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I, Kutse Altın, declare that this dissertation was authored exclusively by me, except where explicitly stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree or professional qualification.

Szeged, July 14, 2021

Signature

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INTRODUCTION

Right before Covid-19 had been declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization and when the extent of its spread had not yet been understood, I had completed my two weeks of research at The Skilliter Centre for Ottoman Studies and was going back to my home of Szeged. While I was handing my backpack over for the x-ray machine at London Luton Airport, I met two middle-aged Turkish Cypriot men. During our short conversation over coffee, they asked me what I did, and I told them that I was working towards a Ph.D. in history. These two cheerful men stated that they loved history and were always reading books and watching historical movies and documentaries. I believe encounters like this happen all the time to people who define themselves as historians and openly share this in their daily conversations. We all know that nearly everyone has an opinion about some aspect of history and the different views of the past. Therefore, I do not find it necessary to share the enthusiastic comments of these two men on Sultan Süleyman and the execution of his son Şehzâde Mustafa by his order, or how they made me think about the history of mentality through a very precious wooden dining table that was referred to as the governor's table in Cyprus. After having transferred their own historical knowledge to me, they had probably become curious about what I could offer them, so they asked what I was working on. When I told them that I was currently preparing a study on a historian, the younger one, with his magnificent Cypriot dialect, said, “You have a point! We're talking big here, but what would we be discussing without the historians who tell us the stories of the past.” It was probably the high point of this research adventure to hear this key sentence of my work from Hayri Bey, a Cypriot who is an ice cream maker in London. In fact, the question for this introduction would have been why we should study historians, but Hayri Bey answered

this question in a very simple and concise way. However, since this is an academic study, I am obliged to expand on this issue a bit more and re-summarize it with footnotes and references.

In one interview, one of the renowned Ottoman historians Cemal Kafadar defined history as a craft.¹ Kafadar stated that there is no difference between a carpenter and a historian and added that a historian is in no way superior to a carpenter. These two craftspeople share the same virtues, and getting to know the material is at the top of these virtues. Carpenters and historians must know their material well. They must be patient and contemplate what they can extract from this material accurately. They must continue to practice all the time to find the best way to use the material and to make improvements in each phase. Therefore, a critical examination of the material is crucial for both a carpenter and a historian. Kafadar reflected that a historian who interprets archival documents or contemplates a diary shares a common process with a carpenter who examines what can be created from a walnut tree. Thus, efforts towards comprehending the material are a common virtue for both craftspeople. The phase that comes after comprehension is the interpretation of the material. The results that materials alone can offer without being interpreted are limited. Only after a careful interpretation can the material represent something more meaningful. As Edward Hallet Carr states "History means interpretation."² At this stage, it becomes inevitable that differences will emerge in the virtues of these two craftspeople and the way we value those virtues. The moral, political, or religious virtues of a carpenter will not cause us to question the way they choose and use the material. However, such questioning gains great importance when it comes to a historian. The difference is because a walnut tree is and will still be meaningful even if it is not reconstructed by a carpenter. However, as Carr points out, facts,

¹ Emre Can Dağlıoğlu, Emrah Göker, and Ümit Kurt. "Cemal Kafadar'la Söyleşi." *Modus Operandi: İlişkisel Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 1 (2016).

² Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?*, ed. R. W. Davies, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1987), 23.

as the material of the historian, are dead and meaningless if they are not interpreted.³ Therefore, we encounter formulated concepts such as objectivity, unbiased judgment, accuracy, pure representation of the facts or past, accountability, and self-distancing. Along with these concepts, new questions arise as to how historians shape the material to make it accessible so the public can see “what actually happened”. How do they interpret the material not just for telling a story of what happened, but to reach for what was behind the significance or appearance? What are historians’ motivations in reconstructing the past and how do historians construct their historical claims in whichever past they choose to discuss? These concepts and questions lead us to a historical study of the production of historians. In this case, historians and historiography become a part of the historical process, just like a table produced by the carpenter, in this example, the governor's table.

As a historian, Tayyib Gökbilgin was among the pioneers who shaped Ottoman studies and Historiography. Gökbilgin was a committed scholar, steadfastly collecting primary resources and studying them carefully. Even a brief glimpse into his life and his career shows that he played an essential role in Ottoman studies and in developing the methods of how to explore this subject. His familiarity with several eastern and western languages, including Hungarian, enabled him to do research and produce writings in those languages. Starting from the early days of his career, he prepared articles for the Encyclopedia of Islam. During his life, he wrote six books and over three hundred articles. Soon after his graduation from the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography, he was selected as a member of the Turkish Historical Association and was also a member of other major associations, participating in international congresses at home and abroad. He established the Department of the History of Ottoman Institutions and

³ Ibid., 30.

Civilization at İstanbul University. He pioneered an academic level of studies of Ottoman history in accordance with contemporary methodologies. He worked on many archival documents that had not been previously studied, and published them with great meticulousness. He conducted a great deal of pioneering research not only in Turkish archives but also in the archives of Hungary and Venice. Gökbilgin trained many historians and supported them in their work. However, despite his major contributions towards establishing the field of Ottoman studies, he has not received the scholarly attention he deserves. When I assumed the responsibility to work on this dissertation, there had been no comprehensive study on Tayyip Gökbilgin. The first obituary about him right after his death was written by Mahmut Şakiroğlu.⁴ Mübahat Kütükoğlu published an article in 1982 where she listed Gökbilgin's works in chronological order.⁵ In 1984, Salih Tuğ also published a short article about him.⁶ The article published by Zeki Arıkan in 2012 was the first detailed and comprehensive biographical study about Tayyip Gökbilgin.⁷ In this study, Arıkan first outlined a framework for systematic historical research in Turkey at the beginning of the twentieth century. He provided a summary of the development of historical studies in Turkey prior to the period of the Turkish Republic and in its early years. After this introduction, he presented biographical findings about Gökbilgin. In the sections of the article that follow, Arıkan examined Tayyip Gökbilgin's assessments of İstanbul, the Balkans and Rumelia through his works. He then summarized Gökbilgin's views on the joint history and relationships between Turkey and Hungary. He briefly discussed Gökbilgin's works on Anatolia

⁴ Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, "Büyük Bir Kaybımız. Prof. M. Tayyip Gökbilgin 1907-1981", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, XLV/180 (1981): 551-572.

⁵ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Prof. M. Tayyip Gökbilgin'in Ardından", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi (TED)*, 12, (1982): 1-24.

⁶ Salih Tuğ, "Profesör M. Tayyip Gökbilgin (1907/1323 H.-1981/1401 H.)", *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi*, VIII 1-4, (1984): 249-251.

⁷ Zeki Arıkan, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarihçileri ve Prof. Dr. M. Tayyip Gökbilgin", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Dergisi* 3, no. 5 (2012): 41-70.

and then provided insights into his thoughts on ethics, politics, Atatürk, and finally on national history and historical consciousness. In this regard, Zeki Arıkan's study is extremely important as the first work on Gökbilgin. Another important publication is the papers presented at the Gökbilgin and Edirne symposium held in 2015.⁸ In these papers, information about Gökbilgin's biography was reconstructed. In addition, the opinions of his former students about his contributions to Ottoman studies and some memories were voiced as well as short evaluations regarding his working methods and discipline.

After a meeting I had in April 2017 with my supervisor Sándor Papp and the son of Tayyip Gökbilgin, Altay Gökbilgin, I accepted this as my dissertation topic with great motivation. My eagerness to work on this topic was largely because up to that time no detailed study had yet been conducted on Tayyip Gökbilgin that included the documents in his personal archive. Soon, I was dreaming of using undiscovered documents, as almost every historian does, even though I had not yet defined myself as a historian. However, after we decided to proceed with this topic, we learned that Altay Gökbilgin had shared the same archive with other scholars as well. Before I finalized this dissertation, these two academics had already completed their work. One of them is a master's thesis prepared by Ahmet Güngör at the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Institute of Social Sciences, Modern History Department.⁹ In this study, Güngör focuses on Gökbilgin's life, his works, his perspective of history and his scholarly personality. This study provides an elaborate, compact chronological biography of Tayyip Gökbilgin. However, he did not outline a framework of the historiography of the period or the ideas that shaped the study of history in the era, thus Güngör did not provide comprehensive evaluations of

⁸ İbrahim Sezgin and Veysi Akın, eds., *Prof. M. Tayyip Gökbilgin ve Edirne Sempozyumu, 15 Nisan 2015, Bildiriler*, (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, 2016).

⁹ Ahmet Güngör, "20. Yüzyıl Türk Tarihçilerinden Prof. Dr. Mustafa Tayyip Gökbilgin'in İlmi Faaliyetleri ve Tarih Anlayışı.", unpublished MA Thesis, (Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2019).

the main concepts that formed the historical perspective and methodology of Gökbişgin. He stated that Gökbişgin's understanding of history was close to the school of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, but he did not make evaluations on how this school may have developed and the scale of the extensive knowledge behind it. The second work was prepared by Alev Duran, a lecturer in the department of history at İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi.¹⁰ In the first part of her book, Duran follows the same path as Güngör and provides biographical information about Gökbişgin. She then lists the books, articles, encyclopedia and newspaper articles he published, the conferences, seminars and symposiums he attended and so on. In the second chapter after making a brief assessment of Turkish-Hungarian relations and their importance to history, she provides translations and transcriptions of the correspondence between Rásonyi and Gökbişgin and makes an evaluation of their correspondence in the context of Turkish-Hungarian relations.

Although these studies have clarified many aspects of Gökbişgin's life and work, they have not conveyed in a comprehensive manner the period in which the historian shaped himself as a scholar and produced his works. I want what I say here to be perceived as an observation rather than a criticism. I am aware that every researcher has their own journey pursuing the methods they chose to follow, and I have also made my own choices by following the path that Carr suggested:

“Before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment. The historian, being an individual, is also a product of history and of society; and it is in this twofold light that the student of history must learn to regard him.”¹¹

¹⁰ Alev Duran, *Türk-Macar İlişkilerinde Tayyip Gökbişgin / László Rásonyi ve Tayyip Gökbişgin Mektuplaşmaları*, (İstanbul:Hiper Yayınları, 2020).

¹¹ Carr, *What is history?*, 44.

This study aims to provide an insight into the historiography of the period and Gökbilgin's own practices within this concept. It does this mostly based on the personal archive of Tayyib Gökbilgin, which has been curated by Altay Gökbilgin and shared with us. Here, of course, it is necessary to take into account a number of problems related to the documents, which I discuss in the fourth chapter. These documents first passed through Tayyib Gökbilgin's filter, which means he kept some of them and discarded the others, and then through his son Altay Gökbilgin, who I refer to as the curator of the archive, and finally the filter of the researcher, namely myself. Consequently, it should not be ignored that these documents have passed through three levels of selection. Frankly, due to the large size of the family archive, when I first started to examine the documents, I thought that I would be able to find more information reflecting on the period of the War of Independence, since Gökbilgin's family were living at the same region where Mustafa Kemal initiated the first steps of the Turkish National Movement. However, I was not able to find a narrative about this period in the preserved letters of the family members. Nevertheless, some of the letters that have content that can be qualified as quite private tell us that Altay Gökbilgin did not act discreetly when he decided to share the documents with us.

Within this context, I first focus on the formative years of Tayyib Gökbilgin in the first chapter and examine the transformation that started to appear in the late Ottoman Empire. I begin with the transitions that occur during the Tanzimat period. I evaluate this period as an environment that allowed revolutionary ideas to bloom and eventually shape the intellectual background of Tayyib Gökbilgin starting from his childhood. In the next stage, I try to reflect on some observations about how the ideology of Ottomanism turned into Turkish nationalism over time, why this transformation had to happen, and why Turkish nationalism was perceived as the only logical choice for the survival of the state. Finally, by scrutinizing his own notes and

articles, I explain how the modernization period in the late Ottoman Empire might have influenced Gökbilgin's formative years. In the second part of the first chapter, I look through the education system of the period and reflect on these transitions in the educational life of the late Ottoman Empire, since Tayyib Gökbilgin had his primary and secondary education within this system, and later started to work as a teacher in the very early years of the Turkish Republic. I examine the teaching and educational policies of the new state and at the same time, I try to create a reconstruction of his teaching career by using the documents in the Gökbilgin personal archive.

The main focus of the second chapter is the historiography of the era. Underlining that the Second Constitution was an important period that had a great impact in the field of education as well as historiography, I am talking about the establishment of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni*/ Ottoman Historical Association, its aims, and the first criticisms that were voiced about the Association. The questions of why and by whom the mission and the practices of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* were criticized and what were the central arguments in those criticisms and how the ideology of Ottomanism became unadoptable in the field of historiography as well and was replaced by Turkish nationalist discourse are the main topics of the second chapter. Afterwards, I examine the establishment of the Turkish Historical Association and Turkish History Thesis that was presented at the first and second Turkish History Congresses, as well as the reflections of the thesis on the definition of historiography of the era and the establishment of a new faculty in the capital of the new Republic. I discuss how Gökbilgin might have been influenced by the developments within this process, his higher education in the department of Hungarian studies in the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography, and the criticism of the Turkish History Thesis and the possible influences of the various trends and schools on Tayyib

Gökbilgin's writings on history. I trace Gökbilgin's thoughts on national history back and present his evaluations about the process of nationalization on historiography by using his own documents and articles. His graduation from the university, his future plans and his aim to establish a separate department devoted to Ottoman institutions and civilization and excerpts from his career are the topics I also deal with in the conclusion section of the chapter.

On the third chapter, I examine Tayyib Gökbilgin's writings on history by tracing the intellectual trends and methodological approaches that possibly influenced Gökbilgin's history making and narration. I discuss positivism as the most influential theory that Turkish historiography was based upon, and try to analyze what kinds of notions and tools positivism proposed for the intellectuals of the era. Then I reconstruct the arguments criticizing positivism and the developments experienced in line with these debates, and finally the impact of the socio-historical trends in the Turkish and Hungarian intellectual milieu. I continue this chapter by examining Gökbilgin's methodology through his works. Finally, to conclude the chapter, I try to analyze why the historians of the era, including Tayyib Gökbilgin were on a mission to legitimize Ottoman history as a part of world history.

My focus in the fourth chapter is the matter of personal archives and ego-documents. After discussing the importance of personal archives and ego-documents in historiography, I proceed with the most comprehensive section of Gökbilgin's personal archive, the correspondences. Gökbilgin's broad personal archive provides us an interesting perspective, especially on the networks he established with Hungarian academics. This archive provides us the opportunity to ask and answer questions such as how these networks and friendships developed, how they expanded, which themes were at the forefront of the correspondence, and what kind of perspectives do these themes offer us? Likewise, his correspondences give us the

opportunity to observe the themes and trends in Ottoman studies of the time, as well as prominent issues and conflicts.

CHAPTER 1

The Formative Years of the Historian: Political Transitions and Educational Policies

Tayyib Gökbilgin, who ranks among the founding fathers of Ottoman studies, was one of the most influential historians of the early period of the Turkish Republic. He was born in 1907 in Ordu.¹² For four generations, the cognomen of the family was *Müderriş*, *Müderrişzâde*, or *Hocazâde*, which all were an indication of their occupations as tutors or teachers in Medreses. From one undated *emirnâme-i sami* (decree of the Grand Vizier) found in the family archive, we know that Gökbilgin's great-grandfather, Müderriş Hacı Mehmed Emin Efendi, was a teacher in the medrese¹³ of Cacabey in İskilip. As we can see from another document dated to 1850, this Müderriş Hacı Mehmed Emin Efendi was a member of the Naqshbandi order.¹⁴ The documents from the family archive show that the other members of the family also belonged to the *ulema* class, dealing mainly with legal issues (*kadı*-judge) and educational activities (*müderriş*-teacher) in the small towns of Anatolia. Tayyib Gökbilgin's grandfather, Mustafa Rüşdü Efendi, was the *mufti* (jurisconsult) of Çarşamba¹⁵ in the vilayet of Trabzon, and became the representative of the

¹² Veysi Akın, "M. Tayyib Gökbilgin (1907-1981) Hayatı ve Eserleri" in *Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin Ve Edirne Sempozyumu, 15 Nisan 2015, Bildiriler*, ed. İbrahim Sezgin and Veysi Akın (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, 2016), xiii.; Kütükoğlu, "Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin'in Ardından", 001; Şakiroğlu, "Büyük bir kaybımız Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin 1907-1981.", 551; Arıkan, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarihçileri ve Prof. Dr. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, 44.

¹³ The educational institutions in Ottoman Empire where language, Islamic practices and theories were taught.

¹⁴ BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri); Sadâret Defterleri, Fon Code: A} MKT_UM, 42_100_1,

"Amasya Mutasarrıfına, Saâdetlü Efendim, Tarikat-i aliyye-i Nakşibendiye meşâyihinden İskilip kazasında kâin Hoca Bey Medresesi Müderriş Hacı Mehmed Emin Efendi'nin mutasarrıf olduğu cihetinin kadîmi vechile tesviyesi zımında hakkında mu'âvenet olunması istid'â olunup bu makuleler hakkında lâzıme-i himâyetin icrâsı icâb-ı hâlden olmakla mûmâ-ileyhin umûr ve hususunda mu'âvenet ve teshilât-ı mukteziye ve hakkında dahi hürmet ve riayet-i lâyikanın ifâsı hususuna himmet eyleminiz siyâkında şukka-i muhibbî terkîmine ibtidar olundu. Fî 17 Safer Sene 1267, [22 Aralık 1850] Seyyid Mustafa, Hülefâdan Osman Bey",

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Cp9gITrUR6qITyGFMbPScZzjrOIHc3zc/view?usp=sharing>, See appendix 1.

¹⁵ Çarşamba is a district of Samsun, a province in the Black Sea region of Turkey.

kadı/regent of the sub-province of Niksar later in his life.¹⁶ Gökbilgin's father Mehmed Emin Efendi was born in 1849 in Çarşamba. After he received his primary education at *Sıbyan Mektebi*,¹⁷ where he studied *mukaddemât-ı 'ulûm*,¹⁸ Mehmed Emin continued his education at Hazinedar Osman Paşa Medresesi. According to his *tercüme-i hal varakası* (the document of curriculum vitae) in the register of personal information dated 29 March 1909, he studied *Sarf-ü nahiv* (grammar), *ilm-i mantık* (logic), *ilm-i ferâiz* (the science of Islamic law related to inheritance), *ilm-i hadis* (the prophet Muhammad's sayings and deeds), *ilm-i fıkıh* (Islamic jurisprudence), Persian and Arabian at this medrese.¹⁹ Mehmed Emin started working as a regent in the sub-district of Terme in 1869, and then in Alaçam. He was appointed to the Niksar sharia court. After his father passed away, he went back to Çarşamba and was appointed as a scribe to the sharia court of this district in 1874. Following his regentship duties in the various sub-districts, he was appointed as a *kadı* in Alucra in 1912. Mehmed Emin was granted several honorary ranks during his career such as *Edirne ruusu*, *paye-i mücerrede*, *mahreç mevleviyeti* and *nişan-ı ali-i Osmani*.²⁰ In 1913/14, he was dismissed from his office with a special temporary salary established after the Tanzimat reforms, called *Mâzûliyet maaşı*, which was

¹⁶ Sadık Albayrak, *Son devir Osmanlı uleması: ilmiye ricalinin teracim-i ahvali.*, Vol. 3, (İstanbul: İBB. Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 1996),163.

¹⁷ Elementary and primary school in the Ottoman educational system.

¹⁸ Preparatory studies for şer'i ilim/religious studies where it was taught to read works written mainly in Arabic.

¹⁹ İstanbul Müftülüğü Meşihat Arşivi, Document code: İST_MFT_MSH_SAİD_163_18_36_2305A_2: https://drive.google.com/file/d/10fxgDTps_nk2f512DJNPFgXLkVkFOOOU/view?usp=sharing , See appendix 2.

²⁰ Ruus was a rank special to the ulema class; pâye-i mücerrede was also special to ulema, an important rank without a duty assignment. Mahreç was a term that shows the degrees of the kadıs and müderris of various cities. Mahreç mevleviyeti was usually indicate the cities such as İzmir, Trabzon, Thessaloniki, Sophia and Jerusalem. For further information see: Nejat Göyünç, "XVI. Yüzyılda Ruûs ve Önemi", *Tarih Dergisi*, 22 (1967): 17-34; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), index 316, 330, 338, 340.

given to the officers who lost their jobs. However, Mehmed Emin Efendi retired shortly after this event with a regular salary of five hundred thirteen *kuruş*.²¹

The *Tanzimat* (reorganization) Reforms were an extremely important turning point for the creation of an environment that would lead to the blossoming of revolutionary ideas that would eventually shape the intellectual background of Tayyib Gökbilgin starting from his childhood. The first steps towards modernization in the Ottoman state administration emerged during the Tanzimat period (1839-76). The reforms led to the establishment of new Western-style governing structures mainly under French and British influences. Military reforms were adopted to copy successful European practices and the first budget arrangements were made based on western models. "Modernization" or "Westernization" gradually became the main goal of the reforms not only in the army and in the administrative units of the Ottoman Empire, but also in the education system and in the literature, as well as in society and daily life. Even though, the reforms based predominantly on western models, they were combined with a strong Ottoman and Islamic elements that could mitigate the harmful side effects of western influence.²² The reforms in education as well as the foundation of new institutions to train civil servants and soldiers provided favorable conditions for the expansion of arguments for political thought.²³

²¹ İstanbul Müftülüğü Meşihat Arşivi, Document code: İST_MFT_MSH_SAİD_163_18_36_2305A_2: https://drive.google.com/file/d/10fxgDTps_nk2f512DJNPFgXLkV̄kFO0OU/view?usp=sharing , See appendix 2.

²² Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 4-6

²³ Doğan Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation, 1860-1950*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 14-15; Stefano Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Young Turks on the Challenges of Modernity*, (London: SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East, Book 23, 2015), 3-4.; Kemal Karpat, "The transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3.3 (1972): 25 -79; Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Tanzimat Hareketinin Osmanlı Müesseselerine ve Teşkilâtına Etkileri", *Belleten*, Cilt: XXXI – Sayı: 121, (1967): 93-111; Niyazi Berkes, *The development of Secularism in Turkey*.(New York: Routledge, 1998), 155-160.; Erik J. Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin tarihi*, trans.Yasemin Saner Gönen, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), 87-102; idem, *The Young Turk legacy and Nation Building: from the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*. Vol. 87, (London: I.B.Tauris 2010), 73-75,143; M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*,(United States of America: Princeton University Press, 2010), 72-77, 94-108.

Establishment of these new institutions gradually weakened the dominance of the ulema in the education system.²⁴ While the power of the ulema declined, non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire began to rise in power during this period, especially in an economic sense. In February of 1856, an *Islahat Fermanı* (Imperial Reform Edict) was declared. Due to this, non-Muslims were granted important rights to ensure full equality with Muslims in terms of citizenship. The Imperial Reform Edict introduced the concept of equal citizenship.²⁵ With this edict, all Ottoman citizens would be treated according to equal rights, principles, and rules. This edict illustrated a picture of an Empire united around a sense of ambiguous common nationality, called “Ottomanism”, under the rule of a Muslim ruling class, but promising equality to non-Muslims in the fields of military, civil and education.²⁶ In this way, the Ottoman bureaucrats hoped that the edict would pacify the unrest and demands of the non-Muslim communities. The nationalist movements that began to spread during this period and the regional uprisings that were triggered by these movements, and moreover, the military or diplomatic intervention of the great powers to protect the rights of Christians in the region could also be prevented. The Ottoman bureaucrats projected that a sense of common nationality would create equality and prosperity among non-Muslim communities through extensive reforms and privileges, and the Ottomanism ideology or *compatriotism* would progressively become stronger.²⁷ This extraordinary concept generated discussions between the two groups.²⁸ The issuance of the *Islahat Fermanı* was interpreted as due to external pressure coming from the European powers, and the privileged position gained by the non-Muslim minorities of the Ottoman Empire irritated the Muslim population. Western

²⁴ Zürcher, *The young Turk legacy and nation building*, 74.

²⁵ Carter Findley, “The Tanzimat”, in *The Cambridge History of Turkey 4*, edit. Reşat Kasaba, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 18-20.

²⁶ Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 55-56.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Hanioglu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 75.

states asked for more radical reforms, arguing that there were still some political and legal differences between Muslim and non-Muslims subjects of the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the special rights given to non-Muslims through the Edict led to a reaction by Muslims because it was believed that in addition to wealth, now the non-Muslim community would have political rights, and some of the Muslims considered this a degradation of their national and sacred rights.²⁹

During this period, a political group was formed of young intellectuals who were educated in the newly established institutions of higher education and were familiar with European dynamics either through the press, translation office (*tercüme odası*), or through first-hand experiences. This group was called the Young Ottomans.³⁰ This group of intellectuals and former bureaucrats fiercely criticized and opposed the reforms in the press, defining the Tanzimat as a capitulation to European dictates. Therefore, the Young Ottomans were considered as the first opposition movement in a modern sense.³¹ The innovative concepts of this era were the ideas that were already a part of everyday life throughout Europe, such as freedom of expression, using the press to shape and improve public opinion and eventually a new identity, the importance of people's participation in politics and the concept of fatherland. The Young Ottoman publications and theatre shows stirred excitement in the public; thus, their newspapers were censored, the government started to oppress them; ultimately some prominent personalities

²⁹ Karpat, "The transformation of the Ottoman State, 260-61; Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman social and political history: Selected articles and essays*. Vol. 81. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 46-50; Stefanos Yerasimos, *Az gelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye 2 / Tanzimattan 1. Dünya Savaşına*, (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1975), 696-700; Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 57; Ufuk Gülsoy, "Islahat Fermanı", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 19, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1999), 185-190, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/islahat-fermani> (accessed June 8, 2020).

³⁰ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A study in the modernization of Turkish political ideas*. (United States of America: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 10-12.

³¹ Hanioglu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 103-105; Findley, "The Tanzimat", 32.

of this opposition movement were sent to exile and/or they fled to voluntary exile.³² According to the Young Ottomans, the Tanzimat reforms were merely a cultural imitation, weakening the foundations of Islamic values and hence the Muslim society. They defended constitutionalism based on Islamic concepts and stated that contents such as freedom, equality, parliament, consultation, personal rights and freedoms were already part of the Sharia-based form of government. The requirement to employ Islam in order to create a public opinion and gain the public support as much as possible caused the Young Ottomans to establish a linkage between Islam and Constitutionalism.³³ As Kemal Karpat states, the Young Ottomans also formed the concept of fatherland – *vatan* – as a political identity and also loyalty to the Ottoman state within the framework of Ottoman Muslim culture. Consequently, some of these ideas formed the foundation of the Young Turk Movement and subsequently the concept of Ottoman nations (*millets*) or Ottomanism was gradually superseded by Turkish nationalism.³⁴ In that sense, the Young Turk movement created another path that did not have any roots in the earlier period of empire.

The Islamization of the polity advanced during the reign of Sultan Süleyman.³⁵ The Ottomans started to argue that the Sultan, as the greatest Sunni ruler, was the caliph of all Muslims, although the title of caliphate was not adopted officially until much later. Pan-Islamic

³² Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, Vol. 11. (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 132.

³³ Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A history, 1789-2007*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2010), 105-106.

³⁴ Karpat, "The transformation of the Ottoman State", 264-67, 131.

³⁵ For a detailed discussion, see: Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate redefined: The mystical turn in ottoman political thought*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018); Colin Imber, "Süleymân as Caliph of the Muslims: Ebû 's-Su'ûd's Formulation of Ottoman Dynastic Ideology", in *Soliman le Magnifique et Son Temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, (Paris: La Documentation française, 1992), 179-184; idem. "Ideals and Legitimation in Early Ottoman History", in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, eds. Metin İ. Kunt and Christine Woodhead, (New York: Longman Publishing, 1995), 151-54.

ideas emerged as a reaction against the intervention of the European Great Powers in the Ottoman Empire and their colonialism in other parts of the Islamic world up to the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁶ However, the ruling elite in the classical period of the Ottoman Empire was made up of recent Muslims, mainly coming from the *devşirme* units. Many ethnic groups were represented in the Ottoman court and bureaucracy. As Metin Kunt states, “*they were all Ottomans, not in an ethnic but a political-cultural sense.*”³⁷ There were Ottomans who were Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Jewish, German, Italian, Hungarian, and so on. As Kunt mentions, some of them were captured in battle, but some others volunteered and became Ottoman officials. There was also a group of ethnic Turks as officers within this ruling elite, but few of them managed to reach the highest ranks.³⁸ While the Ottomans were recognizing the notion of having diverse *reayas*, they did not have any ethnic policy, or at least they did not explicitly cherish the sense of having a group of ethnically Turkish people within the Empire in the classical period. Yet in the last period of the nineteenth century, being a Turk meant not only an ethnic identity, but also a political one. Eventually, as Kemal Karpat underscored, nationalism appeared as a political solution for the survival of the state and of the Turks as a cultural-political group. Moreover, this was the only channel for the introduction of scientific developments for a newly emerged political unit.³⁹ As Yusuf Akçura, who was a prominent Turkish politician, writer, ideologist, an advocate of Pan-Turkism, and later in his life the president of the Turkish Historical Association pointed out in 1904 in his classic *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Political

³⁶ Karpat, “The transformation of the Ottoman State”, 271; idem. *The politicization of Islam: reconstructing identity, state, faith, and community in the late Ottoman state*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 15-20; Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 17-18.

³⁷ Metin Kunt, “State and Sultan up to the age of Süleyman: frontier principality to world empire” in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, eds. Metin İ. Kunt and Christine Woodhead, (New York: Longman Publishing, 1995), 25.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

³⁹ Karpat, “The transformation of the Ottoman State”, 280.

Ways), the ideals of Pan-Islamism and Ottomanism had already failed. He stated in his article that since ethnic nationalism had escalated to a tragic scale, it was by then futile to try to establish the concept of Ottomanism. According to him, the Ottoman culture had some features that made it easier to unite under the Pan-Islamic ideologies. However, such a political agenda would have destroyed the objectives of the Tanzimat. The idea of equality between the different communities and nations would demolish it, and consequently, Pan-Islamism would cause another chaotic conflict within the Ottoman Empire. The last political agenda he underlines in his article is Turkishness. This political agenda aimed to unite the Turkish ethnic groups from eastern Europe to Asia to recreate a large, powerful state. However, the idea of united Turks might have caused problems similar to Pan-Islamism, moreover, he placed Russia as the biggest threat to a possible Turkish union. As a matter of fact, within this text Yusuf Akçura did not justify Pan-Turkism as the only solution for the current troubles. This generally accepted idea is wrong. Essentially, he emphasized that Ottomanism, even if it had some benefits for the Ottoman state, had come to the point of being impossible to implement. The politics of the unification of Muslims or Turks contained equal interest and similar disadvantages to the Ottoman state. In *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, he put forward only a set of questions, trying to provide answers and justifications, and argued that Pan-Turkism is one of the methods that might ensure the unity of the nation. However, it should be taken into account that all of the articles that Yusuf Akçura wrote after the second constitution were purely and simply focused on Turkishness and Turkism.

⁴⁰ Nevertheless, in this period, a certain intellectual group considered Turkish nationalism the only logical choice for the survival of the state, as well as for modernization and progress.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi 1976), 19-37.

⁴¹ Karpat, "The transformation of the Ottoman State", 280-81.

In July 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) carried out the Young Turk Revolution, bringing an end to Abdülhamid II's reign. As Şükrü Hanioglu stated, the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress saw themselves as the saviors of the Ottoman Empire and their main aim was the conservation of it.⁴² They were not planning to demolish the old system, or as Hanioglu puts the “*ancien regime*”, in order to erect a new state order, but to restore the short-lived first constitutional sultanate proclaimed on December 23, 1876.⁴³ However, regardless of what their main goals were or how successful they were at achieving these goals, it can be stated that the period initiated by the Second Constitution created a notion of freedom within society that could not be compared with the earlier periods of the Ottoman Empire. Although it was a short-lived one, it was an environment where every political, cultural, social, and educational problem related to the past, present and the future of the Empire was openly expressed. On the one hand, it focused on the question of how the empire could survive the turbulent times, while on the other hand, there was open and candid discussion about how a new nation could emerge out of the empire. It was also a period in which political movements and educational policies were making progress in connection with the results of the discussions. As some scholars state, the Young Turk movement served as a laboratory creating a transformative experience and mobilizing many developments that would pave the way for the Turkish Republic. Moreover, as Zürcher stated, most of the individuals who had influence in the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) founded by Atatürk were Committee of Union and Progress members at the time. Therefore, the Young Turk endeavor can be evaluated

⁴² Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 313.

⁴³ Hanioglu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 150-151.

as an effective movement that lasted until the consolidation of the foundation of the new republic.⁴⁴

Tayyib Gökbilgin was born a year before the establishment of the Second Constitution. He began his life under the deep influence of great social and political changes. All these permanent changes shaped his life from an early age. Moreover, arguments had arisen from this transition period that would occupy an important place in his later professional life. Gökbilgin in his own words evaluated this transition starting with the changes in the Tanzimat period and evolving into the Republic in several of his articles and speeches:

“In this land, where Mustafa Kemal had longed for a fully independent fatherland and blissful nation since his childhood, the reforms that he pursued throughout his entire life, first started by the supporters of the Tanzimat one hundred twenty-five years ago, and the great spiritual war against bigotry, reactionism, and ignorance achieved success for the first time. As a coincidence, while celebrating the one hundred twenty fifth anniversary of this first civilization and reform movement this year and while remembering and honoring the great memory of Tanzimat reformers, especially Büyük Reşit Pasha, the Turkish nation and its intellectuals saw the beginning of Atatürk's revolutions and his ideology in this movement and found justification and explanation in it and evaluated the Tanzimat movement within this context. However, as a consequence of their incompetence and failure and that of their successors, Mustafa Kemal took over the torch and the spirit of the revolution; within a new epoch that he created, this soul and movement gained its greatest and most exceptional expression and meaning.”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Zürcher, *The young Turk legacy and nation building*, 95-109; Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 313.

⁴⁵ “Mustafa Kemal'in, ta çocukluğundan beri tam manasıyla özgür bir vatan ve mutlu bir millet hasretini özlediği bu topraklar üzerinde, bütün hayatı boyunca takip ettiği inkılap hamlelerine, ilk defa yüz yirmi beş yıl önce

In a speech Tayyib Gökbilgin prepared for the seventh anniversary of the death of Atatürk, again he presented his brief views on the Tanzimat and Constitutionalist movements:

“The revolution of Atatürk is the final and most successful endeavor to achieve a level of modernization and contemporary civilization in our history of the modern and contemporary ages.

*The constitutional reforms did not pull the Turkish nation from the abyss that it had fallen into in recent centuries, such as the reforms and revolution movements that began with Selim III and continued during the reigns of Mahmut II and Abdülhamit. Fundamentally, these reforms were the half steps of half men, incompetent and weak efforts. The soul of Kuvâ-yi Milliye and the spirit of the war of independence is the ultimate goal of Mustafa Kemal. He brought forth and created the Turkish nation from the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, this revolution acknowledged the Turk, understood and loved the Turkish villages, countryside and peasants. All his activities were concentrated onto the stage for the rise of Turkish identity”.*⁴⁶

Tanzimatçılar tarafından başlanılmış ve taassup, geriliğe ve bilgisizliğe karşı açılan büyük manevi savaş ilk olarak o zaman bir başarıya ulaşmıştı. Bir tesadüf olarak bu sene Türk milleti ve aydınları, bu birinci medeniyet ve inkılap hamlesinin yüz yirmi beşinci yıl dönümünü kutlarken ve başta Büyük Reşit Paşa olmak üzere, Tanzimat ıslahatçılarının hatırasını tâziz ve tebci ederken, bu harekette Atatürk devrimlerinin ve Atatürk'ün ülküsünün bir başlangıcını görmüş, onun bir gerekçesini ve izahını bulmuş ve Tanzimat hareketini bu niteliği ile değerlendirmiştir. Ancak, onların ve daha sonrakilerin bu yönde kifâyetsiz ve başarısız kalmaları neticesindedir ki, inkılap meşalesini ve ruhunu Mustafa Kemal ele almış, açtığı çığırda bu ruh ve hamleler en büyük ve müstesna bir ifade ve anlam kazanmıştır.” Tayyib Gökbilgin’s handwritten notes, 10.11.1964,

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Duwv14o2hQ0jsH-VAzFCFGXxi_Q9s-CQ/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 3a.

⁴⁶ “Atatürk inkılabı, yeni ve yakın çağlar tarihimizde, yenileşme ve muasır medeniyet seviyesine ulaşma gayretlerinin en son fakat en muvaffak hamlesidir. Üçüncü Selim'den başlayarak İkinci Mahmut ve Abdülhamit devrilerinin ıslahat ve Tanzimat hareketleri gibi meşrutiyet inkılapları da Türk Milletini son asırlarda düştüğü uçurumdan çıkaramamıştı. Esasen bu inkılaplar yarım adamların yarım adımları, kifayetsiz ve kuvvetsiz gayretleri idi. Kuvâ-yi Milliye ruhu, Milli Mücadele havası bir kelime ile Mustafa Kemal'in davasıdır ki, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinden muasır bir millet meydana getirdi ve Türk Milletini yaptı. Yine bu inkılap ki Türkü tanıdı, Türk köyünü ve köylüsünü anladı ve sevdi. Bütün faaliyetini, Türk mevcudiyetinin yükselmesi noktasında teksif etti.” Tayyib Gökbilgin’s handwritten notes,

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1cxxK_eMGTI0e26wFu7rPkdrFwu453ON6/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 4b.

In another article, Gökbilgin wrote to the Milliyet newspaper in 1970 on the forty-seventh anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, again sharing his insights about the Tanzimat:

“The declaration of the Republic on the 29th of October 1923 was a great success and a blissful result of the difficulties and various problems that the Turkish nation had to face, the sacrifices and efforts that were being made to solve the problems in the last two hundred years of our history. To get rid of Eastern medievalism and scholasticism, to participate in constructive and advanced western civilization and its mindset with equal rights and conditions, this attempt and being a partner to this fight may have reached its first goal with the Republic. During the Tanzimat and the Constitution period, the efforts towards salvation from these medieval ideas, methods and traditions were always interrupted. The growing longing for the conditions and possibilities of modern civilization that passionately surrounded Turkish progressivists and intelligentsia could not be achieved no matter how hard they tried.”⁴⁷

In this respect, according to him, these earlier reforms could not achieve their aims despite the efforts that were being made. Tayyib Gökbilgin evaluated these efforts as weak and incompetent since they could not create the conditions required for modern civilization. There were some developments at each stage, but the reforms ultimately were aimed at preserving the imperial system, creating some changes, and introducing certain innovations within the existing ruling order. An approach towards modernization with the participation of the public (*cumhur*) came along with the concept of democratization and the nation-state as the last phase of this long ongoing reform period. The most important pillar of this modernization process was, of course, education.

⁴⁷ “Cumhuriyet 47 Yaşında”, *Milliyet*, 29.10.1970, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HZoAIKoM9wseoIbnkcTzvBMDeON2Rw3n/view?usp=sharing> , , see appendix 5.

The political changes and educational developments were intertwined with one another in the late period of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁸ The history of education and the political history in this period cannot be evaluated separately. The transitions that took place on the political level were soon reflected in educational life as well. Therefore, repercussions of the aforementioned movements such as Ottomanism in the Tanzimat period, the Pan-Islamic policies of Abdülhamid II, and the ideology of nationalism that started to increase in the Second Constitutional period found their way into the field of education immediately.⁴⁹

Although some actions were taken during the Tanzimat era, such as making primary education compulsory and bringing in students from various ethnic and religious groups to the new schools together and opening states schools for girls, and employing women teachers,⁵⁰ the solid developments in the field of education occurred during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Before evaluating the developments in the reign of Abdülhamid II, I want to touch briefly upon the Tanzimat and the discussions carried out in the subsequent period on the basic tool of education, namely language. In her book, Hale Yılmaz clearly summarizes the discussions related to the alphabet that started in the Tanzimat era. She states that Ottoman bureaucrats such as Ahmet Cevdet Paşa (Ottoman intellectual, scholar, and historian) and Münif Paşa (translator, intellectual, and educator) introduced the issue of the alphabet in the 1850-1860s. The discussion concerned with only the need to altering and adding extra letters to the existing alphabet to improve its readability. In the 1870s the discussions evolved and moved on to adapt a Latin-

⁴⁸ Hanioglu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 102-103; Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim" *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 12 (2008): 9-84.

⁴⁹ For detailed studies, see: Mustafa Gündüz, "Sociocultural origins of Turkish educational reforms and ideological origins of late Ottoman intellectuals (1908–1930)", *History of Education* 38.2 (2009): 191-216; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The modernization of public education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, autocracy, and discipline*. Vol. 22. (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001); Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial classroom. Islam, education and the state in Late Ottoman Empire*.

⁵⁰ Findley, "The Tanzimat", 35.

based alphabet.⁵¹ However, Ottoman authorities did not agree on this suggestion on religious grounds. Young Ottomans, on the other hand, argued that the existing alphabet had “*an ideological function to protect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.*”⁵² Yılmaz suggests that these debates continued similarly in the course of the Young Turks. Some suggested the transition to Latin letters is an essential step in terms of Westernization, while others argued that changing the alphabet will result in breaking the ties with Muslim and Turkish peoples who still did not use Latin letters at that point.⁵³ In short, the alphabet discussions that began with the Tanzimat remained on the agenda of the Young Turks and were transferred to the Turkish Republic.

It would not be wrong to state that the Young Turks acknowledged education as an essential part of all reforms. However, the fact that many of the young people who formed the Young Turk movement and later the Republic were educated in the schools that were opened during the reign of Abdülhamid II should not be overlooked.⁵⁴ The education policies of Abdülhamid II were remarkable in a few respects. First of all, the ulema class and madrasas were slowly excluded from the educational system. The establishment of a Faculty of Law, as well as a Theological Faculty (*ulum-u aliye-i diniye*) destroyed the power of the ulema in juridical science and also religious education. As Mehmet Alkan characterizes, religion now would be transformed into the ideology of official Islam, which would be reproduced in the system of higher education under the direct control of the state.⁵⁵ Another characteristic that Alkan states

⁵¹ Hale Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey 1923-1945*, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 141.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 142.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Zürcher, *The young Turk legacy and nation building*, 61, 73-75, 99, 112-114; Gündüz, “Sociocultural origins of Turkish educational reforms and ideological origins of late Ottoman intellectuals, 196; M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 25-27.

⁵⁵ Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim”, 10, 14-16.

about this period is the increase of religious content in the textbooks and curriculum. Within the education system of the Tanzimat era, the courses on religion and ethics were in the curriculum of the secondary schools (*rüşdiye*), and there was not any course related to religion in the institutions of higher education, with the main focus being on the positive sciences. During the first half of Abdülhamid II reign, the education system of the Empire continued with more or less the same curriculum that was established in the Tanzimat period. As a consequence of this curricula, positivist ideas had become prevalent and also opposition towards state policies among students began to increase. Therefore, necessary precautions were taken in the following days of the reign of Abdülhamid II.⁵⁶ After the Tanzimat period, a religious, cultural, and political agenda would now put to work.⁵⁷ Courses on religion and ethics were included in the curriculum of institutions of higher education, and their hours were gradually increased. According to Alkan, another important feature of the period was the imposition of official history on the educational institutions.⁵⁸ The aim was to train an individual to be a citizen who was religious, obedient, loyal to the ideals of Ottomanism, and who was deeply committed to Sultan Abdülhamid II. In this context, education was used as a means to reconstruct an ideal subject and safe guards of the Empire.⁵⁹

As I have mentioned above, the Second Constitution avoided the ideals of Ottomanism or Pan-Islamism, and generated changes that made Turkish identity the main policy for education. Ottomanism was evaluated as the main base to preserve political unity for a while in the early stages of the constitution period, but this policy directly shifted to the understanding of the military nation state with the beginning of the Balkan Wars. In this period, the glorification

⁵⁶ Ibid.,16-17.

⁵⁷ Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial classroom*, 202-206.

⁵⁸ Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim”, 33-35.

⁵⁹ Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial classroom*, 241-243.

devoted to Sultan Abdülhamid II was replaced by the rhetoric of the fatherland, the nation, and loyalty and service to the state, instead of the ruler of the Empire. At the beginning of every class, instead of shouting, “long live the sultan”, the students were required to read poems that instilled them with patriotism and excitement about national identity.⁶⁰ This demonstration of patriotism became a tradition inherited by the Republic. The oath, written in 1932 by the then Minister of National Education Reşit Galip, was read aloud by primary school students every morning from that point until 2013.⁶¹ As Füsun Üstel states, the children were considered the future of the nation, and even the race.⁶² Education was the main pillar for constructing a national consciousness of citizenship. The biggest development that appeared in the textbooks was the introduction of the Young Turks and the Committee of Union and Progress into the curriculum of the era. The reign of Abdulhamid II was considered a period of tyranny, and issues related to the loss of quality in the administration, the deterioration of the dignity of the state and the destruction of the fatherland appeared in the textbooks as well.⁶³ According to these textbooks, the Committee of Union and Progress was established under these circumstances by a group of young patriots opposed to the tyranny of Abdülhamid II, who wanted to reinstate the constitution, which was repealed by the Sultan. Freedom (*Hürriyet*) was declared on 23 July 1908 as the result of great efforts, the constitution was put into force and the Parliament was opened. Moreover, those events came to be celebrated as a national holiday across the Empire, mainly to ensure that citizens would renew their faith in the new system.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim”, 17.

⁶¹ Sadık Kartal, “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin Eğitim İdeolojisi ve “Andımız” Metni.”, *Avrasya Sosyal Ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6, No. 12 (2019): 25-31.

⁶² Füsun Üstel, “*Makbul Vatandaş*’ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 32.

⁶³ Yahya Akyüz, “Osmanlı Döneminden Cumhuriyete Geçilirken Eğitim-Öğretim Alanında Yaşanan Dönüşümler.” *Pegem Eğitim ve Öğretim Dergisi* 1.2 (2011): 18; Üstel, “*Makbul Vatandaş*’ın Peşinde, 68-70.

⁶⁴ Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim”, 18.

In short, the Second Constitution was not aiming only for the construction of the concept of the citizen in a modern sense, but also it was a period in which the state pursued a project of raising citizens loyal to the state through the educational system.⁶⁵ Therefore, the mission of the teachers, especially in the period of the Armistice (*mütareke*, 1918-1922), started to change in this direction. As education was deeply influenced by the policies during the years of continuous warfare and struggle for independence, it made a great contribution to the combat against the enemies of the nation through the teachers. According to the intellectuals of this period, the greatest enemy was, of course, ignorance. The heavy consequences of the Balkan Wars had an impact on the Ottoman intelligentsia, making them examine the causes that led to the success of the enemy and determined the defeat of the Ottoman state. Üstel stated that as an outcome of this examination, the triumphs of Balkan nations were justified by the supremacy of their educational systems and teachers, rather than military achievements. The Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbs, otherwise known as “*the subjects (tebaa) of yesterday*”, had better education, with qualified teachers instilling a patriotic sense. This system brought them liberation while the Ottoman education system was receiving extremely harsh criticism in every aspect.⁶⁶ It was agreed that the element of education in the Empire was lagging very far behind and that urgent and radical innovations in this field were essential. As Füsün Üstel reports from Necdet Sakaoğlu, “*Everyone started to see salvation in education, right after the enemy arrived at Çatalca.*”⁶⁷

One of the prominent opinion leaders of the era regarding education was Mustafâ Sâtî‘bin Muhammed Hilâl bin Seyyid Mustafâ el-Husrî. Sâtî Bey was considered as the father of modern

⁶⁵ Ibid., 83-85.

⁶⁶ Üstel, “Makbul Vatandaş”ın Peşinde, 37.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 37-38; Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı Eğitimi Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 137.

Turkish pedagogy.⁶⁸ He wrote articles criticizing the curriculum of the period and since his opinions were highly esteemed, he was appointed principal of the İstanbul Dârülmualimîni (the teacher's training school for boys). He was given broad authority, organizing the reforms in the program as he wished and choosing his own staff freely. Meanwhile, he drew attention with his efforts to renew the curricula of the school and hired new, enthusiastic intellectual educators.⁶⁹

In one of the conferences Sâti Bey gave at the school, he stated that the retreat or progress of a society was not related to religion or nationality, and that the most important reason for remaining behind was bigotry and ignorance.⁷⁰ In one report he prepared for the Minister of Education in 1912, Sâti Bey stated that now, after the political revolution, it was time for ideological and social revolution. Such a revolution, no matter how great the efforts, could only be achieved by an army of teachers who were the sole hope of the fatherland.⁷¹

Here I would like to take a break from my chronological narrative to note the close relationship that developed in 1950-60s between Sâti Bey and Tayyib Gökbiğın.

We know from one letter, which is part of the personal archive of Tayyib Gökbiğın and was written by him to Sâti Bey in 1953, that their acquaintance had begun two years earlier than the letter in question.⁷² There are almost fifty letters and post cards in the personal archive of

⁶⁸ William L. Cleveland, "Atatürk Viewed by His Arab Contemporaries: The Opinions of Sati' Al-Husri and Shakib Arslan.", Issue 34 of *Princeton Near East papers* (1982): 2-3. For a detailed study on Sati Bey also see, idem., *The Making of an Arab nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the life and thought of Sati'Al-Husri*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Niyazi Berkes, *İslamcılık, Ulusçuluk, Sosyalizm*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi: 1975), 73-96.

⁶⁹ Filiz Meşeci Giorgetti, "New School of Mustafa Sati Bey in İstanbul (1915)." *Paedagogica Historica*, 50.1-2 (2014): 46; Şehbal Derya Acar, *Eğitimde Bir Üstad Sati Bey'i Tanımak*, (İstanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2009), 36-37.

⁷⁰ Ş. Tufan Buzpınar "Sâti' el-Husri" - *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 36, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi 2009), 176-178, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sati-el-husri> (accessed June 8, 2020).

⁷¹ Quoted by Ercan Uyanık, "Education as an Instrument of Social Engineering in the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period: Education Policies of the Committee of Union and Progress (1908-1918)", *TODAİE's Review of Public Administrations*, (2009): 88-89.

⁷² "Benim sevgili efendim, sizi geç tanımış olmaktan, iki sene evvel tanımak mazhariyetine eriştikten sonra

Gökbilgin between the dates of 1953 and 1967, and except for the first one, all of these letters were written by Sâti Bey. Unfortunately, the responses given by Tayyib Gökbilgin are not present in his personal archive. As can be understood from the letters, Sâti Bey and Tayyib Gökbilgin had the opportunity to meet often during their European trips over their years of correspondence. It is obvious that they had a strong relationship, particularly focused on scientific subjects. Sâti Bey often informed Tayyib Gökbilgin about his activities and research and asked him for books and sources, while also asking his opinion on various subjects. One of the subjects he was curious about was the Committee of Union and Progress. In his letter dated 24 July 1956, he wanted to know about the most important publication related to the Committee of Union and Progress.

“...the society published a newspaper called Neyyir-i Hakikat⁷³ in Monastir. Some of the volumes were published before the revolution. The volumes after the revolution, meaning the constitutional revolution, were published openly. In which libraries is this collection of newspapers available? And is it a full collection? What are the current numbers and dates of them? I would be grateful if you let me know about these issues.”⁷⁴

Sâti Bey also closely followed the recent publications on Ottoman History and requested that Tayyib Gökbilgin’s make comments on them.

da münasebeti belki istemeyerek kesmiş bulunmaktan ne kadar me'yusum bilseniz...”, From Gökbilgin to Sâti Bey, 24.04.1953, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1cpDnZxqEtdMxYWPYd0P47KDnHeCH0saW/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 6a.

⁷³ Neyyir-i Hakikat, “the light/sun/moon of the Truth” for more information see, Hanioglu, *Preparation for a revolution*, 241.

⁷⁴ “Sonra: cemiyet Manastır’da “Neyyir-i Hakikat” ismi altında bir gazete neşretmiş idi. Bazı sayıları inkilâbdan evvel çıkmış. İnkilâbdan – yani Meşrutiyet inkilâbından – sonraki sayılar aleni olarak basılmış idi. Bu gazetenin koleksiyonu hangi kütüphanelerde mevcuttur! Ve mevcudu tam mıdır? Mevcud sayıları ve tarihleri nedir? Bunları da bildirirseniz minnettar olurum.” From Sâti Bey to Gökbilgin, 24.07.1956, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_B5R_Rcyzowq5rFb8wwd-3TfKaZj33t4/view?usp=sharing ,see appendix 7a.

*“In a recently published book here, I have seen some passages referring to the arguments of some European historians stating that the Ottomans were pagans and Sultan Osman became a Muslim after a dream. Although I find this illogical and ridiculous, since I do not know where this speculation came from, I thought that it would be appropriate to ask you. The author states that he cited the information related to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire from Gibbons' book entitled The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire. When was this book written and published? Where did the author get his historical information? Is there any Turkish criticism published about this book and its author? I kindly ask you to inform me about those issues.”*⁷⁵

One of the letters was about a book that was about to be published at that time. Sâtı Bey said that he was impatiently waiting for the book since he had also participated in the debates regarding the Tanzimat.

*“...A violent attack against the Tanzimat had begun and many articles were published. I wrote two articles in response to them and published them in İctihad. Within these, I claimed that considering the circumstances back then, the Tanzimat policy was a quite accurate policy and even the most accurate policy. It is one of my firm beliefs that it is essential to evaluate every movement by taking into consideration its time...”*⁷⁶

⁷⁵ “Burada yeni basılan bir kitapta – bazı Avrupalı müverrihlerin nazariyelerine atfen – Osmanlıların Anadolu’ya geldikleri zaman Putperestlik halinde oldukları ve Sultan Osman’ın bir rüya üzerine Müslüman olduğu hakkında bazı fıkralar gördüm. Bunu gayri makul, gülünç bulmakla beraber, bu nazariyelerin nereden çıkarılmış olduğunu bilmediğim için, sizden sormayı muvafık buldum. Muharrir, Osmanlı Devleti’nin tesisi hakkındaki malumatını Gibbons’ın the foundation of the Ottoman Empire ismindeki kitabından aldığını söylüyor: bu kitap ne zaman yazılmış ve ne zaman basılmıştır? Müellifi tarihi ve malumatı nereden almıştır? Bu kitap hakkında ve müellifi hakkında Türkçe tenkidler neşredilmiş midir? Bunları bildirmenizi rica ederim.” , From Sâtı Bey to Gökbilgin, 16.02.1964, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1-SsadYOP-krdp_h7hgV9o6toT1bL32bV/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 8.

⁷⁶ “Tanzimata karşı şiddetli bir hücum başlamış ve birçok makaleler neşredilmiş idi. Ben onlara cevaben iki makale yazmış ve İctihad’da neşretmiş idim. Onda Tanzimat siyasetinin – o zamanki ahvale göre – pek doğru bir siyaset, hatta en doğru siyaset olduğunu iddia etmiş idim. Her hareketi zamanındaki ahvali nazar-ı dikkate alarak valorize etmek lüzumu, benim en sabit itikadlarımdan biridir.” , From Sâtı Bey to Gökbilgin, 08.12.1964, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1TxTit0hixbzR91C7rFcqdSV8UTNZJSg7/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 9.

Another interesting issue that we encounter in this correspondence is Sâti Bey's decision to leave İstanbul. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I and the Arab lands breaking away from the Ottoman rule, as well as the fact that many people of Arab origin, including Sâti Bey, supported the idea of Ottomanism, left him feeling ambivalent. However, he eventually decided to leave İstanbul and announced his decision at the Matbuat Kongresi (the Congress of Press) in 1919. The first initiative, which was established under the name of Cemiyet-i Matbuat-ı Osmaniye/Ottoman Press Association, in 1908, only became official and start functioning in 1917 under the name of the Osmanlı Matbuat Cemiyeti/ The Society for Ottoman Press. From this point on, members of the society started to organize congresses regularly and also attend some abroad. The congresses mostly focused on ways of overcoming the pressure and censorship of the state, which increased again after a short period of relief that came with the Second Constitution era.⁷⁷ A news published in Vatan newspaper on 11.01.1919 reveals that the Matbuat Congress was also held by Sâti Bey.⁷⁸ As I mentioned above, he made his decision to leave İstanbul shortly after this date in one of these congresses. For him, the most important task of the Arabs, who were raised properly under the roof of the Ottoman Empire, was to present their knowledge and experience in the service of the new administrations to be established in the Arab lands.⁷⁹ In one of the letters, Sâti Bey first asks Tayyib Gökbilgin for some publications about the reactions to and repercussions of his decision.⁸⁰ Later, in another letter he writes:

⁷⁷ Hakan Aydın, "Cemiyet-i Matbuat-ı Osmaniye: Kuruluşu ve basında tartışmalar." *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 27 (2010): 563. Zekai Güner, "Millî Mücadele'de Türk Kamuoyunu Oluşturan Basın." *Erdem* 11, no. 31 (1998): 90-91.

⁷⁸ Nazım Öztürk, "1919 Ocak (Hicrî 1335 Kânûn-ı Sâni) Ay'ı Olayları – Vakit Gazetesine Göre", *unpublished BA Thesis*, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Yakınçağ ve Türkiye Cumhuriyet Tarihi Kürsüsü, 1981), 15.

⁷⁹ Buzpınar, "Sâti' el-Husrî".

⁸⁰ "Bu itibar ile o yazılarımın aslını – tam olarak – ve beni te'bid edenlerin isimlerini elde etmek isterim.", From Sâti Bey to Gökbilgin, 27.12.1961, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U5IIIoWJjwxLxNhIZawdrV-D8ooPz91/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 10b.

“Dear Professor Gökbilgin,

Thank you very much for “my articles” that you copied from the collection of Vakit newspaper and sent to me. I remember well that back in the day those articles caused a great reaction amongst all the newspapers. Even Servet-i Fünun published something. Then, when I decided to leave İstanbul and go to Syria, the Declaration of Teachers was written as an objection to my decision and was later published in the Journal of Tedrisat.⁸¹ It was written something like “how could you leave us and go when the youth trust you so much.” I am very happy to have copies of these articles that evoke old memories, thank you again and again.”⁸²

As has been mentioned above, the period following the Balkan Wars initiated the use of different methods in terms of education. A type of professional teacher who was open-minded and a conduit of new notions and ideas, and thus seen as a social engineer of society, emerged in this period. The teachers acted as unarmed soldiers of the official ideology; the demonstrations they organized to protest the occupations made a significant contribution to national solidarity.⁸³

As it is a well-known fact that, the period in question witnessed an almost uninterrupted state of war: The invasion of Tripolitania by Italy (1911), the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), the First World War (1914–1918), the War of Independence (1920–1922). Undoubtedly, the cost of

⁸¹ “Muhterem ve Sevgili Satı Beyefendi, Satı bey efendi biz kaniiz ki, sizin türklere ve türklüğe karşı müteneffir değil hatta lakayt bulunmak ihtimaliniz bile yoktu. / The honorable and Dear Satı Beyefendi [Sir], We firmly believe that you were not abominating the Turks and Turkishness and it was not even possible for you to be indifferent [to them].” This letter was transcribed and quoted by Fatma Çil, “Satı Bey’in Hayatı, Eseleri ve Türk Eğitimine Katkıları”, unpublished MA Thesis, (Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları, 2004), footnote: 77.

⁸² “Aziz Profesör Gökbilgin, Vakit Gazetesi’nin koleksiyonlarından kopya ederek göndermiş olduğunuz “yazılarım” dolayısıyla çok çok teşekkür ederim. İyi hatırlıyorum ki o yazılar vakti ile bütün gazetelerde büyük akisler uyandırmış idi. Hatta Servet-i Fünun bile bir şey yazmış idi. Daha sonra İstanbul’u terk ederek Suriye’ye gitmeye karar verdiğim zaman, bu kararına itiraz ederek yazılmış olan Muallimler Beyannamesi’nde – ki daha sonra Tedrisat Mecmuası’nda neşredilmiş idi- ve hatta zikredilmiş idi. “Gençlik size bu kadar itimad ediyor idi, nasıl bizi bırakıp gidiyorsunuz” gibi bir şeyler yazılmış idi. Bu eski hatıraları uyandıran yazıların kopyası beni çok sevindirdi, tekrar tekrar teşekkür ederim.” , From Sâti Bey to Gökbilgin, 05.02.1962, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1V_Urmi8i2hMkFc4iruEJ06tUMQemoFdB/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 11.

⁸³ Zeki Sarıhan, *Millî Mücadele Maarif Ordusu*. (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2019), 295-304.

wars continued on various fronts for eleven years was extremely heavy for the Ottoman Empire. It would be an attempt that goes beyond the scope of this dissertation to delve into the struggles and losses caused by these wars that devastated the Ottoman territories in the early twentieth century. But we can easily state that these eleven years of war period led to major changes in the entire social order, which had not been stable for a long time, including education, without a doubt. The population of the country had fallen dramatically, and the years of continuous warfare had affected all of society.⁸⁴ It would not be particularly speculative to suggest that the severe conditions caused by the wars also affected Gökbilgin and his family, who witnessed this last painful and arduous period of the Ottoman Empire. However, Gökbilgin, instead of giving a personal narrative, in the preface of “*Milli Mücadele Başlarken/The War of Independence Begins*”, writes that among the reasons that led him to prepare such study was that he had been teaching the history of the revolution (*inkilâp tarihi*) for ten years and he had the desire to better convey this period to Turkish youth. As I have pointed out before, I would like to emphasize once again that there are very few documents regarding this time of Gökbilgin’s life and that the existing documents do not bear any traces of war conditions or personal tragedies caused by the war. Nevertheless, taking a glance at the wounds this war period had inflicted on the society may be useful in getting a sense of Gökbilgin’s childhood. The heavy losses experienced in this eleven-year period caused the come apart of the Ottoman Empire. While the First World War forced to the collapse of monarchical structures, the Ottoman Empire continued to survive for a short time, albeit crippled. However, every stage of this process forced people from different geographies to endure with painful problems such as epidemics, hunger, and poverty. As it is stated before, we do not come across such a narrative in the family documents in Gökbilgin’s

⁸⁴ Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks: an introductory history to 1923*, (London, New York: Routledge 1997), 387.

personal archive. However, the numerous and various memoirs and observations of this period display an extremely devastating scene. For example, one of the testimonies about this period belongs to Dr. Béla Horváth who was a researcher and the member of the Turanian Society (*Turáni Társaság*)⁸⁵ which was established in 1910.⁸⁶ The journey of Béla Horváth in 1913, presents us a picture of Anatolia, right after the Balkan Wars and also on the verge of the First World War, from a western but also a Turanian perspective.⁸⁷ In Horváth's narrative, we can encounter various observations such as the Balkan immigrants waiting at the government office with their children "*in misery unacceptable by the human mind*", and the people in a poor mountain village who did not abandon the land they were born in, despite the unbearable conditions.⁸⁸ We come across similar testimonies in Gábor Fodor's article. Fodor presents us the observations of Hungarians who witnessed the last stage of the Ottoman Empire and the early period of the Turkish republic. This article explains the brutality of the First World War with the following words of Dr. Emil Vidéky, a soldier from the Austro-Hungarian Army: "*My most severe memory of the whole war is from this period. Turkish soldiers hanged a woman who was found to have deceived young children, cut them off, and sold their meat in the bazaar.*"⁸⁹ As might be expected, Turkish witnesses of the misery and suffering of wars also wrote their observations regarding this period. Philipp Wirtz includes such testimonies in his work about the Turkish autobiographies that shed light on the late Ottoman Empire. For example, the writer and former Turkish Air Force officer İrfan Orga's family had a status that can be defined as an upper Ottoman class. Yet after his father died in the First World War, the family started to have a hard

⁸⁵ Béla Horváth, *Anadolu 1913*, trans. Tarık Demirkan, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), ix,x.

⁸⁶ Tarık Demirkan, *Macar Turancıları*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları,2000), 26.

⁸⁷ Béla Horváth, *Anadolu 1913*, 1.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 12, 71-72.

⁸⁹ Gábor Fodor, "Macar Gözüyle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye (1850-1940)", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*,(2014): 86.

time surviving like the rest of the society. They had to sell the belongings to be able to provide for the basic needs of the family such as food, and both mother and grandmother had to work on jobs that can be considered well below their social ranks.⁹⁰ I think it would be appropriate to close this episode with the memoirs of Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, who was a poet and is known as a mother of women writers and who also worked as a teacher in various cities in the early years of the republic like Tayyib Gökbiçin: “ *[There was] the Tripoli war, the 31st March Incident, the Balkan War with rebellion in every corner and terrible atrocities, the First World War with want and famine; afterwards the pitch-black (kapkara) years of the Armistice [of 1918] and the occupation of our beautiful homeland by different enemy armies.*”⁹¹

Consequently, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkish national resistance movement emerged that repelled the occupation forces, abolished the sultanate, and established the Turkish Republic. The projects such as the simplification of the language, the unification of the educational system, the transition to a Latin alphabet and the mission of creating a modern, secular nation state were inherited by the ruling powers of the Republic and its teachers. Due to this, Tayyib Gökbiçin was one of these new professional teachers who Sâti Bey defined as the saviors of the fatherland, and who had inherited the burden of the unfinished revolutions.

One of the documents in his personal archive shows that Tayyib Gökbiçin was in the second grade at the Trabzon Teaching School in 1923. In this document, his father, Hocazâde Mehmet Emin Efendi, sent one thousand kuruş to Hocazâde Mustafa Tayyib Efendi who was a

⁹⁰ Philipp Wirtz, *Depicting the Late Ottoman Empire in Turkish Autobiographies: Images of a Past World*, (London, New York: Routledge 2017), 136-138.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

second-grade student at the Trabzon Teaching School/Muallim Mektebi.⁹² Unfortunately, there is only one another document related to this period of his life and it is the school transcript that lists the classes that he took before he passed into the second grade.⁹³ Even though we do not have any primary sources showing Tayyib Gökbilgin's first hand experiences at the school, it is possible to find some information about the educational life during that period from one study.⁹⁴ Mesut Çapa, who conducted the study, made an evaluation of the developments in educational institutions during this period by looking at the archives of the İstikbâl newspaper, which was published in Trabzon during the years of the resistance movement and national struggle (*milli mücadele*).⁹⁵

According to this study, the students of the Trabzon Muallim Mektebi staged a play about the War of Independence. During the entr'acte, European-style (*alafranga*) musical numbers such as the waltz of the Titanic and the dance oriental were performed on the violin and flute and the anthems were sung. In another show made during the same school year, the students performed gymnastics movements and then sang a song written by Kazım Karabekir called *Türk Yılmaz* (Turks are Indomitable). To celebrate the first year of the Republic, ceremonies were held on the 29th of October in the same fashion, with the teachers and students making speeches about the importance of the day and reciting poems.⁹⁶

⁹² The document showing the money transfer, "Trabzon Darü'l Muallimini ikinci sınıf talebesinden 307 numaralı Çarşambalı Hocâzade Mustafa Tayyib Efendi'ye verilmek üzere Hocâzade Mehmed Emin Efendi tarafından bervech-i bâlâ bin on kuruş ziraat bankasının Çarşamba sandığına teslim edilmiştir." <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1qnyaDOQof-KWI5OIWTBNZLFh4FORhOrp/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 12; SALT Research. "Trabzon [Darü'l Muallimin - Öğretmen Okulu]", <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/107316?mode=full> (accessed June 8, 2020).

⁹³ School index of Mustafa Tayyib (Gökbilgin), <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hbnYfJg3vo71MDj7MTypz8qqwJWzc0bj/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 13.

⁹⁴ Mesut Çapa, "Tevhîd-i Tedrisât Sonrası Trabzon'da Eğitim." *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 16.1 (2001): 21-30.

⁹⁵ Mesut Çapa, "Milli Mücadele Döneminde İstikbâl Gazetesi." *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* 10.3 (1992): 133-168.

⁹⁶ Çapa, "Tevhîd-i Tedrisât Sonrası Trabzon'da Eğitim, 26-28.

Even though there are limited resources about Tayyib Gökbişgin's school years, the document on his appointment as a teacher can be found in his personal archive. There is no date on this document, but the signature on it indicates that it was sent by Celal Hüsni Taray, who was the minister of education between the dates of 10 April 1929 and 15 September 1930. This document is truly a valuable source for displaying the educational policies of the new state and its expectations of teachers in the early years of the Turkish Republic.

Young Friend,

This year, among the friends who graduated from the Türkiye teaching schools, your duty was also assigned. I will assign you to the province of Erzurum. There you will find a group of citizens consisting of children, adult women and men who wait for you and you will become their teacher. You will make adult women better mothers, men better producers and more beneficial and conscious citizens, and also raise children with merit and qualifications that your nation demands for a more fortunate and more splendid future.

(...)

Friend, you are employed to dedicate yourself to fight for the creation of a rich and prosperous homeland, an active, mature and eternal nation.

I announce to you the invitation of your nation and its history with the aim of creating a better and happier future.⁹⁷

Another document from Tayyib Gökbişgin's archive shows that he started his assignment in 1929 in Erzurum, at the village boarding school in the Aşkale district. In the following years,

⁹⁷ From Celal Hüsni Taray, no date, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ubYZ-meyLaJ3hF5410KV21HrGIheDgfH/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 14.

he also worked at the Tercan village boarding school, at the Aşkale central school, at the villages of Kan and Salaçur in İspir, and at the Çarşamba central school. He also completed his first military service there as a reserve officer.

The village boarding schools are regarded as the precursor of the village institutes. In 1924, the boarding schools began to be established using funds from the state budget. According to the law about the organization of education (*Maarif Teşkilatına Dair Kanun*) published in 1926, the primary schools were grouped under four main headings: city and town schools, city and town boarding schools, village day schools and village boarding schools. All the primary schools except the village boarding schools were open to all students. The village boarding schools were specifically for children who did not have any educational institution in their villages and their period of study was determined to be at least three years.⁹⁸

The most notable educational movements of the early republic period were experienced in primary schools. As was the case in previous periods, educational policies progressed together with cultural and social change. The new regime was determined to promote a secular, democratic national culture. The teachers chose to embrace modernity, and the mission to adapt this modernity to the nation. They contributed to the integration of individuals into the new society that was being built and they promoted the adoption of norms, values and political roles that would be required in society from the new citizens of the future.⁹⁹ In the 1930s, the Republic was beginning the process of molding its own new citizens.

⁹⁸ Dilek Hızır, "1927 Köy Muallim Mektepleri ile Köy Okulları Müfredat Programının Analizi Ve Yurttaşlık Bilgisi." *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 6.11, (2016): 96-97.

⁹⁹ Üstel, "Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde, 132.

According to Üstel, the period up to the 1950s is remembered as “*the period of primary schools*” in the history of education in the Turkish Republic. First of all, outdated practices, ideas and commentary that were connected to the ideology of the Ottoman period were removed and replaced with the principles of the new republic. The aim of the curriculum and the system was to educate citizens and acclimatize the younger generation to the nation and fatherland they were a part of and to raise Turkish patriots.¹⁰⁰

Apart from these changes, there was a gradual secularization of education. In the first years of the republic, courses related to the Islamic religion were still a part of the curriculum, but these lessons were removed from the primary schools after a short time.¹⁰¹ Along with the new laws and organizations, the opportunity for everyone to participate in educational institutions gradually increased. The democratization of education was the main aim of the new state. Another issue on the agenda of the new system was to instill a new historical awareness in the new citizens. Therefore, these efforts began to appear in the curriculum right after the establishment of the Republic, especially in the nationalization of both history and the language. Alkan states that starting from the early years of the Republic, Turkishness was clearly emphasized in the textbooks. The origins of the state were no longer based on the birth of Islam or on Adam and Eve like in the Ottoman historical narratives. Central Asia was the source of early Turkish history, and Turks were mentioned as one of the oldest civilizations in the world. The names of the national heroes of the war of independence, especially Mustafa Kemal, İsmet İnönü, Fevzi Çakmak, Kazım Karabekir and Kazım Orbay were included in the textbooks.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 128.

¹⁰¹ Alkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim”, 75-79.

¹⁰² Ibid., 76.

Another crucial development that occurred at the time when Tayyib Gökbilgin started his teaching career was alphabet reform. Gökbilgin was among the first teachers who started teaching the students of the Turkish Republic using the new Turkish alphabet. Agop Dilaçar, states that thanks to him, Atatürk became aware of the book “*Türkische Grammatik*”¹⁰³ by Gyula Németh, which was used by German soldiers in the Ottoman Empire. Dilaçar writes that the German soldiers he met on the Caucasus front during the First World War was learning Turkish with Németh's books. He states that Atatürk appreciated the system Németh had established, apart from some minor discrepancies, and spoke of working on it in the new alphabet studies he was already planning to carry out.¹⁰⁴ In the summer of 1928, a commission under the administration of Mustafa Kemal prepared a report on this issue. On the 9th of August, the president announced that the Ottoman alphabet would be replaced by the Turkish alphabet. On the 11th of August, the first lesson on the alphabet was conducted at Dolmabahçe Palace. On the 25th, at the Fourth Teachers' Association Congress held in Ankara, the teachers took a vote to teach the new Turkish writing system. The alphabet campaign was announced and in the following months, Mustafa Kemal introduced the new writing system to the public personally by traveling around the country. Ultimately, the law on the introduction and adaptation of the Turkish alphabet was adopted on the 1st of November 1928 in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. The use of the new writing system became compulsory in public offices as well on the first day of January 1929.

Tayyib Gökbilgin started his teaching career right after the alphabet reform, but unfortunately, we have not found any documents from that time or personal records or memories

¹⁰³ Gyula Németh, *Türkische grammatik*, Vol. 771, (Berlin und Leipzig: G.J. Göschen, 1916).

¹⁰⁴ Agop Dilaçar, “Prof. Németh’s Role in the Turkish Alphabet and Language Reform,” in *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in honour of Julius Németh*, ed. Káldy-Gyula (Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University, 1976), 351-356.

related to the reforms in education, except for a carte postale/photograph showing one of his friends teaching the imams the new alphabet.¹⁰⁵ Nonetheless, he has written some articles in which he made some evaluations about teachers and the time he spent as a primary school teacher.

In one of his articles published in the Vatan newspaper on the 10th of November 1959 (the 21st anniversary of Atatürk's death), while addressing the reforms of Atatürk, he also placed an emphasis on the reform of the writing system and its importance:

*“Atatürk was an exceptional person who discovered the soul and capabilities of the nation like an unknown treasure, who sensed this spiritual and majestic existence and then who devoted his whole life to giving shape and meaning to it. His most important and brave movement for innovation, the movement for progress in the field of culture was the reform of the writing system. The new Turkish alphabet was adopted and propagated throughout the nation under his administration as the teacher of the entire nation (başöğretmen). The attention of Atatürk encompassed the issues and scientific subjects that were appropriate for the development of a national consciousness and that would help in the establishment of reforms and the reasons behind them through their future results. To understand the deeper meaning of Turkish history, to accentuate the intricacies and riches of the Turkish language and to lead the great Turkish nation to a bright and glorious destiny by these means was his main concern and ambition until his last breath.”*¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ From Yalçın Kaya to Gökbilgin, 30.09.1928, <http://tayyibgokbilgin.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Gal.-9-99.jpg> . In the same gallery there are also photographs from Gökbilgin's time as a teacher and of his students. For details see: <http://tayyibgokbilgin.info/galeri/> .

¹⁰⁶ “Atatürk ve Devrimler”, *Vatan Gazetesi*, 10.10.1959, https://drive.google.com/file/d/13P7FaBdqU8zhO2du4gGRRW6QXg_iW21m/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 15.

In another article he wrote in 1967, Tayyib Gökbişgin evaluated the missions undertaken by teachers in the early republican period:

“It is seen especially after the second constitution that teachers gained particular importance, and were promoted to a position of value. However, only during the Republican era, teachers were conferred with great responsibilities, asked to integrate the reforms of Atatürk into society, defend the principles and requirements of modern civilization, national interests, and be the leaders of Turkish constructiveness and creativity. During the period of the most visionary and successful Ministers of Education, Necati Vasıf (Çınar), Reşit Galip, Cemal Hüsnü (Taray)¹⁰⁷ who shared this soul and understanding, teachers followed the footsteps of Atatürk, who himself took the status of the teacher for the entire nation, and with his qualities of mature dignity and conscientiousness, this teacher planted the principles of modern science in Turkish society as well as the fundamentals of the reforms.”¹⁰⁸

We can see from his handwritten notes that in 1967 Gökbişgin criticized the pressure that the Ministry of Education put on the teachers. Within these notes, the evaluations that he made on his own years of teaching reflect both his activities and views related to this period and provide a perspective on the political environment of late 1960s:

“In the time of Atatürk, such a thing as putting pressure on teachers was never seen or heard. On the contrary, during that era the teacher was the biggest support and assurance of the future of the Turks. They were almost like sacred beings and were respected throughout all of society. This attitude came from the highest authorities, starting with Atatürk. They (teachers)

¹⁰⁷ Cemal Hüsnü Taray (1893-1975) was the Minister of National Education at the time when Tayyib Gökbişgin was appointed as a teacher.

¹⁰⁸ “Öğretmen Görevi ve Kaderi”, *Ulus Gazetesi*, 31.01.1967., <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1DUUnWnbyH7mZvDH4--p4OJNTj6uDYWQvM/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 16.

were seen as guides for the revolutionary, progressive and pro-populist ideas and as torchbearers to resist blind bigotry. Forty years ago, when I graduated as a teacher, I was called by Atatürk's Ministry of Education to perform my duty in the town Aşkale in Erzurum. Like all of my colleagues, I was assigned a mission of creating a happy nation, a vigorous and prosperous fatherland. In this land only progressive ideas, the thoughts of modern civilization, and the principles of Atatürk that aimed at realizing all of this in the shortest time possible through revolutionary methods were accepted. We all had the soul of Kubilay,¹⁰⁹ we were in the role of warriors (mucahids) against ignorance, bigotry, idleness in the work of schools and even against exploitation. You remember how during the day with the young minds and during the night with the adults we were in a relentless struggle to make it possible for the people to reach actual sovereignty and to understand their real interests. On this occasion, I would like to state that since we participated in this most courageous idea and behavior, received maximum support and had the people behind us, we were excited and dynamic, and did not encounter any obstacle. I explained this mission and duty, what it meant and the kind of advanced ideas that were targeted, so far as I could in Tercan and in the village of Kan in İspir, to the peasant citizens who I had read the sharpest and most progressive Kemalist writers of the time with great freedom. Although there was not a multiparty regime at that time, it was possible to freely debate and truthfully talk about the many problems of the country.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay was one of the first teachers of the Republic and also a lieutenant in the army. He was beheaded by Nakşibendi order during the rebellion called the Menemen Incidents (Menemen olayları) organised to attempt to restore the Islamic order. After this incident, Kubilay became a heroic symbol of the fight against reactionism. See also, Umut Azak, *Islam and secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, religion and the nation state*. (London, New York: IB Tauris, 2010), 37-40.

¹¹⁰ “Atatürk devrinde öğretmenlere baskı diye bir şey asla görülmemiş ve duyulmamıştı. Aksine öğretmen, o devrede Türk istikbalinin en büyük dayanağı ve güveni idi. Adeta kutsal bir varlıktı, toplumda derin bir saygı görürdü. Ve bu tutum Atatürk'ten başlayarak en yüksek makamlardan kopup gelmekte idi. Bütün devrimcilik ve ilerici ve halktan yana fikirlerin rehberi, kör taassuba karşı dikilmiş bir meşale gibi görünüyordu. Bundan kırk sene kadar önce, öğretmen çıkıp da Atatürk'ün Milli Eğitim Bakanı tarafından Erzurum'un Aşkale nahiyesinde göreve

To conclude this chapter, we can note that in some autobiographies it is possible to trace the marks of the initial education of the intellectuals who made the transition from the late Ottoman and to the early republican families, their continuation in primary school and transition to the secondary educational institution, as well as some traces of what they studied and what kind of curriculum they encountered in this process. However, it was not possible for us to get a very detailed picture as Gökbilgin did not leave any text narrating his childhood memories or a diary containing personal details. Nevertheless, as will be seen in this chapter, a construction can be made regarding his formative years on the basis of some documents in his personal archive, the articles he wrote for the newspapers and the notes he took when preparing speeches.

çağrıldığım zaman bütün meslektaşlarım gibi bana da mutlu bir millet, zinde ve refahlı bir yurt yaratmak misyonu verilmişti. Bu evde (?) sadece ileri fikirler, çağdaş uygarlık düşünceleri ve bunları en kısa zamanda ve devrimci metotlarla gerçekleştirmeyi ülkü edinmiş Atatürk ilkelerini kapsamakta idi. Hepimizde öğretmen Kubilay ruhu vardı, cehalete, taassuba, mektep işlerinde de tembelliğe ve dahi sömürüye karşı birer mücahit rolünde idik. Gündüz genç dimağlara gece de yetişkinlere en ileri fikirleri, halkın bir an önce fîli egemenliğine kavuşması, gerçek çıkarlarının bilinmesine kavuşması için amansız bir mücadele bulunduğumuzu hatırlarsınız. Heyecanlı ve dinamik ve hiçbir maniaya maruz kalmaksızın, mademki en cesur bir düşünce ve davranışın içinde bu yolda azami destek ve halkı arkamızda bularak bu misyon ve görevi Tercan’da, İspir’in Kan köyünde de yaptığım zamanlarda o devrin en sivri görünen, en ilerici Atatürkçü yazarlarını, bunların yazılarını büyük bir serbesti ile okuttuğu köylü yurttaşlara bunların anlamını ve hangi ileri fikirleri hedef tuttuklarını dilimizin döndüğü kadar açıkladığımı bu münasebetle belirtmek isterim. O sıralarda şimdiki gibi çok partili bir rejim olmadığı halde birçok yurt sorunları üzerinde serbestçe tartışmalar yapmak ve gerçekleri konuşurmak kabildi.” , Tayyib Gökbilgin’s handwritten notes, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1PvIG28K3byl4k7jSXFKNfiVbi8PM0Y9j/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 17a.

