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THE POLITICS OF LAW, FINANCE AND THE OTTOMANS IN THE WRITINGS
OF MİRZĀ MALKUM KHĀN

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THE POLITICS OF LAW, FINANCE AND THE OTTOMANS IN THE WRITINGS OF
MIRZA MALKUM KHĀN/ MİRZA MELKOM HAN'IN YAZILARINDA KANUN, FİNANS
VE OSMANLILARLA İLGİLİ POLİTİKALAR

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ABSTRACT

In this master thesis, I focus on the writings of Malkum Khān and study his thoughts on the Ottoman law, finance and politics. My main purpose is to show, how Malkum Khān, as one of the liberals of his time, tactically changed his discourse in his intellectual journey through the years based on the changing political environment towards the Ottoman law, finance and politics in his letters, essays and *Qānūn* for his political aims.

In general, in this master thesis, I try to answer two correlated questions: what kind of ideas Malkum Khān expresses on the Ottoman Empire in his writings (letters, *Qānūn*, essays) and what are the relations of Malkum Khān with the Ottoman statesmen, reformists and writers?

The answers of these questions were contextualized in the chapters of this work. In the introduction and biography chapter, I tried to show different approaches for writing his biography; in the third chapter, I tried to show different visions of Malkum Khān and some of the Ottoman authors towards *Kānūn-i Esāsî* and the law; in the fourth chapter, I tried to show Malkum Khān's and Fuad Paşa's approaches to Ottoman finance and borrowing money; in the fifth chapter, I tried to show Malkum Khān's role in the diplomatic relations between Qajar and Ottoman states, and Malkum Khān's changing political attitude towards the Ottoman Empire and Japan in years.

ÖZET

Bu yüksek lisans tezinde Melkom Han'ın yazılarına odaklanıldı ve Osmanlı hukuku, finansı ve politikalarıyla ilgili düşünceleri çalışıldı. Tezin amacı 19. yüzyıl ilk liberal Kaçar siyasetçilerinden biri olan Melkom Han'ın yaşantısının değişik evrelerinde değişen politik ortama ve kendi politik konumuna göre Osmanlı hukuku, finansı ve politikalarına dair söylemini taktiksel olarak nasıl değiştirdiğini mektupları, risaleleri ve *Kanun* gazetesini dikkate alarak incelemektir.

Genel olarak, bu yüksek lisans tezi iki soruyu cevaplamaya çalışmıştır: Melkom Han yazılarında Osmanlılarla ilgili nasıl düşünceler dile getirmiştir ve Melkom Han'ın Osmanlı devlet adamları, reformcuları, yazarları ile ilişkisi ne yönde gelişmiştir?

Bu soruların cevapları tezdeki bölümlerde bir bağlama oturtularak cevaplanmaya çalışıldı. Giriş ve biyografi bölümünde Melkom Han'ın hayatını yazmaya yönelik farklı yaklaşımlardan bahsedilmiştir. Tezin üçüncü bölümünde Melkom Han ve Osmanlıların anayasa ve eğitimle ilgili düşünceleri incelenmiştir. Dördüncü bölümde Melkom Han'ın, Namık Kemal'in ve Fuad Paşa'nın borç alma ve imtiyaz verme gibi konulardaki düşünceleri incelendi. Beşinci bölümde Melkom Han'ın Osmanlılar ve Kaçarlar arasında yürüttüğü diplomatik faaliyete odaklanıldı ve zamanla değişen siyaseti gösterildi.

Note on Transliteration and Dates

In this thesis, I have consulted to sources in Persian, Ottoman Turkish and Armenian and when the person and book titles are in Persian, I followed the transliteration system in Anvarī, Hassan, *Farhang-e Dānesh-e Āmūz-e Sukhen*, Entashārāt-e Sukhen, Tehran 2005 and when the person and book titles are in Turkish, I followed the transliteration in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. For names and book titles in Armenian, I followed transliteration system in Kevork Pamukciyan, *Zamanlar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar: Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkıları-I-IV*, Aras Yayınları, İstanbul 2003. Whenever I cite a Hijri date, it is followed by its Gregorian equivalent.

Original of Persian texts were given in Appendix A.

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES



Publications and thesis that deal with the nineteenth century Qajar and Ottoman Empires in comparative perspective are increasing. Some of these publications focus on similarities and differences between two countries' reform projects and ideas of reformists and some of them bring articles together around similar topics. These methods can help us to understand these empires in broader perspectives and can lead us to ask new questions and offer new approaches.

However, there are presuppositions about both empires and it seems it is hard to break those presuppositions and at certain stages, this thesis is also written with some of the similar presuppositions. Some researchers in Turkey have assumptions about the advance situation of the Ottoman Empire about making reforms. The general claim is that both empires struggled with the Western encroachments but the Ottomans were closer to Europe so they have started to make reforms earlier than the Qajars and that's why the Ottoman reforms became a model for the Qajar reformists and influenced them. Documents like letters, newspapers, books and essays that were written by Qajar

reformists support these assumptions. For example, Sayyid Hasan Taqizada's speech on Constitutional movement in 1959. In his speech, he says modern civilization came to Azerbaijan by means of their knowledge of the Turkish language and with several Iranian Azerbaijanis who lives in Istanbul and they tried to awaken Iranians and the light came from Istanbul to Iran¹. This speech has been used by many researchers as the proof of Ottomans' impact on the Iranian reformists and constitutional movements.

