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AHMED RIFAT EFENDI'S ARTICLE SERIES ON SERBIA

Abstract: It is known that sufficient attention has not been paid to Serbia in Ottoman and Turkish historiography, which is why any work on the subject is worth paying attention to. In this context, the series of writings published in the *Mecmua-i Fünun* journal by Ahmed Rifat Efendi, a statesman and also a historian and scholar, under the title "The History and Geography of Serbia" is of considerable importance. The importance of these articles derives from the fact that they're the only examples of Ottoman historical writing except for official chronicles that focus solely on Serbia, and when we put them in publication order, we are able to put together a history of Serbia from its founding until 1838. The work is also important because it provides an insight into the views of an Ottoman intellectual regarding the issue of Serbia. This study evaluates Ahmed Rifat Efendi's writings as historiography, and interprets various detailed pieces of information regarding the history of Serbia. Ahmed Rifat Efendi's articles were relatively objectively written for their time, giving readers the opportunity to get to know Serbia geographically and providing a general overview of Serbian history and its turning points, as well as illustrating his points with occasional, interesting anecdotes.

Key words: Ottoman historical writing, Serbia, Ahmed Rifat Efendi, Ottoman Empire.

Introduction

Ahmed Rifat Efendi was an Ottoman historian, encyclopaedia writer, and moralist. As a bureaucrat, he held the position of navy accountant, treasurer of Crete and Thessaloniki, and member of the governmental reform committee. In

addition to this work, he was also a scholar, and he is best known for his work *Lugat-ı Tarihiyye ve Coğrafiye*,¹ an encyclopaedia of history and geography published in seven volumes, the first two volumes of which were published in 1882, and the remaining five in 1883. In addition to books and encyclopaedias, Ahmed Rifat also wrote articles for the *Mecmua-i Fünun* magazine. This study will focus on a hitherto overlooked series of articles published in this magazine about the history for Serbia.

Mecmua-i Fünun was a scholarly magazine, and it was founded by Münif Pasha, who at the time was the chief translator of the translation department (*Tercüme Odası*) at the Ottoman government's central administrative headquarters (*Bab-ı Ali*). Münif Pasha first founded the *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Society of Science) in 1861, with the support of the leading scientists and intellectuals of the era, and the aid of Fuad Pasha. The Society was chaired by Halil Bey, the Ottoman ambassador to Saint Petersburg. *Mecmua-i Fünun* was founded in 1862 as the society's official publication.² Articles in the journal comprised a wide range of fields, including literature, history, geography, astronomy, geology, economics, pedagogy, physics, chemistry, and ethnography.³ The magazine was significant because it contained contributions by the Ottoman intellectual elite, it had large financial resources, and reached a wide audience.⁴

A foreign author of the era wrote about how the magazine differed from its contemporaries and accurately reflected the spirit of the time. He studied the first ten volumes of the journal and remarked on how it was strikingly different from its counterparts, even in the way it used the non-standardised versions of Turkish printing press letters, and the way its distribution of topics, usage of space, contents, paragraph and line breaks, and punctuation diverged from established habits. Additionally, he adds that the magazine introduced European

1 A. Özcan, *Ahmed Rifat Efendi*, TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, 2. Cilt, İstanbul, 1989, 130–131.

2 Ö. Karaoğlu, *İktisadî Düşünce Tarihimizde Bir Sayfa: Mecmua-i Fünun*, Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi 8/1 (2013), 282; The founding aims of the society included publishing a magazine titled *Mecmua-i Fünun* each month, opening a library to serve its readers, organising public lectures on various subjects to encourage scholarly interest, and similar activities. Ş. Günçe, *Bir Çeviribilimci Olarak Münif Paşa*, Osmanlı Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi 15 (2022), 124.

3 İ. Eten, *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye'nin Faaliyet ve Tesirleri*, VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi 25–29 Eylül 1970, Ankara, 1970, 690.

4 G. Ş. Erginöz, *Aylık Türkçe Bilim Dergisi Mecmua-i Fünun*, Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 10 (2008), 186. A translation of the original article published in German: E.vL., *Die türkische wissenschaftliche Monatsschrift Medschmuai Fünun*, Oesterreichische Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und öffentliches Leben I/1–26 (1863), 779–785.

reforms, and noticed it has clearly drawn inspiration from the magazine *Revue des deux Mondes*.⁵

Ahmed Rifat's writings on Serbia were also amongst those published in *Mecmua-i Fünun*. Despite being a prolific writer of encyclopaedias and moral tracts, his writings on Serbia are the only example of his views on a single nation. The first article was published in the 16th issue of the magazine, dated September/October 1863 (Rebiü'l-ahir 1280 in the Islamic calendar). The last instalment of Ahmed Rifat's series of writings on Serbia was published in the 26th issue of the magazine, dated July/August 1864 (Safer 1281). In his final article, Ahmed Rifat stated his intention of continuing to write on the history of Serbia,⁶ unfortunately, due to unknown reasons he was not able to do so.

Ottoman history writers had a limited interest in Serbia, which makes Ahmed Rifat's writings valuable, as they're the only detailed accounts of Serbian history except for official chronicles and Belgradi Raşid Pasha's work *Vak'a-yı Hayretnüma*.