CHAPTER 2

The Making of the Historian: Historiography in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic and Gökbilgin's Advancement in Academic Career

The Second Constitution was the turning point in instilling national consciousness and patriotism into society through the means of education, as I mentioned in the first chapter. However, the repercussions of the 1908 Revolution not only transformed the educational structure, but also the field of historiography. Moreover, historiography also started to be utilized as an efficient tool to shape society during this period.

The *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* (Ottoman Historical Association - OHA) established in 1909, was the first initiative to research, organize and ultimately publish Ottoman archival documents and chronicles. One of the main goals of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* was to create a history of the Ottomans that would be high quality in every respect. It was stated in the by-laws of the OHA that up until that point, there had been no histories of the Ottomans written that fulfilled scientific criteria. The texts written by court chroniclers (*vak'anüvis*) or other written histories were quite similar to the annuals (*salnâme*) and did not contain any objective evaluation. Moreover, the OHA emphasized the necessity of learning history.¹¹¹ This statement was a remarkable indication of transition, since writing, learning, teaching and disseminating history amongst the common people were never seen as a necessity that should be expanded in

¹¹¹ Zeki Arıkan, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Tarihçilik." in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6, eds. Murat Belge and Fahri Aral, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1592-1595.

the Ottoman Empire. Almost every chronicle was written for a particular purpose or a specific audience. Some of them were intended to be read to people in a military setting or in the court. Some of them were addressed directly to the Sultan, or an elite audience of literati, poets, scholars or top bureaucrats, and some others were written for relatively wider circulation. In any case, the researchers in the field had to be continuously aware of the issues of why and for whom a particular historical text was written. After all, this was the structure and the tradition that the members of the OHA had criticized by stating that any of the works written in the past were not objective and were not of scientific quality.¹¹² The most striking goal of the OHA that shows evidence of this transition was within the field of teaching history. During this period, the main aim was to keep all the elements that constituted the Empire aimed at the same objective and the same shared patriotism, as it is mentioned before, namely Ottomanism, also through the means of history.

The first chairperson of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* was the court chronicler Abdurrahman Şeref Bey, and the first initiative of the OHA was to collect fermans, berats and endowment documents from the public as well as other archival documents from abroad to be able to create a scholarly history of the Empire. Among its first members were Necip Asım, who was a Turkish history and linguistic scholar also the founder of Turkology in the Darülfünun¹¹³; Ahmed Refik, historian, history teacher, writer, poet, and soldier¹¹⁴; Ahmed Tevhid, historian especially known for his works on the period of beyliks; Ahmed Midhat Efendi, journalist and

¹¹² Hasan Akbayrak, “Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni’nin “Osmanlı Tarihi” Yazma Serüveni”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 42 (1987): 41–42; Abdülkadir Özcan, “Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 40, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2011), 83-86, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tarih-i-osmani-encumeni> , (accessed June 8, 2020).

¹¹³ Abdullah Uçman, “Necip Asım Yazıksız”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 32, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2006), 493-494, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/necip-asim-yaziksiz>, (accessed June 8, 2020).

¹¹⁴ Abdülkadir Özcan, “Ahmed Refik Altınay”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 2, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1989), 120-121, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ahmed-refik-altinay> , (accessed June 8, 2020).

writer, Mehmed Efdaleddin Bey, Ottoman history researcher and teacher at Darülfunun and other educational institutions¹¹⁵; İskender Yanko Hoçi, historian, member of council of state; Pavlo Karolidi, historian and member of the parlement; Diran Kelekyan, journalist, writer and historian; Ali Seydi Bey, writer of history books for education and dictionaries.¹¹⁶ Imre Karácson, a member of the History and Geography Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a historian and Turcologist, as well as a Catholic priest who conducts research in İstanbul with special permission to investigate the history of the Ottoman period of Hungary was also the honorary member of the Encümen. In the article written by Necib Asım after his death, it is stated that he was attending all the meetings and contributed a lot to the work of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* with his knowledge and experience.¹¹⁷ The first issue of the OHA journal was published in April 1910,¹¹⁸ but the ultimate result would be the publication of a lengthy, profound Ottoman History in accordance with the objectives of the OHA. The framework for this work on the Ottoman past was published in the OHA's journal in 1913.¹¹⁹ The first volume was intended to cover the period from the beginning of the Empire up to the First Battle of Kosovo. At this point, disputes started to appear from historians outside the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni*. Yusuf Akçura, for example, stated that Ottoman History was not being evaluated as a

¹¹⁵ Abdülkadir Özcan "Efdaleddin Tekiner", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 40, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2011), 358-359, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/tekiner-efdaleddin> , (accessed June 8, 2020).

¹¹⁶ For detailed biographies of the OHA members, see: Selami Kurt, "Tarih-i Osmânî encümeni/Türk tarih encümeni mecmuası'nın Osmanlı tarih yazıcılığındaki yeri." unpublished PhD Thesis, (Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İlahiyat Fakültesi, İslam Tarihi ve Sanatları Ana Bilim Dalı, 2019), 81-184.

¹¹⁷ Atilla Çetin, "Imre (Emeric) Karácson", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 24, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2001), 379-380 , <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/karacson-imre-emerice> , (accessed June 8, 2020); Necib Asım, "Doktor Karaçon İmre", *Tarih-i Osmânî Encümeni Mecmuası* 8, (1329/1911): 516-520, <https://kutuphane.ttk.gov.tr/details?id=589243&materialType=CR&query=Kritovulos> ., (accessed June 8, 2020); Kurt "Tarih-i Osmânî encümeni/Türk tarih encümeni mecmuası'nın Osmanlı tarih yazıcılığındaki yeri", 184-187.

¹¹⁸ Abdülkadir Özcan, "Abdurrahman Şeref", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 1, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1988), 175, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/abdurrahman-seref> ,(accessed June 8, 2020).

¹¹⁹ Arıkan, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Tarihcilik," 1593; Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke, "Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing," in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing 1800-1945*, Volume 4, eds. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Manguashca, and Attila Pók, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 571.

part of general Turkish history and was clearly not detached from the practice of court historiography. It was criticized that the research was dedicated merely to political and military narratives and no assessment was being made about social or economic history.¹²⁰ Fuad Köprülü was harshly critical and stated that Ottoman historiography could not detach itself from the tradition of the court chronicler. He believed the draft was not to a standard that would fulfill contemporary publication requirements and that some of the members of the OHA did not have any knowledge of methodology.¹²¹ In one of the articles, one of the first members of OHA and historian himself Ahmed Refik Altunay pointed out that the need for the establishment of a professional library and highlighted the importance of the archival collection and publication of Ottoman documents by experts.¹²²

Thus, the first volume of the history of the Ottoman Empire was published in this atmosphere of multifaceted debate about the study of history, which the general public was also able to join through the newspapers. Perhaps these attempts at democratizing historiography also increased public interest in history, and even though the focus of the OHA was mainly on the Ottomans, the pre-Ottoman phase of Turkish history also attracted attention. Ultimately, the first volume, which mainly covered the pre-Anatolian Turkish, Byzantine, and Seljuk periods, was in high demand.¹²³ However, the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* failed to achieve its goal of writing a history that would unite the divided elements of Ottoman Empire. In other words, the ideology of Ottomanism became unadaptable to the situation, and the policy of the OHA shifted after a short

¹²⁰ Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 18; Özcan, “Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni”; Halil Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1983), 39.

¹²¹ Özcan, “Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni”; Mehmet Demiryürek, “Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni ve Mehmet Fuat Köprülü.” *Karadeniz Araştırmaları* 36 (2013): 122-128.

¹²² Özcan, “Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni”.

¹²³ Kafadar and Karateke, “Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing”, 571.

period to “*Turkish nationalist discourse*”.¹²⁴ Consequently, the first volume served the political agenda of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP).

Tayyib Gökbilgin also asserted more or less a similar perspective towards the formation and the works of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* in one of the articles he wrote for the 20th anniversary of the Turkish Historical Association. He stated that the goal of the first association, *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni*, was relatively simple: to create a complete history of the Ottoman State and publish the archival documents of the Empire.¹²⁵ However, he emphasized that this ambition was natural at a time when Ottoman pride and devotion still existed. Even so, the OHA left the door open to future development by stating that the mission would be expanded in time. Gökbilgin agreed that the consequences of the Balkan Wars created diverse intellectual movements, and the defeats in war left profound marks on the Turkish public. Therefore, *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* was also under the influence of these movements, as could be understood through the discussion on the ideology of history and ideas in the period. Eventually the OHA designated a broader direction for its aims, historical arguments, and research.

*“The new stance on Turkish history started to appear on the horizon and its discussions embraced the Turkish social life and intellectual circles of the era. This response, given by one of the pioneers and spokespersons of this movement to an opponent, contains a good example explaining the aforementioned need and tendency: < to appreciate and love Ottoman History, one needs to study and understand the Selçuk Turks and to have a better knowledge of all Turks including their past, organization, character and moral qualities >.”*¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ “Türk Tarih Kurumu ve Milli Tarih Ülküsü”, *Bilgi*, 58, (1952): 4-5, <http://tayyibgokbilgin.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Article-53.pdf>, Accessed 9 Oct. 2019, see appendix 18.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

The person that Tayyib Gökbilgin defined as a pioneer and spokesperson in the article above was Ahmed Ağaoğlu. Ağaoğlu was a writer and journalist who influenced Turkish political history of the period. His writings and activities on nationalism were considered especially significant during the transition from Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism and identity building.¹²⁷

Ağaoğlu stated the words quoted by Gökbilgin above in a discussion with another intellectual, poet, writer, and political leader of the period, Süleyman Nazif. Nazif completely rejected the existence of a Turkish identity before the Ottoman Empire. He essentially acknowledged the Ottomans as a nation by stating, “*there is special blood in our veins and that is Ottoman blood.*”¹²⁸ As is clear, Nazif narrows down the concept of the nation to only the Ottomans and their six hundred years of history. However, Ağaoğlu tried to convince him to count the Ottoman and Great Selçuks within the general Turkish civilizations by emphasizing the existence of the word Turk in history. One of the clearest and most striking responses given to Süleyman Nazif and like-minded intellectuals of the era came from the highly influential public figure, author and military official, Ömer Seyfeddin. As one of the major pioneers of Turkishness, Seyfeddin stated that if there was a nation that could be called Ottoman, then Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, and Albanians should have maintained their Ottoman identity and Ottomanism in Rumelia. In essence, he was openly declaring that the Ottomans were not a nation but solely and exclusively a dynasty.¹²⁹ Ultimately, as Tayyib Gökbilgin pointed out above, the notable opinion leaders of the period indeed stated that the Balkan Wars had put an end to the

¹²⁷ For more information on Ağaoğlu, see: Hilmi Ozan Özavcı, *Intellectual origins of the Republic: Ahmet Ağaoğlu and the genealogy of liberalism in Turkey*, (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

¹²⁸ Ibid.,115; Mehmet Kaan Çalen, *Osmanlılık ve İslamcılık Karşısında Türkçülük*. (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat AŞ, 2017), 102.

¹²⁹ Ibid.,120-124.

beliefs and ideas that favored Ottomanism and its ideals. Therefore, the methodologies of the historians focused on the dynasty and the traditions of the court chroniclers were fully rejected by the new generation of intellectuals and historians.

It is an incontrovertible fact that the nation-building process and the construction of a national history are interrelated, and the history and historiography of the Turkish Republic were inherently and fundamentally tied to Turkish identity politics. In parallel with these developments, the *Türk Tarihi Tedkik Cemiyeti* (Society for the Study of Turkish History), which later changed its name to *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Association -THA), was established in 1931 under the patronage of the new state's leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Looking back, Tayyib Gökbilgin stated that the activities of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni*, had been very fruitful and had produced research and monographs in the field that were worthy of note.

*“Yet the great Turkish revolution required new ideas in the subjects and fields such as Turkish history, the history of the Turkish civilization, the history of Turkey, the history of civilizations in Turkey and the examination of our national history, which would be based on comprehensive foundations. In turn, Atatürk, who sensed these requirements keenly and wanted to build a strong movement in this direction established the <the Society for the Study of Turkish History>, which is the basis of today's Turkish Historical Association, in Ankara in 1931, and declared its name as the main purpose of the Association.”*¹³⁰

As various academicians have agreed, the 1930s was the peak for the formation of nationalist historical discourse in the Turkish Republic. Also, as many scholars state, the

¹³⁰ “Türk Tarih Kurumu ve Milli Tarih Ülküsü”, see appendix 18.

construction of history was monopolized by the state and together with the language reforms was interpreted as the most crucial policy. A thesis was asserted at the first Turkish Historical Congress that was held immediately after the establishment of the THA. The thesis was adopted in the decision-making circles and was therefore integrated into the standardized history books in secondary education.¹³¹ Despite this, as I will discuss in detail soon, it did not have a permanent impact on the institutions of higher education or the publishing world, nor was it practiced for as long a period as had been expected at a scholarly level. Eventually, starting the 1940s, its extreme hypotheses were abandoned.¹³² Nevertheless, we need to take a closer look at the First and Second Turkish History Congresses in order to understand the dimensions of this initiative and to examine more deeply how its content and influence appeared in Tayyib Gökbiçin's historical work.

The foundation of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's cultural revolution was based on reform of the writing system and language as well as on the Turkish History Thesis. Later, the writing and language reforms were interpreted as forcing a break from connections to the Ottoman past and reviving the ancient ethnic nexus of the Turkish nation. Simultaneously with the Turkish History Thesis, this connection was reinforced and oriented towards Central Asia. During the 1930s, five congresses were convened by Atatürk to formulate and regulate these new

¹³¹ Kafadar and Karateke, "Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing", 573-574; Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003), 136; Ahmet Şimşek, "Türk Tarih Tezi.", in *Türkiye'de Tarih Eğitimi: Dönemler/Ders Kitapları/Yazarlar Akademisyenler/Algular*, ed. Ahmet Şimşek, (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2017), 105-122; Clive Foss, "Kemal Atatürk: Giving a new nation a new history." *Middle Eastern Studies* 50.5 (2014): 5; Erik Jan Zürcher, "Young Turk Memoirs as a Historical Source: Kazım Karabekir's İstiklal Harbimiz.", *Middle Eastern Studies* 22.4 (1986): 562-563.

¹³² Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin tarihi*, 278.

ideas and structures. Two of those congresses were on the topic of history and the other three were about language.¹³³

The First Turkish History Congress was held in Ankara from 2 - 11 July 1932. In a way, the First Turkish History Congress aimed to explain the new methods of teaching history to the history teachers, while the other goal was to make an official presentation of the Turkish History Thesis (THT) to the whole country as an official doctrine. This doctrine explicitly stated that all civilizations were the descendants of proto-Turkish civilizations or heavily influenced by them. Moreover, it was repeatedly emphasized at the Congress that history should promote a strong national consciousness that must be grounded in the pre-Ottoman era. In addition, this consciousness should be based upon the scientific discoveries, such as archaeology.¹³⁴

In the opening speech of the Congress, Esat Bey, the Minister of Education at that time, started his presentation by stating that while the Turks of Central Asia had already emerged from the Paleolithic era by 12,000 BC, Europeans only achieved this 5,000 years later. While the Turks were developing agriculture as well as discovering metals such as silver and copper and producing tools from them, others were still in caves. Thanks to the Turks and the civilizations they formed through their expansion from Central Asia, Europeans finally left their caves and established the civilization we admire now. Esat continued his speech by emphasizing the role of historical scholarship in the process of nation building. From now on, he said, Turkish children will know themselves and also recognize the high civilization and competency of the Great Turkish Nation as well as its distinguished position among other nations. They will increase their

¹³³ Zafer Toprak, *Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012), 117-118.

¹³⁴ Ibid.117-123.

individualism through these national and historical moral qualities inherited from their ancestors and continue to provide honorable services to global civilization, as in the past.¹³⁵

One of the longest presentations of the First Congress was by Afet İnan, the adopted daughter of Atatürk and a young teacher and member of the Turkish Historical Association, who was only twenty-four years old at the time.¹³⁶ The presentation of Afet İnan was remarkable in many respects. To begin with, scholars emphasize that the paper she presented was a product of collective work, and many members of the THA, particularly Atatürk himself, must have contributed to the preparation of the paper. Another interesting point is that Afet İnan did not mention this work in publications later in her life, possibly because of its collective authorship or its content.¹³⁷ However, as Zafer Toprak states, the content of the paper reflected the fiery romantic excitement of nationalism.¹³⁸

“Prehistory and the Dawn of History: The ages of the world – the topography of Central Asia – the expansion and settlement of people throughout the Earth – the matter of race – who were the indigenous people of Central Asia?” was the title of the paper she presented to the First Congress.¹³⁹ In the first part of her presentation, she questioned the myths of creation and rejected creationism by stating that life is a pure consequence of physical and chemical phenomena. Even just this position was a very clear indication of a break from the Ottoman

¹³⁵ Esat Sagay, “Açılış Konuşması”, *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 02-11 Temmuz 1932*, (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1932), 12-13.

¹³⁶ Some scholars claim that Atatürk gave this paper to the 24-year-old Afet İnan and she and Dr. Reşit Galip were the ones who made the longest presentations. It is also significant that Atatürk saw Afet İnan as the symbol of the modernization process and prioritized her in every field and every step of the process. For more detail see: Olcay Özkaya Duman, and Volkan Payaslı. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modernleşmenin Kadın Simgesi: Afet İnan (1925-1938)”, *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları* 17.33, (2018): 65-122.

¹³⁷ Toprak, *Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji*, 154.

¹³⁸ idem., “Adem-Havva'dan Homo Alpinus'a: Eugène Pittard, Antropoloji ve Türk Tarih Tezi”, *Toplumsal Tarih* (2011): 20.

¹³⁹ Afet İnan “Tarihten Evvel ve Tarihin Fecrinde”, *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi-Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları*. (Ankara: Maarif Vekâleti), 18-41.

tradition and heritage. Not long before then, perhaps twenty years, even in the late Ottoman period, it was impossible for a woman to come forward with an argument such as this. However, the secular environment of the Republic allowed Afet İnan to present these ideas. She emphasized that the Turkish race was the progenitor of the human populations called Indo-European and Indo-Germanic, and while the Turkish race was establishing high culture in its homeland, European populations were still living an ignorant, wildlife.

“Now let’s answer the question that motivates us to investigate! The indigenous people of Central Asia are the Turks. (Applause) Therefore, it is against nature to attempt to create another race apart from the great Turkish family and distinct from it, under the name of Indo-European. What is reasonable and human is to recognize the race created by nature in the plateaus of Central Asia and to pay homage to it. (Applause) The Turkish children of today who decided to shine the lights of progress upon their minds and consciences know and will explain that they are not from a tribe with 400 tents, (but) they are very highly talented nation coming from a ten-thousand-year-old, pure, civilized superior race. (Continuous Applause)”¹⁴⁰

However, as many scholars have emphasized, there were different voices that opposed some of the ideas that were presented in the First Congress, even though those criticisms were indirect and weak, and were immediately repressed by the other members.¹⁴¹ One of the most influential historians who wished to emphasize the importance of the critical methodology was Mehmed Fuad Köprülü. He was a descendant of the Köprülü family, which was one of the most

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.,41.

¹⁴¹ Berktaş, *Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi ve Fuat Köprülü*, 59; Toprak, *Darwin’den Dersim’e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji*, 271-271; Abdülkerim Asılsoy, “Türk Modernleşme Öncülerinden Fuat Köprülü: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Fikirleri.” Phd diss., (Marmara Üniversitesi, Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2008), 82; Markus Dressler, *Writing religion: the making of Turkish Alevi Islam*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013),171-177; idem., “Mehmed Fuad Köprülü and the Turkish History Thesis”, in *Ölümünün 50. Yılında Uluslararası M. Fuad Köprülü Türkoloji ve Beşeri Bilimler Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, eds., Fikret Turan, Emine Temel and Harun Korkmaz, (İstanbul: Kültür Sanat, 2017), 247-250.

important families in shaping the Ottoman history through their members who were grand viziers during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. When Mehmed Fuad Köprülü expressed his way of thinking and his reservations concerning the methodological questions at the First Congress, he did not receive any positive reactions to his critiques and was censured instantly.¹⁴²

After the First Congress, there were major changes, especially in higher education. With the university reform of 1933, Darülfünun was closed because Atatürk initiated its restructuring into a modern university in accordance with the report of Malche.¹⁴³ It was stated that Darülfünun, the only university that the Turkish Republic inherited from the Ottoman Empire, could not keep up with the needs and the new concepts of the nation.¹⁴⁴ As the Minister of Education Reşit Galip expressed at that time, “*the new understanding of history was opposed to the Ottoman History Thesis and focused on the Turkish nation instead; this would need to take roots in the new university.*”¹⁴⁵

In İstanbul, those who could not keep up with the reforms or resisted the Turkish History Thesis in particular were dismissed and replaced by scholars fleeing from Germany.¹⁴⁶ Three years after the First Congress, the influences of the policies rejecting the Ottoman Sunni Islamic past and inventing and adopting the pre-Islamic past of the Turks led to the establishment of the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (Dil ve Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi) in the new capital of the new state, namely in Ankara.

¹⁴²Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi-Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları, 42-43,79.

¹⁴³ Albert Malche, professor of education at the University of Geneva, for detailed information see; Ragıp Ege and Harald Hagemann, “The modernisation of the Turkish University after 1933: The contributions of refugees from Nazism”, *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, 19:6, (2012), 944-975.

¹⁴⁴ Yücel Namal, and Tunay Karakök, “Atatürk ve Üniversite Reformu (1933)”, *Journal of Higher Education & Science/Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Dergisi* 1.1 (2011): 30-32.

¹⁴⁵ Dressler, “Mehmed Fuad Köprülü and the Turkish History Thesis”, 251.

¹⁴⁶ Namal, and Karakök, “Atatürk ve Üniversite Reformu”, 33-34.

Meanwhile, the Second Turkish History Congress was convened by Atatürk himself again in İstanbul on 20-25 September 1937. The Second Congress achieved a more professional level with the participation of international scientists and researchers. Historical subjects were discussed in a very broad context, and distinguished scholars from all areas of Turkey took part in it. As with the First Congress, anthropology and archeology continued to constitute the main axis of this gathering.

The honorary president of the Second Congress was the prominent Swiss anthropologist Eugène Pittard. He presented a thesis that he had published in his work *Les Races et l'Histoire* in 1924, strengthening his theories with the archaeological and anthropological data gathered in Turkey up to that time.¹⁴⁷ Zafer Toprak points out the resemblance of the paper that Afet İnan had presented at the First Congress and Pittard's speech at the Second Congress. Both had their basis in *Les Races et l'Histoire*, since İnan was working at Geneva University under the supervision of Pittard. The concept of race in Pittard's work was not based on ethnicity, but had anthropological foundations. The people of Anatolia, whether Kurdish, Armenian or Greek belonged to the same race. These communities had different languages or may have embraced various belief systems, but they were of the same race. Eugène Pittard characterized all these people as Turkish.¹⁴⁸ At this congress, two Hungarian historians, whom Tayyib Gökbilgin would meet in the following years and with whom he would have a teacher-student relationship, also presented their papers. Archaeologist Géza Fehér who was working on Hungarian-Bulgarian-Turkish historical relations presented a paper on the influence of Turkish culture on Europe by

¹⁴⁷ Eugene Pittard, "Neolitik Devirde Küçük Asya ile Avrupa Arasında Antropolojik Münasebetler", *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, İstanbul*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), 65-84.

¹⁴⁸ Toprak, "Adem-Havva'dan Homo Alpinus'a:", 24-26.

examining the culture of Turco-Bulgarian, Hungarian, and other related communities.¹⁴⁹ László Rásonyi also presented a paper that was about the traces of Turkish identity in Transylvania in the medieval period.¹⁵⁰ Naturally, there were some criticisms at the Second Congress as well. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü again raised some of his objections in a careful way. Eventually, his main problem with the Turkish History Thesis was not related to the racial theories of the scholars, but mostly due to the complete rejection and neglect of the Ottoman past. In addition, he had concerns about the methodology of the research that had been conducted during the period.¹⁵¹

According to İlker Aytürk, the theories produced during those years were aimed at achieving four goals. First, they intended to prove that Turks and Europeans shared “*racial identicalness*” or that the ancient Turks were the ancestors of the European nations. Thus, in this way, the Turkish nation could turn its face once again to Europe “*to claim its rightful heritage.*”¹⁵² Secondly, these arguments were also a response to the Greeks and Armenians who made territorial claims at the Treaty of Sèvres on the basis of the argument that they were the native peoples of the region before the Turks had arrived in Anatolia in the eleventh century. Third, they, as mentioned in the previous Chapter, were the determinative impetus for the nation-building process that aimed to build a secular culture that would instill pride in the younger generation. These discussions were aimed at criticizing the tendency of nineteenth-century Europe to ignore and belittle the histories of people on the periphery. In response to this

¹⁴⁹ Géza Fehér, “Türko-Bulgar, Macar ve Bunlara Akaraba Olan Milletlerin Kültürü. – Türk Kültürünün Avrupa’ya Tesiri”, *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, İstanbul*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), 290-320.

¹⁵⁰ László Rásonyi, “Ortaçağda, Erdel’de Türklüğün İzleri”, *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, İstanbul*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), 577-592.

¹⁵¹ Dressler, “Mehmed Fuad Köprülü And the Turkish History Thesis”, 250.

¹⁵² İlker Aytürk, “The Racist Critics of Atatürk and Kemalism, from the 1930s to the 1960s.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 46.2 (2011): 331.

tendency, they reconstructed elaborate arguments of their own. As a fourth point, Aytürk states that these theories were also instrumental for the assimilation of non-Turkish, especially Muslim, ethnic groups who were “*identified as ‘potential Turks’, or Turks who needed to be reminded of their ancestry.*”¹⁵³

The Faculty of Language, History, and Geography was founded in light of these developments and the discussions of these theories. Professor Afet İnan provided the following information in an article she wrote concerning the establishment of the Faculty:

“On a snowy winter’s night in 1935, (11 March 1935) we got up from Atatürk’s dinner table at an early hour in Çankaya and were talking in groups in the mirrored room next door. Atatürk, suddenly, gave the following order to Abidin Özmen, the Deputy Minister of Education. ‘Please take out your notebook and write down what I am about to say.’ These notes were related to the preparations to be made by the Ministry of Education for the establishment of a ‘History-Geography’ Faculty in Ankara. This matter had been spoken about for a long time among the circle around Atatürk. Yet it is evident that he made his decision and dictated his notes to the Minister of Education on that particular night. If the previous intellectual preparation phase had not been followed, it was possible to assume that Atatürk gave the relevant orders that night, right out of nowhere. However, these ideas had matured in him for years (...) Since I remembered in the daytime of that day, he was talking about the works of the Historical Association, and emphasized the necessity of an informal establishment independent from this official Association, it did not strike me as a sudden decision. (...) ‘All kinds of institutions of the capital of the Republic should be established in Ankara.’ Atatürk wanted this. And when he said, ‘This must start with the teaching of History and Geography’, I made a

¹⁵³ Ibid.

mention of establishing a faculty of literature. However, Atatürk envisioned that as the name of the faculty, history and geography would be especially useful in getting attention and would serve the purpose of pointing out the importance of those subjects.¹⁵⁴ (...) Saffet Arıkan, who became the Deputy Minister of Culture (Culture Minister) on June 11, 1935 after Abidin Özmen, was taking new directives almost every evening for the establishment of the Faculty.¹⁵⁵ (...) Thus, after the faculty members were assigned, the preparations for the opening ceremonies for the Faculty and student enrollment began. The Ministry of Education agreed with my request that graduates of teacher-training schools should also be accepted into the university, just this once, in addition to high school students. In accordance with this, the first enrollees were people who had graduated from teacher-training schools and were already teaching.”¹⁵⁶

As I mentioned in the first chapter, when Tayyib Gökbilgin enrolled at the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography, he had already been teaching for seven years. As can be seen from Afet İnan’s memoir-like article, Gökbilgin and other graduates of teaching schools had the opportunity to study at the newly established Faculty in accordance with her request.

The following are the professors who were teaching at the Faculty in the years 1936-40, when Tayyib Gökbilgin was also studying there:

Fuad Köprülü (medieval/early modern history), Şemsettin Günaltay (ancient history), Saim Ali Dilemre (general linguistics/philology), Hikmet Bayur (Indian history), Necmi Dilmen, Hasan Reşit Tankut, Abdülkadir İnan (Turkish linguistics), Naim Onat (Arabic), Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (history), Walter Ruben (Indology), Herbert Louis (geography), Hans Gustav Güterbock

¹⁵⁴ Afet İnan, “Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesinin Kuruluş Hazırlıkları Üzerine” *Cumhuriyetin 50. yıldönümünü anma kitabı*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1974), 6.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*,9

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*,11.

(Hittitology), Rásonyi Nagy László (Hungarian studies), Georg Rohde (classical philology), Şevket Aziz Kansu (anthropology), Saffet Korkut (English language and literature), Göker Ali Muzaffer (history), İbrahim Danyal Bediz (geography), Melahat Özgü (German language and literature), A. Hamit Dereli (English language and literature), and Benno Landsberger (Assyriology).¹⁵⁷

Tayyib Gökbilgin began his training in the Hungarian studies department. When the Faculty of Language and History was founded, Hungarian studies was included in the scope of the faculty upon the wish of Atatürk. The intellectuals of the era were aware that there was a deep-rooted tradition of Turkish language and Turkish history studies in Hungary which gained momentum in early nineteenth century.¹⁵⁸ Atatürk's main aim to include Hungarian Studies in the Faculty's comprehensive training program was not merely a coincidence but was aimed at attracting experts who would create connections between the two countries. In addition to convey one hundred years of Hungarian expertise in Turkology, and the findings of such proficiency to the young Turkish generation, there was also a motivation to benefit from the scientific methods of a nation that started to research its origins long before the Turks did.

Professor László Rásonyi was invited to the Faculty of Language, History and Geography to establish the Hungarian studies department and as a lecturer at the request of Atatürk.¹⁵⁹

Rásonyi first attended a conference in Ankara in 1934. He was invited there due to his

¹⁵⁷ Bekir Koç, "Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi'nin kuruluş süreci, ilk mezunları ve Halil İnalıcık.", *OTAM* (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi), (2016): 33.

¹⁵⁸ Gábor Ágoston, "Siyaset ve Historyografi: Macaristan'da Türk ve Balkan Çalışmalarının Gelişimi ve İstanbul'daki Macar Araştırma Enstitüsü," in *Türkler*, eds. Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, and Selim Koca (haz.), (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 92-94.

¹⁵⁹ Erdal Çoban, "Rásonyi László", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 34, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2007), 459-460, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/rasonyi-laszlo> (accessed June 8, 2020); Zsuzsa Kakuk, "Az Ankarai Egyetem Hungarológiai Intézete", *Keletkutató*, (1990): 116-117.

acquaintance and friendship with Hamit Zübeyr Koşay.¹⁶⁰ Koşay was one of the students that went to study in Hungary with the support of the Hungarian Science Institute in Constantinople/A Konstantinápolyi Magyar Tudományos Intézet.¹⁶¹ In this case, it is possible to say that the Institute, which was established twenty years before the Hungarology department was in a sense the initiator of the institutional-based scientific studies between the two countries. Gábor Fodor states that among the projects that were planned, there was the establishment of a Hungarian high school, a Turkish-Hungarian History and Language Institution, an Ethnography and Hungarian Languages Department in Darülfünun, and a department of comparative Ural- Altaic Languages.¹⁶² Apparently, these plans were largely successful. In addition to the establishment of the Hungarian Science Institute in 1916, the ethnologist and museologist Gyula Mészáros, one of the students of the famous Turkologist Ármin Vámbéry, also assigned and served as the head of the Ethnography and Hungarian Languages Department at Darülfünun between 1916 and 1918.¹⁶³ Despite the developments, the Hungarian Science Institute could not survive from of the conditions of the period and the political difficulties created by the Armistice

¹⁶⁰ Hamit Zübeyr Koşay was born in a village named Tilençi Tomrek in Ufa province of the Idil-Ural region. He came to İstanbul in 1909 and studied at Dârülmuaallim. In 1917, he went to Hungary and enrolled in the “pedagogium” in Budapest, where he trained as a secondary school teacher. He graduated in 1921. In the same year, he entered Eötvös College and in 1923 he completed his dissertation entitled “The Names of Turkish weapons” under the supervision of the famous Turkologist Gyula Németh. Later he attended Willy Bang Kaup's lectures at the University of Berlin. In 1925, Koşay returned to Turkey and started his career in the Ministry of Education. He worked at the Bureau of Culture (Hars Dairesi), and later he served as a director of historical artifacts and libraries at the general directorate of Antiquities and Museums and the Ankara Ethnographical Museum. Koşay is known for his studies in archeology, ethnology and philology. He directed one of the first excavations of the Turkish Republic, called the Ahlatlıbel excavation, in 1933. For more detail see; Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, “Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 26, (Ankara: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2002), 225-226, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kosay-hamit-zubeyr> (accessed June 8, 2020); Melek Çolak, “Türkiye’de Tatar Kökenli Bir Aydın: Hamit Zübeyr Koşay (1897-1984)”, *Problemi Filologii Narodov Povoljya, 1-2 Aprelya 2010, Moskovskix Pedagogičeskiy Gasuderstvenny Universitet*, Moskova-Rusya Federasyonu (2010): 273-278.

¹⁶¹ Melek Çolak, “İstanbul Macar Bilim Enstitüsü (1916-1918)”, *Karadeniz Uluslararası Bilimsel Dergi*, (2009): 97.

¹⁶² Gábor Fodor, “Harp İstanbulu’nda Macar Arkeolojisi: Konstantinopolis Macar Bilim Enstitüsü (1916-1918)”, in *Yıllık: Annual of Istanbul Studies*, 2. (2020): 105; idem. “A Konstantinápolyi Magyar Tudományos Intézet megalapításá: titkos tárgyalások, tervek és kultúrdiplomácia.”, *Keletkutatás* (2019): 97-106.

¹⁶³ Emre Saral, “Macaristan’da Çağdaş Osmanlı Tarihçiliğinin Gelişimi ve Günümüzdeki Durumu”, in *Dünyada Osmanlı Tarih Yazımı - I*, eds. Ahmet Özcan, Özhan Kapıcı, Yalçın Murgul (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2020), 319-320.

of Mudros. Ultimately, Austro-Hungarian citizens had to depart the country, and the Institute was closed.¹⁶⁴ However, as we can observe, the networks formed by this institution implemented the first steps towards the establishment of the Hungarology department in Ankara.

As a result of these networks, Koşay met with Rásonyi while he was a student of Gyula Németh in Budapest. At the conference in Ankara, Rásonyi presented a paper about the medieval Turkish-Hungarian contacts, which was already quite an appealing topic to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the Institute of Hungarian Studies was founded with the following tasks:

- To adapt results and methods from long-term Hungarian-Turkish studies into Turkish academic life so that Turkology, Turkish linguistics, and Turkish history could benefit from Hungarian expertise.

- To explain the Hungarian language and the usage of Hungarian
- To present Hungarian linguistic and historiographical works.
- To track developments in the Hungarian language; the content, methodological changes and new results in the research of linguistics and history and other disciplines; and the introduction of these developments into Turkish academic circles.

- To initiate joint research projects.¹⁶⁶

Tayyib Gökbilgin started his education in accordance with the aforementioned goals. With the support of Professor László Rásonyi, Gökbilgin had the opportunity to study in Hungary even in the first period of his university years. We know from a postcard sent by

¹⁶⁴ Fodor, “Harp İstanbulu’nda Macar Arkeolojisi: Konstantinopolis Macar Bilim Enstitüsü (1916-1918), 114.

¹⁶⁵ Naciye Güngörmüş, “Hungarológia Törökországban.” *Congressus Oktavus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristaum Jyaskyla* 10.15.8 (1995): 26, Kakuk, “Az Ankarai Egyetem Hungarológiai Intézete”, 116-119.

¹⁶⁶ Güngörmüş, “Hungarológia Törökországban.”, 26-27.

Rásonyi that Tayyib Gökbilgin first attended a summer school in the city of Keszthely, located on the western shore of Lake Balaton. In this postcard, Rásonyi also wished him good productive work. We can see more details about his first trip to Hungary from a report that Gökbilgin prepared, dated January 1937:

“Last June, after I finished my first semester in Hungarian studies, I went to Hungary to seek an opportunity to advance my studies further and learn Hungarian. Even though I was not able to receive any financial aid from the Ministry, the necessity of this matter led me to make sacrifices from my own student budget, and therefore I arrived in Budapest within the first weeks of my summer break. Here, with all my respect, I present the financial statement and outlines of my Hungarian trip from the 27th of June to the 16th of September:

1. *With the guidance and support of my dear Professor, Mr. Rásonyi, I found a suitable place at a discount in one of the most important scientific institutions of Central Europe, the Báró Eötvös College in Budapest, which shares the same style and rank as the Paris École Normale Supérieure.*

2. *With the help of the Hungarian Ministry of Education, I was able to travel to the summer school in Keszthely on the coast of Lake Balaton with a half-(priced) ticket and by staying there for a small price, I had the opportunity to take useful courses.*

3. *I examined the agricultural universities of Budapest, Pecs, and Keszthely as well as the historical monuments and other sites of note of these cities, as well as those of Tihany, Balatonfüred and Kaposvár.*

4. *With the guidance of my Professor, I had the honor of meeting famous and respectable Hungarian scholars such as Professor Gyula Németh, Dr. Lajos Fekete from the*

archives and Dr. Nándor Fettich who was an adviser on equestrian nomad archeology, and had the opportunity to be in contact with them all the time. With the help of these persons, I visited very precious museums in Budapest as well as the National Archives, collected material for my own studies and enriched my views and knowledge to a certain extent.

(....)

5. *Due to the dignity of being a Turkish student, I received sympathy and attention from everyone everywhere and I should particularly mention that the people at both the Eötvös Collegium and the Keszthely summer university showed great interest in helping me to learn Hungarian.*

6. *In the middle of September, while I was coming back with the Professor on the Danube, my awareness increased by seeing with admiration the main sites where the honorable memories of our history were preserved. Ultimately, my whole journey gave me a momentous advantage and spiritual pleasure. In particular, I would like to point out that it was an encouraging and stimulating factor for my work as well.*¹⁶⁷

From another postcard that Professor Rásonyi sent in February 1938, we can gain an idea of his schedule at the Faculty:

“Please get in contact with Adil Bey and tell him that for this semester as well I would like to continue my classes on Monday, Wednesday and Friday in the same way. (Hungarian

¹⁶⁷ Gökbilgin’s report on his study trip to Hungary, <http://tayyibgokbilgin.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Article-344.pdf>, see appendix 19a-b.

History, 2 hours, Literature, 2 hours, the History of Linguistics, 2 hours, and the seminar is 3 hours. Monday 8:40-10:40, Wednesday 9:40-12:30, Friday 8:40-11:40)”¹⁶⁸

In another postcard that we encountered in the personal archives of Tayyib Gökbilgin, we see that Rásonyi wrote in Turkish this time and expressed his regret about not being able to attend the opening ceremony of the Debrecen summer school.¹⁶⁹ Gökbilgin and his classmate Şerif Baştav¹⁷⁰ were there for the language courses. We understand that along with the language education, Tayyib Gökbilgin started his research and studies at the Hungarian archives during this period as well. By the year 1939, while he was still a student at the Faculty, his first article titled as “*Macar Devlet Arşivi ve Tarihçesi /Hungarian State Archives and its History*” was published in *Bulleten*, in the journal of THA. In the same year, he translated and published the article of Lajos Fekete “A török levéltárügy / Türk Arşiv Meselesi/ The Matter of the Turkish Archive”.

As one can see, from the beginning of his education, Tayyib Gökbilgin did not put the Turkish Historical Thesis in the center of his area of research. It is an indisputable fact that the

¹⁶⁸ From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 25.02.1938, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Tgw7QUQTiFGIPfwekUWNxNFlpdXGMOoE/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 20.

¹⁶⁹ “Yazi kurslarin açiliş merasiminda orada bulunamam dolayisiyle çok teessüfüm var.” From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 30.07.1938,

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/11lb1anBUKKCA7vliLAM6zkuNN27ihrWl/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 21.

¹⁷⁰ Mekki Şerif Baştav was born in 1913 in Beyşehir, Konya. He graduated from the Teachers' School in 1935. In the same year, he enrolled the Faculty of Language, History and Geography and started his higher education there. In 1940, he graduated from the Hungarology and Medieval History Departments of this faculty. He was sent to Hungary for his PhD studies with a special permission from İsmet İnönü who at that time was the second President of the Republic of Turkey. As a doctoral dissertation, he worked on an anonymous Greek text from end of the 15th century on Fatih's court and army organization. In one of the letters he sent to Tayyib Gökbilgin in 1942 we encounter small information about his education in Eötvös Collegium: “Ben de şimdi vaziyetten çok memnunum, fakat Yunanca son derece yorucu, lakin bununla beraber bu yıl onu başedeceğim. / I am also very pleased with the situation now, yet the Greek is very tiring, but I will manage it this year.” From Şerif Baştav to Gökbilgin, 27.11.1942, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1OGvHxCh3CQU_qPr-y4ZcYKFHE6UkXkeq/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 22. For more detail see; Yücel Namal, “Prof. Dr. M. Şerif Baştav’la Söyleşi.” *Tarih Okulu Dergisi IX*, (2011): 223-235.

collapse of the Empire, the war of Independence and then the after-war depression initiated a search for new identities. Moreover, the construction of a national identity gained new momentum with the THA. The Faculty of Language, History, and Geography was the outcome of these quests and evolutions. However, as opposed to the popular argument that states that Ottoman Studies were disregarded in the early republican period to emancipate the new citizens of the new regime from the identity formed by the Ottoman past or in today's exaggerated discourse, to unlink the ties between the antecedents (*ecdad*) and the future generations, there was not just one type of historiography or history-making process that was aimed solely to serve to the official history thesis, even from the very beginning of the Faculty. As Zafer Toprak states, when examined from a broader perspective, this 10-year period between 1930 and 1940 included relatively pluralistic approaches despite the fact that the regime was gradually becoming more unidirectional.¹⁷¹ Likewise, Cemal Kafadar marks that he does not find the general assumption that claims that the early republican cultural revolution severed ties with the Ottoman past and destroyed historical consciousness to be an accurate depiction. Moreover, he notes that the ideological pursuits of this period contributed to various critical perspectives in history.¹⁷² Doğan Gürpınar also points out that such hastily done evaluations should not be exaggerated and suggests that “*the Kemalist strategies that coopt and cope with the Ottoman history are the ones that deserve more scrutiny.*”¹⁷³ Erdem Sönmez, in his comprehensive studies of Ottoman historiography in the early republican era, shows that the above argument has often been repeated in the last decade and that, contrary to popular belief, Ottoman historiography, which

¹⁷¹ Zafer Toprak, “Türkiye’de ve Dünya’da Çağdaş Tarihçilik ve Eric Hobsbawm Faktörü”, *Toplumsal Tarih* 227 (2012): 40; idem, “Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye’de Tarihçilik”, in *Bugünün Bilgileriyle Kemal'in Türkiye'si - La Turquie Kamâliste*, ed. Bülent Özükan, (İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık, 2012), 176-181.

¹⁷² Cemal Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken: Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun*, (İstanbul, Metis Yayınları, 2009), 42.

¹⁷³ Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 19.

was already introduced to the concept of nationalism during the Second Constitutional Period, continued to thrive in the early republican period.¹⁷⁴

In the early stages of my research, while I was conducting a review of the literature and examining my sources, such as checking the notes of Professor Gökbilgin, and the other documents and letters in his personal archive, I also expected to encounter a view that somehow would represent a general acceptance of the idea that Ottoman Studies were rejected in the early republican period due to Kemalist ideology, and only studies related to Turkism and the Turkish History Thesis were supported and conducted. However, no letters or documents in the vast archive we were scrutinizing provided us with any evidence of such a general acceptance. My main occupation in the early stages of this study was the question: if Ottoman Studies were rejected in the harshest terms, or at least in a more moderate sense did not find any approval in the early years of the Republic, how could a young university student conduct a study entitled “*Hungarian Sources on Ottoman History*” in a department that stated as its purpose that “*Turkology, Turkish linguistics, and Turkish history can benefit from Hungarian expertise*” and that was founded essentially to support the Turkish History Thesis? There were certain different ideological convictions and trends that emerged during this period, as was mentioned above. However, these trends lasted a very short time and after the 1930s, when the archives began to be probed, Ottoman studies gained great momentum. In other words, contrary to what post-Kemalist views advocate, the Kemalist ideology and the short-lived Turkish History Thesis did not hinder Ottoman studies. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's article entitled “*Türk tarihi yazılırken, Atatürk'ün alaka ve görüşlerine dair hatıralar/ Turkish History in Writing, the Memoirs on*

¹⁷⁴ Erdem Sönmez, “Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken: Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı Üzerine Notlar”, *Modus Operandi İlişkisel Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Sayı 1, (2015): 49-80; idem. “A past to be forgotten? Writing Ottoman history in early republican Turkey.”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (2020): 1-17.

Atatürk's Interests and Views", published in *Bellekten* in 1939¹⁷⁵, in which he presented his observations on how Ottoman history studies were dealt with in the early republican period, also makes us aware of how false is the argument, widely used today, that the republican cultural revolution severed the connection with the Ottoman past. The first volume of the *Outlines of Turkish History* was published in 1930. In this volume, which was six hundred pages, the part dedicated exclusively to Ottoman history was fifty pages and Uzunçarşılı complained that there was no specialized source on Ottoman history among the nearly one hundred sources that were consulted and referred to in the preparation of this volume. Uzunçarşılı stated that Atatürk examined the volume and was not satisfied with this work. The other parts of it were more or less similar to the Ottoman history section and had many mistakes. After this first unpleasant experience, Atatürk stated that to prepare such a work hastily and without obtaining the necessary expertise and specialization would cause major mistakes, and therefore such work should be carried out only on the basis of archival documents and research. According to Uzunçarşılı's narrative, Atatürk had been following the research process as the patron (*hami*) of the Turkish Historical Association and attending meetings for many hours for almost a month. In one such meeting, one of the colleagues of Uzunçarşılı, whom he preferred not to name, mentioned his research that questioned whether Osman Gazi, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty and the state, had existed or not. They all laughed together at this superficial study and Atatürk immediately demanded that this article be rewritten again. Uzunçarşılı concluded his memoirs by stating that it was understood clearly that Ottoman history, which had existed for six and a half centuries and produced a large number of documents, could not be rewritten from a school textbook that was published only a half century ago. Moreover, a consensus was reached on the

¹⁷⁵ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Türk Tarihi Yazılırken: Atatürk'ün alaka ve görüşlerine dair hatıralar.", *Bellekten*, 3.10 (1939): 349-353.

necessity of dividing the research into sections such as political history, economic history, and social history and the examination of each topic by different specialized experts. Within the same article, Uzunçarşılı provided a couple of examples regarding Atatürk's interest in Ottoman history.¹⁷⁶ However, what is important here is that we can see steps in the field of academic specialization had taken place in this period, as Uzunçarşılı remarked.

Indeed, Tayyib Gökbilgin, and the studies he conducted early in his career can be presented as an example in this context. Gökbilgin recognized the importance of the Hungarian sources for the Ottoman History, translated the works of eminent archivist and historian Lajos Fekete while he was still a student.¹⁷⁷ In his first article published in *Belleten* in 1939, he presented examples of the content, organizational structure and the order of the Hungarian State Archives as suggestions for the organization of the Turkish archives.¹⁷⁸ He submitted his graduation thesis, *Hungarian Sources on Ottoman History*, in 1940, which was the outcome of the research he had concluded in the Hungarian archives. In 1941, again in *Belleten*, he published another study related to the common Ottoman-Hungarian history, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Tevaabine Dair Yeni Vesikalar/ New Documents Related to Ferenc II Rákóczi and His Entourage*. During this period, he also started writing articles about Ottoman governors and viziers for the Encyclopedia of Islam. This is all to say that the argument that studies of Ottoman history were completely excluded and that researchers engaged in Ottoman history were marginalized does not completely reflect the facts that are observable from the examples.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Lajos Fekete, "A török levéltárügy/Arşiv Meseleleri", translated by Tayyib Gökbilgin (İstanbul: T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1939)

¹⁷⁸ Gökbilgin "Macar Devlet Arşivi ve Tarihesi" *Belleten*, Cilt: III, Sayı: 11-12, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, (1939): 447-458.

Another point to note here is that there was a school that endeavored to introduce a new perspective to the concept of national history. Tayyib Gökbilgin was one of the first followers of this concept, and it would not be wrong to point out that this concept or school came into being through the efforts of Fuad Köprülü.¹⁷⁹ Through Köprülü's approach, there was a breakthrough in the academic circles and in modern Turkish historiography. This approach involved evaluating sources in a scientific and objective manner without neglecting Ottoman History, but instead considering it a part of the system of general Turkish history. His methodology and ideas on studying history created a school and the followers of the Köprülü School diversified the subjects of interest and elevated the methods of the research process. In addition, there was an effort to challenge the quite unfair, negative opinions in European historiography about the Turks that were not based on any facts.¹⁸⁰

Tayyib Gökbilgin as the other historians of the era also followed a similar path. As I will discuss in more detail in the third chapter, he utilized all the resources he could obtain and focused in particular on Ottoman History. However, at this stage, to conclude this section we can trace his thoughts on national history in an article he published in 1954 in the Dünya newspaper:

“Since ancient times, the history of humanity has given us plenty of evidence and manifestations that show us it had a certain understanding of history and sometimes even had a historical consciousness. However, this vision of history has always changed in every period and in diverse societies, and as a result, this consciousness and understanding has displayed itself in various shapes. The history of the Ummah and its consciousness, the history of the town, the

¹⁷⁹ Fatma Acun, “Modern Türk Tarihçiliğinin Başlangıcı ve Mehmet Fuad Köprülü”, in Türk Tarihçileri, ed. Ahmet Şimşek, (Ankara: Pegem Akademi, 2017), 77-80; Halil İnalçık, “Türkiye’de Osmanlı Araştırmaları: I-Türkiye’de Modern Tarihçiliğin Kurucuları”, XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002), 109 -111.

¹⁸⁰ Ahmet Şimşek, Ali Satın eds., *Milli Tarihin İnşası (Makaleler)*, (İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2011), 24.

history of the tribe, and finally the history of the state and the empire, and the consciousness and understanding of history are all related to these concepts. Starting from the Renaissance, one can see that the world of western civilization gradually abandoned all other views and concepts of history and moved towards a consciousness of national history. (...) This trend and movement, which made it possible to create a consciousness of national history in various western countries, as a result of discovery and various endeavors and studies bore fruit without any delay to an increasing degree and proportion, and it also presented “Monumenta”, “Corpus” and many other series as a gift to the literature of national history. Due to the fact that the Turkish Renaissance is quite far behind that of the West, it does not seem possible to catch up in terms of national history and its consciousness in the community. Although since the fate and life of the Turkish nation have been connected to this territory of our homeland and since the state organizations have been established under different names here, occasionally there were some traces of historical records that showed a concept of history that might be considered as national. In this respect, starting from “Neşri”, we can speak of our historians such as Selaniki and Naima for example. However, it is always necessary to acknowledge that the consciousness of being Ottoman or even the circumstances of being an Islamic nation was valued above the consciousness of a national history. After recalling these memories of the topic, we can see that two institutions gained prominence in our national life, especially in the twentieth century. These have maintained the notion of “National History” and its consciousness and desire to disseminate this national vision to the whole nation via scientific ways and means. The first institution was the Turkish History Council (...), and did not last long. However, the second, Turkish Historical Association, formed a more complete national identity through the deep

*understanding and vision of Atatürk, and this movement became both the leader and the focal point of historical national consciousness.*¹⁸¹

Upon the graduation, in a letter Gökbilgin wrote to an unknown yet clearly a notable person, we can see the summary of how he benefited from his education process, at the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography and improved himself at the field of Hungarian studies and history.

“Dear honorable Sir,

First of all, I would like to ask your permission to introduce myself. I am one of the first graduates of the Hungarian Studies Institute in the Faculty of Language, History and Geography in Ankara. I have succeeded with a very good result on the graduation examination on my first attempt. My sub-disciplines were New and Recent History, Turkology (Professor Abdulkadir İnan), Latin, French, and German. Since I enrolled in the Faculty, I have spent all my holidays in Hungary performing studies on language, history, and archives. I attended the Debrecen summer courses and in 1938, I succeeded in obtaining a diploma with a high grade in the Hungarian Language and Literature exam.

Apart from my primary duties, I was also busy with archival issues; (...) I had an internship with Dr. Fekete and other experts at the archives. I have documents on this subject that assess my activities. It is my desire is to intensify my future work towards the establishment of a Turkish archive. However, first and foremost, I am in position and obliged to complete my preparations here and to complete my studies with a doctorate. In this regard, with the encouragement and approbation of Faik Reşid Bey, who has gained appreciation and

¹⁸¹ “Milli Tarih”, Dünya Gazetesi, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Ge71hPdcZH6y3SrmngTWsRkjs_OtXYBN/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 23.

complimented me while closely following my work, at this time of my graduation I would like to perform my first duty as an assistant of you.”¹⁸²

Again, in the same document, Gökbilgin provides some information on what he is planning to do in the future:

“In my previous letters, I mentioned my desire and resolution, and the manner in which I wanted to work in the future, to your esteemed person. Until my planned departure for Budapest in September, I had informed you that I am hoping to settle in İstanbul, and more particularly in the university neighborhood, where the Hazine-i Evrak (treasury of documents) and the other archives that I will study in the days to come are located. Apart from my education and primary duties, my work and activities that I have completed so far – the book that I translated last year entitled “The Matter of the Archives” that was published by the Ministry of Education, and my essay entitled “Hungarian State Archives and History” published in the most recent issue of Belleten – show my interest concerning the matter.

By serving as a research assistant in the University of İstanbul, at the New and Recent History Department I think I will have the opportunity to gain knowledge of our archives and

¹⁸² “Muhterem Beyefendi; Evvela kendimi takdim etmeme müsaadenizi rica ederim. Ankara Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Hungaroloji Enstitüsü ilk mezunlarındanim. Bir defa yapılan mezuniyet imtihanlarında pekiyi bir derece ile muvaffak oldum, Yardımcı disiplinlerim, Yeni ve Son Zamanlar Tarihi, Türkoloji (Profesör Abdülkadir İnan), Latince, Fransızca, Almanca idi. Fakülteye girişimden itibaren bütün tatillerimi Macaristan'da dil ve tarih, arşivcilik etütleriyle geçirdim. Debrecen yaz kurslarına iştirak ettim ve 1938'de Macar Dili ve Edebiyatı imtihanımda fevkalade bir derece ile bir diploma elde etmeye de muvaffak oldum. Esas vazifelerimin haricinde arşivcilik meseleleriyle de meşgul oldum, (...) Dr. Fekete ve diğer mütehasıs arşivcilerin yanında staj gördüm. Bu hususta faaliyetimi takdir eder mahiyette vesikalan hamilim. Arzum ilerideki çalışmalarımı Türk Arşivi'nin kurulması yolunda teksif etmektir. Ancak daha önce buradaki hazırlıklarımı tamamlamak, tahsilimi doktora yapmak suretiyle ikm6l etmek mevki ve zaruretindeyim. Bu itibarla mezun olduğum şu sırada ilk vazifemi yakından mesaiime vakıf olmak suretiyle hakkımda takdir ve teveccühleri bulunan Faik Reşid Bey'in de teşvik ve tensipleriyle asistanlıkla yanınızda almak istiyorum. Gökbilgin to unknown, 30.03.1940, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_QwWLEB3EcmYDjMsGmAEGSLGGBd80RX/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 24b.

strengthen my understanding of Turkish paleography. In this way, if I desire to leave for Budapest for my doctoral studies, I will have broader knowledge and be more prepared.

It is possible to ask for some information about me from my professors and from the people who know me, including Professor Rásonyi, Professor Muzaffer Göker, Professor Fuad Köprülü, Professor Abdülkadir İnan, Professor Fazıl Nazmi, Faik Neşid, Doctor Akdes Nimet, Hamid Zübeyr Koşay and many more. They will surely recommend me for this duty that I desire."¹⁸³

After four years of studies, he graduated from the Faculty with his thesis entitled "Hungarian Sources on Ottoman History." As can be seen from the letter above, his desire was to start working at İstanbul University. However, since there was no tenure for an assistantship in June 1940, he was given tenure as a translator at the Turkology Institute of the Faculty of Literature.¹⁸⁴ At the end of 1941, after new tenure positions were opened to the Faculty, he was appointed to the position of assistant professor in February 1942.¹⁸⁵ In his first academic year of 1940-41, he began to teach Medieval European History. In the 1941-42 academic year, he was

¹⁸³ "Arzu ve kararlarımın ne olduğundan, istikbalde çıkmak istediğim yoldan evvelki mektuplarımda zatinalinize bahsetmişim, Eylül'de Budapeşte'ye gitmeyi temin edinceye kadar ileride meşgul olacağım Hazine-i Evrak ve diğer arşivlerin bulunduğu İstanbul'da ve hassaten üniversite muhitinde yerleşmek ümidini beslediğimi bildirmişim. Buradan da tahsilim ve esas vazifelerimin haricinde şimdiye kadar ki mesai ve faaliyetim -geçen sene tercüme ettiğim ve Maarif Vekaleti'nin neşrettiği Arşiv Meseleleri adlı kitap, Belleten'in son sayısındaki "Macar Devlet Arşivi ve Tarihçesi" adlı makalem- bu alakamı gösterir. İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih kısmında "Yeni ve Son Zamanlar" asistan olmakla bizim arşivleri tanımak ve biraz Türk paleografyasını kuvvetlendirmek imkânını elde edeceğimi sanıyorum. Bu suretle eğer doktoramı yapmak üzere Budapeşte'ye gitmek arzumu tahakkuk ederse daha geniş ve hazırlıklı bir halde bulunacağım demektir. Hakkımda hocalarımın ve beni tanıyanlardan malumat istihsal etmek kabildir: Profesör Rásonyi, Profesör Muzaffer Göker, Profesör Fuat Köprülü, Profesör Abdülkadir İnan, Profesör Fazıl Nazmi, Faik Neşid, Doktor Akdes Nimet, Hamid Zübeyr Koşay Beyler ve daha birçokları beni iyi tanırlar. İstedığım bu vazife için muhakkak tavsiye edeceklerdir." Gökbilgin to unknown, 30.03.1940, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_QwWLEB3Ec-myDjMsGmAEGSLGGBd80RX/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 24d.

¹⁸⁴ An official document showing the translator position, 27.06.1940, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1oX8jKfjMhQ-djDoMG4ftCrPPWIIgIyai/view?usp=sharing> , M. Tayyib Gökbilgin Özlük Dosyası, İ.Ü.Edebiyat Fakültesi Personel Dairesi Başkanlığı.

¹⁸⁵ An official document showing the appointment of assistant professor, 06.02.1942 , <https://drive.google.com/file/d/19XfXuRJKffTFkQ-4M0pnYjfdY6BnNh-N/view?usp=sharing> , M. Tayyib Gökbilgin Özlük Dosyası, İ.Ü.Edebiyat Fakültesi Personel Dairesi Başkanlığı.

assigned subjects on Byzantine History as well. In the meantime, he was invited to serve as a reserve officer in the military for the second time. Tayyib Gökbilgin presented his dissertation entitled “*Yürüks and Tatars in Rumelia/Rumeli’de Yörükler ve Tatarlar*”, which he prepared in a very short time while he was performing military service, and he received his associate professorship qualification in December 1942.¹⁸⁶

At this point, I would like to share some information on the dissertation of Gökbilgin for the associate professorship. As Sándor Papp states, he consulted with Lajos Fekete on the subject of his doctoral dissertation, as can be seen from the letter of reply sent to Gökbilgin by this famous Hungarian historian and archivist on 19 October 1940.¹⁸⁷ Fekete, who graduated from the department of history and Latin philology of Pázmány Péter University in Budapest, was dispatched to the eastern front as an officer when World War I broke out. He was then captured by the Russians and sent to a camp near Krasnoyarsk in Siberia. He met Ottoman army officers there and began to learn Turkish from them. After returning to his homeland in 1920, he was appointed to the Hungarian National Archives and soon specialized in the fields of Ottoman diplomacy and paleography.¹⁸⁸

As a doctoral researcher, Tayyib Gökbilgin wanted to study the life of Imre Thököly, who was a Hungarian general and leader of the Hungarian Protestant resistance and formed an

¹⁸⁶ Kütükoğlu, “Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin’in Ardından”, 2; Ankan, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarihçileri ve Prof. Dr. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin.”, 45; an official document showing the acceptance of the dissertation for associate professorship, 22.12.1942 ,

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1PGU_o4zRxGj1lDzgmie6_fWVyIkszIfn/view?usp=sharing , M. Tayyib Gökbilgin Özlük Dosyası, İ.Ü.Edebiyat Fakültesi Personel Dairesi Başkanlığı, see appendix 25.

¹⁸⁷ Sándor Papp, “Tayyib Gökbilgin’in İlmî Faaliyetleri ve Macar Tarihçiliği, Hususen Erdel Prensi Gábor Bethlen Üzerine Araştırmaları” in *Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin ve Edirne Sempozyumu, 15 Nisan 2015, Bildiriler*, eds. İbrahim Sezgin and Veysi Akın (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, 2016), 52-54.

¹⁸⁸ Géza Dávid, “Fekete, Lajos” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 12, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1995), 299-300, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/fekete-lajos> (accessed June 8, 2020); idem “Lajos Fekete Commemorated,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, (2001): 309-401.

alliance with the Turks to oppose Habsburg policies, but was forced to leave Hungary and seek refuge in the Ottoman Empire after his rebellion was crushed. However, Fekete stated in his letter that he did not find this topic appropriate for Gökbilgin to study.

*“The study of this topic, the role of Thököly in history can be a very productive subject from the Hungarian perspective. However, if I give you my consent, I have to encourage you to write it according to the historiography of Hungarians. I believe that Thököly was not as remarkable a person in Turkish history, and that is why it is not an extraordinary task to examine his fate.”*¹⁸⁹

According to Sándor Papp, the rationale for this view of Fekete was that the sources related to Thököly were to be found in different places and therefore a successful research process could not be carried out under the circumstances. In order to write and work on the dissertation, the most essential principle was to be able to obtain a wide range of resources. Fekete mentions in the same letter that the registers (*defter*) in the Ottoman State Archives were more than enough to fulfill those criteria. Moreover, the period when Fekete stated these convictions corresponded to the years of World War II, and the matter of registers had begun to be evaluated as a part of the understanding of social history and possible sources of social history in Turkey as well as throughout the world during these years.¹⁹⁰ After the Second World War, the opening of the Archives of the Prime Minister to researchers increased the popularity of

¹⁸⁹ Papp, “Tayyib Gökbilgin’in İlmi Faaliyetleri ve Macar Tarihçiliği”, 52; From Fekete Lajos to Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U6NdX5OU506CfqWRcKAywFB9ieW9PUNn/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 26a.

¹⁹⁰ Papp, “Tayyib Gökbilgin’in İlmi Faaliyetleri ve Macar Tarihçiliği”, 52.

quantitative studies in social historiography conscious of local sources. In particular, a huge amount of archival-based work was carried out on the sixteenth century.¹⁹¹

Registers have been found in the Ottoman Archives dating as far back as the beginning of the fourteenth century. For example, the oldest cadastral registers that can be found today date back to 835 (1432), and researchers can find thousands of sources for the sixteenth century. Although they are designed as documents showing the forms of fiscal, military and diplomatic administration of the empire, they also provide detailed profiles revealing how and why people act in certain circumstances.¹⁹²

Most likely Gökbilgin wrote his doctoral dissertation in accordance with the recommendations given by Fekete, which I will discuss in detail in the third chapter. The use of registers for historical research corresponds to this period. Although I will discuss this topic in more detail again in chapter three, I would like to note here that Ömer Lütfi Barkan also began his extensive defter studies during this period.¹⁹³ It is also possible to see the traces of this initiative from a letter written by Halil İncık to Gökbilgin in 1949:

“My Respected Brother; Thank you for your kindness. I received the first four folios of your work. I came across very important and interesting records at first glance. I don't need to tell you how you made the right decision by choosing this subject. I can tell you in advance that it will be among the most important published works on Ottoman History. (...) The publication of our registers is progressing. If you need them, it is possible to send for the page proofs.

¹⁹¹ Leslie Peirce, “Changing Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire: The Early Centuries.” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19.1 (2004): 10.

¹⁹² Nejat Göyünç, “Defter”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 9, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1994), 88-90, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/defter> (accessed June 8, 2020).

¹⁹³ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Türkiye’de İmparatorluk devirlerinin büyük nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri ve hakana mahsus istatistik defterleri, I-II”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* II/I, (1940): 20-59, and II/II (1941): 214-247.

*However, I hope that it will be completely done in a month or a month and a half. I kept the foreword a little bit long...*¹⁹⁴

Tayyib Gökbilgin started to work as an associate professor on March 1, 1943 in the New and Modern History Department after he returned from his military service. Within in the same year he was among the participants in the third Turkish Historical Congress¹⁹⁵ with a paper entitled: “*Rumeli'nin İskanında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler/The Yürüks in the Settlement and Turkification of Rumelia.*” Also in 1943, he was elected as a member of the Turkish Historical Association.¹⁹⁶ During this period, the importance given to Ottoman history as an independent field of study increased. As Zafer Toprak reports, Ömer Lütfi Barkan's work on creating a new historical field beyond politics and linking the fields of economics and history, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's studies on institutions and studies on economic and social history, including Gökbilgin's works, determined the trends of the period.¹⁹⁷ Tayyib Gökbilgin consolidated his place in the field Ottoman history studies with his work “*XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar*” published in 1952. When the department was divided in two in 1953, he continued to teach at the Modern History department. During these years, he

¹⁹⁴ “Muhterem Kardeşim; Lütuflarına teşekkür ederim. Eserinizin ilk dört formasını aldım. Daha ilk karıştırmada cidden çok mühim ve enteresan kayıtlara rastladım. Bu mevzuu seçmekte ne kadar isabet ettiğinizi benim söylememe hacet yoktur. Osmanlı Tarihine dair çıkmış eserlerden en mühimi olacağını şimdiden söyleyebilirim. (...) Bizim defterin baskısı da ilerliyor. Size lazım olursa provalardan fazla bastırarak göndermek kâbildir. Fakat bir veya bir buçuk aya kadar tamamen bitmiş olacağını da ümit ediyorum. Mukaddimeyi biraz geniş tuttum.” From Halil İnalçık to Gökbilgin, 21.04.1949,

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Kp2IXRzeIhpK5iI7PUZ2oyfjYRXXDXp/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 27.

¹⁹⁵ Tea invitation from Hasan Ali Yücel for the participants of the third Turkish Historical Congress, 15.11.1943 ,https://drive.google.com/file/d/1qzlyeWf_wTjsf54X83D8HfrnLy8heusY/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 28.

¹⁹⁶ Official letter signed by Şemsettin Günaltay (the head of the THA) showing that Gökbilgin had been selected as the principal member of the THA, 13.10.1943, https://drive.google.com/file/d/19TR6_DKCKxDe9Ln6cuVFAM6cDA6nPcVL/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 29.

¹⁹⁷ Toprak, “Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye’de Tarihçilik”, 180-181.

actively participated in numerous congresses in Turkey as well as abroad such as International Congress of Orientalists.

In 1955, Tayyib Gökbilgin was appointed as a Professor in the Medieval History Department. Among those who congratulated him was his professor Afet İnan, who initiated the decision of accepting teachers to the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography.¹⁹⁸ He gave lectures on the foundation period of the Ottoman State for six years in the Medieval History Department. He also gave lectures on the history of the Turkish Revolution at the Maritime College and the Faculty of Fine Arts. As a result of the lectures and studies of this period, the book “*Milli Mücadele Başlarken/The War of Independence Begins*”, was published in 1959. In the meantime, he conducted research in Italy in 1958, as a result of which he published his work entitled “*Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe Belgeler Koleksiyonu ve Bizimle İlgili Diğer Belgeler/Turkish Document Collection in the Venice State Archives and Other Documents About Us*” in 1971, which can be defined a reference book. However, Gökbilgin’s research work focused mainly on the Ottoman institutions of the sixteenth century, their sources, and the civilization of the Empire. His major aim was to establish a separate department/chair (*kürsü*) dealing with Ottoman Institutions and Civilization at his own university. Therefore, Gökbilgin made significant efforts to realize this goal.¹⁹⁹

“In our time, in the research of world history, it is easily understood by looking at extensive publications, how issues related to the organizations and structures, institutions, and

¹⁹⁸ “Sayın Prof. Tayyib Gökbilgin, Profesörlüğe terfi edilmişinizi Dünya gazetesinde okuyalı bir ay oluyor. Üniversiteye uğrar tebrik ederim demiştim. Fakat ne zaman orada buluna bileceğinizi bilemediğim için daha fazla gecikmeden yazı ile yeni rütbenizi tebrik etmek istedim.” From Afet İnan to Gökbilgin, 30.08.1955, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eaypg1LlOo9mNp8Jk2b2PIFU3ZZj1SO1/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 30a.

¹⁹⁹ Küttükoğlu, “Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin’in Ardından”, 3; Arkan, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarihçileri ve Prof. Dr. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin.”, 45-47.

social and economic conditions of states and societies gain great importance. After the establishment of the OHA, and the leadership of our well-known historians, such as Abdurrahman Şeref and Ahmet Refik, studies and research in this direction have emerged and found an expression in a synthesis where Professor Fuad Köprülü has put forward an insightful comparison between the Ottoman and the Byzantine institutions, and particularly Professor İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı has produced valuable works related to these subjects. Following these developments, a lot of important work and research has been observed in this area. Today, modern historical research has turned its focus, specifically in this direction. To provide a simple example of this trend, it is possible to mention the fact that many on the commission of the Historical Sciences Congress held in Stockholm last August are concerned with issues such as the history of European Universities in the Medieval and Renaissance, the history of prices the prices of goods before 1750, the history of parliaments and diet councils, the history of comparative religious institutions, the history of social movements and developments, comparative military history, and so on.

Likewise, the research and activity of the “Société Jean Bodin”, which is a notable association within the international scientific community based entirely on the field of the comparative history of institutions, and the congresses of this scientific community provide great services to the science of history with their efforts and work. For many years, it has been a fact that many of the questions and information requested by various countries and authorities from our University and therefore our Faculty are related to the organization, institutions, and civilization of the Ottoman state.

Given this and other remarks that would take a long time to discuss here, it is self-evident that the time has come for the establishment of a department that will carry out independent research and education in this direction within the history department of our faculty.

In this respect, the establishment of the Department/Chair of the History of Ottoman Civilization and Institutions in the relevant faculty of the University of İstanbul, in a city that was the center of the Ottoman state and empire for centuries and that still has a wide range of materials and facilities in its archives and libraries, will be very convenient. In the major universities of the world, it is possible to observe that national history, and specifically the history of the civilization and institutions of that nation, are independently researched and made the subject of a separate branch of education. It is our particular duty to understand thoroughly and work towards an appreciation of the importance of Ottoman history and civilization in world history, which is still a relatively untouched subject.

Prominent research is being conducted and publications are being produced in the universities and academies of Balkan and Eastern European countries that are closely linked to Ottoman history and the history of its institutions and civilization. One of us had the personal opportunity to observe these circumstances at the universities and academies of Budapest, Warsaw, Moscow, and Kraków. These subjects are receiving even more attention in the universities of Sofia, Athens, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sarajevo.

For the purpose of serving Turkish history and the future generations of historians, those who have presented the proposal for establishing a separate department of the history of

*"Ottoman Civilization and Institutions" to the Dean's Office and the Board of Professors are confident that the necessity and the requirements for it will be understood and appreciated."*²⁰⁰

As is shown in this document dated 18 March 1960, Professor Tayyib Gökbişgin and the distinguished Professor Mükrimin Halil Yinanç highlighted the trends towards the study of Ottoman history and institutions in European universities and emphasized the importance of a separate department for Turkish history in the field of historiography in general. I personally believe that this text above was prepared and presented by Gökbişgin himself. In the end, he achieved his aims in 1961 and became the head of the department/chair of the history of Ottoman Institutions and Civilization. Courses in paleography and Ottoman diplomacy were first taught in this chair and it was the place where many valuable historians of the next generation such as Nejat Göyünç, Mübahat Küçüköğlü, Mehmet İpşirli, Salih Özbaran and Abdulkadir Özcan had been studied and graduated. Mustafa İpşirli, one of Gökbişgin's students, explains that the Ottoman Institutions and Civilization was a department/chair that was not favored due to some negative comments about the difficulty of the classes among the students, the number of students was also not very high and İpşirli explains that he was a bit intimidated to study there. However, when Fahri Çetin Derin, who gave the Ottoman reading classes at that time, said that this was his place to be, İpşirli has been *"under the patronage of two virtuous teachers, each more valuable than the other."*

"Our professor [hocamız] Tayyib was the founder and the elder of the chair, and our professor Nejat Göyünç, who came back to the platform from Germany, was one of the two teachers who made great efforts to develop the chair (...) Hocamız Tayyib mainly taught

²⁰⁰ From Gökbişgin to the Dean of the Faculty of Literature, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1FD0WtLRsJUEGkWa8WNI6OInmQayh515Z/view?usp=sharing> , https://drive.google.com/file/d/1CNGCHPxRG1bAt4sw3sr0ZI_jvilQPSVg/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 31a-b.

*organizational history. Central, provincial, and scientific organizations were the lessons he gave separately. There were lecture notes the size of half an A4 paper. He narrated by looking at them. Paleography and diplomacy were his favorite lectures. He had a habit of constantly writing the terms of the organization and the titles of the books on the blackboard. We would have noticed that he especially liked to write them in Ottoman Turkish.”*²⁰¹

In the same period, he was appointed the director of the Institute for Islamic Studies at the Faculty of Literature, succeeding the Turkologist, historian Zeki Velidi Togan. He continued his duties at İstanbul University until his retirement on 13 July 1971.²⁰² He handed over the chairmanship to his student Mübahat Kütükoğlu, but continued to teach and research even in retirement. After the retirement Gökbilgin, utilized his experience and lecture notes in his books “*Osmanlı Müesseseleri Teşkilatı ve Medeniyeti Tarihine Genel Bir Bakış /An Overview of the History of Ottoman Organization of Institutions and Civilization*”, published in 1977, and “*Osmanlı Paleografya ve Diplomatik İlmi /Ottoman Paleography and Diplomacy*”, published in 1979. As I will discuss in detail in the last chapter, he was committed to the continuity of cultural and scientific relations with Hungary until the last moment. He hosted a symposium on II. Ferenc Rákóczi at İstanbul University in 1975 and initiated the foundation of the Joint Committee of Turkish-Hungarian Historians in the same years. Until his illness in 1981, he took

²⁰¹ Mehmet İpşirli, “Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları XXII*, (2003): 35; idem. “Hocam Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin’in Osmanlı Teşkilat Tarihi Çalışmalarına Katkıları”, in *Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin ve Edirne Sempozyumu, 15 Nisan 2015, Bildiriler*, eds. İbrahim Sezgin and Veysi Akın (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, 2016), 22.

²⁰² Mücteba İlgürel, “Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin’den Bazı Hatıralar ve Onun Bilimsel Hizmetleri” in *Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin ve Edirne Sempozyumu, 15 Nisan 2015, Bildiriler*, eds. İbrahim Sezgin and Veysi Akın (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, 2016), 10.

full responsibility for the proper and timely execution of the official proceedings and activities related to the Committee.

CHAPTER 3

The Discourse, Legacy and Methodological Approach of the Historian

Following the evaluations that have been made in the first two chapters, it can be seen that starting from the Tanzimat period and until the death of Atatürk, rapid and continuous movement and highly accelerated transformations were experienced. The process that I have tried to emphasize up to now was notably formative for the historians of the era and determined to a great extent the subjects they chose to engage, their methods of handling the issues and their mechanisms for writing about and teaching history. All of these changes and transitions led to a reshaping of the whole society as one can clearly see. On the one hand, Tayyib Gökbilgin and his generation were first-hand witnesses of the entire transition process, and on the other hand, they tried to provide insights into past experiences as a result of their profession and ideals, and worked to redefine this process using the experiences of the past. Moreover, the generation of Tayyib Gökbilgin was consciously engaged in scholarly historiography at an academic level when they were constructing, researching, and transmitting the history of an era.

Tayyib Gökbilgin, as one of the first products of the new regime, one of the first teachers, and as an active member of the first generation of the Republic, rebuilt himself as a historian in accordance with the ideals of the new regimen in one of the republic's first ideologically based formal educational institutions, the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography. At the same time as he was building himself as a new citizen and scholar with new methods and trends he was reestablishing a new interpretation of Ottoman History. Tayyib Gökbilgin's historical

writing contains analytical thinking, the ability to connect ideas and thoughts by understanding the link between them. He differentiated sources by evaluating them meticulously and followed international developments closely. He utilized these developments in his own works and paid attention to long-term changes, internal dynamics, and transformations. I have addressed these internal dynamics and transformations in the first two chapters. The matter I am going to discuss here in this chapter is to trace the intellectual movements of the period and methodological approaches that possibly had an effect upon the research and style of Tayyib Gökbiçin's historical narration.

I have already emphasized that modern Turkish historiography started with the Second Constitutional period. Positivism was unequivocally the most influential theory upon which Turkish historiography was based on from the beginning of the Second Constitution up to the time when Tayyib Gökbiçin started his university education. Yet at the same time, as some scholars pointed out, the intellectuals of the Second Constitution, who provided the first references to positivism and were the pioneers of introducing the theory to the Turkish public, did not have a keen interest in the scientific understanding or philosophy of the theory and only utilized its concept of social engineering.²⁰³ Hence, the first question here would be what did positivism offer to the intellectuals of the Second Constitution?

Positivism provided fundamental ideals for the intellectuals of the era. The most prominent element of the theory for them was the statement that science and facts are more important than metaphysical beliefs. It was now out of the question to evaluate dogmatic

²⁰³ Doğan Özlem, "Türkiye'de Pozitivizm ve Siyaset" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Modernleşme ve Batıcılık* Cilt 3, eds. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 458-459; Şükrü Nişancı, "İttihat ve Terakki Politikalarında Pozitivizmin Etkisi ve Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım", *Bilgi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2, (2009): 44; Kenan Özkan, "Türk Modernleşmesinde Pozitivizmin Bilim Algısı", *Belgi Dergisi* 7 (2014): 944.

principles or divine inspiration as a source of knowledge. As Zafer Toprak stated, the most significant feature of the conception of historical studies that manifested itself with the Second Constitution and continued to preserve its impact until the early years of the Turkish Republic was the separation of the ethereal (*uhrevî*) and physical (*dunyevî*) through the influence of a positivist perspective.²⁰⁴

Positivism in its broadest sense carries the notion of being non-speculative, observable, and explainable by experiment. In the nineteenth century, Auguste Comte was attributed as providing the meaning that is referred to today. While positivism introduces a methodology to empirical sciences, it sets certain boundaries between metaphysics and science, since the former has a very abstract nature and cannot be proven by experiment. Therefore, dogmatic, and intuitive knowledge should be excluded from the field of scientific activity. The main goal of science is to link events to facts. Single events cannot be evaluated as scientific because the event needs to lose its uniqueness by being linked to another event and by reoccurring.²⁰⁵ Therefore, positivism suggests that science should only deal with observable quantities that can be known through direct experimentation.²⁰⁶

Comte suggests that, right alongside the epistemological suggestions, one aspect of positivist theory in particular is more remarkable than the others, and this feature is also important in practical terms. Positivism was the only single and solid foundation for social organization that might bring to an end to the crisis from which civilized societies had been

²⁰⁴ Zafer Toprak, "Darwinizmden Ateizme Türkiye'de Tarih Eğitiminin Evrimi." *Toplumsal Tarih* 216 (2011): 5

²⁰⁵ Özkan, "Türk Modernleşmesinde Pozitivizmin Bilim Algısı", 930.

²⁰⁶ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 3rd ed., (New York: Longman/Pearson, 2002), 166-77.

suffering for many years.²⁰⁷ In the social organization of positivism, social integration is the main goal and the only device for the progress of humanity. Positivists interconnect the concepts of order and progress. Order must first be maintained for society to advance, and the first step for achieving order is to create solidarity.²⁰⁸ So in other words, society needed to go through a reconstruction process to maintain order and progress, thus positivism at this point takes on the responsibility for social engineering. As Sönmez states, the most important thing to note here is that the intellectuals of the Second Constitution were not interested in the epistemological aspects of positivism, but rather in this feature of social engineering.²⁰⁹ Mehmet Sait Özervarlı provides an explanation about the reasons for this lack of interest:

*“They yearned for a society governed by scientific principles, where human beings would be regarded as equal and independent, and proper and reliable science would lead to individual liberty and independence through education and a sound legal system, enabling every nation to reach its patriotic goals without discrimination. Moreover, positivism appeared to Ottoman modernizers as straightforward and practical in its program and goals, making it all the more appealing. Therefore, instead of delving into its philosophical aspects and laying down a theoretical base for their thought, they effortlessly adopted it as a tool for solving the political issues at hand.”*²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Auguste Comte, “Pozitif Felsefe Dersleri.”, trans. Ümit Meriç, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyoloji Dergisi* 2.19-20 (1964): 233.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 233-34; Özkan, “Türk Modernleşmesinde Pozitivizmin Bilim Algısı”, 931.