In Turkey, some topics take the attention of researchers easier than the others like constitutionalism, comparing the reform projects, the reformists, and political relations. These researchers use different methods to study these areas, while some of them compares the constitutional revolutions in both countries and some others only study the Ottoman impact on the Iranian constitutional revolution and some else study the impact of the Ottoman reforms on the Iranian intellectuals in nineteenth century. For example, Hatice Kılıç², in her master thesis on the Ottoman impact on 'Abbās Mīrzā, Amīr Kabīr, Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān, Mīrzā Yusuf Khān, Mohammad Hosayn Farāhānī, Hāji Pirzāda, Malkum Khān, and Sayyed Hasan Taqizāda, Kılıç's main argument is that all of these above mentioned reformist Iranian intellectuals were influenced by the Ottoman reforms. However, one can easily claim that these intellectuals have different political views in their life time.

Hatice Kılıç's master thesis is a gold mine to study these reformists life including many primary and secondary sources she uses. However, studying each one in detail can show us their different approaches to political and social (?) problems in their intellectual journey and in changing political and social conditions. In this thesis, among them, I will only focus on Malkum Khān's life and his writings to show how Malkum Khān deals with Ottoman reforms and politics around the topics of law and finance.

¹ Keddie, Nikki, "The Background of the Constiutional Movement in Azerbaijan", *The Middle East Journal*, xiv, 1960, p. 456.

² Kılıç, Hatice, *İran'ın Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Rolü, (1848-1923)*, Marmara Üniversitesi Orta Doğu Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, (Unpublished Master Thesis), 2006.

Mīrzā Malkum Khān

Mīrzā Malkum Khān (1831(3)-1908), a nineteenth century and early twentieth century statesman, has been studied from different points of views many times and has been credited with many roles, not least that of the inspirer of the Constitutional Revolution of 1906. Some writers consider Malkum Khān as someone who was torn between bourgeois sociopolitical ideas that he acquired in Europe and the feudal-tribal social relationship of his own country. Some researchers see his life as a part of modern history of Iran and start writing his biography with the reforms of ‘Abbās Mīrzā by assuming that he is the result of the modernist reforms that had been made by Qajar officials. In this thesis, as the main starting point, Malkum Khān is considered as well-educated liberal of his time.

From the very beginning of 1900s until to 1940s, Malkum Khān’s biography was mainly written with the idea that he has been an important inspirer of 1906 Revolution but in these biographies there are different approaches to his role in the revolution, some writers are sure that Malkum Khān was one of the leading free thinkers of this country but some others are suspicious about the role that Mīrzā Malkum played at the beginning of constitutionalism in Iran.³ Authors, who study Malkum Khān’s ideas on *qānūn*, *tanzīmāt* and freedom, like Nazim al-Islam Kirmani in his *Tārīkh-e Bīdārī-ye Īrānīyān*,⁴ Ahmad Kasravi in his *Tārīkh-e Mashrūtah-e Iran*⁵, Mahdi Malikzadeh in his

³ Browne, Edward G., *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge University Press, 1910, p. 42.

⁴ Nāzīm al-Islām Kermānī writes a small biography of Malkum Khān in his book and according to Kermānī, Malkum Khān was enlightener of Iran and was one of the leading free thinkers of this country as he stated in the beginning of the biography: “One can express that he is the first person who planted the seed of the law in the country [Iran], by this way, he is known as Mirza Malkum Khān *Qānūnī*.” Kermānī, Nāzīm al-Islām, *Tārīkh-e Bīdārī-ye Īrānīyān*, Enteshārāt-e Bunyād-e Farheng-e Īrān, 1358 (1979), p. 149-153.

⁵ Malkum, an Armenian from Ispehan, took important positions in the state. He went to Europe. Because he was a progressive person, his heart was burning for Iran’s condition and he was trying to awaken Iranians. He was comrade of Sepāhsālār. He was the enemy of selfish and untidy Amin al-Sultan. (Kasravi, Sayyed Ahmad, *Tārīkh-e Mashrūtah-i Iran*, Müessese-ye Entashārāt-i Āmir Kabīr, Tehran 1354 (1975), p.10-11).

Tārīkh-e Enqelāb-e Mashrūtiyat-e Iran,⁶ Ferīdūn Ādamīyat in his *Fekr-e Āzādī va Moqaddema-ye Nohzat-i Mashrūtiyat*⁷, mostly have positive approach to writing his biography and they emphasize Malkum Khān's role on making laws and his writings' inspirations on *Mashrūtiyat* of 1906.

At the beginning of 1940s Malkum Khān was studied by Ahmad Kasravi and Mahdi Malikzāda, like their predecessors, but according to Abbas Vali, historiography in the modern sense of the term, was little known in Iran before the World War II and these books that we mentioned basically focused on political history.⁸ However, that situation started to change after Tudeh Party was established in 1941. The Tudeh Party was instrumental in introducing the Soviet view of history and historical development to the Iranian intellectual scene. Selected texts of classical and Soviet Marxism were translated and introduced by members and sympathizers of the Tudeh Party and the politicians like Malkum Khān, who played a role in turning Qajar sovereign into a dependent state, were seen as an agent of capitalists. Bijan Jazani who was a former Tudeh member says "Malkum Khān lived in the time that Iran turned into a dependent state and that process had to do a lot with Malkum Khān's effort." Jazani sees Malkum

⁶ Mirza Malkum studied international law and history and he understood the situation of civilized world, he knew the famous philosophers and dignitaries of England and France and because he lived the most of his life in a free country and was freed from the dictatorship of Iranian government, without fear that he thought was very useful for establishing a country, (Malikzada, Mahdi, *Tarikh-e Enqelāb-e Mashrūtiyat-e Iran*, E'ntesharat-e E'Imi, Tehran, 1327 (1948), p. 150-1).