It must also be added that the majority of Turkish intellectuals of the era, regardless of whether they were in favour of or against the status quo, were civil servants and received their salaries from the government.⁷ It would be pertinent to keep this in mind while studying their perspectives on history and how they view historical events.

A General Overview of Ahmed Rifat Efendi's Serialised Articles

In 19th century Ottoman historical writing, the tradition of general, private, and official chronicles continued, and was also supplemented by accounts of military expeditions, victories, and urban history. These writings also aimed to shape public opinion by reaching a wide audience⁸. For this reason, the first questions we must ask about Ahmed Rifat's writing is what the author's aim was and why he chose the particular subject that he did.

Factually, we know that the majority of Ottoman chronicles were commissioned works, written either by official chroniclers appointed by the state, or upon the request of someone in a position of authority.⁹ Although we can't

5 G. Ş. Erginöz, *op. cit.*, 188.

6 A. Rifat, *Sırbistan Tarihi*, Mecmua-i Fünun III/26 (Safer 1281 / July/August 1864), 56.

7 C. K. Neumann, *Dar Zamanlarda Benlik Arayışı: Son dönem Osmanlı Tarihyazımında (1850–1900) Kimlik Tanımlamaları ve Kalkınma Stratejileri*, Osmanlı ve Balkanlar: Bir Tarihyazımı Tartışması, ed. F. Adanır, S. Faroqhi, İstanbul, 2011, 73.

8 A. Özcan, *Osmanlı'da Tarih Yazımı ve Kaynak Türleri*, İstanbul, 2023, 7, 239.

9 C. K. Neumann, *Araç Tarih Amaç Tanzimat: Tarih-i Cevdet'in Siyasi Anlamı*, İstanbul, 1999, 14.

regard Ahmed Rifat Efendi's series of articles as an Ottoman chronicle, the aim behind it could be considered to be the same, in other words, he might have been recommended or commissioned to focus on the subject. The biggest clue as to this conclusion is the period in which the articles began to be published. The first article in the series was published in the September/October 1863 issue, which coincides with rising tensions between the Ottoman administration and the Principality of Serbia due to the 1862 bombing of Belgrade. Therefore it is possible to conclude that the Serbian issue was at the forefront of the Ottoman government's concerns. Of course, it is also possible that Ahmed Rifat also had a personal interest in the region. In conclusion, his purpose in writing these articles will never be clearly known, as Ahmed Rifat did not write any sort of introduction but simply launched into his subject, and avoided providing personal opinions as much as he could.

His perspective is surprisingly close to modern historical writing. Ahmed Rifat provides us with a series of articles including footnotes to explore certain points more in depth and citations of further resources. He investigates the subject chronologically, making it easier for readers to understand the reasons and outcomes of each significant event. It can be said that even a reader with no knowledge of Serbian history can come away with a general overview of Serbia after reading Ahmed Rifat's articles. When put in publication order, the articles can be considered as a short book, but in terms of content distribution, we can see clearly that he provides a lot more detail concerning events closer to his own time period. For instance, the final instalment of his writings focuses solely on the Serbian constitution debate in 1838.¹⁰

We don't have a clear picture of all the sources Ahmed Rifat consulted to write his articles, however, since he was a civil servant at the bureau of translation, we can track down some of the books he borrowed from the bureau's library between 1856–1868. Records show that he borrowed Ottoman and foreign books on history, such as *Tarih-i İzzi* written by İzzi Efendi, *Tarih-i Naima* by Naima, *Tarih-i Raşid* by Raşid Efendi, and *Tarih-i Vasıf* by Ahmet Vasıf.¹¹

On the other hand, the articles do not focus on Ottoman successes or failures, but instead are built on a cast of Serbian characters. This also sets it apart from the prevailing tradition of Ottoman history writing; despite having been written with the same fastidiousness of an official chronicle, it can be clearly discerned as something other than it.

10 A. Rifat, *Sırbistan Tarihi*, Mecmua-i Fünun III/26 (Safer 1281 / July/August 1864), 48–56.

11 S. Balçı, *Babıali Tercüme Odası Kütüphanesi*, Dede Korkut'un İzinde 30 Yıl Prof. Dr. Üçler Bulduk'a Armağan: Türk Tarihine Dair Yazılar, Ankara, 2017, 350–354.

Naturally, it would be useful to have another series of articles about Serbian history to which we could compare Ahmed Rıfat's work, unfortunately, such an example does not exist. For this reasons, comparisons can only be made with sections of official chronicles detailing events in Serbia, or Belgradi Raşid's work *Hayretnüma*,¹² which focuses exclusively on Serbia.

In his work, Belgradi Raşid constantly chides Serbians and the Serbian authorities for their actions in Belgrade and the rest of Serbia.¹³ While Raşid's work does not stand up to scrutiny as an official account or a chronicle, it is the perspective of a local voice, as Raşid provides his views based on his personal experiences as a first-hand witness to said events.¹⁴ For that reason, Raşid's historical writing is entirely subjective; this sets it apart completely from Ahmet Rıfat's serialised articles. Ahmet Rıfat's approach is more fact-based and less personal compared to Raşid's.