²⁰⁹ Erdem Sönmez, *Annales Okulu ve Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı: Annales Okulu’nun Türkiye’deki Tarihyazımına Etkisi: Başlangıçtan 1980’e.*, (İstanbul: Daktylos Yayınevi, 2008), 108-109; Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 136-137.

²¹⁰ M. Sait Özervarlı, “Positivism in the Late Ottoman Empire: The “Young Turks” as Mediators and Multipliers.”, in *The Worlds of Positivism: A Global Intellectual History, 1770–1930.*, eds. Johannes Feichtinger, Franz L. Fillafer, and Jan Surman, (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan 2018), 93.

As Özkan pointed out the discourse of Comte, which emphasizes order and progress achievable only by prioritizing intellect and science, and the motivation of the Second Constitution to improve a society that failed on industrial, cultural, and educational reforms corresponded to one another.²¹¹ According to the practice of positivism, “*History must use the same methods as the natural sciences, beginning with empirical evidence and proceeding through analysis of this evidence to the formulation of general laws.*”²¹² Therefore, historical knowledge was credible and valid only to the extent that it could be verified using scientific methods. The first task of the historian is to gather genuine information about past facts that can be verified through a critical study of primary sources. These facts will determine how the past should be explained or interpreted. In this critical process, the individual beliefs and ethereal values of historians have no place. Their only concern is the facts and generalizations they elicit by following the path of logic.²¹³ That is to say, historians have to make choices that do not contain eccentric narratives, but instead explain what actually happened. The necessity to provide the empirical evidence-based facts of positivism corresponded to the essential nature of historians conducting research based on primary sources in the archives. By these means, history could redefine itself as a scientific discipline, remove the speculative element from its structure, and propose a sharp distinction between academic and amateur historians. This transformation and the methods of using source criticism were seen as a revolution in the field of history associated with Leopold von Ranke.²¹⁴ Ranke introduced pioneering approaches on how historians should work, and how archives should be evaluated as the most important area in the

²¹¹ Özkan, “Türk Modernleşmesinde Pozitivizmin Bilim Algısı”, 932.

²¹² Iggers, Wang, and Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 120.

²¹³ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 166.

²¹⁴ Georg G. Iggers, and James M. Powell, *Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline.*, (Syracuse University Press, 1990); Richard Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta Books, 2000), 17.

production of historical knowledge. Ranke claimed that historians could write an objective history through archival studies, leaving behind their personal beliefs and judgments as well as moral and political tendencies.²¹⁵ History could only emerge from the meticulous investigation of archival documents.²¹⁶ Ranke stated that historians should produce and demonstrate “*wie es eigentlich gewesen – what actually happened*”.²¹⁷ However, some studies suggest that the English translation of “*eigentlich*” diminishes the complexity of this thought and the associated research methods. They suggest that this phrase should be translated as what “essentially” happened.²¹⁸ Because of this nuance of translation, this motto was understood as meaning that no evaluations should be made that go beyond the facts. However, “essentially” also offers a motivation to the reader and/or researcher to develop “*a kind of intuitive understanding of the inner existence of the past.*”²¹⁹

The intellectuals of the Second Constitutional period followed the debates about the study of history through the concepts and discussions that were being formulated in France. This was due to the fact that the ideas of the French Revolution were in the background of the Young Turk Revolution and the foundation of the Republic.²²⁰ The prominent intellectuals of the period who began to run conversations and discussions about positivism through translations and

²¹⁵ Lutz Raphael, “The Implications of Empiricism for History”, in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, eds., Nancy Partner, and Sarah Foot, (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 31-32

²¹⁶ Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, “Leopold Ranke’s archival turn: location and evidence in modern historiography.”, *Modern Intellectual History* 5.3 (2008): 437-39

²¹⁷ Raphael, “The Implications of Empiricism for History”, 27.

²¹⁸ Iggers, Wang, and Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 122.

²¹⁹ Evans, *In Defence of History*, 17.

²²⁰ Şükrü Hanioğlu, “Fransız İhtilali, and Osmanlı İmparatorluğu. “Jön Türkler ve Fransız Düşünce Akımları.” in *De La Révolution Française À La Turk Turquie D’Atatürk: La Modernisation Politique et Sociale, Les lettres, Les sciences et Les arts*, eds. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont; Edhem Eldem, (İstanbul: Isis Yayıncılık, 1990), 173-178; idem., *The Young Turks in Opposition*, 206; Zürcher, *The young Turk legacy and nation building*, 237-239; Zafer Toprak, “Ali Reşat, Pozitivizm ve Fransız Devrimi.” *Tarih ve Toplum* 12.68 (1989): 54-56.

publications, cited Comte's ideas in newly established journals and incorporated positivism into their curriculum at the university.²²¹

Undoubtedly, Ahmed Rıza was one of the most significant figures in this matter, one of the first intellectuals of the era who perceived that the liberation and development of the Ottomans would only be possible through a change in social structure instead of changes in individuals or political regimes. In 1889, a group of students at the Imperial Medical Academy in İstanbul, established a secret organization called the Ottoman Unity Society (*İttihad-i Osmani Cemiyeti*) to bring back the temporarily suspended parliament by Abdülhamid II.²²² The opposition movement that started here turned into a network of groups and individuals who had animosity towards the Abdülhamid regime and tried to overthrow it. When the plan came out, many of its leaders fled abroad, especially to Paris, where they laid the groundwork for a future revolution against the Sultan. One of the most notable of these emigres was Ahmed Rıza, a principal ideologist figure of the influential Young Turk organization known as the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki*). Ahmed Rıza published a newspaper in French and Ottoman Turkish. The title of this newspaper, called *Meşveret* (consultancy), was a headline highlighting the constitutional matters demanded by the opposition movement. “Order and Progress” (*intizam ve terakki*), the slogan of the positivists of that period, was frequently mentioned in this newspaper.²²³ The publication of the program of the Committee of Union and Progress for the first time in this newspaper made Ahmed Rıza one of the first leaders of this opposition group. In this period, Ahmed Rıza, who later became the President of the Chamber of

²²¹ Özervarlı, “Positivism in the Late Ottoman Empire”, 86.

²²² Hanioglu, *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*, 120.

²²³ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 256-259; Ziyad Ebüzziya, “Ahmed Rıza”, TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi 2, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1989), 124-127, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ahmed-riza>, (accessed June 8, 2020).

Deputies and the Senate (*Meclis-i Mebusan ve Ayan Reisi*), built close contacts with the French positivists, adopted their ideas, and made a considerable impact during the Second Constitutional era. He was also a member of the Soci t  positiviste where he represented Muslim societies in the Comit  positif occidentale.²²⁴

According to Barıř Alp  zden, the reason positivism influenced Ahmed Rıza to such an extent was that he considered Comte's analysis of French society after the 1789 revolution appropriate for the analysis of late Ottoman society as well. Since Ottoman society was already going through tumultuous times, it would not be possible to survive another traumatic event, and that is the reason Ahmed Rıza believed, as Comte suggested, society could only challenge itself through order and progress, and progress could only be sustained after order was achieved in the light of positivism.²²⁵

As for Zafer Toprak, Ali Reřad, who taught history at various educational institutions and was the principal of the upper-level teacher training school, was another significant writer who left his marks onto the Second Constitutional period.²²⁶ Ali Reřad, “*dominated the history course books and emerged as one of the most prolific and influential ‘course book historians’*”²²⁷. He translated the works of Charles Seignobos, Edouard Engelhardt, Gustave Le Bon, Ernest Lavisse, and Alfred Rambaud. In fact, many of his works were inspired by Charles Seignobos. Zafer Toprak stated the level of this inspiration reached plagiarism from time to time. However,

²²⁴ For a detailed study on Ahmet Rıza see, Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 52-79; řerif Mardin, *J n T rklerin siyasi fikirleri 1895-1908*. 15. Baskı (İstanbul: İletifim Yayınları, 2008), 184- 224; Erdem S nmez, *Ahmed Rıza. Bir J n T rk Liderinin Siyasi-Entelekt el Portresi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 2012);  zervarlı, “Positivism in the Late Ottoman Empire” 85-87; Eminatp Malkoç, “Dođu-Batı Ekseninde Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Ahmet Rıza Yařamı ve D řunce D nyası” *Yakın D nem T rkiye Arařtırmaları* 11 (2007): 93-162.

²²⁵ Barıř Alp  zden, and Atilla L k. “Ahmet Rıza.” in *Modern T rkiye’de Siyasi D řunce / Cumhuriyet’e Devreden D řunce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meřrutiyet’in Birikimi* C.1, eds., Mehmet  . Alkan, Murat Belge, and Tanıl Bora, (İstanbul: İletifim, 2001), 120-123.

²²⁶ Toprak, “Ali Reřad, Pozitivizm ve Fransız Devrimi.”, 54-56.

²²⁷ G rpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 136.

Toprak also emphasized that thanks to his translations and attempts to conceptualize historiography, the Turkish study of history was able to follow and join the discussions of global historiography.²²⁸

Ahmed Refik Altınay was another important historian of the era who was influenced by positivist historical writing, yet preferred to combine the principles of positivism and the traditions of narration. This tendency and methodology gave him the title of “*the pioneer of popular history in Turkey.*”²²⁹ Ahmed Refik was a member of the Ottoman Historical Association and he met Ernest Lavisse while he was visiting France to make observations and perform research to increase the effectiveness of the Turkish Historical Association and to determine its course of action. At this visit, Ernest Lavisse introduced him to Charles Seignobos who, in Ahmed Refik’s own words, “*is the man who sharpened my mind.*”²³⁰ He later translated Seignobos’s work called *Histoire de la Civilization*. He also wrote an article that dealt with the life and works of Leopold von Ranke, Jules Michelet, and Heinrich von Treitschke, who through their scientific works promoted “*the unity of the German nation.*”²³¹

As noted above, the importance of archival materials and the discussions that suggested the only scientific process for studying history was to make objective evaluations of these materials emerged during this period. Charles Seignobos was the apparent inspiration for this trend. I can briefly summarize this effect as follows: history is made through documents, and there is no history without archival material. Seeking out and collecting the documents is one of the main parts of historiography. The first thing to do in order to achieve this primary goal is to

²²⁸ Toprak, *Darwin'den Dersim'e Cumhuriyet ve Antropoloji*, 233-237.

²²⁹ Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 136-137.

²³⁰ Muzaffer Gökman, *Tarihi Sevdiren Adam Ahmet Refik Altınay: Hayatı ve Eserleri.*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978), 33.; Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 136-137.

²³¹ Ahmet Refik, *Alman müverrihleri: Ranke, Mommsen, Treitschke.* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932).

have a proper catalogue of historical sources such as archives, libraries, and museums, since the basic necessity for accessing available resources is to arrange and catalogue them properly.

Moreover, bibliographical studies and information on historical books is also an essential part of the process. Besides this, historians should be able to master philosophy, ethnography, geography, law, etc. to be able to evaluate the documents that they work on. They should learn the characteristics and paleography of the period they choose to examine. Even though it is based on the archival documents, historical knowledge is characterized by indirect knowledge.

Historians gather historical knowledge through the interpretation of evidence that they have found in the documents. Documents are considered a starting point, and facts are the final goal. However, the comparative critique and the interpretation phase between these two points is the most crucial phase in the methodology of historical studies.²³²

The Second Constitutional period, as Yusuf Akçura critically described it at the First Turkish History Congress was “*the reign of Seignobos.*” He stated that until the First Congress, many of these translations and method books on history and the study of history that were used for educational purposes were works written in this manner.²³³ Indeed, Akçura started his

²³² Charles Victor Langlois; Charles Seignobos, *Tarih Tetkiklerine Giriş*, trans. Galip Ataç, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2010); Raphael, “The Implications of Empiricism for History”, 32; Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 137.

²³³ “Meşrutiyet ilan olunca bu tarih orucu birdenbire bozuldu. Tarih yazarlar bastırınlar hayli çoğaldı. Bu müverrihler ekseriyetle fransızca tarih kitaplarının, hassaten Seignobos’un mütercimleridir. Zarif bir arkadaşımın dediği gibi “meşrutiyetle beraber Osmanlı mekteplerinde bir Seignobos saltanatı başladı”. Bunun böyle olduğunu misaller göstererek izah ve ispata lüzum görmüyorum. Hepiniz bunu benim kadar, belki benden daha iyi biliyorsunuzdur. Çünkü ders kitabı olarak, düne değin Maarif Nezaret ve Vekaletlerinin tavsiyesiyle elimizde bulunan tarih kitaplarının çoğu bu yolda yazılan eserlerdi./ “When the constitutional monarchy was declared, this historical fasting was suddenly broken. The number of people who wrote and published history has increased. These historians are mostly the translators of French history books, particularly Seignobos. As one of my elegant friends said, “With the constitutionalism, a reign of Seignobos began in the Ottoman schools”. I do not need to do any explanation and give any proof by showing examples that this is the case. You all know this as much as I do, maybe better than I do. Because, as a textbook, most of the history books we had with the recommendation of the Ministry of Education until yesterday were the works written in this way.” Yusuf Akçura “Tarih Yazmak ve Tarih Okutmak Usullerine Dair”, in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, [Ankara 2-10 Temmuz, 1932]: konferanslar, müzakere zabıtları*, (Ankara: T.C. Maarif Vekaleti, 1932), 595; Zafer Toprak, “Türkiye’de Akademik Tarihçiliğin Genel Durumu: Bir

criticism of the study of history of the era right after the developments that took place during the Second Constitutional period. He criticized the Ottoman Historical Association for only paying attention to the great men such as sultans, pashas, and gentlemen, without creating any analytical framework. He argued that it would not be possible to develop the logic of history researching in such way, and it was useless to try to create an understanding of history without paying any interest to the social and economic aspects of the societies.²³⁴ Doğan Gürpınar considered these criticisms as the first seeds of social history, “*an Annales paradigm embedded within Turkish nationalism.*”²³⁵ In a similar manner, Sönmez has also stated that the implications of social history/historiography in Turkey had emerged at a rather early period, and Yusuf Akçura voiced the first serious criticism in this regard.²³⁶

These critiques of positivism generally focused on the position of a historian who only concentrated on singular, unique and individual events instead of social formation. The subject of the historical research was mainly aimed at military and political events and/or individuals. However, with the progress of the Annales School in France and new social history trends that emerged in Germany, this ‘narrow’ comprehension changed drastically, and diverse perceptions of history emerged. Moreover, this diversity influenced the study of history in Turkey starting from the early stages yet as we can see later, it was after 1940s these trends came into prominence. The central principle of the social history schools is to advocate a holistic vision of history instead of taking references only from the concepts that focus on the great figures who

Bilanço Denemesi” in *Türkiye’de Akademik Tarihçilik*, eds. Ahmet Şimşek and Alaattin Aköz, (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2017): 25-37.

²³⁴ François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)*, trans. Alev Er, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2nd edition, 1996), 74-75; Sönmez, *Annales Okulu ve Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı*, 124.

²³⁵ Doğan Gürpınar, “Anatolia’s eternal destiny was sealed: Seljuks of Rum in the Turkish national (ist) imagination from the late Ottoman Empire to the Republican era.” *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey* (2012): 5.

²³⁶ Sönmez, *Annales Okulu ve Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı*, 127.

made decisions and decided the fates of millions. Instead, the Annales School defends the idea that “*social history sought to uncover the traces, experiences, and impact of ordinary people.*”²³⁷

With this change, the real subject of history had shifted from political events to society, and therefore to the individuals who make up the society. The new understanding suggested that to comprehend these two elements, history needed to make use of other disciplines. Therefore, historians should make use not only of written documents, but of all the elements that formed the society. The Annales School defended the inseparability of history from other social sciences, “*the borderline between them was to be erased.*”²³⁸ Historians should not be content with merely describing the events and the periods in which the events occurred, but should formulate the proper questions and search for meaning. Their task essentially was to understand the meaning of history without turning the past into a narrative or premeditating the future. Historians should not simply focus on a selected individual and should acknowledge that the historical process is not monopolized by people of privilege. Therefore, they should be able to arrange their work within a total history and not elaborate on a single, unique event. The concept of time should be considered using a holistic approach without being divided according to states or political systems. Another critique of the Annales School was on the event-centered understanding of traditional historiography that overlooked the diverse and multilayered realities and practices of the past.

Although it is a theory that emerged between the two world wars, its dissemination and practice gained momentum after the Second World War. Many studies suggest that the impact of the Annales School in Turkey originated through interactions between Fernand Braudel and

²³⁷ Brian Lewis, “Social History: a New Kind of History.”, in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, 94.

²³⁸ Iggers, Wang, and Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 257.

Ömer Lütfi Barkan, yet as I mentioned before, it is also possible to state that the discussions and objections regarding positivism and the traditional narrative of history started quite early among Turkish intellectuals.²³⁹

As I noted above, Yusuf Akçura expressed his criticism during the First Congress. And Fuad Köprülü, who was one of Tayyib Gökbilgin's professors, laid the foundations for the first theoretical critique in the article entitled *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usül / Methodology in the History of Turkish Literature* that was published in *Bilgi Mecmuası* in 1913. *Bilgi Mecmuası* (Journal of Knowledge) was the scholarly publication of the Türk Bilgi Derneği (Association for Turkish Knowledge), which was founded with the aim of creating an academy of arts and sciences using the French Academy (Académie Française) as a model and under the semi-official patronage of the CUP.²⁴⁰ The main goal of *Bilgi Mecmuası* was to create a hub for scientific methods and expertise, and in accordance with this aim, they published highly advanced scholarly articles on subjects including history, language, literature, philosophy, sociology, art history, architecture, politics and Islam. The authors of the journal such as Fuad Köprülü, Ziya Gökalp, Ahmed Refik, Yusuf Akçura, Mimar Kemaleddin, Ahmet Ağaoğlu and Ömer Seyfeddin were among the intellectuals who were shaping the new culture and social structure of the new nation. Furthermore, they were the first to lay the foundations of the

²³⁹ Halil İncalcık, "Impact of the Annales School on Ottoman Studies and New Findings [with Discussion]." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, vol. 1, no. 3/4, (1978): 69–99; Meltem Toksöz and Selçuk Esenbel, "Deconstructing Imperial and National Narratives in Turkey and the Arab Middle East" in *Global History, Globally: Research and Practice around the World*, eds. Sven Beckert and Dominic Sachsenmaier, (London, New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2018), 115-116; Yunus Koç, "The Contribution of Ömer Lütfi Barkan to Historical Demographic Studies and the Problems of Ottoman Demographic History in the Classical Period", *Bilgi - Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 65 (2013): 179.

²⁴⁰ Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism: from irredentism to cooperation*. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 40.

Republic after the struggles experienced in the War of Independence, as I mentioned in the previous chapters.²⁴¹

Although Fuad Köprülü started to deal with historiography at a time when positivist arguments were widely praised and greatly employed, in on the first academic studies of his career, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usül*, he suggested a methodology that had strong similarities with the social history trends of the period and the early years of the Annales School.²⁴² In this article, he argued that since neither history nor other social sciences can ever be constituted in the form of mathematics or the natural sciences, there is no point in imposing the rules or straightforward methods of positive sciences into the research of history. Each and every branch of science should be able to provide its own methodology in accordance with its own nature, so that each branch can reflect its individual nature and should not surrender to incoherent, false analogies that oversimplify the differences in the essence of social sciences.²⁴³ The meaning of history according to him was the “*manifestation of the ideas and actions of humanity*”.

Therefore, he objected to those who wanted to constrain history merely to mutual relations and the organization of states.²⁴⁴ That is because,

“the history of the progress of society should not be seen as pertaining to a small elite class, but put the great individuals within their social circle, namely the public, side by side with the examples of the intellectual class in the stage of events. For this reason, the historian is

²⁴¹ Zafer Toprak, “Türk Bilgi Derneği (1914) ve Bilgi Mecmuası.”, in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri* 1, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987), 247-254.

²⁴² Sönmez, *Annales Okulu ve Türkiye’de Tarihyazımı*, 136-140; Zafer Toprak “Türkiye’de Çağdaş Tarihçilik (1908-1970)”, *Türkiye’de Sosyal Bilim Araştırmalarının Gelişimi*, ed. Sevil Atauz, (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayını 1986), 433.

²⁴³ Mehmet Fuad Köprülü. *Edebiyat Araştırmaları* 1 (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2004), 28.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

obliged to examine not only the common and official documents but also all kinds of private documents and letters and anything written, registers, defter-i hakâni and works of art."²⁴⁵

Köprülü continued his argument by saying that history is still considered “*the stories of wars and victories, the sagas of rulers and viziers*”, but these themes consist of singular events and lack genuine value. According to him, the historians must first explicitly show the origins of the race and the elements in the physical and geographical environment of the society (*cemiyet*) whose past they want to narrate and keep alive. Furthermore, they should be deeply interested in the economy of the family, the organization of public life, the connections between public life and official organizations, the development of language, literature, religion, and science and also the scale of material and moral relations with neighboring countries.²⁴⁶

Tayyib Gökbilgin's historiography, like other historians of the period, was influenced by these approaches. However apart from these concepts, there were other debates that Gökbilgin followed closely. As I have already mentioned and will explain in more detail in chapter four, he was also involved in discussions about new schools or perspectives in the field of social history thanks to his research in Hungary and the networks he had established with Hungarian historians. Gyula Szekfü, of whom we know that Gökbilgin was familiar with his works, was a prominent scholar in Hungary in the period between the two world wars. During this period, Hungarian historiography was strongly influenced by the German *Geistesgeschichte* movement. The Hungarian adaptation of this approach was called *szellemtörténet* was a synthesis of intellectual history and history of ideas, in which historians should focus on the intellectual/spiritual

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 30.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 31.

background behind the facts.²⁴⁷ Szekfű, one of the pioneers of this movement, claimed, following the school of *Geistesgeschichte* that every period of history has a certain spirit that dominates it. And his works aimed to uncover the spirit of Hungarians by examining the ideas and attitudes of prominent statesmen and politicians.²⁴⁸ Erős Vilmos states that he divided Hungary's leading politicians and intellectuals into two groups at every stage of Hungary's history: Szekfű first called attention to the intellectual/spiritual contrast between *dunántúli* (Transdanubia) - great Hungarians and *tiszántúli* (Transtisza) - small Hungarians in his work *A száműzött Rákóczi / Rákóczi in exile*.²⁴⁹ The great Hungarians knew that recognizing the power status of the Habsburg Empire was a historical necessity. They acknowledged that a political compromise was necessary to achieve greater internal independence for their nations. These great Hungarians, also called *labanc*, were part of the Catholic-Germanic cultural community and, with Habsburg support, they sought to promote social reforms as well as the economic development and intellectual progress of the nation. The small Hungarians, on the other hand, were *kuruc* such as Kossuth and Rákóczi, who fought for national independence against the Habsburgs. However, he argued that their striving was not due to a pure fight for freedom, but out of their own class interests, namely the motivation to protect the privileges of the nobility and Protestantism. Szekfű argued that the calamities that befell Hungary were linked to the Eastern contacts and that every time Hungary turned its face towards Catholic Austria, some

²⁴⁷ Erős Vilmos, "Ethnohistory in Hungary (Elemér Mályusz and István Szabó)", *Journal of Eurasian Studies* vol.vii., no.1 (2015): 20; idem. "Ethnohistory in Hungary between the Two World Wars: Elemér Mályusz and István Szabó." *Hungarian Studies Review* 44, no. 1-2 (2017): 53-80.

²⁴⁸ Irene Raab Epstein, *Gyula Szekfű: A Study in the Political Basis of Hungarian Historiography*, (New York: Garland, 1987), 84-85.

²⁴⁹ Vilmos, "Ethnohistory in Hungary (Elemér Mályusz and István Szabó)", 20; idem. "Szellemtörténet versus népiségtörténet: Szekfű Gyula és Szabó István különböző értelmezései a nemzetiségek magyarországi történetéről az 1940-es évek első felében", *Történelmi Szemle* 03 (2019): 485.

developments took place. But the small Hungarians ignored the political and geographical reality and hindered Hungary's possible progress.²⁵⁰

Elemér Mályusz, another important historian of the interwar period, rejected the dominant emphasis on Szekfű's pro-Habsburg stance. Instead, he insisted on the contributions of a specific and distinctive Hungarian spirit to intellectual developments. In fact, the goal of these two historians was the same: to focus on the works that uncovered the entire cultural, spiritual and material heritage of the Magyars before the three and a half million ethnic Hungarians fell victim to the possible and expected assimilation policies.²⁵¹ In doing so, however, Mályusz stressed the need for Hungarian historiography to emphasize Hungarian *Volksgeschichte* as opposed to a conception of history that served to legitimize Habsburg allegiance, and developed the notion of the ethnohistorical/*népiségtörténet* school.²⁵² Erős Vilmos summarizes Mályusz's ethnohistorical concept as follows:

“Mályusz honed his theory by clashing swords with proponents of the most powerful historical ideology of his time. Taking a direct stab at Geistesgeschichte [spiritual history], its preoccupation with Western cultural influences and its exclusive reliance on the evidence of the written word, he set ethnohistory the task of concentrating on "spontaneous" cultural elements such as roads, means of transportation, architecture, settlements, systems of local political and

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 485-86; Vilmos, *A szellemtörténettől a népiségtörténetig*, 212-16.

²⁵¹ Steven B. Vardy, “The Impact of Trianon upon Hungary and the Hungarian Mind: The Nature of Interwar Hungarian Irredentism”, *Hungarian Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (1983): 21.

²⁵² Gergely Romsics, “Magyar Szemle and the conservative mobilization against Völkisch ideology and German Volksgeschichte in 1930s Hungary.”, *Hungarian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 86; Vilmos, “Ethnohistory in Hungary (Elemér Mályusz and István Szabó)”, 36.

*administrative organization, and "anthropological" data of every kind that might serve to give an accurate picture of the day-to-day life of the people.”*²⁵³

He also advocated an understanding of social history that emphasized ethnicity, in contrast to the schools of history that focused largely on states.²⁵⁴ Methodologically, he emphasized the systematic use of auxiliary sciences and the diversification of resources. The dissertations he supervised were based on these principles, and most of them concerned the territories lost as a result of the Treaty of Trianon.²⁵⁵

The loss of land and population due to the impositions of the Treaty of Trianon was reflected in Hungarian historiography in such way, and social-historical research became increasingly important in this context. This approach influenced almost all historians of the period, and Fekete did not stand apart from it. His response to Trianon was his work on Esztergom. The situation of the city deteriorated after the Treaty of Trianon, after which it became a border town and lost most of its former territory to the newly formed Czechoslovakia. Researching the “*Defter-i mufaszsal-i livá-i Esztergon der vilájet-i Budun*”, which he found in the Oriental Department of the Prussian State Library in Berlin, would, in his opinion, “*provide an almost complete picture of the population of the Hungarian land conquered by the Turks, and would even provide the ideal opportunity to make two or three intersections at some points, once at the beginning of the Turkish rule, once in the middle of the period and once at the end, so that not only the main results of the Turkish rule but also the most important moments of its*

²⁵³ Ibid., 23.

²⁵⁴ Steven Béla Várdy, *A magyar történettudomány és a szellemtörténeti iskola- The Hungarian Historiography and The Geistesgeschichte School*, (Cleveland: Arpad Academy, 1974.), 73.

²⁵⁵ Steven Béla Várdy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, (East European Monographs, number 17.), (Colorado: East European Quarterly, 1976), 109-111.

development would be clearly visible.”²⁵⁶ Thus, by using the Ottoman *defters* as a social-historical source, Fekete demonstrated the autochthonous character of the Hungarians in Esztergom.

In addition to these discussions, it is possible to say that Gökbilgin was also deeply influenced by one of the essential qualities of positivist history writing, which emphasized singular events or individuals defined as great men and highlighted political history. One of the first examples that may suggest the undeniable traces of the influence of the positivist approach in his writing was in a letter that we mentioned earlier. Gökbilgin corresponded with Lajos Fekete right after his graduation, and as it can be clearly understood from the response that he wanted to study the life of Imre Thököly (later in his career he made detailed studies on this matter²⁵⁷). However, Fekete told him that it might be more valuable to conduct research into the *defters*. Therefore, it is possible to state that Fekete was among the first historians who appreciated the fact that the *defters* were a key point in the study of Ottoman social history, and advised his colleague, who had recently taken his first steps in his long career path, to focus on this issue. Therefore, in discussing the methodology of Tayyib Gökbilgin, we must emphasize the importance of Fekete’s guidance, which was as important as the discussions initiated by his professor Fuad Köprülü concerning the benefits of the *defters* and the evaluation of long-term developments in society instead of focusing on singular events or short periods of time.

²⁵⁶ Lajos Fekete, *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása (1943)*, (Budapest: Magyar Történettudományi Intézet, 1943), 10. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/EsztergomKonyvek_232/?pg=9&layout=s (accessed May 29, 2021).

²⁵⁷ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Thököly Imre ve Osmanlı Avusturya İlişkilerindeki Rolü”, *Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri Işığında II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Macar Mültecileri Sempozyumu*, (31 Mayıs-3 Haziran 1976), İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976). His hand written notes on Thököly: https://drive.google.com/file/d/17bCrUzE22qy_Vj1HIR_GywB_Uv37glkA/view?usp=sharing.

Gökbilgin witnessed the methodological trends in both Turkey and Hungary at first hand and incorporated them into his works. Moreover, he was not limited to a particular phase of history, but continued his research with success and authority over a wide period, in particular from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire to its collapse. As has been mentioned in the second chapter, he attended summer schools in the early years of his studies, and he became familiar with the Hungarian archives during this period. He recognized the importance of Hungarian sources to Ottoman history and translated the works of the eminent archivist and historian Lajos Fekete while he was still a student. His graduation thesis, *Hungarian Sources on Ottoman History*, was a result of the research that he performed in Hungarian archives. Again, one of his earlier articles was entitled “*II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Tevaabine Dair Yeni Vesikalar/ New Documents Related to Ferenc II Rákóczi and His Entourage.*” In this article, he mentions that even though there were several volumes of works that examined in detail “*the hero of the Hungarian freedom and liberty movement that took place in the early 18th century*”, as a result of the archival studies carried out around that time, there were still documents that needed to be studied. He added that the first researcher who worked in the Turkish archives on this matter and published the documents was the historian, orientalist, catholic priest Imre Karácson, and later the historian Ahmet Refik published other relevant documents that he found in the registers of the *divan-ı hümayun* (imperial court), *nâme* (registers of the documents of sultans), and *mühimme* (registers of important affairs).

“After the former’s (Karácson’s) long and exhausting endeavors and the latter’s (Refik’s) efforts that were worthy of respect, the lives of the heroes of Hungarian independence and liberty in Turkey became quite clear.”²⁵⁸

Tayyib Gökbilgin stated that the new documents that he presented in his article would neither change the detailed studies that had been carried out up to that point nor add anything significantly new. However, he claimed that they gave notable information about the lives of Ferenc II Rákóczi and his entourage in Turkey, especially in respect to their funding and expenses.

As can be seen, the early works of Tayyib Gökbilgin developed under the trend that emphasized the importance of the issues concerning archives, together with original documents. Indubitably, this tendency in his methodology carried the traces of the motto and understanding of the previous generation, which strongly stated that one cannot study history without evidence-based facts and without making objective evaluations of the materials that show these facts, in other words without documents.

Tayyib Gökbilgin wrote an entire chapter in his book “*Osmanlı Paleografya ve Diplomatik İlmî*” focusing on the changes that were experienced in the understanding of history and how/why the field of history should interact with the other social disciplines and methodologies, as the previous generation had debated. However, in his earlier articles and his works themselves, it is possible to trace the fact that he was following these discussions and considering similar issues as well. One example of this is the article he published in the *Tasvir*

²⁵⁸ “Birincisinin uzun ve yorucu gayretleri ve ikincisinin şükranına değer mesaisinden sonra Macar istiklal kahramanlarının Türkiye’deki hayatları oldukça aydınlanmıştı.” Gökbilgin, “II. Rákóczi Ferencz ve Tevabiine Dair Yeni Vesikalar”, *Belleten*, Cilt: V, Sayı: 20, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2nd edition, 1995), 578.

newspaper in 1946, which is a review of the new book by Zeki Velidi Togan entitled *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş/Introduction to General Turkish History*. Here, Gökbilgin stated that the significance of history, as a scientific field, had been acknowledged for one hundred years, and its prominence is completely legitimate and natural since the mission of history is to reconstitute and revive the life of humankind by examining the activities of the nation and society in a general flow of development. Moreover, it is the most crucial agent of national solidarity, patriotism, and it always provides support for the moral pride and sense of belonging to the nation and society.²⁵⁹

*“Surely, to complete a productive work on scholarly historical problems, it is a necessity that all the means exist and are in a condition that is easily utilizable. For nearly two centuries, European nations have made great progress in this field, as they have published the essential materials and main sources of their national histories in the form of Chronicles, Monumentae, Annals and so on. As in our case, where there is a lack of analytic efforts and explicatory works, the first thing that comes to mind and that needs to be achieved in scholarly history is to overcome these deficiencies, to pave the way, to create opportunities for composite works and a synthesis of national history.”*²⁶⁰

Tayyib Gökbilgin presented the first examples of his works in the context of the social history in a habilitation thesis entitled *The Yuruks and Tatars in Rumelia/Rumeli’de Yörükler ve Tatarlar* that was later published in 1957. This study discusses the Yuruks who migrated from Anatolia to Rumelia, becoming integrated with the local inhabitants and making enormous

²⁵⁹ “Umumi Türk Tarihi Meseleleri”, *Tasvir Gazetesi*, 13.12.1946, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1IW_6cYACFnwsl7qkHsBJIkojo7wn3yaQ/view?usp=sharing ,see appendix 32a.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., https://drive.google.com/file/d/1IW_6cYACFnwsl7qkHsBJIkojo7wn3yaQ/view?usp=sharing ,see appendix 32b.

contributions to the Turkification of the area as well as the settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire. In summary, this study provides an evaluation of the Yuruk organization from its beginnings to its dissolution.

“It is evident that the military, political, social and economic life of the empire can all be explained more easily through the full characteristics and understanding of the ethnic composition as well as the other aspects of the empire that witnessed very rich military and political events throughout its lifetime. It is necessary to accept that the examination of this matter, which is specifically elaborated in every country, takes on more importance for a state such as the Ottoman Empire that expanded over a vast area and united under its administration many other nations in terms of race origin, language, religion and so on.”²⁶¹

After clarifying the purpose of his study, Gökbilgin explained his working methods as follows:

“... on the one hand, to gather the information provided by the chronicles and the old reliable historical sources, even though they are scant and insufficient, and presenting this in a critical way, and on the other, to publish the documents that our archives contain regarding these issues ...”²⁶²

Gökbilgin referred to the work of other historians that he found important in this area of study. One of these was a Croatian historian, Ćiro Truhelka, who according to him did not give detailed information regarding the subject. The others who he mentioned with admiration were

²⁶¹ *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar, ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân.* (İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Osman Yalçın, 1957), ix.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

Ahmed Refik, one of the leaders of the positivist discussions in the Second Constitutional period, and Ömer Lütfi Barkan, who is considered the first representative of the Annales School.

“... we should mention two Turkish scholars who have recently made significant publications in our country. One of them is Ahmed Refik, who published the registers related to the Yürüks, Tatars and tribes in Anatolia from the register of important decrees (mühimme) of the Divan-ı Hümayun and provided us with valuable and original material. The other one is Ömer Lütfi Barkan, who again has solved problems such as population calculation, settlement policy and the colonization targets of the Ottoman Empire with knowledge and authority specifically by relying on research into archival materials.”²⁶³

After specifying the purpose of choosing his research topic, the method of study, and other historians that inspired him, Gökbilgin determined the objective of the study as follows:

“Our aim is to illuminate the dark parts of our past that have been left untouched in many respects by relying on completely original documents in historical investigations, and by doing so, to reveal the fine and sound foundations of the true features of this great empire.”²⁶⁴

In another work that Gökbilgin published of this scope, entitled “*XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı: Vakıflar - Mülkler - Mukataalar*”, he focused on and examined the structure of the land system, mulk (private property) and vakf lands in the Paşa livâsı²⁶⁵ of the Eyalet of Rumeli, in other words Edirne, during the period of the foundation and the rise of the Ottoman Empire. This study was also one of the first examples in the field of urban

²⁶³ Ibid.,x.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.,xii.

²⁶⁵ In the Ottoman eyalats or provinces which were the largest administrative units, paşa livâsı refers to the sanjak under the possession of the beylerbey, who has the highest military and administrative position. See: İbrahim Sezgin, “Paşa Livâsı”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 34, (İstanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2007), 183-184, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/pasa-livasi> (accessed June 8, 2020).

historiography. Gökbilgin emphasized that the basic principle for conducting this study was the importance of Edirne as a center of the state in the first half of the sixteenth century. In addition to this was the attention or connection of the statesmen in the administrative or military system and the ulema who played important roles at Edirne, providing services for the foundation and the development of the city.

In the preface of his study, Gökbilgin stated that the private properties (mulks) and land endowments (vakfs) that were granted in the first period of the Ottoman Empire, the determination of the characteristics of these grants in administrative life and their examination from other aspects was also an important issue in Ottoman studies.

*“In order to clarify the nature of this issue, the work will be considered first through the examination of vivid examples and original sources as a point of departure, and to be based on these as much as possible. On the other hand, the issue of the same original sources partially illuminates points that the state chroniclers (vakaniivis) and other historians discuss about historical figures in the first centuries of the Ottoman state, but left vague and unclear.”*²⁶⁶

Although Tayyib Gökbilgin was very aware of the inadequacies of Ottoman studies, he was also stating that these deficiencies had been identified and recently very valuable studies had been conducted in order to eliminate these problems. He argued that one of the major deficiencies in the field was the analysis, study and publication of archival material that would illuminate the agricultural, financial, economic as well as the administrative, social aspects of various regions. The organization and structure of the Ottoman Empire could only be defined more efficiently through archival work. He suggested that it would be possible to produce

²⁶⁶ XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı: Vakıflar - Mülkler - Mukataalar. (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2nd edition, 2007), 3.

analytical works showing synthesis about the general organization and character of the Ottoman state and its administrative tools following an increase in studies of this kind, clearly seeing the changes that had occurred over the centuries, discussing the judgments made based on additional documents, and consequently reaching some kind of consensus.²⁶⁷

Gökbilgin continued his research in line with the problems that he defined. The focal points of his studies were the social and economic institutions of the Ottoman Empire, as he himself noted:

*“The history of the organization of Ottoman institutions and civilization is a part of general Turkish history and the essence and source of Ottoman-Turkish history.”*²⁶⁸

He stated that the subjects that were at the center of attention and had been published for a long time mostly involved the political and military issues of Ottoman history. Topics such as institutions, organization, civilization, the state and administrative structure of Ottoman-Turkish society and its connection with the neighboring states, as well as social and economic patterns, science and culture and mobilization activities in the Ottoman state were not a part of the tradition of teaching and research and they were not given the importance they deserved.²⁶⁹

The great majority of Gökbilgin's work did not follow the traditional paths that focus only on political or military events, and thus, if there is a clear emphasis on the ‘classical age’ in Ottoman historiography today, it is largely the result of the pioneering work of Tayyib Gökbilgin and his contemporaries. By looking at the works of these historians, one can clearly see that they adopted some of the approaches proposed by the social history schools, such as interdisciplinary

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ *Osmanlı Müesseseleri Teşkilatı ve Medeniyeti Tarihine Genel Bakış*. (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1977), 7.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

methods, problem-oriented analysis and diversification of research tools. However, Gökbiçin's efforts were mainly focused on drawing attention to, rearranging and organizing the materials that historians would benefit from in order to write Ottoman history from a perspective of social history. It is true that Gökbiçin and most of his contemporaries adopted a descriptive approach instead of discussing or portraying the issues from a problem-oriented perspective. It is possible to define this method as a kind of data descriptive study, since he himself had argued on several occasions that analytical and synthetic studies could only be advanced following the publication of a large part of the available data. Notwithstanding, his utilization of the rich Ottoman archives and records of registers made it possible to compare, validate and criticize the events presented in chronicles as he himself also emphasized. In this way, Tayyib Gökbiçin drew renewed attention to the significance of Ottoman institutions and their influence on the social structure as well as on the public itself. His persistent quest to locate and present Ottoman primary sources made an unquestionable impact on the study of the history of the Ottoman Empire.

However, the question remains of how Gökbiçin evaluated this impact, or more precisely, what was his understanding of historical knowledge and how did primary sources contribute to this specific knowledge?

In his book entitled "Osmanlı Paleografya ve Diplomatik İlmî"²⁷⁰ that was published in 1979, two years before he passed away, he presented his thoughts regarding the meaning and sources of historical studies. According to him, history in its broadest sense is the totality of the occurrence of human activities and contemplation.

²⁷⁰ *Osmanlı Paleografya ve Diplomatik İlmî*, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1979).

*“These activities and contemplations can be considered as occurrences (manifestations) in terms of connection and development relationships (rapport de connexité) as well as in dependency relationships (rapport de dépendance).”*²⁷¹

As he emphasized in his earlier works, here as well he stated that history cannot be limited only to military and political events and that concepts such as literature, law, religion, economics and civilization should be evaluated within the context of human activities and contemplation. The main aim of history is the reconstruction and revival of the life of humanity within a succession of periods. However, these periods have sometimes disappeared without leaving even a trace to follow or have left too many documents to be examined individually. The impossibility of examining each document one by one as well as the practical fact of not being fully competent about the events that these documents touched open would bring up the issue of absolute accuracy. He stated that every kind of historical knowledge contains a certain amount of uncertainty. Therefore, the main aim of the methodology of history was to teach which rules of research, investigation, monitoring and interpretation should be used to reduce the uncertainty, and how to reach approximate truths as precisely as possible.

Following the interpretation of the purpose of history and its methodology, Gökbilgin discussed whether history is a science or not and he concluded this argument by stating that history is also a part of the social sciences. This is because history collects, investigates and organizes the totality of the information on a single subject and all the developments that are important for human beings, it contributes to the existence of humanity and the entire process adheres to the rules of scientific criticism and methodology. On the other hand, he underlined

²⁷¹ Ibid., 1.

that history is a form of literary art because each historian has his own way of narrating the results of their investigation based on their talents.²⁷²

In the second part of this short text, Gökbilgin provided prescriptions about how the science of history could be practiced. According to him, the most important stage was the detailed analysis and later composition of the information. The analysis stage consisted of two separate phases, which are source criticism and the criticism of events. The initial task of the historian was to make a critical investigation of the historical sources, and then the process of analysis could begin.

He argued that history is an observational science only in terms of the examination of sources. However, in terms of events and the interpretation of them, history does not correspond with the methods of observational studies.²⁷³

“(...)meaning that the historian by learning of the events indirectly, not as direct observers like a naturalist, will understand the effect of these events on observers and begin the process of analysis.”²⁷⁴

Gökbilgin arranged historical sources into three different groups. Within the first group, “*mazbut eserler/registered works*” he included:

- I. Genealogies, the pedigree books of families that were handed down from father to son
- II. Chronologies, historical (royal) calendars

²⁷² Ibid., 3.

²⁷³ Ibid., 4.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 4.

- III. Official yearbooks, annuals
- IV. Chronicles, books of events
- V. Memoirs
- VI. Curriculum vitae, biographies (the register of autobiographical records in the Prime Minister's Archive)
- VII. Histories²⁷⁵

According to him, these historical sources included in the seven categories are the main historical writings. There are also other types of recorded sources that are considered historical:

- VIII. The poetic and prose literary works that a historian can benefit from, divans²⁷⁶ (in the perspective of the history of certain ideas and customs)
- IX. Philosophical, judicial, economic and theological works²⁷⁷

The second group was classified as written and engraved works:

- I. Firmans, the decrees or orders (chartes)
- II. Berats (diplomas)
- III. Treaties, peace pacts
- IV. Registers, registered works (records of Islamic courts, the notary records in Europe)

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 5.

²⁷⁶ Classic ottoman poetry.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.,5.

- V. The register books of official records of councils (the imperial council, the register of important decrees, the registers of the council of ministers, the registers of councils of Diets in Europe)
- VI. Epigraphs (engraved historical monuments intended to preserve the memory of an event)
- VII. Legislation, legal codes, judicial regulations
- VIII. Land/Tax registers
- IX. Daily wage and account registers (the registers of workers and payments that were recorded when the mosque of Süleymaniye was built)
- X. Inventory registers (the registers of inheritance)
- XI. Non-historical artifacts created for functional and practical purposes, but not with the desire to preserve the memories of the past for the future, such as sermons.²⁷⁸

And for the third group, he mentioned “Anıtlar (Âbideler, Monuments)”. These are,

*“...the things and buildings that serve as a document for history. Among them there are monuments (monuments commémoratifs), triumphal arches, obelisks (columns), sarcophaguses, engravings, medals, seals that make note of historical events...”*²⁷⁹

Gökbilgin stated that it is necessary to use some auxiliary sciences for the criticism of these sources. The most prominent auxiliary sciences according to him were paleography,

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 5-6.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 6.

diplomacy, epigraphy, sigillography, heraldry, numismatics and archeology. He also considered philology, geography, and ethnography beneficial for a historian.²⁸⁰

After compiling the archival sources that a historian could use and sorting out which auxiliary sciences could be beneficial for the critical evaluation of these sources, Gökbiçgin placed emphasis on what kind of methods and questions should be followed in source analysis. He argued that a history researcher first tries to find an answer to the following questions: “What is the authenticity and validity of the document?” and “What is the power and authority of the document?” In order to determine authenticity, questions such as the date of the documents and their author will bring some clarification for the researcher. Moreover, it is also possible that the researcher may realize through the support of the aforementioned auxiliary sciences whether the author prepared the document “*for the purpose of deceiving us*” or not.²⁸¹ However, the matter of comprehending the authority of the sources requires a broader perspective and a much more complex process of investigation. How did the witness gather the information that was being reported, under what circumstances was the information reconstructed, are the author and the sources trustworthy and was the author objective while narrating it? These and many other similar questions needed to be answered quickly before making any conclusion or any judgement.

The diversity of elements that constitute the judgement of a historian makes it difficult to enforce precise and credible directives when questioning the degree of accuracy of the given information. According to Tayyib Gökbiçgin, this was because sometimes “*a testimony written under the influence of ambition might be more accurate and objective than a source written in an*

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

orderly and imperturbable manner.”²⁸² Therefore, it is necessary to interpret the criticism of the events together with the criticism of the sources. Concerning the events, Gökbilgin argued that the criticism of the events would only be authoritative if it is made using comparative methods. However, the sources for some events are limited and do not create any space for comparison. In such cases, he believed that examining the harmony and relationships between events would provide a certain sense of reliability.

*“In other words, when either the harmony and the connections between the events that have been transferred to us and have occurred together (Faits simultanes) or when successive events that explain and complement each other (Faits successifs) are taken into account, this [in return] will be also an element of credibility. There is logic and consequence in the evolution of history that can guide us to some certain degree to determine the value of events that do not have further elements of criticism regarding them.”*²⁸³

Apart from these matters, there is another issue that attracted my attention in this text: although Tayyib Gökbilgin followed a very detailed train of thought about the sources of history, the auxiliary sciences, and the methods of study, he did not provide any detailed comment on the historian. He did not question the “intellectual virtues of a historian”²⁸⁴ or provide a prescription of how to gain the skills and knowledge that historians needed to perform their tasks. He put an end to his discussion by merely emphasizing the virtue of objectivity, the ability to separate the good and the facts from the demagogy, the search for truth, and freely criticizing issues that are focused on.

²⁸² Ibid., 8.

²⁸³ Ibid., 9.

²⁸⁴ Herman Paul, “Performing history: How Historical Scholarship is Shaped by Epistemic Virtues.” *History and Theory* 50.1 (2011): 5

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the modern practice of history and the advancement of the nation state progressed side by side. Tayyib Gökbilgin maintained his modernist Turkish nationalist identity and emphasized that one of the fundamental aims of history was to feel proud about the historical past of the Turks.

*“The elements, materials, and documents of this history and civilization can only be clarified by careful and continuous examination, establishing relations between them, and after drawing more correct and advanced conclusions. It serves the Turkish nation to be familiar with, understand and admire one more of the treasures of their history and civilization, and to cherish a pride mixed with the feelings of admiration and appreciation.”*²⁸⁵

This statement corresponds with the views of almost all historians of the period since it was the clearest example of the effort to legitimize Ottoman history as a part of world history. Tayyib Gökbilgin, like his contemporaries, tried to reveal the truth of the matters that the western world had conceptualized incorrectly through incomplete materials, instead using the authority provided by the utilization of original sources.

Here I briefly need to explain why the historians of this era, starting with Köprülü, attempted to justify this legitimacy.

According to Halil Berktaş, European historiography had reduced world history and the success of all civilization to the history of the West, and it completely left the regions, countries and societies on the periphery of this system outside historical perceptions. It presented them in absolute stagnation or only recognized their historicity from the moment they established contact with the West, describing it as a process that replicated the evolution of the West with a slight

²⁸⁵ “Serviler”, *Vatan*, 08.10.1961, https://drive.google.com/file/d/14Nt5oAMbtoY_HII3DTBc91lZUa2CSS6X/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 33.

delay. This perception was the same in terms of Ottoman History as well. Fuad Köprülü stated that from Rambaud to N. Iorga and Gibbons, the question of the origins of the Ottoman state was poorly approached and there were many “*erroneous conclusions*”.²⁸⁶ Berktaş explained that these historians and many others claimed that the Ottoman Empire was founded by a small tribe placed by Seljuk rulers on the Byzantine frontier. This tribe, which consisted of simple herdsman and had recently accepted Islam under the rule of Osman, must have acquired the elements of civilization necessary for the foundation of a state exclusively from the non-Muslim population in the lands that they conquered. However, after the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire was completely rebuilt through the imitation of Byzantine institutions. This meant that the Turks were in a period of darkness before their contacts with Byzantium, and the Ottoman state and civilization were no more than a replica of the Byzantine Empire. In other words, the Ottoman Empire was evaluated as a continuation of the Byzantine, rather than a continuation of the great Seljuks and Anatolian Seljuks who had emerged from the qualitative transformations and breakthroughs of Turkish society before the 11th century.²⁸⁷ Consequently, the Eurocentric histories were consistently prejudicial, diminishing and marginalizing the role of the Turks to a primitive nomadic tribe.

Tayyib Gökbilgin, like many of his colleagues, also had a particular interest, an intellectual purpose for breaking down the prejudices against the Ottomans, and thus the Turks. It would not be wrong to state that his historiography radiated from this core. However, this also does not mean that he placed the thesis of Orientalism in opposition with Occidentalism, and created an admiration or exaltation of the Ottomans adorned with unnecessary heroic stories at

²⁸⁶ Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, *The origins of the Ottoman Empire.*, trans., Gary Leiser, (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1992), 23.

²⁸⁷ Halil Berktaş, “Tarih Çalışmaları”, in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (CDTA), Cilt 9 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 1985), 2457-2458.

the opposite extreme while trying to realize his purpose. Nevertheless, his practice of scientific historiography was sometimes subject to deviations, or rather to generalizations, because of the nature of the purpose for breaking down the prejudices.

It is possible to come across the generalizations that serve this intellectual purpose in his articles about the period of Turkish rule in Hungary. In one of them, Gökbişgin stated that the Balkan nations and Hungarians refer to the periods they spent under Turkish rule with bitter words and mention their role of defending the western culture and European civilization against the vandals (barbarians), and particularly against the Turks. He added that the Christian mentality and people who were still going through their romantic era make these claims, and he was not able to stay indifferent even though these claims should not have been taken seriously. Then, he discussed the perception of Turkish rule in Hungarian historiography. According to him, despite this negative perception of the nationalist historians, it was obvious how well the national and religious identity of the Hungarians were preserved under the Turkish administration thanks to the intensive efforts of objective historians relying on archival documents. In the following pages of the same text, Gökbişgin also provided a statement that emphasized the soundness of the financial situation of Hungary during the period of Turkish rule.²⁸⁸

Even though Tayyib Gökbişgin did not specifically mention him in this article, Gyula Szekfü was the leading historian representing the perception that Gökbişgin had criticized. In an

²⁸⁸ “Macaristan'daki Türk Hakimiyeti Devrine Ait Bazı Notlar.”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, (İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1942): 200-211.

article that he wrote about Transylvania, Gökbilgin opposes some of Szekfű's views on Turkish rule and on the relationships between the Sublime Porte and the Hungarians.²⁸⁹

Szekfű considered Turkish rule over Transylvania an intrusive historical process and was of the opinion that the princes' willingness to ally with the Ottomans against the Habsburg Empire was a testament to their uncertain and unsecure positions. According to him, the mission of the Hungarian nation was to serve as a shield against the East, and Hungary was in the position of a barrier defending against the Turks, since Turkish ideals were the very opposite of Western Christianity, to which Hungary already belonged. He believed that the struggle of the Hungarians against the Turks since 1526 had been unprecedented in the history of humanity. Moreover, Szekfű stated that the Hungarians should not fall into the very recent view suggesting that Hungarians and Turks shared the same bloodline. According to him, the theory of the Turkish-Hungarian familial relationship was a political product of a new age, which could only be applied to older eras in the absence of an ultimate sense of history.²⁹⁰

Gyula Szekfű was one of the most influential Hungarian historians during the interwar period. As mentioned, he was a Catholic and pro-Habsburg historian.²⁹¹ Gabor Ágoston, referring to the work of Gyula Káldy-Nagy²⁹² and Steven Béla Várdy²⁹³, stated that Szekfű had

²⁸⁹ Papp, "Tayyib Gökbilgin'in İlmi Faaliyetleri ve Macar Tarihçiliği, Hususen Erdel Prensi Gábor Bethlen Üzerine Araştırmaları", 55; idem "Bethlen Gábor hatalomra kerülése a török forrásokban és történetírásban. Tayyib Gökbilgin kutatásai és eredményei", *Aetas* 30 évfolyam (2015):72-84; idem, M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "XVII. Asır Başlarında Erdel Hadiseleri ve Bethlen Gábor'un Beyliğe İntihabı," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* Sayı: 1, Cilt: 1, (1949): 1-28.

²⁹⁰ Bálint Hóman and Szekfű Gyula *Magyar Történet*. Vol. 3. (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935);101-168; idem., *Magyar Történet*. Vol. 4, 394, http://mek.oszk.hu/00900/00940/pdf/Homan_Szekfu_-_Magyar_tortenet_4.pdf, (accessed June 8, 2020).

²⁹¹ Papp, "Tayyib Gökbilgin'in İlmi Faaliyetleri ve Macar Tarihçiliği, Hususen Erdel Prensi Gábor Bethlen Üzerine Araştırmaları", 54-55.

²⁹² Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Harács-szedők és ráják: török világ a XVI. századi Magyarországon*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970.)

²⁹³ Steven Bela Vardy, "The Ottoman Empire in European Historiography: A Re-Evaluation by Sándor Takáts.," *Turkish Review*, II, 9 (1972):1-16.

the authority to "make his readers believe that wherever the Turkish horsemen appeared, not even grass would ever grow again."²⁹⁴ Ágoston also emphasizes that Szekfü blamed the Turks for disrupting the country's historical evolution and causing it to enter into economic and social decay. In addition, he stated that Szekfü defended the idea that the decrease in the Hungarian population during the period of Turkish rule was a central issue for the country's misfortune, thus blaming the Turks for the Treaty of Trianon where Hungary lost "*more than two thirds of its territory and one third of its Hungarian-speaking population.*"²⁹⁵

Unfortunately, at this stage there is no possibility for us to conduct research on which side was more objective. However, we know that both historians based their statements on archival sources. According to Sándor Papp, although Szekfü did not use footnotes in his books, he worked at the Turcica and Hungarica collections in the state archives of Vienna for 20 years, employed the archival materials of aristocratic families from the Hungarian State Archives and had the opportunity to become familiar with the Ottoman sources thanks to chronicle translations by Imre Karácson.²⁹⁶

In another article, Tayyib Gökbilgin, similarly stated that the cultural revolution of the Turks had reached a very advanced level and exemplified this criterion in his judgement through a *tuğra* of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman:

"...the Turkish rule in Buda too had been seen as an undeveloped product of eastern civilization, and was presented as this through the influence of a dark fanaticism and grudge. The more objective and unbiased studies that have been conducted within the last half century or

²⁹⁴ Gábor Ágoston, "The image of the Ottomans in Hungarian historiography." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61.1-2 (2008): 18.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Papp, "Tayyib Gökbilgin'in İlmi Faaliyetleri ve Macar Tarihçiliği, Hususen Erdel Prensi Gábor Bethlen Üzerine Araştırmaları", 55.

*more and the new documents changed these fixed ideas. For instance, during World War I, a historian from the University of Kiel (J. Jacobe) gave a lecture on the topic at a conference and stated that Christian civilization was not the first and only one in the history of civilizations that humanity had passed through. The Muslim-Turkish civilization, including the civilization of the Ottoman state, had gone through a long evolutionary period and reached a very advanced level. At the same time a Hungarian historian also told of his observations that corroborated this fact.”*²⁹⁷

The Hungarian historian, whose name Tayyib Gökbilgin did not share, showed two documents he had come across in the archives of Vienna. One of them was a diploma (*berat*) stating that Emperor Maximilian II was elected king by the Polish diet council and the second was a certified copy of the 1562 Ottoman-Austrian peace treaty. According to this Hungarian historian, “*these two documents clearly point out the deep differences between the two societies and civilizations*”. During this period, even though Polish society was experiencing a renaissance, the figure shown on the coat of arms, seemed “*very strange and unappealing*” to the aforementioned anonymous Hungarian historian. On the other hand, the monogram of Suleiman the Magnificent in the treaty (*ahitnâme*) was “*spectacular and artistic*” to the extent that the two could not even be compared. Therefore, according to Tayyib Gökbilgin, these two minor diplomatic documents “*were sufficient evidence to demonstrate the profound difference between civilizations and the standard of living in Ottoman-Turkish and Christian-Polish societies in the second half of the 16th century.*”²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ “Türk İdaresinde Budin“, in *Atatürk Konferansları, 1971-1972*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 163-164.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 164.

This brief statement in this article, written in 1975, shows us that Tayyib Gökbilgin's struggle with Euro-centric perspectives and the devaluation of the East continued until the final years of his life. Moreover, these statements were also an indication of the basic perspectives and ideology of the process of building the nation-state, which marked the early stages of his intellectual and professional formation and continued to be an integral part of his professional life.

CHAPTER 4

Personal Archives and Ego-documents: a Historian's 'Identity Kit'

In the first chapter of the study, I tried to remark on Tayyib Gökbilgin's formative years by focusing on the influences on his early education due to the transition processes that occurred during the period of the Young Ottomans and the Young Turks. In the next chapter, I analyzed the changes and new trends experienced in the study of history starting from the last period of the Ottoman Empire to the early years of the Turkish Republic, and the impact of these trends on Tayyib Gökbilgin's university studies and on his perception of history. In the third chapter, by presenting a summary of the historical methodological approaches of the period, I strove to present a view of their effects on Turkish historiography and the methodology of Tayyib Gökbilgin. While making these interpretations, I often referred to the personal archive of Tayyib Gökbilgin, which was collected through many years of persistent efforts by his son, Altay Gökbilgin. I have benefited from the documents I found in this semi-organized personal archive, or to use a phrase common in the Turkish press, I have spoken with the documents. (*belgelerle konuşuyorum*).

Therefore, the starting point for this chapter will be the matter of personal archives. The basis for this chapter is formed by questions that include: What is a personal archive? What makes personal papers different from other forms of archival material? What could the function of ego-documents be?

In their simplest definition, personal archives are documents that are not collected under the control and/or the catalogues of any public institution. They are highly individual and the motivation for preserving the materials varies from case to case. They are mostly organized by the persons themselves or by their closest family members, and are often preserved in a disorderly fashion. They have not been evaluated through any kind of official selection, nor have they been classified by any state authority if the personal archive has not been donated to any public or private institution. As will be shown, the most common feature of personal archives is that they are disorganized compared to state archives, and the process and standardization of the organization of the documents certainly vary according to personal choices, or institutional policies and capabilities if the collection has been donated to or bought by an institution. In addition to being disorganized, the personal papers may have deteriorated due to unprofessional preservation conditions, coffee may be spilled on them or doodles may be drawn on them by the children/grandchildren of the owner of the collection. These are the most basic and actually the simplest differences between personal and public archives. However, the distinctions between personal/public archives of course go beyond this simple technicality. One thing is certain, personal archives require a different critical approach than administrative or government records. Personal archives are not only related to people's jobs and official activities, but are also the most explanatory sources in terms of the subjects' daily lives and relationships. The questions of how to gain access to them, approach them and evaluate them varies according to almost every personal archive to be researched. This is because each personal archive is created in line with unique human experiences and reflects these experiences from the individual's own perspective. Personal papers provide some facts (like a birth certificate or a college diploma) about the individual, but also offer insights about the opinions, rationalizations, working methods,

emotional relationships, family dynamics, interests, networks, travels and other aspects of the individual's life. In a way, personal archives can be evaluated as an “‘*identity kit*’: *materials reflect and describe the owner*”.²⁹⁹ As Caroline Williams suggests, public archives “*contribute primarily to knowledge about infrastructures, contexts and frameworks of business, society and politics*” and personal papers give us the opportunity to make “*biographical, prosopographical, occupational and genealogical study at a personal and collective level.*”³⁰⁰

A researcher dealing with personal archives is often confronted directly with the individuality and characteristic values of the curators themselves or else a close family member. In contrast to state archives, the researcher does not interact with a corporate person or a catalogue created by an institution, but directly connects with the person who has collected and transferred their own past. Such connections are highly personal and create a more intimate and empathetic perception of the subject.³⁰¹ Personal papers are entrusted to the author or researcher. There are no formalities, as in the state archives, like filling out official forms, registering and then receiving the document under official supervision. These highly private and literally in-house archives are assigned directly to the researcher. Here, a more emotional relationship and mutual understanding is created, and the responsibilities related to this relationship come to the fore. Therefore, some archive owners – either the donors themselves or a family member – may experience emotional anxiety when they entrust, donate and/or even sell these personal documents. Additionally, researchers may experience uneasiness or stress due to the sense of

²⁹⁹ Joseph Kaye, Janet Vertesi, Shari Avery, Allan Dafoe, Shay David, Lisa Onaga, Ivan Rosero, and Trevor Pinch. “To Have and to Hold: Exploring the Personal Archive.”, *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human Factors in computing systems*. ACM, (2006): 279.

³⁰⁰ Caroline Williams, “Personal papers: Perceptions and Practices.”, in *What are Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader*, ed. Louise Craven, (Guildford: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 66.

³⁰¹ Catherine Hobbs, “The Character of Personal Archives: Reflections on the value of records of individuals”, *Archivaria* 52 (2001): 132.

responsibility created by such a personal heritage. I believe these kinds of emotionally charged questions do not occupy someone who works with only well-organized state archives.

So why do people have the need to accumulate documents of their own personal histories? Essentially, the purpose of a personal archive can be simply to store the documents and to reassess them when/if it is necessary. However, the main issues for personal archiving can be evaluated as: building a legacy that is generally considered to be unique and irreplaceable; sharing this legacy and the mine of information/knowledge/wisdom it contains; preserving materials that are considered important and that have a place in the collective memory; providing evidence of past actions; and transferring identity and/or cultural values that have been carefully created over the years.

Today, the growing popularity of the genre of biography has increased interest in individual narratives and thus in personal archives. From the early 1990s, autobiographical narratives became popular and widely published, but a comprehensive evaluation of personal archives and the integration of all material into historiography is a case that has only been considered in the recent past. It was only in this period that the need to "use" such materials and develop new possibilities for the writing of history and the diversification of sources began to be emphasized. However, most states still consider their public archives more important at a cultural policy level, and Turkey is not an exception in this sense. Recently, the relocation of the Ottoman Archives to a newly built complex in the Kağıthane district turned into a political fight. The issue that the new building in Kağıthane is located in the bed of a former stream and thus endangered by flooding and mold growth was discussed thoroughly in the Turkish press. Renowned historian İlber Ortaylı wrote a newspaper article on this matter and stated that, "*It is an inconsiderate, disrespectful and unnecessary opinion to relocate the Imperial Archive to*

Kağıthane, and keep it apart from the Babıâli. ³⁰² In 2018 the Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, BAO), the Archives of the Republic of Turkey and the Documentation department were united under the institution of the Turkish Presidency State Archives. With this change, some of the experienced staff members who had worked at the BOA for many years were replaced. This was also among the issues that have been criticized recently in the Turkish media.

Although the issue of personal archives is not a field where the Turkish state develops policies, there is an increasing tendency in private institutions to collect and create personal collections. Emin Nedret İşli, who has been a bibliopole for about forty years, states that the Turkish government does not have an adequate cultural policy in this regard and besides a few exceptions, personal archives are often dispersed and dissolved with various items from the collection sold to different buyers or even looted in a manner of speaking. ³⁰³ The exceptions that Nedret İşli mentioned specifically were the personal archives of Mehmed Fuad Köprülü³⁰⁴ and his son Orhan Köprülü, and those of Taha Toros,³⁰⁵ two collections that were bought by the İstanbul Şehir University, a sales process he managed.

Apart from these, between 2010 and 2018, İstanbul Şehir University acquired the personal archives of important scholars such as Kemal Karpat³⁰⁶ and Şerif Mardin through

³⁰² İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Arşivleri", *Milliyet*, March 10, 2013, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/yazarlar/ilber-ortayli/osmanli-arsivleri-1678453> (accessed June 8, 2020).

³⁰³ Tüba Karatepe, Elif Yılmaz Şentürk and Varol Saydam, *Bilgi ve Belge Çalışmaları: Özel Arşivlerde Teori ve Uygulama*, (İstanbul: Hiperlink Yayınları, 2017), 159-164.

³⁰⁴ The Personal Archive of Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, <http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/handle/11498/21904> (accessed March 22, 2020).

³⁰⁵ Betül Sarıkaya and Yaşar Kaya. "Taha Toros Arşivi Kataloğu."(2002), <http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/handle/11498/2422?locale-attribute=en> (accessed March 22, 2020).

³⁰⁶ The Personal Archive of Kemal Karpat, <http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/handle/11498/21905> (accessed March 22, 2020). As I was writing this section, operating license of İstanbul Şehir University was revoked by the Presidency on 29 June 2020. (see: Karar Sayısı: 2708, p: 46 in *T.C. Resmî Gazete*, June 2020,

purchases and donations. There are also other important personal archives at the collections of ISAM³⁰⁷, such as those of Tarih Vakfı³⁰⁸, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı³⁰⁹, and Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi.³¹⁰ It is also possible to access many documents in the archives of SALT, which is supported by a private financial institution. “Between Empires, Beyond Borders: The War and Armistice Years Through The Eyes Of The Köpe Family”, an exhibition in collaboration with the Magyar Kulturális Intézet, Isztambul/ İstanbul Hungarian Cultural Centre and SALT during the pandemic period (September 2020-March 2021), was in my opinion one of the most accomplished examples demonstrating that how personal archives are extremely valuable and intriguing not only for academic circles but also for the general public and consumers of popular history.³¹¹

As one can easily guess, Tayyib Gökbilgin was passionate about archives since they brought adventure and the thrill of discovery to his life as an accomplished researcher. Some of the documents in his personal archives are related to the real estate of the family, some of them

<https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2020/06/20200630.pdf> , accessed June 18, 2021.) The question of the ultimate fate of all these digital personal archive projects, which were started ten years ago by İstanbul Şehir University and recognized as highly successful, caused heated debates among academics, especially among the historians. However, after a short time, the archives were taken over by Marmara University, just like the students of Şehir. See: Kemal Karpat Arşivi, <http://openaccess.marmara.edu.tr/handle/11424/120952> , (accessed June 18, 2021).³⁰⁷ Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa Evrakı, <http://ktp.isam.org.tr/ktparsiv/hhphakkında.pdf> , Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi Ailesi Evrakı, <http://ktp.isam.org.tr/?url=ktparsivizzeddin/findrecords.php> , Orhan Şaik Gökyay Evrakı, <http://ktp.isam.org.tr/?url=ktparsivosg/> (accessed March 22, 2020).

³⁰⁸ There are various personal documents belonging to scholars such as Pertev Naili Boratav and Faik Reşit Unat in the collection of Tarih Vakfı, however they are not available to researchers yet since the cataloguing process has not been completed.

³⁰⁹ The document collections of Muallim M. Cevdet, Laika Karabey, Muhsin Ertuğrul, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, İbnü'l-Emin Mahmud Kemal İnal, Celal Esad Arseven and Ernest Mamboury, <http://ataturkkitapligi.ibb.gov.tr/yordambt/yordam.php?aTumu=mahmud%20kemal&bolumsanal=003> (accessed March 22, 2020).

³¹⁰ The personal archives of Mehmed Fuat Köprülü, Cavit Baysun, Falih Rıfkı Atay, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Küçük Sait Paşa, Şevket Rado, Vedat Nedim Tör, Yaşar Nabi Nayır, Memduh Tayanç, Orhan Burian and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, <https://kutuphane.ykykultur.com.tr/yordambt/yordam.php> (accessed March 22, 2020).

³¹¹ Saltonline, “Between Empires, Beyond Borders: The War and Armistice Years Through The Eyes Of The Köpe Family”, <https://saltonline.org/tr/2260/imparatorluklar-arasinda-sinirlar-otesinde> , (accessed June 18, 2021).

contain lecture notes, and some of them are official documents showing his activities at the university and at the Turkish Historical Association. However, correspondences constitute the vast majority of the collection.

Among these documents, I want to address the ego-documents and correspondences here. In fact, this was more than just my own choice, from the beginning of our work it was the focus of Altay Gökbilgin, who can also be defined as the curator of the collection. During the preparation phase of this study, the first documents he shared with me and my supervisor Sándor Papp were the correspondences of his father.

The term “ego-document” was introduced by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser in 1958, to identify autobiographical texts, such as diaries, travel journals, memoirs, personal notes and letters.³¹² Ego-documents, in the most general sense, are sources that provide very detailed and intimate information about the person who created them. Although it is easy to come up with a definition, studies of ego-documents generally entail a great deal more complexity than is readily apparent. One of the main criticisms about ego-document studies is specifically related to autobiographical texts in which the authors themselves may have twisted the facts or may be consciously or unconsciously writing for a particular purpose, thus making these texts unreliable and discrediting them. I think this same criticism is relevant for correspondences at a certain level. Depending on the emotional intimacy or institutional relationship that exists between the author and receiver of these letters, it is possible to state that the facts are framed in particular ways. These documents do not represent hard facts, nor are they additional evidence of the true personality of their writer, yet they “*record traces of thought, not thinking or knowledge*

³¹² Michael Mascuch, Rudolf Dekker, and Arianne Baggerman, “Egodocuments and history: A short account of the Longue Durée.” *The Historian* 78, no. 1 (2016): 11-56

itself.”³¹³ Nevertheless, ego-documents contain intimate insights into the persona, create a nonreciprocal communication with the individual, provide glimpses of specific aspects of personal experiences and can also help us discover networks of social relationships.

The personal archive of Tayyib Gökbilgin is an especially good collection for examining his socio-intellectual and institutional network. Although there is the problem that it does not contain a large number of letters that Gökbilgin himself wrote, there is a significant collection of the letters he received. These letters not only provide insights about Gökbilgin’s personal and professional relationships, but also explain his underlying purpose for preserving the letters. The legacy that he chose to preserve was a part of his identity, his position in his field, and his connections with important historians, intellectuals and dignitaries of state, all in all his place in the world.

Another point that I should underline here before digging into Gökbilgin’s correspondences is to acknowledge the different interests and opinions of the researchers who are deciding whose papers have the most marked value and which materials can provide for a successful, sustainable study. In my opinion, a researcher studying family history or university history would evaluate these documents from a completely different perspective. Likewise, a researcher working on gender studies could conduct a completely different study about the scarcity of female historians in the correspondences between professionals in this field during the two world wars and the following years, or about the representation in these letters of the spouses of these male historians. Here, after the discussions I have had with my supervisor and with the opponents who have evaluated the dissertation, we have considered it appropriate to

³¹³ Ibid., 40-41.

present the Hungarian correspondences in three separate subtitles, as their contents focus on certain specific issues.

4. 1. Correspondence with Hungarian Academics: Exchange of Ideas and Methods

The issue I will focus on in this section is the content of the correspondences. In this collection curated by Altay Gökbilgin most of the letters are from Hungarian historians and the examples we have in this collection are not continuous letters written in response to one another. Our biggest shortcoming is that we do not have the letters written by Gökbilgin. In this respect, it makes it difficult to follow the subjects, and especially to construct a continuous data. Nevertheless, it is also possible to make an attempt by following a chronological method and trying to determine titles of some of the subjects in the letters. The earliest correspondence with a Hungarian scholar in this collection dates back to 1936, beginning with the postcards sent by his professor László Rásonyi that were mentioned in the second chapter. There are currently over twenty-five letters and postcards that Rásonyi sent between the years of 1936 and 1981 in this collection. On the basis of the letters that Rásonyi wrote during this period alone, we can determine the topics of the conversations between Gökbilgin and the Hungarian historians. It is possible to identify the first of the topics in these letters as Gökbilgin's education. Under this theme, there are recommendations regarding Gökbilgin's education and future studies. We can position Ottoman studies as the second theme. In this way, it will be possible to produce a continuous and connected data with the first theme. This is also because letters containing topics on education and Ottoman studies have intersection points from time to time. In cases where such intersection occurs, especially when it corresponds chronologically to an earlier period, I will consider these letters under the title of education. The third theme, political turmoil, is

planned as a subheading that attempts to show the reflections of the political situation and relations between Turkey and Hungary of the time.

4. 1.1. Education

The mood of the letters when László Rásonyi was the head of the department of Hungarian studies at the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography is generally very positive. In these letters, he mentions the summer school in Debrecen, talks about organizing the lectures and ends his letters with good wishes for Tayyib Gökbilgin and his other friends at the department. One of the long documents found in the collection dates to 1939, and relates directly to Tayyib Gökbilgin's education. In this document addressed to the Ministry of Education, Rásonyi politely asked for something additional regarding his students, besides his request for the summer courses in Hungary. He presented Eötvös József College in Budapest as one of the best institutions of higher education in Europe, corresponding in qualifications and system with the École Normale Supérieure in Paris. The most distinguished Hungarian scholars and Turkologists graduated from Eötvös József College, as did some Turkish scholars, such as Bekir Çobanzade, Ragıp Özden and Hamit Koşay. Soon, it became a kind of tradition to have a Turkish student at this institution and he wanted at least one of his students to continue his education there for a year. While this opportunity already existed at Eötvös József College, it had not yet been utilized. Therefore:

“I kindly ask that Tayyib Gökbilgin, who is already a very good student, has made a very good impression on some Hungarian scholars in recent years, and has established important personal contacts in Budapest, be allowed to continue his education starting from the 1939-1940

*academic year in Budapest at B.E.J.Coll. (...) Apart from Hungarian Studies, Tayyib studies early and modern history as a secondary major. The Hungarian and the Latin sources in Hungary on the period of the rise of the Ottoman Empire, between the 15th and 17th centuries, the chronicles and all other documents, are completely unknown and unprocessed here. Since I am fully aware of Tayyib's talent and capabilities, I gave him the goal to examine them two years ago. I hope that in the future he will gain a position as a Turkish historian and archivist." ...*³¹⁴

Another letter from the early period, which can be considered under the title of education, came from Gyula Németh: In this letter, dated 1940, Németh first congratulates Gökbilgin on his assistantship. He then recommends that Gökbilgin learn Arabic and Persian, explaining that it is not possible to understand the Ottoman world without knowing these two languages, but that he should also continue to study European languages. We assume that Gökbilgin must have mentioned in one of his letters to Németh that he wanted to go to Budapest for his future studies. In return Németh says that he would be very pleased if Gökbilgin could find an opportunity to come to Budapest, because “*With Professor Szekfü, Mályusz and Fekete, one could very well get into historical research.*”³¹⁵

The next important correspondence with a Hungarian scholar in Tayyib Gökbilgin's personal collection that I would like to focus on under the heading of education is that with Lajos Fekete. The two scholars began exchanging letters in 1938 and continued until 1968. One of the first items in the collection is a postcard showing a photograph of the State Archives in Budapest with a holiday greeting written in Turkish.

³¹⁴ I believe this document was dictated by Rásonyi but written by Gökbilgin. From László Rásonyi to an unknown deputy, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Nidn_TyJpHbX14UzXBUYTL-7GTnpbv5q/view?usp=sharing, 1939, see appendix 34a.

³¹⁵ From Gyula Németh to Gökbilgin, 23.09.1940, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_7sfL57LS9WQQwIDJz0AddW48UQZ4Jf4/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 35a-b

*“Greetings for your holidays and wishes for good luck in your happiness and endeavors new and old.”*³¹⁶

The first letter that can be linked to Gökbilgin's education and future studies dated 1939. We learn from that Gökbilgin wanted a source book from Fekete that could serve as an example for examining the *defters*. As I mentioned in the third chapter, *defter* studies or *defterology* were gradually emerging in this period. With the opening of the *defters* of imperial tax registers (*tahrir*) to Ottoman scholars, there was remarkable progress and a change in the focal point and the quality of research. It is accepted that Ömer Lütfi Barkan drew attention to the importance and value of *tahrir defters* for the first time through a series of articles he wrote in the 1940s. Barkan is seen as the pioneer scholar that initiated the beginning of *defterology* in Ottoman studies.³¹⁷

However, Fekete's foresight in this regard draws the discussions on issues related to *defter* studies, which would later be called *defterology*, to an even earlier date. The exchange of ideas about *defters* between Gökbilgin and Fekete started when Gökbilgin was still a student at the Hungarian studies department. This particular letter from Fekete is quite enlightening in terms of pioneering thoughts on the principles of *defter* studies:

“First, what we need to clarify is whether we both consider the same materials in terms of the defters to be studied. Since the materials at Ankara are the topic, I first thought about a few old defters that were held in the old courthouse. As far as I remember, those defters start

³¹⁶ From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 11.02.1938, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ORhofql-8jh2HnG1qAVLN_SrKz3GNUYM/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 36.

³¹⁷ Fatma Acun, “Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarının Genişleyen Sınırları: Defteroloji.”, *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 1 (1999): 319.

from about 980/990 (1572/73). If you copy the first three volumes of those, you will have 1-2 thousand texts and the same number of decisions, and those can be examined in many ways.

(Briefly 1) Basic legal principles: the materials of Sharia. We do not find anything new here (is this absolute?) however, at the same time it would be useful to get to know the legislation because even though this basic principle is almost the same everywhere, we do not know how it was applied in practice, as this was not evident in the operation of any provincial kadi. 2) The subject of the case, the parties of the case and the places where the parties reside.

Who are the parties to the case, people from urban or rural areas, why are they there, and to what extent does a woman's mandate extend? Who are the parties to the case, people from urban or rural areas, why are they there, and what is the extent of the kadi's jurisdiction? Who are the parties to the case, urbanites, peasants, Muslims, Armenians, Greeks or Jews? When the parts of the case are analyzed, the economic life of the immediate surroundings often emerges: different people, farmers, animal breeders, traders, etc. Who are they? Are there any large landowners, any major merchants among them? Is there any capital? 3) However, as I told you before, even the smallest, most insignificant piece of paper can be studied from various different perspectives, especially if there is something written on it, the historical annals have already taught that through the years, therefore I will not dwell on it specifically. – Secondly, writings from evkaf (pious foundations) can be considered, because some of them are in Ankara, and it may be possible to use them. However, I do not think studying evkaf documents will be permitted there.

(...)

*The material always determines what to do with it and from it. It is necessary to deal with this, and the model & method required for the result also emerges without examples.*³¹⁸

Another letter I mentioned in the second chapter relates to *deft* studies as well. As can be understood from this letter written in 1940, Gökbilgin had some difficulties in choosing his doctoral study topic. Fekete tried to explain to him that this confusion and stress was normal. As his perspective developed, he would be able to find a great variety of topics worth working on. However, he would also encounter more and more obstacles each day because he would understand that to be able to use the data he had gathered, he would also need to gain greater knowledge. As can be understood from this letter, Gökbilgin complained about the difficulties of working in the state archive and perhaps stated that he wanted to conduct a doctoral study on Thököly because of the difficulties he had to face, as well as some other reasons. However, Fekete says that even though working on Thököly would be a good topic from the Hungarian perspective, it did not have any priority from the Turkish point of view, since Thököly “cannot be regarded as a prominent figure in Turkish history”.³¹⁹

*“(…) with the ten, twenty – or even if it's fifty – documents you got by chance, if you deal with this now, you can only perform incomplete research with these data, moreover, in a few years your work will probably become outdated.”*³²⁰

This was because, according to Fekete, it was extremely difficult to piece together certain issues due to the irregularities of the archives. Therefore, it would be more efficient to study

³¹⁸ From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 07.01.1939, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1PNySQEZUJIRHzZptPOOdTHx3u1f05RMU/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 36a-b.