⁷ In Ādamīyat, Ferīdūn, *Fekr-e Āzādī va Moqaddema-ye Nohzat-i Mashrūtiyat Iran*, Taban, Tehran 1345 (1966), p.104. Also in his another book, *Endīše-ye Teraqqi va Hukumat-e Qānūn* he puts emphasis on the importance of having the idea of *teraqqi* (progress) and *qānūn* (law) in Iran at the time of Mirzā Hoseyn Sepāhsālār who was a very close friend of Malkum Khān in Istanbul. He sees Mirza Malkum's one of essays *Dafter-e Tanzīmāt* as one of the important text of the constitutionalism. Adamiyat describes Mirza Malkum as a knowledgeable, smart, money-lover but brave person and he thinks his position in the awakening of Iran is very important and has been influenced by August Comte, John Stuart Mill in fact he translated one of the book of John Stuart Mill into Persian. (Ādamīyat, Ferīdūn, *Andīsha-ye Taraqqi va Hokumat-e Qānūn 'Asr-e Sepehsālār*, Sherkat-e Sehāmī Enteshārāt-e Khārezmī, Tehran 1351 (1972).

⁸ Vali, Abbas, *Pre-Capitalist Iran: A Theoretical History*, New York University Press, 1993, p. 6.

Khān's reformist ideas as liberal and he claims these ideas were forwarded by colonial powers to stop the resistance of Asian states.⁹

In the beginning of 1950s, the nationalization of oil industry and 1953 Coup against Mosaddeq showed many Iranians that British hand was still powerful in Iran and many authors brought forward the question of concession mongerer statesmen of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They tried to unveil in their works Britain's sinister plots at every historical turn and that approach leads authors to consider Malkum Khān as a concession mongerer who was an instrument to British politics during his ambassadorship of 17 years in London. For example, Khān Malak Sāsānī in his *Dast-e Penhān-i Siyāsāt-i Engīlis dar Īrān*,¹⁰ Ebrāhīm Taimūrī in his *‘Asr-e Bīkhabarī yā Tārīkh-e Emtiyāzāt dar Īrān*,¹¹ Ebrāhīm Safā’ī in his *Rahbaran-i mashrūtah*.¹²

Recent studies in the West as well as Iran have been discussing both the constitutionalism and Malkum Khān's period from many different perspectives. Before

⁹ He starts his book with discussing the issue of foreign relations of Iran from the time of Safavids to Qajars to show how Iran ended up being a dependent state and describes the period as colonial times. The first part of the book has the impact of conspiracy theories which were very common among Iranian nationalists. He says Malkum Khān lived in the time that Iran turned into a dependent state and that process had to do a lot with Malkum Khān's effort. Jazani sees Malkum Khān's reformist ideas were cosmopolite and he claims these ideas were forwarded by colonial powers to stop the resistance of Asian states. Jazani claims Mirza Malkum's reform programs were applied by Iranian state and they were harmful for Iran. Malkum Khān didn't care about these harms that his ideas caused. Cezani, Bijan, *Īran Meşrutiyet Devrimi, Güçler ve Amaçlar (1906-1911)*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p. 57-8.

¹⁰ Sāsānī says "Malkum was unproductive and was a bee without honey. Nobody can deny politic scandals of [Malkum Khān]. رزيلة پلیتیکدانی او را انکار نمیتوان کرد." (Sāsānī, Khān Malak, *Dast-e Penhān-i Siyāsāt-i Engīlis dar Īrān*, Entashārāt-e Bābek, Tehran 1330 (1951), p. 62).

¹¹ This book is about the concessions of Iran and written when Musaddiq tried to nationalize the petroleum resources. Taimūrī in this book claims especially 1872 Reuter Concession and other ones came into being with the help of Sepāhsālār and Mirza Malkum who was an instrument to British politics. He relies on Persian archival and manuscript material to produce detailed and balanced historical overview of Iran's political economy and obstacles on the way of its growth. Ebrahim Taimūrī states "Malkum at the time of Nasir al-Din Shah's government was killing himself to grant concessions to British, of course granting concessions for British was not for sake of faith rather for bribes of British." (Taimūrī, Ebrāhīm, *‘Asr-e Bīkhabarī yā Tārīkh-e Emtiyāzāt dar Īrān*, Eqbāl, Tehran 1332 (1953), p. 66).

¹² Malkum received monthly salary of forty lira for working in the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the press of Istanbul, started to threaten Iran clearly and said that if they don't appoint him as a Vozaret-i Mokhtari, he will sell the secrets of Iran to Ottomans. (Safā’ī, Ebrāhīm, *Rahbarān-e mashrūtah: mushtamil bar bīst o çehār biyūgrāfī va sharh-i jāleb va shigiftan'giz-i kulliyah-i havādes va vaqāye' nahzat-i mashrūtah-e Īrān*, (Do Celd) ‘Elmī, Tehran 1345 (1966), p. 13).

everything, one should answer the question of why the thoughts of Malkum Khān should be studied anyway? There are several answers to this question. Although Mīrzā Malkum Khān is studied by many researchers from different perspectives in Iran as well as in the West, the Ottoman connexion of Malkum Khān and his ideas about Ottomans in his writings were not studied by taking them into the center of the research. Tracing the Ottomans in Malkum Khān's writings can help us to trace his liberal politics through his life. Malkum Khān's writings and his connections with Ottomans enable us to understand a liberal politician's political approaches to problems of nineteenth century that the Ottomans and Qajars addressed. Malkum Khān's writings also enable us to understand the liberal politics of that period in comparative ways with the Ottomans' connexion. Since Malkum Khān's writings cover the period from 1858 to 1908, aforementioned problems can be studied in a long period of the time.