Of course, official chronicles also contain accounts of matters pertaining to Serbia. Though these aren't independent works focusing exclusively on Serbia, they often provide highly detailed information about the region. *Tarih-i Cevdet*,¹⁵ a historical account by Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, one of the most important statesmen and chroniclers of the 19th century, also recounts some important events in Serbia; it is one of the most important Ottoman sources one can consult in order to understand late 18th/early 19th century Serbian history. However, compared

12 This work was originally planned as three volumes. However, only two volumes and one addendum were written. The first volume details events in Serbia between 1802–1849 (1217–1265 in the Islamic calendar). It was published in Istanbul circa 1874 (1291). The second volume details events between 1849 and 1861 (1265–1277). The second volume is in manuscript form. The addendum was written circa 1871 (1288) and was titled *Tarihçe-i İbret-nüma*. See N. Duran, *Vak'a-yı Hayret-nüma (1802–1849)*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Tarih Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul, 2011, 5.

13 E. A. Aytekin, *Belgradî Raşid and His Vak'a-yı Hayret-nüma: A Local Muslim Perspective on Dual Administration in Belgrade During Serbian Autonomy*, Belgrade 1521–1867, ed. D. Amedoski, Belgrade, 2018, 319.

14 *Ibidem*.

15 *Tarih-i Cevdet* comprises Ottoman History starting with the 1774 Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji and concluding with the abolition of the Janissary Troops in 1826. The work was published in twelve volumes, and its sources include official chronicles, accounts of ambassadors to foreign lands, private histories, archive material, official decrees, and the author's own recollections. The work differs from other chronicles as a significant portion of it is dedicated to European history. It was completed in thirty years, and there are various versions in existence. The first version includes three volumes published between 1854–1857 (1270–1273) and completed in 1884 (1301). The second version was published by the Matbaa-i Osmaniyye in 1891 (1309) and includes various corrections and amendments by Cevdet Pasha. This version is often called *Tertib-i Cedid*. See Y. Halaçoğlu, M. A. Aydın, *Cevdet Paşa*, TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, 7. Cilt, İstanbul, 1993, 448.

to Ahmet Rifat's articles, *Tarih-i Cevdet's* sections on Serbia are more subjective. Ultimately, when we compare the Serbian narratives of Belgradi Raşid, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, and Ahmet Rifat, we can conclude that Ahmet Rifat has the most objective approach out of the three.

The Content of Articles About Serbian History and Geography

Ahmed Rifat's first article was published in the September/October 1863 (Rebiü'lahir 1280), under the title "The History and Geography of Serbia." He begins by providing information about the geography of Serbia, stating that the country is situated upon approximately 31.500 square kilometres of land, that is, the equivalent to 6416 hours and 40 minutes of walking.¹⁶

He explains that Serbia was known as Moesia Superior in ancient times, and adds a footnote to define Moesia: "In ancient times, Moesia referred to the land stretching from Bosnia all the way up to the Black Sea, corresponding to the northernmost territory of the Ottoman Empire comprising Serbia and the province of Niş, Wallachia, and Bulgaria. Moesia means "swamp," and it's clear that the name is derived from the marshlands on the banks of the river Danube and other small rivers. When the Romans ruled over the land, they divided it into two, and called the first part that includes Serbia and the province of Niş Moseia Superior or Upper Moesia, and the second part that includes Wallachia and Bulgaria Moesia Inferior or Lower Moesia."¹⁷

Ahmet Rifat mentions that the land in Serbia is much more fertile than any other part of the Ottoman Empire, but people have a tendency to focus on cattle farming instead.¹⁸ As for the culture and characteristics of the Serbian people, he states: "Though Serbians are just as well-built and well-adorned as their neighbouring Bosnians, they are an even-tempered and stubborn people." He compares the language spoken in Serbia to those spoken in Bosnia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, and finds that Serbian has a more pleasant sound. As for the population's social lives, he says, "Serbians place great value upon friendship, and almost all of them have a godfather or a godmother or a sibling."¹⁹

In this first article, Ahmet Rifat mainly touches on Serbian geography and culture, and starting from the second article, he begins to talk about his main subject, which is Serbian history. He starts with the earliest Serbian presence on the Carpathian mountains, and quickly summarises Serbian history from that point

16 A. Rifat, *Sırbistan Kitası Tarih ve Coğrafyası*, Mecmua-i Fünûn II/16 (Rebiü'l-ahir 1280 / September/October 1863), 187-188.

17 *Ibidem*.

18 *Ibidem*, 189-190.

19 *Ibidem*, 190.

up to the 19th century, in order to provide a much more in-depth look into events of the 19th century in subsequent articles.