³¹⁹ From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U6NdX5OU506CfqWRcKAywFB9ieW9PUNn/view> , see appendix 26a.

³²⁰ Ibid., see appendix 26a.

certain topics with sources that had already been gathered. In this respect, the most convenient way was to do research on *defters*. “*These defters can already be the basis of research on its own, and within the defters there are thousands of subjects that are waiting to be examined.*”³²¹

Fekete continues his letter by stating that in terms of research, without seeing the material it is impossible to tell which *defter* should be examined with which method. However, to provide an example to help Gökbilgin, he mentioned his work and methods. Fekete wrote that he was working on the *surre defters*,³²² and instead of dealing with just one *surre defter* of one year, he could also define at least two hundred years of the *surre* system. This was because there was an opportunity to do so by first analyzing the introduction of the *surre* dispatch system, then the issuance of *surre*, the amount of money distributed etc.

He continued to try to clarify some other matters that Gökbilgin was asking about, “*I am again telling you that I cannot say which group Rumeli defters are related to without seeing them, and I cannot provide any advice regarding this concrete problem. I am not entitled to this, I could be labeled as someone who is overstepping their bounds in such a situation, and your professors who will be your examiners may not appreciate that I have given you a topic.*”³²³

At the end of his letter, Fekete said that he could send the article entitled *Buda, és Pest polgári lakosságát 1547-ben /Civilian Inhabitants of Buda and Pest in 1547*³²⁴ to him so that

³²¹ Ibid., see appendix 26a.

³²² *Surre* refers to the money and valuable items like gold that were sent to the *haremeyn-i şerifeyn* Mecca and Medina before the pilgrimage season each year. These were recorded in *surre* register; except for the defters that were lost or not yet found, there are around 5000 *surre defters* from the late sixteenth century to the first decade of the twentieth century. See: Tufan Buzpınar, “Surre” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 37, (İstanbul, TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2009), 567-569, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/surre>, (accessed June 8, 2020).

³²³ From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U6NdX5OU506CfqWRCkAywFB9ieW9PUNn/view>, see appendix 26b.

³²⁴ Lajos Fekete, “Buda, Pest és Óbuda nem-mohamedán polgári lakossága 1547-ben és 1580-ban” *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 6. kötet (1938.): 116-136, https://epa.oszk.hu/02100/02120/00006/pdf/BPTM_TBM_06_116-136.pdf (accessed June 8, 2020).

Gökbilgin could see and evaluate what might come out of such a dry list and how this information could be used. He stated that he was busy writing the history of Buda during the Turkish period³²⁵, so the history of a city under Ottoman occupation would be written for the first time, and he thought that unfortunately it would not be possible to work on a subject such as this in the upcoming fifty or even one hundred years. He concluded his letter by saying that, “*That means that we must work hard as long as the conditions allow, and also work hard even if the conditions are not positive.*”³²⁶

4. 1.2. Ottoman Studies

Chronologically, Gyula Káldy-Nagy is the next after László Rásonyi and Lajos Fekete among the Hungarian scholars who corresponded the most with Gökbilgin. There are more than seventy letters and post cards from him in Gökbilgin’s personal archives. These letters share common themes such as visa and passport problems and official invitations from Turkey or from Hungary. The most striking theme of the correspondence of these two scholars, however, is their discussions on Ottoman historiography and the methods of research. Here I will highlight the most emphasized ones of this theme. One of the first letters that Káldy-Nagy sent was written in Ottoman Turkish. In this letter dated to 1954, he stated that he had wanted to write for a long time, but he had not dared to bother him, although now he was obliged to do so. He said that he was working on the “*ruznamçe-i varidat ve masarîf-ı hizane-i amire-i Budun*” (daily registers of revenues and expenses for the imperial treasury of Buda) from 965-966 (1557/58) and asks some questions regarding to this topic. Then Káldy-Nagy stated that he wanted to work in the field of the economic history of Turkey, but was facing some difficulties. He said that Ömer Lütfi

³²⁵ Lajos Fekete, *Budapest a törökökban*. (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1944).

³²⁶ From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U6NdX5OU506CfqWRcKAywFB9ieW9PUNn/view> , see appendix 26c.

Barkan had sent him his book entitled *Kanunlar*,³²⁷ but he also needed Gökbilgin's book *Edirne ve Paşa Livası* and *Türkiye Köy İktisadı*³²⁸ from İsmail Hüsrev Tökin. However, he added that it was not possible to order those books from the libraries in Turkey at that moment and he kindly requested Gökbilgin's help regarding this matter.³²⁹

In a letter he wrote in 1957, there are a number of details about his research at that time. He told Gökbilgin that he was quite interested in the economic history of Hungary during the Turkish occupation and studying the daily wage budget *defters* of 1559/60. Therefore, he asked for one of Gökbilgin's articles entitled "*XVI. Asırda Mukataa ve İltizam İşlerinde Kadılık Müessesesinin Rolü/ The Role of Judicial Institutions in Revenue Units and Tax Farming Matters in the 16th Century*" and later talked about some of the results that he obtained from the daily wage *defters*,

"I have encountered very valuable information which is undoubtedly most surprising in the daily wage defter. This means that when I totaled all of the revenues and expenditure data entered in the defter, it was revealed that only a third of the annual expenditures of 23 million akçe could be covered by local income from Buda, and that 16-18 million in annual funds would be required from the treasury in İstanbul. This fact may show another aspect of the issue of the conquest of Hungary by the Turks. I think Abdurrahman Vefik is quite right about the bad

³²⁷ In this work, Ömer Lütfi Barkan explains the system of Ottoman laws and legislation, the shari'a system in Ottoman institutions, the characteristics of the existing legislations, the fatwa system, and the status of the shaykh al-islam and the Ottoman sultans in legislative process. Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ziraî ve ekonominin hukukî ve mali esasları: birinci cilt, Kanunlar*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1943).

³²⁸ This work was considered as the first Marxist analysis on villages and agricultural problems in Turkey. In his work, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin examines the similarities, differentiation and changes between the landlord system and medieval feudalism. Tökin, *Türkiye Köy İktisadı, Bir Millî İktisat Tetkiki*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat Türk Anonim Şirketi, 1934).

³²⁹ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 07.07.1954, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Wfan0zYYMudQONUQMzg6oHiU7Q6-E7bq/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 38a-b.

reputation of the Ottoman Empire in this period due to the abuses of the mültezims.³³⁰ I want to distinguish accurately between the orders of the Sultan and the unlawful extortions of mültezims in my research.”³³¹

I believe a letter he wrote in 1958 as a continuation of the one above is quite striking in terms of providing some insight about Ottoman studies in Hungary and the general attitude of the researchers involved with this.³³² First, he thanked Gökbilgin for sending the sources he requested in the previous letter. He wrote that he specifically enjoyed working on Turkish history and the period of the Ottoman occupation of Hungary, and also stated that Gökbilgin’s encouraging words and praise kept his motivation high. He wanted to write a monograph on an Ottoman *sancak* (sub-province), and in considering the more than four hundred Turkish documents available, the *sancak* of Hatvan seemed the best suited for such a project. Apart from those, there were many more documents related to the *sancaks*, but since most of them were in İstanbul, he again requested Gökbilgin’s help in this regard:

“Allow me to state here that I want to use the Turkish material in the most accurate way. I do not have any prejudices, such as the situation of Hungary was at its worst after the Turkish occupation because Turks had just destroyed everything. If I thought like this, I would make an inaccurate description of a sancak during the occupation of Hungary by the Turks.”³³³

³³⁰ A mültezim was a person who collected taxes from a group of revenue sources. For further information see: Baki Çakır “tax farming” in the *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters. (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 555-557.

³³¹ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 21.12.1957, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Ale7HfKcPjRa37P99v19-DC3nh4dj_F8/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 39.

³³² From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 14.03.1958, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1DBnSoJ0J3t1BnU24EY-NcBKv-JCF4mPB/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 40a-b.

³³³ Ibid., see appendix 40b.

He said that in many Turkish materials he had read, he found that Ottoman forces wanted to conquer the fortresses of the enemy, the Hungarians, as the enemy was often attacking from the fortresses and devastating the peoples of the surrounding villages. This means that according to Gyula Káldy-Nagy, during the campaigns or incursions it was not only the Ottoman army but also to a great extent the mercenary soldiers who fought in the imperial army and did not get paid regularly as well as the Hungarian *hajdú* mercenary soldiers who destroyed and plundered the Hungarian villages.

*“Professor Gyula Németh and Professor Lajos Fekete/ whose student I once was and now I am his assistant/, have taught me that those who constantly deal with Turkish language and history should also love the Turks.”*³³⁴

From a letter Káldy-Nagy wrote in 1961, we learn that the collaboration between the two historians had proceeded to another level and they were thinking of writing a joint book together. He said that the Hungarian Academy of Sciences also sincerely supported such a study.³³⁵ However, we see from one of the later letters that the joint book project turned into them each publishing individual works. According to this new project, Tayyib Gökbilgin planned to collect all the *fermans* from places in Hungary under the Turkish occupation. This book would be published in Budapest and in return it was planned that one of the works by Káldy-Nagy would be published by the Turkish Historical Association.³³⁶

Káldy-Nagy mentions in one of the letters that he had received the microfilms he had requested from Gökbilgin and he added that he was very thankful to Gökbilgin because by

³³⁴ Ibid., see appendix 40b.

³³⁵ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 02.09.1961, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1cqXHz8qxCU6-W6y-wKSCsIMxvzSvAFN/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 41a-b.

³³⁶ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 21.07.1961, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Fi5mL3xq3rTJ1oJp7us6k_gYLdJEeOxB/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 42a-b.

providing these microfilms he had made a great contribution not only to Káldy-Nagy's research, but also to the history of Hungary. He said that according to the historian and professor László Makkai, the publication they were considering would be very good thanks to the efforts of Gökbilgin. In Hungary, they had *tımar defteri* dated to 955/1548-49 and 970/1562-63, a *tahrir defteri* of 988/1580-81, and some small scale of *defters* that included *cizye* taxes and various other information. However, according to Káldy-Nagy none of them were sufficient and complete enough as the *defters* that Gökbilgin had sent the on microfilm, and those two *defters* would be the foundation of the research. *"It will be a very good work and I am very happy and excited to work on such beautiful material."*³³⁷ A month after this letter, in another one he wrote in April 1962, he described his work on these *defters*:

*"(...) photocopies of the microfilm were prepared. Both defters are very interesting, I examined and read them with pleasure, like a novel that has received the Nobel Prize."*³³⁸

Again, he states in the same letter that he now understood that without Gökbilgin it would not be possible to do anything important. This time Káldy-Nagy wanted to publish an article in the history volume the Fundamenta and asked for Gökbilgin's help to publish the article there. As a matter of fact, the German Turkologist and Orientalist Helmuth Scheel had given some positive comments about the articles that Káldy-Nagy had sent previously, but then things got a little bit complicated:

"Because he wrote in his letter that if any book was needed at the Turkish Institute, he would gladly send them. I reported this issue to Professor Németh. He asked me to ask Professor

³³⁷ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 12.05.1962, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1E-NydvcH2kpME8X_k_hX1BHtT6OKRMG/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 43a-b.

³³⁸ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 18.06.1962, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1-RaT3Wxqf-8QAICog2_BOz4Rx4qYu9r9/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 44a.

*Scheel whether these books would be paid for by the German Academy of Sciences or by himself. He said that we do not want to enrich our library with his financial aid. I think he was very angry with this answer because he didn't write anything in response and as one might expect did not send anything as a result of this answer.”*³³⁹

In a letter he wrote in November of the same year, he first expressed his embarrassment, concerning the matter that he had wanted to create an opportunity to invite Gökbilgin officially to Budapest. However there had been no development in this regard, and he felt quite upset about this because he said that since he could not help with anything, how could he continue to ask for things from him under these conditions. Nevertheless, he mentioned that he wanted to go to İstanbul to work in the archives of the Topkapı Palace and asked him to send a letter in Hungarian as he had done before, saying that he would host him for six weeks there. His second request was to work with Gökbilgin for a while in İstanbul. At the end of his letter, he added that the joint work they conducted together with Fekete had been completed. He stated that he tried to reflect the facts within this work:

*“...for example, the Ottomans occupied Buda because the Habsburgs were trying to conquer the entire Hungarian Kingdom, and during the Turkish occupation of Hungary gold was sent to the treasury in Budin as regular aid from İstanbul.”*³⁴⁰

Káldy-Nagy addressed the same issue in a letter written in 1963, but this letter had a harsher, angrier tone compared to the style of the previous ones. Gökbilgin had again sent the documents he asked for in the aforementioned letter. However, this time even though he

³³⁹ Ibid., see appendix 44c.

³⁴⁰ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 06.11.1962, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ok2L-h7v3Oi_zTsCKkHrrMbGoR4JzPKf/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 45c.

managed to get a passport, he had some problems getting a travel visa from Turkey, and since Gökbilgin was abroad at this time he could not help, “(...) *the fact that I could get my passport but not get my visa makes me dissatisfied and unhappy. I have been trying for years to prove that the Turks did not take gold from Buda to İstanbul, but on the contrary, brought gold from İstanbul to Buda. (please read page 611 of this Hungarian publication and 711-712 of the German publication.) However, now I feel like I am not a friend of the Turks but an enemy, I cannot get permission to travel to Turkey.*”³⁴¹

The last letters I will include here from Gyula Káldy-Nagy have particular importance since they provide input about his work and methods. These letters are also valuable in terms of showing the contemporary trends of Ottoman studies in Hungary and how certain data, which had been accepted as definitive, had changed over time through the discoveries from new *defters* and studies.

In a letter he wrote at the end of 1965, he said that he was comparing two *defters* dated to 1551 and 1562. He found the results rather surprising because in contrast to popular belief, the number of inhabitants had not decreased.

“Now, I do not want to prove how much population growth was experienced during these 11 years with these results, since during this time there were battles of various sizes. Rather than during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, the situation in Hungary was not worse than before the conquest, and even the tahrir defters of Buda provide a much more positive image

³⁴¹ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 01.02.1963, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1AdeVsY4DrPMmwnaYx8V_Kco5QSHayV_D/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 46b.

than the negative one. Therefore, I thought it was possible to give these comparisons together under the title of the Tahrir defters of Buda Province during the period of Kanuni.”³⁴²

In this letter, he also asks Gökbilgin to write an introduction about Kanuni Sultan Süleyman and the conquest of Buda for this book he wanted to publish. He sent another letter in December 1965 as a continuation of the same topic. He expressed his gratitude for the encouraging words of Gökbilgin and added that he would be working on Buda *defters* all summer and later Gökbilgin would need to revise the problems that might arise in order to prepare the work for publishing. He wrote that he counted exactly how many people they recorded in the tahrir *defters* of 1547 and 1562:

*“These numbers indicate a rather good increase, as they only show the presence of adult males. I think this result will be a pleasant surprise for everyone. I would like to let you know about my joy and thank you for agreeing to work on the Buda (tahrir) defters and asking for them to be published. The study and publishing of these two tahrir defters will be perfect evidence of the just sovereignty of Kanuni. Kanuni did not destroy the places he conquered as is claimed today, but instead, he enlivened them as is seen from the tahrir defters.”*³⁴³

In Géza Fehér's letter, written in 1952, we encounter a similar theme about Hungary's Ottoman past. After introducing himself by stating that he worked at the Hungarian National Museum and studied the artefacts that belonged to the era of Ottoman occupation, he continued his letter as follows:

³⁴² From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 26.11.1965, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Iqy0KwSsdOwe7Jbk0XYkHejdt09uYPfV/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 47b.

³⁴³ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 05.05.1965, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Nut2Smc-vs_IXzVVqvLGhATUpT4A5-31/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 48a.

*“As you are very well aware owing to your education, almost all Hungarian historians are of the opinion that in the 16th -17th centuries the Ottoman invaders destroyed Hungary and did not have a favorable effect on the life and culture of our people. The aim of my research was to follow the Turkish-friendly trend that Sándor Takáts initiated with his diploma research, in contrast to the aforementioned malevolent attitude of our historians. Through archaeological artefacts, I would like to present the extremely profound, almost determinative cultural influence that the Turks had on our people during the period of conquest.”*³⁴⁴

Later on in his letter, he mentioned that he had curated a section of an exhibition entitled ‘Our One Thousand Years of History’ at the Hungarian National Museum showing how the Turks positively affected the lives of the Hungarian people. After stating that he wanted to continue his research and excavations in this direction, he requested help from Gökbilgin for some sources that he could not find. In a letter from 1957, he writes that he could get a six-month residence permit in Ankara, that he had been fighting for a passport for many years and that he could make this trip if he received a letter from a museum in Turkey containing a declaration of support for his research. Géza Fehér asks Gökbilgin to help him in this matter and that it is very important for him to travel to Turkey after ten years.

*“I really need to see the archaeological and ethnographic collections there. It is very important that I can see the work of Turkish ceramists and craftsmen on the ground and see some Turkish kitchens in Anatolia. Without all this it is very difficult to understand the period of Turkish rule in Hungary.”*³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 10.11.1952,

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1uCl8jK_5Q61s03DG1gLc8MuNfpnNFin4/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 49.

³⁴⁵ Perhaps this letter could also be discussed under the heading “Political Turmoil”, but I have chosen to include it here as it gives details of the areas he wishes to research and provides a continuity of information. From Géza Fehér

In the letters he writes in 1958 and 1959, he asks for help in deciphering the inscriptions on three stones and the inscriptions on the pottery pieces in the other. He writes that he can finally get his passport, that he is looking forward the journey he is going to make, and he explains that he will need Gökbilgin's help again during this research trip.³⁴⁶

We can also find some letters of the architect József Molnár in Gökbilgin's collection. In these letters it is also possible to find some details about Ottoman studies in Hungary. A letter from him dated to the end of 1965, for example, states that he sent his material to the Hungarian embassy in Ankara and that it was delivered from there to Rásonyi.

“I am convinced that it will be received with satisfaction, because no one in Hungary has ever collected material on this scale and of this kind. I am happy if I can contribute to the development of Turkish-Hungarian relations with this material, as I sincerely wish. For 12 years I had not received any help from anyone in processing the material I had honestly collected, and some people who did not even understand the work, tried to hide, or undermine the results. All this did not deter me from my clearly defined goal, I continued to try to find new monuments and I tried to give testimony of the architectural activity of the Turks in every article. As I continued to learn and research without waiting for anyone's help and making financial sacrifices, I continue to consider the benefits for our people today.”³⁴⁷

to Gökbilgin, 31.08.1957, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_r5iUcgc_87iRTO-37AHEkWXoH9nQpAW/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 50b.

³⁴⁶ From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 07.03.1958, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Ag4oLdunkdhlU_K7WKS4pyPCVavkrOIA/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 51a-b; 17.11.1959, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/14cdsKzclTyQBmkbjZdUJPIDBqLji4jzx/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 52.

³⁴⁷ From József Molnár to Gökbilgin, 18.12.1965, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1dwaCzUSd0bOIOxsYbckVm_jg2sYgKH6G/view?usp=sharing see appendix 53.

Another letter I can include here is from the historian József Perényi, who was the new head of the Department of Eastern European History, Eötvös Loránd University at that time. In 1939-45 he was a private official in İstanbul as a representative of the Ganz factory where he learned also Turkish.³⁴⁸ The Austro-Hungarian company Ganz secured the tender for the construction of a power plant in İstanbul, in 1910 and established the Ottoman Electric Company Inc.³⁴⁹ In his letter, first he states that he is glad to have contact with Gökbilgin. He later mentions that, although there are historians in Hungary who study Turkish history, there is not enough interest: *“We have very, very good philologists, including Németh, Fekete and their students, but we don't have historians. As far as I know, I am the only historian interested in the problems of Turkish history who is not a philologist. I find this situation unacceptable. I have decided to train some experts here at the university among the young people who are interested in the period of Turkish rule in Hungary.”* In the following parts of his letter, he explains that he was appointed head of the Department of Eastern European History a few months ago, that he will determine the direction of his work and he will focus on Turkish historical research. He explains that he is particularly interested in the economic and social history of the Balkans during the Ottoman period and he is also preparing to give lectures on the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey to students at the university. *“So, these are my goals and I ask you to help me with them. I will always be at your service, whether it is to supply books or anything else.”*³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ Kenyeres Ágnes, editor in chief, *Perényi József*, Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon 1000–1990, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1967–1994), <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC11587/12056.htm>, (accessed May 29, 2021); Gyula Szvák, “In Memoriam József Perényi 1915–1981”, *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolan-PII.IOЖEHИE 218 do Eötvös Nominatae Sectio Historica Tom XXII* (1982): 307–310.

³⁴⁹ *Silahtaraga Power Plant*, <https://www.santralistanbul.org/en/silahtaraga-power-plant/>, (accessed May 29, 2021).

³⁵⁰ From József Perényi to Gökbilgin, 26.02.1958, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1gXtWMa5ut8ZN0rJzMd3APg6_MIUEkVZ-/view?usp=sharing see appendix 54a-b.

Fekete's letters from the first period, which we have included above, contain more detailed information about Ottoman studies, as Gökbilgin, whom Fekete regards as his young colleague, asks him for advice on the direction of his future studies. However, it is possible to learn details about Fekete's work and the topics he covered from the letters of the next period. For example, the letter dated to 1965 is about the invitation from İstanbul University. He stated that he had been sick and hospitalized for some time, and therefore there were some setbacks concerning the passport and visa issues, but he was also excited to accept the invitation, "*Since I was granted the honor of being a guest at the İstanbul Faculty of Literature I have wanted to travel this path honorably.*"³⁵¹ He talked about his plans for the presentations, stating that he wanted to do two presentations entitled "Budun Gülbabası/ Gülbaba of Buda" and "Turcizmusok török hivatalalos iratokban/ Turcisms in Turkish Official Writings". "*I think of putting both of them in a modest framework and presenting them in a small environment, because it would not be appropriate to give anyone lectures in Turkey, and I do not want to do that. This means that I will attempt as much as my decency allows.*"³⁵²

As he concluded his letter, he wrote that he thought that Gökbilgin's plans for Kütahya and Tekirdağ were very valuable, and it was very important to work on strengthening the weak relationships between Hungary and Turkey. During this period, we know that Gökbilgin was busy with organizing a memorial on Lajos Kossuth, who was a political reformer of the Hungarian revolution and the struggle for independence of 1848-1849 from the Austrian monarchy. The first stage of the War of Independence brought successes, but could not withstand the power superiority of the Habsburg-Russian alliance. Therefore, the leader of the rebels, Lajos

³⁵¹ From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 27.02.1965, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1x7HkBS54qeX281kayJ5-CBqCS7gOKSW1/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 55a.

³⁵² Ibid., see appendix 55a.

Kossuth, and thousands of soldiers had to seek asylum in the Ottoman Empire. Despite all the requests, Sultan Abdülmecid did not return the political refugees who remained in the Ottoman lands. As I mentioned Gökbilgin organized a memorial ceremony in April 1965 at House Number One, Hungarian Street, Gediz Avenue, where Kossuth lived in Kütahya. Imre Kutas, the ambassador at the time, attended the ceremony and gave a speech together with Gökbilgin.³⁵³ Here Fekete is probably congratulating him for his endeavors.

In another letter he wrote in 1966, Fekete commented on the publication of the main sources of Turkish history:

*“I sent a book review to Oriens about a year ago in which I mentioned the necessity of publishing Turkish historical sources in Arabic script. I even concluded the same article by wishing to return to the use of Arabic script in the publication of historical sources in Turkey etc. This article has not been published yet, but my wish has already come true, and your extensive work has been published in Arabic script.”*³⁵⁴

The publication of Gökbilgin he mentions here is called *“Venedik Devlet arşivindeki vesikalar külliyyatında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri belgeleri/ The Documents of the Age of Kanunî Sultan Süleyman in the Document Collection of the Venice State Archives.”* In this work, Gökbilgin preferred to publish the documents he found in the Venice State Archives in the Ottoman-Turkish alphabet. As it is known, Fekete published his works³⁵⁵ in the same way. In

³⁵³ To see more detail check the title of “KOSSUTH LAJOS” in, <http://tayyibgokbilgin.info/turk-macar-yakinligi/>, (accessed May 29, 2021).

³⁵⁴ From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 09.04.1966, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mZsLjz9tly_MkDkrohZ9yENVzhDRaCcW/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 56.

³⁵⁵ Ludwig Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung: Bd. Einleitung, Textproben*. Vol. 7. (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1955); *Bevezetés a Hódołtság török diplomatikájába*. (Budapest: A Magyar Királyi Országos Levéltár Kiadványai, 1926); *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatie der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*. (Budapest: Königliche Ungarische Universitätsdruckerei, 1926); *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatinus Nicolaus Esterházy 1606–1645* (Budapest: n.p., 1932).

this sense, it would not be wrong to say that Gökbilgin emulated Fekete and adopted the same method.³⁵⁶ Therefore, Fekete was happy with Gökbilgin's choice and expressed his joy as follows: “*Since my wishes have come true, am I not a lucky person? A warm thanks for the double pleasure.*”³⁵⁷

4. 1.3. Political Turmoil

The letters in Gökbilgin's personal archive offer very reflective details about the political conditions, the difficulties experienced and how this turmoil was evaluated by Hungarian academics, on a personal and national level. One of the examples I can give in this respect is a letter from the archivist Endre Varga.

As mentioned above, Hungary lost a third of its territory with the Treaty of Trianon concluded after the First World War, and millions of ethnic Hungarians began to live outside the borders of Hungary established by the Treaty. Many historically important regions of Hungary were allocated to other countries and the distribution of natural resources was unevenly determined. With the First Vienna Award on 2 November 1938, the Felvidék area in southern Slovakia, inhabited by Hungarian speaking population, was returned to Hungary. With the Second Vienna Award on 30 August 1940, Hungary reclaimed about two-thirds of the long-disputed Transylvania/ Erdély from Romania.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Venedik Devlet arşivindeki vesikalar külliyyatında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri belgeleri”. *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, Ankara 1965.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., see appendix 56.

³⁵⁸ I. C. B. Dear and M. R. D. Foot, eds., “Vienna awards.”, in *The Oxford Companion to World War II*. (Oxford University Press, 2001), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198604464.001.0001/acref-9780198604464-e-1729>.

Varga first thanks Gökbilgin for the good wishes on Erdély's partial recovery. However, he says, he wants to congratulate Gökbilgin on his marriage before moving on to political issues. He writes that he is working on the “*Proveniencia*” article and hopes that external circumstances will not interfere with his work. “*Here we return to politics. (...) Dear colleague, as you know, I do not think the British will win. But the Germans are also far from winning the war. Perhaps, as many here think, the war will end in a draw and neither side will win. (...) We are ready to negotiate with the Slovaks, but we can only make peace with the Romanians if the old borders are completely recovered back, they - I do not know if your newspapers write that? - for a few weeks now, they have been being cruel once again to the Hungarians who stayed there.*”³⁵⁹

We can clearly see that the mood of the letters László Rásonyi wrote during his time at the faculty changed with the political turmoil he experienced during and after the Second World War. An example of these letters, written in a somewhat gloomy, not very hopeful mood, is his letter from 1946 and gives some information about that time. After Northern Transylvania was ceded back to Hungary as a result of the Second Vienna Award (*döntőbíráskodás*), László Rásonyi was appointed to the Kolozsvári Magyar Királyi Ferenc József Tudományegyetem Bölcsész-, Nyelv- és Történettudományi Kara/ Royal Hungarian Franz Joseph University, Faculty of Humanities, Linguistics and History in Kolozsvár (present day Cluj-Napoca, in

³⁵⁹ From Endre Varga to Gökbilgin, undated, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1dIOkH8aT_hbTRuqEh8NCVfd9fgkzie3O/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 57c-d.

Romania) by the Hungarian government and therefore he left Turkey in the autumn of 1942.³⁶⁰ However, his teaching position there did not last long, and he had to leave because of the war.³⁶¹

“My Dear Friend Tayyib,

Thank you very much for your letter and the actions you initiated on my behalf. Your lines are especially valuable during the instability of refugee life that has been going on for two years. In his letters to me, Hamit Koşay stated that the ministry of foreign affairs officially wrote on my behalf first to the Roman embassy and then to the Bern embassy in Switzerland. I also wrote to both Cemal Hüsnü Taray Bey³⁶² and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu Bey³⁶³. My departure for Turkey depends on their answers. We are again so grieved because of Kolozsvár. My wife’s parents and brother have so much nostalgia for it and they are so on the edge that we almost returned. However, according to my colleague who wrote me, going back to Hungary would not be good for me while the Russians are there. In my new book, which I left at the printing house, I was a more determined proponent of Turkishness than before. Now I have only one desire: the opportunity to work productively. I also work here a lot. I prepared a chrestomathy of English literature for the Hungarian refugees, I taught English and Turkish, then Turkish and Eastern

³⁶⁰ Discussion of the decision on László Rásonyi: *Könyvtár Szegedi egyetemi jegyzőkönyvek*, 1909-1980 Kolozsvári M. Kir. Ferenc József Tudományegyetem Bölcsészeti-, Nyelv- és Történettudományi Kara - ülések, 1941-1942/1941. október 28., II. rendes ülés, 3-11

https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/SZEGED_KOLOZSVAR_BTK_KARI_1941-42_1/?pg=64&layout=s ; sending the letter of decision to László Rásonyi’s address in Turkey, *ibid.*,

https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/SZEGED_KOLOZSVAR_BTK_KARI_1941-42_1/?pg=251&layout=s (accessed March 7, 2020); Çoban, “Rásonyi László” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*.

³⁶¹ A document showing that László Rásonyi was in Kolozsvár/Cluj in 1944

https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/SZEGED_KOLOZSVAR_BTK_KARI_1943-44/?pg=328&layout=s&query=rasonyi (accessed March 7, 2020).

³⁶² Cemal Hüsnü Taray (1893-1975) was working as the ambassador of Roma at that time, see: Muzaffer Başkaya, “Atatürk’ün Genç Diplomatı Ve Türkiye’nin Milletler Cemiyeti’ndeki İlk Daimî Temsilcisi: Cemal Hüsnü Taray’ın Hayatı ve Diplomatik Faaliyetleri.”, *Tarih Okulu Dergisi (TOD)* 11, XXXIV, (2018): 673.

³⁶³ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974) was a writer, translator, journalist, diplomat and parliament member. During this period he was a diplomatic officer at the Bern embassy; see: Nazım H. Polat, “Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 24, (İstanbul, TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2001), 465-468, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/karaosmanoglu-yakup-kadri> (accessed June 8, 2020).

*European history. I would like to publish the history of the Turkic peoples in Turkey /in English and Turkish/ and a dictionary of Turkish Names. The rich library of the Türkiyat Institute there would have been extremely good for the completion of this work. I would go to İstanbul with the greatest joy, and this would also be good for my family. However, I do not know what the deputy minister will decide.*³⁶⁴

The address where László Rásonyi sent this letter from was “Hung. D.P. Camp Feffernitz VIII/7. Carinthia, Austria”, meaning the Hungarian Displaced Persons Camp in Feffernitz in Austria. After the Second World War, millions of people, including civilians, were displaced across Europe. *D.P.*, which stands for displaced person was a label given to the people who were displaced from their countries and expected to return. Luke Kelly stated that the Feffernitz Displaced Persons camp was “*in the British zone of Austria, hosting Hungarians displaced after the war and run by the Friends Ambulance Unit under the jurisdiction of the Red Cross and British authorities. By 1946, thousands of Hungarians remained in the camp, unwilling to return to Hungary where the fascist government had been toppled, and where the Soviets were exerting increasing influence.*”³⁶⁵ As we can see from the letter I quoted above, László Rásonyi was one of the Hungarians who had to stay in this camp for a while. In another letter he sent to Tayyib Gökbilgin in 1948, he first writes how happy he was to re-continue their correspondence after a long break. He said that he had applied for a British visa but did not get any response. He added that since December the weather had been very cold, he received urgent telegraphs from his home, and he had to return to avoid any more suffering for his children. He mentioned that he had not been subjected to any political prosecution to that point, since he was not condemned for

³⁶⁴ From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 28.08.1946, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1eGVKb2tIA8E9QbyfD-9bC-ohZcvZSHL6/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 58.

³⁶⁵ Luke Kelly, “Humanitarian sentiment and forced repatriation: The administration of Hungarians in a post-war displaced persons camp.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30.3 (2017): 387-406.

being a fascist, and he had found a position at the Balkan Institute in Budapest with the help of his friends. “*Naturally, all these matters are more difficult and even impossible to achieve today, since our country is getting closer to a dictatorship of the proletariat every day.*”³⁶⁶ He stated his mission was to give the institute a direction, as much as possible, that would improve Hungarian-Turkish friendship. This institute, he said, was the only institution that could help to develop such a relationship. He mentioned that he had prepared and delivered a report stating that although many Hungarian works had been translated into Turkish up to that point, there were very few works translated from Turkish to Hungarian. Besides that, he taught Turkish at two different levels and the attendees of the courses were double as many as any who were learning any of the Balkan languages. He stated that he did not yet have to join the communist party, since they have special respect for university professors. Nevertheless, Rásonyi did not hesitate to express his concern for the future:

*“For all these reasons, the discussions that you and Hamit Bey had for me with the ministry of education have helped me greatly and allowed me to take a breath of relief. If I will ever be subjected to prosecution one day and deprived of my salary, I continue to work with confidence, sure that my family and children will not starve. That is why I am very grateful to you, to Hamit Bey and to the deputy, to all of you.”*³⁶⁷

He continued his letter by discussing the difficulties of getting a passport. For example, a well-known physician and a former university professor, Ernő Balogh, was not able to receive a passport even though he was invited from İstanbul University and even though there was a

³⁶⁶ From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 30.03.1948, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ZwHkBqtOtmDnO2TIUt4AVBQU_Ov3U8jX/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 58a.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., see appendix 58b.

Turkish ambassador who was acting as a mediator in this process. He concluded his letter by saying that especially these days he wished he were living in Turkey, and asked Gökbilgin to show the letter to Hamit Bey, but only to reveal its contents to old Turkish friends.

After 1948, the letters from Rásonyi found in the collection were dated to the 1960s. It is groundless to think that they did not have any correspondence between those dates, but these letters have probably gone missing over the years. However, in another letter dating back to 1961, we learn that Tayyib Gökbilgin invited Rásonyi to conduct a long-term research project in Erzurum, but he again mentioned the hardships of obtaining a passport to travel.³⁶⁸ At that time, in Hungary, the travel conditions of citizens were strictly controlled by the state. According to Péter Bencsik, just before the Hungarian revolution of 1956, it became easier to get a passport. More passports were issued, and border controls were also inefficient for a few months because of the revolution. He states that after the uprising was suppressed by the Soviets, and when János Kádár came to power and became the first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, passport regulations were immediately reorganized and at the same time border controls were significantly increased: *“journeys to the West were possible every two years for visiting relatives and every three years for other reasons. For private journeys, the political and moral behavior of the applicants had to be considered. Finally, those who had relatives who had left Hungary illegally were not entitled to get a passport. As these rules were not public, the resolutions of rejected passport-requests did not contain any explanation for the denial.”*³⁶⁹ In fact, in Turkey as well there was a similar kind of process. The first military coup in the Turkish Republic took place on 27 May 1960 and the army moved to Ankara to seize power. The number of travel bans

³⁶⁸ From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 21.09.1961, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rL96rE0sG1e1Vdhduhzb33qD9Ek_LRN/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 59b.

³⁶⁹ Péter Bencsik, “Passport and Visa Policy of the Kádár regime”, *Chronica* 3 (2003): 135.

were imposed during this period, however, the general opinion in the Turkish academy of the time was that the coup d'état was necessary and justified. Therefore, we can say that academics who did not openly criticize the regime were not affected by such bans. The documents we have found in Gökbilgin's archive also show that the coup was justified by the university rectors as well. For example, the document dated 03.06.1960 is a text that was sent by the rectorate of İstanbul University to the Anatolian News Agency to be published in newspapers: “*The Turkish nation and youth are grateful and thankful to our great army.*”³⁷⁰ The disagreements between the Democratic Party, which was the first of the opposition parties to come to power, and the universities, the harsh policies against the press and the university, and the student movements in the 1960s³⁷¹ were too complex and within the scope of this dissertation, it is not considered to discuss in utter detail. However, on the basis of the documents in his archive, it seems possible to say that Gökbilgin was also critical of the policies of the current government and evaluated the 27th of May coup d'état as a revolution rather than a coup. In the academic activity report he prepared for the year 1960-61, he wrote that in the days leading up to the revolutionary movement on 27 May 1960, he voiced his criticism of the government's immoral attitude to the University Senate, and in the days after the revolution he made publications both on the radio and in the press on the spirit and significance of this movement.³⁷² As a result, we can say that there was no special regulation preventing Gökbilgin from going abroad during this period. The fact that he received permission from the Ministry of the Internal Affairs for the conference he

³⁷⁰ From the rectorate of İstanbul University to the Anatolian News Agency, 03.06.1960, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1TNYLtoeMO1Mp0-7ww8-3XDAKb7icIAm9/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 60.

³⁷¹ Doğan Duman, “27 Mayıs Hükümet Darbesi ve Dönemi Akademisyenlerinin Darbe Karşısındaki Tutumları”, *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 73 (2018): 299-314; George S. Harris, “The Causes of the 1960 Revolution in Turkey”, *Middle East Journal* 24, no. 4 (1970): 438-454.

³⁷² The academic activity report of 1960-61, 30.04.1961, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1mS2mB9Hrobfo5-z6rN0HKrw_UlyKIFUE/view?usp=sharing, see appendix 61a.

wanted to attend at Eötvös Loránd University in April 1961 shows that he had no problems in this respect.³⁷³

If we go back to Rásonyi's letter, we can see, in contrast to Gökbilgin, that he suffers from passport problems. Almost the common theme of all the letters of Hungarian academics that we can find in Gökbilgin's collection is passport and visa issues. In his letter, Rásonyi explains that he was invited to present a paper entitled, 'The Names of Women in Turkic Peoples/ Türk Halklarında Kadın Adları' in Göttingen and applied to get a passport but the application was rejected, "*You can imagine my feeling when I was told on Aug. 3 that 'the request for a passport could not be completed at this time.' (...) I have become so exhausted due to the tension, disappointment, anger and suffering I have experienced.*"³⁷⁴

Rásonyi believed that Lajos Ligeti treated him like a second-class citizen, since he was denied a passport because Ligeti did not have the courage to do a favor for him. He complained that only one signature by Ligeti, who at that time was acting president of the academy, would have been enough, but he did not sign the documents. Nevertheless, he said that living in Ankara or in İstanbul seemed so attractive to him, although he had some doubts about living in Erzurum, since he did not know how being there would affect his health. When he closed his letter, he mentioned that his former professor wanted to close down the 90-year-old department just to avoid handing it over to Rásonyi, and warned that this matter should not to be discussed with their colleagues 'K.N.Gyuszi' (Gyula Káldy Nagy) and 'Siyah' (black in Turkish, he refers to Lajos Fekete here). Then he mentions that Gyula Káldy Nagy wanted to be a lector at the

³⁷³ The document related to travel permission, 07.03.1961, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Ea7u4dW_Au2NSXPo4fLV-55RIrUa_YR/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 62.

³⁷⁴ From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 21.09.1961, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rL96rE0sG1e1Vdhduhzm33qD9Ek_LRN/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 59a.

University of Ankara, but the former professor (he did not give his name) had another person in his mind.

Another academician suffered from similar difficulties was Káldy-Nagy Gyula. He wrote in this letter that he had submitted the document Gökbişgin had sent for him to get the passport, but he also needed another document stating that Gökbişgin would host him during the time he would stay in İstanbul. He apologized for this situation, saying that he was very embarrassed and added that he would never bother him in İstanbul, but he kindly asked him to write and send this letter in Hungarian in his own handwriting just for the sake of formality. To get his passport, he desperately needed this letter, even though it was just a formality, since a few years before, in 1950, they had taken away his father's lands and his two brothers had gone abroad three years previously. Thus, the authorities had some doubts about Káldy-Nagy's political reliability.³⁷⁵

It seems that Gökbişgin understood this situation clearly and fulfilled the request. According to a letter from April 1960, the letter of Gökbişgin with the declaration had arrived just in time when it was needed most. Therefore, Káldy-Nagy expressed his gratitude and added that he had good news to share. According to his official statement to the authorities, Gökbişgin could invite and host him in İstanbul and then he could host Gökbişgin when he would visit Budapest. Following Káldy-Nagy's application and declaration, the Hungarian Ministry of Education consulted the Foreign Ministry to convey an opinion on whether or not Gökbişgin could be invited, and

“The Hungarian Consul in İstanbul expressed such an excellent opinion about you that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs not only approved our travelling “on a reciprocal basis” but also

³⁷⁵ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbişgin, 10.12.1959, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1gIk-g2sCFdHOOypVZmTndzygrqHxyrfO/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 63.

suggested that the Ministry of Education officially and directly invite you.”³⁷⁶(...) “To be objective I have to say that the invitation of Prime Minister Menderes to Moscow also helped greatly in realizing this matter. In fact, this event may also improve Turkish-Hungarian relations.”³⁷⁷ (...) “I would like to add and emphasize in my letter that at the heart of your official invitation is the fact that your active engagement in Hungarian history is the utmost.”³⁷⁸

Despite the developments and the opportunities created by the official invitations, Káldy-Nagy still worried that something might go wrong and warned Gökbilgin one more time, “(...) but please I kindly ask you not to tell anyone that the invitation you sent was a mere formality until I arrive there. I apologize for asking this. I request this foolishness from you because I am afraid, but later no one will be interested in it.”³⁷⁹

At this point I would like to draw attention to some of the points in the report that Gökbilgin prepared after his above-mentioned visit to Budapest in 1961 and submitted to the Rectorate of İstanbul University, the Ministry of National Education, the Directorate General of Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Turkish Embassy in Budapest. The most important thing about this report is that it raises concerns over the disruption of scientific studies due to the regime differences between the two countries. Gökbilgin focuses primarily on the historical “*manifestations of friendship*” between Hungary and Turkey. He addresses the Turkish intellectuals who were educated in Hungary in almost all disciplines between the years 1910-1945, “*the Chair and Institute of Turkology, which has a centuries-old past at the University of Budapest, and the great service the Institute has rendered to Turkish history in the*

³⁷⁶ From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 23.04.1960, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1EoZ0bSWm5ByIoNMyg97RgFga0E3K16nk/view?usp=sharing> ,see appendix 64a.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., see appendix 64a.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., see appendix 64a.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., see appendix 64b.

study of the Hungarian language and history, and the importance of the international scholars they have trained in this field.” In his meetings with various academicians in Hungary, it was emphasized that regardless of the political, social and economic conditions and the organization in which the Turkish and Hungarian nations live today, this tradition and communication should be preserved. In this report Gökbilgin states that especially the scientific and cultural relations that began half a century ago, and have been going on for a long time, and the historical research on the Ottoman period in Hungary prompt the historians of both nations to cooperate with the highest interest.

*“The most important sources of this period are in the Turkish archives and until now it has not been possible for Hungarian scholars to research and study them according to international scientific procedures and practices. The deprivation of these sources causes great grief to Hungarian historiography and creates a situation for us that will cause grief and disappointment due to the arbitrary and unscientific considerations and actions of some of our library administrators and especially the General Directorate of Archives.”*³⁸⁰

Although there was still no official cultural agreement between the two countries and some obstacles need to be overcome, Gökbilgin concludes his report with suggestions for improving bilateral relations. He particularly pointed out the problem of permission for studies to be carried out in the archives, a problem often faced by Hungarian scholars, indeed by all foreign researchers. From the document that belongs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkish Republic, we can see that Gökbilgin was very committed to this issue yet as he noted in his report, he did not always achieve successful results.

³⁸⁰ The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961 <https://drive.google.com/file/d/17zWFJbTYfB0TYAUkJ6jLlVFDVju2u7Ut/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 65a-g.

“It corresponds to the petition of 31 May 1960.

Our Ministry sees no objection to Dr. Kaldy Nagy Gyula, a faculty member of the Budapest University, Institute of Turkology, visiting our country and establishing scientific contacts. However, since the Directorate General of Archives does not allow researchers from the iron curtain countries to conduct research in our archives, I respectfully request that no promises or statements be made to Professor Gyula that he can conduct research in the archives until permission to research is granted.”³⁸¹

Although Turkey, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - NATO since 1952, and Hungary, which was a member of the Eastern Bloc, were theoretically opposing forces, as can be seen from Gökbilgin's report, they tried to maintain the existing relations by emphasizing the historical arguments. As far as we can see from the letters, despite the continuing perception of insecurity and threat from the regime differences, the emphasis was not on enmity but on the affinity, and on the historical relations between Turkey and Hungary even during this period known as the Cold War. As Káldy-Nagy pointed out in his letter, the official visit of the then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes to Moscow in 1960, which was accepted as the beginning of the normalization process in Turkish-Russian relations, had also a positive impact on Hungary's relations with Turkey. As Fatma Çalik states, towards the end of the 1960s, diplomatic relations reached a new dimension with the visit of János Péter, who was the first Hungarian Foreign Minister to come to Turkey. Afterwards, in 1971, a return visit was made to Hungary by the Turkish Foreign Minister, İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil.³⁸² Gökbilgin's report shows

³⁸¹ From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkish Republic to Gökbilgin, 15.06.1960, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1AKxazDjPU4k19WalOU1I4gUZZPqHHJ9b/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 66.

³⁸² Fatma Çalik, “Soğuk Savaş Döneminde Türkiye-Macaristan İlişkileri”, *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4, no. 2 (2015): 33-60.

that he involved in the development of not only cultural but also diplomatic relations between Turkey and Hungary in the 1960s.³⁸³ Çalik points out that a year after Gökbilgin's visit to Hungary, a group of scholars led by Suut Kemal Yetkin, the rector of Ankara University between 1959 and 1963, visited Hungary. In the same year, 1962, a group of Hungarian scholars led by Gyula Ortutay, the rector of Eötvös Loránd University came to Turkey and made a return visit.³⁸⁴ The historian Faik Reşit Unat, who was then vice-chairman of the board of the UNESCO National Commission of Turkey, informs him in a letter he sent to Gökbilgin as follows: “*The delegation that came under the chairmanship of Rector Ortutay stayed in our country for five days and left with good impressions.*”³⁸⁵

As I mentioned earlier, although Gökbilgin had no problems with passports and travel, and bilateral relations slowly and gradually started to normalize during this period, another letter from Rásonyi provides us with a case of a different kind of problem, outside of passport and archival research permits. Rásonyi retired in Hungary in 1962, but right after he received his retired status he went back to Ankara and started working at the Hungarian Studies Department again. A letter from this period begins as follows:

“The profoundly depressed nature of your letter and its deep tone of disappointment was also very saddening for me. Yet afterwards I thought it over. You wrote that you heard from Gy. H. that one of the secretaries at the embassy indicated you were a spy. I do not believe that Gy. H. heard such a thing at all. Gy. H. has many acquaintances in state institutions in the country,

³⁸³ Although I am aware that there are documents and reports on Gökbilgin's diplomatic activities in the archives of both the Turkish and Hungarian foreign ministries, I would like to note here that these archives could not be evaluated within the framework of this dissertation due to time constraints.

³⁸⁴ Çalik, “Soğuk Savaş Döneminde Türkiye-Macaristan İlişkileri”, 49.

³⁸⁵ From Faik Reşit Unat to Gökbilgin, 24.12.1962, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1juoMW2Q5VZFkVzk6hlqcJmAgNhRr68aW/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 67a.

*and I know that he even has acquaintances in many places in Turkey, so he may be perfectly aware of everything that is going on, nonetheless I have to state that I found what he said to be total nonsense.”*³⁸⁶

Apparently, Gökbilgin had heard from György Hazai³⁸⁷ that there were rumors in Hungary that he was a spy, and he was very upset about this news and shared his feelings on this issue with Rásonyi. Rásonyi, on the other hand, tried to soothe him with these words:

*“It is inconceivable that since you are the most outstanding and compassionate person among the few who are actively concerned with intensifying Turkish-Hungarian cultural relations, no one at the embassy, either in the past or in the present, would have made such an accusation about you. Whenever I talk to someone from the embassy, they always talk about you with great respect and sympathy. We know more than ever that the embassy of Hungary, which is small in today's world, has no other purpose than to promote economic and cultural relations. Why would they want to damage the reputation of the person that they should show the most gratitude concerning the relationship with Turkey?”*³⁸⁸

Rásonyi thought that Hazai concocted this story, and if this was the case, Gökbilgin should not be taking the issue so seriously because he said Hazai *“had lost his reputation, perhaps to a greater extent than he deserved, in the scientific circles at home.”*³⁸⁹ He stated that in Turkey, they have an overrated opinion about him. *“He is a smart man, but instead of dealing*

³⁸⁶ From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 11.08.1963, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/138XHvYtZb1H0SNVnqUGW-IR2X4fBqT1y/view?usp=sharing>, see appendix 68a.

³⁸⁷ György Hazai (1932-2016) was a Turkologist, orientalist, university professor and the member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. At the time when these correspondences happened, he was a Research Fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and also a visiting associate to full professor at Humboldt University. See: Katalin Németh, “A turkológia szolgálatában. A Hazai György Könyvtár.” *Tudományos és Műszaki Tájékoztatás* 66, no. 6 (2019): 348-362.

³⁸⁸ From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 11.08.1963, *Ibid.*, see appendix 68a.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, see appendix 38b.

*with 'politics', or rather personal politics, he should engage in more scientific studies that show serious results.”*³⁹⁰

After trying to set things right and calm Gökbilgin, he mentioned his recent activities. He wanted to make a presentation at the Turkish Art History Congress in Venice about the vocabulary of Turkish carpet making. *“Of course, there is so much indigenous vocabulary for this! This is the first step in determining which peoples can be associated with the beginning of carpet making. However, the trip will cost a lot and since I am not a Turkish citizen, I would experience currency problems when buying the ticket.”*³⁹¹

The same vexing problem appears in another letter dated to September 1963. In the first part of the letter, he requests Gökbilgin's assistance because visas again could not be obtained. This time, the visa issue concerned Gyula Káldy Nagy. Rásonyi continued the second part of the letter as follows, *“Now on to another matter that causes you great bitterness. I must say again that I do not believe that what Hazai said is true, because those who work in the embassy are not stupid enough to act against their own interests. Either it was a lie that was said for no reason, or it was said to harm the people supported by you, namely me and Káldy, or by saying that – referring to your conversation with Hazai – they wanted to squelch enthusiasm for helping the Hungarians.”*³⁹²

This gossip had a greater impact on Gökbilgin than Rásonyi had expected. He said that he hoped that Gökbilgin did not mention his name in the conversation that he had with Hazai, because he was concerned that Hazai could use this information against him in Hungary. He

³⁹⁰ Ibid., see appendix 38b.

³⁹¹ Ibid., see appendix 38b.

³⁹² From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 17.09.1963, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1WawUebQlr429iSR6PDBJV6Oj3023zEz/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 69a.

added that if Gökbilgin wanted and if his name had not been mentioned before regarding this matter, he could talk with the ambassador for help.³⁹³

Another letter I found in the Austrian National Library Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books shows that Gökbilgin also shared his disappointment with some other of his colleagues. Gökbilgin met with the famous folklorist Pertev Naili Boratav when they were both in Mainz discussing the second and third volumes of *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. Boratav sent a letter to the eminent Turkologist Andreas Tietze during this time (in the last months of 1962) telling him that he had met with Gökbilgin and he was aware of the gossip, although he had said nothing for or against it, and they had already exchanged letters with Hazai and Gökbilgin only stated that he would spare no effort to help.³⁹⁴

Interestingly, when we look at Hazai's letters in the Gökbilgin collection, we see that they did indeed discuss some of Gökbilgin's concerns. However, it is clear that this communication did not alleviate Gökbilgin's reservations on the subject. In July 1963, Hazai travelled to Ankara to attend the 10th Turkish Language Congress. As it can be seen from the letter he sent at the end of July, he also met with Gökbilgin in İstanbul during this visit.

“I am very pleased that I was able to clear up some unpleasant misunderstandings of the past time with the dear Professor. I hope that nothing will overshadow the cause of Turkish-Hungarian relations in the future. Personally, I will work to strengthen the ties that bind us, as I

³⁹³ Ibid., see appendix 69b.

³⁹⁴ Boratav, Pertev Naili, and Andreas Tietze. *Korrespondenz, 1958, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken*. Call Number: Autogr. 1554/8 (15-16).

*have done so far. Dear Professor, you can always count on me to speak kindly and to take a step in the spirit we have agreed upon.”*³⁹⁵

In a letter he sent a month later, he again expresses similar sentiments: after all misunderstandings were cleared up, they can finally serve the interests of science by leaving aside the non-scientific works, and that he wants Hungarian-Turkish cultural and scientific relations to be further developed, and his goal is no different from Gökbilgin's and he can always rely on him.³⁹⁶ When Hazai wrote these letters, he was preparing for his journey as a visiting lecturer and professor of Turkology at the Institute for Ancient Oriental Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy at Humboldt University. In Hazai's memoirs³⁹⁷ we also come across accounts that he did not have a good relationship with some of the scholars in Budapest and that he had particular problems with Lajos Ligeti. As we can see from the letters, he also shared these problems with Gökbilgin, although not in great detail. In another letter, Hazai wrote that he was able to restore the good old relations with Gyula Káldy-Nagy by following Gökbilgin's advice before his trip to Berlin, that this would be to the benefit of Turkology, and that such a step was taken thanks to the efforts of Gökbilgin.³⁹⁸

Although they seem to have clarified some issues as a result of the meeting with Hazai in İstanbul, we can understand from a letter written by Gyula Németh, again in July 1963, that Gökbilgin continued to talk about the matter in a resentful tone:

³⁹⁵ From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 31.07.1963, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/18a8t5h47rtj3Jj05y9yuaWJWTDcnkR-n/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 70.

³⁹⁶ From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 30.08.1963, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1dXk519zddOSFy5S-M0PDAl-U_ozmurV8/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 71a-b.

³⁹⁷ György Hazai, *Against Headwinds on the Lee Side: Memoirs of a Passionate Orientalist*, (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2020).

³⁹⁸ From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 11.15.1963, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1qpml1Jf_UE4z3oO-rNxaI8PUvCohRoav/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 72a-b.

*“I think there is no reason to lose your enthusiasm for the continuation of Turkish-Hungarian scientific relations. All serious people in Budapest attach great importance to your work and even consider it very valuable. You have achieved great and valuable results so far, and we expect important results from you in the future as well. This would benefit science in both countries. We should not be discouraged by irresponsible and immature statements and individual intrigues.”*³⁹⁹

These letters show us that Gökbilgin was in a reproachful mood at the time. However, even though he expressed his displeasure several times, he never gave up his mission to be a bridge builder, mediator between Turkish-Hungarian scientific relations, as Németh suggested. Gökbilgin continued to help to Hungarian scholars numerous times, in particular to obtain the necessary permits for visa and permission for working in the archives. He also played an important role in the renovation of the Rákóczi Memorial House in Tekirdağ, and the opening of the first exhibition here. We can conclude this section by mentioning two very important initiatives by Gökbilgin that I can evaluate in the context of the development of cultural and scientific relations between the two countries. The first one was the *“Türk-Macar Kültür Münasebetleri Işığında II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Macar Mültecileri Sempozyumu/ II. Rákóczi Ferenc and the Hungarian Refugees symposium in the Light of Turkish-Hungarian Cultural Relations”* he organised at İstanbul University in 1976.⁴⁰⁰ At this conference, as Enver Ziya Karal, the president of the Turkish Historical Association stated, it was shown once again that despite the differences of the regime between the two countries, cultural relations were not

³⁹⁹ From Gyula Németh to Gökbilgin, 27.07.1963, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ZBwy127Fpw67BCTAqXWaEly6DqpoKEK8/view?usp=sharing> , see appendix 73a-b.

⁴⁰⁰ The programme of II. Rákóczi Ferenc and the Hungarian Refugees symposium in the Light of Turkish-Hungarian Cultural Relations, 31.05-05.06.1976, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1QW7x0wsbAPkEODNntu1okWtK3CKzW8v9/view?usp=sharing> .

affected in any way; objective studies were carried out in the field of history, language, and art.⁴⁰¹ Indeed, thanks to Gökbilgin's personal archive, we can see that the relationship between the scientists continued almost uninterrupted despite the difficulties caused by politics. Moreover, II. Rákóczi Ferenc Symposium took the existing relations a step further by also engaging the next generation of historians such as Géza Dávid, Pál Fodor and/or János Hóvári. The second important initiative he was involved in during this period was the Joint Committee of Turkish-Hungarian Historians. Immediately after the II. Rákóczi-Ferenc Symposium, which took place in 1976, Gökbilgin also undertook the work that resulted in the establishment of the Joint Committee of Turkish-Hungarian Historians. According to his report presented to the Turkish Historical Association in 1978, the first meeting concerning the issue of historical cooperation took place in Ankara in 1977, and the second meeting was held in Budapest on 1 November 1978. At this meeting, topics such as the preparation of a conference on castles and roads in the Ottoman Empire, a bibliography of Turkish-Hungarian relations, a comprehensive book on each period of these relations, the preparation of a dictionary in Hungarian-Turkish and Turkish-Hungarian, the determination of the topography of the period of Turkish rule in Hungary, the participation of Hungarian archaeologists in excavations in Turkey, the participation in the commemorative events for Atatürk in 1981 and the organization of a separate event on this subject in Hungary, the mutual correction of textbooks and finally the sending of a Turkish lecturer to the University of Budapest were discussed.⁴⁰² In a letter from the Turkish Historical Association to Gökbilgin in January 1979, they thanked him for this report, which contained very fundamental and interesting questions for Turkish-Hungarian scientific and cultural cooperation.

⁴⁰¹ From Enver Ziya Karal to Gökbilgin, 25.05.1976, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1tZH2GVx3vGcmEKyn_qEnth4V1j4Etded/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 74a-b.

⁴⁰² The report on the visit to Hungary, November 1978, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hJmjY2jcjPjLW2PrTXMZFn2eZ8_s_rC/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 75a-f.

However, it was noted that the protocol sent to Hungary after the approval of the Turkish Foreign Ministry had still not been returned to the Association and as head of the Turkish delegation, Gökbişgin was asked to settle the matter.⁴⁰³ In 1979 Hazai, who was also one of the representatives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, wrote that he was glad that the echo of the Pest discussion with the Association was good. “*I am sure that Tayyib Bey's proper diplomacy contributed to this.*”⁴⁰⁴ As a result, another project initiated by Gökbişgin was realized, the Joint Commission of Turkish-Hungarian Historians started to operate and the Atatürk Commemoration Conference was organized on 27 October 1981, as stated in Gökbişgin's report.⁴⁰⁵ However, Gökbişgin did not live to see this happen, as he passed away in June 1981.

Apart from the scholars I have included here in this chapter, there are various letters and post cards from scholars. However, the majority of the correspondences are greeting cards as I mentioned earlier. Therefore, in line with the aim of my study, I consider it appropriate that I do not continue with the Hungarian correspondences after this point, since majority of them do not contain insights or information about the socio-political environment or about Ottoman studies in Hungary at that period. As a conclusion to this chapter, it is possible to state that the letters that have been included offer us insight on three different levels. On the first level, there is evidence of the scholarly support that Gökbişgin, who was at the beginning of his career in that period, received from Hungarian historians. On the second level, it can be seen that Gökbişgin tried to help scholars overcome several bureaucratic problems related to visas and permits and did his best to develop reciprocal assistance between Hungarian and Turkish academia. He served until

⁴⁰³ From the Turkish Historical Association to Gökbişgin, 08.01.1979, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1EnKbrvyCdIieM0_OprvsZ_yKorthg4yY/view?usp=sharing , see appendix 76.

⁴⁰⁴ From György Hazai to Gökbişgin, 21.01.1979, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1fGLIPFvbfJ45F4x7E1j8S8ujUyvE3BA/view?usp=sharing> see appendix 77a.

⁴⁰⁵ Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor “Macaristan Bilimler Akademisinde Atatürk'ün 100. Doğum Yılına Anma Töreni“, *Bellefen* Vol. 47, No. 187/188 (1984): 1229-1232.

his very last moment for the continuity of scientific and cultural relations. Finally, on the third level, a position on the contemporary trends in Ottoman studies in Hungary is seen. As I already mentioned in the third chapter, there were two schools of thought during that period. One stated that the historical evolution of the country was interrupted due to the Ottoman occupation and therefore the country had to face social and economic decay.⁴⁰⁶ The other followed the pro-Turkish trend that was initiated by Sándor Takáts, as Géza Fehér mentions in his letter, and argued that the Ottoman Empire supported the Hungarian national struggle against the oppressive Habsburg Empire.⁴⁰⁷ Nonetheless, many Hungarian historians agree that a more balanced and holistic approach had emerged thanks to the works of Fekete. As is clear from his letters, Fekete made an effort to seek knowledge by asking the right questions and using proper methodologies rather than nurturing prejudices. Likewise, Káldy-Nagy wrote in his letter that his professors Gyula Németh and Lajos Fekete had advised him that he should have a positive view of Turks if he wanted to study their history or language. This statement can be also interpreted as showing the manner in which he expressed his quest for objectivity towards the subjects he was studying. Although these two historians put aside the prejudices and created a rather sophisticated, corrective view of the Ottoman period, they did not hesitate to underline the limits of Ottoman rule. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor states that in his work *Budapest a törökkorban/Budapest in the Turkish Era*, Fekete raised an argument that is still relevant among Hungarian historians, “*here the Ottomans were far less successful at integrating the local population than had been the case in the Balkans.*”⁴⁰⁸ Although Káldy-Nagy mentions in his

⁴⁰⁶ Gábor Ágoston, “The Image of the Ottomans in Hungarian Historiography,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 61, no. 1–2 (2008):18; Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, “Hungarian Studies in Ottoman History,” in *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002), 316–318.

⁴⁰⁷ Dávid and Fodor, “Hungarian Studies in Ottoman History”, 315.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 319.

letters that contrary to popular opinion, Sultan Süleyman did not destroy the country and was a fair ruler, he draws a more negative image in his biographical work on *Szulejmán* published in 1974, as Dávid and Fodor mentions. Here he states that the achievements of Sultan Süleyman were more by fortunate circumstances rather than a creative design.⁴⁰⁹ In a similar vein, he seems to have adopted the argument of Fekete in one of his articles. According to this, neither Süleyman nor his successors managed to settle Turkish families in greater numbers than in the Balkans. Süleyman's attacks against Europe only led to the expansion of a line of defense for the Ottoman Empire, which cost such enormous amounts each year that compared with this effort, the tributes of the Habsburgs and the princes of Transylvania could only be described as symbolic achievements.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 327; Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Szulejmán* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1974), 215.

⁴¹⁰ Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "Suleimans Angriff Auf Europa," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28, no. 2 (1974): 212.

CONCLUSION

The Late Ottoman Empire witnessed an unprecedented process of change and transition. The emergence of new ideologies, changes in the land, population, political regime, law, culture and social life had progressed at an unforeseen pace. Although this transition period naturally posed numerous challenges, it also allowed new opportunities and trends to emerge. Gökbilgin was born in an empire where such rapid and momentous transformations occurred almost daily. He experienced his first years of school in the educational institutions provided by the Ottoman Empire as an Ottoman student. He read and wrote in Ottoman Turkish, the language of the Empire, and also learned Arabic and Persian to some extent. Due to the constant conditions of war, he was born into, he was forced to take a short break in his education, but of course the same conditions made him undoubtedly aware of the changes and the challenges in late Ottoman society. A critical feature that distinguishes Gökbilgin from later Ottoman studies experts is that he was able to capture Ottoman literature and culture in its final period. Thanks to this cultural infrastructure and social environment where he learned to read and write in the Ottoman script fluently, Gökbilgin had the opportunity to penetrate the Ottoman resources with ease and in depth. Besides this, witnessing this transition period enabled him to gain experience and a perspective that we now cannot hope for, no matter how hard we try. Therefore, it is possible to say that he was not just an eyewitness to these major historical transformations, but these changes also were of a formative nature to him, and the discussions that emerged in this period occupied important place in his professional life at a later stage.

Unfortunately, we do not know whether the decision to attend a particular school was random or was made by evaluating the circumstances of the period, but we do know that

Gökbilgin originally aimed towards a career in teaching. He graduated from Trabzon Teaching School at a time when the teaching schools were acknowledged as institutions that provided training for the first teachers of the young Republic, the unarmed soldiers of the nation, who would dispel ignorance and educate the society that had just faced the challenges of the War of Independence. Indisputably, the writing reform was another crucial development in the period when Gökbilgin started his teaching career. Tayyib Gökbilgin, who had received his primary education as an Ottoman student, started teaching the students of Turkish Republic using the new “Turkish script” adopted following the Republican language reforms.

For Gökbilgin, who seemed to have passed through a gauntlet of transformative experiences in his youth, his university years at the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography were equally accompanied by a period of heated debates. However, this time the principal focus was not only the education of the nation, but the reconstruction of the history of the nation. The Faculty was established to create a scholarly institution to study Turkish language, history, and geography not only to understand the inner dynamics of the Turkish nation, but also to determine the contributions of Turkish civilizations to human history. Accordingly, the Hungarian studies department was established to investigate the common historical characteristics of the Turkish and Hungarian nations. In general, the main subject of Hungarian studies consisted of themes such as the ancient history of the Hungarians, as well as the common ancestors, ethnogenesis and kinship of the early Hungarians and Turks. However, it is interesting that Gökbilgin did not focus on these issues in his first scholarly studies. Contrary to expectations, this department opened the doors of the Ottoman world to him, and he stepped into this world through the primary sources he encountered in Hungary. The fact is that his education both as an Ottoman student and as a university student in a faculty

established by the Turkish Republic made it possible for him to master the languages of the documents of the Ottoman history. Furthermore, the guidance of the renowned archivist Lajos Fekete, whom he met on his first trip to Hungary, played an undeniable role in Gökbişgin's choice of this field of research. Gökbişgin not only recognized and acknowledged Ottoman history and its cultural heritage as a part of Turkey's past but also included Hungarians in this picture. As we can understand from his correspondences, Hungarian historians were also aware that they were exploring their past and formulating new perceptions while conducting research on Ottoman history.

Gökbişgin was also a pioneer as one of the founding fathers of modern, scholarly historiography in Turkey, and made an important contribution to the institutionalization of the profession and the craft of history in the academic field. Gökbişgin's pioneering contributions are particularly prominent in the establishment of the history of Ottoman institutions as a separate field at the university, in conducting extensive research on these issues and in training researchers. Tayyib Gökbişgin, who was a member and model citizen of the first generation of the Republican era, reinvented himself as a historian on the basis of contemporary methods while he meticulously reconstructed the Ottoman past. He was one of the hardest-working pioneers who valued archival work and methods for studying history based on documents and evidence. He acknowledged that instead of clearing up the picture, ideological and sociological evaluations that were devoid of the information that could only be verified using documents made it increasingly difficult to understand the Ottomans. Perhaps for this reason alone, Tayyib Gökbişgin did not focus on original methodological or theoretical propositions about history or historiography or the conceptualization of the field. In this sense, even though Gökbişgin established the Department of the History of Ottoman Institutions and Civilization at İstanbul

University, which was a leader of tremendous development in the field, it is not possible to speak about a permanent and innovative contribution to modern world historiography linked to his name. Consequently, the foundation of his methodology on historiography was based on the principles of first searching for and finding reliable and relevant archival material, and second, constructing a solid history out of this material using modern scientific methods. I can state that one of his main goals since his university years had been to be in touch with the fundamental issues of world historiography as much as possible, to be aware of the methodological approaches developed since Ranke and to work in accordance with them. Tayyib Gökbilgin was a historian who did not give any credence to a priori assumptions, was a tenacious advocate of empirical evidence and documents, set forth to construct his history from primary sources, and meticulously observed the entire process of external and internal steps and the rules of source criticism.

Even though he did not cover a lot of ground concerning the intellectual and mental processes of historians, Gökbilgin made a significant contribution to the field of the history of Ottoman institutions and civilization. Issues such as institutions, organization and civilization, the administrative structure of Ottoman-Turkish society, the social and economic conditions and administrative units of the Ottoman Empire, and the science, culture and mobilization activities in the Ottoman state had not been included in the teaching and research curriculum before him. As the founder of the Ottoman Institutions and Civilization chair, Tayyib Gökbilgin conducted extensive and comparative research in this field and paved the way for students who want to work on these topics. Along with analytical articles and books, he compiled and published annotated works specifically designed to educate new generations on Ottoman paleography and documents, thus making original resources accessible to a wide variety of people. Consequently,

in terms of both the bibliographies and original sources he unearthed, the works of Tayyib Gökbiğın are still rewarding and significant for not only Turkish researchers and historians, but also for scholars from numerous other countries.

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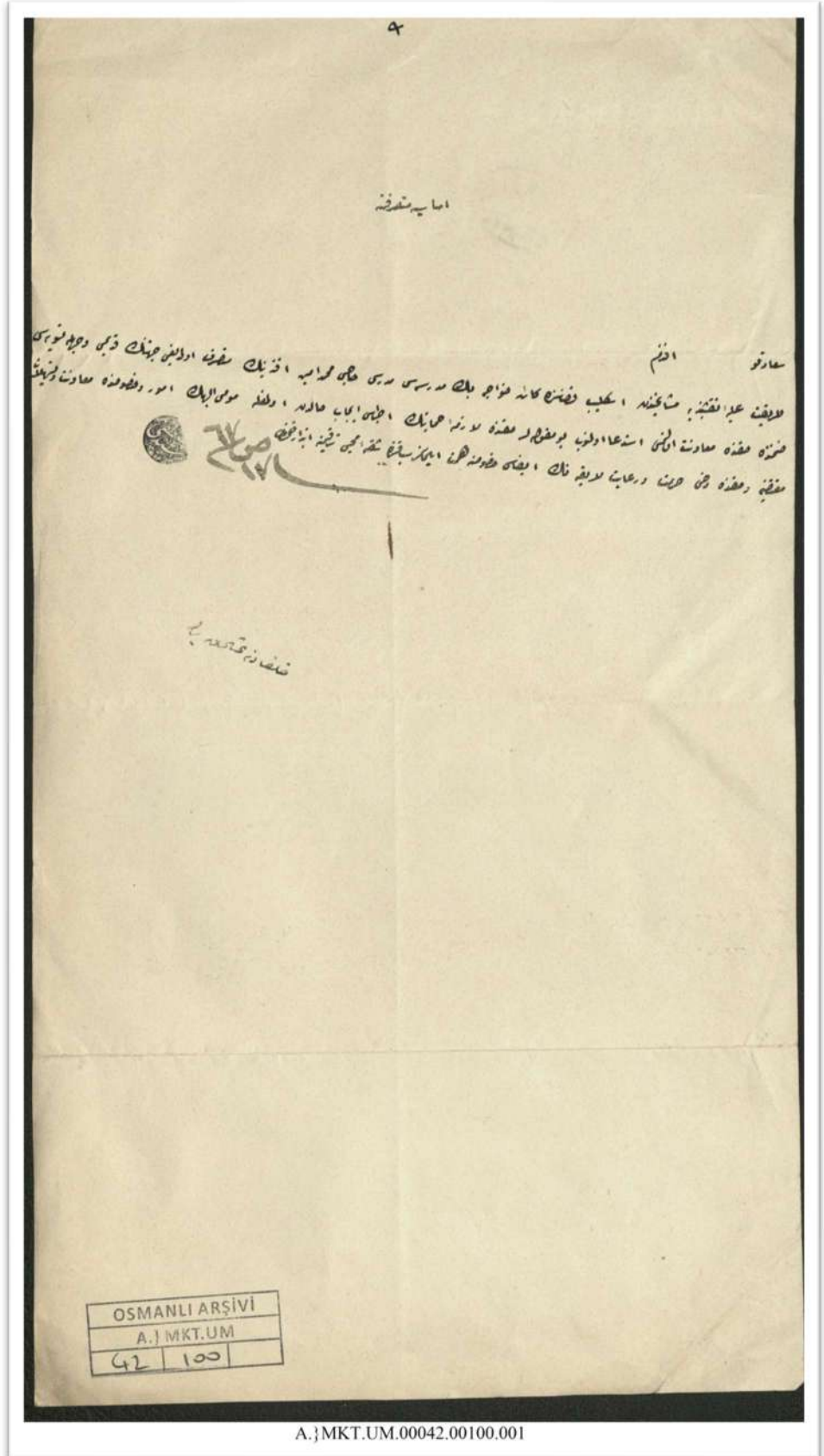
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Appendixes

Figure 1 BOA,
Sadâret Defterleri,
Fon Code: A.}MKT_UM,
42_100_1



A.}MKT.UM.00042.00100.001

Figure 2 İstanbul Müftülüğü Meşihat Arşivi, Document code: İST_MFT_MSH_SAİD_163_18_36_2305A_2

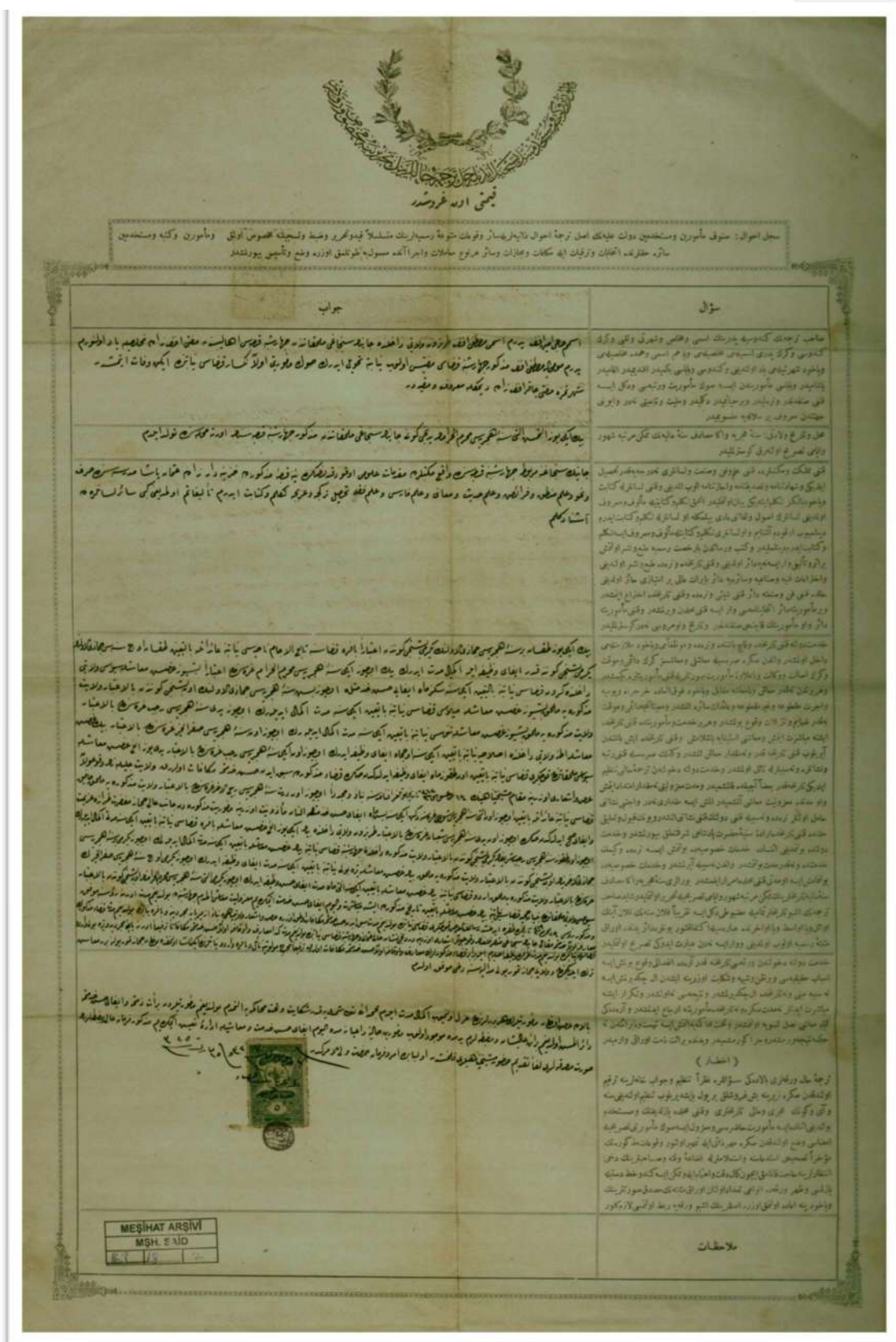


Figure 3c Handwritten Notes, 10.11.1964

Handwritten notes in Persian script, dated 10.11.1964. The text is written on a piece of paper with a horizontal crease. The handwriting is cursive and includes several lines of text, some of which are underlined or circled. The notes appear to be a collection of thoughts or a draft of a document, possibly related to the subject of the caption. The text is written in black ink on a light-colored background. The paper shows signs of age and use, with some smudges and a clear horizontal fold across the middle. The handwriting is dense and fills most of the page. There are some words that are circled, such as 'آقایان' and 'آقایان', and some words that are underlined, such as 'آقایان' and 'آقایان'. The text is written in a style that is characteristic of Persian calligraphy, with long horizontal strokes and a fluid, connected script. The overall appearance is that of a personal or working document from the mid-20th century.

Figure 3e Handwritten Notes, 10.11.1964

Handwritten notes in Persian script, dated 10.11.1964. The page contains approximately 25 lines of cursive text. A circled section in the middle of the page reads: ادام تا استن (Adam ta Astan). The text includes various words and phrases, some of which are underlined or circled. The handwriting is dense and appears to be a personal or working draft.

Figure 3f Handwritten Notes, 10.11.1964

کلمه تجر تو لوم علی دونه...
 دونه لوزه دکا...
 در آنجا...

26 کلمه تجر تو لوم علی دونه...
 آن کلمه...
 و...
 عادت...
 در آنجا...
 کلمه...

این نقل...
 و...
 در آنجا...
 نقل...
 در آنجا...
 کلمه...
 در آنجا...

