the daughter of Ibrahim Tamgaç Han, the granddaughter of Ilig Han, who is believed to be from the Afrasiyab lineage or the Ilkhanids (Karakhanids) (İbn-ül Adim, p.18; Beyâni, 2015, p.7; İbnü'l Esir, X, p.202-204)¹⁵. However, there are different accounts regarding her marriage to Sultan Melikşah. According to the sources, Melikşah entered into such a marriage to strengthen relations with the Karakhanids

¹⁴ When the renowned Mongol Khan, Ogedey, died, his wife, Toregene Hatun, took over the state administration. Toregene Hatun, an ambitious and determined female figure, assumed control of the state until a new Khan was selected. She demonstrated her power in state administration by getting her son, Güyük, elected as Khan. See Gömeç, S.Y. (2010). “Terken ünvanı hakkında”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Türkoloji Dergisi*, 17(2). p.112; Sertkaya, P. (2011). *Türk Tarihinde Terkenler*. Selçuk Üniversitesi Sos. Bil. Enst., (Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi). Konya.

¹⁵ Regarding Terken Hatun's lineage, İbnü'l-Esir, traces her ancestry back to Isa Khan, the uncle of the Karakhanid ruler, Shams al-Mulk Nasir Khan, while another source refers to her as the daughter of Tamgaç Khan. For further information, see . (İbnü'l Esir. 1987. el Kâmil fi' t-Tarih, c.X).

during the Georgian campaign,¹⁶ accompanied by his father, Sultan Alp Arslan¹⁷, and Nizamülmülk (Köymen, 1995, p.57-59; Turan, 2014, p.158; Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.66). In essence, the Seljuks secured their growing state by strengthening political ties with neighboring states. Among these political endeavors, the practice of marrying off daughters or giving daughters in marriage was quite common. Besides, considering that Meliksah was only 9 years old when he participated in this campaign, the marriage must have taken place in the following years. Accordingly, it is known that Terken Hatun had three sons named Mahmelek, Mahmut, Ahmet, and a daughter named Davut from Meliksah. The sources confirm that Ahmed, one of their sons, died at the age of 11 in the year 1088. Therefore, it can be inferred that the marriage of Meliksah and Terken Hatun¹⁸ occurred before the year 1088 (Bezer, 2011b, p.510).

When all these dates are examined, it becomes evident that Meliksah was in his childhood years at the time of his marriage. Indeed, the structure and culture of ancient Turkic states show us that such marriages served political purposes and were generally conducted symbolically through an engagement ceremony¹⁹. The actual marriage was known to take place after the engagement ceremony, and many instances of this practice can be observed in Turkish-Islamic civilizations (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.83).

3. Political Arena and Struggles

Terken Hatun's wedding ceremony was grand and lavish, accompanied by vibrant celebrations. Shortly after her arrival at the Seljuk palace as a bride, she quickly rose to the esteemed position of the favored Hatun of the palace.

Especially after Meliksah's accession to the throne (1072-1092),²⁰ Terken Hatun became a prominent figure, and she knew how to wield her power wisely and timely (Kapar, 2022, p.212).

¹⁶ For detailed information on the reign of the famous Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan, see Köymen, M.A. (2016). *Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu tarihi-Alp Arslan ve zamanı*. c.III. Ankara: TTK yayınları.

¹⁷ For information regarding Sultan Alp Arslan's expedition to Georgia and the raids and conquests made during his reign, see Sevim, A. (1987). *Anadolu'nun fethi Selçuklular dönemi (Başlangıçtan 1086'ya kadar)*. Ankara: TTK yayınları. p.39-77; Ayönü, Y. (2014). *Selçuklular ve Bizans*. Ankara: TTK yayınları. p.26-30.

¹⁸ Concerning the marriage of Meliksah and Terken Hatun, Ibn al-Athir's statements suggest that this marriage contract could have taken place in 1064, while Ibn al-Jawzi records that Meliksah was married to Celaliye Hatun in 1068. For further information, see (Bezer, 2011b, p. 510).

¹⁹ For further reading on the characteristics and culture of the ancient Turkish state structure, see Kaymaz, N. (2011). *Anadolu Selçuklularının inhitatında idare mekanizmasının rolü*. Ankara: TTK yayınları. p.9-27. For details on inscriptions about marriage and wedding ceremonies in old Turkish inscriptions, see Aydın, E. (2022). *Eski Türklerde gündelik hayat*. İstanbul: Kronik kitap. p.41-51.

²⁰ For information about Sultan Meliksah's reign and his conquest activities, see Sevim, A. (2014). *Anadolu'nun fethi Selçuklular dönemi*. Ankara: TTK yayınları, p.89-103.

On the other hand, like other Turkic rulers, Meliksah also had multiple wives, from whom he had sons and daughters²¹. Additionally, he had children from Seferiye Hatun, who rose from being a concubine to the status of Hatun. From her, he had sons Muhammet Tapar and Sencer (Sanjar) (Urfalı Mateos, 179). He also had a son named Berkyaruk from his other wife, Zubeyde Hatun, the daughter of Emir Yakuti (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.173). In the following process, Berkyaruk, born to Zubeyde Hatun, would ascend to the Seljuk throne. The practice of polygamy among sultans was likely aimed at increasing the ratio of male progeny, given that the succession of the throne was carried out through male members of the dynasty. Therefore, it can be inferred that rulers who desired to continue their dynasty through their own lineage sought to increase this possibility by marrying palace members or having children from concubines (Sutay, 2018, p.314). In this context, Sultan Meliksah, who fathered six sons named *Sencer (Sanjar), Ahmet, Davut, Mahmut, Berkyaruk, and Muhammet Tapar* from different women, demonstrates a strong persistence in maintaining the continuity of the dynasty from his own lineage.

Subsequently, Terken Hatun, one of the wives of Sultan Meliksah, would not neglect to utilize her political influence to secure the throne for one of her own sons. Her influence over state affairs can be assessed through several significant incidents. The first begins with Caliph Muktedi-Biemrillah's marriage proposal to Terken Hatun's daughter, Mahmelek Hatun. Terken Hatun realized during this courtship that she could leverage the caliphal position to her advantage. The fact that Meliksah directed the incoming emissaries to her and requested her to handle this matter personally demonstrated his considerable confidence in her (İbnü'l-Cevzi, p.216). Given this, Terken Hatun presented extremely demanding conditions to the prospective groom's delegation, stating that the sons of the Ghaznavid and Karakhanid rulers had also sought her daughter's hand in marriage. She added that these rulers had each offered 400,000 dinars and many valuable dowries for her daughter (İbnü'l Esir, X. p120). She would consent to her daughter Mahmelek Hatun's marriage if the caliph agreed to meet these proposals and fulfill the requested conditions single-handedly (Muneccimbasi p.51-53). Following the envoys' report to the caliph, it appears that Caliph Muktedi readily accepted the conditions.

²¹ Indeed, having multiple wives was a common practice among rulers in ancient Turkish societies. Additionally, the tradition of giving and taking daughters in marriage to and from neighboring countries was also prevalent. Rulers had the freedom to choose their wives from their own homeland or from other countries. For more detailed information, refer to: Çiftçioğlu, İ. (2013). "Anadolu Selçuklu sultanlarının gayrimüslim kadınlarla evlilikleri". *ZfWT*, 5(1): p.7-25; Kaymak, S. (2013). "Bir Selçuklu Hâtûnu'nun evlilikleri: Safiyye Hâtûn". *Tarih Dergisi*, 58(2), p.25-42; Kaçın, B. (2004). *Büyük Selçuklu devletinde hanedan üyelerinin evlilikleri*. Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü. (Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi). İstanbul.

Accordingly, the wedding was to be conducted following Turkish customs²². The Caliph would visit the bride's family elders and fulfill the requirements of Turkish tradition by giving 50,000 dinars as "milk money" and 100,000 dinars as dowry (Kitapçı, 1994, p.125)²³. Moreover, a promise was obtained that he would not take another wife apart from her daughter (Burslan, 1999, p.73). This instance further highlights the value Terken Hatun placed on her daughter.

The proposal took place in 1082, and the wedding was held in 1087. The Caliph fulfilled the required conditions and took Mahmelek Hatun to Baghdad after a magnificent wedding²⁴ (Bezer, 2011b, p.510).

This event increased Terken Hatun's experience in state affairs. By establishing close contacts with the caliphate, she gathered political intelligence that would be crucial for a significant ally. This is because following the death of her husband, Sultan Meliksah, she intended to initiate efforts to place her own son on the throne. In this sense, this marriage served as a forward-looking political investment. Even more so, when her daughter Mahmelek Hatun had a son named Cafer, this situation practically came into effect.

Indeed, the good relations established with the Caliphate were disrupted due to Mahmelek Hatun giving birth to a son. The Caliph began to cause problems, fearing that the caliphate would continue through this child. He did not want the office of the caliphate to fall into the hands of a Seljuk descendant and was unwilling to accept any claim of rights through this child. As a result, we see in the sources that Mahmelek Hatun was subjected to violence by her husband in 1089 and consequently returned to her paternal home. This incident suggests that the Caliph did not keep his word. On the other hand, a special palace was built for Mahmelek upon her return to her paternal home, and her son Cafer was addressed as the heir to the caliphate, "*emirü'l-mü'minin*," implicitly signaling that Cafer would be the next caliph (Kapar, 2022, p.213). The messages Terken Hatun conveyed to the office of the Caliphate through her grandson should be evaluated as serious and noteworthy strategic moves.

²² For detailed information on state law and customs of the ancient Turks, see Cin, H. & Akgündüz, A. (1995). *Türk hukuk tarihi*. c.I. İstanbul: Osmanlı araştırmaları vakfı ayınları. p. (Part One).

²³ For information on customs, laws, and regulations in ancient Turkish states, see Ögel, B. (2016). *Türklerde devlet anlayışı*. İstanbul: Ötüken yayınları. p.281-313.

²⁴ Mahmelek Hatun's wedding was attended by a large number of people. Important commanders and chieftains participated in the wedding, which lasted for several days. Terken Hatun personally took care of the wedding organization and guests, fulfilling her duties towards her daughter with utmost diligence. Moreover, she actively demonstrated her influence in state affairs. For detailed information about the wedding ceremony, see (İbnü'l Esir, X. p.328-330; Müneccimbaşı, p.52; Turan, 2014, p.207-209).

The second significant event concerning Terken Hatun's influence in state affairs is her dispute with Vizier Nizamulmulk. Previously, she had convinced Sultan Meliksah to accept the heirship of her sons Ahmet and Davut. However, the untimely deaths of these children thwarted Terken Hatun's plan. Meliksah was profoundly saddened and shaken by the death of his sons. In the aftermath of these events, the Sultan chose Berkyaruk, the son of Zubeyde Hatun, as his successor. Terken Hatun, greatly disturbed by this situation, adopted a political stance and initiated actions to have her youngest son, Mahmut, declared as the heir apparent (Sutay, 2018, p.318-319).

Terken Hatun, planning to use the office of the Caliphate for this purpose, intended to validate the heirship of her son Mahmut by threatening the Abbasid Caliphate with making her grandson Cafer the Caliph. Indeed, Vizier Nizamulmulk's decision to take and support Berkyaruk's side had shifted the course of events.

In order to overcome this serious obstacle, Terken Hatun began to sow discord between Sultan Meliksah and Nizamulmulk and to devalue Nizamulmulk. For this purpose, she sought to undermine Nizamulmulk by praising Taculmulk (Tacü'l-mulk Ebul Ganâim), whom she wanted to promote to the position of the vizier, to the Sultan. Meanwhile, Taculmulk was also trying to displace Nizamulmulk from his position by spreading various false accusations to attain the vizierate (Turan, 2014, p.213-218). In one of these false accusations, Taculmulk claimed, "*Nizamulmulk gives three hundred thousand dinars to the poor, sufis, and readers every year. If this money is used to equip an army, it could even conquer the walls of Constantinople.*" This emphasized that Nizamulmulk had the power to the extent of threatening the state (el-Hüseyni, p.246).

This situation revealed the form and sides of new alliances. On one hand, Nizamulmulk and Berkyaruk, while on the other, Taculmulk and Terken Hatun began to compete for the throne (Şahin and Arabacı, 2020, p.356).

Nizamulmulk's refusal to recognize Mahmut as heir due to his young age, and Meliksah agreeing with this view, made Terken Hatun's job even more difficult. Indeed, as a consequence of Terken Hatun's subversive activities against Nizamulmulk, the relationship between Sultan Meliksah and Nizamulmulk had begun to sour. Nizamulmulk's appointment of his sons to various state positions and his liberal spending practices in the provinces had unsettled Meliksah, and it was interpreted as he had eyes for the head of the state. After hearing the complaints and questioning Nizamulmulk, Sultan did not relieve him of his duties, but his

former trust in him was clearly no longer present. In this situation, Nizamulmulk could not do much and failed to convince the Sultan to the contrary. According to another account, the relationship between these two important figures was strained when Nizamulmulk's son, who had killed one of Melikah's jesters during a celebration, was sentenced to death by the Sultan²⁵ (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.159-165; Kapar, 2022, p.213-214).

Terken Hatun's negative actions against Nizamulmulk finally bore fruit, and the Sultan dismissed him from his post and appointed Taculmulk as vizier in his stead (İbnü'l-Esir, X. p.173).