He also recounts a strange event that purportedly took place during the last Austrian-Turkish War: "A book about Serbia tells the story of how Emperor Joseph, dressed in an ordinary soldier's uniform to monitor the Ottoman soldiers' movements from afar along with a few others, was captured by an Albanian officer in the village of Višnjica located on the bank of the river Danube about an hour's distance from Belgrade, but the emperor was able to free himself by promising the official a vast amount of riches."²⁰

After this, he touches on the conditions in Belgrade prior to the First Serbian Uprising. He describes the steps taken by the new vizier Ebubekir Pasha in line with the orders he received from Istanbul, in order to take precautions against the mistreatment of both the public and the local governors by the janissaries, and his efforts to fix the tensions in the land. However, Ahmet Rifat believes that Ebubekir Pasha's successor Hadji Mustafa Pasha did not take any further precautions and gave the Serbians too much leeway, and overindulged the public. He also believed that the Hadji Mustafa Pasha era was the prologue to future concessions won by the Serbians.²¹ This is one of the few instances where Ahmet Rifat makes his personal view very clear by using an accusatory tone against Hadji Mustafa Pasha. He reduces the Hadji Mustafa Pasha period to a paragraph and quickly moves on to the next subject, despite Mustafa Pasha being one of the most important later period Ottoman administrative figures in Belgrade.

When talking about the First and the Second Serbian Uprising, Ahmet Rifat pays particular attention to the leaders of the rebellions, Karadjordje and Miloš Obrenović respectively. He provides biographies of both,²² and touches on the relationship between them, especially the animosity Miloš feels towards Karadjordje and the reason behind it: "In 1810, when Miloš's stepbrother Milan was sent to serve in the Russian army as a civil servant, he spoke out against Karadjordje, whom he thought to have become exceptionally cruel and violent, and this became known to Karadjordje himself, who got Milan's chief secretary who was under his patronage to poison Milan. Miloš Obrenović was very saddened by the death of the brother he held dear, but was assuaged somewhat by the gift of the chiefdoms of Rudnik and Užice which were given to him in compensation. However, in 1811 the national council stripped him of the chiefdom of Užice, leaving him only with Rudnik, and he sought to exert revenge upon Karadjordje and established a secret

20 A. Rifat, *Srbistan Tarih ve Coğrafyası*, Mecmua-i Fünûn II/17 (Cemaziye'l-evvel 1280 / October/November 1863), 222–223.

21 *Ibidem*, 223–224.

22 A. Rifat, *Srbistan Tarih ve Coğrafyası*, Mecmua-i Fünûn II/18 (Cemaziye'-ahir 1280 / November/December 1863), 155.

pact with Karadjordje's enemies to attack him. However, his plot was discovered before he could put into action, and his comrades were either killed or exiled. Miloš Obrenović, on the other hand, was beloved by the public, which meant they couldn't dare execute him. He was instead sentenced to a few days in jail and then sent back to his post."²³

Strangely enough, Ahmet Rifat's series of articles do not touch upon the verbal agreement between Miloš Obrenović and Maraşlı Ali Pasha, which is a part of both Serbian and Turkish official history. Instead, he talks about the two sides agreeing on the terms of an agreement which was then ratified by the Sultan. The terms of the agreement were as follows:

1. One Ottoman and one Serbian official would be appointed at every town and district of the province, in order to mediate any disagreements and settle any legal disputes between Muslims and Serbians or other Christians.

2. The amount of tax due would be decided by the governing pasha and the knyaz, and would be made known to the public by the parliament (*skupština*). Only Serbian officials would be tasked with collecting tax.

3. A large assembly would be established to resolve important matters, and it would consist solely of Serbians. The Pasha would have the final say in whether to pardon a criminal sentenced to death.

4. A Serbian chief would be appointed to every village, in order to divide and distribute taxes with the aid of the community's leaders.²⁴

As we can see, Ahmet Rifat refrained from going into the details of the agreement between Maraşlı Ali Pasha and Miloš Obrenović, and its consequences. However, he made some very salient and accurate, although brief, points regarding the reign of Maraşlı Ali Pasha in Belgrade. Unlike official Ottoman history accounts, Ahmet Rifat views the period as a collaborative rule between the Serbians and Ottomans, though he does not refer to it as "autonomous." He notes that Maraşlı Ali Pasha removed the privileges previously granted to Serbians one by one as soon as the opportunities arose, and his true aim was to revert Serbia to the period prior to 1804. As Serbians actively worked towards expanding their privileges, the country remained in chaos until 1817/18.²⁵

Ahmet Rifat highlights the developments in education and culture in Serbia in order for the nation to obtain full political power following the concessions given to Serbia, making it *de facto* autonomous. In his view, any nation wishing to become independent and modern has to invest in education above anything else. He stresses the importance of building schools, which he thinks should take priority to make education more accessible, and details the efforts made in Serbia to this end.

23 *Ibidem*, 156–157.

24 *Ibidem*, 161–162.

25 *Ibidem*.