Figure 4a Handwritten Notes

صاحب آرتة ادرم ، عزیز اداہ مجا آرتة ادرم .
آتا تورکی قابا ایئرینک بیدی بیلی دونونده ، حسن اولدیندا ،
اندیغی خاطر منی آلمه ، بوسیلہ ایتمده مای دخوا وانقلاب اولتد ز
دور زنگ بر صبحال بجه ایجه طویلا نسه بولونوروز . بوجسجال ، عینی یانه
جمهوری و انقلابی امانتقا ^{ایرانی} الاند ایجه بوجحاسب در ، بر وظیفه کوی لدر .
تورک کیمیک ، بویوک تورک منده و کنده مرفله تاریخی اصلیلی و
لیاقله بر خلف خفیله . عقیده و وحدت بوظیفه و کجوریتی دوریجه
آلدین امانتدا دایم زنده دایم اداها بولمعه بر حاده مستقیم
نسله دور ایجه کلمه .
آتا تورک مای بر تله نده که بویوک بولمکه . هوبویوک آدام کی ادرمه ده
هیاتجا یا نده برجه ده کورکمه امکار بوند . حق تحقیق و ازل اولدور
دورسه ده کافا دکلمه . بونوع ذکال یا تادته دور آیدینه کلمه
آنجده اذیام تاریخ اولمه نده و حق دیر . بوجحاله یا بید قده
ایکله حادیرک سیرین ذکیمه بر بویوک انسان ، یا نده تاریخی و کلمه بول
ذکی ، بولمکینه سنت طویلا اولدوروز و بیان کلمه بویوک بر کلمه من
براقه یفایان و تأثیر لیمده مطالعه ایله ای بایله .
بویوک انسان دور سینه افلاک آسانه و جمعی دور و جهرا کورسه بلیه بلانده
کلمه بوجحاله اولدین سادتی ریه جبار جبار هم بویوک برده آلیت هم
تورک بر ایجه آلیت اولدورده لانه دور . بوجحاله انسان تاریخی کولمکه
تورکوندا . بوجحاله یا نده تورک دنیا سله کل بولور شتعه ادرم

Figure 4b Handwritten Notes

II.
 انقلا بآلانی اولانه آتاتورك ده تاریخی یوردو کجه دایه جوته نه فیه
 ایله بله و دایه ای آنگله سید جقدر
 آتاتورك کله اری بوتنه جملی دیاجول کلامه نه فیه اینه لکه وقت کوسو کله
 و حرکتی انقلا بملده نه تام مناسیله ده آیتیم ادرینه کو - دقله و
 بوتنه انقلا بمله و طلقه فایانه اولانه کشیدن تام زبانه کطیبه ایله و دایه
 ملی سر .. سی فله ایله اولنه برنی شعری ایله .
 آتاتورك انقلا بی ، کجه کوییه جمله تاریخده ، کله شه و شهر نه سیته
 سعیم نه اوله شاعری کوییه اکت حوک فقله اکت سوزله کله سید . ادرنی سلیمیه
 باشکلیه ایله کجه و دایه ایله اوله اکت سوزله کله سوزله کله
 مشرقتی انقلا بمله و تورک ملتی دوشه ما ار جوردو نه صفرا با شه
 کله شاعری بوانقلا بمله یام آتاتورك یام آتاتورك ، شاعری کله سوزله کله
 قوی ایله روحی ، ملی بادل کله ایله کله ایله سلفه کله دایه کله
 شاعری ایله کله ایله سلفه کله ایله کله ایله کله ایله کله
 نه بوانقلا بمله کله کله ایله ، تورک کوهنیه دکر کوهنیه سنی آتاتورك
 سوز ، بوتنه شاعری ، تورک کوهنیه کله ایله کله ایله کله ایله
 آتاتورك ، ادرنی ایله ایله سلفه کله ایله کله ایله کله ایله
 ادرنه اوله ایله بویوک دوری دقله کله دایه . سلفه کله کله کله
 کله کله " بیه ایله کله نه شاعری ایله کله بزم کله کله کله کله
 کله کله کله کله کله " ادرنه بویاینی ملی بادل کله کله کله
 صاعمیادی ، بوشه اولانه کله کله کله ، سلفه کله کله کله
 کله کله کله دایه آتاتورك کله کله کله کله کله کله

Figure 4c Handwritten Notes

تورک ملت
تاریخچه آتش خیمه بر زبانه راست و در بر آدام فتاد در وجودی بود
ایوبه بر آدام که ادب و الفج کوروش عیشی سه زمه، کیمسه کوروش سکه ای
بر طرف آیمه، خودمان آده سده، قالیقنه ایجه ملنه تمام اولاد ننه ریشی بر آیمه
آنا تورک باشا ایما ریاضی کوروش کوزه آلدین انقلاب سونه دایم
نزه قده سیه اولیاده بر آده س. ایچریه ویشاریه بر عظمه سیه ایچریه
قاسم اوچو... بر ملت موجودیت و استقلال تأمیه ایجه تصور قابل اولاد
جوشی و ضا کارکن باید قده سده سونه اولور. یا سونه اولاد سیه دیک
اورمکله اولیاده سیم ایلر ریکدر. سوطالده ملت باشا دایم و قالیقنه
دوام آسته کجه سونه اولیاده انقلاب یوقدر. «
قیه بر سینه طرفنه صیقله دینه انقلاب بزاز دولت آدینه مینده
دیک کیمه چود عظمت آیه و منطقه بر سینه استقلال ای دورام آیه رطل
بر خصوصیه عمله ایچریه و همه بر سینه کیمه، تورک انقلابی بر دایم
دولت آدینه ایجه تحقیق عده سینه، سب و ایجه کیمه اولور جلی حارمان
آخجه علمه بر لایله قلمه واقعه. ملکان سونه و آده ایجه آنا تورک
اصول بر لایله آریلارینه بر تورک بر قالیقنه اولیاده بیلر دقلده ک
بر نیک ایجه قیقه انقلاب آریلارینه ایچریه روجه ایچریه و ریشی
علم و آیه سوره اولور.
آنا تورک انقلاب آریلارینه بر سینه، دیک بر تونه فضایت و صدق
تورک آیه آنا عده سوره کیمه و قرطقلعه. فقط بوندنه عساکر
تورک کیمه بر عساکر غریبله آیه. هر ایچریه دورانی باشا سیه دایم
بر لایله اولیاده قالیقنه آریلارینه. آنا تورک بر ایچریه اولور سینه

Figure 4d Handwritten Notes

۱۷.

بودیك بر تحلیلات یا سیه ، صاعه تورك بنه نه یا شامه سعه کوردی بودی
فکره عمی خلیعه مفره منه یا سیه ساه کولو طرفه نه کوب آکتده . آ رعه
تا ریخه مال اولاره شریعه و سلطنته او کوریه لر نه بر بویه الکه به سقل بر سلطنته
دوغو بوردی . سلی مجالد ایخه سلف کمال تورك بنه سلی ایخه ضیقته نه نه
سلی ارده یا دیانزه تبلیغه با سوسه .

۱۹ مایه ۱۹۳۵ ده صاعه سیه نه نه مانی قضا لایم : کورنه ده روه
قه بر تبلیغه آریه آریه و سلی نه قله ، داوانیله ، سلیسه بر نه نه
سلی اولمه ایته سیه و قورک روه سلی بر سلولنه سلی کورنه بر سلولنه
و نظیره ایسه . سلف کمال یاره لانه بودی انور سلی آریه نه
بر لکه اعفانیا یا آماره ، بو آریه قوتی تدک بر سوسه و اراده اطرافه ، محتاج
اولدده و سته قاروسه و لای و اونده قوی لید روه سلی هیفا یای سلیسه
خواجه کساده یا آداسه . اولمه بوده سلی کورنه سلطنته و کیشله دانی
سیه سلی دیرمه ، بولونه ~~سلی سلی~~ سلی بر لک دیرنه کورنه آلیته یی
و سوره کورمه ، یاره سلی ایجه ده داهای یاره سلطنته دجه ایجه .

آ تا تورك غر سلطنته اولدیه ده تبلیغات دت و طبیعت دور لینه هیوه اولدیه
بر کوروشی سلطنته قائم سلی ایته سیه : غریبه کوردی ، سلی سلی آدور سلی
نه سلی سلی و سلی آریه سلی ، سلی سلی بر سلولنه سلی خردی سلی سلی سلی
سلی بر لک زده لیم دسه ، سلی سلی و سلطنته هیولا لر نه سلی لیم سلی بر سلولنه
سلی سلی بر انقلاب اولد حالنده سلطنته صومالی سلیه و سلی سلی
آریه تبلیغات یاره سلی یاره نظای کله سلی یوتده ، یاره سلی یاره سلی

Figure 4e Handwritten Notes

۷

مبارک حاله . تورکله شوقی روحی و تنیه قاره اقداری ادره خردک
ایرین و نه توری کوروشی ، ماحرینتی تثبیت اتمه آنا تورک انقد نیک
پنجی حکم محمد سی اولدی . رونسا نده بر یا لک آدیتم بولورک لاله یافعی
قافا و غرب کولسوزی تورک انقدیلده بوتنه شولید تورک وطنده ده یکلده یولی
طوبه

آنا تورک بویوک بر تورکجا ایله . عثمانی دینجه لک قضایه ایله آنا تورک
عثمانی دورنه قیصر و بر آناه شعورنه تورک کیمکله - عینتی رحله ایله
ذاتاً تورک کیمکله صوک و شخص دوسی مای تورکلیه جمهوییه دوریده . آنا تورک
شخصی میدره آسنا اولسا تورک کیمکله و کله نیک تطبیق کله طرفدن قهلا کشفه
ایله یوله بایچیم آله بویوک تورکجه . تورک قایغی خورومی و بونده
حالشان باخا ف بوا شولیدله بویوک صیدله افاده میده .
آنا تورک انقدیلده شامه نامه و آنا تورک ایله و عیارینه تورک ملی
آن زمانه بوتنه دنیای حینیه بوا فاه بویوک ایله ایله . فقط بولورک تحریف
ایله زورنه کله ، قافا بر آدامک قیصر بقره صیدیرین قیصرلی باشلانقده
صده ، شیمه قده یاپه تورک یانف بونده قده ایله افیا حین اولدینیز دایها
یله حیره ایله داره . آنا تورکله اتنی ، جمعیته و انقدولف آ لایینه
آ لاله شکر بومودیتی ، بوردوی و بوا ایله دنیا یله جانده یاشقده دایها
آیلشیریلک و بولورک موقعه حین
دای ایدره حکمت نطقه حین سقوی اولدین زمانه یاکه بوسقده ی تورک حیره
شکده قرت ایله لانه در . تورکله نه ایله آلیسه ، قضاطکی و عین زانده
یا سبب قورلره اخیلی وارد . یار سبکی زانده خورق بویوک تورکلیه ، بوتنه ملی تورک
دوامی شکره بر بونده داینا رده و یار داینا رده حال سبب بولورک تورک
کله دایخا کیمکله آله اولاجقده . تورکله طلق بونده آن زمانه قیصر بوا
کله لایه شانه سقوی بر قلا لایه و کیمکله آنا تورک لایله اولورار بولورک ایله زانده

Figure 5
Cumhuriyet 47
Yaşında",
Milliyet,
29.10.1970

DÜŞÜNENLERİN DÜŞÜNCELERİ

Cumhuriyet 47 yaşında

SON 200 yıllık tarihimize Türk milletinin karşılaştığı güçlüklerin, çeşitli problemlerin ve bunları çözümlemek uğrunda harcanan binbir çaba ve fedakarlıkların mutlu sonucu ve büyük bir başarı hamlesi 29 ekim 1923'te Cumhuriyet'in ilanı hareketidir. Doğu Orta Çağ'ından ve İskandinavlılardan kurtulmak, müşbet ve iletirî batı uygarlığına ve düşünce yapısına, esit hak ve şartlarla girmek, ortak olmak teşebbüsü ve saygısı, Cumhuriyet ile ilk amacına ulaşması sayılabilir. Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet devirleri boyunca bu Orta Çağ düşünüşü, usul ve geleneklerinden ayrılmaya, kurtulmaya abaları daima yarıda kalmış, bir özet halinde Türk İlerici ve aydın kitlesini saran, hasretli günden güne daha fazla duyulan çağdaş uygarlık artıları ve imkânları bir zaman zaman beliren ümitler çabucak sönmekte, birbirini besleyen kuralar ve hayal kırıklıkları sürüp gitmekte idi. Son halde, Birinci Dünya Savaşını ilerleyen mütareke devrinin yıkıcı etkileri karşısında, çözümlere erişilemez ve kuraklık veren manzarası oldu. Derken, Milli Mücadele'nin bütün azarını ve emsalsiz çabalarını limiti veren ateşli gücüyle başladı. Ervansun'da vatanın Albayrak Sıra'na çıkan İrade-i Milliye, Mücahede-i Milliye zanaletinde her geçen vatanlı, Mustafa Kemal'in insanın tazavvun ve kurtuluş fikrini kapsayan ateşli beyannameyi verdi bir ruhunu, yegneni bir hakikatini, güçlüğü ve bağnazlığı parçalamış ve bilimsel olarak kurmakla, her tarafta emsalsiz bir vatanperverlik akımı, her zaman ve her yerde bir gülen havanı yaymıştı idi.

YAZAN:
Prof. Dr. Tayyip GÖKBİLGİN
(İstanbul Üniversitesi öğretim üyesi)

GÜRZON: «PADİŞAH TAHTI BIRAKMASIN»

Kurtuluş Savaşı böyle bir at-
müsferde devam etti, vatan bizi-
bir hürriyetin anıtları selâmeti
kavuşturdu, bundan sonra da
bir Türkiye devri setya komdu.
Bu devir bir mütakat ve istinat
peşverliğinde geçti, insan, ahkâk,
ilim ve medeniyet vatanında
ve devrim çağrısında yürüdü-
lecekti. Bunun ilk şartı ise, 22
temmuz 1922'de İstanbul'daki iş-
gal meclisimize bir iradîleşmiş
olan de Rubele'nin bir raporunda,
«Bir hasretli göstermemekte,
kayıp ya da kırılacak hareket
etmekte olan sarsılmaz bir
hükümet icadına geldiği takdirde
devletimizin feracat edeceği
hissusunda çok açık konuşan»
Padışahın ve saltanatın kaldırıl-
ması, Türk milletinin başına dert
olmaktan kurtulması idi.
Kaldı ki, bu Padışah ve halife
emperyal bir devlet arka çak-
yardı. İngiliz Haricîye Nazırı
Lord Curzon, İstanbul'daki tem-
silatini de Rubele'nin «Saltanat
devletimizin başına dert olma-
ması için bütün kuvvetlerle te-
sir ediniz diye talimat gönderiyor,
ancak bu talimatın hiçbir raporu
Cumhuriyet tarihine, Cumhuriyet
teşkilatına ve ilân olayına ge-
miş şekilde yer tutacak nitelikte-
dir.»
«Kısmi gücü (8 Kasım 1922) Pa-
dışah Rumeli'de derhal süre
yandı Sultan her bir Riyân ile
vatanı güvence altına alarak,
Cumhuriyet tarihine, Cumhuriyet
teşkilatına ve ilân olayına ge-
miş şekilde yer tutacak nitelikte-
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Cumhuriyet tarihine, Cumhuriyet
teşkilatına ve ilân olayına ge-
miş şekilde yer tutacak nitelikte-
dir.»

SULTAN, KEMALİSTLERE «BOLŞEVİK» DİYOR

Sultan Padışahın «Bolşevik» diyor
kaldı ki, bu Padışah ve halife
emperyal bir devlet arka çak-
yardı. İngiliz Haricîye Nazırı
Lord Curzon, İstanbul'daki tem-
silatini de Rubele'nin «Saltanat
devletimizin başına dert olma-
ması için bütün kuvvetlerle te-
sir ediniz diye talimat gönderiyor,
ancak bu talimatın hiçbir raporu
Cumhuriyet tarihine, Cumhuriyet
teşkilatına ve ilân olayına ge-
miş şekilde yer tutacak nitelikte-
dir.»

MİLLÎ HÂKİMİYET

İste ki bu sözler bir saltanatın
ne kadar boş ve anlamsız
bir müessesesi olduğunu ispatla-
maya yetiyordu. Birinci Büyük
Millî Meclis'te bütün faaliyetleri
özetleyen şahid hâkimiyet söze-
mine karşı şaydağı hatıralarını,
bunun bir belirsiz savatıydı.
Kerâhîten şüphelenen emek
nâkız müllî bünye, millet za-
tine müstakker emsali en güçlü
düşünüşü imkânı idi. Mustafa Ke-
mal'in Cumhuriyetin ilân seve-
sinde, «Türkiye devletine ve
Türkiye devletini kuran Türkiye
halkına taahhüt rükur ve ol-
mancaştır.» Bütün çabası bil-
melidir ki artık bu devlet ve
milletin başına hiçbir makam
yoktur. Vatan tek bir kuvvet var-
dır. O da millî hâkimiyettir, bu
ise milletin kullu, vatan ve var-
lıklarını demet bir vüdüdü. Bir
vatan sonra da Cumhuriyet rej-
minin başına dert olmaması için
özerine sözledikleri de tamamen
geçerli uygundur.

MİLLÎ KARAKTER ve DÜNYA İŞBİRLİĞİ

«Türk milletinin tabiat ve si-
kânı en müşahid olan İdare
Cumhuriyet idaresidir. Bir
millî hâyat bu gereği bütün
vatanı ile tabii etmiştir. Türk
milleti, hâkimiyetini en güzel
hi sürerle tecrübe ettiren yed ila-
zeye kavuşmuştu. Kaldı ki daima
müstakker olmaları müstakker-
vâki kalmasıdır. Bunda ne ka-
dar haklı olduğunu anlamamız
kime yoktur. Zannederim, Cum-
huriyet rejiminin medeniyetini
dün-
dan sonra kadar milletini ha-
vânda yuruk tutan bir sürü
müstakker kadrosundan başka
bir şey değildir.»
ATA VE DEMOKRASİ
Daha sonraları Örneğin bu ka-
nundaki düşüncelerini kendi 29
teşkilatında ikilip edebildikleri
(Prof. Atıf İnan — Atatürk'ten
Fikirleri, Ankara, 1969) «De-
mokrasiyi bütün müstakker İda-

«İnsanların sadece kendilerinin memleketindeki greçli müessesesi değil, aynı zamanda Türkiye devletini bütün müstakker manzûr haklarını ayakları altına aldıklarını söyledi. Kendisinin Türkiye tabiatından vazgeçmesini istemiyor. Aynı her ilim ve erci araştırdıklarını, böyle bir hareketi düşündükleri zamanlar (1919-1920) olduğunu, İlahî vatanı böyle bir vazifesi herhalde tamamen düşünmüşlerdir, vatan bir tehlikenin tabii feragati müstakker gösterileceğini, ama bunun dışında hiçbir bir hâfif olmadan müstakker bırakılmayacağını, vazifelerini bir Meclis ile bir anlı terketmeyeceğini söyledi. Daha sonra müstakker bu meseledeki vazifelerini üzerinde uzun basılı konuştu. Kemalî devir vatanlı müstakkeran bir İstikrar. Ama gerektikçe müstakkerleri bütün ilimle ilimdir. Ortada iki mesele var: Bizim müstakker Ankara Hükümetinin İstanbul'a ait idâretini kabûle şaydağı mı? Kemalîlerin anıtları oldukları üzerinde sorular durdu.»

«Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun en-
kas üzerinde o zamanlardaki
Orta Doğu'da vatanı bulan, re-
verli ömürge veya manda sek-
linde İdare edilen, daha sonraları
başmükâllarına kavuşan devlet-
lere devanî hususîyetlerini,
kaybıtların, insan hakları İ-
kerisi en iyi bir biçimde gerçek-
leştirildiği müşahidat olan demok-
rasi bir Cumhuriyet idaresine
kavuşmuştu, ya da «çalıştı se-
ber ve faaliyetleri etkileye ve
gülaymanlıkları vatanında olduğu
görülürse, Atatürk'ün İdâretin-
de 1923'te kabul edilen «Türk
Cumhuriyeti idaresinin, bu ka-
kî devrim hareketinin anlamı ve
ammi daha iyi anlaşılacaktır.
Bu suretle Türk toplumun
tandan bütün gerçek usur ve
vatanların söküp atmak devrim
her köklü bir müstakker ka-
nâk, hâz vatanlığı ve müstakker-
ranı, yeni çağ Avrupa'nın tek-
sini ve müstakkeran yazgısı
usullü, her türlü rapordere
arınmış bir şekilde, bir serf dev-
rim hareketleriyle Türk İmpa-
ratoru yedestirmek, bilâna Türk
milletini gerçek kurtuluş yolu-
na açması İnkılabı kavuşmuş ve
Hayvırı.»

MİLLÎ KARAKTER ve DÜNYA İŞBİRLİĞİ

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ratoru yedestirmek, bilâna Türk
milletini gerçek kurtuluş yolu-
na açması İnkılabı kavuşmuş ve
Hayvırı.»

Figure 6b From Gökbilgin to Sâti Bey, 24.04.1953

46

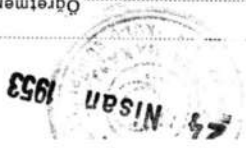
روحم سوگندم اشتادرم افتم ، داشا فقد يا زاده اس تا سب دهنده
 سوچه اعلمه آتيم هم . قلله دو لقا ب آيريمه دنيه نى بيله و زين حوزتا
 در سوخته خيم ايمه بوزلايه هلو معدويه افقوت و تكيه ده . عماد حبيب الله
 مزه صحت و عافيت اما استيم . سكا فده يا يافتن آنا نزل مسافت داشا باده
 زياده فزدا ان طوله ارا افنده سنده و در ايكي كونه انقوه و اوز امده نشان بولونان
 ايمه نيزي بوآله ناسته فرصت بولانله كلن طه بوزوم . آتيمه ، الله لاره ،
 در قلعه بويا تا باده زنه طويه طويه كوه بوزوم بيله و بر نامه سناعت و
 بريمه ايمه كوه بلكه استيريم . بقالم صحت ...
 لطفن باشا اشتادرم عفه آنا بولجا ناسته بايه دنيله نى بيله بوزوم . نشادرم بولجا
 عزيز دنيه سادرم . زنه كجه بولجا نيم خالونله زنه باينه حلاله بولجا نيم خالونله
 صحت و عافيت داره ارا بيله قلله سنده . ايز ستر بوقيل داشا بيله نريزي ده كونه سناعت
 محققه ارا ارا بيله . زنى بيله بايه و بولجا نيم خالونله بولجا نيم خالونله
 ايشا ايمه نى بولجا نيم خالونله بولجا نيم خالونله
 باشا دونه دونه بولجا نيم خالونله بولجا نيم خالونله
 ازل و فانه بولجا نيم خالونله بولجا نيم خالونله

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19 - 19 Ders Yılı İnci özel İmhanı

Verilen Not _____ Yazı İle _____ Öğretmen _____

Sınıfı _____ No.su _____ Adı ve soyadı: _____ Dersi _____



MÜDÜRİĞÜ

Figure 7a Sâtu Bey to Gökbilgin, 24.07.1956

۱۹۵۲ / ۷ / ۲۴

مخترم استاذ -
 مکتوب بکنزه دفترا آلسلیم. دیون کرده شیه بکنزه
 هیری نه خفا شیه ایم .

سز در شوا یکی موضوع حقیقه بعینه معلوم است اینه بکنزه :

۱ - بیلور بکنزه رولر ۱۹۱۷ انقلابین سقا تب
 جا - لیون ما اینه عامه بر جیون دیتفه کره ترا شیه بکنزه . دیکه - زن
 د انکاره فام - جبه نظامه آرا سنده ترکیات عقبنیه عامه
 کنزی متا بدله ، د بو ضوعه فرانز کره ایل کره آرا سنده
 عقده ایلمسه ادریز کره اتفاق بودتاتوق جبه سندن ایله .
 بکنزه آرا سنده عماله بکنزه - بعینه تر طلور اکره سنده -
 استقلال اعلامه اید و رف اتفاق دولتمندن آبر یلمه
 ها فوادله یلمه داکر بر نامه محابه دار . بو فیده دیرنم دیر فوهره
 صالحه ایلمه آ - فوادله فله ایون - ایشک طومر یلمه استناد
 اینده قاید کره بو ضوعه د تویک تاریخ فورده شقیقانه
 به لوشیه ؟ فوردم آ عضا طرفندن دیا ستر تاریخ دیکه
 آرا لره طرفندن بکنزه بکنزه بکنزه بکنزه بکنزه بکنزه .
 ۲ - انا د ترقی جمعیتک تاریخ حقیقه آن سلام
 نتریات کاتیلر یه - ؟

هوکره : جمعیت ما سز د «دیر حقیقت» ایله کنده بکنزه
 نتریات ایله بعینه صایلمه انقلابین آرا حقیقت انقلابین
 یغ سز د طینا انقلابینه هوکره ای کی صایلمه کنه ادره نجه
 ایله ، بو طرفه شک هو لکسیونجه کاتلی کتفانه کرده موبه دره ! و
 موبه دره تا صیه - ؟ موبه دره صایلمه دنا بکنزه زدره
 ونگره ده بکنزه بکنزه کن سنده ادریم .
 بکنزه شکر کریم ایلمه به هو فله بکنزه بکنزه بکنزه
 خدایه

Figure 7b Sâti Bey to Gökbilgin, 24.07.1956

Sati El-Husri
Hôtel Victoria
Genève
(Suisse)
أيلوا ادرنه لرينه قادا، كويجه دهه - براديتله ده -
قاله جنف .

Figure 8 Sâtu Bey to Gökbilgin, 16.02.1964

قاهره ۱۶/۲/۱۹۶۴

عزیزم بر خوشگوار کویبیلگینی،
 شکر با برآیند بزرگسازانید کردن، دستنویسهای شکر بر می بیاورد کردن همگوار،
 عفا نامی تا - مجتهد عاقل بر تاریخ معاصر حقیقت و معانیات دربرگرفته - جا ایدر حکم،
 بوداده یکی با اصلاحات بر کتابه - بعضی آدره های مؤرخان نظریه طریقه
 عطفاً - محققان آن تا طویل کله کاره زمان یوشیرینک حالته اوله نازم،
 سلطان قضاوت بر روی یا ادره بین سلطان اوله بین حقیقت بعضی فقره کو کورم -
 بوف غیر محفل و کولجی مو لقا برابر، بو نظریه کون نزه دن چنهار باسه اوله بینه بیلدی یاج
 ایچون، سزدن صور صفه مو اتق بولدم.

مهر، عفا نامی دوستت تا سه حقیقت کی معلولاتی Gibbons
 ک The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire
 کتابت آن لدرینه کویچو - بو کتابت نه زمان یا نه بیه، دن زمان با صیحته؟
 مؤلفی تاریخ معلولاتی نزه دن آلمشده؟ بو کتابت حقیقت - مؤلفی حقیقت نه، تورکی
 تنقید لرشاید باسه؟ بو تکرار بیلدی برنگر - جا ایدرم.
 عینی زمانه شونلره ادره نشتی سیزم: عثمانی تاریخ سید تاج التوریخ
 دن آدکی منقاره نظردر؟ آسکی عثمانی تاریخ سید تاج التوریخ، دد صا کوکراکی و نوبک
 نا - سیزم در کیه، فاغنه ن آدکی زمانه عاقل نه کی دینتور بولسه دینتور اینتور؟
 جوا بیکره یکه، هر منارم ابله برابر ال اجه تمیزدی نکر اما ایدرم عزیزم

حاله

بسیار ادره کویچو نازم - بولاده نازم:

Pension Viena'ise
 Ch. El - Antikhané
Caire

Figure 9 Sâtu Bey to Gökbiçgin, 08.12.1964

قاھرہ ۱۴/۸ / ۱۹۶۴

عزیزم پر دوشو - کو کیلکین -
عزیزم پر تعداد ف : پنج ایکینی ملخوم بولہ جیغدی
حققتہ - سزک ملخو بیگدرہ بولہ جیغدی ایبدا
صبر و سکاڑہ ملخو ہاتہ ننگرا ایبدا
تنظیلات حققتہ جیغدی عن اولان کتا جسد جبر سزک لقا ایلم
نکلا، جگم -

جو تک بیلمک کہ - بیلیوہ بی ایب کتا بہ تنظیمات
حققتہ کہ مناشترہ اشتراک ایبدا ایلم : تنظیماتہ قاش
شہ ناک بر جگوم پتلا سہ . دیر جیون نظام لقا ایب بلسہ ایبدا .
سہ اولرہ جو ایب ایبک مقالہ یاز سہ . اد اجنرا دودہ شتر
اجنہ ایلم . اولرہ تنظیمات سیکسٹنک - اولرہ مالک احوالہ
کو - ہ - بیک طوفان سیکسٹنک حققتہ ان طوفان سیکسٹنک
اولرہ لقا ادعا ایبدا ایلم .
کھو کتہ ، زمانندہ کی احوالہ نظردقتہ آلہ رف
مذہبہ ایلم ایلم لوزدہ ، پنج آن تابنہ استعارہ لوزدن
پر یہ -

توسیلہ - تنظیمات سیکسٹنک اولرہ لقا ایب بلسہ
د تنظیماتہ رفو مالرینک سیکسٹنک حادہ بولہ جیغدی بلسہ ایلم .
جیون مستعد ایبدا .
باقی : آن ایلم غیبار - عزیزم

سزک لقا

Figure 10a Sâti Bey to Gökbilgin, 27.12.1961

تاریخ ۱۹۶۱ / ۱۲ / ۲۷

عزیزم بر دوستم کوکیلیکلی
 کوه صحرای اولاد بنکران در قله کتاب دقت ۲ مسرایم، جوق تشکر ایم
 دستم در دستم خیره کوده تیرک - برابر دایره یوکلان حکم: با بزرگ
 لایه کنجانه سنده - دایره شفا بر کنجانه ده - دقت غنچه شتاب ۱۹۱۸ پستوا
 تا نیمه نشسته بر ایکی عینک را - سدر ما
 ادرمان - اسکن صافی ناظر شکر بک - شکر داغوناری ما که سنده که خط هر کوفت
 ما قلم بجهت بر پله ایشام در وقت باش در فسیل با سیدی ما لنده بر شی بان سراسر
 بنی ادکا جوا با قصه بر ما انفا میان سراسر - بر اینده شکر بک بیان شی صورت با با
 ارفو در فسیل یا تمه لایم - فقط شکر بک بر جو ای ادر برین - شکر ادر بر تو یا ادر
 بوکا - یعنی غیرت کلمه سینه در وقت هم کلمه سینه جلاد ما سینه - ادر شی ادر برین غنچه ده پستی
 تا سید این بر جوق یا شکر بک
 علم صبر - در وقت ما طره لندز آوردیم - بنی بانم دقت غنچه شکر بک
 (۱) غنچه ۱۹۱۸ تا بر کلمه سینه جفتیم - علم صبر در وقت ما طره لندز
 اسحق Sâti Bey دیده جفتیم آ ما بر شکر آ کلمه
 در وقت تفصیلاتی ما طر لایم - ادر شی ادر برین شکر بک
 ۱ - بنی بانم باز دقت شکر - آ که این لایم دقت غنچه شکر بک ۱۰ پستوا ۱۹۱۸
 تا - علم لندز شکر - ما طر لایم کوره سندر ادر شی ادر برین ادر شی ادر برین ادر شی ادر برین
 - ما ادر برین
 ۲ - ایکنی یا تمه که - ادر شی ادر برین جفتیم ادر برین - ما طر لایم کوره
 بر جفتیم در وقت شکر بک کلمه سینه - ادر شی ادر برین ادر شی ادر برین ادر شی ادر برین
 ۳ - شکر بک در وقت شکر بک
 ۴ - بنی بانم ادر برین دقت غنچه سنده تا سید کلان و تقاریر با ادر ادر
 ده کلان کلان - (اسم کلان) باز دقت شکر بک تفصیلاتی لایم بنی
 ما ادر برین آ - تاریخ

Figure 10b Sâtu Bey to Gökbilgin, 27.12.1961

سوره که چکمی اعلا ز ایتدی بکیم زمانه یه قرابه بجا خدایه ایتمون اولی اهلیم
یو دفعه بی خاطر لانه رتی « کینله سزه نه قاداره اعتقاد ایتدی بکنه سکر دا عونلر بر حاشا اینه
آب آ جتو کورده بکیزه؟ نا صلونه براتر رف کیده یو سبکنه کی شلیر یا مینلر ایدر
یو عینا ایل « یا ایل بیلجه اول صلیبی - نام اوله رف - دینتا بیدر ایدر اول اول
آله اوله ایتدی ایزیم - رد بکو غزله کوره، دئونه نؤونه ده و سئیلر بانه بیلجه آیدر - ققط طفا
«دفعه» بکنله کا نفعه
فده ایدیم که یو بی - بر ایلمک س عینک و فیکور فدا ایدر اول بیلیم
سزه بشینه تکر ایدیم
یونکتور بیهرا لدیفیکر زمانه، هور ایدیم که ۱۹۲۱ سن کیشیه ۱۹۲۴
سن سبیلر اوله حیدر بکیم سن کوزه بیلیم، د فیکر ده فری اولدیم
فدا ایدیم -
به، بیت ن هوکنه قاداره یو ساره قالم جفج - صوکر ایدر دتد بیدر دتد ز قالدیه
صوکر - یا ایل قدیسه که بیدر نه بافتن بر بره کورکه دوشتر نیوم - یون اسوجیه
نادر ایلک نینه دلم -
هر حاله ادره مانه قاداره، سزه بر تاج مکتوب یا نازار دهر آره سیمنه
دقت ایل طیر دیر بر -
تسکر لری - د ایل ایل فیکر بیهنکرا - ایدر - ن یو طرله
کرم - عتر بزم -
~~عالم~~

Figure 11 Sâti Bey to Gökbilgin, 05.02.1962

قاھد ۱۹۶۲ / ۲ / ۵

عزیزم یردشو - کو کیلکلی

دفت غزنی سید قوئلک سیرنگ ندن خو پنا ایده من کو ندرسه اولدیغینک
« یا عزیزم » طولا بیلبله جوق جوق شکر لرا بدم .

ایضا فاطملا بوم که ادیا نایل دفتن ایله بولون غزنی لوره بولون عسکر او پنا بدم
ایده . حق نردت فنوه بیلله برتشی یا ندرسه ایده . دها هوکوا - استانبولک نردت
ایده . سوزور ایگه نرا سرد بیکم زمان ، بو نرا بجه اعتراف ایده . ک یا ندرسه اولان معلول
پنا ندرسه - که دها هوکوا ندرسه باش مجبوره کسه نرا ایله بلس ایده - دهن ذکر ایله بلس
ایده . « کجلیک کوه بو فادایه عتقاد ایله یو ایله ، نایل بزه برانق کیده یو سیرنگی ه کی برتشار
یا ندرسه ایده . بر آسکی فاکره ار ادیا بیریان یا ندرسه جوق خو پنا سی بنی جوق کونبرده
نرا نکر - شکر ایدم .

موکرا ، نردن برتشار دها ایله حکم : استانبول کیده ب کله ب دهن بکار نرا -
کوز بیلدر . Adaf Tugay ن Thest اکسره کون بجه که
Abdulhamid, verile gaurnalla ن بجه ایله - فایده آت کلا بوم که
Akhat Yazinevi طاقنزه با صیاحه د بو یا بین آ دهن آ دهن
Cagalaglan Yakusov 40/11 طغی تایش یا ندرسه
دکل . دهن بوش بیا با صیاحه اولدنه قطره بوله ندر بقی سو بدره . فقط ا میا دلی
ایزیم بو کتابک طبع تاریخی ندره ! لفظا نجفتی ایرو ب بیلدر بر ایله کوه جوق شکر
ادوم .

رصفنا فنا سینه ایم ، صحت دعا نیکر غیل نینک ار ایدم عزیزم



Figure 12 Hocazâde Mehmet Emin Efendi, sent one thousand kuruş to Hocazâde Mustafa Tayyib Efendi

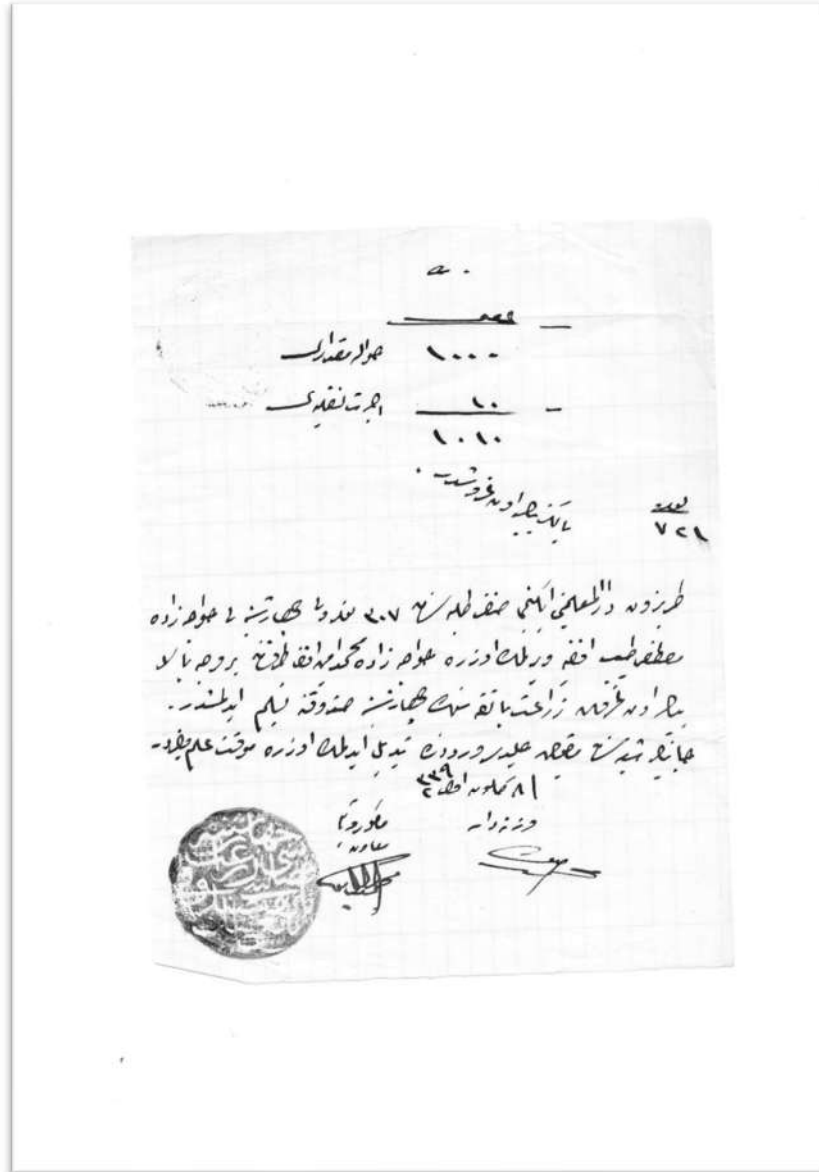


Figure 13 School index of Mustafa Tayyib (Gökbilgin)

جاناب

ذوالفقار ایوب غازی

۴۷۸ - ۴۷۹ رجبی سالک المصنف محمد بن " ۹ "

لو اولو مصطفی طیب اؤنلر قونان غازی ایوب غازی سؤرد -

اسی دیو	تیمار	باغچایه
قونان قونان	۱۰	اوندر
عالم دین	۱۰	اوندر
صوفو خو	۱۰	اوندر
قمان	۱۰	اوندر
امد	۱۰	اوندر
انوشاد	۱۰	اوندر
تیمار	۱۰	اوندر
مظ	۹	صغورور

۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	مظ
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	ظفر
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	جولکات
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	مظت
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	ای
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	مظفولیا
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	تاریخ
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	قونان
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	ال انوری
۹	صغورور	۹	مظ
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	نوی
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	تیمار
۱۰	اوندر	۱۰	طوری

ایلیه ترسیخ
۱۱ فوریه ۱۲۲۹




Figure 14 From Celal Hüsnü Taray

T.C.
Maarif Vekâleti

ILK TEDRİSAT

Genç Arkadaş,

Bu sene Türkiye muallim mekteplerini bitiren arkadaşların arasında senin de vazifen taayyün etmiştir

Seni ~~Genç Arkadaş~~ Vilâyetine gönderiyorum. orada seni bekleyen çocuklardan, yetişkin kadın ve erkeklerden mürekkep bir vatandaş kitlesi bulacak ve bunların hocası olacaksın. Yetişkin kadınları daha iyi birer anne, erkekleri daha iyi birer müstahsil, daha müfit ve şuurlu birer vatandaş yapacak, çocukları da milletin için daha mes'ut ve daha mükemmel bir istikbalin talep ettiği liyakat ve vasıfları haiz insanlar olarak yetiştireceksin.

Genç Muallim;

Eserlerin en büyüğü olan insanı halk etmekle geçecek olan fani ömrün seni daima mücadele mevzularıyla karşılayacaktır. Zahmet çekecek, müşkülâtle çarpışacaksın. Yapacağın işin büyüklüğü ve duyacağın saadetin genişliği; iktiham edeceğin müşkülâtın kuvvetiyle ümitsiz olacaktır.

Bu ne kadar kuvvetli ise sen de o nispette emek sarfedecek ve o nispette çok yenecek, çok yapacak ve çok saadet duyacaksın. Fakat senin için mukadder olan fani zevkler değil muzaffer olan, ibda eden ve yaratıcıların cavidanı hazlarıdır.

Arkadaş;

Sen zengin ve müreffeh bir vatan, zinde, kemalli ve lâyemut bir millet ibda yolunda mücadeleye kendini vakfetmeğe memursun.

Daha güzel ve daha mes'ut bir yarını yaratmak yolunda milletin ve tarihinin sana davetini tebliğ ediyorum.

Rağ. Nur.

Maarif Vekili

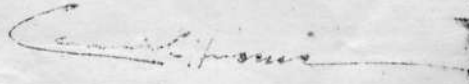


Figure 16 "Öğretmen Görevi ve Kaderi", Ulus Gazetesi, 31.01.1967

S 31 OCAK 1967

Günün Konuları

Öğretmen, görevi ve kaderi

Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin

Türk . İslâm medeniyetinde topluma iyi bir yön vermeyi her defa tutan esas ahlâk ve siyasi kitaplarında öğretmenin birinci görevi olarak, öğretmenden maksadın aslâ gösteriş ve rüyâ, ya da âdet yerini bulsun ka bilinden, yahut da, o zamanki deyimle «iyade-i câh ve hürmet ve haşmet» olmayıp bilgînin yayılması, halkı irşat ve doğruluğa, çalışmaya, fakat yararlı olmaya yönelmek bulduğu gösterilmekte idi. Bugün de, yurt ve ulus koşulları ve şartları açısından, tamamen geçerli ve değerli olması gereken bu görev, daha doğrusu, bir türlü tarihi misyon, toplumu, muhsalâ, öğretmenin hayatında ve kaderinde bazan acı ve hâsin tecellilerle karşılaşmasına sebep oluyor, büyük bir üzüntü ve yüreğimizin sızlaması ile telediğimizde göre, son ayların belli - başlı haksız ve gereksiz olayları olarak Türk basınına ılgal ediyor.

Yurdumuzda, özellikle, ikinci mesrutiyetten sonra öğretime kayda değer bir önem verildiği, toplum içinde değerli bir kişi durumuna getirilmek istendiği görülmektedir. Ancak, cumhuriyet devrindedir ki, öğretmene büyük ve kutsal görev yanında büyük sorumluluklar da yüklenmiş, kendisinden, Atatürk devrimlerinin topluma kazandırılması, çağdaş uygarlık ilkelerinin ve gereklerinin, millî menfaatlerin savunulması, Türk yapıcılığının ve yarıncılığının önderi olması istenmiştir. Bu ruhla ve anlayışla en ileri görüşlü ve başarılı Millî Eğitim Bakanları, Necati, Vasıf (Çınar), Reşit Galip, Cemal Hüsnü (Taray) devirlerinde, öğretmen, bizzat başöğretmen durumunu alan Atatürk'ün izinde yürüyor, olgun, hayalî yetli ve bilinçli vasıflarıyla Türk toplumuna çağdaş ilim ilkelere olduğu kadar devrim esaslarını da aşıyordu. O devirlerin öğretmeni kendisini âdeta, Türk toplumunun varlığı,

na adamış bir «pioniers» sayıyor, hiç bir baskı, tehdit ve saldırı endişesinde bulunmuyor, görevinin kutsallığı, yurt ve millet gerçeklerinin vicedanında uyandırdığı sevk ve azim içinde çalışıyor, bu gayretleri de devrin yöneticileri ve sorumluları ile aydın toplum tarafından büyük bir takdir görüyordu. Ülküsü, bir an önce yurdun refahı, ekonomik bağımsızlığı ve gücünün hızla yükselmesi idi. Öğretmenin Türk çocuklarını pragmatik bir güdüle yetiştirmeleri, ehliyetli, yapıcı, üretici vasıfta, millî çıkarların bilincine varmış yurttaşlar olarak eğitimleri zorunlu bulunuyordu. Bu gerçeği, Atatürk, Vasıf Çınar'ın Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı bulduğu bir sırada, öğretmenler birliğinin düzenlediği bir kongrede şöyle belirlemiştir:

Atatürk'ün direktifi

«Memleket evladı her tahsil derecesinde İktisadî hayatta amelî müessir ve muvaffak olacak surette teşhis olunmalıdır. Millî ahlâkımız, medenî esaslarla ve hür fikirlerle tenmiye ve takviye olunmalıdır. Bu çok mühimdir. Tehdit esasına müstenit ahlâk, bir fazilet olmadıkça başka himada da şayan değildir.»

Demek oluyor ki, öğretmen, hem ekonomik hayatta yapıcı ve başarılı öğrenci yetiştirecek, onu eğitecek, hem de, ÖZGÜR DÜŞÜNCELERLE onu cihazlanıracaktır. Bunun anlamı, bugünkü yurt koşulları ve gerçekleri karşısında öğretmenin kendi çevresinde özgür düşünceleri, millî menfaatleri güden fikir akımlarını topluma maletmek görevi bulunduğunu, kısaca, toplumda aydın bir varlık ve bir

ışık olmasıdır. Bu eğitim gerçeğidir ki üniversitemizde, yüksek okullarımızda Türk gençlerinin Türk devrim tarihi için bütün temel hedeflerinin ve ulusal ülkünün bilincine varmasını gerekli saymıştır. Bu sayede gençlik bugünün bir takım problemlerini devrimlerin istediği şekilde çözümlenecektir. Bu bilinçli görevi yüksek platformda devrim tarihi öğretmeni yapmaya çalışırken, yurdun ızak ve yoksul köşelerinde de ilk ve ortaokul öğretmeni bu misyonun sahibidir.

Öğretmen Kubilây'ın vaktiyile 1930'larda yaptığı görev ve savunucusu olduğu dava, bugün esas itibarıyla, yer yer kısmına dökülen kars kuvvet, dar görüşlü bazı yöneticiler ve sorumlular, ya da iş ve dış sömürücülerin irâhî nafakası, az veya çok güçlü temellileri, önünde, aydın bilinçli ve devrimci öğretmenin omuzlarına yüklenmiştir. İleri dünya görüşlü bu öğretmen bu şerefli görevi, çok defa makûs tecellilere, azil, sürgün ve tevkiflere göğüs gerecek başarmaya çalışmaktadır. Atatürk devrimlerinin statik değil, fakat dinamik karakterinin bilincine varan öğretmen, elbette, bugünün yurt ve ulus sorunlarının daha bir çok ve önemli yönleri olduğunu iyice bilmekte, yetiştirdiği «Türk istikbalinin evlâtları» ile birlikte çevresini de gerçek ulusal değerler ve menfaatler istikametine uyarmaktadır. Bunu yapmaya kendini zorunlu hissetmektedir.

Geri düşünce ve eylemler

Bu misyonunu engellemeye çalışan sorumlu sorumsuz güçler, bazı yöneticiler ve olumsuz kaba hâşkılar tarihin suçlu maından, gelecek kuşakların iletmelesinden kurtulamıyacaklardır. Basında rastlanılan ve yurdun her tarafına yayıldığı görülen, bazan Horasan'da olduğu gibi cehaletin ve kars kuvvetin hüsnuna uğruyan bazı Amasya'da olduğu gibi yanlış ve partizanca beyif tasarrufları luyhan giden, ya da doğrudan doğruya yüksek kademedeki bir yetkilinin güya milliyetçi ve mukaddesatçı anlayışına nit değerek feda edilen değerler, öğretmenler, Atatürk devrimlerini savunma yolunda birer mücahit, ileri bir görüşün, bugünkü gerçek ulusal çıkarların aydın birer ölküdüğü durumunda dirlar.

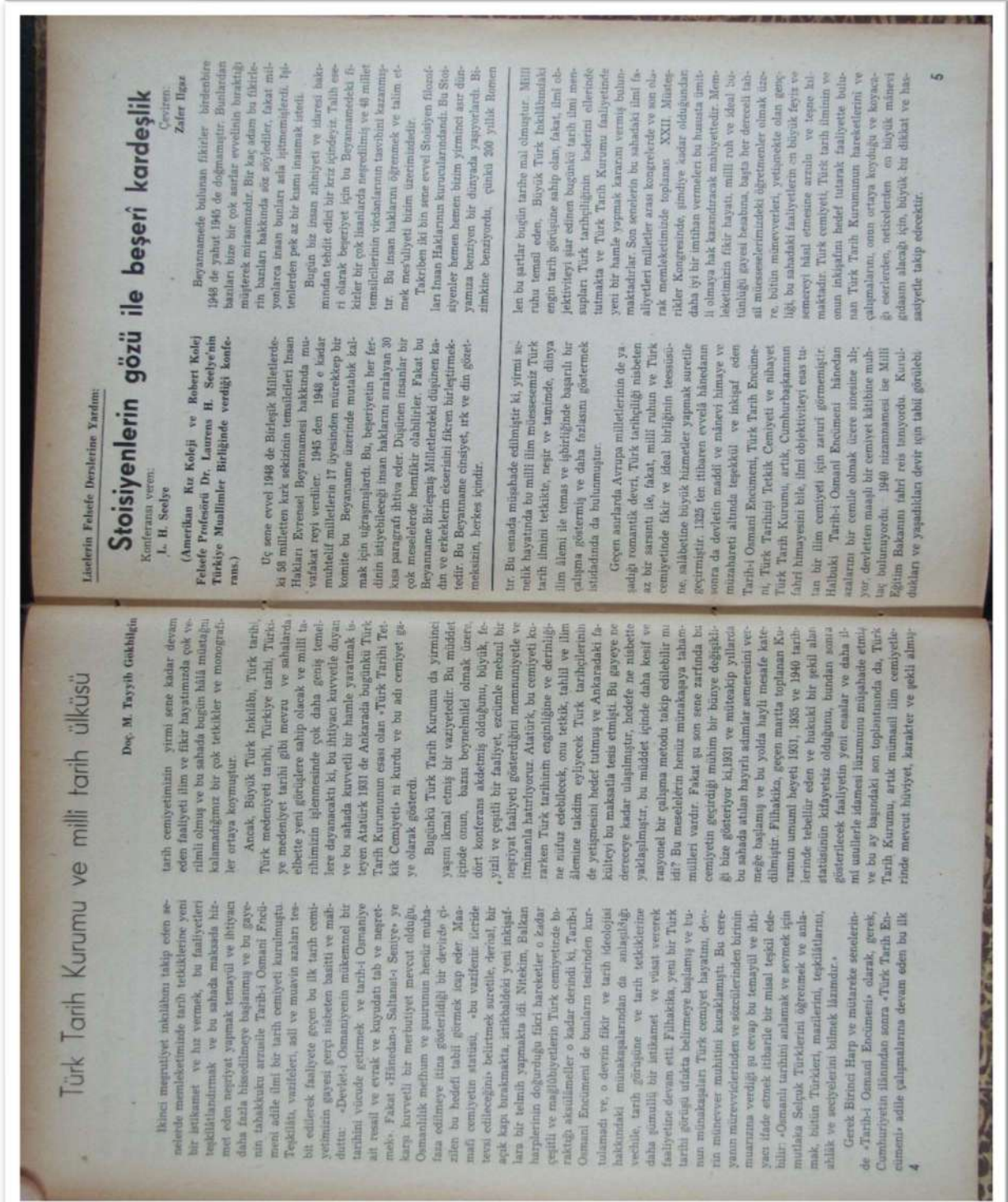
Türk toplumuna yirmineyi yıldaki Türk köyünü ve köylüsünü, onun sorunlarını ve ınteraplarını anlatan ve bunu tüm dünya edebiyatının değerleri a rasmı maleden devrimci, bilinçli bir öğretmenin feriyatlarına, ya da başka bir yerde buna benzer bir haksızlığa uğruyan öğretmenin acılarına karşı duyarsız kalmak, buna hiç bir tepki göstermemek mümkün müdür?

Yanlış yolda yürüyen, dar görüşlü yetkililer ve sorumluları uyarmak, cabil, fakir ve yoksul bırakılmış halkın yıllarca ve hâlâ bakımsız kalmış yurdun bir an önce medenî ve manevî olarak işığı kavuşmasını ülkü edinen, ileri ve aydın bir dünya ve uygarlık polunun fedakâr, çilesiz fedakârlarına destek olmak, onun yaralarını sarmaya, ıstıraplarını hafifletmeye çalışmak bütün Türk toplumuna için, her kâlp ve vicdan sahibi Türk aydını için bir görev değil midir? O halde, öğretmenlerin kaderini etkileyen bütün olumsuz ve geri düşünce ve eylemlere karşı, bunları düzeltmeye ve onlara yapasabilmek bir dünya hazırlanuncaya kadar mücadele hepimiz için bir borçtur.

Figure 17c Handwritten Notes

تصمیمات در این باره...
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ا...

Figure 18 Türk Tarih Kurumu ve Milli Tarih Ülküsü



Türk Tarih Kurumu ve milli tarih ülküsü

Doç. M. Tıyyib Gökbelgin

İkinci meşrutiyet inkılabını takip eden senelerde memleketimizde tarih tetkiklerine yeni bir itina ve bir önem, bu faaliyetleri teşkilatlandırmak ve bu sahada maksadla hizmet eden neşriyat yapmak temayül ve ihtiyacı daha fazla hissedilmeye başlanmıştır ve bu gayenin tabahhükken arzusale Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni adlı bir tarih cemiyeti kurulmuştur. Teşkilatı, vazifeleri, ağıl ve muavin azaları tesbit edilerek faaliyete geçen bu ilk tarih cemiyetinin gayesi şerhî nisbeten baştı ve mahdudtu: «Devlet-i Osmaniyenin mikemmel bir tarihinin vücude getirmek ve tarih-i Osmaniyeye ait vesail ve evrak ve kuyudatı tab ve neşretmek». Fakat «Hindoo-i Sıhbanı» Seneye ye karış kurvetli bir merbutiyet mevcut olduğu. Osmancılık meflum ve gırunun henüz muhafaza edilmeye itina gösterildiği bir devirde çizen bu hedefi tabii görmek icap eder. Masmafi cemiyetin statüsü, «bu vazifelerin icradine tevsi edileceğini» belirlemek suretile, derhal, bir aşak kapı buraktı. İstikbaldeki yeni inkışaf-lara bir telmih yapmaktadır. Nitekim, Bilkan harplerinin doğurduğu fırci hareketler o Zedâr çeşitli ve maşlûbiyetlerin Türk cemiyetinde bir rakıgı aksımlarlar o kadar derindi ki, Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni de bunların tesirinden kurtulamadı ve, o devrin Ekrar ve tarih ideolojisi hakkındaki minakşaların dan anlaşıldığı vechile, tarih görüşüne ve tarih tetkiklerine daha şümülî bir itina ve vüsat suretde faaliyete devam etti. Fihakkta, yeni bir Türk tarihî görüşe ufukta belirmeye başlamış ve bunun minakşaları Türk cemiyet hayatını, dev-yunun münevver muhitini kuzaklamıştı. Bu cereyanın münevverlerinden ve sözcülerinden birinin muarızna verdiği şu cevap bu temayül ve ihtiyacı ifade etmek itibarile bir misal teşkil edebilir: «Osmani tarihini anlamak ve sevmek için mutlaka Sadek Türklerin öğrenmek ve anlamak, bütün Türkleri, masilerin, teşkilatlarını, ahlak ve avayelerinin bilmek lâzımdır.»

Genek Birinci Harp ve mülarrete senelerinde «Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni» olarak, gerek, Cumburayetin ilkinden sonra «Türk Tarih Encümeni» adlı çalışmalarını devam eden bu ilk

tarih cemiyetinin yirmi sene kadar devam eden faaliyeti ilim ve fikir hayatımızda çok verimli olmuş ve bu sahada bugün hâlâ müstakim kalamadığımız bir çok tetkikler ve monografiler ortaya koymuştur.

Ancak, Büyük Türk İnkılabı, Türk tarih, Türk medeniyeti tarihi, Türkiye tarihi, Türkiye medeniyet tarihi gibi mevzu ve sahalar, edebete yeni görüşlere sahip olacak ve milli tarihimizin içlenmesinde çok daha geniş temellere dayanacaktır ki, bu ihtiyacı kuvvetle duyan ve bu sahada kurvetli bir hamle yaratmak isteyen Atatürk 1931 de Ankara'da bugünkü Türk Tarih Kurumunun esasları olan «Türk Tarih Teorik Cemiyeti» ni kurdur ve bu adı cemiyet gayesi olarak gösterdi.

Bugünkü Türk Tarih Kurumu da yirmiinci yaşını ikmal etmiş bir vaziyettedir. Bu müddet içinde onun, bazı boyutlarında olmak üzere, dört konferansa akademiş olduğunun, büyük, fe-yialı ve çeşitli bir faaliyeti, ezulüne mebzul bir neşriyat faaliyeti gösterdiğini memnuniyetle ve itimananla hatırlıyoruz. Atatürk, bu cemiyeti kurarken Türk tarihının engullüğüne ve derinliğine nifuz edebilecek, onu tekkik, tahli ve ilim âleminde takdirini edilecek Türk tarihçilerinin de yetiğmesini hedef tutmuş ve Ankara'daki faaliyetlerine bu maksadla tesis etmiş. Bu gayeye ne dereceye kadar ulaşılmıştır, hedefte ne nübette yaklaşılmıştır, bu müddet içinde daha kasil ve rasuonel bir çalışma metodu takip edilebilir mi idi? Bu mesolere henüz minakşaya taban-milliler vardır. Fakat şu son sene zarfında bu cemiyetin geçirdiği muhim bir bünye değişikliği bize gösteriyor ki, 1931 ve müteakip yıllarda bu sahada atılan hayviri adımlar senesini vermezle başlamış ve bu yolda layül mesafe katılmıştır. Fihakkta, geçen martta toplanan Kurumun umumî heyeti 1931, 1935 ve 1940 tarihlerinde tebellur eden ve hukukî bir şekli alan statüsünün kıyafetiz olduğunun, bundan sonrasını gösterilecek faaliyetin yeni esaslar ve daha ilimî usullerle idamesi lazımının müşahade etmiş Türk Tarih Kurumu, artık minasul ilim cemiyetlerinde mevcut hüviyet, karakter ve şekli almış-

İstisnalar Felsefe Denelerine Yardımı:

Konferans vereni:
L. H. Seelye
(Amerikan Kız Koleji ve Robert Kolej Felsefe Profesörü Dr. Laureus H. Seelye'nin Türkiye Muallim Birliğinde verdiği konferans.)

Üç sene evvel 1948 de Birleşik Milletlerdeki 50 milletten kurd seçtinin temsilcileri İnsan Hakları Evrensel Beyanamesi hakkında müvafakat rey verdiler. 1945 den 1948 e kadar muhtelif milletlerin 17 üyesinden mürekkep bir komite bu Beyanname üzerinde mutabak kelmak için uğraşmışlardı. Bu, beşeriyetin her fer-dinin istiyebileceği insan haklarını aradayan 30 kusa paragrafı ihtiva eder. Düşünen insanlar bir çok mesulere hemdikir olabilmektedir. Fakat bu Beyanname Birleşmiş Milletlerdeki düşünün kan-dın ve ehkelerin ezmesini fikren birleştirme-mektedir. Bu Beyanname önsiyet, irk ve din gözet-meksiniz, herkes içindir.

Bu esnada müşahade edilmiştir ki, yirmi as-nelik hayattında bu milli ilim müessesemiz Türk tarih ilmini tekkikte, neşir ve taminde, dünya ilim ilmi ile temas ve ibtirliğinde başarılı bir çalışma göstermiş ve daha fazlasını göstermek istediğindedir da bulunmuştur.

Geçen asurlarda Avrupa milletlerinin de ya-sadığı romantik devri, Türk tarihçiliği nisbeten az bir sarımsı ile, fakat, milli ruhun ve Türk cemiyetinde fikir ve ideal birliğin tesvüs-üne, salıbetine büyük hizmetler yapmış suretile geçmiştir. 1929 ten itibaren evvelâ hânedan sonra da devletten maddi ve mânevî himaye ve müzaheret almında tekkik ve inçelip eden Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni, Türk Tarih Encümeni, Türk Tarih Teorik Cemiyeti ve nihayet Türk Tarih Kurumu, artık Cumburayetin mu-fabir himayesini bile, ilmi objektiviteyi esas tu-tan bir ilim cemiyeti için asurî görmemişir. Halbuki Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni hânedan salarına bir cemile olmak üzere sinesine al-ıyor, devletten maşlî bir cemiyet kabineye mu-h-taq bulunuyordu. 1940 nizamnamesi ise Milli Eğitim Bakanının fahri reis ianyordu. Kurul-dukları ve yapışıklıkları devir için tabii görülebilir.

Stoisyenlerin gözü ile beşerî kardeşlik

Çeviren:
Zafer Ilgaz

Beyanname bulunmuş fıkriyatlar bidenlere 1948 de yabur 1945 de doğmamıştır. Bunlardan bazıları bize bir çok asırlar evvelinden biraktığı müjhezec mirasmızdır. Bir kaç adam bu fıkriyatların basıları hakkında söz söylediler, fakat mil-yonlarca insan bunları aslin istinamışlardır. İhtenlerden pek az bir kısmı inenmak istedi.

Bugün biz insan zihniyeti ve idaresi hakk-ından teblit edici bir kriz içindedir. Tarih eser-leri olarak beşeriyet için bu Beyannamedeki fi-kirler bir çok lisanslarda neşredilmiş ve 40 millet temsilcilerinin vüdesolarının tavbini kazanmış-tır. Bu insan haklarını öğrenmek ve talim et-mek mes'uliyeti bizim üzerimizdedir.

Takriben iki bin sene evvel Stoisyen felsefe-ları İnan Haklarını kurucularından: Bu Sto-isyenler hemen hemen bütün yirminci asır dün-yasına benzeyen bir dünyada yaşayarlardı. Bi-zimkine benzeyordu, çünkü 200 yıllık Roman-

len bu asırlar bugün tarihe mal olmuştur. Millî ruhu temsil eden, Büyük Türk İnkılabındaki enğin tarih görüşüne sahip olan, fakat, ilmi ob-jektiviteyi şiar edinen bugünkü tarih ilmi mes-supları Türk tarihçiliğinin kaderini ellerinde tutmakta ve Türk Tarih Kurumu faaliyetinde yeni bir hamle yapmak kararını vermiş bulun-maktadır. Son senelerin bu sahadaki ilmi fa-aliyetleri milletler arası kongrelerde ve sun ola-rak memleketimizde toplanan XXII. Müteş-rikler Kongresinde, jümelye azad olduğunda daha iyi bir imtihan vermeleri bu hususta ümi-tli olmaya hak kazandıracak mahiyettedir. Mem-leketimizin fikir hayatı, millî ruh ve ideal bu-tunluğu gayet besabına başta her derese ilah-ıal müesseselerimizdeki öğretmenler olmak üz-re, bütün münevverleri, yetiştirecek olan gen-yi, bu sahadaki faaliyetlerin en büyük feyzi ve semereleri hâsil etmesine arzulu ve teşpe bu-maktadır. Türk cemiyeti, Türk tarih ilminin ve onun inçelajını hedef utarak faaliyete bula-nan Türk Tarih Kurumunun hareketlerini ve çalışmalarını, onun ortaya koyduğu ve koyaca-ğı eserlerini, neticelerini en büyük mâneyi gidamı alacak için, büyük bir dikkat ve his-siyetle takip edecektir.

Figure 19a Gökbilgin's report on his study trip to Hungary

Geçen haziranda, birinci sümestr takip ettiğim Hungarolojide sür'atle ilerliye-bilmek imkânını kazanmak ve macarcayı daha iyi öğrenmek için, Macaristana gitmişim. Vekâleti Celileden maddî yardım görememiş olmakla beraber bu hususun temini zarureti beni talebe bütçemden fedakârlık yapmaya sevk etmiş, tatilin ilk haftalarında Budapeşteye vasıl olmuşum.

27 hazirandan 16 Eylül'e kadar olan Macaristan seyahatımın plânçosunu ve ana hatlarını hurmetlerime terdifen arz ediyorum.

- 1- Sayın Profesörüm Bay Rasonyi'nin delâlet ve muzahareti ile Budapeştedeki Paris Ecole Normale Superieure tipindeki Orta Avrupanın en ciddi bir ilmi müessesesi, Baro Eötvös Collegium'da tenzilâtli ve müsait bir ikamet mahalli buldum.
- 2- Balaton sahilindeki Keszthely' de açılan 1-20 ağustos yaz Üniversitesinde Macar Maarif Vekâletinin yardımı ile yarı biletle seyahat etmek, cüz'î bir bedel mukabilinde orada kalarak bu faydalı kussları takip etmek imkânını kazandım.
- 3- Budapeşte, Pecs Üniversiteleri ile Keszthely ziraat akademisini, bu şehirlerle Tihany, Balatonfüred, Kaposvar kasabalarındaki tarihî ve şayanı dikkat âbideleri tetkik ettim.
- 4- Profesörümün delâletiyle tanışmak şerefini kazandığım ve daima temas imkânını elde ettiğim maruf ve muhterem macar âlimleri Prof. Nemeth Gyula, Macar Millî Arşivi kıymetli erkânından Dr. Pekete Lajds ve atlı Nomaçan-keolojisinde yol gösterici Dr. Fettich Nandor gibi zevatın yardımlarıyla Budapeştedeki çok kıymetli müzeleri ve Millî Arşivi gezip tetkik ederek kendi sahama ait malzeme topladım, görüş ve malumatımı kısmen zenginleştirdim. Ya bu zevatın tavsiyeleriyle bana refakat eden alâkadar bir zatın beni tenviri yahut mufassal rehberlerle tetkik ve istifade ettiğim müze ve şayanı dikkat meşherlerin başlıcaları:
 - a) Millî müze (Tarihî eserler, tabiiye, etnoğrafya kısımları)
 - b) Güzel san'atler müjesi.
 - c) Ziraat ve münakalât müzeleri.
 - d) Şarkî Asya "Hopp Ferenc" müzesi.
 - e) Petöfi Haza.

Figure 19b Gökbilgin's report on his study trip to Hungary

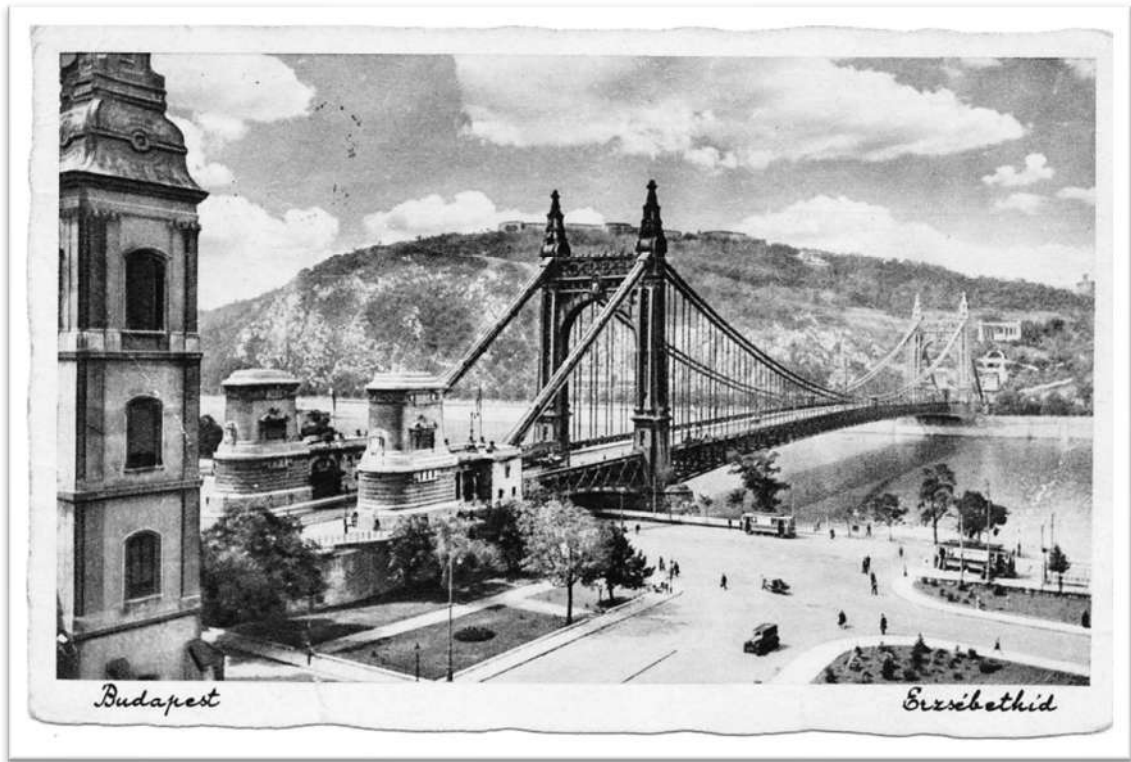
- f) Szechenyi, Vörösmarty meşherleri ve İlim Akademisindeki diğer meşherler,
g) Parlmento müzesi.
h) Buda istirdadının 250 inci yıldönümü münasebetiyle Sanayi müzesinde açılan çok enteresan sergi .
ı) Millî Arşiv binası,kütüphanesi,evrakların muhafaza ve tasnif şekilleri vesaire hakkında tetkik ve müşahedeler.
- 5- Bir Türk Üniversite talebesi olmak haysiyetiyle her yerde ve her zaman bir senpati ve alâka gördüğümü,gerek Eötvös Collegium ve gerekse Keszthely yaz Üniversitesi muhitinin macarca öğrenmeme yardım hususunda gösterdikleri alâkayı bilhassa tebarüz ettirmeliyim.
- 6- Eylül ortasında,Tuna yoluyla Profesörümle avdetimiz esnasında da tarihimizin şerefli hatıralarını saklıyan başlıca yerleri temaga etmekle hassasiyetimin arttığını ve en nihayet,tekmil seyahatımın bana mühim bir istifade,manevî bir haz verdiğini ve hassatan bundan sonraki mesaimde beni teşvik ve tahrik edici bir fâmil olduğunu ilâve edeceğim.

9.I.1937

Tarih,Dil,Coğrafya Fakültesi

Hungaroloji Enstitüsünde

Figure 20 From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 25.02.1938



Sok eredményem van!
 BUDAPEST—HONGRIE
 Erzsébet-híd. — Elisabeth-Brücke. — Elisa-
 het-Bridge. — Pont Elisabet
 Kedves Tayyip! A miniszter beteg
 volt, csak holnap fogadhat engem.
 Így csak szerdán fogok Ankarába
 érkezni, 2.-án. Előadásaimat
 pénteken a sokott időben kez-
 dem meg. Kérem Adil beyjel
 közölni, hogy e félévben is
 hétfőn, szerdán és pénteken szer-
 nem tartani előadásaimat
 (Magartörténet 2, Irodalom 2, Nyelv-
 történet 1 óra; semindrum 3 óra
 hetenként (Hétfőn 8.40-10.40, Szerdán:
 9.40-12.30, pénteken 8.40-11.30)
 Minden hallgatómat hivatalid-
 vözöm, a vizionlátásig is.
 1938 febr. 25. Rásonyi László

L. Rásonyi.
 Bpest. XI.
 Zenta-u. 1.



Belföldön
 2 filléres bélyeg
 1938. febr. 25.

Bay

Tayyip Gökbilge

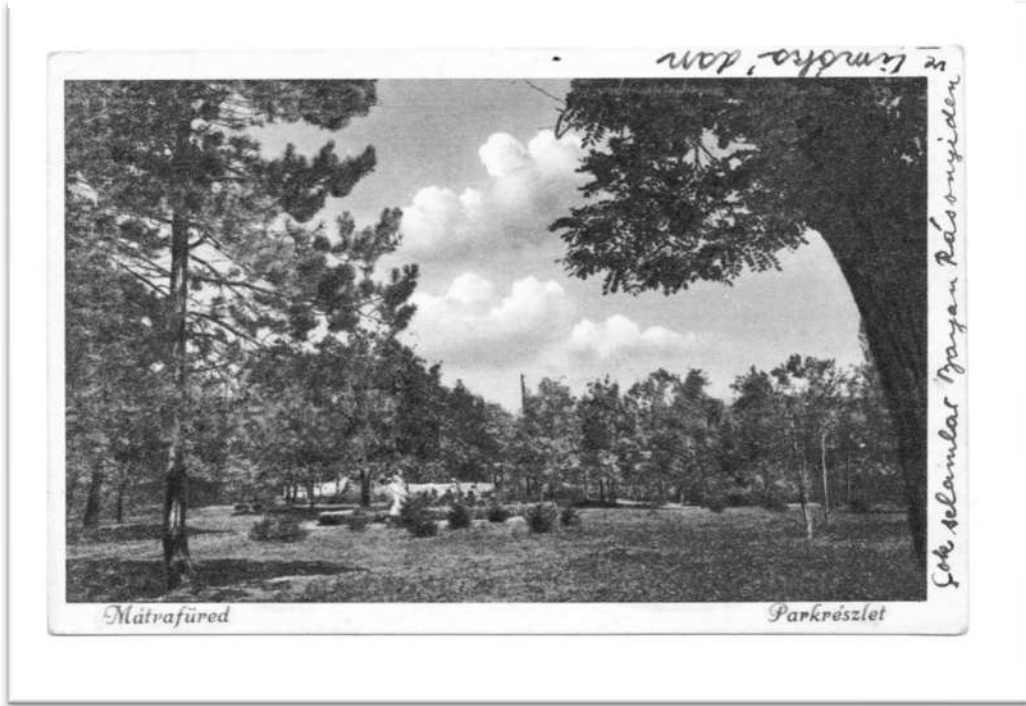
Tarih Fakültesi' leyli talebesi

Ankara

Tarih Fakültesi
 Hungaroloji Enstitüsü

Divaldi
 283

Figure 21 From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 30.07.1938



Yarı kışların açılış mevsiminde
orada bulunamam dolayısıyla
çok tesüffüm var. - Farat ayın
11.-de arşamdaki Peşte Treniyle
Debreçende varılacağım. -
Aziz Ural! Para geldi, teşekkür
ederim. Lütfen yulaf zarfı kutu-
ları dahi imkân derscede şatuk
Mátrafűred'deki adresime gönde-
riniz, çok lûründür.
İlepiniz, bilhassa ferfinizi
sıhhi varyette bulunmasını ümid
ederim. - Yarınır. - Bayan Celile!
Müsait bir cemiyeti buldunuzmu?
Yine görüşmemize kadar da size
çok faydalı ve eğlenceli günler temenni
eder popşönünüz Rásonyi. 30.07.38.

Rásonyi
Mátrafűred
938 JU: 07.14
10
HUNGARIAN POST
KIRKPOSTA

Bay
Tayyip Gökbilgin
Debreçen
Nyári Egetem

D. SZABÓ INRE
H. T. A. C. I. O. S.
KIRKPOSTA
HUNGARIAN POST
KIRKPOSTA

Figure 22 From Şerif Baştav to Gökbilgin, 27.11.1942



Figure 23 "Millî Tarih", Dünya Gazetesi, 27.04.1954

DÜNYA

D Ü Ş Ü N C E L E R

Millî Tarih

Bir milletin ilim hayatına ve cemiyet hayatına belirlenmiş bir istikamet veren unsurlardan biri ve belki de birincisi tarih sukurudur. Bir insan topluluğunun millet olabilme keyfiyeti, en fazla, bu suura sahip bulunmakla temin edilebileceği gibi, o toplulukta mazhari kısırları, mazhari vicdanın tezekküllü, millî menfaatlerin korunması, cemiyet hayatının umumi tezahürlerinde görünen veya görünmeyen, bilinen veya bilinmeyen her türlü millî hazınanın izabelli ve takdire değer tutulup tutulmaması, ancak, bu surede mümkün olabilmektedir.

İnsanlık tarihi, eski çağlardan beri, belli bir tarih görüşüne, anlayışına ve bazan da tarih suuruna sahip olduğunu gösteren delilleri, tezahürleri bize bol bol vermektedir. Ancak bu tarih görüşü her zaman, her

devirde ve türlü cemiyetlerde çok defa değişmiş ve netice olarak bu suur ve anlayış da muhtelif şekiller arz etmiştir: Ümmet tarihi ve bunun suuru, belde tarihi, kavim tarihi ve nihayet devlet ve imparatorluk

bu medeniyet çevresine dahil memleketlerde ve milletlerde, umumi ve şümullü bir çevre alma, hükümleşmiştir. Muhtelif hal memleketlerinde bu suuru, millî tarih suurunu mümkün kılan bu heyecan ve hareket, keşif ve

hayatında yarattığı suurun maksadını biraz eskizye götürmek pek mümkün görünmemektedir. Geçmiş Türk milletinin kaderi ve hayatı bu vatan topraklarına bağlandıktan ve burada türlü adlar altında devlet teşkilatı kurulduktan beri, asasına buna delâlet edecek tarihi kayıtlara, millî sayılabilecek bir tarih anlayışının işlerine rastlanmaz. Bu hususta "Negrî" den başlayarak Selâhî, Naima gibi tarihçilerimizi misal olarak zikredebiliriz. Ancak osmanlılık suurunun hattâ isâmi bir millet olma keyfiyetinin millî tarih suuru üzerinde tutulduğuna her zaman kabul ve tasdik etmek lâzımdır.

İşte bu konu üzerinde bu hatıraları andıktan sonra millet hayatımızda, bilhassa, yirmineci asır içinde "Millî Tarih" mefhumunu ve bunun suuru, ve anlayışını ayıkta tutan bu millî görüşü, ilmi yollardan ve ilmi metodlarla, bütün millete mal etmek istiyen İki hareketin, İki teşekkülün hüyük bir ehemmiyeti kazandığını düşünebiliriz: Bunlardan birincisi, "Türk Tarih Encümeni", daha eski bir hareketin yeni bir ifadesi bulunmakla beraber onun ömürlü olmadığı. Fakat, ikincisi, "Türk Tarih Kurumu" Atatürk'ün genig ve derin görüşleriyle daha hüyük makyasta tamamen millî bir hüviyet kazandı ve bu hareket millî tarih suurunun hem önderi hem mihrakı oldu. Çeşitli faaliyetleriyle bu millî ve ilmi müessesemizin geçen 25 senelik, çeyrek asırlık hayatı, milletimizin ve cemiyetimizin hüyük bir manevî menedi olmak vasfını iktisap ettiğini gösterecek mahiyettedir. Gelecek sene kuruluşunun yirmi beşinci yıldönümü vesilesiyle tertibî düzenlenen beşinci tarih kongresinin ve sergisinin millî tarih hareketlerimizin üzerinde müessesî olduğu kadar milletler arası tarih ilmi dünyasında da müstesna bir değer taşımalarını izlemek ve ümit etmek herhalde yersiz olmayacaktır.

YAZAN

DOÇ. TAYYİB GÖKBİLGİN

tarihleri ve bu mefhumlara bağlı bir tarih suuru ve anlayışı...

Rönesansın İlahîden baki medeniyet dünyasının bütün bu tarih görüşü ve anlayışlarından yavaş yavaş ayrılarak millî tarih suuruna doğru yükseldiği görülmektedir.

Her yerde aynı zamanda başlayan ve aynı seyri takip etmiş bu hareket birden çok evvel

çeşitli gayretlerin ve çalışmaların mahsufları olarak, gittikçe artan bir derece ve nisbette meyvelerini vermekte gecikmemiş, millî tarih edebiyatında Monumentalar, Corpuslar ve daha bir sürü ve seri neşriyat bediye edebiliştir. Bizde Türk Rönesansının hatıda olduğundan çok geç zamanlara kalması yüzünden, millî tarih mefhumunun ve onun cemiyet

Seçim konuşmalarını, 10 savcı yardımcısı takip ediyor

Sosyal partilerin yaptıkları açık hava toplantılarında hatiplerin konuşmalarını tespit etmek için on savcı yardımcısı görevlendirilmiştir. Bu savcılar seçime katılacak partilerin yaptıkları toplantılarda hatipleri dinleyerek notlar almakta ve sonradan bu konuşmalarında Millî Selâmet Kanunu hükümlerine aykırı cümleler bulunup bulunmadığını tetkik etmektedirler.

Diğer taraftan radyoda yapılan konuşmalar da teke alınmakta, sonradan bunlar da incelenmektedir.

Rami cinayetinin duruşması

Bundan bir müddet önce Ramî'de Necdet İsminde birisini halta ile vuran Mustafa Aracı'nın duruşmasına dün Dördüncü Ağır Ceza Mahkemesinde devam edilmiştir. Baz şahitlerin dinlenilmesi için duruşma 17 mayısa burakalmıştır.

Kılıcı müsadere edilen hokkabaz

Polis, yaptığı arama sonunda kılıcı hokkabazın boğazından çıkardı

Hokkabazlık yaparak şehrin muhtelif yerlerinde dolan Selâhattin Güngör teminde bir şahın ruhsatsız silah taşıdığı haber alınmıştır.

Polis tarafından yapılan soruşturma sonunda Selâhattin'in Beyazıt Siyavuşpaşa sokaklarında hokkabazlık yaparken bulunmuş ve üzeri araştırılırken boğazından bir kılıç çıkarılmıştır.

Selâhattin bu kılıcı hokkabazlık numaraları için yaptığını söylemiş de kılıç elinden alınmış ve hakkında kanunî işlem yapılmıştır.

Et fiyatları düşürülemiyor

Belediye İktisat Müdürlüğü, krah ve et buhranını kaldırmak için gayret sarfetmektedir.

Civar vilâyetlerle anlaşmak suretiyle, seçimlerin sonuna kadar da olsa, et fiyatlarının düşürülmesine çalışılmaktadır.

Yeşilköy gümrük binasının temeli atıldı

Yeşilköy hava alanında yapılacak kararlaştırılan gümrük binasının temeli, dün saat 12.30 da törenle atılmıştır.

Törende, temele ilk harcı koyan Vali Gökay bir konuşma yaparak evvelce temeli atılan hava meydanı binasının kordelinin kesildiğini belirtmiş ve gümdü temeli atılan binanın uğurlu olmasını temenni etmiştir.

Belediye murakıpları arasında değişiklik

Belediye murakıpları arasında yeni değişiklikler yapılmıştır. Bu arada alınmaların kontrolü ile vasıfelli murakıpların yerine bazı belediye şefleri ek vasıfıyla tayin edilmişlerdir.

Lâstik fabrikasında yangın çıktı

Karlıçeme'de Müvezzihasan sokaklarında bulunan bir lâstik fabrikasında dün yangın çıkmıştır.

Fabrikanın üst katında bulunan eşyalar yandıktan sonra yangın söndürülmüştür.

Figure 24a Gökbilgin to unknown, 30.03.1940

آنچه

۳۰ . ۱۱۱ . ۹۴۰

بیه مخم افتم

دوره‌های سیاسی و بیخنده است و در هر یک بیا آیی در برابر ما نماند
 ادرلیم . ادگر ده که صافاً انقلاب در سینه ده است و در دلش بگرا
 تماماً سرب او را هم .

آرزو و قیامت نه اولد نقیبه ، استغاده بیستیه اینده بولده
 کتبی تا میله بریده از عاقله که حق انصاف را اولده بر داشته
 کتبی تا میله بریده قارار ، ایلدیه مقول اولم قورب اولده و دیه
 آ - سوارک بولونیز ، استغاده و غامه کونیه سینه محفینه برنگه
 امینی بلسه بیلدیریم .