Historical records show that Nizamulmulk was murdered following these events. In October 1092, while traveling from Isfahan to Baghdad, the Sultan's caravan made camp in a village named Sahne near the city of Nihavend. Nizamulmulk's constant engagement with state affairs resulted in him being continually occupied by people coming to ask for help. However, on this occasion, they had come not to seek help, but to kill him. A Bātīni assassin named Ebû Tâhir-i Errânî used the pretense of seeking help to approach him and carry out the assassination, which resulted in Nizamulmulk's death (October 14-15, 1092).²⁶ (el-Hüseyni, p.45; İbnü'l-Esir, X. p.175-178)

The fact that this assassin was still a child could have led to the assumption that he posed no threat. After all, for someone in such a significant position of the state, executing such a straightforward assassination must have been quite difficult. On the other hand, this incident leads us to speculate about a potential link between Terken Hatun and Taculmulk to the event (Kapar, 2022, p.214). Considering the unpleasant events and the strained relationship with his vizier, it is also highly probable that Meliksah himself could have been involved. From another

²⁵ The conversation between Nizamulmulk and Sultan Meliksah, as mentioned in known accounts that led to their falling out, goes as follows: *Sultan Meliksah: You have taken over my homeland and state, even giving them to your own relatives and allies. However, these individuals show no respect to my men and are oppressing the people. Moreover, you are not restraining or disciplining them. Would you like me to take away the vizierate from their hands and remove the turban from your head, freeing the people from the oppression of your men?* *Nizamulmulk: You should know that I am already an integral part of the state. This viziership and turban are so intertwined with your crown that if the viziership is taken away, your crown's existence would also be jeopardized.* For detailed information about the incident, see el-Hüseyni, p.47-48. Additionally, for more about Nizamulmulk. (Turan, 2014, p.216; Gökmen, 2019: p.131-148; Özeydin, 2018, p.1-31; Özeydin, 2007, p.194-196).

²⁶ According to the sources, the assassin who carried out the assassination was mentioned as a young Deylemli (Deilami) boy. In fact, it is narrated that while Nizamulmulk was resting after coming out of the bath, this individual approached him and fatally stabbed him. See: (el-Hüseyni, p.45; Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.165-167).

perspective, it is evident that²⁷ a collaboration was formed with Hassan-i Sabbah's organization, the Hashshashins, for this assassination.

In the wake of all these significant events, Taculmulk assumed the position of vizier, and Terken Hatun eliminated her most formidable obstacle to the throne. Terken Hatun, known for her extreme ambition, had significantly influenced state affairs to make one of her sons the sultan. She would soon join the battle for the throne, taking more severe steps.

Another significant incident pertaining to Terken Hatun's influence in state administration was the death - or alleged murder - of her husband, Sultan Meliksah. The Sultan's sudden death in Baghdad, approximately three months after the assassination attempt on Nizamulmulk, provided Terken Hatun with a significant opportunity to make her son the sultan²⁸. The sources attribute Melikah's presence in Baghdad to his daughter Mahmelek Hatun. He had reportedly traveled to Baghdad in intense anger over the caliph's tyranny and violence toward his daughter. Additionally, it is known that he had also gone to Baghdad intending to punish the Caliph, who refused to recognize the succession of his grandson Cafer. As a result of these reasons, Meliksah, who demanded that the Caliph immediately leave the city, granted him a short reprieve through the intercession of his vizier Taculmulk. It was during these days of reprieve that the events unfolded. Sultan Meliksah unexpectedly passed away on November 19, 1092, a few days after his arrival in Baghdad (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.168-172.).

The sudden death of the Sultan brought forth numerous question marks in people's minds. One of these questions was whether the Caliph had orchestrated an assassination on the Sultan in order to safeguard his own position. This suspicion was fueled by the long-standing strained relations between the Caliph and the Seljuk Sultanate, primarily due to issues related to his daughter, as well as the fear of his son, Cafer, being appointed as the Caliph. On the other hand, there was a strong possibility that Terken Hatun had a hand in this matter. This is because she also sought to have her son Mahmut recognized as the heir to the Sultan, but the Sultan was

²⁷ For detailed information about the Hashshashin organization established by Hasan Sabbah, operating as a branch of the Nizârî Ismâ'îlîs, see (Özaydın, 1997, p.347-350; Öz, 1997, p.418-419; Öz, 2007, p.200-201).

²⁸ In an elegy recounting the death of Meliksah, it is expressed that he passed away one month after Nizamulmulk. *The aged vizier ascended to the exalted heaven within a month. The young sultan followed him in the next month. God's wrath suddenly revealed the Sultan's helplessness. Behold the wrath of God and the helplessness of the Sultan.* See (Sutay, 2018, p.320).

not receptive to this idea. Sources provide substantial evidence suggesting that Terken Hatun might have poisoned him to death²⁹ (Urfalı Mateos, p.178).

Ultimately, despite the lingering doubts surrounding the Sultan's death, Terken Hatun continued to act according to her desires and took another step towards making her son the Sultan.

4. Terken Hatun Conceals the Sultan's Death

After Meliksah's death, he left behind four sons named *Berkyaruk*, *Muhammet Tapar*, *Sencer (Sanjar)*, and *Mahmut*. Nonetheless, when the Sultan passed away, his wife Terken Hatun was in Baghdad and was doing everything in her power to place her son Mahmut on the throne. In this regard, she tried to buy time by concealing the news of the Sultan's death. Taculmulk, on the other hand, collaborated with Terken Hatun, providing her with support. Terken Hatun left her grandson Cafer in Baghdad and took the road alongside the Sultan's coffin (Sutay, 2018, p.322).

Unfortunately, Terken Hatun's ambitious desire for the throne would lead the Seljuk state into a major struggle for throne. While attempting to place her son Mahmut on the throne, Terken Hatun faced opposition from her stepson Berkyaruk, igniting the fuse for the struggles for sovereignty that would ensue among Meliksah's sons³⁰.

She exerted pressure on the caliph, Muktedî, and attempted to obtain his approval through threats in order to have sermons delivered on behalf of her son Mahmut, who was only 4 to 5 years old at the time. Considering the difficulties the Caliph had experienced with the Seljuk court in recent years, accepting such a proposal was not feasible. Consequently, the caliph used the child's tender age as a pretext, arguing that he was not suitable for rulership. In response, Terken Hatun resorted to using her grandson Cafer as a leverage, threatening to have him replace the caliph if her demands were not met. Under the weight of these relentless

²⁹ The death of Sultan Meliksah has been subject to various accounts, and among these, the possibility of him dying due to illness is considered the least likely. Sources largely agree that he was assassinated by poisoning. It is believed that this poisoning incident was carried out through a servant named Hurdik. The servant allegedly applied poison to an ear cleaning instrument, and when the Sultan used it, he passed away a few days later. See (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.169).

³⁰ For information about the legitimacy of throne struggles and the issue of fratricide in the Seljuk state, see (Özaydın, 1997, p.347-350; Öz, 1997, p.418-419; Öz, 2007, p.200-201). For detailed information on the details of the struggles for the throne in the Seljuk state, see Köymen, M.A. (1989). *Selçuklu devri Türk tarihi*. Ankara: TTK yayınları. p. (Chapter Three); Bayındır, A. (2020). *Selçuklularda saltanat mücadeleleri*. İstanbul: Hiperyayın.

pressures, the Caliph was ultimately compelled to consent to having sermons recited on behalf of her son Mahmut in Baghdad and various other places (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.173).

On the other hand, we see that the emirs, prominent state figures, and commanders stood by Terken Hatun's side and provided her with support. The sources attribute the emirs' and soldiers' allegiance to Terken Hatun and their approval of her son's Sultanate to three main reasons. Firstly, Terken Hatun had wielded significant influence in all affairs of the country since the time of Meliksah and consistently bestowed favors upon the soldiers. Secondly, after Meliksah's death, she distributed almost all the money in the treasury as gifts to the emirs and commanders³¹. Lastly, being a Karahanid princess from the Turkish lineage, Terken Hatun's ancestry facilitated the soldiers' willingness to serve under her command (Burslan, 1999, p.84; el-Hüseyini, p.51-52).

During these events, Meliksah's other son, Berkyaruk, was in Isfahan. Despite being only 11 years old, Berkyaruk appeared as the most appropriate candidate for the throne. In fact, his father, Meliksah, had designated him as the heir apparent while he was still alive (İbnü'l-Esir, X. p.332-335).

As soon as Berkyaruk learned about the Caliph's decision to have the sermons (hutbe) read in the name of Mahmut, he took immediate action and rebelled in Isfahan. Shortly after this incident came to light, the soldiers under the command of Nizamulmulk, upon learning of Meliksah's death, raided their weapon depots and started supporting Berkyaruk's cause³².

5. The Struggle for the Throne and Search for New Alliances

Following the arrival of Terken Hatun and her supporters in Isfahan, who seemed willing to risk everything to secure the throne for her son, Berkyaruk and the men loyal to Nizamulmulk immediately took action (Burslan, 1999, p.84). According to historical accounts, in January 1093, Terken Hatun marched towards Rey, where Berkyaruk was situated, and the

³¹ For information about the renowned commanders of the Seljuk state, see Sevim, A. (1990). *Ünlü Selçuklu komutanları, Afşin-Atsız-Artuk ve Aksungur*. Ankara: TTK yayınları.

³² According to the sources, Terken Hatun assigned Kurbogay to capture Berkayruk, providing him with various goods and money for this mission. Together with her son and vizier Taculmulk, Terken Hatun set out for Isfahan Kurbogay succeeded in imprisoning Berkyaruk, but upon learning of this event, Nizamulmulk's supporters rebelled and looted the armories, releasing Berkyaruk and declaring him the ruler. Another account suggests that upon learning of Terken Hatun's attempt to capture Berkayruk, Nizamulmulk's men took Berkayruk to Rey, where they had him declared Sultan and read the sermon (hutbe) in his name. For further details, see (Sutay, 2018, p.326).

two forces clashed in a battle near the Berucird region. The escalating tensions had indeed foreshadowed such a confrontation. During the battle, some commanders from Terken Hatun's side switched sides to join Berkyaruk, tipping the balance of the war in his favor. As a result, Terken Hatun suffered a heavy defeat and returned to Isfahan. However, determined to put an end to the situation, Berkyaruk pursued Terken Hatun and laid siege to Isfahan. With the support of Nizamulmulk's men, Berkyaruk's position grew stronger. Meanwhile, despite Terken Hatun's generous acts and the distribution of substantial amounts of money, her efforts seemed to bear little fruit. Attempting to negotiate with Berkyaruk while under siege, Terken Hatun offered him 500,000 dinars from the state treasury - which she controlled entirely - if he were to lift the siege³³. Facing financial difficulties, Berkyaruk accepted the offer, which was quite reasonable given the need to strengthen his position in the struggle for the throne. After moving on to Hamedan, Berkyaruk continued his fight to legitimize his rule as the Sultan (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.174-175).

On the other hand, Taculmulk's alleged responsibility for the death of Nizamulmulk and his subsequent assassination by Nizamulmulk's men forced Terken Hatun into a search for new alliances. For this purpose, she initially sent a message to the emir of Azerbaijan and Berkayruk's uncle, Ismail bin Yakutî, proposing marriage on the condition that he would fight Berkayruk to place her son Mahmut on the throne. The new alliance was established when Ismail, believing he could use this proposal for his own interests, accepted her offer. Informed about the situation, Berkayruk took immediate action and marched against Ismail with an army. In February 1093, Ismail, supported by the army Terken Hatun had assembled, suffered a heavy defeat after the battle against Berkayruk. Following his defeat, Ismail planned to return to Isfahan and marry Terken Hatun. However, the emirs and commanders who disapproved of such a marriage demanded Ismail to leave Isfahan. Left with no choice in the face of this situation, Ismail left the city and went to his sister Zübeyde Hatun. Ismail, showing signs of switching sides to Berkayruk, perhaps desired to sabotage Terken Hatun's plans. Indeed, according to the sources, his declaration of plans to kill Berkayruk among emirs and commanders led to his assassination by these same men. It is known that his sister, Zubeyde Hatun, thought he deserved this punishment and did not react to the situation (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.176).

³³ For detailed information about the struggle between Terken Hatun and Berkyaruk, see Bayındır, A. (2020). *Selçuklularda saltanat mücadelesi*. İstanbul: Hiperyayın. p.253-259.

The death of Ismail, the Emir of Azerbaijan, had caused the dissolution of the alliance that Terken Hatun had just formed (İbnü'l Esîr, X. p.145-148). Indeed, she was relentless in exploring every possible way for her son's reign and did not abandon the pursuit of new ventures. Accordingly, it is known that Terken Hatun, without wasting time, sent a message to Meliksah's brother, the ruler of Syria, Tâcuddevle Tutus, proposing that they marry and rule the country together³⁴. Tutus, who was already embroiled in a struggle for the throne and busy building up his strength to claim his brother's throne, immediately accepted the offer and set out towards Hemedan. Planning to oust Berkyaruk and ascend to the throne in Hemedan, Tutus was also intending to secure his position with the forces expected from Terken Hatun (Turan, 2014, p.226-227). However, Terken Hatun falling ill on the way to Hemedan ended this alliance attempt before it could start. Unable to recover from her illness, Terken Hatun returned to Isfahan and passed away in October 1094 (Sevim, 1983, p.151). Her son Mahmut, a short while after his mother's death, contracted smallpox and he too passed away in 1094 (Sevim and Merçil, 2014, p.182).

Conclusion

After the death of Terken Hatun, some of the 12,000 soldiers under her command switched sides to Malik Tutus, while others sided with Berkyaruk. The struggle for sovereignty initiated by Terken Hatun in the Seljuk state would continue even after her death. This situation continued until the reign of the last sultan of the Seljuk state, Sencer. Unfortunately, this long-lasting struggle for sovereignty among brothers had left the state in a helpless situation.

From this perspective, Nizamulmulk's strong opposition to Terken Hatun's involvement in state affairs can be somewhat understood. According to him, a woman would not understand state affairs and could make mistakes that would leave deep wounds in the course of the country. Indeed, Nizamulmulk, who was not mistaken in this view, had embodied his words with the actions of Terken Hatun.

When looking at Turkish states, it is observed that many women have been influential in state governance in both pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods. The fact that the Hatuns had their own soldiers, were given private viziers, and land grants occasionally reflected negatively

³⁴ After the death of his brother Sultan Meliksah on November 20, 1092, Tâcuddevle Tutus, the Seljuk ruler of Syria and Palestine, engaged in a struggle for the throne that lasted for over three years. Despite having numerous opportunities, Tutus was unable to ascend the throne. While there are several reasons for this, there is no definitive information about why Tutus behaved in such a manner. For further details, see Sevim, A. (1983). *Suriye ve Filistin Selçukluları tarihi*. Ankara: TTK yayınları. p.157-158.

on the functioning of the state. Indeed, women had a place in the administration in Turkish states, yet perhaps their authority should have remained limited. Otherwise, the presence of their unique power could cause Hatuns to act independently.