This thesis tries to examine Malkum Khān's political discourse that he adopted from late 1850s to late nineteenth century: Iran is backward; needs reforms on *qānūn* and for making reforms and money, Iran should grant concessions to West. As a liberal of his time, Malkum Khān gave importance to the law, rule of law and finance. Therefore this thesis includes chapters titled as Arbitrary Rule and Demanding the Law to study his liberal ideas on the problem of the law, and the chapter of the Survival of the State shows and examines his liberal ideas on finance, and final chapter tries to understand his tactically changed political discourse through his life.

The chapter of Arbitrary Rule and Demanding the Law will deal with Malkum Khān's ideas on *qānūn*, *Kānūn-i Esāsī*, and on the rule of government, especially based on his essay *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* which is the first essay of Malkum Khān was submitted to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh through Mīrzā Ja'far Khān in 1858.¹³ In this essay he uses *tanzīmāt* and *qānūn* for the first time. *Dafter-e Qānūn* is Malkum Khān's another essay which is studied in this chapter. In this essay, he claims the only way for Qajars to continue to

¹³ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan, A Biographical Study in Iranian Modernism*, University of California Press, 1973, p. 26.

govern is acquiring the Western principles of governing and he thinks the most important problem of Asian states is not separating legislative and executive powers and he associates European success with their good useful *qānūns* and here he sees the problem as the translatability of the law and *qānūn*: Malkum Khān published a ‘newspaper’ named *Qānūn* between 1890 and 1898 which has a title on the top of the back page in English ‘The Law’ until ninth issue, so Malkum Khān translated *Qānūn* as ‘The Law.’ Another question is the way of Malkum Khān’s defining the *qānūn*? Malkum Khān once defines “*qānūn* as any ordinance issued by the government, tending to the welfare of the community and equally incumbent upon all its members, is called the law”¹⁴ and Algar claims that this definition was derived either from Western or Ottoman usage and refers to natural law. However, Malkum Khān has a kind of policy to show *qānūn* as equitable with *Shari‘a* and for example, once he says *qānūn* meant nothing more than a codified *Shari‘a*¹⁵, probably he wanted to make the concept of the law acceptable in Iran and also Malkum Khān sometimes refers to *qānūn* as constitutional law, and because of these plural referring, the word of “*qānūn*” will be used in translations of Malkum Khān’s writings.

The chapter of Survival of the State and Fear of the Concession focuses on Malkum Khān’s ideas on finance and especially granting concession and in this chapter his letters from ‘Alī Asghar Haqdar’s book *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān Nazīm al-dowla* is used. These letters were posted from London and Rome to Tehran about reforms on aforementioned topics. In these letters Malkum Khān explains significance of money economy, function of a bank, circulation of capital, and attracting foreign capital to Iran. The earliest letter is dated 1874 and there are letters until to 1905, but the volume of the letters that were sent in 1876 larger than the other years. This chapter tries to understand the background Malkum Khān’s statement “If you don’t count my words as valuable, take a lesson from what Ottoman does. People who visited Ottoman domains have cried out for thirty years... Some says our condition is the way of

¹⁴ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 29.

¹⁵ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 192.

Ottoman's situation? There is no difference between Ottoman and Qajar's condition about foreign encroachments.”¹⁶ This chapter focuses on the problem of instrumentalization of Ottoman finance and politics in the letters of Malkum Khān.

The last part of this chapter addresses his role in the foreign affairs of Qajar and Ottomans. And then, this final part continues with showing his connexion to Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, Afghānī and Abdūlhamid II as well as shows his role in the discussions of Iranian-Ottoman borderlands. In this chapter, especially Malkum Khān's letters on Ottoman politics and his writings in *Qānūn* about Abdūlhamid II are used.

Sources

This study focuses on Malkum Khān's writings: his essays from Asil Hujjatullah's book¹⁷ and from Mohit Tabātabā'ī,¹⁸ and his letters from 'Alī Asghar Haqdar¹⁹ and *Qānūn* from Homa Nateq.²⁰

Qānūn

In his third visit to Europe in 1889, Malkum Khān persuaded Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh to grant the Lottery Concession. 'Olemā and especially *Sadr-e a'zam* Amīn al-Sultān opposed to this concession claiming that gambling was against the edicts of Islamic law and the Shāh revoked the concession. Malkum Khān who had already sold his interests for a

¹⁶ *Dastgāh-e Dīvān* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohit Muhammad, *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 94-5.

¹⁷ Asil, Hujjatullah, *Resālehā-yi Mīrzā Malkum Khān*.

¹⁸ Tabātabā'ī, Mohit Muhammad, *Majmu'ah-i Asar-i Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, Enteshārāt-e 'Elmī, Tehran 1327 (1948).

¹⁹ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān Nāzīm al-dowla*, Nashr-e Chashma, Tehran 1389 (2010).

²⁰ Mirza Malkum Khan, *Ruznamah-e Qānūn*, (ed. by Homa Nateq) Tehran Muassasah-e Intisharat-e Amir Kabir, 1976.

profit of 50,000 Pounds Sterling refused to pay back the money after cancellation and also refused to abide the Shāh's revoke, then after a harsh discussion in corresponding letters, Malkum Khan lost his job as an Iranian ambassador to London.²¹

In 1890, Malkum Khān started to publish *Qānūn*. In the first issue of *Qānūn*, Malkum Khān explains why he publishes it: "Iran doesn't have any *qānūn* and nobody knows what *qānūn* means. *Qānūn* will introduce to Iranians with what does *qānūn* mean, why Iranians should know the benefits of *qānūn*. This independent newspaper's responsibility will be based on four principles: Publishing of truth. Organizing the unity. Demanding the *qānūn*. Helping the needy."²² Malkum Khan refers *Qānūn* sometimes as *ruznāme* and sometimes as *jarīde* but there is no space in *Qānūn* for internal or external news and author names. It seems *Qānūn* is more like a periodic propaganda sheet than a newspaper.