بودادیه ، کتلیم و ای سید طیفه کلمه فارغ ، سید کیه قارار
 مایه وضاییم - کتیه نه سیمو ای کیم و سارف و کاتنه تراشیدگی آسید
 کتلیم آری کتاب ، لایله ان سونک مایه کتیه سجاد دوست آسیدی
 کتلیم کتلیم آری کتلیم - بو عیلاقه صی کتلیم سیر . استغول
 کونیه - سیر کتلیم نا - نخ قنده " کتیه و سونک نیکه " استغاده اولم
 بزم آ - سوارک طایفه و بران کتلیم بلم اولم اضیفی قورلنده بر ملک
 اصغاری کتلیم ایله کتلیم کتلیم . بو صورتله ، اگر دوستو ای کتلیم
 ادره ، بر داشته کتلیم آسیدم کتلیم ایله ، اها کتلیم و کتلیم

Figure 24c Gökbilgin to unknown, 30.03.1940

The document consists of two main parts separated by a horizontal fold. The top part contains approximately five lines of handwritten text in Turkish, written in a cursive style. Some words are underlined, and there are smaller annotations or corrections written in a lighter ink. The text appears to be a letter or a document, with some legible words including 'Zahra Hanım' and 'Hakkında'. The bottom part of the document is filled with a large amount of text that is extremely faded and mostly illegible. The paper shows signs of age and wear, with some staining and a clear horizontal crease.

Figure 24d Gökbilgin to unknown, 30.03.1940

بر حاله بر لونا هتم و کلمه .
هفته خود کرده که بنی طیاره ده مهران اسفند اوله قالد : پر شور
نیمه سال ، پر شور فقط کون اید ، پر شور فراد لورلی ، پر شور عبد القادر
ایناه ، پر شور فاضل قلم ، خاله سید ، خاله زینب خاله و داور خورلی
بنی ای طیاره ، ایسیم بود طیف ایجه هفته موله ایجه طیاره در .
خاله ای به کینه ده طیاره ، خاله کیم تارا ، او فله و سب ایجه بنی
بیلدی . فقط کتیه نه جواب دیه دکن بیلورم .
قادر و نه کیم ساه اولدین بیلدی کون . خرابانه تارا ، اسفند اوله
اسفند ایجه اودق ، عهده کله یاییم و سنا ایجه ملام بولورم ایجه ،
دوشورده و کورده ییجه ایجه که اولور صابورم .
سید ذات عاله ده اسر خانم بر سید تارا ، آل قورلی ،
ایضا کورده دیه و کیم دیه .
دریه صابورم یاییم عهده کله کورده کوریم ایتم .
Gökbilgin özi yazdı

Figure 25 an official document showing the acceptance of the dissertation for associate professorship

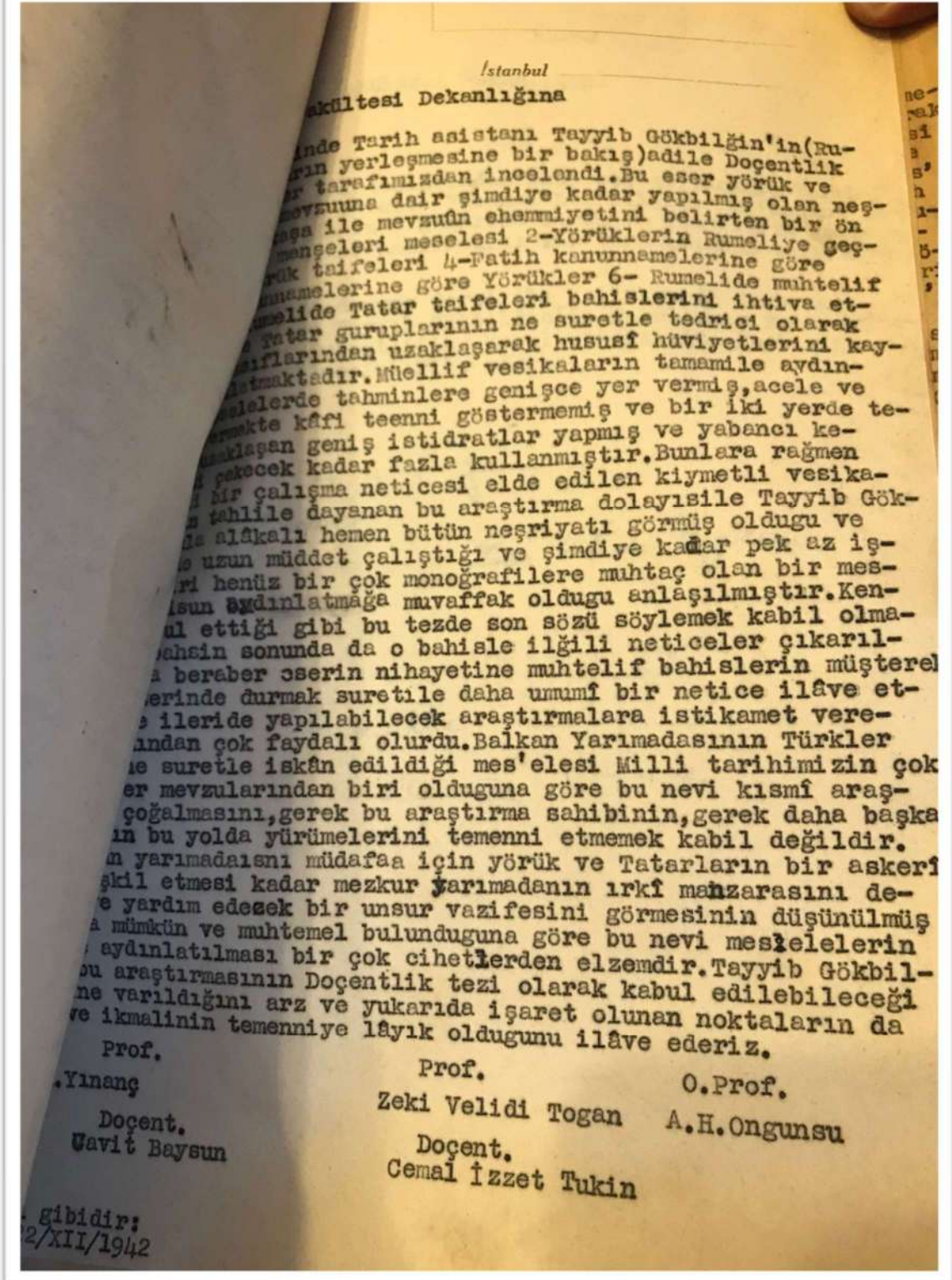


Figure 26a From Fekete Lajos to Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940

Kedves Tasszija úr!

Vége, nagy neheren hozzájuttam, hogy kedves levelére megfelelő,
lényegre valóra ilyeszerűt írni.

Leveléncz lefontasabb tárgyai: doktori dolgozatának megvételése,
amiben úgy látom, nehézségeket és bizonytalanságokat kell leküzdenie. Ezen
nem csodálkozom, de ez nem baj: mivel szélesebb látókörre lea, annál több
témát vesz észre, melyeket külön-külön méltónak talál a feldolgozásra, és
annál több akadályba ütközik, mert itt is ott is többlet az a tudás, mint
amennyire adatai kiterjednek.

Hogy a levél az archívum-ban nehezebben dolgozni, azt el tudom képzelni.
Ami pedig Thököly szerepét illeti, annak feldolgozása magyar szempontból
hálás munka volna, úgyhogy ha csak a magyar szempontot tartanám szem
előtt, erre kellene birtatnom. Ugyanakkor arontan úgy vélem, hogy Thököly
a török történelemben nem volt olyan kiemelkedő alak, hogy sorának fellévése
első rangú feladat volna. Legszívesebben a témát általában szemmel tarthatná
s idővel fel is dolgozhatná, ha majd öt- tíz év alatt az ide vonatkozó
adatok egyenként előbujnak és kerébe kerülnek; mert abból a szinte
végtelennél előkerülő hír-hírs vagy ötvén iratból, amit már most önmaga
tudna értékelni, a kérdést úgy is csak hiányosan tudná kidolgozni
s dolgozata már pár év alatt elavulna.

Ezen a levélben reménytelen állapotára miatt, tehát nem
összeállítás vagy különös or nélkül alakult ki bennem az a vélemény, hogy
egy-egy iratör összeállítás egy tárgy körül nem lehet sikeres, és hogy emiatt
fogva olyan tudományos célokat kell kitűzni, amelyeknek forrásanyagát meg-
maradt és egyben van. Első munkánál erre tehát a defteralakban megmaradt
iratok a legalkalmasabbak, annál inkább, mert ezekből is erre meg erre
témát lehet megalapozni, amelyel még mindig feldolgozásra várnak, kivétel meg.

Figure 26b From Fekete Lajos to Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940

Tovább haladva ezen a téren: azt megmondani, hogy különböző deflektóknál melyik alkalmasabb a feldolgozásra, és milyen részben, melyik szempont szerint alkalmasabb, láthatóan nem lehet. Van kérdés, amely éppen deflektóval kimerítően leírható, másról viszont az egész ~~fej~~ fejlődés kíváncsok számára való feldolgozására. Ennek jut pl. a suttó (szó)-ügy: emel nem elégedik meg egy év suttó-deflektóval ismeretlenségével, hanem - annál inkább, mert mód van rá - a suttó-különböző rendszereinek ismeretlenség után ismeretelm a suttó-ügy (névismeg, formák, rítusok málja) fejlődését is vagy pár-hét évvel ezen keretben, ami nyilvánvalóan teljesebb munka volna. (Hogy az a más deflektó-típusú.) Más deflektókat viszont epidejűleg több szempontból lehetne feldolgozni, több ember által is, ami komoly ambícióval a munka komolyosságát és alaposabb menetet nem hogy önkéntes, hanem főszerző. - Hogy a munka alátámasztására levélvári egyes iratára is szükség van, az természetes; amit lehetőségek, itt is önkéntes munkát. Hogy a munkái korábbi deflektóval melyik csoportba tartoznak, ismeretlen, láthatóan nem tudom megmondani, és amire kérdésesen tanácsot sem adhatok. Nincs hozzájárom, ha természet, bárki illetékesekkel mondhatná beleszólamot, arról a tanácsok, akiknél vizsgálni fog, maguk vállalkozásánál az ellen, hogy én adhat témát ott. Éppen emel megfontolása volt egyébként, hogy leveleire sokat gondoltem, de rá valahán írási nehezen határozottan el magam. Tanácsai bizonyára jótudnak a lehetséges témákat és jó tanácsokkal ellátják.

Szívvel gratulállok alkalmatlanságához, jó munkahelyéhez, és meg vagyok győződve, hogy a munkaalkalmat megőrzendő nép eredményeket fog felmutatni. Nagyrészt gratulállok hársághoz is - úgy veszem észre, az mellesleg meggyőzéséből, hogy megpróbált - és sok boldogságot kívánok.

A Levélvári Közlönyekből tavasszal jelent meg a 17-ik és jövő tavasszal fog megjelenni a 18-ik évforrás. Ha a 17-re várható volna, azt már most, a 18-ikat megjelenése után meg tudnám küldeni. (Leveleim az a pontja nem éppen világos).

Figure 26c From Fekete Lajos to Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940

Ha még nem kültén volna meg, megkülönböztetném Buda és Pest polgári lakosságát is 1547-ben, külténnyomatban, az pedig lehet arra nézve is, hogy ilyen névvel önkéntesül mit lehet kihorni, hogyan kell azt feloldozni. Ilyen dolgokkal a nullt ében több helyen foglalkoztam, (Buda kereskedelme, bűn), de ez a dolog az még nem jelentet meg.

Most foglalkozom Buda történelmi történetével megírásával. Rendkívül érdekos, majd ha megjelölök a munka, a történel is be fogják látni, hogy mag, kár volt ^{a bevitel az igazság} ~~eljárni~~ a ~~kezelési~~ ^{fordítás} előlé. Ez len az első történeti egy olyan várossal, amely egykor történelmi uralom alatt állt, és egy másodszor kiadásra vagy másodszor megírásra ötvén vagy pár év előtt gondolni sem lehet, néval addig egyetlen kézikönyv len, akár jó, akár rossz, s utólag, sajátos, nem len lehetséges számunk belejötölnei. Még nem tudom volt tavaly ősszel, hogy Szófia-ban ^{teláltem} ~~egy~~ név dolgozat s arrólból bőven, szabatos fénylepeltettem - Pálmati

utól, megbeszélésünk alapján, kértem bizonyos defterek fénylepelt, meg tavaly ősszel, de valahán nem kaptam levelemre. Az én tavalyi írtatásommal sem tudtam számunk temi. Egy év, aki Persiában járt tudományos úton, nevetem mesélte nekem, hogy ő is Pesten kapta ^(Parsziana róla) meg a ~~kezelési~~ ^{kezelési} engedélyt, amikor már vissrajött! Néval is, nek dolgozunk, ahogy a történelmi egyetemen, s akkor is dolgozunk nek, ha a történelmi nem kevered.

Még egyszer jó munkát és szép eredményeket kívánok s mely baráti jelleggel üdvözlök, ottani kedves ismerőseimmel együtt, kén híve

Budapest, 1940. okt. 19.

Fekete Lajos

I., Mátyás- u. 7. I. 2

Figure 27 Halil İnalçık to Gökbilgin, 21.04.1949

۹۴۹ - ۱۷ - ۲۱

محرم فرده

لفظی که نگاریدم اثرات ایله در خون منی آلام و اها ایله قاریدیمانه
جدا جوده مهم و انتصابه قدره استلادم. بوموصوفی سچیده زقد اصابت اینگیلیزیم موصلیم
یوقدر. عثمانی تارکینه وارث صمیمه اثر دره الک منی اولافنی سچیده سربیلو بلیرم. تحیه لریه که کینس
تجر ایله با صیده کوزه چار بقمده در. بوقدر مهم بر چالیس نکت جوده و اها مکمل بر با صعی به نائل
اولخنی تخمیده ده کنیدی آلمیرم. بونظکله ابر طبع ای رطله رطله ایست میوم. بزم بطبع لریه که هر طرف
مع الاست علم اثره آوریاده کورلین نفاسی صاعلیه مدکلر بر حقیقتدر. الهه کوروت فور ماده فائده لریه
و یازا جنم مدخله اثری انتشار ایستیمه بی محیر لیا ذکر ایوه حکم. قتل چیه جوده فورالی ده بیدری
کودریسه ک جوده مقدار اولور. بزم مع لور دفترک مقدمه سچیده بر طبع حطاسی قالمه
محرگت " اولو جقدر. ~~.....~~ سنده بحر کور " لریه صمیمه. الیریده یا ب جقدر حطاسی جواد
جده لته کوز کورده قاصحا سچیده استادت ایندیورم.

بزم دفترک با حقیقی ده الیریدور. مزه لازم اولورس ریو والرده نقل با لهدر تهره کوندرده قالمه
نقل بر و لریه نیم قدر تماما بقیه اولافنی به ایستایورم. مقدمه بر و ازا نسیمه طوندم. بعضی اثرلی و محجوز لری
بو اعا دینیم ایچونه ایمرله میورم. محجاسزده *Re. His. du Sud-est Europe* و
بزن ایچونه استاندر قهر بر سالی یلیه در شو میورم. *Melanges de l'école Roumaine* ک اسکی مایلی و لری ده؟ بولکی بجمعه ده هم ایلی عقابلی کوردم لاز کلور.
استاندرده جوده شطایت ایستیمه، صکره تگری یی کوچنیر سکر. نرسزه داننا غطایا با جوده
طبیعت، علم زینکله ایستیمه دینده، بر انا بومصلی هواسی ده حکم آرته.
انکره ایستیمه قشک ایتمم، قسقت اولورس بو یاز. عثمانیه برکت آلام، ایلریم و عدایه یور، انا علم
سزده کله یلیه بیکز بجم ایچونه بوساقت شهزده اها استاندرلی اولوردی. انشا ۹۱ لقمده
صحنه منی لریکز انشا ۹۱ ای بیویور. جده سه صاعله دیرم. لفظی که نگاریدم کله صمیمی صاعلی
در سلاسلر صوامم قورشم. تاریخی انکار کله آریکه بر لایر. جلودیک نغز اولده، کندیسه صاعله دینک
ابلاغ اینگیلیز جالیورم. الله اعلم لارده. بجم ایچونه منی اولور منی لریکزی ایستیمه.

Halil İnalçık

Figure 28 Tea invitation from Hasan Ali Yücel for the participants of the third Turkish Historical Congress, 15.11.1943

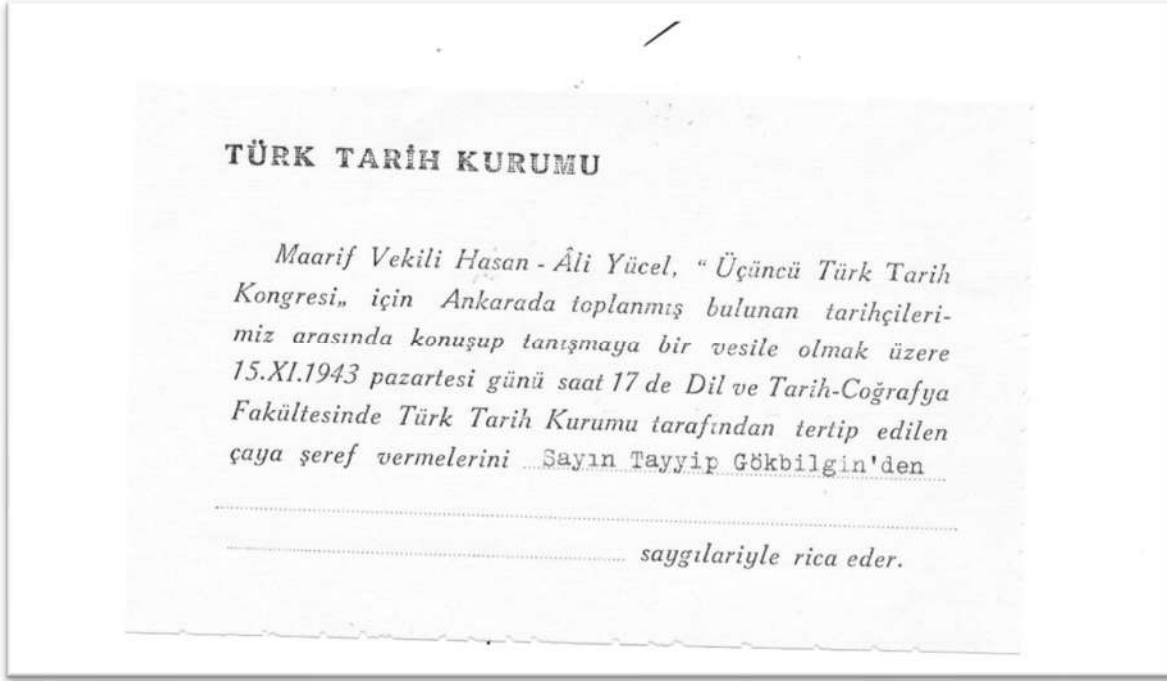


Figure 29 Official letter signed by Şemsettin Günaltay showing that Gökbilgin had been selected as the principal member of the THA, 13.10.1943

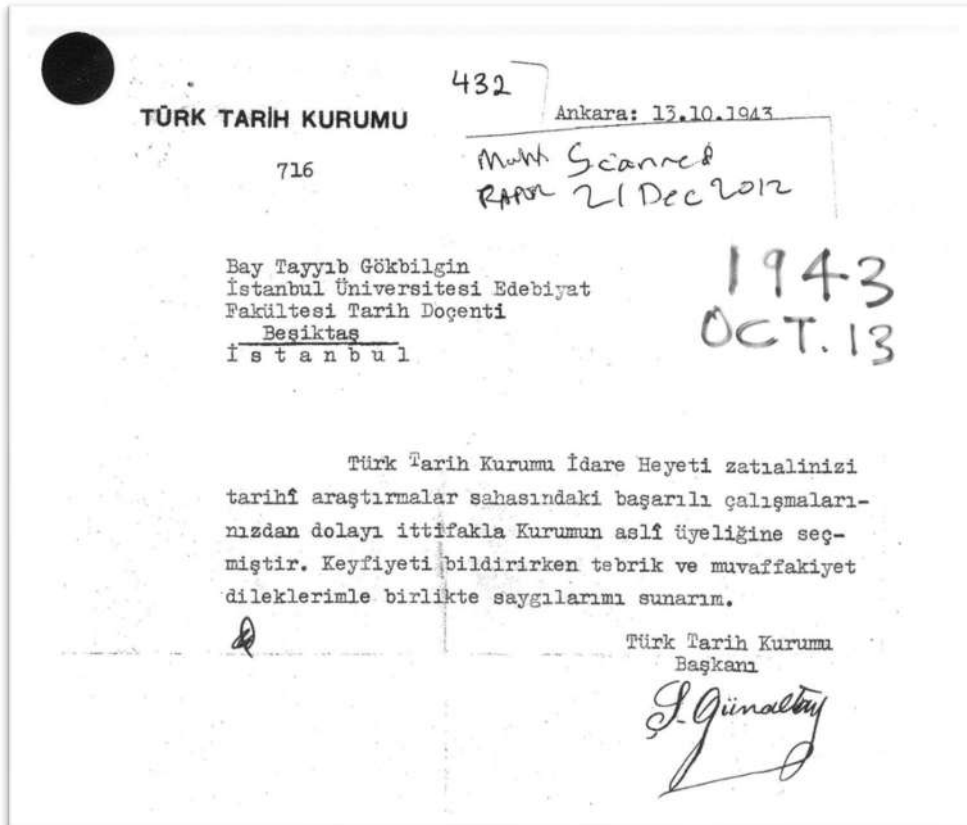


Figure 30a From Afet İnan to Gökbilgin, 30.08.1955

Prof. Dr. AFET İNAN
Dil Ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi

ANKARA : 30/ VIII/ 1955
Madafaa Cad. No. 4/5 Tel. 22325
Kızılay

Sayın Prof. Tayyip Gökbilgin,
Profesörlüğe terfiinizi
Dünya gazetesinde
akıyali bir ay önce
Üniversiteye uğrar telrik
edirim demiydim. Fakat
ne zamanlar arada bulunma
bileceğinizi bilmediğim
için daha fazla geçirmeden
yazı ile yeni rütbenizi
telrik etmek istedim.
Esasen İstanbul

Figure 30b From Afet İnan to Gökbilgin, 30.08.1955

Çarpık aldugunuz lun
unvermi iktisap etmeinden
Çak memmi aldun.

Meslek hayatiniz de
uzuvulu ve aileniz için
şerefli alması
diler saygi larımı
sunarım.

Afet İnan

Figure 31a To the Dean of the Faculty of Literature

Edebiyat Fakültesi Dekanlığına

...dünya tarihi araştırmalarında, devletlerin ve cemiyetlerin faaliyetleri, sosyal ve ekonomik şartları ile ilgili konuların önemini kazandıkları bu sahadaki geniş neşriyate sathı kolayca anlaşılmalıdır. Bizde de TOE nin kurulmasından sonra İbrahim Şeref, Ahmet Refik Beyler gibi marif tarihçileri ile başlayan bu istikametteki çalışmalar ve araştırmaların Osmanlı müesseseleri arasındaki mukayeseyi belirgin şekilde ortaya koyduğu bir sentezde ve bilhassa Prof. ...nın bununla ilgili değerli eserlerinde kesin ifadesini bulmuşuzdur. Son zamanlarda bu alanda, yerli yabancı, bir hayli önemli araştırmalara, eserlere şahit olunmuştur. ...modern tarih araştırmaları sıklıkla merkezini bilhassa bu istikamette almıştır. Buna basit bir misal olmak üzere, geçen ağustosta toplanan tarih ilimleri Kongresindeki komisyonlardan bir çoğunun da ve Rönesans devrinde Avrupa Üniversiteleri tarihi, 1750 devrinin tarihi, Parlamentolar ve Diyet meclisleri tarihi, mukayeseli tarihler tarihi, sosyal hareketler ve sosyal gelişmeler tarihi, askerî tarih v.s) müesseseler tarihi ile ilgili bulunduğunu düşünürüz. Kezâ, milletler arası ilim cemiyetleri içinde hatırı sayılır bir faaliyet olan "Société Jean Bodin" in faaliyeti ve araştırmaları sahasındaki mukayeseli müesseseler tarihi sahasındadır ve bu ilim cemiyeti, araştırmaları ve eserleri ile tarih ilmine büyük hizmetler yapmışlardır. Memleketten beri muhtelif memleket ve makamlardan Fakültemize tevâlinde gelen soruların ve istenen bilgilerin hemen pek çoğunun Osmanlı devrinde olduğu, müesseseleri ve medeniyeti ile ilgili olduğunda bir gerçekdir. Bu tarihi ve bilhassa müesseseleri ve medeniyeti tarihi ile bağlantılı Balkan ve doğu Avrupa memleketleri Üniversiteleri, akademi tarih enstitülerinde bu mesalelere geniş yer verilmekte, önemli eserlere ve yayınlara girilmektedir. Bu keyfiyeti, içimizden birimizde, Budapeşte, Varşova, Moskova, Krokovi üniversite ve akademi bizzat müşahade etmek fırsatını bulmuştur. Sofya, Atina, Belgrad, ...na, Bükreş, Üniversitelerinde buna daha da fazla önem verildiği görülmüştür.

Figure 31b To the Dean of the Faculty of Literature

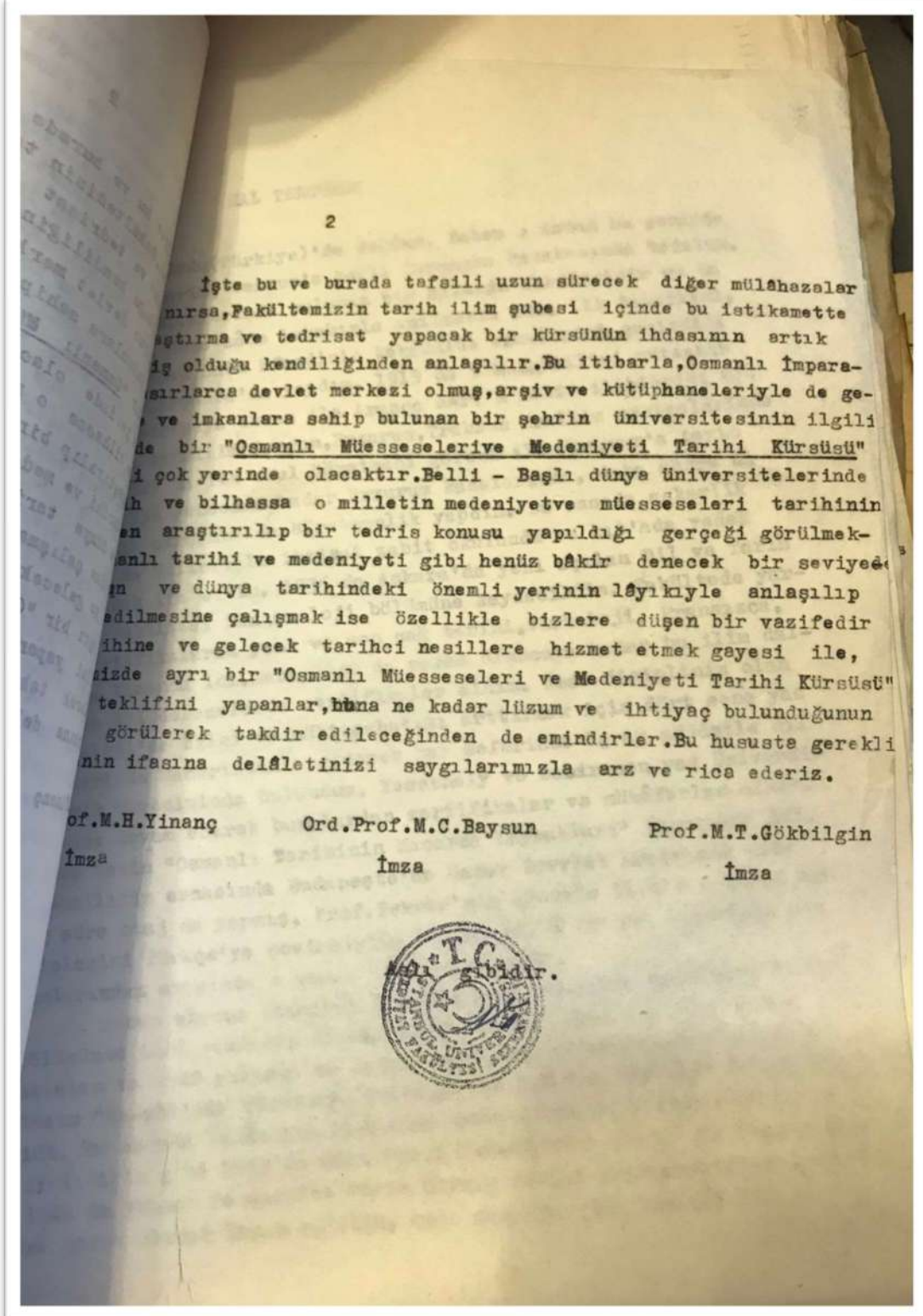


Figure 32a Umumi Türk Tarihi Meseleleri, Tasvir Gazetesi, 13.12.1946



Figure 32b Umumi Türk Tarihi Meseleleri, Tasvir Gazetesi, 13.12.1946

435/2 (35)

TASVİR GAZETESİ

Aralık 1946

...talarda, ilmi alanda ve akla-
darlar arasında hâfâ komünite-
ta, yeni yeni kavimler alınmakta,
yer yer çu veya bu telakkîye göre
tarih kitapları hazırlanmaktadır.
Son zamanlarda yayımlanan es-
herimiyetli bir tarih ve bu vesile
ile yayıldığını gördüğümüze neşri-
yat hâlinde bu hususta bazı düstür-
celere şevketli, Filhakika, Profes-
sor Zeki Velîdi Toğanın "Umumi
Türk tarihine giriş" adlı eseri ve
Profesör Fındıklıoğlu'nun bu ana-
sobetle izhar ettiği düşünceler ve te-
menileri, hem ilmi çalışmaya ve ara-
ştırmaların en son semeresini
görmek, hem de meneketimizde
daima canlı ve münakaşa edile-
bir halde tutmaya mecbur olduğum-
uz, tarih konusunda istikamet ve
faydelyi vuzuhla teşkil ederek faa-
liyetimizi buna göre ayarlamak ba-
kiminden, elbette memnuniyet duy-
yulacak bir hadisedir.
Bizde, tarih konusu ile ilgili ola-
rak, üzerinde düşünülmesi ve bir an
önce tahakkukuna çalışılan mesele-
leri ve problemleri, sayın profes-
ör eserin mukaddimesinde, orta-
ya koymakta, modern tarih an-
layışını ve çalışmasını bizde
mevcut noksanları ortadan kaldırarak, bu
davayi iyice teşkil etmektedir. Ha-
kikaten, ilmi tarih problemleri ü-
zerinde verimli çalışabilmek için
bütün vasıfaların mevcut ve kolay-
lıkla istifade edilebilir halde bul-
lunması şarttır. Avrupa milletleri,
iki asra yakın bir zamandır, millî
tarihlerinin esaslı materyallerini ve
ana kaynaklarını Kronikler, Mo-
numentalar, Annallar vesaire ha-
lindedir. Negrettikleri ve tenkidli ça-
lışmaya çok erken başladıkları için
bu sahada hayli yol almışlardır.
Analitik meselelerin ve tahlilî eser-
lerin çok eksik olduğu bizde ise,
ilmi tarih konusunda, ilk hatıra
kelimeler ve başarılmamasına çalışılan
sey bu noksanları tamamlamak,
terkibi eserlere, millî tarih sente-
zine yol açmak, imkânlar hazırla-
nmalıdır. Profesör Zeki Velîdinin de-
ğışiklikle kaydettiği gibi Üniversite-
teferiklerle bilhassa Türk Tarih
Kurumunun ve salâhiyet sahibi
münferit ilim adamlarının bu nevî
neşriyat bu vadede hergün biraz

...leri düşünülürse, bir taraftan ilmi
bakışları ortaya koymak, diğer
 taraftan insanlık tarihi içinde U-
mumi Türk Tarihinin legal ettiği
mükîl olduğu gibi tesbit etmek
ve fanusmak bizlere düşen bir va-
zifedir. Bu bakımdan, bu eseri, say-
ın Fındıklıoğlu'nun işaret ettiği gi-
bi Türk medeniyet tarihi görüşü-
nün kuvvetli delillerle ortaya ko-
nusunda, başlı başına bir dönüm
noktası saymak, herhalde, pek
mübâlahâ bir hüküm olmasa ge-
rektir.
Profesör, mevzuun saba ve za-
man itibarıyla genişliğini ve derin-
liğini düşünerek bu muazzam işin
başarılmasını büyük miktarda bir
işbirliğine bağlı gördüğünü söyle-
mekte beraber, Üniversitedeki
derslerini ilave ve tamamıyla
mütevazî bir ad altında - "Giriş"
olarak - neşretmiştir. Müellif, bu
eserde Türk tarihine ait muhtelif
davaları türlü cephelelerinden ele
almakta ve bunları nazariyeler
sekinde sokarak hülasa etmektedir.
Yayımlanan birinci ciltte ancak
XVI. asra kadarki Türk tarihinin
ana hattını tesbit etmiş, bundan
sonrasını "Giriş" in ikinci cildine
bırakmıştır ki, ikisi birden tarih
araştırmaları serisinin ikinci sayı-
sını teşkil edecek birinci sayıdaki
tarih metod bilgisini, üçüncüde
de Türk illerinin tarihi, coğrafyası
bulunacaktır. Bundan başka, mü-
ellifin, umumi Türk tarihi hakkın-
da dokuz ciltlik müstakil bir eser
hazırlamakta olduğunu da memnu-
niyetle öğreniyoruz. Girişin mu-
kaddimesinde, böyle bir eserin ha-
zırlanması için - pek haklı ola-
rak - geniş bir işbirliğine ihtiyac
gördüğünü söylemesine rağmen,
bilhassa son senelerdeki esaslı hu-
zahlıkları kendisine böyle bir te-
gebbülec girişmek cesaret ve imkân-
ını veriyor demektir ki, bunu,
Türk tarih ilmi için büyük bir
müjde saymak yerindedir.
Profesör Zeki Velîdi Toğanın ö-
tedenberi, Türk tarihini bir bütün
olarak nazara alan, Türk milleti-
nin zaman ve mekân mefhumları
içinde tarihi tekâmülünü adım ad-
ım seyir ve takip ile, siyasi ve
askeri hadiselerden ziyade, Türk
medeniyet tarihini mukayesseli şub-

...ların okunmasında, eserin
kendine has bir yol tutmakta ve
bunların bilhassa me'âdisi peklerini
pek nazarı itibara almamaktadır.
Beş sene evvel bir arkadaşım, (Şe-
rif Bağcı, Sabir Türkleri, Belle-
ten 17-18) İhmi Fuzelânın neşri
münasebetiyle, o eserdeki bazı lar-
na izah ve kanaatleri acela ve cel-
miş hükümler olarak kabul etmiş
ve tenkidler yapmıştı. Ben buna
tamamen istisna etmemekle beraber
"Giriş" te de meselâ Cengiz ve
Timur gibi isimlerin bile Cengiz
(arkadaşım Doğan Dr. Osman Tu-
rana göre bunun Çingiz olması lâ-
zımdır. Bak Belleten 19) ve Timur
olarak yayıldığını görünce, bu ka-
bil filolojik esaslar hakkında da
müsterek bir hareket hattı tutul-
masını temenni etmekten kendimi
alamadım.
Mazmatih, bu ve buna benzer
ilgili olacak uzak fikir eksiklerine
ragmen - ki burada bunlara temas
etmeye imkân yoktur - "Giriş"
mükemmel, çok etraflı bir teşkil
mahsulü, bilhassa millî tarih çu-
runu kuvvetlendirme bakımından
da örnek bir eserdir. Profesörün,
vâdettiği diğer eserlerini, iki sene-
denberi uzak kaldığı kürsüsüne,
talebe ve arkadaşları arasına bir
an önce dönmüş olarak, sabırsız-
lıkla bekliyor, fakültemizin bu
kıymetli Türk tarihçesinden daha
fazla mahrum kalmamasını - Profe-
sor Fındıklıoğlu gibi biz de - temen-
ni ediyoruz.

Bir kavganın sonu

Bir müddet evvel Unkapanında
aynı evde oturan İhsan ve Musta-
fa adında iki gâlis çocukları yü-
zünden kavgaya ettiklerinden iş mah-
kemeye aksetmişti.
Hadise şudur: Kıracı bulunan
İhsan Mustafaya kavgaya esnasında
elinde bulundurduğu masa ile vur-
muştur. Fakat, rastgele salladığı
bu masa bir ara, Mustafanın gö-
züne isabet etmiş ve görme kabili-
yetinin onda dokuzunu kaybetme-
sine sebep olmuştur.
Dün bu suçtan 2 nci Ağırcezaada
yargılanan İhsanın suçu sabit ge-
rülünce ve 2 sene ağır hapis ceza-
sına çarptırılmıştır.

Birax so-
la kısmıy
izmin. efi
bir silah o-
rıldı.
Vazifeye
bahsettizi
kendini ego-
baska bir
kapitalist
câdeleleri
Fakat sen
bu gibi ti-
politika si-
yelleri pe-
halde do-
ğıldı. Ma-
milletin, l
faati için
güldür, yüz
kâç içimi
istifade e-
teskil eyile
rafından i-
sine maru
yen norm
bir hareket
bu cemiy
hükûmete
bul ettiri
müsamah
her zama-
ira buldu-
dur.
Amerik
Lewis'in
vile yapı-
tecrübedi-
dur. Beri
efkârı ur-
zehiri id-
masun kal-
bu efkâr
John Le-
cilerine
kendileri
endikala
olduğunu
ni anlattı
Dün l
söyle ya-
Bir z
kimleri
kapitalist
kaybetmiş
zararlıları
rini her-
işçi send-
aynı oku-

Figure 34b From László Rásonyi to an unknown deputy, 1939

میدر در ...
 به ...
 آتش ...
 بر کوه ...
 نشسته ...
 نظریه ...
 نامه ...
 به ...
 اشیاء ...
 وجود ...
 در ...
 بر ...
 بر ...
 در ...
 کتبه ...
 بر ...
 شد ...
 یا ...
 یا ...
 از ...
 در ...
 با ...
 در ...

Figure 35a From Gyula Németh to Gökbilgin, 23.09.1940

Budapest, 1940. szeptember 23.

Kedves Tayyip Ur !

Nagyon szépen köszönöm június 1-én irt szives levelét. Bocsásson meg, hogy csak most válaszolok rá. A levelet elvittem magammal a nyáron, de sohasem jutottam hozzá, hogy válaszoljak rá; ~~azért~~ a levélben sürgős ügy különben sem volt.

Először is a legmelegebben gratulálok házassági terveihez. Bizonyára okosan és jól választotta ki élettársát és én előre minden jót kívánok.

Szívből gratulálok azután asszisztensi kinevezéséhez, meg vagyok róla győződve, hogy új állásában eredményes és szép munkát fog végezni.

Jól teszi, hogy arabul és perzsául tanul. Enélkül a régi oszmáni világot lehetetlen megérteni. De tanulja csak szorgalmasan az európai nyelveket is.

Figure 35b From Gyula Németh to Gökbilgin, 23.09.1940

Nagyon örülnék, ha Budapestre jönne.
Szekfü, Mályusz és Fekete tanár uraknál nagyon
szépen belejöhethetne a történeti kutatásba. Enél-
kül nem is fog tudni megfelelően dolgozni.

En megvagyok, mint rendesen, mostaná-
ban kisebb értekezéseket írok, legutóbb az őrho-
ni feliratokról dolgoztam. Családom is rendesen
megvan.

Szives üdvözlettel vagyok
igaz hiva

Németh Gyula

Figure 36 From Lajos Fekete to Gökbulgin, 11.02.1938

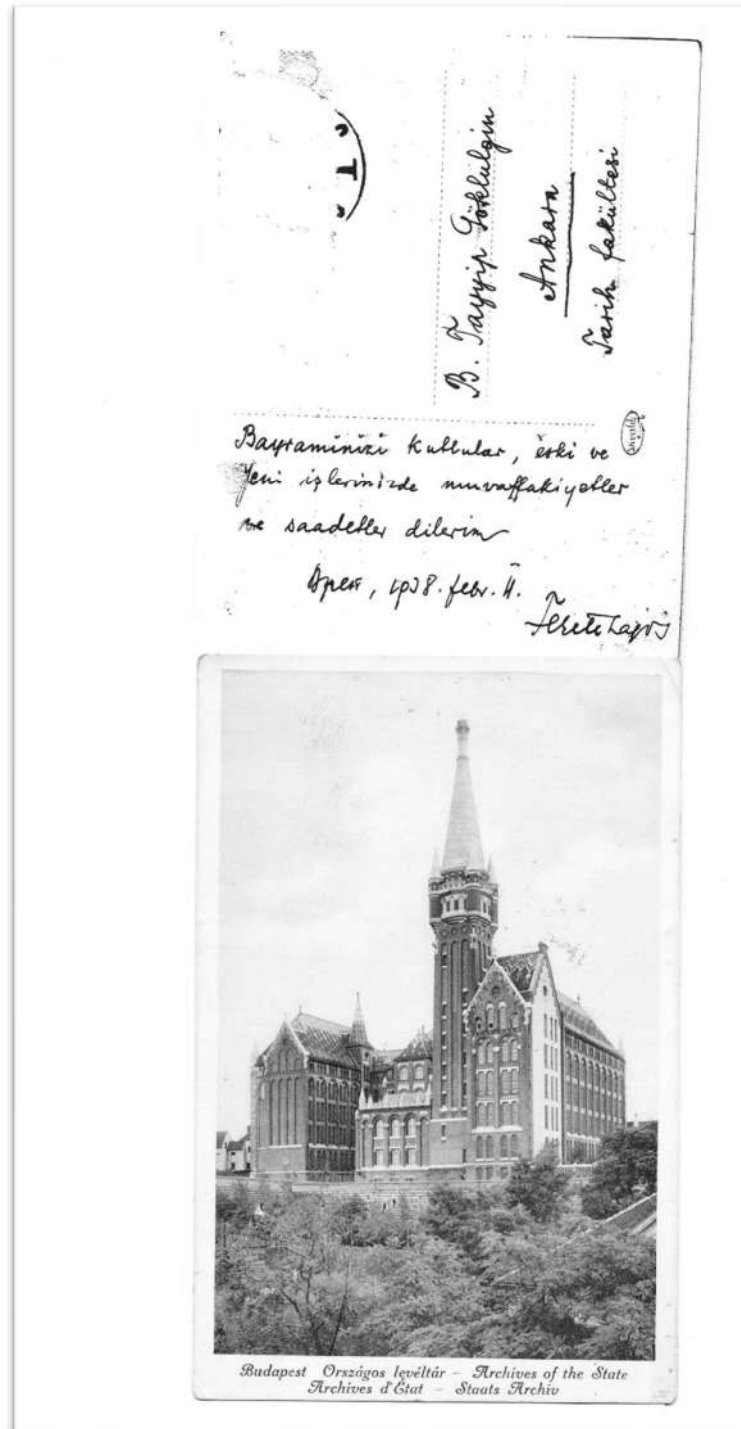


Figure 37a From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 07.01.1939

1

Kangur
ugudj

Hedves Barátom!

Hackia

Hogy valahogyan felkelttem az ügyöt, először
- más régi adózási törvényt - az ön levelét igazsággal elintéztem.
Levelének az a része van válassza, amelyben olyan
kérdéseket („minták”) kér, amelyekre bizonyos deflexiókat feldolgozha-
tónak vél. Ugy vélem, körülbelül ezt írja.

Először tisztázni kéne, hogy a feldolgozott deflexiók
kérdésében ugyanazon anyagra gondolunk-e? Én - azonos anyagból
lévén is - előszörban a régi adózási törvények alatt álló néhány régi
deflexióra gondoltam, melyek emlékeztetnek kb. 980-990 körül
kezdődnek. Ha ezekből 2-3 kitételek lemarásol, kap 1-2000 példányt,
ugyanannyi ítéletet, amelyek számos szempontból vehetőek történelmi
vizsgálat alá. (Köviden 1) jogi alapok: a perintételek. Ebben újat nem
fedezünk fel, de mégis értékes lesz megismerésünk a jogszabályokat, mert
ha az alapok egy része is volt, - nem tudjuk: mi volt; gyakorlatból ez
valószínűleg egész vidéki kistérségekben és különösen 2) A perintézet,
a peresfelek személye, lakóhelye. Mi mint peresfelek az emberek; kik peresfelek
ker; városbeliek, vidékiek; mennyi nyilat a kistérségek? Kik peresfelek:
városiak, falusiak, mohor, örmények, görögök, zsidók? A kérdésből kitűnik

Figure 37b From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 07.01.1939

a peres felek - s nagy általánosságban a körvonalak vidék - gazdasági élete ;
az emberrel parancsok, állattenyésztők, kereskedők stb. Kik ezek, kik harkoznak
arról? Van nagybirtok, nagykereskedő? Van tőke? 3) De mint mondtam,
a leghívrányabb papirovarok is még sok más szempontból vizsgálhatók alá vehetők,
főleg ha irás van rajta, hiszen ezt a történelmi okmányokból először át tanul-
ják, erre hát nem térlek ki). - Másodszor az ekef-iratokról lehetne
gondolni, mert ezek egy része mintén Arabokban van s felhasználás végett
esetleg szóba jöhet. Arabban én nem hiszem, hogy ~~emelő~~ ^{otani} az ekef-iratok
körül mutatni engedjenek, és így az említett adlye-iratok maradvány, mint
egyetlen lehetőség. (A könyvtárak genel direktörü Hasan Fehmi' ival együtt voltam
kinn megfigyeltem ^{az adlye} iratokat, ő utána tudná irányítani).

Mintasszerűen felhasználható könyvet arabban akkor sem
tudok, ha a két lehetőség közül az egyiket kiválasztjuk és csak a másikat
(adlye) hagyjuk meg. Mintén arabban felhasználható könyv nincs, vagy
ha van, akkor minden forrástanulmány az. Nincs azért, mert pontos-
san ilyen forrásanyag a magyar irodalomban még nem került ismeretesse,
nem tudjuk tehát megmutatni, hogy mit ~~származt~~ ^{történet} volna vele, ha valaki
többet ~~került~~ ₊ volna; vagy pedig minden forrástanulmány többé-kevésbé fel-
használható mintának, akkor pedig igen sok munka számít kellene eljármé-
n.

Mindig az anyag szabja meg, hogy mit lehet vele és
bevétele szólni, foglalkozni kell vele és munka nélkül is kiadatul arra
forma, amibe az eredmény bele önthető.

Még mindig fájó fejjel most csak ennyit írok. Abbas a
meggyőződésben zárom levélmet, hogy a munka folyamán kételyei fogyni
fognak, ismeretei gyarapodnak. ^{Melleg tődvő lettes} ~~1939~~, 407 / en 7. Fekete Lajos

Figure 38a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 07.07.1954

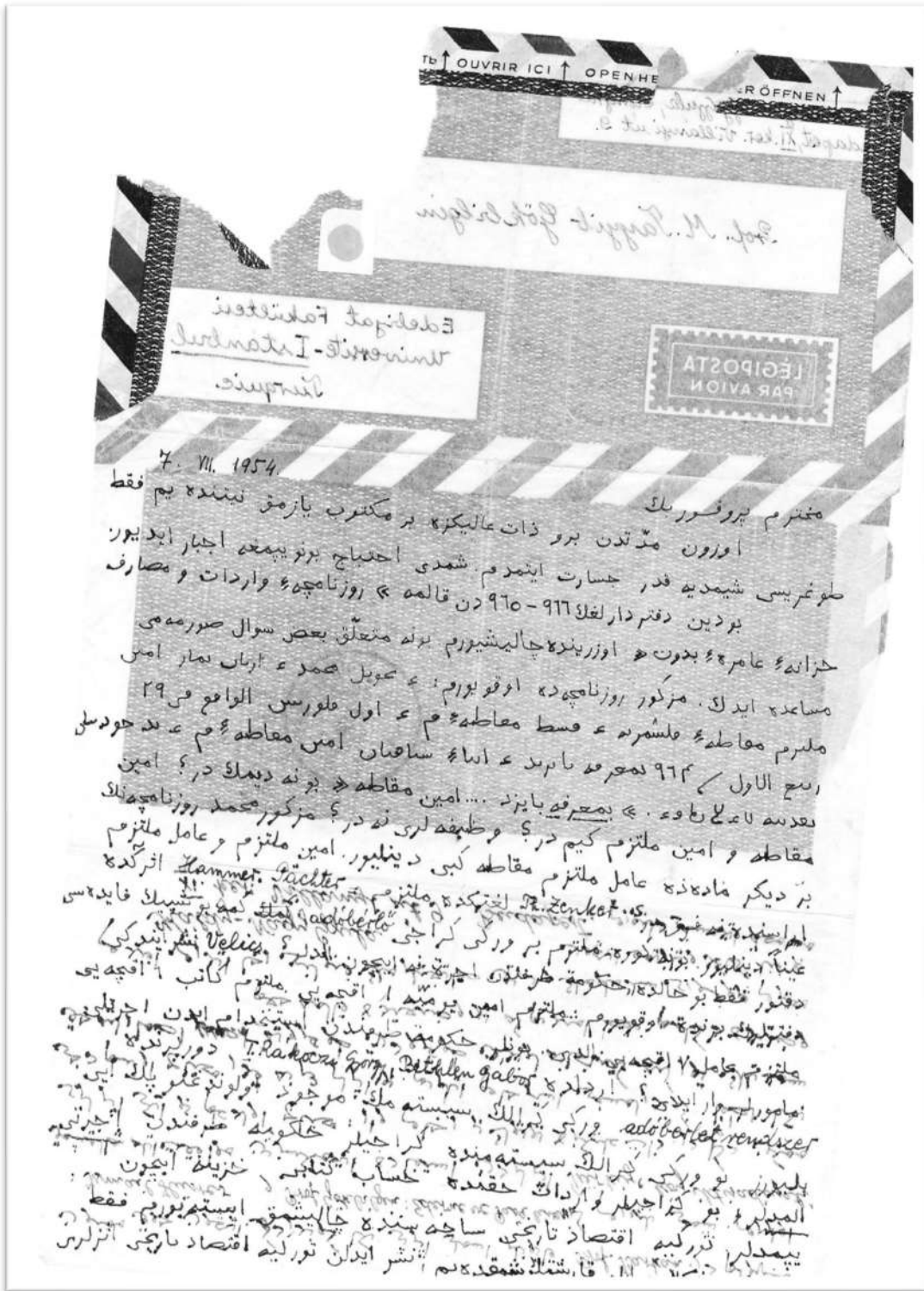


Figure 38b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 07.07.1954



Figure 39 From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 21.12.1957

Budapest, 1957. december
21.

Mélyen Tisztelt Professor Ur!

Méltótassék-megengedni, hogy megköszönjem Ziya Karamusal: Osmanli tarihi hakkinda tetkikler c. könyvét, melyet Dr. Fehér Gézáne hozott meg számomra. Amennyiben Professor urnak valamely magyarországi könyvre volna szüksége, készséggel állok rendelkezésére.

A könyvnek nagy hasznát vettem, ugyanis jelenleg a magyarországi török hódoltság korának gazdaságtörténetével, helyesebben közelebbről a pénzügyigazgatás történetével foglalkozom. A budai vilájet 1559/60. évi pénztári naplóját dolgozom fel. Munkámat nagyban elősegítendő, ha Professor urnak az 1956. évi történeti kongresszuson megtartott "XVI. asirda mukataa ve iltizam isherinde kadilik müessesesininin rolü" c. előadását olvashatnám. Szabad legyen Professor urat arra kérnem, hogy méltótassék megküldeni nekem.

A pénztári naplóban nagyon értékes - bizonyára sokakat meglepő - adatokra bukkantam. Ugyanis amint a pénztári napló kiadási és bevételi tételeit összegeztem kiderült, hogy az évi 23 millió akcse kiadásnak csak az egyharmadát tudta a budai kincstár helyi bevételekből fedezni és 16 - 18 millió akcsét /évenként!/ az isztanbuli kincstárból kellett kérni illetve hozni. Ez a tény egészen más megvilágításba helyezheti a magyarországi török hódoltság kérdését. Azt hiszem joggal mondja Abdurrahman Vefik, hogy az egykori Oszmán birodalomnak rossz hírnevet az adószedők /mültezimler/ szereztek. Feldolgozásomban én is élesen el szeretném választani a szultáni tanács rendelkezéseitől az adószedők garázdálkodásait. Elsősorban a török közigazgatás szervezését kell jól megismerni.

Professor ur válaszát várva, kérem fogadja mély tiszteletem
őszinte kifejezését

U. i. Szabad kérdezni Professor urat afelől, hogy mi az " an mahsul-i mabeyn, an mahsul-i mabeyn-i timarha vagy mabeyn-i mahkeme?

Káldy-Nagy Gyula

Figure 40a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 14.03.1958

Budapest
14 - III - 1958.

Mélyen Tisztelt Professor Ur!

Méltóztassék megengedni, hogy őszinte tisztelettel és a legnagyobb hálával köszönjem meg a küldött különnyomatokat és a lemásolt dolgozatot /legyen szabad a másolónak szép gondos írásáért külön is köszönetet mondanom/. A tanulmányok elküldése nagy megtiszteltetést jelent számomra, éppen ezért rendkívül nagyon sajnálom és mélyen tisztelt Professor ur szíves elnézését kérem amiatt, hogy köszönetemet nem tudtam korábban levélben kifejezésre juttatni.

A különnyomatoknak, illetve a tanulmányoknak nagy hasznát vettem. A kádi szerepét a mukátaa és iltizam ügyekben - több olyan részletkérdésben, melyeket eddig alig, vagy egyáltalán nem ismertünk - , Professor ur tanulmánya alaposan és részletesen világítja meg, úgyhogy igazán tanulságos volt számomra, mert megoldotta problémáimat. Szabad legyen e tanulmánnyal kapcsolatban egy kifejezésre felvilágosítást kérnem: " ayak amili" amely nálam az egyik defterben "amil-i pay" / például: *عید حاجی علی عامل پای* / ...
V *قطعه جسر اندریک* / formában fordul elő, hogyan fejezhető ki, illetve mondható magyarul /vagy angolul, franciául stb./? Ugyancsak hasonló kérdésem volna a tahvil szó helyes magyar /illetve angol stb/ meghatározása, Professor ur dolgozatának közepe táján ezt írja ... "tahvilinde^{dir} yani taahhüdü ve tasarrufu altındadır", fordítható-e a tahvil szó "kötelezettség"-nek, "obligation"-nak?

Ha nem fárasztanám mélyen tisztelt Professor urat, méltóztassék megengedni, hogy visszatérjek a multkori levelemben említett an mahsul-i mâbeyn kifejezésre, amit szó szerint ugyan értettem, de azt, hogy e kifejezés milyen értelmezést rejt maga mögött, csak találgattam. A kifejezés a pénztári napló egyes bevételi tételeiben így szerepel:

الایراد

ع تحویل غراد شقالو علی ع عشر شیره مابین رحامت خود بر موجب محاسبه مولانا علاء الدین قاضی بجوی ع واجب سنه ۹۶۵ عید فرح ع ارباب تیمار امین ملتزم مقاطعه بجوی خمر فوجی عدد ۲۲
ع تحویل مولانا ولی خلیفه نایب قاضی تولنه ع محصول مابین محکمه قضا م ع عاشر ن سنه ۹۶۵ عید مولانا م نقدینه ۵۰۰

A török történelemmel és a magyarországi török hódoltság korával örömmel és szívesen foglalkozom. Nagyon jól esett és melegen köszönöm Professor ur megtisztelő és buzdító szavait. Nagyon szeretnék egy monográfiát írni a török hódoltság valamelyik szandzsákjáról. Erre legalkalmasabbnak látszana a hatvani szandzsák, mert ennek egyes városaiban /Jászberényben és Gyöngyösön/ megmaradt mintegy 400 török nyelvű ^{és} úgy ezekre mint a többi helységekre vonatkozóan/ nagyszámu magyar és latin nyelvű irat.

V vagy ... عید سفر و باقی شرکا عاملان پای

Figure 40b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 14.03.1958

Ezeken kívül a szandzsákról több összeírás /tahrir defterleri/ is van, ugyan nem itt, hanem az isztanbuli levéltárban, de talán ezekről lehetne mikrofilm felvételt kapni. Félek azonban, hogy mélyen tisztelt Professor ur tulságosan is merésznek tartja azon tiszteletteljes kérésemet, hogy ~~azt~~ méltóztassék segítségemre lenni abban, hogy e pár defter mikrofilmjét megkaphassam. Legyen szabad kérdezni, lehetséges volna-e, hogy mélyen tisztelt Professor ur a saját részére kérné e defterek mikrofilmjét és úgy méltóztatná elküldeni nekem? A költségeket, ha úgy tetszik előre is megküldené - tekintettel, hogy én nem rendelkezem devizával - testvérem Kanadából. Vagy esetleg, ha a Budapesti Levéltárból valami szükséges volna Professor urnak, vagy a Başvekalet Arşivnak csereképpen szívesen elküldeném. Vagy ha ezek az utak járhatatlanok, lehetségesnek tartja-e mélye: tisztelt Professor ur, hogy ha e defterek mikrofilmjét az egyik Kanadai egyetem, vagy egyik londoni ismerősöm kéri, a Başvekalet Arşivi kiadja-e? Méltóztassék megbocsátani ezekért a körülményes kérdésekért, de nagyon nagyon szeretném, ha a monográfiába ezeket a deftereket is beledolgozhatnám. Szabad legyen itt rögtön előre bocsátanom, hogy a török anyagot én a legtárgyilagosabban akarom feldolgozni. Egyáltalán nincsenek olyan előítéleteim, hogy a török hódoltság alatt itt nagyon rossz volt, mert a török mindent elpusztított, ily módon csak hamis képet tudnék rajzolni a török hódoltság egyik szandzsákjának életéről. ~~AX... az ellenséges /magyar/ várakat el kell foglalni, mert az ellenség a vár-
ból gyakran kitör és elpusztítja a környékbeli falvak rájáit", tehát a
közvetlen császári zsoldosok és a magyar hajduk pusztították a magyar fal-
vakat. Németh Gyula professor ur és Fekete Lajos professor ur /akiknek
tanítványuk voltam, most tanársegédjük vagyok/ nekem mindig azt tanították,
hogy aki török nyelvészettel, vagy török történettel foglalkozik, annak
szeretni is kell a törököket.~~

Méltóztassék megengedni, hogy mégegyszer köszönetet mondjak nagybecsű tanulmányainak megküldéséért.

Kérem Professor urat fogadja mély tiszteletem őszinte kifejezését

Káldy Nagy Gyula

U.1. A kért defterek levéltári jelzete: Liva-i Hatvan 256, 617, 673, 938, 1024 /e jelzeteket közölte L. Fekete: Az esztergomi szandzsák ... 8. lapon/ és 824 számu tahrir defterleri / ez utóbbit M. Sertoglu: Muhteva bakimindan Başvekalet Arşivi c. munkája 44. oldalán említi/. Lehetséges hogy ez utóbbi másodpéldány, de annak csak ...

Professor ur kért, hogy tolmácsoljam melé
 köszönetét a neki küldött könyvekért. Rövidesen
 maga is fog írni. Tegnap halottam Rásonyi Professor
 urtól, hogy megkapta a Professor ur könyveit. Nagyon
 örül, hogy megkapta a Professor ur könyveit. Nagyon

Figure 41a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 02.09.1961

Igen Tisztelt Professoror Ur!

Kedves lapjait megkaptam, nagyon köszönöm a szives megemlékezést.

A közös könyvkiadásunk dolgában, ha egy kicsit lassan is, de hivatalos uton is ~~mozdítva~~ történik már valami. Most szeptemberben a hónap vége felé fogja az Akadémia a tervet jóváhagyni s remélhetőleg októberben már kész dologgal mehetek. Nagyon melegen pártfogolják a dolgot. Amyira hogy az ankarai utazásommal kapcsolatban is egész érdekes dolog történt. Tetszik tudni arról, hogy a Fekete professzor ur az Akadémiától kérte, hogy küldjék ki a kongresszusra, de elutasították. En magam az egyetem^{től}, illetőleg a közoktatás-ügyi minisztériumtól kértem a kiutazásomat. Ugy látszott, hogy ott menni fog a dolog. Közbe lépett azonban Fekete professzor ur és miután az akadémiánál elutasították ő is az egyetemen kérte a kiutazást s természetes, hogy az egyetem elsősorban neki adott valutát az utazáshoz, nekem szintén megengedték, hogy kiutazhassam, de csak úgy, ha magam biztosítom valutában az utiköltséget. Hát ez elég szomorú eredmény lett. Ekkor Ligeti professzor ur azt mondta, hogy kérjem az akadémiát, hogy támogassa kiutazásomat. Az akadémia pedig nem utasított el, ellenkezőleg melegen támogat, ami azt hiszem főleg a mi jövőbeli tudományos együttműködésünknek köszönhető. Éppen emiatt nagyon örülnék, ha Professoror urral a levéltárban együtt dolgozhatnék, ezt nálunk nagyon pozitív lépésnek vennék, aminek következtében azt hiszem sok hasznos dolgot tehetnénk. Fekete professzor ur mindezekről a tudományos együttműködésekről, amelyet az akadémia

Figure 41b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 02.09.1961

tervez nem tud semmit és nem is igyekeznek tudomására hozni. Tekintettel arra, hogy a kongresszuson a Fekete professzor ur is jelen lesz, én előadást nem tartok, mert nem akarom, hogy rajtam gunyolódják. Egyébként ő még nem tudja, hogy megyek Ankarába, nem akartam mondani neki, mert tudom, hogy nagyon bosszus lesz amiatt, hogy az akadémia nem őt, hanem engem küld ki. A Felkai Dénes követünket utasították, hogy a török-magyar tudományos együttműködés, illetőleg a kulturális egyezmény megteremtése céljából vegye fel a kapcsolatot Professor ural. In azonban, ha szabad véleményt adnom, Professor uralal együtt sokkal helyesebbnek tartom, ha mi a közoktatásügyi minisztérium vonalán mozgunk. Bár azt hiszem Felkai egyelőre csak tájékozódni kíván Professor urnál aziránt, hogy tetszik-e lehetőséget látni tudományos együttműködés, illetőleg kulturális egyezmény megteremtésében. Ez irányban Felkai még hasznunkra is lehet. Nagyon kérem azonban, hogy mindezekről ne tessenék szólni, hogy én ezt irtam, kellemetlen lehet. Egyébként ahogyan a bürokráciánkat ismerem, lehetséges, hogy én előbb érkezem meg Törökországba, mint ahogyan Felkai az említett utasítást megkapja.

Ha lehetséges a kongresszus előtt még pár napot szeretnék előbb Isztambulban tölteni. Professor ur a kongresszusra hányadikán, illetve mikor utazik el Ankarába? Egyébként, ha tudok, ott szeretnék maradni egy hónapig legalább, hogyha a levéltári kutatás lehetséges lesz. Az akadémiától én azonban csak a kongresszus idejére kapok pénzt, így csak arra az időre utazhatom. ~~Így~~ Ezért nagyon szépen kérem Professor urat, hogy a legközelebbi levélben tessenék megírni nekem magyarul, hogy Professor ur ~~már~~ a kongresszus előtt, október elején vendégül lát. Ha egy ilyen levelet megmutatok, akkor előbb elindulhatok. Egyébként a multkori levelet is megmutattam az Akadémián és nagyon örültek annak, hogy Professor ur olyan sok szöveget

Ma tíz napra elhatároztam a szünetemhez időközbe, mert a nyáson még nem voltam ott. A kongresszus ott van, de én még nem tudom, hogy mikor megyek el.

Írt tudományos együttműködésükről. Sőt azt a török levelet is le kellett fordítanom nekik, amelyet Professor ur a TTK-hoz írt a levéltári kutatás ügyében. Nagyon tetszett nekik, hogy Professor ur ilyen pozitív lépést tesz a mi érdekeinkben. Professor urat igazán nagyra becsülök.

Már nagyon sokat írtam, de igazán szeretnék már nagyon elbeszélgetni Professor uralal. Összinte barátsággal, tisztelő híve

Gyula Káldy-Nagy

Figure 42a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 21.07.1961

BUDAPESTI ÉRTESÍTŐ
BUDAPEST, V., PESTI BARNABÁS-UTCA 1.
TELEFON: 180-960.

21 - VII - 1961.

Budapest.

Igen Tisztelt Professoror Ur!

Sajnos időközben beteg lettem, a nagy meleg dacára erős influen-
zát kaptam gyakori fejfájásokkal, így csak most tudom tájékoztatni
igen tisztelt Professorom urat, bár azt hiszem a dolog lényegéről már
tetszik tudni, mert Ligeti professoror ur közben megírta.

Nagyon örülünk, hogy Professoror ur elfogadja és támogatja javas-
latainkat. Örömmel vesszük Professoror urnak azt a gondolatát is, hogy
a műhimme defterekből nemcsak a budai livara, hanem a Magyarország
egész török uralom alatti területére vonatkozó rendeleteket is ki-
tetszik gyűjteni. Nem tudom, hogy a Kanuni Süleyman korából való műhimme
defterek magyar vonatkozású rendeleteinek a kiadása kitenne-e 250-300
nyomatott oldalt? Ugyanis körülbelül ennyi lehetne a terjedelme pro-
fessoror ur munkájának, amit itt kiadnak. A 300 nyomatott oldal nálunk
körülbelül 450 ilyen gépelő oldal amire most írok. Természetesen lehet
kevesebb is, kérem sziveskedjék majd erről írni, hogy Professoror ur mun-
káját milyen terjedelműre gondolná és melyik évekből való műhimme def-
terek rendeleteit tartalmazná.

Ligeti professoror ur is nagyon szeretné, ha Professoror ur Buda-
pesten megjelenő munkájával párhuzamosan, nekem is megjelenhetne Anka-
rában egy ugyan olyan terjedelmű munkám. Nagyon kérem ehhez magam is
Professoror ur szives támogatását. Ligeti professoror ur ugy ~~szíve~~ kíván-
ja, hogy mivel Professoror ur munkája forráskiadvány lesz, az enyém is
az legyen. Ezért arra gondoltam, hogy a budai török pénzügyigazgatás
megírása helyett a pécsi liva tapu és timar defterét /amelyről tet-
szett írni/ dolgoznám fel, bár nem tudom, hogy a bennük felsorolt sok
magyar név török szemmel érdekes volna-e? Kiadná-e azt a TTK?

Ami az ügy hivatalos elintézését illeti, már tudnillik azt,

60 2812 N.V.R.

Figure 42b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 21.07.1961

gyulai: Itthon általában két nagyon kemény, hogy nagyon szívesen professor egy nagyon mélyen néztem leírni megértést a káldy-nagyról, és bármin is viszonyulnak Professor káldy.

hogy az Akadémia az itteni különböző szervek /Külgügyminisztérium/ végső jóváhagyásával levélben keresse fel a TTK-át, lassabban megy mint gondoltam, mert nagy a bürokrácia. Az ügyet nagyon melegen pártfogolják mindenütt csak meg kell járnia a hosszadalmas hivatalos utat. Éppen ezt szem előtt tartva arra gondoltam, hogy kezdetnek most nem-e kellene ~~xxx~~ csak a Professor ur és az én kiadványom ügyét intézni, természetesen azzal a gondolattal, hogy a többi munkák kiadását /például a budai liva tapu és timar deiterét mégis csak Professor urral és a Makkai László urral együtt közösen szeretném feldolgozni és Budapesten kiadni/ is hamarosan meg fogjuk valósítani. A dolog itt is könnyebben megy, ha először csak egy munka kiadását kérjük. Így professor ur munkáját biztosan ki tudjuk adni, mert kértem Ligeti professor urat, ~~xxx~~ tegye lehetővé, hogy Professor ur munkája a Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica című sorozatban /ebben jelent meg Fekete professor ur Die Siyaqat - Schrift című munkája is/ jelenhessen meg. A kérést Ligeti professor ur örömmel vette, ugyanis a sorozatot ő szerkeszti és így ő is részt vesz közös vállalkozásunkban. ~~xxxx~~ Nem tudom azonban, hogy az én ankarai kiadványom ügyét hogyan lehet majd elintézni?

Természetesen az ügyet hivatalos uton is tovább intézem, mert mindenképpen szeretném, nemcsak én, de olyan tekintélyes emberek is mint Ligeti Professor ur, hogy egy török-magyar kulturális egyezmény minél előbb létrejöjjön.

Nagyon köszönöm, hogy a TTK-nál a részemre is tetszett kérni levéltári kutatási engedélyt, remélhetőleg az ő segítségükkel sikerül megkapni.

Perényi professor ur mondta, hogy a könyveket meg tetszett kapni, igazán nagyon nagyon megörültem, mert már féltem, hogy e miatt majd megrendül professor ur bizalma, ha nem érkezett volna meg a küldemény.

Albániába később, talán csak augusztus végén utazom, ha Professor ur hosszabb időre elutazna, a címét volna szíves megírni

Őszinte tisztelettel és szívélyes üdvözléssel:

Káldy - Nagy Gyula

Figure 43a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 12.05.1962

Budapest

12 - V - 1962.

Igen Tisztelt Kedves Professzor Ur!

Végre kézhez kaptam a mikrofilmet, már itt volt legalább két hete, ha nem több a Külügyminisztériumban, kértem, hogy küldjék ki, azonban azt mondták, most mással vannak elfoglalva nem érnek rá. Hát ilyenek a hivatalok, pedig olyan türelmetlenül vártam és nem hiába, mert nagyon szép és érdekes anyag. Teljesen rendben érkezett meg, nagyon nagyon örülök neki. Erre most azt mondani, hogy nagyon szépen köszönöm, ez igazán kevés, mert nemcsak nekem tetszett ezzel nagyot segíteni, hanem a magyar történettudománynak is. Makkai László ur is igen örül, kérte Professzor ur címét, hogy megköszönhesse. Én nem tudok szebb köszönetet mondani, minthogy nagyon nagyon igyekezem, hogy minél szebb közös kiadványt tudjunk ebből csinálni Professzor urral és Makkai László urral. Makkai ur véleménye szerint is egy nagyon szép kiadvány lesz ebből és ez kizárólag igen tisztelt Professzor urnak köszönhető. Nekünk itt megvan ugyancsak a 970. évből a budai szandzsák timár-deftere, megvan a budai szandzsák 988. évi tahrir deftere, bár ez sajnos nem teljes /Isztanbulban is megvan ugyanez a defter/ és ~~megvan~~ a 955. évből van ~~ugyancsak~~ egy tahrir defter, de a lakosok nevei nélkül, van ugyan ilyen összeírás a cizye adóról is és még több értékes adatokat tartalmazó kisebb defterek. Persze egyik defterünk sem olyan szép és teljes, mint ~~ami~~ az a két defter amelyet küldeni tetszett s tulajdonképpen azok lesznek a munkánk alapjai és ami nekünk itt megvan /ezek különben a bécsi National Bibliothek-ből valók/ ezek csak kiegészítik a két alap-deftert. Nagyon szép munka lesz, úgy örülök és nagyon tele vagyok lelkesedéssel, hogy ilyen szép anyagon dolgozhatom. Most azért megint csak azt kell írnom, hogy, ha ebben az évben nem is tetszik tudni eljönni - amit igen sajnállok, mert szerettem volna itt látni az egész kedves családot -

Figure 43b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 12.05.1962

nagyon kérem, hogy a jövő évben amikor már szép idő lesz tessék eljönni, addig én foglalkozom ezekkel a defterekkel és az adódó problémákat megbeszélhetnénk. Nagyon fogom várni kedves Professzor urat.

Az Oszmán birodalom történetét meg kell írnom, helyesebben össze kell foglalnom egy 300 nyomtatott oldalra. Nagyon szépen kérem, hogy tessék szíves lenni egy-két könyvet elküldeni, hogy úgy írhattam meg, hogy török szempontból is helyes legyen. Így kérem szépen a Köp-rüli professzor urnak az oszmán birodalom kialakulásáról a TTK-nál kiadott legutóbbi munkáját, továbbá, ha van egy jó egykötetes török történet, lehetőleg amit legutóbb írtak. Ha van jó középkorú török történeti tankönyv az is megfelelne, bár úgy hallottam nagyon jó a háromkötetes Mufassal tarihi. És ha van valami munka a legújabb, a két világháború közti időről és ja igen kellene egy rövid török irodalom-történeti összefoglalás, igaz, hogy talán erre jó az az összefoglalás is, ami az Enziklopedie des Islam-ban van. Már nagyon nagyon megnő a tartozásom Professzor urnál s félek, hogy kifogy a hitelem. Tessék megengedni még azért, hogy megkérjem H. Inalcik: Osmanli hukukuna girisi /Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi cilt XIII. sayi 2/ és M. Recai: Ahkam-i mer iyve. Istanbul, Matbaa Amire 1267 c. munkákat, ha megszerzhető tessék szíves lenni elküldeni.

A múltkor elküldtem Sitki Pademnek a professzor ur címére Németh professzor ur k egyik különnyomatát, meg tetszett kapni?

Ugy értesítettek, hogy Reichmann professzor ur nemsokára Budapestre jön egy-két hétre. Professzor ur a közeljövőben menni fog Lengyelországba? Mikorra tetszik erről a hosszú utról Istanbulba visszaérkezni?

A budai török kincstár pénztári naplója, amely a Fekete professzor ur vámnaplójával együtt kerül kiadásra, azt hiszem a nyár végére megjelenik.

Nagyon köszönöm külön még azt is, hogy olyan meleg pártfogással tetszik arra gondolni, hogy a jövő évben meg fog hívni Professzor ur az Egyetemre.

A kedves Nagyságosasszonynak és a Kisasszonynak kézfacsókromat, Mehmednek meleg üdvözlétemet kérem szíveskedjék átadni. Professzor urat őszinte tisztelettel és meleg szeretettel szívből üdvözli igaz híve

Figure 44a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 18.06.1962

18 - VI - 1962.

Igen Tisztelt Kedves Professzor Ur!

Megkaptam kedves levelét, melyben annyi jót és szépet tetszett írni, hogy szavakkal meg sem tudom köszönni.

Hogyan sikerült a TTK-val ilyen határozatot hozatni? Hát ez rendkívül nagy dolog számunkra! Ugy örülünk ennek mindnyájan, hogy azt ~~kim~~ sem lehet fejezni. Hát ez igazán nagyszerű, hogy most már nyíltan és nyugodtan dolgozhatunk és még több közös munkát is készíthetünk. En nagyon nagy lelkesedésben vagyok, de ugy szintén Makkai ur is. Ligeti professzor urnak is megmondtam, igen megörült a hírnek és azt kéri, sziveskedjék erről a határozatról, mint a TTK alelnöke neki is írni, hogy azt hivatalosan az Akadémián is közölhesse. Az Akadémia Történettudományi Intézetében Makkai ur természetesen már közölte Professzor urnak a magyar tudomány érdekében kifejtett eredményes támogatását és a TTK határozatát. De talán valóban hasznos lenne, ha mindezeket Ligeti professzor ur is közölné az Akadémián.

A mikrofilmekről már elkészültek a fényképmásolatok, nagyon érdekes mind a két دفتر, olyan örömmel nézegetem és olvasgatom őket, mintha valami nobeldíjas regény lenne. Ezekben a defterekben megvan például Nagykőrös, Kecskemét és Cegléd városok összeírása, ami azért is olyan fontos számunkra, mert ezekről a városokról eddig egyáltalán nem volt török összeírunk, ^(és) noha éppen ez a három város nagyon kifejlődött a török uralom alatt különösen a XVII. században. Makkai ur például ezzel kapcsolatban egyik munkájában ezeket írta: "Történetírásunkban általánosan elfogadott nézet, hogy a XVII. század a hódoltsági mezővárosok aranykora volt. All ez elsősorban Nagykőrös és Cegléd esetére

Figure 44b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 18.06.1962

A XVI századra szinte alig van adatunk ezekre a városokra vonatkozóan, de a XVII. századról maradt valami s így meglehetősen állapítható, hogy 1630-1689-ig a lakosság száma megkétszereződött! Ezek a városok ugyanis 1562-től, illetőleg 1565-től kezdve szultáni házasbirtokok lettek és adójukat kesim-ben maguk fizették be.

A budai és a hatvani defterek mikrofilmjét a TTK határozata alapján most már nem lehetne a mi költségünkre megcsináltatni?

Nagyon nagyon köszönöm az újonnan küldött könyveket is, úgy látom most már egész életemre adósa leszek professzor uraknak. A Köprülü könyve mellett igen megörültem Uzunçarşılı és Karal újonnan kiadott könyveinek is, nagy meglepetés volt számomra mindkettő és igazán örömmel olvasgatom őket.

Szerencsére közben meggyógyult a lábam és többször találkozni tudtam Yetkin, Bediz és Unat professzor urakkal. Elvöltünk velük a Történettudományi Intézetben is, Unat alelnök urnak megköszöntük a TTK határozatát gondoltuk hátha egy kicsit ő is segített benne, bár azért azt hisszük, hogy ez kizárólag Professzor urnak köszönhető, de azért udvariasak is akartunk lenni. Nekem nagyon Szimpatikus volt Bediz professzor ur, igazán nagyon megkedveltem őt többször elbeszélgettünk vele a gümrük-defterekről, kár, hogy olyan rövid ideig voltak csak itt. Érdekes hírt írok: az a turkológus, aki ankarában lektor akart lenni, illetőleg velem kapcsolatban a levelet írta, a török professzorok érkezésének hírére vidékre utazott és míg el nem utaztak haza sem jött. Az Akadémián a vendégeket az elnök távolléte miatt Ligeti professzor ur fogadta. Arról a kulturális cseréről azonban amiből a mellékelt újságcikkben írunk nem tudok közelebbit. Hívják meg talán most viszonzásul pár napra magyar tudósokat is Törökországba? Ha igen akkor bizonyára Professzor ur is javaslatot fog tenni arra, hogy kit hívjanak meg. A Tálasi István néprajzos professzor dékánunkat és Makkai László urat a Történettudományi Intézet tudományos főmunkatársát jól tetszik ismerni.

Figure 44c From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 18.06.1962

2

A "Józsácsi"-nek írt levelet nagyon köszönöm!

Nagyon örülnék, ha karácsonykor eljönne Professzor ur és ugy szintén tavasszal hosszabb időre, sajnos mi Bécsbe utazni karácsonykor nem tudunk. Vizumot természetesen tetszik kapni, a két utazás módjának és formájának, lehetőségeinek még utána fogok nézni. Ugy szeretném, ha egyszer karácsonykor és szilveszterkor is itt tetszene lenni.

Ugy látom most már semmi nagyobb dolog nem történhet Professzor ur nélkül, ezért kellett a Fundamenta ülésére reprezentánsnak is elutazni. A Fundamenta történeti kötetébe én is szeretnék nagyon írni egy tanulmányt, tessék szives lenni nekem ezt lehetővé tenni.

Régebben már említettem, hogy Scheel professzor ur milyen barátságosan írt az elküldött cikkeimre, sajnos azonban jó véleményét azt hiszem elrontottam, ugyanis

Ö levelében azt is írta, ha a Török Intézetnek szüksége van valamilyen könyvre nagyon szívesen elküldi. En ezt említettem Németh professzor urnak, aki azt mondta kérdezze meg Scheel professzor urtól, hogy a könyveket a német tudományos akadémia nevében küldené-e vagy a saját költségére, mert mi az ő költségére nem akarjuk könyvtárunkat gyarapítani. Azt hiszem ezért a válaszáért megharagudott, mert nem írt rá semmit és nem is küldött semmit, ami egészen természetes ilyen válaszra.

Hogyan tetszik érezni magát Párizsban? Hogy van a kedves család? Nekik is annyi örömet és szép emléket köszönhetek. Mikor jönnek Ök Budapestre? A karácsonyi utazással kapcsolatban nem is említettem, mert egészen természetesnek tartom, hogy ha nem lehet két hivatalos meghívást szerezni, karácsonykor és máskor is, mint az én vendégem mindig a legnagyobb örömmel várom kedves Professzor urat.

A most megjelenő könyvhöz még egy utószót kellett gyorsan írnom, azért késtem meg egy kicsit a levélírással, szíves nézését kérem. A Nagyságosasszonynak és a Kisasszonynak kézcsókom küldöm, Mehmedimelegem üdvözlöm és őszinte szívből minden jót kívánva Professzor urat mély tisztelettel köszöntöm, őszinte igaz híve

Gökbilgin

Figure 44d From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 18.06.1962



Figure 45a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 06.11.1962

Budapest, 6. XI. 1962.

Igen Tisztelt Kedves Professor Ur!