Terken Hatun had managed to be a favorite and significant figure from the first day she came to the Seljuk palace as a bride. With her ambitious and driven personality, she succeeded in exercising her authority and gradually expanding these powers. She used her grandson Cafer as a trump card to bind the Abbasid Caliphate to herself, and on the other hand, she attempted to have her son Mahmut accepted as the heir to the sultan. Thus, Terken Hatun, who wanted to monopolize both the sultanate and the caliphate, fought with all her might to overcome the obstacles in her way.

Looking at the structure of the Turkish state, it was quite legitimate for the dynasty members, who had equal rights over the throne, to fight for it. In light of this, Terken Hatun's desire to make her son the sultan and her persistent struggle for this cause seemed quite legitimate.

Terken Hatun, who conflicted with the vizier Nizamulmulk in this path, mostly stands out due to her struggle against him. Her attracting all suspicions regarding the elimination of the vizier, and after removing this obstacle, her pressure on the caliphate was a natural example of struggle.

The defeat she faced in her subsequent war with her stepson, Berkayruk, essentially pushed her into solitude. Nevertheless, she did not hesitate to seek alliances in the struggle she embarked upon using her own army and the state treasury. She was willing to wage war against Berkayruk by marrying the Emir of Azerbaijan, Ismail Yakuti. Indeed, the failure of her alliance attempts and the assassination of Ismail could not deter her from her ambitions and goals. With a new alliance attempt, Terken Hatun, who agreed with her brother-in-law Tutus, was bearing great sacrifices for her son's reign.

Unfortunately, neither her efforts to form alliances, the approval of the caliphate, nor the resources of the state treasury could lead Terken Hatun to her goal. While fighting this course, she fell ill and perhaps lost her life due to an assassination.

In conclusion, it should be recognized that perhaps the most significant casualties in this legitimate struggle embarked upon by Terken Hatun were Vizier Nizamulmulk and Sultan Meliksah.

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To Cite this Chapter

Bayındır, A. (2023). The powerful icon of Seljuk women: Terken Hatun and her impact on state administration. In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*. (pp. 94-114), ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 7: A STUDY ON FEMALE MURDERERS IN OTTOMAN COURT RECORDS

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1. Introduction

Human is a social being and has to live collectively. Over time, this situation has brought about some judicial and social problems. In order to prevent these problems, state administrators have taken some punitive measures in the light of religious and customary rules. These measures, which regulate social life and protect individuals and therefore the state, became written down over time and have been accepted as "laws". The foundations of legal systems have been established through laws as well as religious and customary rules (customs). (Katgı, 2013, p. 1).

Violence is a phenomenon that has existed with human beings. Although the feeling of anger is not specific to a certain gender, that is, only women or men, the transformation of anger into violent tendencies is much more evident in men. The extreme point of violence is killing a person, that is, murder.

Murder, as a term of jurisprudence, generally means unlawful acts against the body or property, and in short, it means a living being killing another living being. The person who commits murder is called murderer, and the person who is killed is called victim/mecniyyün aleyh (eş-Şazeli, 1993, pp. 14-15). Murder/manslaughter is a crime as old as human history, which is considered a major sin in all religions. The first murder in history was committed due to jealousy between the sons of Adam, Abel and Cain. This crime is prohibited in all legal systems, and attempts have been made to prevent it with various material and moral sanctions and penalties for the sake of the peace of societies (Bardakoğlu, 2022, p. 45).

There are verses in the holy book, the Holy Quran, that deliberately killing a person is prohibited and condemned. In the Quran, where human life is made untouchable by God, it is stated that as punishment for the crime of murder, the believer who kills must free a slave and pay compensation, even if such an event is caused by mistake. However, it is stated that the worldly punishment for killing someone knowingly and unjustly is retaliation, and the otherworldly punishment is eternal hell (Köroğlu, 2015, p. 216). Islamic jurists divide personal murder into

three types. These are manslaughter, violent acts, and murders that target the baby in the womb and result in death. In classical Islamic law, crimes are divided into three: had, murder, (kisas and diyet), ta'zîr. In the crime of murder, most importantly, since the killer violates a personal right, the execution of the sentence may vary depending on the request of the victim (Bardakoğlu, 2022, p. 46).

The main punishments applied within the scope of the subject are retaliation, compensation and imprisonment. In legal terms, retaliation(kisas) is the punishment of the crime of intentional murder or injury with a penalty equal to or equal to the crime committed by the criminal (Dağcı, 2022, p. 488). In Islamic law, diyet refers to the goods or money paid as penalty and blood price in cases such as unjust killing, maiming or wounding of a person (Bardakoğlu, 1994, p. 473).

In Islamic law, the crime of murder is divided into five: deliberately, intentionally, by mistake, mistake-like, by incurrance. Knowingly killing a person with cutting/piercing tools is considered intentional homicide. Causing death by beating or using force is considered premeditated murder. Accidentally causing the death of a person is also murder. Mistake-like murder is causing the death of a person unintentionally. Among these, intentional murder requires the punishment of retaliation, while the others require the punishment of diet. The amount of the diet is ten thousand dirhams of silver, but if the murdered woman is a woman, this amount is five thousand dirhams of silver. The application of the retaliation penalty depended on the request of the relatives of the deceased. If the relatives of the victim requested compensation instead of retaliation, the perpetrator of the murder crime had to agree to pay compensation. If the person who committed the murder was more than one person, the one who inflicted the fatal wound would be subject to retaliation, but if the person who inflicted the fatal wound was unknown, then the criminals would be punished with diet. If the criminals inflicted lethal wounds one after another, the person who inflicted the first wound would be punished with retaliation and the other would be punished with ta'zir crime. According to Islamic law, ta'zir punishment can also be given for murder crimes other than intentional homicide (Erdoğan, 2019, pp. 139-141; Altan, 2018, p. 44; Koç, 2019, pp. 275-278).

In Ottoman daily life, while men continued their work, women were not condemned to social discrimination and an extraordinary life. Both sides are part of a restrictive system built on the basis of gender segregation. This system gave women a certain range of action and relative freedom, provided that they kept their distance. It is understood that over time, women were able to step out of the roles assigned to them by society in the face of events. It is seen that

women who are harmed in daily life do not hesitate to harm others at the expense of protecting their own interests (Özcan, 2018, p. 237).

The subject of study was the cases of murders committed by women, which were reflected in the Ottoman courts. As sources, theses published in the Thesis Center of the Council of Higher Education and transcribed from the religious registry of different cities and document scans in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives of the Republic of Türkiye were used within the scope of the study subject.

Sharia registries (kadi registers) are the books in which all the decisions made and records kept by the judges in the Ottoman courts are recorded. Sharia registries contain very valuable information from all areas of life, both locally and centrally, politically, socially-culturally, economically and legally (Erkmen, 2020, p. 1).

2. The Women Who Commit Murder

2.1. The Murders Committed to Protect Honor

Violence against women and honor killings, which date back to ancient times, are incidents that have been experienced to a greater or lesser extent not only in Türkiye and the Middle Eastern countries, but also in all societies around the Mediterranean (Bulunur, 2019, pp. 82-84). On the other hand, there are women who have to kill rapist men to protect their honor. Not only the cases of women who were killed under the pretext of dishonor, but also the cases of women who summoned up the courage and have someone's blood on their hands to protect themselves for this cause are also noteworthy.

Among the documents we evaluated in terms of our study subject, the first case that exemplifies murders committed to protect honor is in Yozgat. In addition, the document is interesting in that it shows the functioning of the Ottoman courts. It is the case of the murder of Ebubekir, one of the people of Yozgat, by Rukiye Hatun and her servant İbrahim in 1860. Ebubekir's murderers confessed their crimes. In Rukiye's words regarding the incident, it was as follows: While Ebubekir was one of her servants, he broke into their house at night and raped her daughter Halime. Thereupon, she confessed that she and her servant İbrahim beat and killed Ebubekir, but stated that it was not knowingly or intentionally. The case was transferred to the Supreme Court. In response, it was requested to continue the investigation based on the answers to the following questions; Did the victim really work in Rukiye's service? Does the victim have any previous convictions for such crimes? Are Rukiye and her daughter honorable? How are

they known? Are Rukiye and her daughter honorable? How are they known? Did anyone see the victim going to and from Rukiye's house? Is there any hostility or grudge between them? When and why did the girl die? Is it due to rape or natural death? (Boa. A. Mkt. Um, 451/35) Based on the last question, it is understood that Halime died after the incident, which is information not included in this document. Probably through another correspondence, Halime's death must have been reported to the Parliament after the incident, so the investigation was expanded to reveal the cause of death. It is not known, at least from this document, whether Halime fell ill or died due to sadness or shame as a result of the rape, or whether she died independently of this event. Moreover, although it is not known what decision was made as a result of the investigation, it is obvious that there are mitigating circumstances.

The incident that was reflected in the Karahisâr-ı Sâhip (Afyonkarahisar) court in 1867 was again a case of honor killing. The incident is recorded in the registry as follows: Siblings of Cevekoğlu Ahmet, who was understood to be single because his heirs living in Kemeş Village of Danişmend District were his brothers applied to the court and complained about a woman named Fatma, one of the residents of the same village. They explained that Ahmet went to Fatma's house around 2 a.m., 11 days before the court date, and was deliberately shot in the left thigh with a gun by Fatma. When they received news and took him to his home, they complained about Fatma, saying that he had to stay in bed for 11 days due to his wound and then died. When Fatma was asked about the allegations, she said that her husband was a member of the army and that Ahmet came and sneaked into their house while her husband was out of town and staying in a room with her two sisters at her father's house. She then explained that he tried to rape her and that Ahmet did not give up and struggled with him despite all her protests and screams. She stated that during the struggle, the loaded gun lying at the bedside fell on Ahmet and he was injured in his left thigh. The claimants were barred from the lawsuit after Ahmet had behaved like this before, the people made statements in this direction, Fatma's statements were confirmed, and Fatma swore based on what she said and the truth of the incident and it was noted that no punishment was deemed necessary for Fatma (Sara, 2019, p. 250).

2.2. The Murders Against Family Members

It has also been observed that the crime of murder was committed not only against strangers with whom they had hostility, but also against family members. According to the documents we have examined, among the victims of this crime are husbands and brothers. Most of the

cases are about the murder of the husband. In the first murder case, in 1702, a group of prominent notables of the Hayrabolu district came to the court and explained that the person named Musa, known as İsmail Ağazade, was a well-known person in his own right, but his divorced wife, a woman named Gevher, agreed and cooperated with some bandit men to kill his ex-husband Musa, loot and burn his belongings. Because of these events, they demanded that the girl named Gevher leave the town after the necessary rehabilitation was carried out, or rather be exiled to another place. (Boa. A. Dvns. Mhm, 212/471).

The case reflected in the Maraş court provides a good understanding of the penalties given for the crime of murder. Namely, in the document dated 1852, it is stated that a dhimmi(zımmi) named Ohannes was killed by his wife Neham by poisoning his food and pouring mercury into his ear, probably to ensure the death. Neham confessed to the murder knowingly and willingly. It is understood that the outcome of Neham's case, especially the diet penalty, was consulted with the fatwa office. As a result, Neham's sentence was to pay the 10,000 kuruş diet fee of 10,000 kuruş in 3 installments, and after serving 5 years in a women's prison, the decision to release her was written to the governor of Adana(Boa. A. Mkt. Mvl, 53/30). The reason for the murder was not stated in the court record. However, while the punishment was retaliation, the punishment of diet and imprisonment was probably due to the fact that the relatives of the victim did not demand retaliation or there were mitigating circumstances in the murder.

Another incident that took place in Amasya in 1661 is as follows: es-Seyyid Mehmet Çelebi, one of the residents of Hakala village, was stabbed to death and his body was found in his own garden. In the incident that took place in January 1661, Osman Agha, who was the guardian of Mehmet Çelebi's daughters Fatma, Ayşe and Neslihan after their father's death and who found the body, applied to the court and complained about Mehmet Çelebi's wife Hanım Hatun and the person named Mustafa. In her statement, the lady claimed that Mustafa and Kara Veli came to her house at night, killed Mehmet Çelebi, asked for money from her and threatened to kill her. When Mustafa was asked about the allegations, he told them that Hanım had hired him to kill her husband by paying him money. However, as the statements emerged, Osman Agha made a new claim, as he heard from the village people, and said that the woman named Selime could have witnessed the incident because she was staying at Mehmet Çelebi's house on the night of the incident. As a confessor, Selime told that Hanım asked her to find someone to kill her husband and that she found Kara Veli and Mustafa. Upon all these statements and confessions, the Lady confessed her crime and admitted that her husband was a bad-tempered person and that she could not stand it and made this decision, and that she and Selime left the

door open at night so that the murderers could enter (Kavaklı, 2011, pp. 122-123). However, there is no information about what punishment was given for this crime of murder.

As mentioned, in addition to the husband's murder, sibling murder was also found in the documents and records. The first incident reported in court in Mardin in 1861 was the murder of a brother. When Yusuf, who lived in the village called K k in Mardin, went to his sister Ay e's house, Ay e first poisoned Yusuf using poison known as mouse grass, and then killed him by hitting him in the head with an old mallet. After the incident emerged and was reflected in court, Yusuf and Ay e's mother, Ket ne Hatun, forgave her murderer daughter from retaliation and the diet was decided. The dietary amount is 10,000 dirhams of silver. Ay e was advised to pay the diet in 3 installments within 3 years (February 4, 1861). In addition to the diet, 15 prison sentences were given (Sađlam, 2014, pp. 34, 36,37). Unfortunately, the document does not contain any information about the reason why Ay e killed her brother with great hatred and in her own home. However, the difficult decision was up to the mother. While she lost one of her children, she forgave her from the punishment of retaliation in order not to lose her other child as well.

In 1865, a person named Mustafa, a resident of Kılıcan village in K re district of Kastamonu, was killed by his wife Hatice. Hatice was sentenced to retaliation because she was not forgiven by her husband's family (Boa. Mv1, 743/11). It is understood from many documents that the state did not favor the practice of retaliation. In all murder cases, it is emphasized in the correspondence with the Parliament that if the relatives of the victim forgive the murderer or make peace between them, the retaliation penalty will be reduced and the prison sentence will be applied.