Qānūn's tone of language changes mainly for three times. At the beginning, Malkum Khān started with criticizing *Sadr-e a'zam* for not knowing the importance of signing a document (the cancellation of Lottery concession in 1888), associated the backwardness of Iran with *sadr-e a'zam* and viziers' misgovernment and promoted the importance of having the *qānūn* and security of life and property in Iran at least in the first nine issues. Then Malkum Khān changed the tone of the language in *Qānūn* during the Tobacco protests. In this period Afghānī's impact is clear especially when Malkum Khān called 'olemā to take action against the Tobacco Concession. Thirdly, *Qānūn*'s content changed after the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh in 1896. Malkum Khān changed his tone of his language towards to the Mozaffar al-Dīn Shāh one more time by using positive words instead of criticizing him, and Malkum Khān started to give advices to the Qajar government about Iran.

²¹ Taimūrī, Ebrāhīm, 'Asr-e Bīkhabarī, p. 66, 67, 68.

²² *Qānūn* 1, p. 5.

Letters

The letters from 'Alī Asghar Haqdar's book is used in this thesis. The letters cover between 1873 and 1889, the time period that he served as the Iranian ambassador to London, and the period between 1898 and 1908, when he was the Iranian ambassador to Rome. In the former period, Malkum Khān frequently sent letters to Tehran from London and, showed and explained the British concerns toward political issues. He promoted the British presence in Iran and for doing that, he constantly wrote about concessions and investments on railways, telegraph, roads and bank infrastructures. He showed the Ottoman government's policies on these issues as well. Yet, one shouldn't forget that Malkum Khān wrote these letters to Tehran not solely for giving information on the Ottomans. He instrumentalizes the information in the letters by considering the audience in Tehran as well as explaining his political and economic reasons. In the latter period, which is between 1898 and 1908, Malkum Khān's letters sent from Rome shows us that Malkum Khān changed his approach to the Ottoman Empire. Whereas, he claimed, in the former period, that there was no difference between the Qajar and Ottoman states on foreign encroachments, so Iran should understand the Ottoman reform projects and their reasons, then in the latter one he thought that the Ottoman and Qajar states had no relation to each other and apparently shifted his attention especially to Japan and other European countries.

Essays

The essays of *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī*, *Daftar-e Qānūn*, *Nedā-ye 'Adālet*, *Rafeq and Vizier*, and *Dastgāh-e Dīvān* are used in this thesis.

Kitābcha-ye Gaybī

According to Tabātabā'ī, this is the oldest essay of Malkum Khān. It gives information about political science. In this essay, dated 1858, Malkum Khān tried to persuade Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh to make reform as well as to demonstrate what can be done about the problems of Iran. In this way, he also wanted to show that he is capable of making reform and he is the one of them who already knows the problems of the government. This essay is studied in chapter three.

Rafeq and Vizier

This essay was written as a dialogue between Rafeq (friend) and Vizier around the time that Malkum Khan penned *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī*. In this essay, Malkum Khān claimed that Iran needs educated viziers to make reform. It seems in the essay Rafeq represents Malkum Khān, and Vizier represents a bureaucrat of the time who is ignorant about European science and civilization but only prouds of his own culture. Vizier acts as if he understands everything, Rafeq says but then Rafeq notices that Vizier doesn't understand him at all.

Dastgāh-e Dīvān

This essay was written in 1871-3 just before Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's first visit to Europe. He says the science reached its peak in Europe and such a short visit is not enough to

understand these developments properly. According to Malkum Khān, if somebody wants to understand European countries, they should at least live three years in Europe. In this essay, Malkum Khan says “when we compare European countries and Iran, Iran is like an old car which works with animal power and Europe is like a machine works with vapor power.” This essay was written to encourage the Shāh to make reforms in Iran. He talks about the reform program of Muhammad Ali Kavalalı in Egypt to persuade Nasir al-Din Shah on making reforms. At the end of the essay, Malkum Khān denotes the Ottoman bureaucrats’ reform attempts and says Qajar bureaucrats should take lessons from them.

Daftar-e Qānūn

This essay was written around 1883-4 and is consist of a penal code. It seems Malkum Khān benefited from Codé Penal and according to Algar, it didn’t receive any serious attention until the first Majlis’s consideration on the institution of a penal code.²³

Nedā-ye ‘Adālet

This essay was written for Mozaffar al-Dīn Shāh in 1905 when the Shāh visited Europe for the third times. In this essay Malkum Khān called for the institution of constitutional and representative form of government only few months before the movements leading to Constitutional revolution of 1906.²⁴

²³ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 190.

²⁴ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 245-7.

CHAPTER ONE: MĪRZĀ MALKUM KHĀN'S BIOGRAPHY

They use our people very badly. Armenian nation's real advantage was staying loyal to Ottoman sovereign. We don't need anything other than intellectual development and material wealth. We don't have to believe in the dazzling words and incentives of Europe! Our main enemy is Europeans whose main target is making Armenians enemy with Ottoman Empire.²⁵

Father H. Sahak Movsesyan quotes these words of Malkum Khān in the book that he wrote in 1936 in the honor of the 100th anniversary of Murad-Raphaelian School. Before this quote from Malkum Khān, Movsesyan introduces him as someone who was bound with his heart to San Lazzaro Degli Armeni Monastery. According to him, whenever Malkum Khān visited the monastery, he told them his worries and sadness about Armenian revolutionaries who struggle with the *sultāns*' sovereignty and said that he sees these revolutionary attitudes as harmful to Armenians. Movsesyan says, Malkum Khān confided to him once and revealed his ideas on the Armenian

²⁵ Ter-Movsesyan, Sahak, *Murat-Rap'ayelean varzharanneru hariwrameay hobelean, 1836-1936, ew anor grakan hushardzane* [Murat-Raphaelian Schools Hundred Anniversary, 1836-1936, and Its Literary Monument], Pazmaveb, Ogot-Dekt, 1936, p. 351-2.

revolutionaries who make imaginary plans against the Ottomans and want to become the uninvited leaders of the Armenian nation.