According to him, Serbia had a primary school adjacent to every church, as well as a secondary school in every town funded by the Principality. A large academy was opened in Kragujevac, which was staffed by teachers from Austria, and taught mathematics, history, geography, natural sciences, and other sciences. Printing presses were important from Russia to print the required books for schools, and a newspaper called *Srpske Novine* (Serbian Journal) began to be published. Those wishing to engage in commerce but who lacked the required capital were given low-interest loans to start their business, which increased commerce in the area. Belgrade thus became one of the foremost trading towns in the Ottoman Empire.²⁶

Ahmet Rifat returns to discussing political life in Serbia in the 22nd and 26th issues of the magazine. He provides a detailed summary of the post-1830 period, and makes some interesting comments. "When Serbia was granted privileges, the Principality's rule was handed over to Miloš Obrenović and his family by the Ottoman Empire without Russian intervention, which fulfilled the primary aim and desire of the Serbian people. This prevented Russia from intervening in Serbia, and Russia retaliated by forming a group of supporters amongst the enemies of Miloš Obrenović in order to sow discord... One reason why disaster struck Obrenović was his chief secretary Dmitri Davidović's behaviour when he was sent to Istanbul as his personal envoy while the decree of privileges²⁷ was being officiated. Davidović formed an alliance with the civil servants under his command, and in order to decrease Obrenović's influence and benefit from it, he offered information about certain interior issues in Serbia to the *Bab-ı Ali* and included the formation of a senate whose head could not be dismissed by Obrenović as one of the articles in the privileges decree, despite Obrenović having no knowledge of it."²⁸

Once again, contrary to official Ottoman historical accounts, Ahmet Rifat refrains from blaming or criticising Miloš Obrenović. He even neglects to mention any of his wrongdoings, and provides no information about Milos's activities that were regarded as harmful by the Ottoman administration, both before the decree of 1830 and afterwards. With regards to the Serbian constitution, he describes Davidović as ignorant and evil, and constantly brings up his aim of decreasing Obrenović's influence in Serbia.²⁹ As for the 1835 constitution, he states that it had many flawed clauses, and it would have resulted in the ruin of whichever country it was put into effect in, even if it weren't Serbia but instead the most civilised country in the world.³⁰

26 A. Rifat, *Srbistan Tarihi*, Mecmua-i Fünûn II/22 (Şevval 1280 / March/April 1864), 419.

27 The decree of privileges mentioned here in fact refers to the Serbian constitution.

28 A. Rifat, *Srbistan Tarihi*, Mecmua-i Fünûn II/22 (Şevval 1280 / March/April 1864), 420.

29 *Ibidem*, 422.

30 *Ibidem*.

Ahmet Rifat provides a detailed explanation of the 1838 Constitution and its implementation process in the 26th issue of the magazine. He touches upon Miloš Obrenović's connections to Russia and England in the context of the constitution issue. He also provides a point-by-point explanation of the 1838 decree in order to facilitate easier understanding for the reader, outlining the rights and duties of the Chief Knyaz of Serbia, and the functioning of the Parliament and the judicial system.³¹

Conclusion

The Tanzimat period is an important period of change in Ottoman historiography. The intellectual life that developed with this period also contributed to the development of publishing life. Thus, in this period, a wide intellectual segment that researched, read, published and knew different languages was formed. Ahmed Rifat, one of the members of this world of knowledge, can be considered as an encyclopaedia writer – and we know that encyclopaedia writing was very popular in this period – but he can also be considered as a monograph writer. Because he wrote books especially in the field of ethics. However, the articles he wrote on Serbia in *Mecmua-i Fünun* in 1863/64 were the first and only historical publications in his scholarly life. It is very interesting that the subject of these articles is only about Serbia.

For the first time in Ottoman historiography, we are confronted with a work that tells the history of Serbia from the beginning until 1838. As the author Ahmed Rifat was an official of the translation department and therefore had access to many sources on the subject, it can be said that his narrative is quite realistic. Moreover, Ahmed Rifat adopts a much more objective view than expected. On the other hand, rather than telling us about an Ottoman Serbia in which Ottoman officials played a leading role, he tells us about a Serbia in which Serbian leaders such as Miloš Obrenović were at the centre.

As a result, this series of articles provides us with a different perspective on Serbia in Ottoman historiography. At the same time, it also shows how the scholarly world of that period evaluated Serbian history.

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31 A. Rifat, *Sırbistan Tarihi*, Mecmua-i Fünun III/26 (Safer 1281 / July/August 1864), 48–56.