From a court record reflected in the Elbistan religious registry covering the years 1890/93 and the transfer correspondence sent from Diyarbakır province for a woman named Huri living in Sarıyatak village, it is understood that Huri was an accomplice to the murder of her husband (Bađlı, 2020, p. 166). However, there is no information about the details of the incident.

In another case example, there is an event that is likely to be defamatory. The wife and children of Hacı Aliođlu MemiŐ, who was killed in the village of Velik y in Rize, filed a complaint, claiming that MemiŐ's murderer was his second wife Fatma. Thereupon, Fatma was thrown into prison. However, after a while, they gave up these claims (Yıldız, 2017, p. 327).

2.3. The Other Murders Committed

A lady named Kâzime, one of the residents of Sarajevo's Şeyh Muslihiddin District, left her home to go to visit. However, when she did not go home for five days and could not be found anywhere despite being searched, the court started an investigation. As a result of the investigation, it was determined that they secretly met with a woman named Hanife the day before the incident, that is, before leaving the house. Upon suspicion, the house of Hanife, who lived in Hoca Kemaleddin District, was raided, but no trace of Kazime was found. The next day, Kazime's body was found with a knife wound on the right side of her neck, under the Şeyhani bridge, next to the Milačka river flowing in the city square. As suspicions increased about Hanife, this time Hanife's mother's house was raided. During the searches, jewelery worth 3000 kuruş buried in the garden belonging to the deceased Kazime was found and delivered to the heirs of the deceased. Following these developments, Hanife and her mother were caught. In her statement, Hanife's mother persistently denied the gold found buried in her garden. In her statement, Hanife explained that she went to Kazime's house the day before the incident and invited her to her house to make medicine for children. Upon coming to Kazime's house, she stated that she attacked the victim with a bread knife and injured her in the neck in order to take the gold she had on her in order to escape from renting and buy a house for herself. Afterwards, she explained that after Kazime died from the blow she received, she first took off her clothes, burned her in the stove, and then threw her body into the well of her house. She said that she gave the gold to her husband Mustafa. When the investigation began, they confessed that they took the body out of the well one night, put it in a sack and threw it into the river, by involving their homeowner Şerif, together with his husband Mustafa, in order to prevent the incident from being discovered. After the incident came to light in this way, it was deemed appropriate to impose a retaliation punishment on Hanife. However, the decision was left to Kazime's family. Hanife's mother and her husband Mustafa, whose jewelry was found in the victim's garden, denied the accusations. For the punishment, the center, that is, the Majlis-i Vala and the fatwa office, were consulted. Based on the answers received, the decision made by the Council of Vala stated that if Kazime's relatives, that is, her heirs, insisted on retaliation and did not forgive, it was decided that Hanife would be killed through retaliation, and Mustafa and Şerif would be shackled and imprisoned where they were for seven years from the date of their imprisonment (Hanife, Mustafa and Şerif had been imprisoned since the moment they were caught), and then they would be released on guarantor. In the continuation of the documents, if even one of the heirs forgave Hanife or agreed to make peace with the decision and will of the Parliament, it

says that retaliation should be abandoned and punishment should be applied(Boa. Mvl, 224/1; Boa. Mvl, 224/88; A. Amd, 84/88; İ. Mvl, 387/16909).

It was decided that Alime, the murderer of Emiroğlu Seyyid Osman, a resident of Hacı Zâhid District in Sivas, who was murdered in 1861, would be imprisoned in a women's prison for fifteen years. Ergani Maden-i Hümâyûnu was informed that Osman and Mehmet, who helped Alime in the murder, were sentenced to hard labor for three years each. As a result of the investigation carried out for the person named İsmail, who was alleged to have assisted in the murder and was apparently detained during this period, it was understood that he was released from prison on bail due to lack of evidence (Boa. A.Mkt. Um, 492/75).

The incident that took place in Aleppo in 1873 is very interesting, both because of its cause and its result. That is, Mehmet Said was married to Esmâ and they had a two-year-old child. However, Mehmet Said wanted Abdullah el-Mısrî's daughter as his second wife. Abdullah al-Mısrî said that he was going to give his daughter if he would divorce his wife. When Asma heard about this incident, she started to hold a grudge against Abdullah al-Mısrî and his family. On the day of the incident, Esmâ came in front of Abdullah al-Mısrî's house, took her daughter Fatma, who was four or five years old, and threw her into a well. Upon examination when the body was found, it was reported that the skin of her head was peeled off, her left leg was broken and that she drowned in water. When the incident came to light, Abdullah al-Mısrî stated that he was suspicious of Esmâ.

During the investigation, Esmâ denied the incident. However, a baker named Seyyid Dibo, a baker's tradesman, stated that while he was sitting in his shop, he saw Esmâ walking with a little child on her lap and a four- or five-year-old girl with blonde hair and a blue shirt behind her, looking around. Half an hour later, three women came and described the little kid and asked if he had seen her or not. He described what he saw. Abdülkadir, a rope tradesman, also gave the same statement. In addition, several residents of the neighborhood, including Esmâ's father-in-law, were passing by Said's house in the evening two days after the incident, when they saw the crowd in their house and approached, they testified that they heard Esmâ's confession that she threw the child into the well. Although the punishment for Esmâ's crime was the death penalty, it was decided that the murderer, who was pardoned from retaliation and death penalty because she was only 17-18 years old and had a child in her arms, would be imprisoned in a women's prison for fifteen years (Boa. İ. Da, 15/627). It must have been the ultimate anger and jealousy that led a young woman, who was also a mother, to kill a little child without mercy.

On the other hand, unlike the other sentences we have examined, Esmâ was spared the death penalty without being left to the mercy of the victim's family because she was very young and had a baby.

In a case dated 1714 reflected in the Konya religious registry, it is understood that the little daughter of a resident of Kovanağzı village named es-Seyyid Osman died as a result of being thrown into a well in a place called Küçük Çay by a woman named Âlime. The father, who said that he spent some money to discover the incident, requested that this expense be collected from the people of Küçük Çay. However, as can be seen from the record. It is understood that the people were not willing to make such a payment because they had nothing to do with the incident (Gürbüz, 2018, p. 41).

2.4. The Murders Against Children

Within the framework of the documents we examined, it can be seen that the murder victims were not only adults. It is understood that children are sometimes murdered out of anger and sometimes out of revenge. The first of the cases is in the Safranbolu sharia registry number 2141. A young man named Numan, one of the residents of Ulugeçit village of Safranbolu, washed in the stream with his friends on July 22, 1876, and then got covered in mud by the stream and went to Mustafa, the younger son of a woman named Sultan, and scared him. Mustafa's mother, who ran to his screams, took a sharp stone and injured Numan by hitting him violently on the right side of his head by the stream. Numan, who fell into the stream due to the blow he received, died. On November 5, 1876, Numan's mother, Sare Hatun, and his father, Hasan, appealed to the court and sued the Sultan who caused the death of their son, Numan, and demanded compensation for their son (Okumuş, 2016, pp. 103-104). In another document dated 1867, Fatma, a resident of Haydar Bey village in Van's Erciş district, who was the murderer of a little boy named Abdullah who died as a result of being beaten, was sentenced to 15 years in prison (Boa. Mv1, 1040/26). There is no information about why the murder was committed. However, since the prison sentence was given instead of the punishment of retaliation, it is possible that there may be reasons that require a reduction in the sentence.

On October 8, 1874, Ayşe Dudu, the 10-year-old daughter of the person named Esad, who died while she was a resident of the Esad Ağası District of the Ürgüp Town of Niğde Sanjak, was killed. She left her house in the afternoon on October 29, 1872, and then disappeared. As a result of the searches initiated by state officials the next day, Ayşe Dudu's body was found in the stove chimney of the barn of the house where İbrahim Çavuş, one of the residents of the

neighborhood, and his wife Ayşe lived. In her first statement, Ayşe, who was the murderer at the first stage of the case, said that another resident of the neighborhood, a woman named Deli Ayşe, was waiting at the barn door while her husband, İbrahim, killed Ayşe Dudu by hanging her. In his next statement, he confessed that he slandered Deli Ayşe and her own husband, and that he lured Ayşe Dudu to the barn of his house to steal³⁵ her forty-one half gold coins, first strangled her, and then killed her by wounding her behind her right ear with a knife, and that he hid the stolen gold in the barn chimney. Following this confession, it was decided that Ayşe would be punished with retaliation, although the death penalty was required, based on Article 174 of the law. Although Ayşe said that she committed the murder alone, the court believed that she could not commit such a crime alone. Although her father Ökçesiz Numan and her husband İbrahim were investigated, it was decided to release them as there was no evidence that they participated in the crime (Boa. C. Adl, 30/1822).

A person living in Kastamonu came to the court and said that right after the burial of his deceased child from his first marriage, he heard rumors from the public that his child died because he was subjected to violence by his second wife, to whom he was currently married. Following this allegation and complaint, the court conducted an investigation on the body and wounds were detected on the child's body, indicating that he had been subjected to violence (Güzey, 2001, p. 148).

Siyaseten katl(killing politically); In short, it means committing murder on the orders of the holder of political power. Killing politically, in general terms, it was applied to crimes committed against the sultan's person, the state (public) and society, such as grand theft and haramism, banditry, counterfeiting, cruelty, etc. However, political murder could also be carried out against the public and its reasons were the same as those of the ruling class (Katgı, 2013, p. 201). As a matter of fact, it is seen that this punishment was applied to both a commoner and a female murderer. The case number 7 reflected in the Konya sharia registry is very interesting and important. Ayşe, who accepted Islam, killed her neighbor's little children, Mihail and Güllü, by strangling them with a rope. As a result of the discovery, it was revealed that Ayşe invited the children to her home, first strangled them and then hid the bodies in the pillowcase. As a result of the case heard in the Beylerbeyi Court, it was decided to kill Ayşe "in accordance with sharia and politics" on the grounds that she did not act in accordance with sharia. It is interesting

³⁵ Probably on her scarf or around her neck, because although the document mentions the amount of gold, there are no details about where it was stolen from the victim.

that while the crime of deliberately killing someone requires retaliation, a political murder sentence is given for a member of the public. The Ottoman Empire also applied the punishment of political murder to criminals who were members of the public in situations that threatened the public interest. In this case, it is possible that such a punishment was given considering that Ayşe posed a threat to the public, and it is also possible that such a punitive application was applied to prevent the possibility of unrest between the non-Muslim and Muslim people (Gürbüz, 2018). , p. 42). In our opinion, the second possibility is more painful when Ayşe was sentenced to political murder.

Conclusion

It is understood that the reasons for the murders committed by women, who are the subject of our research, are to protect their honor, as well as a moment of anger or extortion, etc. Husbands are among the leading family members who are victims of murder. The documents we examined do not contain any information about the reasons why women killed their husbands. However, there may be several reasons for this crime, which women sometimes commit alone or sometimes by hiring hitmen or collaborating with bandits. These reasons may include the financial reasons we have identified, or the violence or jealousy they suffered. According to the documents examined, another family member who was murdered was a sibling. It is not known what happened between the brothers, but the victim was first poisoned and then killed with a mallet. This is proof of great anger, hatred and a planned crime. Murder victims include young children. When we look at the reasons among the reasons for this brutality, there are children who fell victim to revenge, as well as murder committed in a moment of anger with maternal instinct at the expense of protecting their child.

Although the reason for the murder is not specified in most cases, the court records examined contain very valuable data regarding the details of the incident and the functioning of the Ottoman courts. It is seen that fatwa houses were consulted, especially in terms of provincial-central correspondence regarding the punishment of the criminal, and the reason for the murder and the way it was committed. Retaliation is the primary punishment given for the crime of murder. However, although the punishment for the crime was retaliation, this decision was left to the family of the deceased. If the family of the deceased person insists on retaliation, punishment is applied; Even if they pardoned the criminal, the murderer was spared the death penalty and was sentenced to diet and imprisonment. Additionally, a political murder penalty was imposed. Although it is not a very common punishment among the public, it comes to mind

that it may have been applied by a Muslim to prevent outrage after the children of a non-Muslim family were killed.

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To Cite this Chapter

Budak, Ö. M. (2023). A study on female murderers in Ottoman court records. In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp. 115-130). ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 8: SOCIAL LIFE IN THE TRANSOXIANA (MÂVERÂÛNNEHR) REGION DURING THE ISLAMIC PERIOD: A STUDY IN THE LIGHT OF ARABIC SOURCES

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1. Introduction

The name Transoxiana in Arabic means the other side of the Jaxartes River, given by the Muslims, and it refers to all the regions extending beyond the river. Mahmud of Kashgar referred to the cities north of the Jaxartes River as Çay Ardı (Esin, 1978, p. 152). After the Avars settled in Lower Turkestan³⁶ in the 4th and 5th centuries, the region was influenced by the Ak-Huns, known by various names such as Aftalit, Heptal, Eftal, and Aptal, which led Islamic authors to refer to the area as Biladü'l-Heyatile. However, this term did not gain as much popularity as Transoxiana (Hamevi, 1977, vol. / p. 5/45; Kitapçı, 2014, p. 110-111). In Western literature, the Chinese called it Ya-ta, while the Byzantines named it Hephthalites / White-Hunes. The tribes that migrated to the region after crossing the Jaxartes River, which was considered a dividing line between the Persian and Turkish-speaking people, referred to it as the Soghdia Land.

Cities in Transoxiana were divided into five regions, with the most important center being Soghdia, where Samarqand and Bukhara are located. It included Khwarazm in the west, Sağaniyan in the southeast, Ushrusana on the east side of Samarqand, and Ferghana and Shash in the far east, all of which were mentioned. These regions were followed by numerous populous cities, villages, and agricultural areas (Strange, 1954, p. 476; Dağır, 2019, p. 103). According to Islamic geographers, the cities along the Jaxartes River, such as Kavaziyan, Termez, Khwarazm and Ehsisek, stood out due to their abundant natural resources. It was also noted that the quality of vegetables and fruits was such that the people could meet all their needs and would not suffer from drought as long as they did not leave their homeland (Istakhri, 1927, p. 287; Makdisi, 1991, p. 261). Ibn Hawqal mentioned that the most fertile lands on earth were created in this region by Allah, and he praised the abundance of vegetable production and rich pastures for grazing animals (1992, p. 384).