Armenian revolutionaries organized several uprisings and rebellions, namely Sasun in 1894 and Zeytun in 1895-6, the occupation of the Ottoman Bank in 1896, to protest the massacres of Ottomans²⁶ and in his talk, Malkum Khān denotes these events. He most probably expressed these words after 1896. Malkum Khān was appointed as the Iranian ambassador to Rome in 1898 and that appointment seems to have made his visits to monastery easier than before. Thus this statement was made around 1896-1898 or later. Of course, many Armenians thought of different solutions to problems, and some chose to protest while some chose to stay loyal to the Ottoman state and this quote suggests that Malkum Khān supports the idea of loyalty.

Malkum Khān in his writings doesn't blame Europe for the things happened in the Ottoman lands and in Iran. He usually promotes the European investments and advances in Iran and the reforms with Europeans. The question is that how Malkum Khān comes to a point for expressing such words? Blaming Europe for the Hamidian massacres and defending the idea of loyalty to the state seems very much like an Ottomanist response to the problem and it brings forward several questions.

Father Sahak Movsesyan, at the time that this talk was living in San Lazzaro Island where was allocated to Mekhitar of Sebaste in 1717 by Republic of Venice and many Armenian students and monks came to this small island from the Ottoman Empire and gradually the island was like an Ottoman land with Armenians from this country. Yervant Baret Manok states that an Ottoman flag was displayed for a long time in the island and the monastery archive had some letters of appreciation for the grants sent by the Ottoman *sultāns*, and the good relations between the monastery and the Ottoman

²⁶ Protests and massacres followed each other in these years and almost more than 250,000 Armenian was killed in Hamidian Massacres. Dadrian, Vahakn, *Ermeni Soykırımı Tarihi, Balkanlardan Anadolu ve Kafkasya'ya Etnik Çatışma*, Belge Yayınları, İstanbul 2008. p. 238-243.

government continued until the Armenian Genocide in 1915.²⁷ Considering this information, one can assume that Movsesyan probably was someone who promoted the idea of loyalty to the Ottoman state and intentionally quoted this talk from their conversation with Malkum Khān to use in this book, whereas it is not clear whether Father Movsesyan recorded these words somewhere then quoted or he wrote what he remembers about this conversation in this memorial book.

Father Sahak Movsesyan selects popular and successful Armenian students who graduated from Moorat Raphealian College and wrote their small biographies in the book. In the biography of Malkum Khān, Movsesyan eulogizes him, he states that Malkum Khān was a teacher to enlighten backward Iran and fought against ignorance and he was a reformer, talked to the Iranians about the black holes of *Qo'rān* and, Movsesyan doesn't mention of Malkum Khān's conversion to Islam. Father Movsesyan also doesn't mention of the Lottery Concession in 1889 which disgraced Malkum Khān in the eyes of some Europeans and Iranians but mentions of the taking back Kotur from Ottoman which was seen as very important success of him.²⁸

Although Movsesyan quotes Malkum Khān's words in this book, he doesn't give any information about his school years or his contacts to Samuel Moorat College. The information Movsesyan gives can be found in the article of Vahan Zartaryan (1872-1945) in *Hişatakaran*. Vahan Zartaryan, with the help of his brother Bimen Zartaryan, wrote three volumes books *Hişatakaran* (Memorial) including the biographies of famous and important Armenian people.²⁹ Vahan Zartaryan in his article doesn't mention of Malkum Khān's conversion to Islam, his role in Lottery Concession and publication of *Qānūn* in 1890. There may be two reasons of it: Firstly, the authors' wanted to introduce Malkum Khān to Armenian readers as a successful politician; and

²⁷ Manok, Yervant Baret, *Doğu ile Batı Arasında San Lazarro Sahnesi: Ermeni Mikhitarist Manastırı ve İlk Türkçe Tiyatro Oyunları*, BGST Yayınları, 2013, p. 13-4.

²⁸ Ter-Movsesyan, Sahak, *Murat-Rap'ayelean*, p. 352.

²⁹ Zartaryan, Vahan (ed), *Hişatakaran Hai Yerevelineru* [Memorials of Some Notable Armenians], 3 volumes, İstanbul 1910-12, p. 405.

secondly, as Zartaryan said in his article, he wrote Malkum Khān's life from a biography that had been published in *Araks* in 1887 by Mehmet Shahdahdinak.³⁰ Because this biography of Malkum Khān was published in 1887, it does not contain the information belong to afterward such as the 1889 Lottery Concession or *Qānūn* which started to be published in 1890 or his ambassadorship in Rome in 1898.