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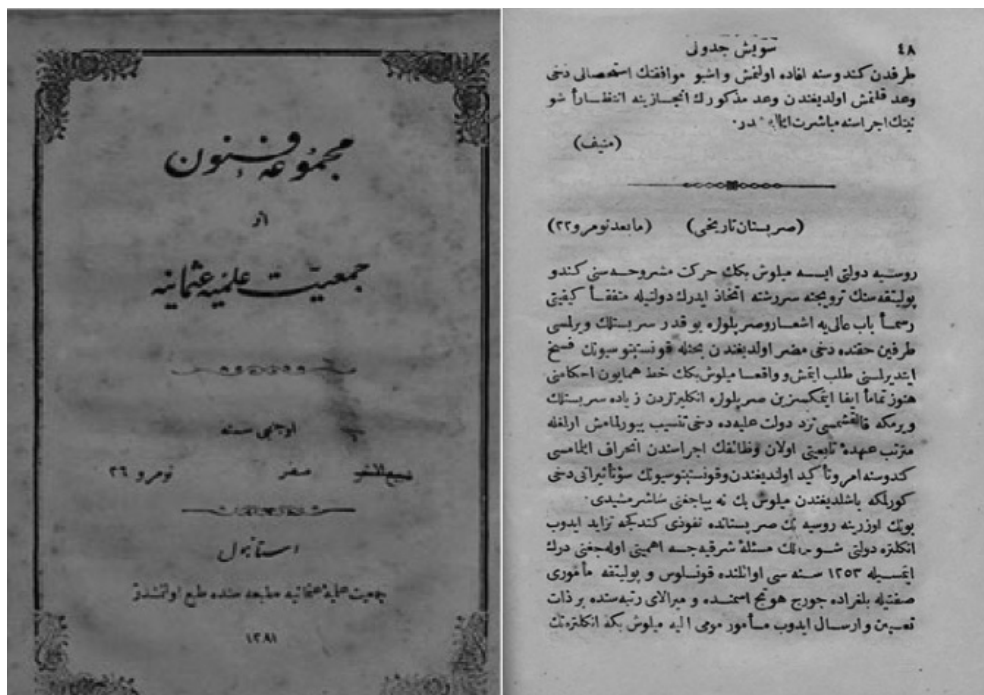
СЕРИЈА ЧЛАНАКА АХМЕДА РИФАТА ЕФЕНДИЈЕ О СРБИЈИ

Резиме:

Доба Танзимата је представљало и прекретнички период у османској историографији. Културни живот који се развијао у том раздобљу подстакао је богату издавачку делатност. У овој епохи интелектуална елита учи стране

језике, стално истражује, чита и објављује. Ахмед Рифат ефендија, један од припадника овог научног кружока, иако најчешће навођен као енциклопедиста (писање енциклопедија прилично је популарно у овом периоду), објавио је и неколико књига, између осталих, и о етици. Указујемо да су чланци које је написао о Кнежевини Србији у османском часопису Местуа-і Fünun 1863/64. били први и једини историјски радови у његовом научном животу. Посебно нам је интересантно што је писао само о српској историји.

Ово је прво дело у османској историографији које описује историју Србије од почетка до 1838. године. Погледи аутора Ахмеда Рифата прилично су трезвени, јер је као један од службеника преводилачке канцеларије имао приступ многим изворима значајним за ову тему. Истичемо да је исказао много објективнији став од очекиваног. Са друге стране, уместо да пише о османској Србији у којој су званичници Османског царства играли водећу улогу, она нам доноси слику нововековне српске државе заједно са њеним вођама, као што је био кнез Милош Обреновић. Његови чланци нам пружају другачији поглед на Србију и њену историју у односу на дотадашње публикације у османској историографији. Истовремено, представљају значајно сведочанство како је један интелектуалац овог доба видео српску историју.



صربستان تاریخی

نیات وافکار بی بیان ایله صوب صوبه سوق و اغرا و کرک داخله و کرک خاربه صربستانا بجه ظهوری ملسوخذ اولان هر درلو فسا لفا اوکن کسدره بیه جک صورته دها اچاق و مختصر بر قونستوسونو نشری تکلیف ایلوب صورتی دخی اعطال المئدر. حالیکه روسیه لولک افکارو نیاتی انکله دولتک سلطنت سنیه حقیقه مخفی ایلان اصول پولیتیکه خلایق بولدیندن صربستانه انکلیز ماموری کئندن خشتود اولوبو بلخصوص موی ایله جورج هونجیک روجه محرر میلوش بکی انکله طرفه میل ایندیرمکه سی ایلدیکنی و بر قونستوسون صورتی دخی و بر دیکنی مامورین خفیمی واسطه سیه استخبار ایتش ایلغه در عقب طوله ورکی نامده بر مامور ارسال ایلندر.

مامور موی ایله میلوش بک ایله حین لافآنده روسیه تک صربستان حقیقه وقوعه کلان ایوانکلرین بحث ایله انکله لویه میل ایتسی دولتشک موجب کمال اشغال اوله جتی اشراب ایندکدن سکره ۱۸۱۶ سنه سی خط همسایوتی موجب بر ستاو تسکیل ایلسی لازمکله چکنی و خلایق تقدیرجه روسیه دولتی سلطنت سیه ایله بالانقا ق خط همایون مذکور احکامک اجراءه کئدوسی ایجاب ایده چکلری بیان ایله تمهید ایلسی اوزرینه میلوش بک اولسایده بیسان معذله بر اولمک و وقت مساعد اولدی بی مر تیه روسیه دولتک شونصاعیدن استانه ایدرم یولو بجه جوابلر ویرشدن بولدن سکره میلوش بک انکله قونسلویه بلدلاره روسیه دولتک صرب طاسفهی بیئنده قزاندی بی نفوذه موازن اراقق اوزره صربستانی فرانسه و اوستریا ایله روسیا دولترنک تحت جائتند

مجموعه فنون

بولدی برقی ازیونی در میان ایدوب قونسلوس موی ایلوک دخی برقی دولته عرض ایندیکی روسیه تک مسموی اولدقه اصلیه خرشوه قصبه سنده بولان قونسلوسن ۱۲۵۳ سنه سی شی الحجه سنده بلغراهه مامور ایتش قونسلوس موی ایله اورایه وصولده تسکیل اولیسی مقرر اولان شتالو اعضاسی دائمی صورته اولیه جئندن و بو ایسه خط همسایوتک خلایق بولدیندن طولایق انکله تک تکلیفی وجهه میلوش بک نشر ایتدیکی قونستوسون علمنده پروتستو ایتشدن.