³⁶ Zekeriya Kitapçı has stated that due to the ethnic composition and structure of Turk History, it is more appropriate to use this term instead of Mâverâünnehr. See. *The Muslim Arab conquest of Turkistan*, Yedi Kubbe Publications, Konya, 2004, pp. 116-117.

With its vast area, the region's livelihoods primarily relied on agriculture and animal husbandry due to the irrigation channels, riverbeds, and fertile pastures. The high production potential led to significant migration movements towards the region and made it a point of acceptance and attraction for various societies (Istakhri, 1927, p. 287-288; Kazvini, 1960, p. 557; Dağir, 2009, p. 103).

Transoxiana has been witnessing the migrations of tribes living in Turkestan and the Mongol steppes since ancient times. The large population explosion, along with wars, tribal conflicts, and increasing numbers in impoverished regions, compelled some tribes to seek new stable areas for life and security (Dağir, 2009, p. 103). Despite the presence of Arabs and Persians and the lack of any significant barriers against nomadic raids, the overall ethnic structure of the region mainly consisted of Turks (Barthold, 1990, p. 67).

In this study, taking into account the geographical location of Transoxiana, information about the social life of the Turks, Arabs, and Persians in the region is provided, and a general assessment related to the topic is made. The internal headings in the article are as follows: Introduction, demographic elements in Transoxiana society, Turks, Arabs, Persians, social strata, conclusion, and references.

2. Demographic Elements in Transoxiana Society

2.1. Turks

When examining the social structure of Transoxiana from ancient times, it is possible to talk about the presence of various elements. However, during the Islamic period, it is not possible to provide definitive information about the religious, ethnic, and social structure due to the conquests. Some researchers do not mention the population of the Turks, but when we review the history of the Old Turks, it is seen that they settled in the Turkestan region (Kitapçı, 2004, p. 26). In fact, compared to other demographic elements in the region, it becomes apparent that they constitute a significant portion of the population. Lower Turkestan has been a destination and settlement area for Turkic tribes coming from Inner Asia since ancient times. These migrations date back to the 2nd century BC, with the Yueh-Chih fleeing from the Huns. Being a nomadic community, the Turks quickly transitioned to a settled life and established great empires (Togan, 1981, p. 39-40, 42; Kitapçı, 2014, p. 117). The emergence of the Turkistan empires started with the defeat of the Juan-Juan, who are claimed to have Mongol origins, by Muqan in 552 AD in Mongolia (Gibb, 2005, p. 17).

Turks have been considered the original inhabitants of Transoxiana since ancient times. After leaving their homes in the Mongolian steppes, they migrated in large numbers and dispersed as tribes to various regions. Among them, the Kyrgyz, Khazaras, Qarluq, Gur, Halaj, Kimak, Oghuz, Pechenegs, and Dokuz Oghuz (Uighurs) dispersed and largely controlled the Turkistan region (Dağir, 2009, p. 106). According to Idrisi, they are Tibetans, Dokuz Oghuz, Kyrgyz, Kimak, Qarluq, Chakir, Pechenegs, Türgish, Ezgish, Kipchak, Halaç, Oghuz, and Bulgars. He stated that they lived in Transoxiana, extending from the back of the region to the east to the ocean, and belonged to different sects (religions) (2002, p. 518). As these tribes spoke the same language, they did not have difficulty understanding each other.

Looking at the borders of Transoxiana, the territory of the Oghuz extended from Khazar, Kimak, Qarluq, Bulgar, Dâru'l-Islam, Jürcañ, Farab to Isbicab. The Kyrgyz were located between the Oghuz and Dokuz Oghuz, and the Kimak, known for their proximity to the Oghuz and Kyrgyz, extended northwards behind the Qarluq up to the Saqalibe mountains. When we analyze the sources, it is not possible to determine the exact extent of the Qarluq in the northern part of Tiraz. The Dokuz Oghuz, with the widest territory among the Turks, reached the borders of China and Tibet (Istakhri, 1927, p. 9-10). Ibn Hurdazbih, like Istakhri, provided similar information and said that the borders of the Dokuz Oghuz extended to China, Tibet, Harluh, Kimak, Ğûr, al-Jifr, Pechenegs, Türgish, Ezkeş, Kipchak, and Kyrgyz (1889, p. 31).

The Oghuz established ribats (frontier forts) in the regions from Khwarazm to Isbicâb, while the Qarluq settled as far as the last border of Ferghana (Ibn Hawqal, 1992, p. 387). This extensive Turkish dominance in the region allowed Ushrusene, Samarqand, Ferghana, Huttel, Shash and Isbicab to become significant centers of the population (Dağir, 2009, p. 106). The Turks living in the seventh region of Turkistan built sixteen cities on the solid mountain slopes, where it is difficult to reach, with walls and fortresses (Idrisi, 2002, p. 518-519). According to the Islamic Geographer Ibn al-Faqih, due to the severe cold, the faces of men and women are quite harsh. Although there are predatory small animals, there are no reptiles or pests. They lived in huts made of wood and lattices that they could easily move during migration. Their animals lived in the desert, and they had fewer children (1996, p. 61-62).

Due to its strategic position, Transoxiana served as an important center of the Islamic world as it facilitated the trade between China and India (Farhan: 2020, p. 502). The Turks also played a significant role in the economic life of Transoxiana, which had a large commercial volume. Idrisi mentioned that they exported grain products, tiger and squirrel skins, iron, musk,

slaves, and silk-made clothes (2002, p. 519). However, as they were not Muslims, they were banned from Daru'l-Islam (the abode of Islam) by the Arabs and Persians (Hamevi, 1977, vol./p. 5/46; Istakhri, 1927, p. 290-291; Ibn Hawqal, 1992, p. 387). Throughout history, their nomadic lifestyle led them to embrace various religions other than Islam. Living in mountainous, swampy, river, cave, sea, and forest areas shaped their religious beliefs (Lebudi, 2013, p. 145). Despite being described by contemporary travelers as pagan or irreligious, their courageous and bold characteristics made them preferred as a military force in the conquest movements by the caliphs and also as subaşı (governors) (Hamevi, 1977, vol./p. 5/46; Istakhri, 1927, p. 290-291; Ibn Hawqal, 1992, p. 387).

Historical sources that record information about the Turks indicate that they played an essential role in the economic and military life of Transoxiana. They formed alliances against the Arab invasion that started with Ahnef b. Kays under the rule of Caliph Omar and continued without slowing down during the Umayyad period. It becomes apparent that the Arabs could not fully dominate the Turkistan region.

2.2. Persians

Historians and geographers have been in disagreement about the name of the Persians. One of the theories is that the term "Iranians" is derived from the plural form of Eriyye (آرییة) in Old Aryan language, which is related to the Indo-European language family, particularly the Sanskrit word Aryan (آریان) in Sanskrit. Therefore, the Persian geography is referred to as Araniyyun / Iraniyyun. Another theory suggests that the name Fars was used to refer to the region bordering the area inhabited by the Arabs. In Western literature, Persia is pronounced as Persis or Persia (Lebudi, 2013, p. 109-110) regarding the racial origin of the Persians, there are two prevailing beliefs. One is based on the descent from Sam, the son of Noah (Zühre, ?, p. 67). The other is the mythical view that they are descendants of Iran, son of Afridun from the al-Besdadiyya family. However, Persian scholars have considered Keymureth to be their ancestor (Lebudi, 2013, p. 110-111).

The settlement of the Persians in Transoxiana began during the reign of Anushirvan, the Sasanian king. The motive behind Anushirvan's desire to invade Transoxiana was to secure trade routes with China and also to address the political and economic challenges posed by the conflicts among Turkic tribes, which were seen as a threat to the Sasanian Empire. To monitor activities against the Turks, they settled Persian families in large numbers to alter the region's

demographic composition. The families settled in the Ferghana region were known as Ezherhana (Dağır, 2009, p. 107). The influence of the Samanids' Persian Renaissance led to the establishment of Iranian culture, and the prominence of the Persian language increased (Mahmûd, 1972, p. 193). The coexistence of Turks and Persians in Ferghana, Shash, Ushrusana, and Ilek regions also resulted in mutual cultural influences. As a result of the intermingling between the Chinese neighbors of the Nine Oghuz tribes and the Persians, the Oghuz people began to speak Persian instead of their native language (Şeşen, 2001, p. 2, 21, 25).

The process of Persian settlement gained momentum in Turkestan. Cities like Isbicab, specifically the city of Shelci (Ibn Hawqal, 1992, p. 418) saw a significant influx of Isfahanis, numbering in the tens of thousands. Bukhara, which was ruled by a Turkic emir, also experienced the influence of Iran, resulting in the emergence of community differences (Faysal, 1952, p. 160). In the face of this situation, Turks have had to establish common relationships with them despite having cities and neighborhoods where they constitute the majority. It is noted that they even left an old market in Mah, which was under the rule of Bukhara, to a Persian Zoroastrian (Hamevî, 1977, p. 33; Dağır, 2009, p. 107).

The Persians have played a significant role not only in trade but also in various aspects of social life. However, due to the Turks arriving earlier in Transoxiana, they were more inclined to engage in agriculture with limited experience and knowledge in trade (Dağır, 2009, p. 107). For instance, Iranian elements living in Soghdia resorted to agriculture instead of trade in the ribats where silk trade with China took place. Undoubtedly, the presence of the Turks prompted the Iranians to act together with the Arabs, as it prevented them from becoming a political power. (Faysal, 1952, p. 160, 161, 163).

When the Islamic conquests began in Lower Turkestan, its administration was made up of Turks, and its local administrators came from families of Turkish origin. Among them were Nizek Tarhan, the ruler of Tokharistan and Badghis; Kabaç Hatun, the ruler of Bukhara, and her son Tuğ Şad; Sul Tekin, the ruler of Sogdiana, Qarluq and Ushrusana; Rutbil, the ruler of Juzjan and Dehestan; and Huttel, whose rule was governed by Turkish nobles (Kitapçı, 2004, p. 121).

2.3. Arabs

The Arabs are aware of the strategic importance of the region due to their pre-Islamic travels and commercial activities to China. However, their settlement in the area began in 697

when the governors of Khorasan started settling Arabs. Although there was a suitable environment for Arab domination in Lower Turkestan as a result of the conquests during the Umayyad period, internal conflicts within the caliphate and their desire to subjugate the Turks by imposing ransoms and taxes led to a decline in their population (Gibb, 2005, p. 37; Kurat, 1948, p. 393). Additionally, the presence of numerous rocky mountains in the region hindered their ability to engage in warfare and establish permanent residences. The Umayyads failed to form political unity in Turkestan due to their policy of securing border safety and seeking booty (Balâdhûri, 1987, p. 586; Ibn al-Esir, 1987, vol./p. 4/119; Tabari, 1971, vol./p. 6/199).

Another factor preventing their settlement in Khurasan and Transoxiana was the region's people refusing to submit to the governors and causing rebellions. After the death of Mukhallad ibn Abi Sufra in 701, his son Yazid ibn al-Muhallab, through successful conquests, restored stability in Turkestan (Odabaşı, 2013, vol./p. 43/522; Hattab, p. 90). However, when Mufaddal ibn al-Muhallab was dismissed, Qutaiba ibn Muslim was appointed as the governor of Khurasan in 705. Qutaiba changed the policy in Lower Turkestan and began to settle Arab tribes with their families. The conflicts among the rulers and emirs directly affected the success of this plan (Dağir, 2009, p. 108). After eliminating the Sasanian Empire and seizing the spoils of ancient Iran, the Arabs turned their attention to prosperous Turkestan, reflecting the region's strategic significance (Kitapçı, 2014, p. 172). Situated on the Silk Road connecting Eastern and Western trade centers, Transoxiana became the focal point of various states, hosting merchants from India, China, and Persia throughout history (Falih, 2021, p. 143).

Qutaiba ibn Muslim faced intense resistance from the local population, but he engaged in a prolonged struggle, taking advantage of the disputes among some emirs. The severe massacres he carried out left the local population in a difficult situation, compelling them to accept the settlement of Arab tribes in clans. The Arab tribes that settled in Samarqand, from the Adnanis, were as follows: Bahile (Malik ibn Asur ibn Sa'd al-Kays), Ezd (al-Ezd ibn al-Ghavs ibn Nebt ibn Malik), Muharib (Muharib ibn Hasefe ibn Kays), and Tayya' (Culhume ibn Eded ibn Zeyd ibn Yesjub) (Ibn Hazm, 1977, p. 481-485).

With the conquest of Ferghana, Shash, and other regions in the far east of Transoxiana, the Arab population continued to rise (Hümeysi, 1984, p. 323). Consequently, due to the expansionist policies of the Arabs, their numbers increased significantly after the Turks. According to Tabari, during the reign of Umayyad Caliph Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik in 720, Shu'be ibn Zuheyr al-Nahshali, appointed as the governor of Samarqand by Khurasan's

governor Said Huzeyne, supported the suppression of a rebellion against the administration with twenty-five thousand people, indicating a significant increase in the Arab population (1971, vol./p. 6/605). Addressing the Soghdians, Shu'be ibn Zuheyr urged them to fight against outlaws after scolding and accusing them of cowardice, claiming that no one among them was wounded or sick (Ibn al-Esir, 1987, vol./p. 4/346).

It is not accurate to say that all Turks accepted the Arabs. For instance, the people of Ustrushana, located two stages away from Ferghana, opposed living with them. As a result, they were allowed to reside with the Arabs if someone from the Shiban tribe married one of their women. The Arabs' coexistence with the Turks led to cultural exchange between the two groups (Ya'kubi, 2002, p. 125). Islamic culture transformed Turkestan into a center of social harmony and became a focal point for scholarly and literary activities on a mass scale after their mass conversion to Islam. For instance, during the reign of Ma'mun al-Rashid, Khwarazm became a region where the Qur'an and jurisprudence were taught. Their role in the spread of Islam to various regions cannot be underestimated (Lumber, 1990, p. 21; Dağir, 2009, p. 108).