Arşag Alboyacıyan wrote an article for the death of Malkum Khān in 1908 in *Püzantiyon* and very similarly, this article does not go beyond after 1887 about Malkum Khān and so does not give information about Lottery Concession and *Qānūn* newspaper, most probably he also used the article of Shahdahdinak in *Araks* on Malkum Khān but Alboyacıyan adds some information to this biography about Malkum Khān's school, his wife and the places where Malkum Khān lived in Istanbul.³¹ Alboyacıyan claims that even though Malkum Khān was a talented politician, some political circles forgot his name. However, as it was mentioned earlier, there are different articles about Malkum Khān in different time periods. Vahan Zartaryan published a short biography of him in Istanbul belong to the years of 1910-13. Zartaryan also published a summary of this article in the newspaper *Aravod* in 1919 entitled *Prince Malkum Khān*.³² İbrahim Caferzade translated one of the Malkum Khān essays, *Usūl-e Ādemīyet* into Turkish as *Usūl-i İnsāniyet* in 1909 for the Iranians who lived in Istanbul but did not know Persian.³³ In 1910, Mehmed Galib in his article about Fuad Paşa's testament discussed the role of Malkum Khān and claimed that he was the most probable writer of that

³⁰ Shahdahdinak, Mehmet, "Mirza Malkum Khan", *Araks* 1887, *Araks* was published in St. Petersburg between 1887 and 1898. This magazine was published once in six months and sometimes published articles on Armenians who live in different countries. Mildanoğlu, Zakarya, *Ermenice Süreli Yayınlar 1794-2000*, Aras Yayıncılık, 2014, p. 56.

³¹ Alboyacıyan, Arşag, "The Personages Whom We Lost," *Püzantion*, 17 July 1908, p. 1. *Püzantion* was published in Istanbul in Armenian between 1896-1918 by Püzant Keçyan a daily political, literary, finance and science newspaper. (Mildanoğlu, Zakarya, *Ermenice Süreli Yayınlar 1794-2000*, Aras Yayıncılık, 2014, p. 64).

³² Zartaryan, Vahan, "Prince Malkum Khan," (in Armenian) *Aravod*, 16 July 1919.

³³ Caferzade, İbrahim, *Dahi ve Siyasi Şehir Prens Melkom Khan'ın Asar-ı Nadiresinden Usul-i İnsaniyet*, Hilal Matbaası, İstanbul 1909.

time.³⁴ In 1951, Keğam Khanamiryan, in the newspaper of *Jamanag*, published four articles dated 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st September entitled as *Mīrzā Malkum Khān and His Three Comedies*.³⁵

Keğam Khanamiryan's first article dated 18th September focuses on Malkum Khān's life, Khanamiryan describes Malkum Khān as a smart, well-educated, progressive and talented man; once, Khanamiryan says, this troublemaker Malkum Khān was about to be cursed by Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh but Shāh showed his mercy towards him and appointed him as the Iranian ambassador to London and Khanamiryan considers the Lottery Concession as a fictional story because this story was written by Sir Percy Sykes³⁶ who doesn't like Armenians. He also claims none of the sources mention this Lottery Concession except Sykes, so it is not real. However, many Persian sources give information about this concession.³⁷ The first two articles focus on Malkum Khān's life and in the last two articles Khanamiryan describes Malkum Khān's Comedies and says in 1908 that these comedies were published in Berlin by Friedrich Rosen, several translations and editions of the plays appeared like A. Bricteux's *Les Comédies de Malkom Khan*. Khanamiryan wrote these articles under Malkum Khān's supposed authorship, but original of the plays were found in Baku at the Fath 'Alī Ākhūndzādeh's Archive by Azarbaijani scholars in 1956 and it was discovered that the actual writer of the comedies was Mīrzā Āqā Tabrīzī.³⁸

³⁴ Galib, Mehmed, "Tarihden Bir Sahife: Āli ve Fuad Paşaların Vasiyetnâmeleri," *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası*, 1 Haziran 1326 (14 Haziran 1910), p. 72.

³⁵ Khanamiryan, Keğam, "Mirza Melkum Khan and His Three Comedies," *Jamanag*, 19, 09, 1951. *Jamanag* (time in Armenian) was published in Istanbul between 1908-1920, 1924-1980. (Mildanoğlu, Zakarya, *Ermenice Süreli Yayınlar*, p. 97).

³⁶ Sir Percy Sykes in his book gives information about Lottery Concession and explains how Malkum Khān gained disreputable image and how he quarreled with Mirza Ali Asghar Khan over the question of a concession for lottery, which the Shah had sold to him and, later, wished to cancel. Malkum Khān determined to fight his enemy through the instrument of propaganda, and started a newspaper for the purpose, in which he denounced Mirza Ali Asghar Khan in scathing language. Sykes, Sir Percy, *A History of Persia*, Macmillan and Co., 1915, p. 503-4.

³⁷ Khanamiryan, Keğam, "Mirza Melkum Khan...", p. 1.

³⁸ Javadi, Hasan, Gaffary, Farrokh, "Mirza Aqa Tabrizi 19th Century Civil Servant and Writer," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online version available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/aqa-tabrizi-mirza>.

Kevork Pamukciyan describes Malkum Khān's life with a similar approach; he mentions his European education, his job in translation office and then as ambassador of Iran to London, his freemasonry activities, his service in Berlin Conference in 1878 and taking back the Kotur, his service as the Iranian ambassador to Rome. The order of the information follows the similar pattern that of Shahdahdinak's in 1887, Alboyacıyan in 1908, Zartaryan in 1910 and Movsesyan in 1936 followed the same pattern. However, Pamukciyan also gives information about Malkum Khān's wife Herika Dadyan and the portrait of Mahmud II that was lithographed by Malkum Khān. Kevork Pamukciyan, in his article on a book entitled *Selected Stories From The Lives of Ottoman Sultāns and Viziers*, which was most probably written in Armenian by Kapriel Aivazovsky (1812-1880), the principal of Murat-Raphealian College³⁹. This book was sponsored by Süleyman Paşa (Ottoman ambassador to Paris) and was published in 1848. Pamukciyan says that there is only gravure in this book which is the portrait of Mahmud II. In the lower corner of the portrait, there is a statement in Armenian that says: "It is the lithograph of H. Melkuments who is a student of Moorat College."⁴⁰

Malkum Khān prints the portrait of Mahmud II in this book and it seems he got interested and gained some knowledge about Ottomans when he was a student in Paris. Sakızlı Ohannes⁴¹ and Mateos Mamuryan⁴² were schoolmates of Malkum Khān.⁴³ Some of the students of the Samuel-Moorat College held high echelons in the civil and

³⁹ Alboyacıyan, Arşag, "The Personages Whom We Lost," p. 1.