بنابرین میلوش بک روسیه دن اعراض ایدرک خواه و ناخواه بر موجب خط همایون بر ستاو تسکیلنه مجبور بولدی بی تیغ ایتسیله انکله پولیتیکه سنه انقباد من بعد توجهله حرکت ایتسی لازم کله چکنی قونسلوسندن شوال ایتکله قونسلوس موی ایله قونستوسون جدیدی دولت علیه ق تصدیق ایندیرمکه نسبت ایلر ایسه انکله دولتک بولیده مساوتدن کیرو طوره جتی بیسان ایش و یوتک اوزرینه ۱۲۵۱ سنه سی صفر نده در سمانده حاس مور کوندریوب انکله دولتی دخی بوی ترویج ایلدیکندن مزبور قونستوسونک طرف سلطنت سینه دن قبول و تصدیق یوروله جتی امرد ایش ایسه ده دولت علیه تک بولیده روسیه دولته معاهده سی اولوب بولدن قطع نظر امتیاز فرماتنده اعضاسی عزل اولدمن بر ستاو تسکیل صرح بولدی بی جهنه صرب بیکت کوسردیکی قونستوسون قبول اولنیسه رق بلغراهه محافظی یوسف مخلف باشا ایله صرب باش کزینده خطایا صربستانک صورت ادار سنه دالر بر فرمان عالی ارسال اولفندر که خلاصه

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مالی زریده بین اوئور (باش کتک حقوق و وظائف)

- (۱) صربستان کز لکی میلوش بک ایله خاندانه توجه اولنشدن.
- (۲) میلوش بکه سئوی دزت بیک کسه ایقه تخصیص اولنده جقدر.
- (۳) اولاد اداره ایالت ایچون اقتضا ایدن هر درلوما مور بک نصیب نایابا من واسایش مکتکت صحافنده سی و ظهور ایده بیه جک اولوغ سنه ازلک دخی ایچون زوی مقدار سکر استغدا سی نایابا و بر سکره ایله رسومات سازه تک توزیع و تحصیل رایعا ایجاب ایدن قوم سونوزک تسکیل ایله صرب ایلتک بالجه مامورین خلاف نظام اولمانی شرطیه تعلیمات ویرلیسی خاما صحیح مجازات اولانلرک تأدیب و یاغوق اولغدری میلوش بکه اعاهه فئندسدر.
- (۴) میرضای امور داخلیه و مالیه و حقوقیه متعلق مصالقی تسویه ایتمک اوزره اوج ذلت انتخاب تعیین ایده جقدر.
- (۵) مشایره بسایرطه مصالقی دؤیت ایتمک و صربلوزک دول اجنبیه جه اولان مشاعرتی و قلم ایتمک اوزره بر قصیلاریده خی تسکیل ایده بیه جقدر.

(ستاتو)

- (۶) قوجه باشی و سایر متعزبان اهالی دن رئیس ایله برابر اولنیدی اعضا دن صرب بر مجلس تسکیل قنده جقدر.
- (۷) نایابا صربستانده طوموش و پلنود موخرأ صربلوا لیش اولسانلر شتاتوبه اعضا اوله میجیق و اعضا سنک دخی

مجموعه فنون

اوتوز بش بیئنده اولاری و یاخود املاک اصحابدن بولدی لری لازمکله جقدر.

- (۸) مجلس مزبورک رئیس و اعضاسی ارباب اهلیت و جیدت و بین الاهالی معتمد و مؤمن اولان ذوالدق اولق اوزره کتر بولفدن انتخاب اولنده جقدر.
- (۹) ایشو مجلسه انتخاب اولنده جتی اعضا اجرای ماموریته شرهغ ایتکمزین کتک ایله بر ابراهیلک شفافی و سلطنت سینه تک مر ماسی خلاصه حرکت ایتسه چکلریه کتک و مترو بولید حضور نده مخلف اولنده جقدر.
- (۱۰) مجلسک طریقه سی مجرد مانع اهالی بی قایه دن صارت ایه جقدر.
- (۱۱) مجلس مذکورک رأی ایلدیجه بر قانون وضع اولسه بی جتی و بکیدن و بر کو طرح قلمه بی جقدر.
- (۱۲) میلوش بک طرفدن اعضاسی موی الحجه انقلاق عوی ایله مقدار مناسب معاش تعیین اولنده جتی و مجلس مزبور امارتک مر جکر ادارسی اولان تسکیل ایلوب وظائفی دخی اولامکتک قوانین و نظاماتده رعایایله بر کو سائر تکالیفه متعلق هر درلو سنه عیاش و منازقاتی فصل و رؤیت ایتمک نایابا بالجه مامورینک معاشی و مکافاتلری تمییه ایجاب ایدر ایسه بکیدن مامورینک نصب ایلمک نایابا اداره