Megkaptam mind a két szép képeslapját, nagyon köszönöm. Szíves elnézést kérek, hogy csak most válaszolok, de nem tudtam korábban írni és pedig meg kell mondanom őszintén, hogy nem annyira elfoglaltságom miatt, hanem inkább azért, mert szerettem volna igen tisztelt Professor úrnak budapesti meghívásával kapcsolatban már egészen határozott dolgot írni. S a napok és hetek teltek, de még ma sem tudok semmi biztosat írni, ami nekem nagyon fáj és szégyenkezem is miatta. Professor ur nekem már annyi sok szíves segítséget nyújtott, hogy ez lett volna a legkevesebb, amit én is megtegyek. Igéretet kaptam már ismerőseimtől, hogy a meghívással kapcsolatban mindent megtesznek, hogy a jövő tavaszra két hétre meghívják Professor urat, de még semmi konkrét dolog nem történt, holott én azt reméltem, hogy ekkorra már meg is tetszik kapni a meghívót. Most némi remény mutatkozik, hogy esetleg ebben az évben karácsony körül esetleg a Történettudományi Intézeten keresztül sikerülne Professor urat egy hétre meghívni, de egyelőre ez is csak reménység. Nagyon nagyon szégyenkezem. Hogyan forduljak így én igen tisztelt Professor urhoz ilyen körülmények között? Pedig kéréseim már hetek óta sürgősek lettek volna, de nem mertem írni. Most mégis bátorságot veszek abban a reményben, hogy mint eddig, talán most is meg tetszik hallgatni. Az év utolsó napjaiban, illetőleg januárban el szeretnék utazni Isztanbulba, hogy a

Figure 45b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 06.11.1962

Topkapi Seray levéltárában dolgozom, persze nem tudom, hogy sikerülni fog-e, kapok-e szabadságot. Nagyon kérem ha volna szíves igen tisztelt Professor ur egy meghívó levelet küldeni számomra, hogy hat hétre vendégül lát, hogy a Topkapi Seray levéltárában megkezdett levéltári kutató munkámat folytathassam. E meghívó levelet egy külön levélpapírra tessék szíves lenni írni és pedig magyarul. Nem terhelem professzor urat azzal, hogy ezt kérem? A második és a tulajdonképpeni nagy kéréssem pedig az volna vajjon lehetségesnek tetszik-e tartani, hogy a jövő év őszén Professor ur mellett dolgozhatom-e Isztambulban, mint ahogyan a múlt évben már erről szó volt. Nagyon nagyon szeretném ezt tudni, mert hiszen munkámat aszerint végezném és dolgaimat is aszerint rendezném. Talán nem tetszik tolaodónak venni kérdésemet és meg tetszik engem érteni. Természetesen nagyon hangsúlyozni akarom, hogy ha kéréssem alkalmatlan ne tessék fáradni vel. A budai szandzsák feldolgozásához még nem tudtam hozzá fogni, mert a könyvem csak most fejeztem be. Jövőre kezdenék hozzá, de Makkai ur úgy gondolja, hogy az összes budai defter~~re~~ vagyis a még Isztambulban levő négy darabnak a mikrofilmjére is szükség volna, ha ki akarjuk adni. Nem tudom ezzel kapcsolatban mi Professor ur álláspontja. Természetesen ehhez még azt is meg kell említenem a magam részéről, hogy ha a jövő ősszel Isztambulban leszek elfoglalva, akkor ennek a munkának az itthoni kiadása esetleg csak hosszú évek múlva lehetne. En nagyon szeretnék ezen a munkán dolgozni, de talán mondanom sem kell mennyire szívesebben lennék a Beyazitban. Egyébként a budai szandzsák kiadását tekintettel az anyagi nehézségekre nem az Akadémiánál, hanem Pest megye kulturális osztályánál lehetne csak kieszközölni, ~~tekintettel~~ a szandzsák összeírás tulajdonképpen Pest megye területét foglalja magában.

Figure 45c From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 06.11.1962

A Fekete Professor urrral irt közös könyvünk most már végre december hó elején valóban megjelenik, 840 oldal lesz az arab betűs kiadás és valami 700 oldal a magyar fordítása ugyhogy 520 forintba fog kerülni a kettő, ami sajnos egy kicsit drága. Én a budai török kincstár pénztári naplójához irt összefoglalóban teljesen a történeti igazság megírására törekedtem s így hangsúlyoztam például, hogy a törökök csak azért foglalták el Budát, mert a Habsburgok az egész magyar királyság megszerzésére törekedtek és a magyarországi török hódoltság alatt pedig a budai kincstárnak Isztanbulból rendszeres segítséget küldtek súlyos aranyszállitmányok formájában. Nagyon kíváncsian fogom majd várni Professor urnak a könyvvel kapcsolatos véleményét és ítéletét. A kiadótól sajnos mindössze csak öt darab tisztelet példányt kaptok. Ebből ha meg tetszik engedni egy példányt küldök majd igen tisztelt Professor urnak és a többit is Törökországba szeretném elküldeni, ha volna olyan szives Professor ur megírni mit tetszik tanácsolni kinek küldjek belőle. Scheel professor urnak vajjon küldjek belőle?

Hogy van Professor ur kedves családja odahaza és hogyan érzi magát Professor ur Németországban?

Ha szabad visszatérnem Professor ur magyarországi meghívására kérem tessék megengedni, hogy meghívjam én Professor urat a karácsony körüli időkre mint az én vendégem /természetesen egy meghívót mondjuk a Történettudományi Intézettől ez esetben is küldenék, csak ez esetben anyagi ~~nehézségek~~ nehézségek miatt nem az Intézet, hanem az én vendégem lenne Professor ur/. Ugy örülnék, ha el tetszene jönni és együtt lehetnénk. Nagyon kérem tessék eljönni és ne tessék vissza utasítani az én személyes meghívásomat, mely tudom, hogy nem olyan megtisztelő, de én őszinte szívből hívom Professor urat s kérem ne csekély személyemet, hanem szereteteimet és őszinte tiszteleteimet tekintse. Tessék nekem ebben az évben igazi karácsonyi örömet szerezni.

Üzalp elutazott Párizsba?

Kérem Professor urat fogadja őshinte tiszteletem mély kifejezését

Gyula Káldy-Nagy

Figure 46a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 01.02.1963

Igen Tisztelt Kedves Professoror Ur!

Tegnap este kaptam meg kedves lapját, melyet nagyon köszönök. Ebben a hideg időben úgy látszik nagyon rosszul működik a posta, mert Professoror ur képeslapja 12 nap alatt ért ide! Már korábban is akartam írni, de nem tudtam, hogy most Párizsban tetszik-e lenni vagy Mainzban, mivel azal közben arról írt, hogy Párizsba tetszik utazni. Minden rosszra jónak a jó - legalább is ezt mondják. A multkor még csak a legnagyobb eredményte esegről tudtam beszámolni Professoror urnak, de szintén meg kellett írnom a valódi tényállást.

Most azonban ~~szóval~~ örömmel közölhetem, hogy január végén szerencsés fordulat állt be: minden professzornak javaslatot kellett tenni arra, hogy az 1963. év folyamán a külföldi tudósok közül kit kíván az egyetemre meghívni. Mindenki megtette a maga javaslatát, Nemeth professzor ur azonban, aki a ~~szóval~~ igen nagyra becsüli ~~szóval~~ Professoror ur munkásságát, az Ön meghívását javasolta Professoror ur!

Ezt az örömhírt azonban ki kell még egészítenem azzal, hogy az meghívás/tekintettel arra, hogy az ilyen meghívások elintézéséhez több hónap kell, talán még tetszik emlékezni, hogy az első meghívás is elég hosszú időt vett igénybe/ valószínű csak szeptember elejére valósul meg. Máskor mindig már az előző évben kellett javaslatot tenni arra, hogy az egyetem a következő évben kit hívjon meg, de most ez elhúzódott és ezt a javaslatot csak ennek az évnek az első hónapjában kérték. Azt hittem már, hogy ebben az évben nem is lesznek egyáltalán meghívások. Egvébtként az erre évre szóló meghívások mindenki részére tíz napra fognak szólni. De ezen ha már itt tetszik lenni, valószínű lehet majd segíteni. Nem is szólva arról, hogy Professoror urnak még nálam van az a pénze, amit a multkor itt tetszett hagyni, de ettől függetlenül is bármikor a legmesszebbmenően álllok Professoror ur rendelkezésére. A meghívás ilyen elhúzódása azért történhet meg, mert nálunk csak az előadások február 1-től május 12-ig, illetőleg szeptember 15-től december 20-ig tartanak.

A vizumot sajnos még a mai napig sem kaptam meg. A követségi tanácsos ur most is azt mondta, hogy a baj az, hogy én a vizum kérelembe, mint ismerősnek csak a Professoror ur nevét írtam be, Professoror urat pedig a dahilye illetékes osztálva, mivel távol van nem tudja megkérdezni. En, hogy mégis igazoljam magam, a követségi tanácsos urnak elmondtam, hogy Professoror urral együtt egy közös munkán dolgozunk és megmutattam a TTK erről szóló határozatát, melyet finanszi Altundağ professoror ur írt alá. Ekkor a tanácsos ur táviratilag újból megsürgette a vizumo-

Figure 46b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 01.02.1963

mat és hivatkozott erre a határozatra,illetőleg Sinasi Altundağ
Professzor ur nevére.Nem tudom,hogy ez szerencsés dolog volt-e?Mivel
Sinasi Altundağ professzor ur ugy sem ismer engem,nem tudtam mást
tenni,minthogy egy külön táviratot adtam fel Uluğ İğdemir főtitkár
urnak,aki a TTK kongresszusán önként ajánlotta fel vizumom esetleges
meghosszabbítását.Persze bizony nem tudom,hogy még most is melékszik-
e rám.Most adok fel még egy express levelet Altundağ professzor urn-
nak,mert félek,hogy ő meg fog haragudni amiért ráhivatkoztak.
Nagyon elkedvetlenit és elszomorit ez a helyzet,hogy megkap-
tam az utlevelem és nem kaptam török vizumot.En azzal foglalkozom
éveken keresztül,hogy bebizonyítsam,hogy a törökök nem Budáról vitték
el Isztanbulba,hanem fordítva Isztanbulból hozták Budára az aranyat
/tessék olvasni ezt a munkám magyar kiadásának 611.,a német kiadásá-
nak pedig a 771-772 oldalán/ és most mintha a törököknek nem barátja,
hanem ellensége lennék,nem kapok beutazási engedélyt Törökországba.
Dehát azonnal hozzátésem,én nem azért voltam tárgyilagos,hogy ezért
valami jutalmat kapiak s azt hiszem nem is lehetne jutalomnak nevez-
ni azt,ha az ember a saját költségére Törökországba akar utazni és
ehhez csak beutazási engedélyt kér.
Még kell mondanom,hogy nagyon kellemetlen a helyzetem,pedig
még Németh professzor urnak nem is mondtam meg,hogy már majdnem há-
rom hónapja lesz annak,hogy táviratilag kértem a vizumot,mert nem
akarom őt is elkedvetleníteni és elszomorítani,hogy így alakultak a
dolgok.Igy csak keserek magamban és panaszkodom Professezor urnak,
aki pedig nem tehet semmiről,mert a maga részéről mindent meg tett
amit tehetett.
Örömmel értesültem,hogy Bekete professzor urnak tetszett irni,
hogy milyen sikeresnek találja Professzor ur az "ő legutóbbi
munkáját,amelyt megküldtem Professzor urnak.
Azt hiszem legokosabb lesz,ha már egyszer kezemben van az
utlevél elmenni Rómába egy hónapra,ugvis mindig vágyódtam látni az
olasz városokat,csak eddig mindig eléjük helyeztem Isztanbult.
Tessék megengedni,hogy azt kériem,ha ezentul tetszik irni,
ne az egyetemre,hanem a lakásomra /Budapest XI.Villányi ut 9./ szí-
veskedjék irni.
Kérem Professzor urat fogadja mély tiszteletem őszinte
kifejezését
Káldy-Nagy Gyula

Figure 47a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 26.11.1965

Budapest, 1965. nov. 26.

Igen Tisztelt Kedves Professzor Ur!

Nagyon köszönöm kedves lapját és meleg hangu sorait. E megtisztelő kedvessége folytán csak még jobban sajnálom, hogy az akkori súlyos gondjaim miatt nem tudtam még több időt tölteni Professzor urral. Most már azok a gondjaim megszűntek, mert Édesapám részére sikerült egy jó orvost találnom, igaz, hogy pénzbe kerül, de így legalább nyugodt vagyok. Az elmúlt hetekben már dolgoztam is, sokat foglalkoztam a budai tahrir defterekkel és most sietek megírni azokat az eredményeket, amelyekre velük kapcsolatban jutottam.

Mindenek előtt sok gondot okozott három budai tahrir defter, mert ezek nincsenek keltezve, de a bennük található bejegyzésekből végre tegnap sikerült megállapítanom, hogy 1551-ben készültek és ami különös mind a három defter ugyanaz vagyis az eredetiről két másolat készült / én eddig csak úgy tudtam, hogy az eredeti tahrir defterről csak egy másolat készült^X/. Ezt az 1551. évi tahrir deftert összehasonlítottam az 1562. évben készült tahrir defterrel, amelyet még Professzor ur volt szives megküldeni. E két defterből minden válogatás nélkül kiírtam a budai náhiye falvai közül 27-et a mellékelt lapra és feltüntettem, hogy hány embert írtak össze 1551-ben és hányat 1562-ben és a két összeírás között számszerint mennyi a különbség. Az eredmény meglepő, mert az eltelt 11 év alatt a lakosság nem ~~was~~ lett kevesebb, mint azt általában hiszik. Az igaz ugyan, hogy 8 helységben a lakosság 380-nal kevesebb lett, de 19 helységben viszont 405-tel több lett. Külön összehasonlítottam még a négy nagyobb mezőváros^X

^X A budai vilayetről megmaradt legrégebbi tahrir defter az 1551.évi.

Figure 47b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 26.11.1965

Cegléd, Nagykőrös, Kecskemét és Ráckeve összeírását és kiderült, hogy csak Cegléd lakossága lett kevesebb 45-tel, a többi háromé viszont összesen 758-cal több lett. Most ezzel nem azt akarom bebizonyítani, hogy az eltelt 11 év alatt milyen szaporodás történt, hiszen közben kisebb nagyobb harcok is voltak, hanem azt, hogy Nagy szülejmán ~~szü-~~ uralkodása alatt az itteni helyzet korántsem lehetett olyan rossz, sőt a budai tahrir defterek inkább pozitív, mint negatív képet mutatnak. Ezért úgy gondoltam, hogy e két összeírást ki lehetne adni együtt olyan címen, hogy például a budai vilájet tahrir defterei Kanuni korában (a későbbi az 1580. és az 1590. évi összeírásokat pedig egy másik kötetben lehetne kiadni, mondjuk ugyancsak ilyen címmel a budai vilájet tahrir defterei III. Murad korában, ez azonban már egy kicsit negatív képet mutat, de hát az egész Oszmán birodalom helyzete is rosszabb volt ebben az időben, de ennek a kötetnek a kiadása egy külön kérdés lehet). Azt hiszem, hogy a budai vilájet tahrir defterei Kanuni korában című kötet kiadása 1966-ban éppen aktuális lehetne. Mivel én ^e azokkal a defterekkel már sokat dolgoztam, ezt a kötetet /az 1551. évi és az 1562. évi tahrir deftereket/ a nyár elejéig el tudnám készíteni és ha Professzor ur is tudna időt találni arra, hogy egy szép bevezetőt írjon hozzá Kénuniról és Buda elfoglalásáról etc. azt hiszem szép kötetet tudnánk produkálni.

Hemrégiben úgy döntöttek, hogy az ankarai egyetemre 1966. márc. 1-re kimegyek valószínűleg egy évre, bár az is lehet, hogy csak fél évre. Ez munkánkat mindenesetre megkönnyítené. A TTK-nak meghívás ügyében nem írtam, mert nem akarok beleavatkozni, majd erről szóban beszélünk.

Nagyon kérem Professzor urat szíveskedjék tájékoztatni véleményéről az említett kötettel kapcsolatban. Jónak tetszik-e tartani és csináljam-e, mert az előforduló helyneveket csak az itthoni helységnév-tárak és térképek alapján tudom elolvasni. Szíves választát várva,

minden jól kívánok és kérem későbbi javain szives felmérését. Remélem, hogy minden mai felvétel és egyben feldolgozásomat. Csak a kötetekkel, és minden is érthető, akkorán operatív. A Káldy-Nagy Gyula.

Figure 47c From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 26.11.1965

A helység neve:	1551-ben	1562-ben	különbség	
Buda	518	360		-158
Tétény	47	64	+17	
Érd	28	36	+ 8	
Százhalom	10	12	+ 2	
Martonvásár	15	26	+ 9	
Zsámbok	99	72		- 27
Keszi	84	48		-36
Almás	58	133	+75	
Szigedese	18	37	+19	
Adony	69	158	+89	
Óbuda	104	78		-26
Pentele	36	58	+22	
Venyim	91	94	+ 3	
Etyek	22	39	+17	
Martonvásár	15	26	+11	
Acsa	17	23	+ 6	
Györe	11	10	+1	
Tordas	3	7	+ 4	
Brosi	54	36		-18
Sóskút	32	38	+ 6	
Ágsszentpetre	17	26	+ 9	
Előszállás	44	82	+36	
Földvár	172	162		-10
Vél	207	107		-100
Karácsonyszállás	37	104	+67	
Madocsa	45	40		-5
Böleske	176	180	+ 4	
			+405	-380
Cegléd	301	256		-45
Nagykőrös	210	304	+94	
Kecskemét	469	752	+283	
Ráckeve	670	1051	+381	
			+758	-45

Figure 48a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 05.05.1965

Igen Tisztelt Kedves Professoror Ur!

Nagyon köszönöm kedves levelét, jó híreit és buzdítását. Most egész nyáron a budai deftereken fogok dolgozni, hogy elkészíthessem annyira, hogy Professoror urnak csak a problémákat kelljen átnézni. Most már összeszámoltam teljesen, hogy az 1547-évi és az 1562-évi tahrirban hány embert irtak össze: 1547-ben 14087-et és 1562-ben 16475-öt. Ezek a számok nagyon szép gyarapodást mutatnak annál is inkább, mert hiszen ezek a számok csak a felnőtt férfiak számát mutatják. Azt hiszem ez az eredmény mindenkinek kellemes meglepetést fog okozni. Nagyon örülök és köszönöm, hogy Professoror ur a budai tahrirok feldolgozását és kiadását kívánja megcsinálni. Ennek a két tahrirnak a kiadása nagyon szép bizonyítéka lesz Kanuni igazságos uralkodásának, aki a meghódított területeket nem pusztította el, mint azt ma is állítják, hanem ellenkezőleg, ahogyan a tahrirokból látható felvirágoztatta /menlendirdi/. A munkával már nagyon előrehaladtam és a hónap végén szeretném elkezdni az egész írógépen leírni, de előtte szabad legyen néhány dolgot megkérdezni, hogy azokat Professoror ur véleménye szerint csinálhassam. Azt már tetszett mondani, hogy a két tahrirban előforduló faluk adatait egymás alatt /így irtam le fahat a tuloldalón/ közöljük, de azt még nem, hogy magukat a falukat milyen sorrendben közöljük. Ugyanis az 1547-évi és az 1562-évi tahrirkor a falukat nem ugyanabban a sorrendben irták össze, sőt a második tahrirban több falu szerepel, mint az elsőben. Az első tahrirban 371 a másodikban 484 falu van, tehát ha az első tahrir összeírásai sorrendjét vesszük alapul, ebbe a második tahrir 113 többlet faluját nem lesz könnyű bele illeszteni. A második tahrir összeírásai sorrendjébe természetesen az első tahrir kevesebb faluja könnyen beleilleszthető, de viszont a második tahrir időben későbbi, ezért annak sorrendjét alapul venni problematikus. Van még az a lehetőség, hogy akét tahrir defter alfabetikus sorrendben adjuk, tehát kezdve Afa falu, Aqa falu, Adon falu, ...Érd falu etc. A Magyarország északi megyéiről megmaradt nem török adóösszeírásokat ilyen alfabetikus sorrendben kiadták ki. Az ezekben a kiadott munkákban ugyancsak alfabetikus sorrendben adták az egyes faluk lakosainak a névsorát is, ami azért előnyös, mert azok a lakosok akik például Érd faluban 1562-ben nem lettek összeírva, de 1547-ben ott éltek, esetleg a szomszéd faluk lakosainak névsorában könnyen megtalálhatók, vagyis nem kell azt hinnünk, hogy azok elpusztultak, hanem talán csak elköltöztek egy másik faluba. Éppen ezért én úgy a faluk, mint a faluk lakosainak nevét alfabetikus sorrendben /így irtam le Érd falu lakosainak nevét is/ adni jónak találom. Ez természetesen több munkát jelent mint a nevek elolvasása és lemásolása, mert így nekem 30000 cédulát /fiz-t/ kell leírnom és alfabetbe raknom. Ezzel viszont már egy feldolgozott forrást adhatunk kézbe, amellyel bizonyítható, hogy az egyes faluk lakosai nem elpusztultak, hanem csak elköltöztek. De ezenkívül a munka elkészítése és jobban sikerül így, mert most mikor a cédulákat alfabetbe raktam és a két tahrirban összeirt neveket így összehasonlítom, a tévesen olvasott neveket könnyen kiigazíthatom. -Előfordul azonban, hogy mivel az arab betűkön a pontok nincsenek mindig kitéve egy név többféleképpen is olvasható például فور Furó, Forró vagy Főző vagy Fűző, ilyen esetben a név mellé egy csillagot teszek, ami azt fogja jelenteni, hogy az a név többféleképpen olvasható. Kérdőjelet csak oda teszek, ahol a név egyáltalán nem olvasható. Az ~~szó~~ átírásban használható Halasi Kun Tibornak a Belletenben /sayi 109/ alkalmazott átírása, ezt Németh professoror ur is elfogadhatónak tartja. A helységek illetve faluk fekvését azonban már nem magyarázom, mint Halasi Kun, hanem a helynév után egy betű és egy számjellel megmondjuk, hogy a mellékelt térképen hol található /mint a Baranya megye című munkában/. Nagyon örülök, hogy ősszel újra találkozhatunk, remélem akkor már az egész munkát írógéppel leírva vihetem Professoror urnak, hogy átnézze és a meg nem oldott problémákat megbeszélhessük. Nagyon kérem azonban, ha a TTK a budai tahrir deftereket a jövő évben esetleg kiadni mégsem tudná, tessék szíves lenni megírni /amunka körülbelül 500 oldal lesz /nyomtatva/, mert ha a TTK csak a későbbi években tudja csak kiadni, akkor most nem sietnék úgy vele, hanem csak akkora készíteném el amikor kiadnák. -Az Országos Levéltárból most kaptam telefonon értesítést, hogy a mikrofilmek megérkeztek, nagyon szépen köszönöm Professoror urnak és Nejat beynek is. Muharrem Ergin munkája /Osmanlica dersleri/ nekem megvan, de Buluce tanulmányait nem ismerem és itt nincs meg. Köszönöm Professoror ur szíves Érdeklődését. Édesapám jól van, Édesanyám előreláthatólag augusztusban jön meg Kanadából. Felésem köszöni az üdvözlőlevelet nagyon tetszett neki. Professoror ur szívesen várt volna a

Figure 48b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 05.05.1965

Erd. r. s.

Kariye-i Ert tâbi-i m. 1547'de Adrian Borbaş c., Babarçi Marton c., Balik Tomaş c., Barat Mate c., Çehi Imre c., Dekan Yanoş c., Dobragi Mihál c., Erdi Mate c., Farkaş Pal c., Feketö Imre c., D'arfaş Yanoş c., Heren'eş Alberd c., Kiş Tomaş c., Köşöl Gergel c., Nad' Balaj c., Nad' Mate c., Nad' Tomaş c., Pap Ferenc c., Polbard Lörinç c., Tomaş veled-eş c., Şarkazi Marton c., Şikarai Jidmon c., Sabo Balaj c., Sabo Kelemen c., Santo Benedik c., Soka* Pal c., Tatai Petre c., Vereş Ferenc c. Hane-i cizye 15 beher hane fi elli, 750. Hasil 'an el-öşr ve el-rüsum gayr ez filori 1843.

Zeamet-i Hamza kethüda-i defter-i vilayet-i Budun.

Kariye-i Ert tabi-i m 1562'de Bakoçi Kelemen, Gergel veled-i m., Bakoçi Mate, Barad Mate, Dobradi Mihál, Iştvan veled-i m., Eneköş Alberd, Erdi Tomaş, Gal Petör, Ivançi Borbaş, Kiş Pal, Kiş Tomaş, Pal veled-i m., Alberd veled-i m., Köşöl Gergel, Balind veled-i m., Laslo Mate, Nad' Benedik, Nad' Mate, Nad' Mihál, Nad' Tomaş, Pap Ferenc, Balind veled-i m., Pap Yanoş, Pastor Kelemen, Polbard Lörinç, Iştvan veled-i m., Sabo Petör, Tomaş, veled-i m., Soka* Pal, Tatai Petör, Tisa Yanoş, Yakab veled-i m., Tot Imre, Tot Tomaş, Veröş Ferenc. Hane 26. Hasil 10938.

Zeamet-i Hamza bey mirliva-i Istolni Belgrad.

Hasil:	1547'de	1562'de
Kapu /beher kapu fi 50/	15/ 750	26/ 1300
hinta /keyl/akçe/	30/ 300	220/ 2640
mahlut "	18/ 90	150/ 900
şire /pinte/akçe/	500/1000	1500/ 3750
şire-i bagat-i kariye-i Tököl	-	464/ 1160
öşr-i küvvare	15	110
öşr-i berre / re's/akçe/	5/ 50	-
bid'at-i hinzir	16	116
hasil-i çair araba lo	100	-
öşr-i ketan ve kendir	-	72
ades ve grah	-	120
öşr-i meyve	-	40
mahsul-i ... ?	-	300
niyabet ve resm-i arus ve resm-i fuçi	-	230

A zárójálben tett dolgokat /pinte ürmérték nem egész 2 liter, etc./ előszóban majd részletesen megmagyaráznánk. Ugyanugy azt is, hogy a resm-i kupa-nál a 15/ 750 azt jelenti, hogy 15 kapu volt, ami után 750 akosét fizet-tek, ugyanugy a hinta 30 keyl volt, ami 300 akçe volt, tehát 30/300. Fekete professzor urnak volt a gondolata, hogy az egyszerűség kedvéért írjam hinta 10/300, azt hiszem ez jó gondolat, kérem tessék megírni a most említett problémákkal kapcsolatban Professzor ur véleményét, hogy kívánsága szerint dolgozhassam és ha a kiadást a TTK aktuálisnak tartja, akkor a nyáron Professzor ur utaitásai szerint a munkát befejezem. Köszönettel a tolmácsolását kér-

Figure 49 From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 10.11.1952

Budapest, 1952. november 10.

Kedves Tayib Bey!

A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban dolgozom s a török hódoltságkor anyagával foglalkozom. Amint kedves Tayib Bey is jól tudhatja tanulmányából, a magyar történeszek csaknem teljes számban azt az álláspontot foglalják el, hogy a XVI-XVII. században a török hódítók elpusztították Magyarországot és nem hatottak kedvezően népünk életére és kulturájára. - Én kutatásom céljából tüstem ki, hogy -történeszeink említett rosszindulatu beállítással szemben- azt a törökbarát irányzatot kövessem, amelyet Takáts Sándor okleveles kutatásával indított meg: régészeti tárgyi emlékekkel kívánom bemutatni azt a sok területen jelentkező és rendkívül mély, szinte döntő jelentőségű kulturhatást, amit a törökök a hódoltság korában népünkre gyakoroltak. - Nálunk eddig hódoltságkori régészet nem indult meg s így e korból való tárgyi emlékeink várad kiásott anyagából s véletlen leletekből adódnak. Ilyen anyag összegyűjtéséből rendeztem meg a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban 1000 éves történelmünk kiállításán azt a részt, amely bemutatja, hogy a hódoltság korában mily kedvezően hatott a törökség a magyar nép életére. - Munkámat tovább szeretném folytatni az összegyűjtött török anyag feldolgozásával, sőt török hódoltságkori kutatás megindításával /ásatások szervezése/. Ebben a törekvésemben nagy támogatást jelentene, ha megkaphatnám a török szakirodalmat, amelytől ezidőszerint teljesen el vagyok zárva. A témák komoly feldolgozása törökországi analógiák nélkül lehetetlen.

A következő témakörök későközépkori régészeti-, illetőleg jelenkori néprajzi feldolgozására lenne szükségem:

Keramikára, rézművészetre, ezüstművészetre /mégpedig 1/ anyagpublikációkra, sok fényképpel és rajzzal, 2/ az edények és eszközök leírására, készítési technikája ismertetésére; az ezüstműves, vagy aranyműves műhelyének, munkaeszközeinek, szerszámainak lehetőleg képekkel illusztrált leírására./

Régi török konyhákra vonatkozó feldolgozásra, lehetőleg sok rajzzal és fényképpel, amelyek segítségével azonosíthatók lennének az itten talált agyag- és vörösréz török konyhaedények és egyéb konyhaeszközök; megismerhetnének a török konyhai tűzhelyeket és konyhák berendezéseit

Ipari- és mezőgazdasági vaseszközök feldolgozására.

Iparokra, kereskedelemre vonatkozó munkákra.

A török fürdőkulturát tárgyaló művekre.

A későközépkor kulturális életét, zenéjét, stb. bemutató könyvekre.

Ismétlem, hogy fenti ismertetések szükségesek lennének ugy a későközépkorra vonatkozó archaeologiai anyag bemutatásával, mint a múlt századi, vagy jelenlegi ethnographiai anyag ismertetésével, mert minden adatok birtokában érthetők csak meg a XVI-XVII. századi viszonyok.

Legyen szives az illetékes hatóságokkal érintkezésbe lépve elintézni, hogy a szükséges szakirodalom a következő címre eljusson:

Ifj. Fehér Géza, Budapest, VIII., Múzeum-krt. 14-16. Országos Magyar Történelmi Múzeum Történelmi Osztály.

Szándékosan irtam magyarul, mert gondolom, hogy szivesen olvassa. Ha Tayib Beynek könnyebb törökül válaszolnia, nagyon fogok annak örülni. Ha kívánja, legközelebbi leveletem törökül írom.

Örülnék, ha közölné velem, milyen történelmi témán dolgozik; miben lehetnék segítségére?

Édesapám sok szívélyes üdvözetét küldi.
Szívességéért előre is köszönetet mondva
szeretettel üdvözlöm

ifj. Fehér Géza dr.

Figure 50a From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 31.08.1957

Budapest, 1957. VIII. 31.

Kedves Faruk!

Ne vedd rossz néven -kérlek-,
hogy ismét kérelemmel terhellek.

2 héttel ezelőtt értesített a
budapesti török Követség, hogy az an-
karai Külügyminisztérium 1/2 évi török-
országi tartózkodásra megadta végre
nekem a vízumot.

A hosszú évek óta gyötörö-
döm útlevelekérelmemmel. Ez év tavaszán
már meg is adták volna az illetékes
hatóságok, de végül is a magyar Külügy-
minisztérium arra az álláspontra helyezke-
dett, hogy adjon valamelyik török múzeum
olyan meghívólevelet, amelyben biztosít,
hogy tanulmányútam során elősegíti
kutatásunkamat. - 1957. VI. 24.-én
írtam a T. C. Maarif Hekâleti Eski Eser-
ler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürlüğü-nek,
ahonnan 1957. VII. 3.-án 022. A-2745. számú
választ kaptam az umum müdür aláírásá-
val. Gemélyi adataimat és két fény-
képet kértek tőlem. Még aznap vála-
szoltam és azóta várom a meghívóleve-
let.

Figure 50b From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 31.08.1957

Kedves Saygıb! Mint elkunyt ides-
apám barátját nagyon kérlek, tegyél
valamit ügyem érdekében! A török ipar-
művesség kutatására nagyon fontos ne-
kem, hogy 10 év után végre eljuthassak
Törökországba. Az ottani archaeologia
és ethnographiai gyűjteményeket fel-
feltlenül meg kell nézmem. Tizen fontos,
hogy a helyszínen tanulmányozhassam
a török faszekasok és részművesek
munkáját és Anatóliában láthassak
néhány török konyhát. Mindezek
nélkül nagyon nehéz a magyarországi
török hódoltsáplór megértése. Oly
sok itt még a kutatási feladat,
hogy csak magyar és török kutatók
közös munkájával végezhető az el.

A meghívólevélben feltétlenül benne
kell annak is lenni, hogy a külti min-
iszteri hatóságok törökországi munkám-
ban, kutatásaimban támogassanak.

Főszágot köszöni és szeretettel
üdvözöl

G. Fehér Géza.

Budapest, VIII. Múzeum-ut. 14-16.

Figure 51a From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 07.03.1958

Budapest, 1958. III. 7.

Kedves Tayyib!

Ne haragudj, hogy alábbi kérésemmel derhellek. - Mellekelem egy kis dolgozatomat 3 török feliratos köről. Hálás lennék, ha néhány kisebb kérdésben segítségemre lehetnél.

1) Az I. köztábla harmadik sorának a végén rövid olvashatatlan rész van, nem tudnád-e megállapítani mi lehet az? A negyedik sor elején بۇ jelentkezik-e azt, hogy „helyreállító”?

2) Az II. köztáblánál nincsen szemmi olvasási probléma, azért nem is másoltam le. Csak azt szeretném tudni, hogy a harmadik sor közepén بۇ azt jelenti-e, hogy a forrás alapítója Karpuz helyesből való volt?

3) Az III. táblánál (sirkő) sincsen olvasási probléma, csak az lenne a kérdés, hogy helyes-e a fordításomban a Mahmud paşa-ra vonatkozó rész, vagy pedig a felirat készítője a szőkefejű Mahmud paşa-t akhoz a XV. századi Mahmudhoz hasonlítja, aki II. Mohamed nagy hadvezére volt?

Igen nagy segítséget jelentene

Figure 51b From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 07.03.1958

számomra, hogy ha válaszoddal dolgozatomat teljesebbé tehetném. - Természetesen a Földed nyert adatait a Ridd való hivatkozással fogom felhasználni.

Nagyon kérek, válaszolj lehetőleg hamar levelemre, hogy a dolgozatban levő kisebb hiányosságokat pótolhassam.

Remélem, hogy 2-3 hónap múlva ellátogathatok Istanbulba és akkor nálad tiszteletemet tehetem. - Osman Faruk Fermer államtitkár úrtól kaptam Ankarából meghívólevelet, most már csak az útlevelem hiányzik.

Közöni jóesszpedet és szeretettel üdvözlöl

Fehér Géza

Bpest, VIII., Múzeum - ut. 14-16.
Középkori osztály.

Figure 52 From Géza Fehér to Gökbilgin, 17.11.1959

kedves barátom, Faruk! Régen nem hallot-
 tam rólad, pedig én mindig a legnagyobb zere-
 tetel gondolok arra az Istanbulban töltött szép
 napokra és találkozásainkra. Hogy vagy, kedves
 régi barátom? Dolgozol sokat, szép tudományos
 eredményekkel? - Sajnos múlt hónapban sem
 sikerült az iszlám kongresszusra kijutnom, pe-
 dig ott előadást tartottam volna! - Nagyon gé-
 pen megkérlek, hogy adj utbaigazítást egy tu-
 dományos problémámmal. - Esztergom (استرگوم)
 Szenttamáshegyen (دیه دن) XVI. század végén elpusztult
 török farskaskemencében török feliratos cserepedé-
 nyek faredékei kerültek elő. Két edényt össze tud-
 tunk állítani. A feliratokat nagy részben sikerült el-
 olvasnom. Az egyik edényen egy feliratszerűleg telje-
 sültek. یاک ند، یاک جفاس اوزک در
 دوشین بلز ند، کرک بالاش اوزک در
 نمز وارد، سزه لایق قبول ایلن فقیر انه
 چکر کهک بودون چکش قرچلر سلیمان
 Az utolsó sort ["cekerken Budun cek mis
 karincalar Sulaymana"] nem tudom megfe-
 löen értelmezni, illetőleg beleilleszteni a
 feljes szöveg megfejtésébe. Nagyon hálás
 lennék Neked, ha ebben gyakorlatiakkal
 segíthetnél.
 Jó egészséget, jó és eredményes mun-
 kalkodást kívánva várom sürgős vála-
 zodat és a régi barátsággal és zere-
 tetel üdvözöllek
 Fehér Géza
 (Budapest, VIII., Múzeum - utca.
 14-16.)

Figure 53 From József Molnár to Gökbilgin, 18.12.1965

Bhat. 1965. XII. 18.

Professzor Uram!

Nagyon köszönöm nekén levelezőlapját és rövid
soraát. - feleségem nevélen is.

Közlöm, hogy az anyagomat Fllés Andrást (XII.6)
útján eljuttathattam az ankarai magyar
követségre ahol Rásonyi professzor úr
át fogja venni.

En hiszem, hogy anyagom teljes megelégedést
kelt hiszen igen mennyiségű és minőségű
anyagot soha senki nem gyűjtött össze
Magyarországon. Boldog lennék ha ezzel
az anyaggal hozzájárulhatnék a török-
magyar barátság igaz és örök alapjához
és további fejlődéséhez. Miféleképpen tanu-
ságnak a 12 év óta lelkiismeretesen
gyűjtött anyag feldolgozása, melyhez segítsé-
get soha nem kaptam. Sőt egyes hozzá-
nem értő emberek inkább elhallgattak
vagy gúncoskodtak ezen a területen.

Ez a sziklatemplárdan kitűzött kilométer
nem tántorított el és minden időközön-
tesen arra törekedtem, hogy újabb és újabb
emlékeket fedezsek fel és bizonyítsam hogy
a török nyelv ~~szóhasználat~~ nevéit kiderítve mindaz
dolgozatomban a ~~magyar~~ ^{magyar} építészeti emlékeiséget.

Ezt tettem ma is, amikor segítség nélkül
anyagot áldoztam nem kimélve tovább
kutatás, tanulmányi népszerűsítés és
közösködés.

Ehhez a magyarországi munkához kérem
Professzor Uram további segítségét, támogatását
és barátságát. Ezeket nagyon értékelve, ha
a könyv megjelenése esetén egy rövid előszót
isna. A török építészeti emlékeiséget Magyarországon
~~magyar~~ lapjain.

Szülességét előtt is köszönve jóreggelyét kívánom
Önnel és családjaival közösen:
— Molnár József

Figure 54a From József Perényi to Gökbilgin, 26.02.1958

Kedves Kolléga Ur!

Köszönettel vettem "Edirne ve Paşa livasi" című könyvét, valamint két különnyomatát, amelyek engem valóban nagyon érdekelnek, és tanulmányaimban kitűnően fel tudom majd őket használni. Nagyon-nagyon örülök neki, hogy sikerült Önnel kapcsolatot teremtenem, mert sajnos előttem ismeretlen okokból, nálunk jóformán semmit sem tudunk arról, hogy milyen eredményeket értek el az Önök történései az utolsó évtizedben. Én magam is, aki öt évet töltöttem Istanbulban, hazajövetelem óta /1943/ teljesen elszakadtam a török tudományos élettől, és most az utolsó néhány hónapban igyekeztem behozni elmaradásomat. Ismereteimet azonban kénytelen vagyok külföldi, angol, német stb. folyóiratokból beszerezni, mert török folyóiratokhoz és munkákhoz nem jutok hozzá.

Természetesen azt is be kell vallanom, hogy nálunk alig vannak most olyan történészek, akik török történeti problémákkal foglalkoznának. Nekünk vannak kitűnő filológusaink /Németh, Fekete és tanítványaik/, de nincsenek történészeink. Tudomásom szerint én vagyok az egyedüli történész és nem filológus, aki török történeti kérdések iránt érdeklődik. A helyzetet azonban tarthatatlannak találom, és elhatároztam, hogy itt az egyetemen a fiatalok közül nevelni fogok néhány szakembert, akik majd a magyarországi törökuralom korszakával fognak foglalkozni.

Erre néhány hónappal ezelőtt nyílt lehetőségem, amikor egyetemünkön visszaállították a Kelet európai Történeti Tanszéket, amelyet akkoriban, amikor Ön nálunk tartózkodott, Lukinich Imre professzor vezetett. Ő azonban nem volt turkológus, és így sajnos nem szerezte be még a legszükségesebb könyveket sem. Most majd én meg fogom kísérelni a hiányok pótlását, és a legfontosabb török forráskiadványok és összefoglaló munkák, valamint monográfiák beszerzését. Ehhez kérem az Ön segítségét is. Gondolom, hogy az Önök számára sem közönbös, ha a pesti egyetemen rendszeresen tartok majd török történeti előadásokat.

Pillanatnyilag számomra a legfontosabb a Belleten még kapható évfolyamainak a beszerzése lenne, amelyekből tájékozódni tudnék tudományuk jelenlegi helyzetéről. A folyóirat egyes számai ugyan megtalálhatók nálunk az Akadémia könyvtárában és Németh Gyula intézetében, de a sorozat nem teljes. Kérem tehát, ha ezzel nem okozok sok kellemetlenséget megtudni a Türk Tarih Kurumutól, hogy milyen évfolyamok kaphatók még, és hol kell azokat megrendelnem.

Ugyanígy szeretném megtudni, hogy az istanbuli egyetem milyen forráskiadványokat jelentetett meg újabban. 1946-47-ben még kaptunk itt két- vagy három kisebb facsimile forráskiadást, de azóta minden kapcsolat megszűnt.

Tudok arról is, hogy néhány évvel ezelőtt megjelent Önöknél egy összefoglaló történeti munka több kötetben, de sajnos még a címét sem tudom. Nagyon kérem, hogy írja meg nekem a kiadó címével együtt, hogy megrendelhessem.

Ami Katona István: Historia critica c. művét illeti, sajnos az könyvészeti ritkaság, pillanatnyilag nem kapható meg. Ha azonban ez annyira fontos Önnek, akkor figyelemmel fogom kísérelni az antikváriumokat, és adandó alkalommal megveszem az Ön számára. Bonfini szintén nem kapható jelenleg, de a háború alatt kiadták munkájának egy nagyobb részét modern kiadásban. Ezt a kiadványt nem fejezték be, tehát nem tartalmazza Bonfini egész művét. Ha ez is érdekli Önt, kérem írja meg, ezt azonnal el tudom küldeni.

Nem tudom, hogy meg van-e Önnek a Szentpétery Imre által szerkesztett Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum c. két kötetes forráskiadvány, amely

Figure 54b From József Perényi to Gökbilgin, 26.02.1958

-2-

a legrégebb magyar forrásokot tartalmazza. Ha szüksége van rá, írja meg, és azonnal elküldöm.

Kérem különben, hogy közölje velem mindazon magyar könyvek jegyzékét, amelyekre Önnek személyesen, vagy esetleg az istanbuli egyetemnek szüksége van. Lehetségesnek tartom, hogy rendszeres könyvcserét is létesíthetnénk a két egyetem között. Nekünk vannak szép számban duplumaink, ezekből tudnánk Önöknek átengedni.

Nem tudom, hogy Önt érdeklí-e a nálunk néhány hónappal ezelőtt megjelent Magyarország története c. 3 kötetes egyetemi tankönyv, amely a háború óta az első szintetikus összefoglalása a magyar történelemnek. Ha igen, kérem közölni, és azonnal megküldöm.

Magamról csak annyit szeretnék írni, amennyi éppen szükségesnek látszik ahhoz, hogy kapcsolatainkat elmélyíthessük. Valaha Szentpétery professzor tanítványa voltam az egyetemen, és a történeti segédtudományokba foglalkoztam behatóbban. Később szlavisztikai tanulmányokat végeztem és így a bolgár és a szerb történelem kapcsán ismerkedtem meg az Oszmán Birodalom problémáival. Később, nem tudományos beosztásban öt évet /1939 - 1943/ töltöttem Istanbulban és így jól megtanultam törökül, és ennek eredménye képen komoly török történeti tanulmányokat is folytattam. Az elmúlt évtizedben azonban a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézetében dolgoztam tudományos kutatóként és ott orosz és szerb történettel kellett foglalkoznom, tudományos munkáim is ebből a tárgykörből íródtak.

Néhány hónappal ezelőtt azonban megbíztak az egyetem Keleuturópai Történeti Tanszékének vezetésével, és most már munkám irányát magam határozván meg, úgy gondolom, hogy folytatom majd török tanulmányaimat. Engem elsősorban a balkáni országok illetőleg népek gazdaság- és társadalomtörténete érdekel éppen az Oszmán Birodalom korában. Egyidejűleg elhatároztam, hogy alaposan felkészülök és az 1959/60 tanévtől kezdve előadom majd az Oszmán Birodalom és a Török Köztársaság történetét is, amely iránt hallgatóink eléggé érdeklődnek.

Ezek tehát a célkitűzéseim, és ehhez kérem az Ön segítségét is. A magam részéről megígérem, hogy mindig rendelkezésére állok, akár könyvbeszerzésről, akár másról van szó.

Németh Gyulának és Ligetinek szólni fogok a könyvek ügyében, és Hazait is figyelmeztetem majd az elemi udvariassági követelményekre.

Rásonyi Nagy László jelenleg is az Akadémia könyvtárában dolgozik. Címe: Budapest, V. ker. Akadémia utca 2. M. Tud. Ak. Könyvtára.

Felhívom különben még a figyelmét egy fontos munkára. Kosáry Domonkos: Bevezetés a magyar történet forrásaiba és irodalmába. I-II. k. Bp. 1951-54, amely tartalmazza a legfontosabb magyar források és feldolgozások bibliográfiai adatait. Ebből pontosan megállapíthatja a szükséges könyvek címét és adatait és különben is értékes felvilágosításokat ad a magyar történelemre. Ha kívánja, ezt is megküldhetem.

Ezzel be is fejezem leveletem, még egyszer köszönöm könyvét és a két különnyomatot. Válaszát várva maradok

Teljes tisztelettel

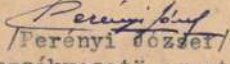

Perényi József
tanszékvezető egyetemi
docens

Figure 55a From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 27.02.1965

Kedves Barátom!

Leveledet nagy örömmel vettem, de csak ma tudok ró' valóságnál.
Először hadd mondjam el ennek az okát, mert ut nem lehet magya-
rízathamul hagyni.

Gyengülésnek és hamar fáradónak írtam magam, emeltem
régí orvosomhoz. Ez először mint bejáró beteget kezdte, később azt
ajánlotta, hogy feküdjek be a kórházba, csak egyszer "kivizsgálásnak"
(így szokták a makacs beteget becsalni). Csak néhány napra, mondta,
és mint beem fekvő beteget jobban meg tudnak figyelni, stb. Rajolam a
szóra, a néhány naptól hírom hét lett, válladozó hangulattal, hol
lázal, hol lázatalanul. Közben szurkálás, injectio, kerülés, diagnózis:
pleuritis excusativa, magyarul viszonyis mellhártyagyulladás. Kiszet-
tek belőlem két és fél liter idegen folyadékot, elcsutk a lázamat,
megtanultak enni és aludni, s ma azt mondta az orvosom, hogy hát
évvél fiatalabban fogom magam érezni (nono!) és hogy más csak
mint sanatóriumi vendéget kezeltek. Pár napig.

Tyén állapotban talált a Te kedves leveled és a Dákn
kitüntető meghívása. Mindkettőt nagy örömmel olvastam, és lelkesen
készülök az itra, persze csak innen a kórházból. A hivatalos elindítás
tízen csüt, üzengetésekkel stb. nehezen megy, de teendőimről gondolkodni
itt is lehet. Ha abban a kitüntetésben részesültem, hogy az istanbuli
irodalomtörténelmi kú vendége lehetek, tisztoséggal és becsülettel szeretném
megjární utamat.

Köszövelem, hogy tartós egy felolvasást "Budin Gölbaşarı"
címen, és egyet "Türkiye'nin tönöz hivatalatos irafolban" címen,
mindkettőt viszony kerülés közt, szinte zér körtben, mert én lauitani
és oktatni Törökországban semmit nem tudok és nem akarok. Tehát csak
amnyit, amennyit az illendőség megenged és megkíván.

Figure 55b From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 27.02.1965

A dékán levelét is azt most tudom megköszönni. A két felolvasás
címét jelentettem neki, s röviden a késő októbert is kifejeztem. Ha szükségem
látod, Te is segíts kimenteni késemet.
Tanácsot azért apr. vigye vagy magis deje fogok érteni,
est kérték pontosan tudatni fogom.
A két filozófiatémányt megkaptam. Mindig töltöt kilderz,
mint amennyit kérek. عند الخالق، الخلاق، الخلاق، الخلاق
Kedves Fekete-gednek kézeik, nekem mely adóvétel
Speci, 1965. febr. 27
Fekete Lajos

Idig mindig a közhírtom.
Igen kedvesek köztökben is rovatok tervei. Nagy boldog,
fogy gyenge kapcsolatainkat ápolgatod. Mely öleléssel

Figure 56 From Lajos Fekete to Gökbilgin, 09.04.1966

Kedves Barátom!

Répirta adásod nagyon egy kőszívű levelet, a cenzúra kőszívű
 intézkedését. Olvasásomból látszik, hogy az én szövegem is emlékeztet, mert nagy kíváncsi
 ma is az én fényképe megvan nálunk, és én is arabokhoz költöztem.

Köszönettel egy ív, hogy az Oriensnek beküldtem egy újságot,
 ebben a könyv történelmi-földrajzi arabokhoz formájának a történetét emleget-
 tem, és az írást arról az írástól választom, hogy bízom a költészetben földrajzi problé-
 mák és a történelem az arabokhoz hasonlóan is. Azok meg meg-
 tem jelent, a másik megjelent a Te levele kérésed, arabokhoz megjelent?
 Nem vagyok én bizonyos, hogy kíváncsi vagyok a Te levelekre?
 Mely költészet a kérés önmagáért.

Mint azt már tudod, én nem vagyok az a név, egy kőszívű,
 jó képeket dolgoztam is elgondolva. Főleg a könyv földrajzi problémáit

forgattam, az emberek könyv nélkül élnek, de celláknak nem
 aktív munkát.

A Toprági S.A.-től engedélyt kaptam a fotóink kiadására.
 Köszönettel az Ön tudomására, hogy az engedélyt megkaptam.

Az is örömmel olvasom, hogy egyelőre kőszívű névvel.
 Továbbra is kőszívű, cenzúra okokból, aktív munkát kaptam. Kedves
 Fekete Lajos! És kőszívűtől megjelent a kőszívűtől, én kőszívűtől
 is kőszívűtől, a Tejet megjelent a kőszívűtől.

Fekete Lajos

Jánbány (egykor Canfeda), 1966. ápr. 9

Figure 57a From Endre Varga to Gökbilgin, undated

Kedves Kolléga úr,

Örömele örömmel vetem b. kezelet
s közönm az Endre új rékéné) Vismat'ic alkalmaiból
Közegecsire juttatott rive, jókivánságait. Mivelök
aruban essel kapurolattan a legutóbbi idők poli-
tikai fejleményeire kitérve), legelőször is melegen
gratulálod Kolléga úr hárszavághoz s kiváló
kivánon, hogy az boldog és kecses legyen. A mai
zavaros és bizonytalan időkben kétségtelenül felelős-
ségeljes dolgot valakinek az életet s magunkéba
kapurolni, de viszont örömet is boldogságot is az
az otthonban, egy kecső is kecses életét közeben
találhatunk. (Köszönök, hogy ez nekem még nem kérték).

Nem ismernem az Önök viszonyait de
feltételezem, hogy régi jó konzervatív hozzáállással

Figure 57b From Endre Varga to Gökbilgin, undated

Még sokat megpróbáltam a török költőket
töröndne) ma is otthonokkal, fejezőkkel, családja-
kal, mint ahogy az a nyugaton szokás. (Bizony e két
névnek Magyarországon sem a legrészesebb) a viszony).
Kétségtelenül van a jó, komoly és odaadó felkészítés,
de a mai generáció kevésbé kíváncsi mind a többre az
országban, ami az életet kereti éppen közelebb a oldaláról fel.
Jóval a korábbiaknál jobban kereti, mint a munkát
és kötelezettséget).

Öntől, hogy kolléga kor a család-
alapítás mellett hivatali és tudományos pályáján
is eredményesen előrehalad. Remélem, hogy kedves
felkészítés – aktív és merész – önkéntes kötelezettségek
és kezességvétel mellett – munkájában támogatás,
segítség és olyan életben, hogy a nyugodt és kiegyen-
szített otthoni viszonyok önmagukban nagyobb koncent-
rációt és időt jobb kihasználásért lehetővé.

Figure 57c From Endre Varga to Gökbilgin, undated

Ami eugen ötlet, éppen most dolgozom
a „provenienca”-ékké fogtatásán: a rendszerigazolati
szabályainak önmeghatározásán. Ez a telen van a koros társas-
ság fog megjelenni, akkor majd küldök felőle külső-
levegőket kolléga hírnél). Ha ezzel elkesztődök (M. e.
akkor már kb. két éve kever a földkőben, de nem jár-
totam hozzá, hogy befolyerem), ez márít, minden régen
melangetett tárgyat veszed elő: a kis. Curia - a lap
felőlő magyar ~~szó~~ bíróság - régi büntetőeljárásait
fogad valamit publikálni.

Legelőbb is remélem, hogy az emittetett
tervek megvalósítását nem zavargják meg külső ese-
mények. Ezt visszakanyarodunk a politikaihoz. Az az
érzésem, hogy a fél század változását kellőképpen fog el-
múlni. A háború talán éppen olyan stagnáló korszak-
ba lép, mint az elmúlt telen történt. Persze, majd
a tavasszal ismét megindul a sors kereke s Isten
tudja, hogy az események milyen irányba vesznek.

Figure 57d From Endre Varga to Gökbilgin, undated

En, mint kolléga ki tudja, nem igen bírom
elképzelni, hogy az angolok hogyan gondolhatnának. Viszont
magam is azt hiszem, hogy a németek még igen messze
vannak attól, hogy a harcot meggyőztessék felülmúl-
ni. Talán valóban az következik, amit néhány
szóval gondolnak: a harc döntetlenül végeződik, egyik
kúzdófél sem bír a másikkal.

Magyarországra nézve, úgy gondolom, ez volna
a legelőnyösebb s talán a legtöbb európai nemzetre is
Németország túlhatalma s az okudalemmel fenyeget,
de Anglia győzelme is igen káros befolyást gyakorolhat
ezen térségekre, pl. a Duna - Balkán vidékekre (újbolfe-
lámadva a kis-entente stb.). Mi nem vagyunk megelé-
gedve az eddigi határ-összevonással. Készek vagyunk
megperenni a klóvákotokkal is próbálunk, de nem be-
tűnik ki a régi határoddal teljes visszanyerésig a románokkal,
akit - nem tudom: innét - e erről az Önök lapjai? -
a nálunk visszamaradt magyarokkal szemben néhány hét
óta megint a legújabbabb kezdetlekedéseket követik el.
Ugy látjuk, a lerámolás nem lesz elkerülhető s ebben Anglia két lépésén

Telex kolléga ki, hisz Angliában kétszáz évig a magyarok voltak a királyi udvarban.
Igazán hisz
Magyar Sz.

Figure 58 From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 28.08.1946

Aziz dostum Tayyip !

Mektubunuzu ve benim için başladığınız hareketinizi çok teşekkür ederim. İki seneden beri devam eden mülteci hayatın kararsızlığında satırlarınız bilhassa kıymetlidirler.

Hamit Koşay bey bana yazdığı mektublarında dışişleri bakanlığının benim için evvelâ Roma büyük elçiliğine sonra İsviçrede Bern elçiliğine resmen yazdığını bildirdi. Ben de hem Cemal Hüsnü Taray beye, hem de Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu beye yazdım. Türkiyeye hareketim onların cevabına bağlıdır.

Kolozsvár sebebiyle yine çok müteessirim. Zevcemın ebeveyni ve biraderi için nostaljisi okadar büyük, sınırları okadar yorgundur ki az kaldı ki döndük. Fakat bir meslektaşımın bana yazdığına göre Macaristana dönmek Rusların orada bulunacağı zaman bana iyi olmayacaktı, Matbaahane de bıraktığım yeni kitabımda evvelkisinden de çok daha katı bir şekilde Türklüğün tarafı idim.

Şimdi ancak bir isteğim var: üretken çalışmak imkânı. Burada da çok işliyorum, Macar mültecilerine İngiliz edebiyatının bir chrestomathia'sını yaptım, İngilizce ve Türkçeyi, sonra Türk ve Şarkı Avrupa tarihini öğrettim. Türkiyede Türk Halklarının Tarihini /Türkçe ve İngilizce/ ve Türk Adları Lûgatını neşretmek isterdim. Oradaki Türkiyat Enstitüsünün zengin kütüphanesi bu eserin tamamlanması için fevkalâde iyi olabilecekti. En büyük sevinçle İstanbula gidecektim, ailem için de en iyi olacaktı. Fakat vekil beyin ne karar vereceğini bilmeyorum.

Samimi dostlukla, refikanıza hürmetlerle

Feffernitz, 28.VIII.1946.

L. Rásonyi

Hung.D.P.Camp Feffernitz VIII/7.

Carinthia, Austria.

Küçük Hatice Umay'a çok saadet temenni, Size tebrik ederiz.

Figure 58a From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 30.03.1948

Aziz arkadaşım Tayyib,

uzun bir zamandan sonra tekrar muhabberimizin teessüs ettiğine çok memnun oldum. Eğer emniyetle yazmak ve mektub göndermek mümkün olsaydı, şimdiye kadar çoktan yazmış olurdum. 1946-da aldığım mektubunuza hemen cevap vermiştim. Aynı zamanda Hamit beye, Roma ve Bern Türk elçilerine de birer mektup yollamıştım. Yola çıkmağa hazırlandım, fakat o zaman seyahatıma medar olacak ve İngiliz vizesini temin edebilecek hiçbir haber alamadığım için teşebbüsüm akım kaldı. Halbuki orada iken tanıştığım bir kaç İngiliz ile çok iyi münasebette idim, hatta aralarında bir kaçı şimdi de benimle mektublaşmaktadır.

1946 aralık ayında souk çok fazla olmakla diğer taraftan da evden müstacel telegraflar aldığım için ve çocukları souğa ve mahrumiyete duçar bırakmamak için eve dönmeğe mecbur oldum. O zamanki manzaraya göre Rusların Macaristanı kısa bir zaman içinde terk etmeleri kanaati hasıl olmuştu. Türkiyeden ise yeni bir havadis alamıyordum. Avusturyayı terk ettiğimizden bir müddet sonra bulunduğumuz kampa Innsbruck Üniversitesinden namıma bir dâvetiye gelmişti. Yazık ki bu fırsatla bir müddet daha orada kalarak Türkiyeye gitmek çaresini beklemeden eve gelmiş bulundum.

Şimdiye kadar burada siyasi bir takibata uğramadım, zira faşist olmak sıfatıyla bir kabahatım görülemedi; ben ancak Rusların önünden kaçtım. Arkadaşlarım delaletiyle maşımı devam ettirmeğe, hatta diğer bir arkadaşım tavassutiyle de yeniden teessüs eden B.Enstitüsünde vazife almağa muvaffak oldum. Tabiatıyla bugün bütün bu cihetler daha güçlükle temin edilebilir hattâ imkânsızdır, çünkü memleketimiz her gün proletardiktatürlüğüne biraz yaklaşmaktadır. Ben mümkün olduğu kadar B.E.-ne Türk ve Macar dostluğunu azamî nispetle geliştirecek bir istikamet vermeğe çalışmaktayım. Bu Enstitü bugün bu hususu temin edebilmek için biricik müessesemizdir. Kendi ismini neşriyatında asgarî derecede kullanıyor ancak B.E.perdesi altında çalışıyorum. Son aylarda 6 muhtelif makalede Türk maarifi ve kültür müesseseleri, diğer 3 makalede de Türk iktisat hayatının başlıca amilleri hakkında yazdım.- Şimdiye kadar bir çok Macar eseri türkçeye tercüme edildiği halde Türk edebî mahsullerinin aslâ yurdumuzda tanınmadığından şikayet ederek alâkadar makamlara bir muhtıra verdim. Bunun üzerine maarif nezareti B.E.-ne bir taslak hazırlaması vazifesini tevdi etti. -Bunun dışında iki dereceli Türk dili kursu devam ettiriyorum. Bu kurslarda muallim, mühendis ve tüccar olmak üzere 20 muhtelif kimse türkçe öğrenmektedir. Bu sayı diğer her hangi bir Balkan dilini öğrenenler sayısının iki mislidir. -

Büylece şimdilik bu şartlar altında ve K.partisine girmeğe icbar etmelerine kadar burada kalmayı kendime bir borç saymaktayım. Şimdiye kadar hiç bir partiye girmedim ve üniversite hocalarına karşı bugüne kadar oldukça riayetkâr bulunuyorlar. Bir gün bunlara sıra gelmeyeceği tabii şimdiki n temin edilemez.-1944-de hazırlanan ve macarca tab edilmek üzere matbaaya verilen Türk kavimleri tarihi adındaki eserim maalesef muhassaradan sonra hariciyenin eline geçerek arşivlerinde muhafaza edilmekte bulunuyor, ki arasına uykusuz gece geçirmeme sebep oluyor.Çünkü bu kitabımda Türk ve şimalî komşusu tarihi münasebetleri oldukça mufassal malumat vermeğe çalışmıştım. Şimdiye kadar bu eserimi yanmış zannettim. Herhalde bir gün yeniden ele alınarak aleyhimde bir silah gibi kullanılması beni imhâ edebilecek kadar bir delil temin edebilir.

Figure 58b From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 30.03.1948

İşte bütün bu sebeplerle Hamit beyin ve Sizin maarif vekaletiyle benim hakkındaki görüşmeleriniz son derecede imdadıma yetişmiş ve benim geniş bir nefes almama sebep olmuştur. Şayet burada bir gün takibata maruz kalır ve maaşımdan mahrum edilürsem ailem ve çocuklarımin aç kalmayacaklarına emin olarak şimdilik itimadla çalışmalarımdevam ediyorum. İşte bu sebeble Size, Hamit beye ve vekil beye, hepimize çok minnettarım.

Maalesef bugün pasaport temini son derece güç o duğundan seyahat imkânını hemen hemen ortadan kaldırmaktadır. Meselâ maruf bir hekim ve Bp. Üniversitesinin eski profesörü bulunan Balogh Ernő İstanbul Üniversitesi'ne davet edildiği halde hatta Türk elçisinin tavassütüne mazhar bulunmasına rağmen dahi pasaport almağa muvaffak olamamıştı.

Bilhassa şimdi Türkiyede yaşamayı her halde çok arzu ederdim. Bu mektubumu Hamit beye göstermenizi ve muhtevasının ancak eski Türk dostlarım arasında ifşa edilmesini rica ederim.

Şeriften duyduğuma göre Moravcsik'in Byzantino-Turcica'sı son derecede pahalıdır. Türk parası ile 55 T.L.-dir. Fakat ben ikinci cildinin bir kitapevinde daha ucuz bir nüshasını buldum ve bunu Size göndereceğim. Birinci cildin de Prof. Moravcsiktan daha ucuz bir fiatla Size verilmesini tecrübe edeceğim. Fekete Layoşla ve Moravcsikle bu günlerde konuşacağım.

Ural ve İbrahim'e çok selamlarımı bildirmenizi dilerim. Sami veditçerlerin nerede buldukları hakkında malumat almağa çok sevincektim.

Hakkınızda ve refikanızla çocuklarınız hakkında daha fazla tafsilat vermenizi çok rica eder selam ve sevgiler yollarım

Bp., 80, III, 1948.

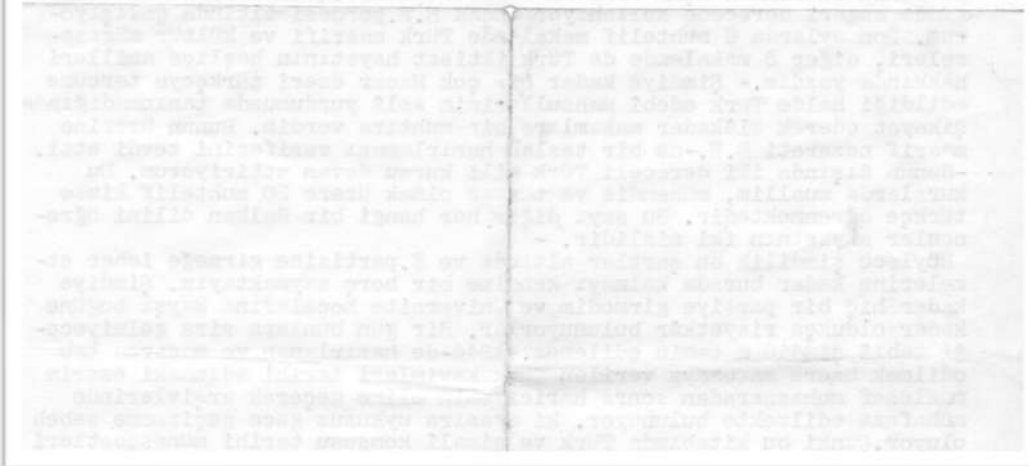


Figure 59a From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 21.09.1961

Kedves Barátom!

Nem írhattam eddig, mert nem tudtam volna semmi bizonyosat írni, s reménykedtem mindig, hogy 1-2 nap múlva már határozottan lehet majd írnom. Most már csaknem bizonyos, hogy reményeimnek vége. Szívesen mennék Erzurumba is, ha itt úgy intéznék a dolgokat, mint 1935-ben. Kivándorolnom nem lehet, mert a gyermekeim itt élnek és azokat nem engednék ki. Leila most érettségizés előtt áll és majd a zeneakadémiai felvételi vizsga előtt. Ezért a feleségem sem jöhetne velem 1962 szeptembere előtt. Ha pedig feleségem és Leila itt maradnak, szükséges, hogy itt továbbra is fizessék a nyugdíjamat, - a feleségemnek. Ez pedig csak úgy lehetne, ha kimenésemet itt is hivatalosan intéznék, mint 1935-ben. Ligetihez fordultam, de az ő révén semmi sem sikerült. Nem mer sikraszállni értem, mert attól fél, hogy én csak másodrangú állampolgár vagyok, mivel nem kaptam utlevelet Göttingenbe sem. Pedig az utlevelek megtagadása teljesen szeszélyes dolog. A művelődésügyi minisztériumban ismerem az egyetemi ügyek fő osztályvezetőjét, de az meg épem most külföldön tartózkodik. Ezért egyelőre mindent ad acta kell tennem, s így nem marad idő arra, hogy török vizumot kapjak, ha netalán valami csoda révén mégis utlevelet kapnék.

Képzelteti az érzésemet, mikor aug. 3.-án közölték velem, hogy az "utlevél iránti kérés ezidőszerint nem teljesíthető". Már minden elő volt készítve és be volt pakolva a kofferem is. Még szerencse, hogy előadásom szövegét pár nappal korábban kiküldtem. Így azt Frau von Gaba-in mint az altajisztikai szakosztály elnöke felolvasta és az anyg tetszést aratott /A nőnevek a török népeknél/. - Az utlevél megtagadása miatt fellebbeztem. A fellebbezés elintézése azonban nincs határidőhöz kötve és az a baj, hogy van egy elv, ami szerint annak, akitől megtagadták az utlevelet, félévig nem lehet utlevelet adni. Hát így reménytelenné vált mind a Tarih Kongressin való részvévelem, mint az erzurumi ügy, még ha minden egyéb rendben lenne is. Talán másképpen alakult volna minden, ha már a göttingeni meghívást, illetve annak a bejelentését, hogy ők, a meghívó társaság vállalják a költségeket, - nem az én nevemre címezték volna, hanem az én nevetem megnevezve a M.T.A. elnökéhez címezték volna. Így ugyanis hivatalosan maga az Akadémia gondoskodott volna az utlevélről, viszont az én nevemre címzett levelekkel már csak ajánlást kaphattam az IBUSZhoz, s ott csak magánvállalkozásnak tekintették az ügyet és nem teljesítették a kérést. - A sok izgalom, csalódás, mérgelődés, gond, amin keresztülmentem, megviseltek. Nem is nyaralhattam az idén, s bizony -ha nem is vagyok beteg- fáradtan kezdem az őszt. A Tarih Kurumu meghívó levele is, amiben megírták, hogy "Sizin Istanbul-Ankara geliş-gidiş yol paranızla Ankara'daki ikamet masraflarınız Kurumca karşınanacaktır" - nem az Akadémia elnökéhez, hanem az én nevemre jött. Mikor erről Ligetinek beszéltem, mert ő volt akkor az Akadémia ügyvezető elnöke /az elnök távol volt/, és azt mondtam neki, hogy irok Ankarába és kérni fogom Uluğ İğdemir beyt, hogy még egyszer írjon, de az elnök címére, Ligeti arra kért, hogy ne tegyem ezt, mert ő elintézi, hogy kimegyessek. Biztam benne és ime...nem tett semmit. Egyetlen aláírása kellett volna és a Kulturális Kapcsolatok Intézete minden korábbi elutasítás ellenére is megtudta volna szerezni számomra az utlevelet, mert hiszen kevéssel azelőtt a művelődésügyi minisztériumtól kitüntetést, az Akadémia elnökétől /Rusznák Istvántól/ meg rendkívüli jutalmat kaptam a hosszú és eredményes munkám elism. részül. A minisztérium hajlandó is lett volna a Kult.Int.et utasítani az utlevél megszerzésére, csak Ligetitől kellett volna egy aláírás. -

A sok keserűségben az a vigasztalás, hogy Ön, Kedves Barátom és többi török barátom nem felejtettek el. Nagyon köszönöm az erzurumi meghívást és az a kérésem minden török barátomhoz, hogy tartsák meg

Figure 59b From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 21.09.1961

az irányomban való jóindulatukat 1962-ben is. Talán hosszabb előkészítés után sikerülne majd kimennem, ha újra meghívást kapnék valahová. Ha egyetemi meghívást kapnék, azt a Művelődésügyi Minisztériumhoz, vagy a miniszterhez, - ha pedig tudományos társulati meghívást kapnék, a M.T.A. elnökéhez kellene írni. Persze az én nevemet megnevezve, mert különben olyan valakit küldenének ki helyettem, akinek a személye kedvesebb a partizán szociális szempontjából. De szívesen lennék most Istanbulban, akár négy-öt évre is, akár csak pár hétre is ebben a ragyogó szeptemberben. Erzurumban is szívesen lennék, de csak rövidebb időre, mert ott nem tudnám folytatni a most megkezdett munkámat. Ott még nagyon kicsi lehet a könyvtár, innen meg nem vihetném ki a saját könyvtáramat úgy, mint 1935-ben. Erzurumba a munka uttörő jellege és az eddig ismeretlen milieu vonzanáknak egy-két évre. Lehet, hogy hosszú időre is megszeretném ott az életet, de ezt nem tudom előre, mert már nem vagyok fiatal és nem tudom, hogy mennyire egészséges hely? Vérnyomásom normális, van egy kis agyvérzéségénységem, szervi bajom nincs. Ankarában jól éreztem magamat. csak a lodosz volt kellemetlen áprilisban néha. Ankara is vonz. - Erzurumban régi barátom /40 évvel ezelőtt ismerkedtünk össze!, H.Koşay lenne számomra nagyon kedves kolléga, de szívesen emlékszem B.S.Baykalra is. - Neki is most irok. - Megjelent most egy cikkem Stein Aurélról a "The New Hungarian Quarterly"ben; küldtettem belőle egy példányt az Ön címére. - Két új különlenyomatot is küldök. - Hajdani professzorom meg akarja szüntettetni a saját jmmár kilencvenesztendősi tanszékét, nehogy én örököljem. Ebben hiva neki Czeglédy is, akinek a sógora most lett a hariciye vekili. Ligeti viszont e kérdésben igen jól viseli magát, mert ragaszkodik ahhoz, hogy a tanszék megmaradjon. Erről persze Şiyah kollégánk előt ne beszéljen K.N.Gyuszival. Gyuszi szívesen menne lektoroknak az ankarai egyetemre, s ez nagyon hasznos is lenne, de hajdani professzoromnak más jelöltje van. Kár, hogy nem személyre szóló volt a lektor meghívása. -

Hogy sikerült anatóliai útja? Talált-e szép anyagot? Remélem, kedves családja is egészséges. Nálunk a feleségemet nagyon megviselte anyósom hosszú haldoklása. Ő sem nyaralt semmit, igen fáradt, csak most kezd kissé rendbejönni. Elvesztette az itthoni munkáját, mert a munkaadója gyógyíthatatlan beteg lett. Szóval nagyon alaposan lecsökken a jövedelmünk, annak ellenére is, hogy hetenként kétszer bejárnak az akadémiai könyvtárba, min szaktanácsadó. Feleségem rendbehozta a lakásunkat, s én is ismét intenzíven dolgozom. Ankarába szánt előadásomat is újból elővettem. Remélem, módjában lesz ismét eljönnie hozzánk, esetleg feleségestől is, vagy családostól.

Minden jót kíván és családjával együtt szívből üdvözl

Budapest 1961 szept. 21.

Rásonyi László

Figure 60 From the rectorate of İstanbul University to the Anatolian News Agency,
03.06.1960

Anayasaya aykırı kanunların çıkarılmasını ve diktatörlük rejimini protestö etmek, memleketimizin demokratik bir rejim ile idaresini istemek için 28 ve 29 Nisan 1960 günleri ile müteakkip günlerde yapılan rimayış ve hareketlere şehrimizin bütün Üniversite ve Yüksek Okul öğrencileri iştirak etmiş, birbirleriyle daimi temas ve irtibatta bulunmuşlardır.

Yüksek tahsil müesseselerinin idarecileri, hocaları ve yardımcıları bu büyük milli ve vatani hareketlere karşı fevkalâde bir alakâ göstermiş ve müzaheretle bulunmuşlardır. Bütün yüksek tahsil müesseselerimizin mensuplarının aynı fikir ve duygular ile çalışarak güzel vatanımıza ebedi hürriyet güneşinin doğmasında büyük rolü olduğuna şüphe yoktur. Biz başladık, şanlı ve kahraman Ordumuz başardı. Türk milleti ve gençliği aziz Ordumuza minnettar ve müteşekkirdir.

Türk gençliğinin bu asil, necip ve milli hareketine bazı yüksek tahsil müesseseler idarecileri ile hocalarının ve öğrencilerinin iştirak etmedikleri, öğrencilerin aleyhine sokakta veya müesseselerde bir gösteri ve hareketle bulunması hakkında propagandaların yapıldığı şayiaları teessür ile duyulmaktadır.

Yüksek Tahsil müesseselerinin idarecileri ve hocaları ile öğrencileri arasında bir ayrılık yaratmağa, hadiseler çıkartmağa matif olan bu kötü ve yıkıcı, bozguncu propagandalara kapılmalarını şuurlu ve vakur Türk gençliğinden ehemmiyetle rica ederim.

3 Haziran 1960

İstanbul Üniversitesi

Rektörü
İmza

T.C
İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ
DEKANLIĞI
Sayı: 1396

9 HAZİRAN 1960

İst.Uni.Rektörlüğünün İstanbul Örfi İdare Kumandanlığına, gazetelerde yayınlanmak üzere Anadolu Ajansı Müdürlüğüne gönderilen beyanname örneğinin yukarıya çıkarıldığını saygılarımla bildiririm.

Dekan a.

Naci Baysal

Figure 61a The academic activity report of 1960-61

Prof.T.Gökbilgin'in 1960-1961 ders senesi ilmi faaliyet raporu

27 Mayıs 1960 inkilâp hareketine tekaddüm eden günlerde Üniversite Senate suna, düşük iktidarın tutumuna karşı, Üniversite muhtariyetini, ilim ve tafekk hürriyetini, o sıralarda büyük bir medeni cesaret sayılabilecek bir şekilde, müdafaa eden bir muracaate bulunduğum gibi, ihtilâlden sonraki haftalarda da matbuatta ve radyoda bu inkilâbın ruh ve manâsı hakkında, zihniyet inkilâbı nusunda yayınlar yapmış, 30 Ağustos Dualupınar zaferi yıldönümünde Üniversit mizi temsil etmişim. Yaz aylarında evvelâ, İA için "Nasad, Nasuh paşa, Navarin maddelerini orijinal birer etüt olarak hazırlamış, sonra da, Eylül ayında, Tür Tarih Kurumunu temsilen Marburg'daki X. Dinler Tarihi kongresine katılmışım bunun raporu Kurumun 1961 genel kurul faaliyet raporunda yayınlanmıştır. Eylül sonunda, Türk-Sovyetler Birliği ilmi münasebetleri çerçevesi içinde ve Mosko Üniversitesi davetlisi olarak iki hafta müddetle Moskova ve Leningrad'ı ziy ret etmiş, ilmi temaslarda bulunmuş ve Moskova Üniversitesi ile Sovyetler il Akademisinde büyük bir ilgi ile takip edilen üç konferans vermişim. Bunun r poru Dışişleri Bakanlığına verilmiştir. Ekim 1961 başlarında Polonya İlim Ak demisinin davetlisi olarak bir hafta müddetle Varşova ve Krakovi'de ilmi te lar yaptım ve bu iki şehrin Üniversitesinde konferanslar verdim ki, bunun da tafsilâtli raporu aynı Bakanlığa sunulmuştu. Yurda dönüşümden sonra, TTK. tara dan teşkil ve yayınları kısmen bana tevdi' edilen Edirne'nin 600. fetih yılı kutlama hazırlıkları ile meşgul olmak üzere Edirne'de incelemelerde bulundum ve bu konu etrafında orada bir konferans verdim.

1960-1961 ders yılında Fakültede ortaçağ tarihi öğrencilerine MURAD I. devri Osmanlı devletinin XIV. asırdaki durumu, kuruluş ve inkişafı konusunda dersler verdim, MURAD II. devri müesseseleri konusunda seminer yaptım. SURRE müessesesi hakkında bir tez idare ve takip ettim. Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsünde ve Yüksek Öğre men Okulunda konferanslar verdim.

Mart 1961 de Budapeşte EÖTVÖS LORAND Üniversitesi davetlisi olarak Macarista da incelemelerde ve ilmi temaslarda bulundum ve bu Üniversitede XVI. asır ort

Figure 61b The academic activity report of 1960-61

- 2 -

larında Osmanlı devletinin Tuna Havzası siyaseti' konusunda bir konferans verdim ve yine Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun bünyesi ve organizasyonu konusunda bir seminer yaptım. EĞİRİ, ESTERGOM, PEÇUY şehirlerinde türk eserleriyle ilgili olarak ziyaret ve incelemelerde bulundum ki, bu ziyaret ve temaslara mufassal rapor Üniversite Rektörlüğüne, Maarif ve Dışişleri Bakanlıklarına sunulmuştur. Şimdi, bir taraftan, İA için NİŞANCI ve NİZAMİCEDİD maddelerini, Macar İlim Akademisi yayınlarından olan ACTA ORIENTALIA için bir makale hazırlamaktayım, ders ve seminerlerime devam etmekte, İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisinin neşir işleri ile meşgul olmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, yakın bir gelecekte neşirini umduğum monografilerin ikmali için de arşivlerdeki çalışmaları ilerletmektedir.

Saygılarımla. 30.4.1961

Prof. H. Tayyib Gökbilgin

Figure 62 The document related to travel permission, 07.03.1961

T. C.
İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ DEKANLIĞI
Sayı : 327

Istanbul: 7 MART 1961

Sayın Prof. Tayyib Gökbilgin

Budapeşte Eötvös Lorand Üniversitesinde konferans vermek üzere yurd dışına çıkmanıza müsaade edilmiş olduğu İçişleri Bakanlığının 14.2.1961 tarih ve 21369 sayılı yazısına atfen Rektör lükten bildirilmiştir.

Bilgi edinilmesini saygılarımla rica ederim.

Dekan a.
N. Baysal
Naci Baysal

KŞ.N.7.3.1961

Figure 63 From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 10.12.1959

10 - XII - 1959.

Igen Tisztelt Professzor Ur!

Kérem méltóztassék megbocsátani, hogy egy újabb levéllel zavarom. A küldött meghívót az utlevél kérelemhez elfogadják, de szükséges volna még kiegészíteni azzal, hogy isztanbuli tartózkodásom alatt Professzor ur vendége leszek. Természetesen én ezt csak formailag kérem. Ha e kéréssel Professzor urban mégis bizalmatlanságot ébresztenék, kérem szabad legyen azt mondanom, hogy ez a levél /melyben én magam kértem a vendéglátásra egy formai meghívást/ mindenkor biztosítékul szolgálhat arra, hogy én nem lehetek valóban Professzor ur terhére. Nagyon szégyellem, hogy ilyen kéréssel kell Professzor urhoz fordulnom, de méltóztassék megengedni, hogy a kényszerítő körülményekre hivatkozzam és arra, hogy nagyon nagyon szeretnék elmenni Isztanbulba. Szíves engedelmével tisztelettel kérem az alábbi tartalmu levél megírását, ha lehet kézírással magyarul:

Kedves Kolléga Ur!