3. Social Strata

The nature of Transoxiana society was shaped by the extensive spread of the Turks and their demographic changes in cities before Islamic conquests. Throughout history, the Turks, known for their struggle for independence, displayed their strength in their endeavors to conquer the region after settling in Turkestan, away from their homeland. Despite internal conflicts leading to the disintegration of tribal unity, they managed to preserve their cities and establish independent states in regions like Soghdiana, Huttel, Saganian, and Tokharistan, inspired by the Greek kingdoms Alexander had founded in Transoxiana. What held them together was their alliance against common enemies and their absolute loyalty to their kings (Kristens, ?, p. 35; Dağir, 2009, p. 108).

In Turkestan, the social strata in society were divided into three groups: the upper class, the middle class, and the peasant class. The upper class consisted of the caliph, Muslim governors, their male children, and dignitaries. This noble class was not limited to Turks but also existed among the Arabs. Among the cities, Soghdiana stood out in terms of nobility, lineage, and manners. The countryside comprised the head of the social stratum. Although politicians were in the minority, the feudal system and Muslim administrators ensured their positions (Salah, 2019, p. 287). In the Persian society, the feudal class, which followed the

princes and the heirs, largely consisted of landowners and spread through mediation between local administrators in cities or between farmers and lords (Falih, 2021, p. 267).

The middle class included religious scholars (ulema), intellectuals, scientists, and merchants. The ulema, who took on the roles of judges and preachers and were considered the heirs of prophets, were respected by society due to their recommendations for worship and mutual assistance. Their cooperation with the state authorities allowed them to lead prosperous lives (Imadi, 1997, p. 176). Merchants, despite being different from other classes, maintained their status. They were divided into two groups: one comprised those whose wealth reached millions of dinars through popular trade with China and other parts of the world. Their strong commercial relations with the Oghuz Turks in the eastern Transoxiana facilitated the movement of caravans to Khurasan and other regions, providing them with livestock. For instance, they established markets for textiles in the city of Teshan, located in Ferghana. The other group included those who earned their livelihood by selling daily necessities (Makdisi, 1991, p. 271; Falih, 2021, p. 267; Dağir, 2009, p. 110-111; Salah, 2019, p. 289). The main gathering centers for merchants were Bukhara, Khwarazm, Samarqand, and Soghdiana (Falih, 2021, p. 267; Salah, 2019, p. 289).

The religious class, which included farmers, craftsmen, and artisans, constituted the majority of society. Arab craftsmen were reported to have misused their professions and behaved poorly until the 3rd century AH (Ahmed, 1953, p. 271). However, during the Abbasid era, artisans played an active role and represented the majority of the population. They developed themselves economically in commercial, industrial, and agricultural aspects, playing an important role in the region's economic life. Idrisi reported that the Turks in Tibet were engaged in various arts, producing thick and hard clothes from cocoon silk, exporting slaves and musk to Ferghana and India for gold coins, and even kidnapping each other's male children and selling them to merchants (2002, p. 513).

The region had favorable conditions for an agricultural-based system. With numerous rivers, freshwaters, and fertile lands spread across vast areas, around three hundred thousand villages were established for farming and agriculture (Istakhri, 1927, p. 288, 291). The abundance of villages astonished Ibn Hawqal, who noted a similar situation in Khurasan (1992, p. 387). Travelers reported that during wartime, three hundred thousand horsemen were gathered from villages; there were large preparations for war in Ferghana and Shash, and due to the abundance of animals, one person from among the commoners sent one hundred to five

hundred animals (Ibn Hawqal, 1992, p. 387; Istakhri, 1927, p. 291). The majority of society, the farmers, cultivated their lands to produce vegetables and fruits, thus improving the standard of living. Their dwellings, made of mud or stone at riverbanks or mountain slopes, were quite inexpensive. The villagers, known as village soldiers, also served in the regular army and in the military service of princes and kings to retain their lands (Dağir, 2009, p. 112).

Regarding certain aspects of social life, they adhered to their Bedouin traditions and customs. The most obvious indication of this was their respect for guests, their generosity, and their desire to win people's hearts. Due to their upbringing and their prosperous life, they were considered an economically stable, virtuous, and hospitable society (Dağir, 2009, p. 114). In Ibn Hawqal account, two records were found regarding the generous and hospitable nature of the people of Turkestan. One mentioned that he witnessed wooden stakes nailed to the door of a well-known house in Soghdia, which had been open to guests for more than a century. He also noted that on some nights, two hundred people and their animals came, and they were provided with food and drink without any charge. Additionally, to showcase their generosity, the people of Samarqand would excessively engage in charitable acts and carry heavy loads of provisions on themselves (1992, p. 386, 407).

When examining the position of women in social life, it can be seen that they enjoyed freedom and respect. In marriage matters, if a man wanted to marry, he had to propose to the woman. Generally, news would be sent to the woman's father or brother, and once they agreed on the marriage, they would negotiate the dowry (mahr) and complete the contract (Ibn Fadlan, 1959, p. 93-94). Although women participated in economic life, they did not engage in agricultural activities due to the high level of difficulty. For instance, there are records that Kyrgyz women did not work in agriculture (Idrisi, 2002, p. 520).

As for the kings and nobles' clothing and uniforms, historical sources do not mention it. Except for a few indicators from the rest of the classes, they wore tunics and hats. Religious scholars and prominent figures had their distinctive clothing. The classifications in the social strata of Turkestan were temporary and limited, thus having a limited impact. Consequently, the overall social and economic life remained characterized by prosperity and simplicity (Dağir, 2009, p. 115).

Conclusion

In Transoxiana, the presence of suitable environmental conditions for agriculture and animal production, as well as the availability of natural resources, contributed to the transformation of societies into central hubs. The region of Turkestan has witnessed the migrations of various societies from different parts of the world since ancient times. Population growth, coupled with famines resulting from natural disasters, conflicts between tribes, and natural population growth, prompted people to seek new settlement areas for their livelihood and security. The demographic composition of Transoxiana consists of Turks, Arabs, and Persians. Due to being a destination and settlement area for Turkic tribes coming from Inner Asia since ancient times, the essential element of this region is formed by the Turks. Tribes that migrated from the Mongolian steps towards the inner parts of Central Asia spread to various regions. Among these, we observe that the Kyrgyz, Khazaras, Qarluq, Ghurids, Khalaj, Kimak, Oghuz, Pechenegs, and Dokuz Oghuz (Uighurs) spread over a wide area from the hinterlands of Transoxiana to the ocean, establishing their independent states.

When examining the sources, it is determined that the settlement of the Persians in Transoxiana took place during the reign of the Sasanian king Anushirvan. Due to its strategic position, Transoxiana became one of the most important centers of the Islamic world as it facilitated commercial connections between China and India. Therefore, two main reasons stand out for the Sasanian king's desire to capture Transoxiana. One was to secure the trade routes with China, and the other was due to the perceived threat of the presence of the Turks to his state. It is concluded that one of the first places where the Persians were settled in the Turkestan region was Ferghana. The settlement of the Arabs in tribes in the region occurred after the appointment of Qutaiba b. Muslim as the governor of Khurasan. Despite the Umayyads' unsuccessful efforts to establish their population due to their policies and internal conflicts, they managed to increase their population in Ferghana, Shash, and Isbicab by taking advantage of the internal conflicts among the Turks. Undoubtedly, their settlement in these regions facilitated intense cultural exchange.

The social strata in Transoxiana seem to consist of three classes: the upper class, the middle class, and the peasant class. While traces of the feudal system can be observed in the regions governed by kings and Muslim governors, it is observed that their influence was limited. In this study, it is concluded that farmers constitute a significant portion of the population due to intense agricultural and livestock activities, and people lead a prosperous economic life. In

conclusion, the classification in the social strata does not negatively affect the people, as it is temporary and limited, and the social and economic life is characterized by prosperity and simplicity.

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To Cite this Chapter

Erkoç, M. (2023). Social life in the transoxiana (mâverâünnehr) region during the Islamic period: A study in the light of Arabic sources. In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp. 131-145). ISTES Organization.

CHAPTER 9: WOMEN HAVING ENGAGED IN WITNESSING, DISCOVERY AND EXPERT ACTIVITIES IN OTTOMAN TRIAL LAW (16TH-18TH CENTURY)³⁷

Mine KARTAL 

1. Introduction

Those who served as witnesses, discoverers or experts in the Ottoman Sharia (Religious) courts had an important place in determining the accuracy of the cases. It was seen that these people intervened in resolving disputes between the parties to the case that was brought to court. Among these, testimony was accepted as definitive evidence in determining the accuracy of the claim. Especially in dispute cases, the testimony of eyewitnesses had a very serious impact on the resolution of the events. In resolving events that occur outside the judge's knowledge of the law, specialized knowledge was required. In order for such incidents to be resolved in a fair manner, it was deemed appropriate to seek the opinions of experts on the subject of the incident. Experts contributed to the clarification of the events with the information and opinions they provided. In this context, experts also played an important role in resolving the dispute between the parties. Because the opinions of experts contributed to the determination of the accuracy of the allegations or to the clarification of controversial issues. In this study, it was discussed whether women were involved in the determination of correct information in the cases heard in the Ottoman sharia courts. In this context, the visibility of women as witnesses in court, discovery or expert committees, and their roles in shedding light on the events were examined. The study generally mentioned about Ottoman trial law and briefly the legal rights of Ottoman women. Then, women's testimony was explained along with examples reflected in the Ottoman Sharia courts. Finally, women's activities within the discovery or expert committees were reported in the cases heard in the courts. Thus, it was tried to explain the appearance of women in determining the accuracy of the events that took place in the legal life in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, it was aimed to show the rights and responsibilities of women in Ottoman judicial law and the effectiveness of women in legal life in terms of using them.

³⁷ This study was produced from the author's doctoral thesis titled "Women in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century (Comparative Case of Diyarbekir and Ayıntab)", which she completed at Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam University in October 2022.

2. Ottoman Trial Law

It is stated that the word justice means being correct in behavior and judgment, judging according to the right, being equal (Çağrıçı, 1988, p. 341). However, although many opinions have been put forward regarding the definition of the concept of justice throughout history, it is pointed out that a complete definition of justice has not been made. It is stated that this concept has always been on the agenda in different ages and geographies and that its definition has changed depending on the characteristics of the time (Demirdal, 2019, p. 3). The idea of justice has a great influence in the lives of societies. This idea causes the person to fight for a cause that s/he considers just (Güriz, 2004, p. 24). Justice enables the individual to live safely in society (Apaydın, 2018, p. 466). The institutional basis for the realization of justice is the judiciary (Apaydın, 2018, p. 1470). Every legal system expands its field of activity with the discourse of justice (Saruhan, 2018, p. 9). In this sense, justice makes law valuable. The Ottoman Empire also tried to ensure justice throughout the geography it dominated through legal venues so that its people could live in peace and prosperity.

Law, which is the plural of the word right (Topaloğlu, 1997, p. 152), which means real, correct, fixed and necessary, is generally defined as a set of rules that regulate human relations with certain sanctions. Law aims to meet social needs by ensuring justice and order in a society (Koçak&Dalgın&Şahin, 2020, p.37). At the same time, law has the function of regulating human relations in society in a manner consistent with justice and establishing balance between the rights and responsibilities of individuals (Bardakoğlu, 1997, p. 139). In this respect, law is a fundamental fact of human life and has an indispensable feature for the development and continuity of life (Aral, 2014, p. 23). In this context, it is stated that the term law means "the order that makes it possible for human beings to live side by side and together on earth." It is stated that this order is an element within the structure of social life and does not accept separation from human culture (Hirş, 1944, p.22).

Although Ottoman law was essentially based on Islamic law, it consisted of customary law that was formed over time by the orders and decrees of the sultans (Aydın, 2019, p. 66). Ottoman lawyers and bureaucrats tried to respond to the needs of the people with the principle of the general interest of the society (İnalçık, 2016, p. 51). The Ottoman Empire applied the law in the same way throughout its geography (Aydın, 2002, p.15-17). The reason why the Ottoman Empire survived for more than six centuries can be attributed primarily to its legal structure and the way it operated. Since the Ottoman Empire was a Muslim state, Islamic law formed the

basis of its legal system. This procedure, in which only one woman served and appointed a kadi(Muslim judge)to each administrative center conquered by adopting the Sharia Kaza procedure since its establishment, was called Sharia Courts. (Cin&Akgündüz, 2017, p. 262). In the Ottoman Empire, before the Tanzimat Reform Era, the judge performed judicial duties in the Sharia courts. In addition, there were officials in the court such as regent, kassam, bailiff, sergeant, and soubashi. Undoubtedly, these people played a major role in the establishment of justice (Cin&Akgündüz, 2017, p. 266-273). However, in addition to these officials working in the court, from time to time, help was received from different people to shed light on the issues in the courts.

According to the law, in resolving disputes that occur in social life, the aggrieved party must file a lawsuit in court. According to Islamic law, the burden of proof falls on the plaintiff (Yiğit, 2001, p.78-79). In the Ottoman Empire, the case begins after the defendant and plaintiff are present before the judge. First, after the plaintiff's complaint is heard, the defendant is asked to respond to the complaint. If the defendant accepted the claim, the plaintiff would be found correct. However, if the defendant denies the allegation made against him, the judge would ask for a witness from the plaintiff. If the plaintiff proves his/her claim with people suitable to testify, it would be decided that the plaintiff is right (Ekinici, 2021, p. 387).

A lawsuit filed in court can usually result in the claim being proven or disproved. In order for the claim to be accepted legally, it is necessary to resort to the means of proof in law. Proving the case is mainly possible with (Beyyine) evidence (Bardakoğlu, 2000, p.493). Beyyine(evidence) is a general name given to certain means of proof that express certainty in Islamic law of procedure. It means definitive evidence that proves a right or an event that has a consequence. These are generally determined as testimony, written evidence and definitive presumption (Bardakoğlu, 1992, p.97). One of the most important evidence in Islamic law is testimony. It is a religious and legal obligation to testify whenever the plaintiff requests in cases regarding special rights. However, the person who would testify had to be intelligent, free and of puberty (adolescent). In addition, the witness should not have been blind, deaf or mute and should not have been punished for the crime of slandering adultery. Witnesses had to be fair. For this reason, it was investigated beforehand whether the witnesses were fair or not. The testimony had to be done before the court (Ekinici, 2021, p. 384).