مکتکه لازمکلان مصارف سئوی تک مخفی ایله مصارفه قار دولتی اوله جتی تکالیف رومیاتی طرح و توزیع ایتمک رایعا محافظه امن و ایجاب ایچون لازمکلان ملت عسکرینک مقدار و تخصص ایله نظامات و قوانین تعیین ایتمک خصوصری

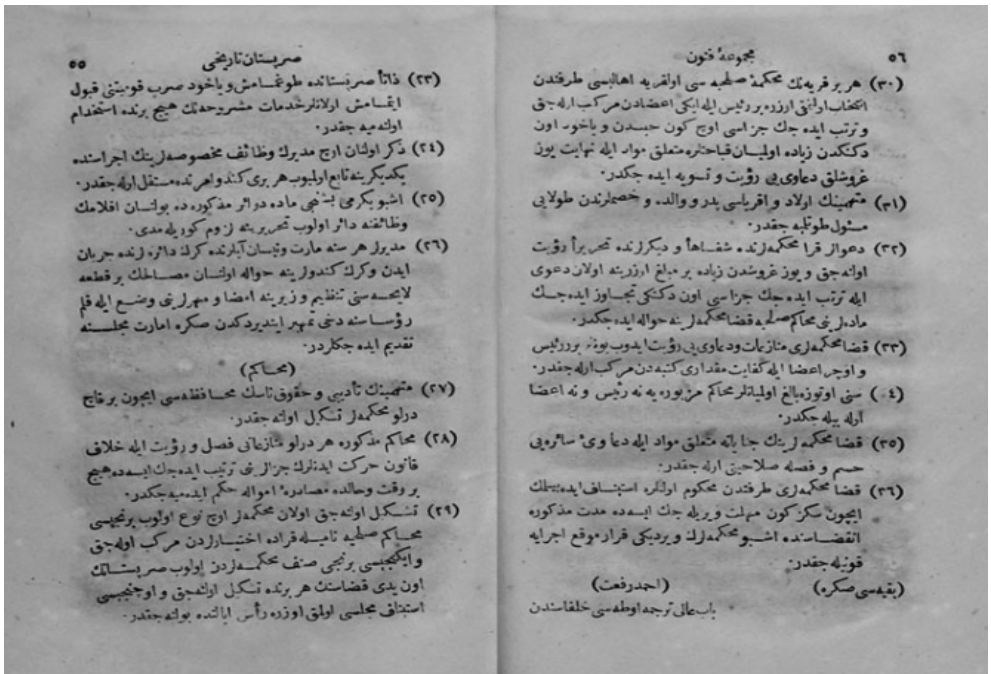
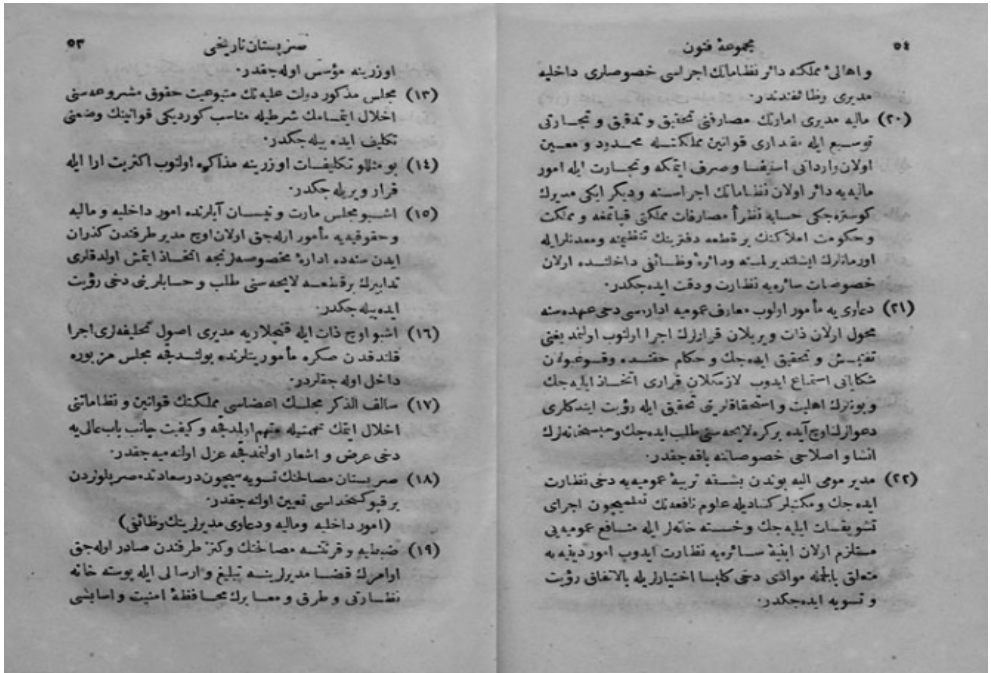


Figure 1. A. Rifat, Sırbistan Tarihi, Mecmua-i Fünun III/26 (Safer 1281 / July/August 1864).