Ürülök, hogy meghívásomat elfogadja és Isztanbuli tartózkodása alatt az én saját vendégemnek láthatom Kolléga urat. Valóban én is szeretnék menni majd Budapestre, hogy az Erdély történetére vonatkozó némely iratokat az országos levéltárban tanulmányozhassam. Éppen ezért örömmel olvasom és nagyon köszönöm, hogy viszonzásul budapesti tartózkodásom alatt Kolléga ur is vendégének akar látni engemet. Nem tudom még, hogy a budapesti utazásomra mikor nyílik lehetőség, de remélem, hogy a közel jövőben. Kolléga ur nem írta meg, hogy mikor tud Isztanbulba jönni. Én nagyon szeretném, ha úgy jönne, hogy legalább két hónapra ~~na~~ vendégem lehetne. Megérkezését nehezen várom, mert szeretném, ha minél előbb hozzáfognának közös levéltári munkánkhoz. Szíves üdvözlésemet tessék fogadni Kolléga ur és minden jót kívánok

Ugy remélem, hogy Professzor ur levele ebben a formában nagy segítségemre lehet. Azonban szabad legyen megmondanom, hogy a levélnek azt a részét, melyben arról írok, hogy az igen tisztelt Professzor urat budapesti tartózkodása alatt én vendégül látom, szeretném ha Professzor ur nem formai meghívásnak tekintené, hanem igazán elfogadná azt nagyon megtisztelne ezzel. Remélhetem én ezt Professzor urtól

Sajnos az utlevél megszerzése huzamosabb időt vesz igénybe és lehet hogy csak márciusban fogom megkapni, ha megkapom. Ez a nehézséggel kell küzdenem, mert politikai megbízhatóságomat kétségbe vonják, mivel Édesapám földbirtokát /1950-ben/ elvették és két testvérem 3 évvel ezelőtt külföldre ment. De a professorok és mások akik biznak bennem, hogy hazajövök, nagyon melegen támogatnak, így azért mégis van reményem arra, hogy Isztanbulba mehetek, de ehhez még igen szükséges volna a kért formai levél elküldése. Nagyon kérem Professzor urat méltóztassék még ezzel a segítségemre lenni.

Legyen szab érdeklődnöm, Professzor urnak nincs szüksége magyar könyvekre? Például nagyon fontos segédkönyv Kosáry Domokos: "Bevezetés a magyar történelem forrásaiba és irodalmába" című munkának különösen az első kötete. Igaz, hogy már esetleg csak használt példányt tudok belőle szerezni, de ha tetszik, úgy ezt, mint más ~~na~~ könyveket is nagyon szívesen megszerzek, sőt örölnék, ha szolgálatára lehetnék ezzel is Professzor urnak. Ha esetleg mégsem juthatnék el Isztanbulba ezeket a könyveket az isztanbuli magyar konzulátuson keresztül mindig el tudom küldeni Professzor urnak.

Szíves levelét várva, kérem Professzor urat fogadja mély tiszteletem és hálám őszinte kifejezését

Káldy-Nagy Gyula

Figure 64a From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 23.04.1960

23. IV. 1960.

Igen Tisztelt Professor Ur!

Kérem méltóztassák megengedni, hogy a 11. IV. 1960-iki leveléért a legmelegebb köszönetemet fejezzem ki. Nagyon köszönöm bizalmát, amely a mai körülmények között különösen megtisztelő.

Professor ur levele a legalkalmasabb időben érkezett, e nélkül talán egy kicsit össze is zavarodtak volna dolgaim, amelyek egyébként nagyon kedvező irányban haladtak. Most az eredmény az lett, hogy az Egyetem viszonzásul meghívja igen tisztelt Professor urat /nem formális meghívás lesz!, négy hétre. De hogy meg tessék érteni a dolog ilyen fordulatát, szabad legyen röviden elmondanom, hogy ez hogyan történt.

Mikor az isztanbuli utazásom engedélyezéséhez a kérvényt beadtam, hogy az utazás engedélyezésének anyagi akadályai ne legyenek, be kellett adnom egy nyilatkozatot, melyben közöltem, hogy az utazásomhoz vállalt /devizát/ nem igénylek, mert engem Isztanbulban Gökbilgin professor ur lát vendégül, akit viszonzásul budapesti tartózkodása alatt majd én fogok vendégül látni. Mivel én ezt írtam, viszonzásul Professor ur lát vendégül akarom látni, az Oktatásügyi Minisztérium /ahol kérvényemet elbírálják/ a múlt hónap közepén kérvényemet átküldte a Külügyminisztériumba, hogy mondjanak véleményt erről a csere utazásról, különösen arról, hogy Professor ur jelenleg meghívható-e Magyarországra. En erről már a multkorai levelemben is írhattam volna, de nem akartam róla említést tenni, mivel nem voltam teljesen biztos a kedvező elintézésben, bár azt tudtam, hogy az isztanbuli magyar konzulátus - ami döntő - Professor urról csak kitűnő véleményt adhat. - De hadd mondjam sorrendben. Az isztanbuli konzulátus valóban olyan nagyszerű véleményt írhatott igen tisztelt Professor urról, hogy a Külügyminisztérium nemcsak, hogy jóvá hagyta a mi "csere utazásunkat", hanem az Oktatásügyi Minisztériumnak egyenesen javasolta Professor ur hivatalos meghívását. Így tegnapelőtt a Minisztériumban azt "kérték" tőlem, hogy helyettem Ok, illetve az Egyetem hadd hívassa meg Professor urat hivatalosan. Felmerült közben Haszan Eren meghívása is, akit vagy az isztanbuli konzulátus hozott javaslatban vagy Kovács Ferenc ur /aki az Oktatásügyi Minisztériumban főosztályvezető/, ő még az Eötvös kollégiumból ismeri Eren urat. Tekintettel azonban arra, hogy én egy hónapra megyek Isztanbulba, Professor urat is egy hónapra, illetve négy hétre hívják és pedig javaslatomra október hónapra. ~~És~~ Haszan Eren ~~meghívását~~ két hétre hívják meg november hónapra. Hogy tárgyilagos legyen meg kell azt is mondanom, hogy ezt az ügyet nagy mértékben elősegítette az tény, hogy Menderes miniszterelnök urat meghívták Moszkvába, s ez a jelenlegi körülmények között a török-magyar kulturális kapcsolatoknak is eredményezheti. Ugyanis ilyenkor mások is követni akarják a nagy államférfi példáját, hogy meghívjanak valakit és javítsák azokat a nemzetközi kapcsolatokat, melyek éppen napi rendben vannak. A mi számunkra szerencsés véletlen, hogy ez éppen most indult meg. Ugy tudom most Perényi József is kéri /ugyanis éppen tegnapelőtt kellett beadni azoknak a külföldi tudósoknak a névsorát, akiknek a jövő évre való meghívását az egyetemi oktatók javasolják/, hogy Professor urat jövőre hívják meg két hétre Budapestre. Így remélhetőleg jövőre is sikerül ide jönni.

Szabad legyen az elmondottakhoz hozzátennem és hangsúlyoznom, hogy az igen tisztelt Professor ur ~~zak~~ hivatalos meghívásának az alapja elsősorban mégis az, hogy Professor ur behatóan foglalkozik a magyar történettel, erre én magam is nyomatékosan hivatkoztam, amikor az Egyetemtől és az Oktatásügyi Minisztériumtól kértem, hogy meghívásának eleget tehessek.

Méltóztassák megengedni - szinte nehéz erről írnom - hogy esetleges félreértések elkerülése miatt világosan megmondhassam Professor ur hivatalos meghívásától függetlenül, a nekem küldött meghívót én továbbra is sekli davetname-nak tekintem, én többet nem akartam és ezért is végtelenül hálás vagyok. Csak legyen szabad kérnem /bocsánat, hogy ezt kérem/. mié ki

Figure 64b From Gyula Káldy-Nagy to Gökbilgin, 23.04.1960

nem megyek ne tessék senkinek emliteni, hogy a küldött davetname csak
sekli volt. Ezt a butaságot most csak ijedtemben kérem, később ugyanis ezze-
már nem törődik senkisé.

Remélem, hogy az október megfelelő időpont lesz Professor urnak, ha
nem akkor méltóztassék megírni a megfelelőbbet. A hivatalos meghívót azt
hiszem egy-két hét múlva meg tetszik kapni. Én nagyon örülök, hogy Profes-
zor ur idején és mindezt el fogok követni, hogy az itt töltött időt minél
kellemeesebbé tegyem. A levéltár tárva-nyitva áll majd Professor ur előtt,
fényképezni is lehet, kivéve az utolsó ötven év anyagát, bár ez azt hiszem
ugy sem igen érdekli Professor urat, de ha mégis, úgy erre is igyekszem
engedélyt szerezni. Persze ezt könnyen mondok, mert ebben a tekintetben
nálunk valóban könnyebb a helyzet mint Isztambulban, mivel a levéltár nem
tartozik a Miniszterelnökséghez.

Vajjon nem volna-e jó és szükséges, hogy az isztambuli levéltári ku-
tatáshoz és mikrofilmzéséhez én már most adjak be egy kérelmet az ankarai
követségen keresztül?

A Széchenyi Könyvtár már egy hete teljesen rendben megkapta a köl-
csön adott könyvet. Szívesen kölcsönöznek máskor is.

Perényi József a küldött Barkan könyvet megkapta, talán már meg is
tetszett kapni köszönő levelét.

Pehér Géza kolléga urral beszéltem, a cikk már régebben elkészült,
de most van folyamatban a cikk kiküldéséhez szükséges engedély megszerzé-
se. Rövidesen ő maga fog írni Professor urnak.

Remélem, hogy júniusban valóban mehetek, de amint tetszik látni a dol-
gok itt nem mennek gyorsan, eddig csak elvben döntötték el, hogy mehetek,
de az utlevél és a vizum megszerzése csak most kezdődhet el. Így nem tudom
hogy tényleg meg lesz-e az utlevelém júniusban, pedig nagyon szeretnék
akkor menni. Juliusban és agasztusban nem akarok menni s így ha júniusban
nem mehetek, a szeptember marad. Nem tudom megfelelne-e Professor urnak
ha/szeptemberben megyek? Tessék megírni. Bocsanatot kérek, hogy így vissza-
élek igen tisztelt Professor-ur türelmével, de ezek rajtam kívül álló
okok.

Méltóztassék megengedni, hogy ismételten köszönetet mondjak megtisz-
telt bizalmáért és sok szives segítségéért.

Kérem Professor urat fogadja mély tiszteletem őszinte kifejezését

Gyula Káldy-Nagy

vetleg

Figure 65a The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961

10 Mart - 13 Nisan 1961 tarihleri arasında Macaristan'a
vaki' ziyaret raporu

Budapeşte EÖTVÖS LORAND Üniversitesinin davetlisi olarak Macaristan'a yaptığım bir aylık ziyaretten yeni dönme bulunuyorum. Bu davetin hedefi, eskiden beri az çok tanıdığım Macar ilim muhiti ile temaslarda bulunmak, ilim müesseselerinde incelemeler yapmak ve konferanslar vermek, bu suretle de oldukça eski bir masisi olan Türk-Macar ilim münasebetlerinin, iki tarafa da istifade sağlayacak bir şekilde, sıkı ve samimî bir samiyet atmosferine nispet ve yardım etmektir. Gerçekten, bir aylık tetkik gezantısının bu maksadı temine hayli yardımcı olabilirdi. Şöyle ki:

İlk hafta mesup olduğum rahatsızlığa müteakip gerek Üniversitede gerek Macar İlim Akademisinde tetkik ve temaslara başladım. Rektör vekil sayın Prof. Lengyel Béla'nın, Türkoloji Enstitüsü profesörleri ve bazı ilgililerin huzuruya ve bu maksatla vaki' kabulü esnasında (21 Mart) pek samimî konuşmalar ve fikir teatisi yapıldığı gibi, daha sonra İlim Akademisi ikinci reislerinden ve memleketimizde de iyi tanınan, 1957 de Türk Dil Kongresinde de hazır bulunan ma'ruf mongolist Profesör Ligeti Lajos ve yine Felsefe Fakültesi Dekanı olup keza Türk kavimlerinin etnolojileri tetkikinde bilhassa temayül eden sayın Prof. Talasi Istvan ile ilaf temaslara ve nişterek konular üzerinde samimî musahabeler cereyan etti. Aynı suretle Macar İlim Akademisinin tarih araştırmaları Enstitüsünde ma'ruf Macar tarihçisi ve Osmanlı hakimiyeti devrinde Macaristan tarihi üzerinde ihtisası olan Makfal Laszlo ile de görüştüm. 30 Martta Üniversite'de seçkin dinleyiciler, ezdümle, rektör vekili, dekan ve profesörler ile öğrencilerin huzurunda " Osmanlı Devletinin XVI. asır ortalarındaki Tuna havzası ve Akdeniz siyaseti ve bunlar arasındaki irtibat ve münasebetler " konusunda macarca bir konferans verildi, pek istifadeli geçtiğini ısrarla ve müttefikan beyan ayledikleri bu konferans büyük bir dikkatle takip olundu. Yine Türkoloji Enstitüsünde 12 Nisanda-araya paskalya tatili ve milli bayramları girmişti-" Osmanlı devletinin kuruluşu, bünyesi ve organizasyonu " mevzuunda münakaşalı bir seminer yapıldı. burada Türkiye elcisi sayın Burhan İsm. sayın

Figure 65b The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961

2)

Refikaları ve elçilik mensupları ile bu konu ile ilgili bütün profesör ve öğrenciler bulundular. Çok istifadeli geçtiğinde herkesin ittifak ettiği bu seminerde, hemen hemen 100 senelik mazisi olan bu Enstitü için, muhakkak ki, müstesna bir hadise idi.

Bu Üniversitenin Felsefe Fakültesi Dekanı, Macaristan'ın diğer mühim tarihî ve kültür merkezlerini ziyaret ve tetkiklerde bulunmam iştikânını sağlamak lutfunda bulundu. Gerek Türk yadigârlarının ehemmiyetli derecede bulunması ve gerek son araştırmalar neticesinde ele geçen malzeme ile zenginleştirilmek suretiyle yeniden tertip ve tanzim edilen müzelerin mevcudiyeti sebebiyle, harpten önceki senelerde de bir nebzecek tanıdığım, bu şehirleri (Visegrad, Ezergom, Eger, Pécs) tekrar görmek benim için çok istifadeli oldu. Filhakika, Ezergom kalesinde son senelerde yapılan hafriyat neticesinde Türk hakimiyetinin devrinde üstü kapatılmak suretiyle muhafaza edilen Arpad'lar devrine ait (XI., XII. asırlar) saray ve kilise gibi binalar, muhtelif devirlere ait bir çok eşya bulunduğu gibi, Eger (Egri) kalesinde de Osmanlı muhasaraları dolayısıyla yapılan ve KAZANATA tabir edilen çok ilgi çekici tarihî tetkikâtler, bunlara Türk devrinde ilâve olunan kısımlar kale müzesi olarak yine son devirlerde mükemmelen tertip ve tanzim olunmuş ve burası civardaki camii yıkılmış fakat bir meydanın ortasında güzelce muhafaza edilmiş minare ile birlikte şehrin ehemmiyetli tarihî ve turistik hususiyetleri olmuştur. Pécs (Peçuy)'de ise Türk eserleri daha büyük bir dikkat ve ihtimamla ihyâ ve restore edilmek istenmektedir. Şehrin merkezindeki Gazi Kasım Paşa camii ne haricî manzarası itibarıyla aslı hüviyeti verilmeğe istenmiş, iç kısmı yine bir kilise olarak kullanılmakta bulunmuştur. Eskiden bu camii yanlarında bulunan iki minarenin tekrar yaptırılması hakkında bir cereyan mevcut olduğunu bana bilâünasebe haber verdiler. XVII. asırda kale haricinde yaptırılmış olan ve hâlen memleket hastahanesi yanına düşen Yakovalı Hasan Paşa camii ise, esasen minaresi temâmen sağlam ve ayakta bulunduğu cihetle, orijinal şeklinde restore edilmektedir ve her halde bundan sonra bir müze olarak muhafazası cihetine gidilecektir. NOBAÇ ovasında bu zaferanla ilgili bazı arkeolojik buluşlar meydana çıkmışsa da bunları

Figure 65c The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961

Akademisi muhiti ile gerek Macar Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının kültürel münasebetler dairesi müdürleri ve diğer ilim ve kültür adamları ile yaptığım konuşmalar da birinci mevki Üniversitelerimiz arasında, her iki tarafın da ihtiyaç ve istifadesini temin edecek şekilde, ilmi temas ve münasebetlerin, müşterek çalışmaların başlaması ve artması, daha geniş ma'nada Türk-Macar san'at ve kültür hareketlerinin karşılıklı olarak mümkün mertebe daha canlı bir hale getirilmesi meselesi, teşkil etmekte idi. Memleketlerimiz arasında bilhassa yarım asır öncesinden başlayarak uzun bir zaman devam eden ilim ve kültür münasebetlerinin kesafeti, Macaristan'da 1910-1945 yılları arasında hemen her sñhada tahsil veya ikmal-i tahsil eden Türk aydınlarının çokluğu (merhum Prof. R. Hulusi Özden, Hasid Z. Koçay, H. Namık Orkun, Prof. H. Eren, Doç. Ş. Başta, Doç. İ. Kafesoğlu başta olmak üzere bir çok ziraatçi ve mühendisler) göz önüne alınırsa ve ayrıca Budapeşte Üniversitesindeki bir asırlık mazisi olan Türkiyat kürsü ve Enstitüsünün Macar dil ve tarihini araştırırken dolayısıyla Türk tarihine yaptıkları büyük hizmet ve bu sahada yetiştirdikleri milletlerarası büyük âlimlerin ehemmiyetli sayısı (Vambéry, Thury, Karacson, Takats, Feher, Mázaros, Gombocz, Mémeth, Fekete, Rasonyi v. s. düşünülürse bu an'anenin yaşamasını ve semereli bir şekilde inkişafını temenni etmemeye imkân tasavvur olunamazdı. Bugün, Türk ve Macar milletlerinin içinde yaşadıkları politik, sosyal ve ekonomik şartlar ve teşkilât, ve bilhassa Macaristan'ın bugünkü cemiyet ve iktisat nizamı nasıl bir mahiyet arzederse etsin, tarihlerinde pek çok iştirâk noktaları ve daha fazla dostluk tezahurları bulunmuş olan bu iki milletin bundan sonra da hususiyle ilim ve kültür alanında sıkı bir münasebet halinde yaşamalarına ciddi bir engel olmasa gerektir. Bilâkis bunu kolaylaştıracak ve artıracak pek çok sebep ve âmil sıralanabilir. Bu arada, asırlar boyunca, Türk milletinin bir çok Macar millî kahramanına, siyasi şahsiyetlerine (Zapolyai, Bethlen, Tükhöly, Rakoczi, Kossuth) kucağını açması, onları himaye etmesi, kısa veya uzun müddet birer misafir ve mülteci sıfatıyla izas ve ikram etmesi, diğer taraftan, 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus savaşlarında topyekün Macar milletinin türkler lehinde gösterdikleri büyük hassasiyet ve emsalsiz tezahurat bu tariht

Figure 65d The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961

faktörler arasında zikredilebilir ki, bunun izlerini ve canlı hatıralarını bu gün de her iki millet nezdinde müşahede etmek mümkündür.

İşte, bu suretle sağlam bir temel ve an'aneye malik olan ilmi ve kültürel münasebetlerin, pasif bir halde geçen on beş senelik bir devreden sonra, yeniden canlanmaya, geliştirilmeye değer bulunduğu şüphesizdir. Bu hususta Üniversite Rektörü, Vekili, Felsefe Fakültesi Dekanı, profesörler ve ilgili Akademi azaları arasında kuvvetli ve samimi bir arzu müşahede ettim. Ben de şahsen kendilerine fikir ve kanaatlerine tercüman olduğuma inandığım, Türk Üniversite ve ilim muhitlerinin de bundan başka bir şey düşünemeyeceklerini, aynı ihtiyaç ve zaruretin bizde de hissedilmekte olduğunu bilmukabele anlattım. Bu meselede 'Ön plânda bahis konusu olabilecek hususlar, Üniversitelerimiz ve ilim kurumlarımız arasında neşriyatın muntazam ve devamlı olarak mübadelesinin sağlanması, içtimaf ilimlerinde (dil ve tarih araştırmalarından başlayarak etnoloji, sosyoloji, hukuk ve iktisat)-müsbet ilimler ve teknik saha ihtisası dışında bulunmakla bu bapta bittabi' bir fikir sahibi değilim-öğrenci ve ilim adamlarının karşılıklı olarak etüt ve incelemelerine imkân verilmesi, iki milleti aynı derecede ilgilendiren bir kısım ilmi konularda (müzecilik, arşiv, kütüphane) müşterek çalışma ve işbirliğinin mevcudiyeti, karşılıklı olarak ilmi mahiyette sergilerin ve müzelerde ayrı seksiyonların ihdası gibi şeyler olarak düşünülmektedir.

Bunların başında, şüphesiz, dil ve tarih araştırmaları gelmekte, her iki taraftan ilim ve ihtisas adamlarının, yetişecek ve yetişmekte olan nazmedlerin böyle bir fırsat ve imkânı istekle gözledikleri müşahede olunmaktadır. Bilhassa Macaristan'daki Osmanlı hakimiyeti devri (XVI., XVII. asırlar) ve bu devir üzerinde yapılacak tarih araştırmaları her iki milletin bu devirle ilgili tarihçilerini son derecede alâkadar ve müşterek çalışmaya sevketmektedir. Bu devrin en önemli kaynakları Türk arşivlerinde bulunmaktadır ve şimdiye kadar bunların, milletlerarası ilmi usul ve temâüllere göre, araştırılması ve incelenmesi Macar ilim adamlarınca mümkün olamamıştır. Bu kaynaklardan mahrumiyet Macar tarihçiliği için büyük bir ızdırap doğurmakta, bizim için ise, bazı kütüphanesi idarecilerimizin ve bilhassa Arşiv Umum Müdürlüğü'nün inkişaf ve gayr-i ilmi mülahaza ve hareketleri yüzünden, teessür ve teessüfü mucip olacak bir durum yaratmaktadır.

Figure 65e The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961

geçen sene bu uzucu hali Türk Tarih Kurumu müdahale ederek, bundan sonra buna ilmi ve salim bir istikamet verilmesi hususunda, adı geçen daireyi hedef tutarak, Başbakanlığa müracaatte bulunmak kararını almıştı. Bu meselenin bu yolda ve milletlerarası usul ve temsüllere göre islah ve tanzimi ve bu maksatla ilgili mercilerin bir an önce gerekli tedbirleri almaları ve müşterek bir ilmi çalışmaya zemin hazırlamaları lüzumlu, isabetli ve sarurfi bir hareket olacaktır. Nitekim bu defa, Macar İlim Akademisinin Tarih Enstitüsünde yaptığım tetkik ve temaslarda, vaktiyle Osmanlı Devletinin birer eyaletini teşkil eden Budin ve Eğri hakkındaki tahrir defterlerinin neşri ve bu suretle Osmanlı hakiyetinin Macaristan'da liberal ve insanî bir hukuk telâkkisi ve idare sistemi tatbik ettiğinin meydana daha açıkça meydana çıkarılması meselesi görüldü ve bu hususta bir hizmet ve yardımı vazife sayarak, bir Macar ilim adamı ile müştereken bu sahada bir monografi neşri teklifini meanniyetle kabul ettim. Keza, macarların tarih eserleri tasvir ve restore etmeleri, yeni yeni ilgi çekici müzeler tertiplemeleri ve bunların çokdefa bizim tarih ve kültürümüzle sıkı sıkıya alakadar bulunması bu sahada da bir işbirliğini gerektirmektedir. Besteragon, Eğri ve Peçuy'da ziyaret ettiğim, son harpten sonra temasen ilmi ve teknik usullerle hazırlanan müzeler, bana, müzecilerimizin de buralarını ziyaret etmeleri ve Macar müzecileri ile gerektiği yerlerde müşterek çalışma yapması lüzumunu hatırlattı. Son senelerde çok önem verdikleri bu müzeler ile, eski Osmanlı kaleleri Sigetvar, Şikloş ve daha başka yerlerde yapılan ve Türk devrinin medenî ve mimarî eserlerini aksettirecek olan restorasyonlarda, bunlarla ilgili Türk vesikalarının fotokopilerine malik olmayı arzu etmeleri, aynı suretle, Tekirdağ'da RAKOZİ, Kutahya'da KOSKUTTE gibi Macar millî kahramanlarının ikamet ettikleri evleri birer müze olarak tertiplemelerine müsaade beklemeleri sebebi ve yersiz görülmemek iktiza eder ve buna yardım etmek, ilmin inkişafına olduğu kadar Türk tarihinin de daha çok aydınlanmasına hizmet edecektir ki, bu meselelerde Üniversitemizin ve Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının gereken tavassut, muza heret ve lütfu esirgemeyeceğini ümit etmekteyim.

Maruzatımı şu suretle telhis etmek ve lüzumlu, ehemmiyetli saydığım bir kaç noktayı belirtmek isterim:

Figure 65f The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961

nasebetiyle orada gördüğüm iyi kabule ve bu vesile ile vukubulan ilâf temasa İstanbul Üniversitesinin memnuniyetle muttali' olduğu hakkında adıgeçen Üniversiteye bir nezaket mektubunun gönderilmesi ve Üniversitelerimiz arasında ilâf münasebetlerin takviyesinin birde de arzuya şayan olduğunun bildirilmesi:

b) Şimdilik Budapeşte Üniversitesi Felsefe Fakültesi ile İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi arasında, dil ve tarih bölümlerinde, birer talebe veya asistan mübadelesi imkânının araştırılması ve bu hususta Dışişleri Bakanlığının muvafakatının ve Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının da yardımının temine çalışılması.

c) Aynı fakültelerin-eger mütekebil arzu ve ihtiyâç izhar edilirse diğerlerinin de-dil, tarih, arkeoloji, san'at tarihi ve etnoloji sahelerindeki ilim adamlarının karşılıklı olarak birer veya ikişer sümestre mübadele edilmesine imkân olup olmadığının düşünülmesi.

d) Üniversitelerimiz arasında neşriyat mübadelesi hususunun Üniversite kütüphanesi ve Fakülteler Kütüphanelerince ne suretle tanzim ve idare edilebileceğinin tesbiti (bu maksatla bana verilen neşriyat postadan alınınca ilgililere teslim edilecek, bu meselede tamamlayıcı bilgi ve muhabereye tavassut tarafından memnuniyetle karşılanacaktır).

e) Üniversitemizin ve Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının, Arşiv ve müzelerimizde ilgililere kolaylık gösterilmesi ve müşterek çalışmaya imkân verilmesi hususunda alâkalı mercilere müracaatları veya ilgili dairelere gerekli talimatta bulunmaları.

f) İki devlet arasında her hangi bir kültür anlaşması mevcut olmasa ve şimdilik bunu yapmanın bazı engelleri bulunsa bile, yukarıda etraflıca serdettilerim mülâhasalar muvacesinde, düşünce ve tekliflerimin, en basit şekilleri ile ve temamen mütekebiliyet esasına dayanarak, tahakkukuna ciddi bir mani' hâsır gelmemektedir ve bu hususun daha etraflı olarak düşünülüp bir programa bağlanması ve mütekebil olanlarının icrasına tevessül için Üniversite ile Dışişler ve Maarif Bakanlıkları temsilcilerinin bir toplantı yapmaları ve kesin bir karara varmaları çok arzuya şayandır.

Figure 65g The report on the visit to Hungary between 10.03.1961 to 13.04.1961

7)

temamen ilmi ve milli seviyeden, aynı zamanda tarihî ve an'navî dostluk ve münasebetleri de nazara alarak arz ve teklif ettiğim hususların teminine yüksek mekânınızın delâlet ve musaharetini rica ederken, yol parası Üniversitece tediye etmek suretiyle hakkında ibraz buyurulan tevaccühe teşekkür ve minnettarlıklarımı bildirir derin saygılarımı sunarım. 18.IV.1961

M. Tayyib SÜKBİCİN

M. Tayyib SÜKBİCİN

Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Profesörü, Türk Tarih Kurumu Üyesi

Not: Burapor İstanbul Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, Dışişleri Bakanlığı Kültürel Münasebetler Genel Müdürlüğü ve Budapeşte Türk Elçiliğine sunulmuştur.

Figure 66 From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkish Republic to Gökbilgin,
15.06.1960

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ
HARİCIYE VEKÂLETİ

Ankara, 5 Haziran 1960

610-045-D-IV/2,2465

Prof. Tayyip Gökbilgin
İstanbul Üniversitesi
Edebiyat Fakültesi
İstanbul

Mevzu:

Ref: 31 Mayıs 1960 tarihli dilekçe karşılığıdır.

Budapeşte Üniversitesi Türkoloji Enstitüsü Öğretim Üyelerinde Dr. Kaldy-Nagy Gyula'nın memleketimizi ziyaretle ilmi temaslarda bulunmasında Vekâletimce mahzur görülmemektedir.

Ancak, demirperde memleketleri ilim adamlarının arşivlerimizde tetkiklerde bulunmalarına Arşiv Umum Müdürlüğünce prensip itibariyle müsaade olunmadığı cihetle, tetkik müsaadesi istihsal olunmadık Profesör Gyula'ya arşivlerde tetkikat yapabileceği yolunda bir vaa veya beyanda bulunulmamasını saygılarımla rica ederim.

4.

Hariciye Vekili Y.

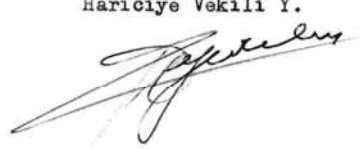


Figure 67a From Faik Reşit Unat to Gökbilgin, 24.12.1962,

VI. TÜRK TARİH KONGRESİ
Ankara: 20 - 26 Ekim 1961

استانبول ، 24. آغلا 1962

عزیز قارده شیخ صلیب ،
بوگون استانبولغا کجا بیگونه قارا - مکتوب یازا ایلدیم ایچیبه چورده
ادریگون و محجوم . نین مئندور - گورده صلیب قارا - سا کجه کلک بول اولدین ده
ارونم صورت گونده - کلک مکتوبده کی - اولمکن آکلارم . بوشله بلبلر
یکه ییلک ، غریبتک - شکرلی نه قارا - تکمل ادرک ادرسون ، وطندن
اوزانه بکوش ده کلیمنک روحکه یا اتمک طبیع اولان سنزیک
گیده ناک آاسنده ، ائک ای روغور و ریلک کلک بوردست آغاب
قلین دردوشوب ییلک برآ لاره قورلاسه قرارنده ییم . بو آرزون
اوجگون ایچیبه برآ سیله دولک بیلک کلکیم و یا سیله صباغ آیریلدیم
استانبولدن ، نوله خوسه کلک ریبین صورت کیم برتاریک
نیچ لرنه - ووله دیک بر اول ادا سندن یرنه گتیر مک حال یسیریم .
تاریک ییک ییلک ده ، بوگون دک کلکله ، اولار کلکله ، سورد
یورالده و نیا لفر یونکله بروطنک کلک نین اقل نین سیرلیده اید
کجه صلیب ای و سلا گوند گتیر من ریلک ، گوند کلکدن نوبه ییم .

Fundamente نیک ادرنجه جلدنیک قلم ییلکی و یازا ایچیبه نیک کیمله
حواله اولدینک و سائر اشیر حقنده کهنه بر بیلک آملار نین ایچیبه بو قونوره
کجا بر حال شیما ایشر دوست و دشمن دیک ییلیم . آنتق یه دندلن صورت افساد
کونک اشیر آاسنده بو جا لامقده ییم . بو آره ماها یستاندن ره کیم -
Ostutay باشقا نینده کلک بر هفت سبگه قارا - نکلتمزده قالدی و ای اظلمک
آیر اولد آیریلدی . نکلتم نیک ده اکل یه آیریلدی اولدینن سوگنیک ازنولک .
قلم نیند بر ییک دگری چورنیک بو جا لرنیک ایزنه یسیر کلکندن لره ایچیبه ییم .

Figure 67b From Faik Reşit Unat to Gökbilgin, 24.12.1962

VI. TÜRK TARİH KONGRESİ
Ankara: 20—26 Ekim 1961

-2-

ادبگون آنق ره یونجه توردی طویلانیسه دا . گونده ده نرک ره ماجارستان
شجور دفتر ره عقده صولک هالاکه قوندن گلنه یازیه رازر صور دینیز صفه
جوانیز برالمسه بوزنوی . محتواسن بیله دیک ایچیه برور شوخ بیلده
دورده رگیلم . ساره جم تحاس اتمک استیروم . قول طویلانیسن
فاکه یا یادده . سباطه تأخیر اتیک . بویله جم سفا سنیك
مکصد قییک بوزنمانیسه ره صاخلاسه اولاجیز سزی و آنو .
صیای ره انا اته گلنه ملک سنیکی طویلانیسه آرازره گوردور .
مکتوبنیز بیکه دیکم قید ایچ نیک بر آاز فضل بنجیلک اولاجیز
تقدیر اتمیکه برابر نرک اوزون و حمیم مکتوبلر یازنده کی کماستیزی
بیلدیکم ایچیه بهر دینلارن مستفید اولسه استیروم دینیک سوزاری
شیرر و بر زنده راها گوزلر زین نویسم قاره جم .

F. Unat

Figure 68a From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 11.08.1963

Kedves Barátom!

Levelének a mélységesen lehangolt volta és csalódott hangja nagyon lehangoló volt számomra is. De azután gondolkoztam a dolgokon. Irja, hogy H.Gy. től olyan értesülése van, amely szerint innen valamelyik követségi titkárt Önt kémnek nyilvánította. Hát én egyáltalában nem hiszem, hogy H.Gy. ilyesmit hallott volna. Bármennyire is tény, hogy H.Gy.-nek minden állami szervnél vannak ismerősei otthon, s még itt Törökországban is sokfelé -, s ennek megfelelően szinte csodálatraméltó a jólétesültsége, mégis ki kell jelentenem, hogy azt, amit ő mondott, merő kitalálásnak tartom. Képtelenség, hogy akkor, amikor Ön a legkimagaslóbb és leghozzáértőbb személyiség azon kevesek között, akik aktívan törődnek a török-magyar kulturális kapcsolatok intenzívebbé tételével, - hogy akkor akadjon bárki is a követségen, akár a múltban, akár a jelenben, aki Önre vonatkozólag az inkriminált kijelentést tette volna. Akárhányszor beszélek a követségiakkal, Önről mindig a legnagyobb tisztelettel és rokonszenvvel emlékezem meg. Tudjuk azt, hogy a mai világhelyzetben még inkább, mint máskor, a kis Magyarország követségének nem is lehet más célkitűzése, mint hogy elősegítse a gazdasági és a kulturális kapcsolatokat. Hát csak nem diszkreditálják éppen azt a személyiséget, akinek török vonalon a legtöbbet köszönhetnek! Ha az inkriminált kijelentés valaki részéről valóban elhangzott, ki és mi célból tette? Cui prodest? -mint a római jog valószínűleg kérdezte. Ön itt hathatósan előmozdítja Káldy-Nagy tudományos törekvéseit és az enyémet is. Ön volt a legauthenticusabb tanuja a Káldy ellen Magyarországból indított intrikának a négyelen feljelentésekkel./Erről én annak idején az Ön levele alapján beszámoltam Ligetinek, s bár névről nem is esett szó, mégis ártalmára volt a hallgatólagosan gyanúsítottaknak. Nos, ha Ön diszkreditálva van, akkor csökken a gyanúsítottal szemben kialakult ódium és csökken az Ön támogatásának a magyarországi súlya.- Persze az is lehet, hogy nem is ilyen kiszámított intrikáról van szó, hanem csak egy féltékenységtől fűtött, bosszúságban mondott megdölgő és határozatlan kijelentésről. Ha Ön elveszti a kedvét ahhoz,

Figure 68b From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 11.08.1963

hogy a jövőben a kulturális kapcsolatokat támogassa, éppen az intrikusnak a céljait fogja előmozdítani! Ha ez nem világos, majd megmagyarázom, ha találkozunk. Azt hiszem, így kell felfogni az ügyet, s ha esetleg Hazai kitalálása az egészen nem kell komolyan venni, nem pusztán a fentebb kifejtettek miatt, hanem azért sem, mert ő az otthoni tudományos körök előtt talán még a megérdemelnél is nagyobb mértékben elvesztette a hitelét. Itt többre becsülik őt. Jó feje van neki, de többet kellene neki komoly eredményeket felmutató tudományos munkával foglalkozni, mint "politikával", már tudnillik személyi politikával.

Holnap megyek a Tarih Kurumuba, hogy megkérdezzem, van-e fejlemény Kálcs Nagynak az Ön által őnáluk pártolt ügyében.

A nagy melegre való tekintettel a napokban 8-10 napra elmegyek Amaasrába. Azt mondják, hogy jóval hűvösebb, mint Istanbul és jóval olcsóbb is. A szemeszterkezdés előtt azonban elmegyek még Istanbulba is. Szándékomban volt felolvasást tartani a velencei török, műv. történeti kongresszuson is is, és pedig a arról, hogy a szőnyegelőállítás török szókinccse kétségbevonhatatlanul autochton /sokm az igei derivátum!/. Ez az első lépés annak az eldöntésére, hogy milyen néphez kapcsolhatjuk a szőnyegelőállítás kezdeteit.-Azonban az út sokba kerül és mint nem török állampolgárnak, valutáris nehézségeim is lennének a jegy megvásárlása körül. Majd itt fogom megjelentetni. Eredetileg a leányom munkája volt, de én még irtam hozzá.-

Kézcsókját küldi és egész kedves családjával együtt szívből üdvözlözi

Rásonyi László

Uğurbay és Serhat Aziz bey is Istanbulban vannak. Joff az idare kezeti-ből most sendi sine. A hónap végén majd megint elmegyek a Tarih Kurumuba. Nem lenne-e jó, hogy Ligetben írja előt a Hazai-ügyről a Bal-ismétlem - kár egy ilyen bejelentésnek pontosan a közönségnek.

Figure 69a From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 17.09.1963

Ankara, 1963 szept.17.

Kedves Barátom!

Remélem, utolsó levele óta már megtartotta az edirnei előadásokat, s azok jól sikerültek.

Ujra kéréssel alkalmatlankodom. Teszem ezt a Tarih Kurumu felkérésére. Az istanbuli Emniyet Müd. még mindig nem küldte el a Káldy Nagy vizumügyére vonatkozó aktát Ankarába. Nagyon kérjük az Ön beavatkozását abból a célból, hogy sürgősen küldjék el az irást, hogy itt azután a Hariciye intézkedhessék. Eddig hatszor voltam a Tarih Kurumunál ebben az ügyben és kétszer a minisztériumokban.

Most valamit a másik ügyről, ami Önnek nagy keserűséget okozott. Ujra csak azt a meggyőződésemet fejezem ki, hogy én azt, amit Hazai mondott, nem hiszem el, mert annyira még a követségiék sem lehetnek börtörtak, hogy a saját érdekük ellen cselekedjenek. An-
spontán
nak a hazugságnak vagy nem volt célja, csak ártani akart az Ön pártfogoltjainak, vagyis Káldynak és nekem Magyarországon, vagy pedig -itt az Ön Hazaiival való beszélgetésére utalok-, el akarta venni az Ön kedvét attól, hogy magyaroknak segítsen.

Figure 69b From László Rásonyi to Gökbilgin, 17.09.1963

Azt, amit én megérkeztemkor elmondtam Önnek, mint abszurd voltánál fogva mulatságosat mondtam el, s akkor nem is tett Önre különösebb hatást. Csak most, amikor Hazait a kérdéssel sarokba szoritotta és H. önvédelemből a követségre kente a dolgot, - volt Önre e dedikodunak nagy hatása. Remélem, hogy H.-val való beszélgetése kapcsán a nevemet nem említette, mert H. nagyon felhasználhatná otthon ellenem azt, hogy én jóbarátságból elmondtam Önnek, hogy milyen szármásra képesek egyesek. A követ még nem jött vissza. Ha már itt lesz és Ön óhajtja, és ha Ön az én nevemet nem említette H.-nak, én az úgyről beszélhetek a követtel is, azt hiszem hálás lenne. Vagy hagyjuk ezt akkorra, amikor Ön Ankarába jön?

Szíves intézkedését kérve a Káldy-ügyben és válaszáat várva a Hazai-ügyben

igaz barátsággal üdvözlí

Rásonyi László

Figure 70 From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 31.07.1963

Budapest, 1963.7.31

Tisztelt Professor Ur!

Mindenek előtt hálás köszönetet szeretnék mondani a szíves vendéglátásért és fogadtatásért, amelyben Isztambulban engem részesített. Nagyon sajnáltam, hogy nem tudtam személyesen elbucuzni Professor Urtól. Az utolsó nap azonban sajnos elkerültük egymást, s telefon nem lévén már nem tudtam jelentkezni. Így levél útján szeretném Kedves Feleségének fáradozását és szivességét is megköszönni.

Az Ayniyatból a kért könyveket megkaptuk. Ezért is hálás köszönetet kell mondanom. Az utolsó nap, amikor Professor Urat keresve az Egyetemen jártunk, találkoztam M. Ergin kollégával is, akit idáig nem ismertem. Igen örültem, hogy vele is kapcsolatba kerülhettem.

Igen örültem, hogy a korábbi időszak néhány kellemetlen félreértését tisztázhattam Professor Urral. Remélem, hogy a továbbiakban semmisen fogja beárnyékolni a magyar-török kapcsolatok ügyét. Magam részéről, éppen úgy mint eddig, azon leszek, hogy ebben a vonatkozásban azok a szálak erősödjenek, amelyek összefűznek minket. Professor Ur biztos lehet abban, hogy abban a szellemben járok majd el minden kérdésben, amelyben mi ezeket baráti alapon megbeszéltük, s amelyben egymástól elváltunk.

Még egyszer hálás köszönetet szeretnék mondani a sok fáradozásért. Hálás kézcsókkal és üdvözlettel:

Hazai György

Figure 71a From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 30.08.1963

Budapest, 1963.8.30

Tisztelt Professor Ur!

E soraimat közvetlenül Berlinbe való elutazásom előtt írom, így szeretnék elküszönni Professor Urtól, egyben természetesen megadni berlini címeimet.

A nyarat a Balatonon töltöttem el. Pihentem is, dolgoztam is. Készülő könyvemen dolgoztam, amelyet jövőre remélem nyomdába is tudok adni. A nyáron persze gyakran emlegettük itthon Professor Urat, isztanbuli kedves segítségét. Feleségemmel együtt igen örülünk, hogy jövőre Magyarországra tetszik készülni. Reméljük, hogy alkalmunk lesz majd sok szíveességét valamelyest viszonzni. Igen remélem, hogy Professor Ur látogatása idején haza tudok majd jönni Berlinből.

Itthon nem sok tudományos ujság van. Igaz a nyár miatt majdnem mindenki távol volt, s így ujságot nem is nagyon lehetett remélni. Professor Ur üdvözléteit átadtam Ligeti és Németh professzor uraknak, akik szívélyesen viszonzozták azt.

Korábban tetszett kérni a Mikes-levelek új kiadását. A könyv végre nyomdában van, s remélem, hogy hamarosan meg is jelenik. Akkor feltétlenül küldök majd Professor Urnak. Természetesen, ha másra is szüksége van, tessék írni, a legnagyobb örömmel állok rendelkezésére.

Figure 71b From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 30.08.1963

Törökországi utazásom egyik legfontosabb eredményének azt tekintetem, hogy Professor Urral ismét a régi, jó kapcsolatok alakultak ki. Nagyon örültem, hogy minden félreértés tisztázódott, s most már alkalmunk lesz, hogy ezeket a tudománytól távoleső dolgokat ~~hátréteve~~ valóban a tudomány érdekeit szolgáljuk. Az én célkitűzésem is az, ami Professor Uré: szeretném, ha a magyar-török kulturális és tudományos kapcsolatok minél jobban kiszélesednének. Ebből minden tudós számára csak haszon származhat. Éppen ezért kérem Professor Urat, hogy ha bármilyen vonatkozásban segítségemre lenne szüksége, írjon, a legnagyobb örömmel állok majd rendelkezésére, s képviselem majd távollétemben is ezt a jó ügyet. Professor Ur kérései és tervei - ahogy törökül mondják - benim üstünde olacaklar. Nagyon örülnék, ha így tetszene számítani rám, s közösen tehetnénk majd sok jót a magyar-török kapcsolatok érdekében.

Berlinben hosszú ideig maradok. Valószínű, hogy több lesz, mint két esztendő. Talán öt is. Legalább is a németek ezt szeretnék. Ez valóban komoly lehetőség egy új nemzedék felnevelésére. Címem ott a következő lesz: Vorderasiatisches Institut an der Humboldt-Universität, Berlin W 8, Unter den Linden 6, D.D.R.

Szeretettel várom Professor Ur sorait, s kérem, hogy adjon hirt az Ön és a Család egészségéről. Szívvel kívánok valamennyiüknek jó egészséget és a munkában sok sikert.

Tisztelettel őszinte hive:

Hazai György
/Hazai György/

Figure 72a From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 11.15.1963

Dr.G.Hazai
Vorderasiatisches Institut
an der Humboldt-Universität
Berlin W 8, Unter den Linden 6

Berlin, 1963.11.5

Tisztelt Professor Ur!

Már igen részen készülök írni Professor Urnak, hogy hirt adjak itteni munkámról. Az első hetek azonban sok időt raboltak el: be kellett rendezkedni, meg kellett szokni a környezetet. Most már ezen lényegében túl is vagyunk. Az egyetem nagyon szép háromszobás lakást bocsátott rendelkezésünkre, úgy hogy végülis igen kényelmesen helyeztek el bennünket.

Az egyetemi munka október közepén indult be. Jelenleg öt egyetemi hallgatóm van. Ezen kívül két ugynevezett aspiránst is kaptam, akik már korábban tanultak türökül, s a disszertációjukat akarják elkészíteni. A hallgatók igen tehetségesek, remélem, hogy tudományosan is szépen fognak dolgozni. Nagyon szeretném, ha az egyik történelmi dolgok iránt érdeklődne, s később történész lenne. Persze most még nagyon nehéz ezt eldönteni.

Természetesen szóba került a turkológia távolabbi programja is. Reméljük, hogy külföldi tudósok is ellátogatnak majd ide. Így, ha Professor Ur Lengyelországban jár, tessék egy ilyen meghívással is számolni. Az Akadémia örömmel fog fogadni egy előadást Professor Ur-tól. Annak idején ezt majd idejében levelezünk, s elintézem a meghívás körüli formasságokat.

A sok munka mellett azért jut időm a munkára is.

Figure 72b From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 11.15.1963

Igy foglalkozom a Tarih-i Ungurus feldolgozásával, amelynek már a nyelvi vonatkozásain dolgozom, mert a kézirat átírásával stb. végeztem. Remélem, hogy jövőre nyomdába tudom adni. Nagyon örülnék, ha Professor Ur lehetne a munka egyik lektora. Értékes tanácsai számomra nagy segítséget jelentenének. Előbb azonban elvi beleegyezését szeretném kérni, hogy a kiadónál a dolgot ilyen értelemben jelezsem.

Egy konkrét vonatkozásban szeretnék még Professor Ur-nak írni. Az Azerbajdzsáni Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára tanácsot kért török eserekapcsolat ügyében. En az elsők között Professor Ur nevét ajánlottam nekik, mint olyan tudományos személyiséget, aki több tudományos intézményt képvisel, s maga is jelentős tudományos könyvtárral rendelkezik. Küldtek is egy felkérő levelet és egy ajánlólistát, amelyet hamarosan el fogok küldeni Professor Ur-nak. Ennek alapján el tetszik majd dönteni, hogy hivatalos, vagy magán formában tetszik a dolgot lebonyolítani. Ahogy Professor Ur-nak jobb és kényelmesebb. Azt hiszem azonban, hogy értékes és hasznos kiadványokat ajánlanak fel. Ha a könyvek továbbításában gond van, természetesen örömmel állok Professor Ur rendelkezésére.

Végül még egy igen örvendetes hírt szeretnék megírni: Professor Ur tanácsai nyomán sikerült megfelelő jó kapcsolatot teremteni Gyula barátunkkal. Elutazásom előtt hosszabb beszélgetésre ültünk össze, s ennek eredménye az volt, hogy helyreállítjuk a régi kapcsolatokat. Mindketten azon a véleményen voltunk, hogy ez nemcsak személyes haszonnal jár, de hasznos a turkológia számára is. Mindenesetre nagyon köszönöm ebben Professor Ur tanácsát és segítségét, hiszen a kezdeményezés az Ön részéről indult ki.

Nagyon örülnék, ha levelet kapnék Professor Ur-tól. Remélem, hogy az egész Család jó egészségben van. Ezt szívből kívánom.

Mély tisztelettel:

Hazai György

Figure 73a From Gyula Németh to Gökbilgin, 27.07.1963

Mátraháza, 1963, júl. 27
Akadémiai üdülő

Hedves Kollégám!

Köszönöm júl. 18-i levelét.
Nekem hiszem, nincsen ok rá, hogy
elvéresse a kedvied a közös-
^{tudományos} magyar kapcsolatok további
ápolásától. Munkáját Buda-
pesten minden komoly ember
becsüli, sőt nagyon értékeli.
Eddig is nagy és fontos
eredményeket ért el és a jö-
vőben további nagy ~~ered-~~ered-

Figure 73b From Gyula Németh to Gökbilgin, 27.07.1963

ményekre számunk. Ez
mindkét ország tudomá-
sáinak fontos érdeke.
Nem szabad, hogy felelősen
és éretlen megújulási-
tások és egyéni intrikák
elkezdve legyenek bennünk.
Hagyon kérem Káldy -
Hagy Gyula iránti további
jóindulatát. Ez egy halpig
becsülehes, derék ember.
Most megy Törökországba

Figure 73c From Gyula Németh to Gökbilgin, 27.07.1963

Sekere Lajosnak egy másik
tanítványa, Hegyi Klára.
Kérem szíves támogatását
ennek a számára is.
Ke mondjon le további
magyarországi ügyeikről
sem. Szereléssel várjuk!
Sok szíves üdvözléssel
és kézcsókjait küldi
Németh Gyula

Figure 74a From Enver Ziya Karal to Gökbilgin, 25.05.1976

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU

BAŞKAN
c. 27-8/514

Ankara, 25.V.1976

H 317

II. Rakoczi Ferenc Symposium'u
Sayın Başkanlığı

İstanbul Üniversitesi
Edebiyat Fakültesi

Çok eski çağlara gittikçe Macar Ulusu ile Türk Ulusu'nun akrabalık derecesine ulaşan müşterek tarihi ve kültürü olduğu ilmî kanaat olarak belirlemektedir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun yayılışı sırasında Avrupanın her tarafından yığılan haçlı orduları ile vukua gelen çatışmada Macaristan savaş alanı olmuş, önce batılılara katılan Macarlar, Osmanlıların çekilişi sırasında bekledikleri özgürlüğe kavuşamayınca zaman zaman ayaklanmışlar, yenilince de müttefikleri Türklere sığınmışlardır. Bunların başında Kırál Thököly maiyeti ile birlikte İzmit'e yerleştirilmiş ve kendisine bir çiftlik verilmiştir.

18 inci yüzyıl başlarında Kırál II. Rakoczi Ferenc Tekirdağ'ında misafir edilmiş ve 1735 de burada ölmüştür. (Maiyetindeki Mikeş Kelemen'in mektupları bu mültecilere insanca gösterilen muameleye tanıklık eder), 1849 Macar Özgürlük savaşının büyük mücahidi Koşsuth Lajos 1851 yılına kadar Kütahya'da kalmıştır. Oturduğu ev müze olacaktır. Avusturya İmparatorluğu ve çarlık idaresi Koşsuth ve arkadaşlarının kendilerine teslimi için Osmanlı Hükümetini savaşla tehdit etmişler, o sırada Osmanlı devleti zayıf olmasına rağmen bu tehdide kulak asmamış ve yüksek Türk karakterini göstermiştir.

Macarlarla Türklerin akraba oldukları Türkiye'de yaygın bir kanaattir. Macaristan'da durum aynıdır. Okul kitaplarımızda Fatih'in toplarını Macarlı Urban'a döktürdüğü, ilk matbaanın

Adres : Türk Tarih Kurumu - Ankara

Figure 74b From Enver Ziya Karal to Gökbilgin, 25.05.1976

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU

BAŞKAN

-2-

İbrahim Müteferrika adlı bir Macar mühtedisi tarafından kurulduğu görülür. Kızılayı da ilk kuran Serdar Ömerpaşa olup büstü Kızılay binası önündedir.

Macar gençliği Rus-Türk Savaşında Flevne kahramanı Gazi Osmanpaşa'sempatisini esirgememiştir.

İki memleket arasındaki rejim farkına rağmen, Türk-Macar Kültür münasebeti gevşememiş, Tarih, Dil ve sanat alanında Objektif çalışmalar sürdürülmüştür.

İstanbul Üniversitesindeki symposium bunun yeni bir delilidir. Başarılar dilerim.

Türk Tarih Kurumu Başkanı

E. Z. Karal

Ord.Prof.Enver Ziya Karal

Figure 75a The report on the visit to Hungary, November 1978

Türk Tarih Kurumu Başkanlığına

Türk-Macar tarihçileri karara komisyonuna başkanlığınız tarafından seçildiğimi ve geçen sonaki Ankara toplantısına karşılık Budapeşte'de ikinci bir toplantı için 31 Ekimde Steki arkadaşlarla bütüncü etamız gerektiğini öğrendiğim zaman derhal genel müdürümüz Süleyman telefonla aramız ve bize herhangi bir talimat verilip verilmeyeceğini öğrenmek istedim. Anlaşıldığına göre Aralık 1977'de Ankara'da kararlaştırdığımız esaslar çerçevesinde Macar tarihçileri ile Türk-Macar tarihçilerinin işbirliği konularını ve yollarını müzakere edecek ve bu işi daha ileri bir aşamaya götürecektik.

Budapeşte havalimanına muvafakatınızda (31 Ekim, Salı) Macar İlim Akademisi tarafından Türk-Macar tarihçileri karara komisyonuna seçilen Macar meslektaşlarımız tarafından bizi karşıladılar. Bir haftalık programa derhal giriş yaptık. Buna göre 1 Kasım'da Macar Akademisinin karara komisyonu görüşmeleri yapılacak, Macar İlim Akademisi kütüphanesine bağlı doğu kütüphanesi ziyaret edilecek, öğle yemeğinden sonra da deniz kenarında bir resmi kabul verilecekti ki bu toplantı da Türkiye büyükelçisi de bulunmaktaydı.

2 Kasım'da Ötöcs Lorant Üniversitesi İktisadi Bilimler Fakültesi ziyaret edilecekti. 3 ve 4 Kasım günleri Pécs, Szeged, St. Eötvös üniversitelerine gidilerek Türk tarih eserleri görülecekti. Buna ek olarak Erci ve Kaposvár da ziyaret edilerek çok faydalı ve bilimsel bir gezi gerçekleştirilmiş oldu. 5 ve 6 Kasım günleri Budapeşte müzakereleri ve şehir gezileri ile program tamamlanacak ve ertesi gün de (7 Kasım) oradan havaalanına gidilecekti. Bu program tamamen uygulandı ve bir haftalık gezi başarılı ve sağlıklı bir şekilde gerçekleştirildi.

1 Kasım günü heyetimiz Türkiye büyükelçiliğine giderek sayın büyükelçi ile tanışmış ve gezi programı hakkında kısa bir görüşme yapılmış, sonra da Akademiye giderek karara komisyonun Macar üyeleri ve diğer buluşmuştur.

Karara komisyonun Macar üyeleri kendi aralarında bir başkan ve bir sekreter seçmiş bulunuyordu. Toplantı başlayacağı sırada bizim heyet de bu görevleri yapacak kişiler belirlemediği. Sayın başkan kendisine bu husus sorulduğu zaman Türk üyeleri arasında 40 benzeri mektup olduğunu ve Macaristan ve Macar İlim Akademisini iyi tanıdığına ve macarca bildiğine gerekçeli toplantıda başkanlığı benim yapmamı teklif etti, kabul ettim, ve Mac-

Figure 75b The report on the visit to Hungary, November 1978

s.2

car başkanı Mocsy Andras'dan sonra sözü aldığım zaman geçen seneki kararlarımızın ışığı altında tarihi işbirliği konuları hakkında muhakhas bazı örnekler ve konular gösterdim. Bunlar Macar tarihçileri tarafından da hareketli bir tasviple karşılandı. Şimdi bu toplantının Macarca tutulan ve bana bir nüshası verilen toplantı tutanağının aynen Türkçeye tercümesini sunuyorum:

"Türk-Macar tarihçileri karma komisyonunun Budapeşte'de yapılan toplantısının tutanağı"

Türk-Macar tarihçileri karma komisyonu 1 Kasım 1978 de Budapeşte'deki toplantısını yaptı. Türk Tarih Kurumunu temsil eden üyeler: Tayyip Gökbilgin, Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, ve Semavi Eyice
Macar İlim Akademisini temsil eden üyeler: Mocsy Andras, Prof. Hazai Zsörgy, Doç. Kaldy-Nagy Zsuzs, Dr. Katus Laszlo

Bu toplantıda daha birçok mütahassis Macar tarihçisi vardı bunlar da fikir teatisine etkili bir şekilde katılmışlardır. Türk-Macar tarihçileri karma komisyonu genişletilmiş kadro içinde en son Ankaradski toplantı kararlarına gözden geçirdi. Bunun çerçevesinde mümkün olan işbirliği alanlarının tesbit etti. Ve daha sonraki tekliflerle bunu genişletti. Bu suretle vaka bulunan fikir teatisinde Türk ve Macar heyetinin bütün üyeleri söz aldılar ve işbirliği lüzumunu ve muhakhas imkanları çeşitli noktalardan aydınlatıldılar. Müşterek planlar yapılmasını görüşlerin tamamına mutabakatı fevkalade bir şekilde kolaylaştırdı. Ve her iki esas itibarıyla aynı önerileri hazırlaması şeklinde tecelli etti. Bu vaka tekliflerin genişletilmesi ve daha kesinleştirilmesini mümkün kıldı.

Hazır bulunanlara daha önceki Ankara toplantısında sıralanan mümkün işbirliği sahalarının herhangi bir şekilde artırılması ve müşterek ilgi konusuna olan çalışmalara yardım edilmesi lüzumunda birleştiler. Aynı zamanda gerçekleştirilecek muhakhas bir plan olarak aşağıdaki hususları kabul ettiler:

1- İki sene içinde yani 1980 yılı zarfında müşterek ilmi

"Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda kaleler yollar". Bu konu gerek zaman gerek hiçbir tahdide tabi değildir. Tam tersine bu konferansı (sempozyum, ilmi toplantı) bu konuyu daha ileri götüreceği her türlü araştırma ve tebliği memnuniyetle karşılayacaktır. Amaç Türk-Macar mütahassısların -muhtemelen başka yabancı mütahassısların da- müştereken tartışmaları,

tebliğlerini müştereken yayınlamaları ve bu cilde imkanlara göre bu meselelere aid kaynakların takdimine, tanıtılmasına yer vermektir. Kararlaşırılan bu ilmi konferansın kesin tarihi ve yeri 1979 senesi zarfında tesbit olacaktır.

2- Müşterek ilmi teğebbüs olarak Türk ve Macar tarafı Türk-Macar münase-

Figure 75c The report on the visit to Hungary, November 1978

e.3

betlerinin bibliyografyasını hazırlayacak ve bununla ilgili kaynakların bir araya getirecektir. Çalışma esnasında Türkiye'deki ilmi-tarihi literatürü Türk tarafı, Macaristandaki ilmi materyali Macar tarafı leydana getirecektir. Bu çalışma mahsullü muhtemelen birçok ciltler halinde ve müşterek yayın olarak yayınlanacaktır.

3- Karma komisyona Türk üyeleri müzakereler sırasında Macar tarihi için ehemmiyetli bir çok kaynak esere ve çalışma alanına dikkati çektiler. Macar mütahassıslar ise bu fevkalade değerli bilgişere teşekkür ile ittila keshettiler ve bu kaynakları nasıl müşterek bir yayın şeklinde gerçekleştirmek hususunda gelecek tophantıya muşabhas teklifler getirmeyi vadettiler. Macar mütahassıslar aynı zamanda eğer Türk tarihçileri Macarlara dair Türk kaynaklarını yayınlanmayı deruhte ederlerse ve yayın organlarını (mecma, dergi v.s.) bu maksat için ayırırlarsa memnuniyetle telakki edeceklerdir.

4- Müzakerede bulunan Türk mütahassıslarkonuşmalarında Türk-Macar münasebetlerinin şimdiye kadar tanınmayan veya az tanınan birçok konularına dikkati çektiler. Bununla ilgili olarak Macar mütahassıslar ise şunu teklif ettiler: Birli bir zaman sarfında müşterek çalışma ile öyle cüzib ve hacimli bir kitap hazırlansın ki bu eser ayrıntılı bir şekilde Türk-Macar münasebetlerinin bütün devrelerini kapsasın, bismacaleh bu hususun araştırılmasını ve müttekup tetkikle de dikkate alınmasını tavsiye ediyoruz.

5- Müzakerede bulunan Türk mütahassıslar Macar ilim Akademisinin iki husus hakkında dikkatini çekti. Bu hususların (bu vazifelerin) gerçekleştirilmesi birinci planda Macar ilim adamlarına gayretine bağlıdır. Fakat bunun tahakkuku aynı zamanda Türk-Macar ilmi münasebetlerinin bütününe gelecek gelişme bakımından ehemmiyetli rol oynayacaktır.

a. Macarca-Türkçe ve Türkçe-Macarca lügatin bir an önce hazırlanması ve yayınlanması. Bunun eksikliğini gerek ilmi ve gerek her günkü hayat sahasında fevkalade bir şekilde hissetmek mümkündür.

b. Macaristanda Türk hakimiyeti devri tarihi topoğrafyasının tesbitive tasviri ile ilgili çalışmaların bir an önce başlatılması. Bu hususun büyük miktardaki milletlerarası bir teşebbüle ilk halkası olarak Tabakae Imperiae Ottomanicae vücuda getirilmesi olabilir. Birçok ilmi sebep buna ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Te pratik bakımdan bu teşebbülün Macaristan'daki Türk hakimiyeti bilgelerindeki materyelden başlatılması düşünülebilir. Macar mütahassıslar Türk meclekteğularının bu önerilerini memnuniyetle şğrendiler ve bu teklifleri münasib tavsiyelerle Macar ilim Akademisininbununla ilgili organına aksettirmeyi vadettiler.

6- Müzakerede bulunan Macar mütahassıslar Türk heyetine şu teklifleritavsiye ettiler:

a. Çeşitli tarihî devrelerle meşgul Macar arkeologların Türk Tarih Kurumunun himayesi ve patronajı altında yapılan hafriyatlara müşahit olarak katılma-

Figure 75d The report on the visit to Hungary, November 1978

s.4

ları çok faydalı olacaktır. Macar arkeologların bu türü kazılara katılmaları, araştırmacıların ilmi seviyelerini ve ufuklarını fevkalade bir şekilde yükseltecek ve genişletecektir. Bu bakımdan Macar İlim Akademisi Türk Tarih Kurumunun bu hususun müşahhas imkanlarına dikkate alınmasını hararetle arzu etmektedir.

b. Macar İlim muhiti 1981 deki Atatürk jübilesine ve Atatürk yılı törenlerine, layık olduğu şekilde iştirak etmek istemektedir. Bu sebeble Macar tarafı Türk Tarih Kurumu'nun bu konu ile ilgili olarak daimi temas halinde bulunulmasını rica etmektedir. Macar İlim Akademisi Türk Tarih Kurumundaki münasib görülecek bir tarihte bu husustaki programın ayrıntıları hakkında kendisine bilgi verilmesini dilemektedir. Macar İlim Akademisi aynı zamanda Macaristan'da Atatürk ile ilgili bir organizasyon düşünmektedir ki bunda Türk tarihçi meslektaşların yardımına güvenmektedir.

c. Macar tarafı Türk tarihçi meslektaşların dikkatini 1980-1990 seneler arasında Viyana ve Budin'de yani 1683 ve 1686 senelerindeki muhasaralar ile ilgili törenlerin tertipleneceği vakasına çekmiştir. Macar tarihçileri arzu gayan görmektedirler ki bu önemli tarihi olayların yıldönümleri vesilesiyle mütekerem ilmi organizasyonlara ve yayınlara fırsat hasıl olsun. Biraz önce ayrıntılı ilmi programın yayınlanması maksada uygun düşer. Bu programın tartışma konusu için en münasip zaman ve mahal karma komisyonun mütekerem toplantısı olurdu.

Türk tarafı bu tekliflerden ilgi ile haberdar oldu ve bunlara Türk Tarih Kurumunun ilgili yetkili organlarına duyurmayı vadetti.

7- Her iki taraf ENESEO tarafından çözümlenen ders kitaplarının birleştirilmesi işine özel bir dikkat ve ilgi gösterildi. Bu suretle bu konuda fikir teatisine mütekerem toplantısı esnasında devam edilmesini kararlaştırıldı.

Türk ve Macar tarihçilerinin genişletilmiş toplantısında yaptıkları müzakerelerden sonra karma komisyonuna kapalı oturumu başladı. Bu esnada her iki taraf karma komisyonun nihai bir şekilde teşekkül ettiği hakkında bilgi aldılar. Bu hususta temenniyetle telakki etti. Aynı zamanda karma komisyon düzenleyeceği esas metin kabul edildi. Karma komisyon mütekerem toplantısını 1979 senesi ikinci yarısında Türkiye'de yapma hususunu kararlaştırdı."

Türk-Macar tarihçileri karma komisyonunda müzakere edilmiş ve kararlaştırılan ve yukarıda tutanağı aynen nakledilen konular önemli işbirliği sorunlarına getirmektedir. 1980 yılı içinde yapılması düşünülen ve konusu saptanan kongre için 1979 senesinde en galip ihtimalle göre Güney ve Doğu Avrupa araştırmaları işbu senede Ağustosda Ankara'da yapılacak kongresinde yer ve tarih belirlenecek. Bunun için yetkili makamlar, Türk Tarih Kurumu ve Dış İşleri Bakanlığı Kültür ve Münasebetler Bakanlığı Dairesi şimdiden hazırlıkta bulunmak durumundadır sanır.

Bu münasebetle birkaç soruna bu raporda değinmek ve ivedi çözümler arar

Figure 75e The report on the visit to Hungary, November 1978

s.5

ması ve bulunması gereğini vurgulamak istiyorum:

Birincisi geçen seneki protokol gerek gerek bu toplantınızda söz konusu edilen ve karara bağlanan okul kitaplarında karşılıklı düzeltmeler yapılması ve bunun için kurulan komisyonların faaliyetini çabuklaştırması ve her tarafta tatmin edecek somut sonuçlara varılması Unesco'nun da üzerinde ısrar ettiği bu meselelerin Türk ve Macar tarihçileri karma komisyonunun yetki çerçevesine girdiği ve Macar tarihi üzerinde kırk seneden fazla bir zaman meşgul olduğum Macarcaya iyice vakıf olduğum ve senelerce üniversitede bu dersleri tedris ettiğim suretle bana bu konuda bir vazife taretmiş olduğu takdirde bunu yerine getirilmesi sorumlu bir ödev bilirim.

İkincisi müzakerelerimizde yer almayan ve geçen seneki protokole değin edilmeyen ve tamamen bir nitelik arzeden "Türk paleografyası ve diplomatik ilmi" ile ilgili Unesco'nun tahriki ve Güney-Doğu Avrupa milletleri tarihi araştırmaları sorununu kapsayan bir konudur. Senelerden beri çeşitli safhalarına yakından uzaktan vakıf olduğum bu mesele hakkında 1978 senesinde Sofya'da yapılan, Türk delegelerinin de katıldığı bir toplantıda alınan karar bizi çözmektedir kanaatindeyim. Şöyle ki: Çeşitli milletlerden bu konuda yapmak isteyen öğrencilere ve araştırmacılara Türk paleografyası ve diplomatik ilmi tedrisi alınan bu kararla Budapeşte Üniversitesi Türkoloji kürsüsünün görevlendirilmiş olmasındır. Tarihî araştırmalarda bilinmesi gereken paleografi ve diplomatik ilmi tedrisinde İtalyanlar Latince, Bulgarlar Slavca, Yunanlılar Grekçepaleografi ve diplomatik metodlarına öğretmek görevini bu toplantıda yüklenedikleri halde Türk mütehassıslar, Türk paleografyası ve diplomatik tedrisinin Türkiye'de yapılmasını her nedense istememişler ve böylece bu görev Budapeşte Üniversitesine verilmiştir. Budapeşte'de bulunduğumuz sırada Üniversitemin Türkoloji kürsüsündeki yetkili meslektaş, Macar Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının telkini üzerine bu görevin Türkiye'de en iyi bir şekilde yapılabilmesini Türk Üniversitelerinin ilgili kürsülerinin bu işi deruhte etmelerinin çözümlenmesini bize söyledi ve şahsen bizim fikrimizi öğrenmek istedi. Türkiye'deki alakadar yüksek makamlara intikal ettirmeyi uygun gördüğüm ve senelerce üniversitede bu dersleri okutmuş bir hoca olarak bundan hiç bir suretle çekinme icab etmediğini bildirmek arzuesundayım. Üste yandan Budapeşte Üniversitesi Türkoloji kürsüsüne Türkçe lektör gönderilmesi orada şahit olduğum yakınlıklar ve Türk-Macar ilmi münasebetlerinin arza edilen bir seviyeye çıkarılması lüzumuna duyduğum inanç ve ihtiyaç bakımından Milli Eğitim, Kültür ve Başişleri Bakanlıklarınız bu suretle bilvesil temastemek istiyorum.

Son söz olarak karma komisyonumuzun Türk Tarih Kurumu ilmi ve idari organeleri ile ve devamlı olarak sıkı temasta bulunması bu komisyonun iy

Figure 75f The report on the visit to Hungary, November 1978

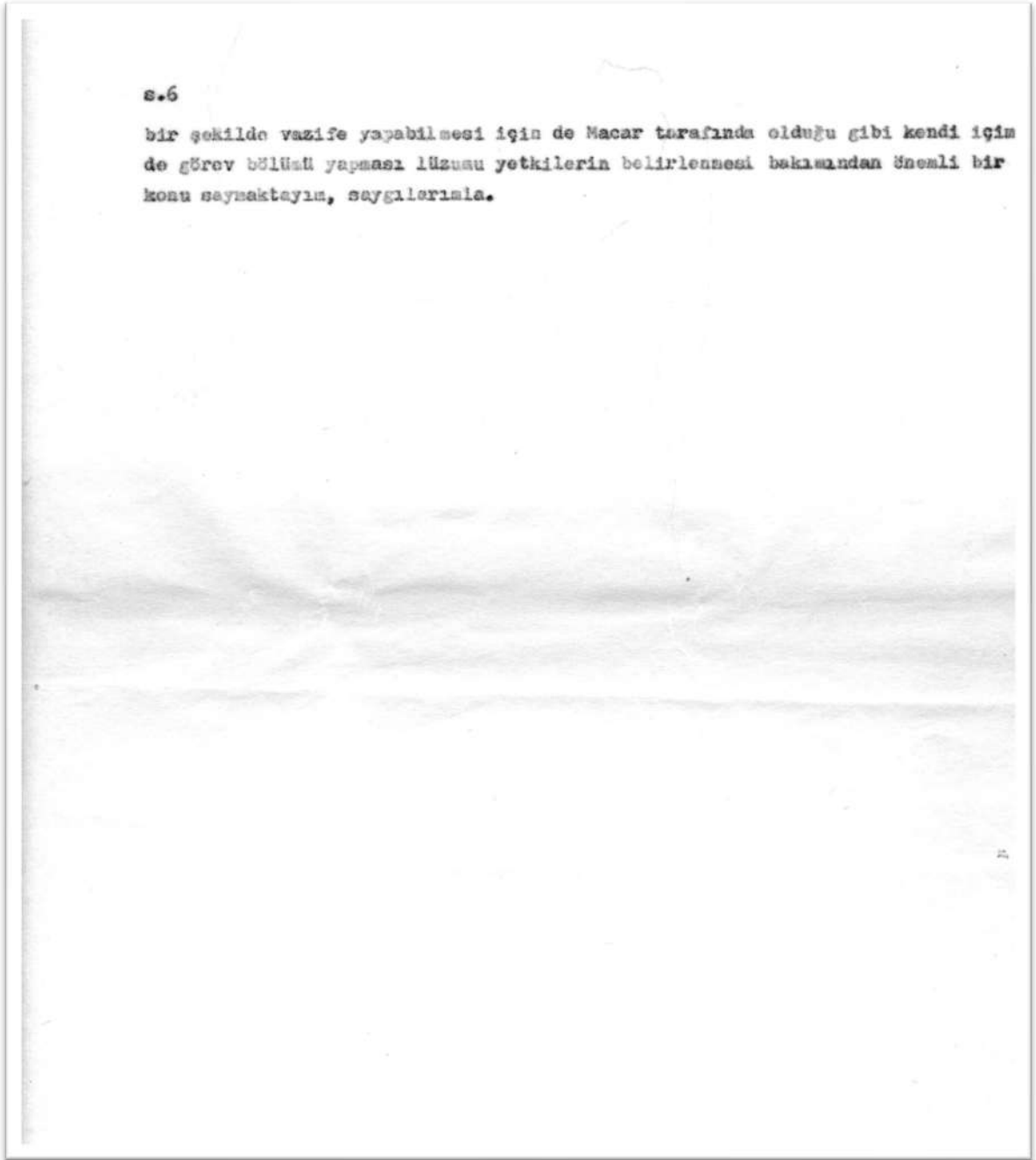


Figure 76 From the Turkish Historical Association to Gökbilgin

3

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU

BAŞKAN

Ankara, 8.I.1979

A. 20-2/42

Sayın Prof.Tayyib Gökbilgin
Erenköy,Hatboyu No.15/11
İ s t a n b u l

31.Ekim.1978 de Budapeşte'de toplanan Türk-Macar Heyetlerinin çalışmaları ve müzakere tutanskları hakkında verdiğiniz 20.XI.1978 tarihli raporunuz Yönetim Kurulumuzun 5.I.1978 tarihli toplantısında okundu.Türk-Macar Bilimsel ve kültürel işbirliği konularında çok esaslı ve ilginç kararları içeren bu rapordan dolayı teşekkürlerimizi sunarız. Ancak Dışişleri Bakanlığının onayından geçmiş olup imzalanmak üzere Macar Tarih Kurumuna gönderilen protokol helâ bize geri gönderilmemiştir.Macar Heyetini değiştirdiği anlaşılmaktadır. Lütfen Türk Heyetinin başkanı olarak kendilerine bir mektup yazarak bu protokolün imzalanup biran önce Kurumumuza göndermelerini sağlamanız, protokol geldikten sonra, toplantılarda kararlaştıran çok önemli konuların görüşülerek bir plana bağlanması için Heyetinizi Ankerada bir toplantıya çağırmanız yerinde olur kanısındayız.

Saygılar sunar, sağlık ve esenlik dilerim.

Türk Tarih Kurumu Başkanı
E. Z. Kervan
Ord.Prof.Enver Ziya Karal

TK.19790108

Adres : Türk Tarih Kurumu - Ankara

Figure 77a From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 21.01.1979

Prof. Dr. Georg Hazai
Wissenschaftlicher Rat
der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Budapest XIV, Gizella út 49

zur Zeit: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Bereich Westfalen
108 Berlin
Unter den Linden 9-11
Privat: 1055 Berlin
Ostseestraße 18

Berlin, 1979.1.21.

Kedves Tayyib Bey,

nagy örömmel vettem kézhez baráti sorait. Örültem a sok jó hírnék, mindenek előtt is annak, hogy jó egészségnek örvend. Arra is kérném, hogy erre vigyázzon valóban a legjobban: így tudunk majd mindent megvalósítani szép terveinkből.

Ürülök, hogy jó volt a pesti tárgyalások visszhangja a Kurumnál. Bizonyos vagyok benne, hogy ehhez Tayyib Bey megfelelő diplomáciája is hozzájárult. No meg itt egy valóban jó ügyről van szó, amelynek mozgatása közös érdek.

Nálunk is kedvezően alakultak a dolgok. Január elején voltam otthon két napra. Akkor beszéltem Mócsy Andrással és titkárával. Abban egyeztünk meg, hogy februárban összeülünk, hogy megbeszéljük a részleteket, mindenek előtt azt, hogy h o g y a n valósítsuk meg a terveket, magyar részről milyen k o n k r é t erőfeszítésekre van szükség. Így február végén még többet tudok majd írni.

Egy pozitívuma máris van a dolognak. Ugy néz ki, hogy 1980-ban kizárólag erre a célra, azaz a török források tanulmányozására kapok egy gyakornoki álláshelyet. Ez azt jelentené, hogy lenne egy emberünk, aki állandóan a mi anyagunkkal a mi szempontjaink szerint foglalkozik majd, s megszabíí minket a manuális munkától. Káldy Gyuszival is beszélünk a dologról. Neki most több jó tanítványa van. Valószínűleg ezek

Hadik

Figure 77b From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 21.01.1979

közül egyet kiszemelünk majd erre a helyre. Neki már vannak is konkrét elképzelései. Ebben a vonatkozásban is februárban - amikor viszontlátom őt - leszünk okosabbak.

Mindez azt mutatja, hogy a Tayyib Beyjel kidolgozott megvalósítási program jó lenne. Azaz valóban azzal kezdhethetnénk el a dolgokat, amelyek levélben rögzítettünk, s amelyek lényegében Tayyib Bey pesti javaslataiból nőnek ki.

Talán azt javasolnám, hogy a beszélgetést folytassuk nyáron kicsit konkrétabb formában. Bizonyára találkozunk az ankarai kongresszus kapcsán. Ott részletezhetnénk a programot. Jó lenne, ha Tayyib Bey addigra meg tudná szerezni a tervbe vett dolgok filmjeit. /Gondolok a krónikákra, politikai iratokra stb./ Persze fontos lenne, hogy jó filmek legyenek, mert ezek esetleg a faksimile-kiadások alapjait képezhetik. Amihez Tayyib Beynek előmunkálata /átírás vagy fordítás/ van, azt elkérem, hogy azon a ponton folytassuk, ahol kell. Ahol ilyen előmunkálat nincs, s nyilván ez van többségben, hiszen tengernyi anyagról van szó, ott mi kezdjük el Pesten, s mi prezentáljuk az átdolgozott anyagot Tayyib Beynek jóváhagyásra. Ennek a menetrendjét augusztusban szóban; addig pedig levelezés formájában rögzíthetnénk.

Februárban egy AIESEE-értekezlet lesz Mátraházán, amelynek egyik szervezője vagyok. A TTK képviselőjében Enver Ziya Bey és Tuncel prof. lesznek jelen. Ha Tayyib Bey szükségesnek tartja, vagy üzeni valójára lenne, kérem beszéljen az Elnök Urral, aki engem jól ismer. Magam is szóba hozom majd a dolgokat nála, olyan értelemben, ahogy Tayyib Beyjel megállapodtunk.

A magyaroknak az Akadémián egy utólagos kéreése lenne, amit szeretnék Tayyib Beynek tolmácsolni, hogy lenne szíves azt a TTK-ban ilyen értelemben előadni ill. képviselni. /Ezt Enver Ziya Bey is hallani fogja majd Pesten az akadé-

Figure 77c From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 21.01.1979

Prof. Dr. Georg Hazai
Wissenschaftlicher Rat
der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
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Privat: 1055 Berlin
Ostseestraße 18

miai emberektől/. Ez az, hogy a következő vegyesbizottsági ülést, ha lehet, ne a balkanisztikai kongresszus keretében, hanem ettől függetlenül tartsuk. A dolognak ugyanis rendkívül nagy jelentőséget tulajdonítanak, s nem szeretnék, ha az mellékes kísérőjévé válna egy nagy nemzetközi kongresszusnak. Tayyib Bey is tudja azt az általános tapasztalatot, hogy mindaz, amit egy nagy kongresszus mellett csinálnak csak kutyafuttában történik, pedig itt igazán szükség van a figyelemre és elmélyedésre. Így a kérés az lenne, hogy tartsuk meg a következő ülést 1979 folyamán, de függetlenül az augusztusi kongresszustól, lehetőleg valamikor az ősszel, úgy talán november körül. Az nekünk kettőnknek is jó lenne, mert addig sok konkrétumot tudnánk letenni az asztalra, demonstrálva és dokumentálva a dolgok fontosságát.

Biztos vagyok benne, hogy Tayyib Bey megérti és magáévá teszi az akadémiai embereknek ezt a szempontját, amiben persze az is tükröződik, hogy örömmel jutnának el Törökországba nyugodt körülmények között. Mi pedig 1980-ban látnánk Tayyib Beyéket ismét Pesten vendégül.

Ezt az óhajt szavá akarják tenni az akadémiai emberek Enver Ziya Beynek, aki bizonyára nem lesz ennek ellenzője. Mindenképen fontos azonban az, hogy e beszélgetés előtt is Tayyib Beynek tudomása legyen e szempontokról.

Lényegében ez a titkárok feladata, hogy tartsák egymással a kapcsolatot és informálják egymást az aktuális fejleményekről, de jól mi?

Figure 77d From György Hazai to Gökbilgin, 21.01.1979

Kedves Tayyib Bey, şimdilik bu kadar. En februar elején már Pestre utazom. Így ha fontos közülni valója volna velem még a pesti értekezlet előtt, ahol látom Enver Beyt, akkor arra kérem; hogy az ismert budapesti címre írjon nekem. Visszatérve Berlinbe részletesen referálok mindenről.

Levelemet zárva igen jó egészséget kívánok Tayyib Beynek és kedves Családjának. Igen remélem, hogy hamarosan ismét viszontlátjuk egymást jó egészségben, jó hangulatban.
Szeretettel köszönti:

Hazai György