Another way of evidence according to Sharia law is the statement of discoverer and expert testimony (expert, competent expert) Ekinici, 2021, p. 387). Experts(Ehl-I Vukuf) assisted the

court in determining an event or resolving a dispute. In this respect, it is similar to testimony. However, the witness does not express his/her opinion and comment on the subject when narrating an event or information that s/he has personally seen, heard or been aware of in the past. Experts did not witness the event whose information was referred to. S/he is asked to make an examination and express her/his opinion based on her/his special knowledge on the subject (Şafak, 1994, p.532).

Before the 20th century, according to the orientalist thought and common belief regarding the status of women in Islamic society, it was thought that women had a low status and that the patriarchal structure was the backbone of the social structure. For this reason, it was assumed that women's social life was hindered and they could not use their economic savings and could not go to court to defend their legal rights and interests. However, it is pointed out that these depictions are not based on reality. Because it is emphasized that if one examines Ottoman women according to the law that reduces the number of men's wives to four, a much different perspective will be gained (Gerber, 1988, H., p.327-329).

In Islamic law, women have legal rights and freedoms (Demir, 2016, p. 531). The ability of a person to independently carry out transactions that create rights and obligations is defined as the capacity to perform in Ottoman law. A person who can distinguish good from bad, reach biological maturity, and behave appropriately in managing and protecting her/his property has full capacity to act (Akyılmaz, 2017, p. 332). In this context, the Ottoman woman, who adopted Islamic law, gained a legal identity when she reached puberty and came of age (Faroqhi, 2005, p. 128). This identity that women had acquired continued even after they got married. (Jennings, 1975, p. 101-102). In research conducted on some cities within the Ottoman borders, it was stated that women acted freely in the legal field (Jennings, 1975, pp. 53-115; Gerber, 1988, pp. 337-343; Faroqhi, 2018, pp. 7-27). So much so that, the courts became places where women's voices were heard, both regarding their own rights and the rights of others. In this context, documents were identified in some Ottoman court records in which women had been involved in determining the accuracy of the events. Women were able to help reveal the veracity of the allegations by acting as witnesses, discoverers and experts in court.

Based on the information given above, a person in the Ottoman Empire was able to play a role in determining the veracity of the event by witnessing the event that was brought to court. In addition, individuals were able to influence the determination of the issues that the court investigated, by taking on the task of examining the body of an injured or dead person. In the

Ottoman Empire, men were helped in proving the truth of the events in the court, and sometimes women were among these people. In this context, women were sometimes seen as witnesses in court and sometimes as part of the discovery or expert committee.

3. Contributions of Women in Determining the Accuracy of Events in Courts

3.1. Women Witnessing

When some conflicts and events occur between people in social life, lawsuits are filed in the courts to resolve them. In order to determine these disputes and events fairly, the right in question must be proven. Because the judge decides the cases brought to court only depending on the evidence brought by the parties. Even if a right actually exists, that right cannot be obtained unless its existence is proven (Atar, 1979, p. 190).

Testimony is a widely used institution in Islamic-Ottoman trial law. The court was able to make a decision based on the statements of the witness who met the necessary conditions (Şen, 2000, p. 195). In law, witnesses are needed to prove crimes and rights fairly (Dalgın, 2005, p. 8). In Islamic law, anyone who witnesses any event or situation is defined as a witness (Apaydın, 2010, p. 278). In the Ottoman Empire, people who conveyed definitive news and information on a subject were called witnesses (Aslan, 1999, p. 13).

In the Ottoman Empire, especially in criminal cases, testimony, oath and refraining from oath were theoretical ways of proof. The decision was made by the kadi (Muslim Judge) depending on whether these were met or not. The plaintiff used to be obliged to prove his/her case. This proof was usually provided by the testimonies of people who witnessed the event in some way (Yazıcı, 2019, p.96). In Islamic law, four male witnesses were required in adultery cases, two male witnesses in other hadd and retaliation cases, and in other cases, the testimony of two men or one man and two women was requested (Cin & Akgündüz, 2017, p. 302). As stated, while women's testimony was not accepted on some issues regarding testimony, in cases where only women could have information, only their testimony was accepted. In some cases, two female witnesses were requested instead of one male witness (Karaman, 1997, p.273). Accepting only women's testimony is the situation that concerns the special situations of women, such as birth, virginity, detection of defects in female organs that men cannot look at, and crime incidents that occur in women's baths (Atar, 1979, p.196-197).

Although it is seen in Ottoman court records that men were generally present in court as witnesses, there are court records indicating that women also served as witnesses. However, in

cases where men testify, there are two witnesses, and in cases where women testify, there are three witnesses, one man and two women. It is thought that the request for two male witnesses or two female witnesses, one male and one to serve as a reminder, specific to the financial issue in the debt verse in the Holy Quran, may be related to women's participation in social life and their level of knowledge in the conditions of that period. Because it is stated in the verses of the Holy Quran regarding testimony that there is no discrimination based on gender (Sağlam, 2008, p. 366-367). In the verse regarding the issue of debt in the Holy Quran, the request for two witnesses, one man and two women, one of them to remind the truth, was intended to ensure that justice would be served due to the conditions of the period (Karaman, 1997, p. 273-274). In terms of Islamic procedural law, different opinions were put forward regarding the acceptance or rejection of women's testimony. It is stated that from time to time, based on these views, unnecessary and inconsistent claims have been made against Islam in terms of equality between men and women. However, it is emphasized that the balance of rights and obligations has always been preserved in Islam and that gender is not a fundamental criterion in ensuring or disrupting this balance (Yiğit, 2001, p. 88).

In the records of the Sharia courts of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, examples were found showing that women served as witnesses in court during the process of proving rights. As a matter of fact, a woman named Saliha from Zincirli neighborhood of Ayıntab (Gaziantep) filed a lawsuit against a person named Mehmed Beşe. In the case, Saliha claimed that Mehmed forced her into his house and raped her while she was passing Mehmed Beşe's door two days ago, and demanded that the matter be investigated and necessary action be taken. However, the defendant Mehmed Beşe rejected Saliha's claim. Therefore, the court asked Saliha to present a witness. Man, witness Abdullah and woman witnesses Aişe and Fatma testified in court regarding the issue. Male witness Abdullah and female witnesses Aisha and Fatma testified in court regarding the issue. The court was not satisfied with this and inquired about Mehmed Beşe's moral situation from the people of the neighborhood. The people of the neighbourhood reported Mehmed Beşe's bad behavior, saying that he was not a decent person and that he was always with unrelated (non-mahram) people (GŞS 72, H.1133-1134, p. 117-2). As can be seen, in this case filed with the allegation of rape, women appeared in court as eyewitnesses. In addition, looking at the number of witnesses in this example, it was determined that in Ottoman legal practice, one man and two women testified in cases.

In order to clarify the incident of home invasion, the statements of female witnesses are being observed. As a matter of fact, a woman named Münteha from the Şehreküstü neighborhood of

Ayıntab filed a lawsuit against a person named al-Hajj Mehmed from the same neighbourhood, by deputing her father, Molla Abdurrezzak. In the case, he claimed that a person named al-Hajj Mehmed and his brother Mustafa entered the house where Münteha was living at midnight nine days ago with a battering tool, and that Münteha had been bedridden and vomiting blood out of fear since then, and demanded that necessary action be taken. However, when the defendant el-hajj Mehmed completely denied the situation, the court asked attorney Abdurrezzak to witness his claim. Thereupon, in this case, people named Mustafa, Ali and Salih took part as man witnesses and Aklan and Fatma as woman witnesses. These witnesses stated that al-Hajj Mehmed and his brother Mustafa opened the door of the room where Münteha was sitting with a battering tool at midnight. Thus, Munteha's claim was confirmed thanks to the witnesses (GŞS 86, H. 1146-1147, p. 193-2). Three male and two female witnesses were identified in this recording. In the Holy Quran, four witnesses are required to prove the crime of adultery (Quran: Nisa/15-16, 2011, p. 89-90). However, in this verse, there is no distinction between men and women in requesting four witnesses. This situation shows that since one man and two women witnesses are requested in the verse regarding the debt, it is also based on the request for two women witnesses instead of one man in other witnessing issues (Sağlam, 2008, p. 365).

According to Ottoman law, the use of certain words by a married man could result in a divorce from his wife. In this context, the statements of woman witnesses could be taken in cases filed to confirm that the divorce had taken place with the claim that the words "divorce" were used. For example, Aişe from the Kozanlı neighborhood of Ayıntab filed a lawsuit against her husband Ömer, stating that while she was living in their house six months ago, her husband had conditioned her by saying, "If I enter through the door of this house again, leave(divorce)from me from three to nine." However, a few days after her husband stated this condition, she said that he entered the house from the door and stated that the condition was fulfilled and she was divorced. She also claimed that she had been staying elsewhere since her husband fulfilled this condition, but that her husband Ömer wanted to continue the marital relationship with her, and requested the court to take necessary action. When Aişe's claim was asked to her husband Ömer, he denied the claim, and Aişe was asked to produce witnesses for her claim. Thereupon, Aişe confirmed her claim by presenting Es-Sayyid Ahmed as a man witness and Fatma and Ummügülsüm as women witnesses. As a result, the court decided that the plaintiff Aişe was divorced from the defendant Ömer (GŞS 103, H. 1159-1160 p. 205-1). In this divorce record, it is seen that woman witnesses contributed to the verification of the claim. However, when the number of witnesses is examined, we encounter one man and two women witnesses. Regarding

divorce, two just witnesses are requested in the Holy Quran and the gender of these witnesses is not specified (Quran: Talak/2, 2011, p. 629). However, it is understood that in the practice in the Ottoman court, either two men could testify or one man and two women could testify.

Witnesses played an important role in resolving the problems that arose between the parties in the cases reflected in the Ottoman Sharia courts. There were also women among those who testified. For example, in a case regarding a marriage dispute recorded in the 17th century Konya religious registry, it was stated that in addition to two men witnesses, two women named Narenşah and Hüma also testified in court (Tezcan, 2014, p.114).

In the record aimed at examining a death incident detected in the 18th century Adana religious registry, it was reported to the court by the brothers of the victim that a woman named Meryem was unjustly killed by her husband with a dagger. During the crime scene examination and identification of the people sent by the court upon this notice, it was understood that the siblings named İsmail, Züleyha and Rabia were witnesses in this incident (Korkmaz&Aslan, 2019, p.254). In this example, it is seen that a man and two women, who are relatives of the victim, witnessed a murder incident.

Examples taken from court records of different cities of the Ottoman Empire have shown that women could take part in the court as witnesses in the Ottoman Empire. By testifying, women could sometimes contribute to ending an injustice committed by their husbands against their wives, and sometimes to shed light on an incident. However, it should also be noted that women witnesses were not frequently encountered in the court case records of different cities of the Ottoman Empire during the period examined. However, this does not show that women could not be witnesses in the Ottoman Empire. Because Ottoman law gave women the right to testify. The fact that women rarely use this right given to them can be associated with either their personal preferences or the effect of the social structure of the period on women. When we look at the testimony of women in general, the existence of women who fought in legal venues for the people who were victimized during the establishment of justice in the Ottoman Empire shows the freedom of women in the legal field when considered according to the conditions of the period.

3.2. Women Who Do Discovery and Expert Witness

Although the history of expertise dates back to mythological times, it has been stated that real experts and experts appeared during the period of Hammurabi's laws. It was mentioned that

doctors were heard as experts during the period in question. The first expert report in history is the report stating that Julius Caesar, who was killed in 44 BC, died from a stab wound that entered the chest cavity (Organ & Sevinç, 2016, p. 117).

When we look at Islamic law, the judge was able to find support for his/her decision by taking the opinions of experts in criminal and civil cases. Questions were asked to experts according to their art and profession and their comments were benefited from (Atar, 1979, p. 204). It is possible to see expertise, which dates back centuries, in the Ottoman Empire as well. As a matter of fact, first of all, experts were known as expert (ehl-i hibre/ehl-i vukuf) in the guild organization in the Ottoman Empire. In cases where punishment needed to be imposed on tradesmen, these people's opinions were consulted (Kütükoğlu, 2020, p.55). These people were able to have a share in accelerating the outcome of the trial and ending the dispute (Kılınç, 2022, 102). In addition to the guild organization, experts were the people whose opinions were consulted in many different fields.

In the Ottoman law literature, people whose expertise was consulted when legal disputes and proof issues required special and technical knowledge were called ehli vukuf (expertise). This concept has the same meaning as the word expert in Turkish law. In Arabic sources on classical Islamic law, it is stated that this concept is used with expressions such as ehlü'l ilm ehlü'l hibre (Şafak, 1994, p.531-532). It is stated that the practice of expertise in the Ottoman Empire was divided into two groups: those who were appointed (ehl-i hibre) and those who were not officially appointed but were recognized as de facto experts (ehl-i vukuf). Appointed experts were included in the Ottoman guild organization. These people officially started their duties as Ehl-i Hibre. The people whose information was consulted as experts even though they were not officially appointed were not permanent officials. They acted as experts only when they were consulted and were called Experts of Knowledge (ehl-i vukuf) (Abacı, 2002, p.77-79). The first basic condition sought from experts in knowledge is that they are experts in the field whose opinion is sought, and the second condition is that they are impartial. It is at the discretion of the judge to determine whether the expert meets these conditions. Apart from this, there are no other conditions required for expertise. Therefore, men, women and non-Muslims could become experts (Şafak, 1994, 532).

In the Ottoman Empire, the examination of an incident and taking it to an expert took place in certain stages. In this context, after crimes that disrupted public order in the Ottoman Empire were brought to court, an investigation into the incident was sometimes deemed necessary.

During the investigation process, some crimes required the incident to be observed on the spot. For example, in crimes of murder and wounding, the relevant officers would go to the scene and determine both the location and the part of the body of the victim who was injured or died (Yazıcı, 2019, p.94-95). In this sense, the crime scene comes to the fore. Crime scene is generally defined as "the place where the crime was committed and where the evidence was found". Crime scene investigation, on the other hand, is defined as the process of investigating all kinds of traces that may be evidence at the crime scene using scientific and technical methods in order to shed light on an incident, collecting the findings, recording them and sending them to the relevant places (Pekdemir, 2017, p. 140). In the 18th century, in the Ottoman Empire, when an injury or murder occurred, a court was established at the place where the incident occurred and the necessary investigations were carried out, as much as the conditions of that period allowed.

When Ottoman court records are examined, crime scene investigation comes to the fore, especially in cases of injury or murder. In cases of serious injury or death, people appointed by the court would go to the scene of the incident, establish a court where the incident took place, and ensure that discovery and necessary investigations were carried out. If there is an injured or dead woman at the scene, the reconnaissance mission is usually carried out by the woman's fellows. As a matter of fact, a court was established in the house of a woman named Bahar, who lived in Mürdane village of Ayıntab. Bahar reported that Molla Mehmed's son Hasan injured her under her left shoulder and under her left hand with a black-handled dagger while she was picking walnuts from the walnut tree of a person named Molla Mehmed, who was near the village the day before, and requested that her body be examined, a discovery made and the situation recorded. Thereupon, when women named Emine and Sultan examined the injured Bahar's body and made a discovery, they discovered that Bahar had a dagger wound under her left shoulder and under her left hand. Bahar stated that if she died, she would have died from the effects of this wound, and she wanted her blood to be taken from Hasan, who injured her (GŞS 59, H. 1120, p. 276-1). In this document, the woman who was subjected to violence ensured that her experiences were recorded by the court. The women who made the discovery in the document both contributed to the clarification of the complaint reported to the court and helped reveal the veracity of the claim of the woman who was subjected to violence. This shows that women who served as discoverers or experts in the Ottoman Empire indirectly helped both the judiciary and the victim.

In the records reflected in the Ottoman courts, the discovery and examination of people who were unable to leave their homes could sometimes be requested by the close relative of the injured person. As a matter of fact, a court was established in the house of the injured woman named Elife from Kayacık neighborhood of Ayıntab. In court, a woman named Fatma stated that at noon on the court day, she had an argument with a woman named Aklan, her daughter Elife's fellow wife (her husband's other wife), and then she left herself in the water well in the courtyard of their house, and that her neck was swollen as a result. Thereupon, Aişe and other women named Aişe informed the court that when they examined Elife's body, there was swelling in her neck and that she was unconscious due to the effect of water, and the court decided to investigate the issue in detail (GŞS 69, H. 1130, p. 34-1). As seen in this recording, since the person whose body was to be examined was a woman, the court sent female examiners to perform the examination and ensured that the condition of the unconscious woman was recorded.

As can be understood from Ottoman court records, discovery means examining and determining the subject at the place where the incident takes place in order to determine the accuracy of the alleged statements. In this context, by making a complaint to the court by the person who was personally exposed to the incident, people who wanted their wounds to be examined and recorded were determined. In this case, a court would be established at the scene and help would be received from some people who would conduct reconnaissance to examine the body of the injured person. For example, a court was established in the Cevizlice neighborhood of Ayıntab, where a woman named Hacı Meryem was injured. Meryem reported that she was attacked by her ex-husband Hacı Mustafa after sunset on the day of the incident. She stated that her husband injured her in various parts of her body with a black-handled knife. After this statement, when the woman named Abdullah and Ayne examined the injured Meryem's body, they found that Meryem had stab wounds in thirteen places and reported this to the court. After the examination, the injured Meryem stated that her ex-husband Hacı Mustafa had beaten and injured her, and that in case she died from the effects of the wound, she did not have any lawsuits with her landlord, Hacı Ali, or any of the people in the neighborhood. After Meryem's mother, Aişe Fatma, stated that her daughter Meryem was beaten and injured by her ex-husband Hacı Mustafa and that they did not have a case with anyone else, the court decided to examine the issue and discuss the situation (GŞS 66, H.1127, p. 199-2). In the recording in question, it is seen that a man and a woman examined a woman's body together. In another court record, the people in the document in question were seen again. As a matter of fact, Meryem from Ayıntab's

Cevizlice District complained about her husband in court, this time using her mother Aişe Fatma as her proxy. Meryem claimed that she was attacked by her ex-husband, Mustafa, and that he injured her in various parts of her body with a black-handled knife, and demanded that necessary action be taken. However, when her husband al-Hajj Mustafa denied the claim, she presented people named Aişe Fatma, Ahmed and es-Sayyid Ebubekir as witnesses to what she said. As a result of the witnesses stating that al-Hajj Mustafa injured his divorced wife Meryem with a black handled knife at the alleged time, the court decided to take necessary action (GŞS 66, H.1127, p. 200-1). As seen in this document, Meryem, who was subjected to violence by her ex-husband, not only had her wounds examined by the officers sent by the court, but also found a witness to her claim, leaving no justification for the denial of the incident by the person responsible for the serious situation she experienced. In this context, the importance of the testimony and investigation committee in revealing the accuracy of the allegations in this serious injury incident is noteworthy. The fact that there was a woman among the examiners reflects the activities of women in legal fields in the Ottoman Empire.

The court could also request discovery to prove that no one had any influence on the death of a deceased person. If the deceased was a woman, the determination of how she died could be made by women of the same sex. For example, a court was established at the place where the body of his sister Hatice was in the house of Molla Mehmed from the Hayk-ı Muslim neighborhood of Ayıntab. Molla Mehmed told the court that his sister Hatice died by drowning after falling into the water well in their house on the night of the trial, by her own mistake, and requested that her body be discovered and the situation recorded. The body of the deceased Hatice was examined by women. As a result of the examination, it was stated that there were no wounds or signs of strangulation on Hatice's body, and that she actually died by drowning in water. After the examination of the body, the people appointed by the court submitted a report to the court (GŞS 73, H. 1134, p.39-1). It is thought that an investigation is requested to prove that this death occurred as a result of an accident and to prevent future claims. It is understood that the discovery work was not done by court officials, but by women deemed appropriate by the court. In the Ottoman Empire, women with knowledge of the incident could also be asked for their opinions in order to clarify the allegations. For example, according to a record found in the 17th century Bursa religious registry: "A woman named Kerime from the Abdal Mehmed neighborhood of Bursa filed a lawsuit against her ex-husband Şaban. In her case, Kerime asked for alimony from her husband, saying that she had been divorced 23 days ago, but now she realized that she was pregnant. However, Kerime's ex-husband rejected this situation.

Thereupon, Kerime was sent by the court to the house of a woman named Fatma from Hoca Yunus neighbourhood and was examined. As a result of the examination, it was understood that Kerime was pregnant and she was given alimony of 10 coins a day (Abacı, 2002, p.84). In the court record in question, a victimized woman was able to obtain her legal rights thanks to the female examiner.

In the Ottoman Empire, women appeared in courts as defendants, plaintiffs and sometimes experts for various reasons. They served as witnesses and experts in court, especially regarding issues such as pregnancy, birth, and waiting period of the same sex (Can, 2008, p. 1). In the Ottoman Empire, midwives, in addition to giving birth, also examined various gynecological diseases. Apart from this, women worked as physicians by performing various surgical interventions and also dealt with traditional treatments (Baş, 2006, p. 105-106).

Women whose profession was midwifery could be seen in the cases transferred to the Ottoman Sharia courts. It was stated that women whose profession was midwifery could serve as experts in courts in cases concerning their profession. For example, in a case that was reported to Istanbul's Eyüp court in the 18th century, a woman named Hatice filed a complaint against a person named Süleyman in court, claiming that he took her little daughter Rabia to his home and raped her. Thereupon, the court had the little girl examined by the expert women. As a result of the examination, it was reported that Rabia's virginity was broken not because of rape, but because she fell from a high place (Keskin, 2015, p.113-114). In this recording, the clarification of an extremely serious allegation was provided by a woman whose profession was midwifery. Therefore, it was understood that the victim party was subjected to slander, thanks to the midwife who was an expert in this case. A similar incident was also identified from the records in the Konya court. In the case recorded in the Konya court regarding this issue, it was stated that a virginity check was carried out by the midwife in order to shed light on such an incident (Tezcan, 2014, p. 94). In the records in question, expert women whose profession is midwifery appear, who contributed greatly to the discovery of the truth of the events in the adultery and rape cases in the Ottoman Empire.

In Ottoman law, if one of the couples to be married had a contagious disease, it was an obstacle to the marriage. However, this situation could have sometimes caused divorced couples to make false allegations in order to prevent their ex-spouse from marrying someone else. If the person alleged to have an infectious disease had been a woman, the woman could have been examined by her fellow human beings to determine the accuracy of this claim. For example, in a 17th-

century case identified from Üsküdar court records, a woman named Marziye became a plaintiff against her ex-husband Pir Ali, who claimed that she had leprosy while she was about to make her second marriage. Thereupon, the court asked several women to examine Marziye. Marziye proved her case when the women who made the examination said that there was no trace of leprosy on Marziye's body (Yüçetürk, 2021, p. 37-38). In order to determine the veracity of this claim, women appointed by the court were examined to see if the disease in question was present in the alleged person. Since the person alleged to have the infectious disease was a woman, help was received from women to determine whether she had the disease. Although there is no information about the professions and names of the women performing the examination, it is thought that they had the necessary knowledge about the detection of this disease. As a result of the examination of the women in question, it was understood that the woman named Marziye did not have a contagious disease. Thus, thanks to the examination performed by the women, the claim of Marziye's ex-husband was refuted.

In some cases, it is stated that the people whose information was consulted were described without giving their names as "experts", which indicated that they knew the region and neighborhood they lived in well, "Expert Muslims", which indicated that they had knowledge on the subject, or, more generally, "Unbiased Muslims". (Abacı, 2002, p. 809). For example, in a document found in the 16th century Ankara Sharia registry, as a result of the knife injury of a woman named Firdevs being reported to the court, "Unbiased Women" went to scout to determine the situation of Firdevs. It was determined that Firdevs was injured with a knife in four places in total: on her left armpit, on the back of her left side and on the calf of her left foot. In her statement in court, Firdevs stated that her husband hit her and that she had no case with anyone other than her husband (Can, 2008, p. 1). In this recording, the woman who was subjected to violence by her husband applied to the court and asked for her body to be examined and her condition to be recorded in order to prove what she experienced. The women who performed reconnaissance services for the woman's injury were referred to as "bi-garaz women" (who have no hostility towards anyone).

According to the information obtained from the court records of various cities of the Ottoman Empire, in Ottoman trial law, the duty of discovery or acting as an expert witness in cases of death, injury or other reasons was given to people who were not official court officials in order to determine whether the statements in the courts were true or not. Women could also be found among the people who performed discovery examination and expert witness duties. Women who performed discovery missions were tasked with examining the bodies of injured or

deceased women. During the examination, they examined in detail where there were wounds or traces of assault on the injured or dead woman's body and what type of assault instrument the woman was injured with. Women who served as experts performed women's examinations regarding allegations such as rape, pregnancy and illness. The results of the examination and examination were submitted to the court in the form of a report by the official officials. After the women who acted as discoverers or experts in the events in question gave information about the incident, the court officials tried to make accurate determinations by checking whether the situation matched what was described. Thus, women had a share in determining the accuracy of the events reflected in the court by carrying out discovery or expert activities.

Conclusion

Sharia courts had an important place in the establishment of justice in the Ottoman Empire. Kadi (Muslim Judges) served as judges in the Ottoman Sharia courts. There were many officials in the court other than kadi. In addition, people who were not official court officials but served as witnesses, discoverers or experts in trials aimed at clarifying some cases had also helped the judge make a fair decision. Witnesses played an important role in proof to prove a claim. In cases such as injuries, deaths or allegations of rape, the help of experts and discovery committees was sought to shed light on the incident. Therefore, these people had a share in the establishment of justice in the Ottoman courts.

Although it was mostly men who contributed to the resolution of the events in the Ottoman courts as witnesses and experts, it was determined that women could have been in such a position. In this context, women were able to indirectly contribute to the fair decision of cases. Women made this contribution sometimes by testifying and sometimes by being part of the discovery or expert committee. In this context, in the Ottoman period examined, women were able to testify for an event they witnessed in any way. While in some cases, two women were able to testify instead of one male witness, in some cases against women of the same sex, the testimony of a single woman was deemed sufficient. However, their inclusion in the discovery or expert committee depended on the presence of a woman in the incident to be examined. Because, according to the court records examined, it was determined that women who were experts and discoverers only examined the female body. The cases in which women's opinions were sought as discoverers or experts were cases in which their fellow women were involved. Especially when it was necessary to examine a woman's body for various reasons, a woman was preferred to perform the examination task.

The participation of women in legal fields in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th-18th centuries was examined within the framework of proving the accuracy of the events reflected in the court. In this regard, the visibility of women in the resolution of legal cases in the Ottoman society was determined. Therefore, this study has shown that women can participate in legal life in order to eliminate the grievances of individuals other than themselves. This study also reflects that female members of the society were also consulted to give testimony and opinions during fair trials in the Ottoman legal system. Therefore, it has been understood that women can actually be included in the means of accessing correct information in legal life. Considering the conditions of the period examined, the fact that women could be witnesses and experts in the Ottoman Empire also shows that women fulfilled an important vision in legal venues.

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To Cite this Chapter

Kartal M. (2023). Women having engaged in witnessing, discovery and expert activities in ottoman trial law (16th-18th century). In Ö.M. Budak (Ed.), *The research on history II*, (pp. 146-166). ISTES Organization

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. In this book, the city of Kotor, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkish-British relations, Turkish-Soviet relations, and the Maveräünnehir region, which have an important place in history, are covered in various historical periods. There is also a study on What is Empiricism and Historians' View of Empiricism, which is an important theory used in different subjects.

The powerful icon of the Seljuk woman: Terken Hatun and her influence on state administration. There is also a study on female murderers in Ottoman court records.