⁴⁰ Pamukciyan, Kevork, *Zamanlar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar: Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar-IV*, Aras Yayınları, İstanbul 2003, Vol. 4, p. 250-1.

⁴¹ Sakızlı Ohannes Paşa was born in 1830 in Istanbul and received his education in Moorat-Raphealian College and when he came back to Istanbul, he worked in Translation Bureau, in 1862 appointed as Matbuat Müdürü (The Head of Press), in 1868 he became one of the members of Şûrâ-yı Devlet, in 1871 appointed as undersecretary of the Ministry of Commerce, in 1877 appointed as mudarris to teach the administrative law and general economy in Mekteb-i Mülkiye and after holding other several posts he was employed in Hazine-i Hassa by receiving the titles of Vizier and Paşa in 1897 and he stayed in this post until 1904. He passed away in 1912. (Çankaya, Ali, *Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, Mars Matbaası, 1968, p. 1058).

⁴² Mateos Mamuryan (1830-1901) writer, educator, translator; he lived in Smyrna and published the newspaper *Arevelyan Mamul*. (Bardakjian, Kevork B., *A Reference guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920*, Wayne State University Press, 2000, p. 121).

⁴³ Alboyacıyan, Arşag, "The Personages Whom We Lost," p. 1-2.

military services of the Qajar and Ottoman Empires.⁴⁴ According to a letter found by Adnan Şişman in Ottoman archives, Ottoman Empire supported this school. In this letter, the writer acknowledges the Ottoman's help to the school and says that the students in Samuel Moorat College⁴⁵ looking forward to serve in Ottoman Empire.⁴⁶

Father Sahak Movsesyan, in his book written in the honor of the 100th anniversary of Murad-Raphaelian School in 1936 shows Mīrzā Malkum Khān (1831-1908) was enrolled to this school as Hovsep Melkuments.⁴⁷ Melkuments is Latin version of Melkumyan, and in Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia his name is given as Hovsep Melkumyan.⁴⁸ It seems Malkum Khān didn't use his first name Hovsep which is Armenian form of Joseph and it is not clear why Malkum Khān did not use his first name but use his last name. In many Persian and Armenian sources his name appears in different forms, in some documents in Ottoman archive his name spelled as Malkom,⁴⁹ while in the others spelled as Malkon.⁵⁰ The latter form is used by Armenians in Ottoman Empire like in *Püzantiyon*⁵¹ newspaper by Arşag Alboyacıyan (1879-1962), in

⁴⁴ Vahram Papazyan, Edgar Manas, and Artin Hindoğlu graduated from Venice and Paris Mekhitarist schools and worked in Ottoman Empire, for their biographies look at Manok, Yervant Baret, *Doğu ile Batı Arasında San Lazzaro Sahnesi*, p. 27-31.

⁴⁵ Samuel Moorat College was founded by an Armenian Agah Samuel Mackertich Moorat from Madras of India who died in 1816 leaving a large bequest for establishing of a school in Europe for Armenian youth which should be under the control of the Mekhitharist Fathers of Venice. Mekhitharist Fathers first opened a College in 1834 in Padua Italy and it was moved to Paris in 1846 and subsequently moved to Venice after getting an endowment from Edward Raphael who is father in law of Samuel Moorat. (Mesrob, p. 595) The students who graduate from these schools became the pioneers of Zartonk and the first educated élites graduated from these schools like Mıgırđıç Beşiktaşlıyan, Sırapteryan Hekimyan, Sırapteryan Tiğlıyan and Sebuhan Laz Minasyan and they introduced the theatre to Armenians. (Zekiyan, Boğos Levon, *Ermeniler ve Modernite: Gelenek ve Yenileşme/ Özgürlük ve Evrensellik arasında Ermeni Kimliği*, Aras Yayıncılık, 2001, p. 176).

⁴⁶ Şişman, Adnan, "Egyptian and Armenian Schools Where the Ottoman Students Studied in Paris," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, Vol. 2 edited by Imber, Colin and Kiyotaki, Keiko, I. B. Tauris, 2005, p. 159.

⁴⁷ Ter-Movsesyan, Sahak, *Murat-Rap'ayelean*, p. 351-2.

⁴⁸ *Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia*, (in Armenian) edited by Hambardzumyan, Victor, 1981 Yerevan, Vol. 7, p. 616.

⁴⁹ BOA, 22/5, Y..PRK.TKM., BOA., 452/78, HR.TO.

⁵⁰ BOA, 38/114, Y..EE., BOA., 199/62, Y..A...HUS.

⁵¹ Alboyacıyan, Arşag, "The Personages Whom We Lost," p. 1.

*Aravod*⁵² by Vahan Zartaryan (1872-1945) and in *Jamanag*⁵³ by Kegham Khanamiryan which all spell his name as Malkon, and beside Eleanor Calhoun gives his name in her memoir sometimes as Malcolm or Malcom or Malkom, and Hadi Enayat spells his name as Malkam⁵⁴ but I will use Hamid Algar's spelling as Malkum Khān.⁵⁵

Mohit Tabatabā'i explains the meaning of Malkum in his book providing the possible reasons for different forms of this name. He says that Malkum is the family name of Sir John Malcolm who wrote a book on the history of Iran⁵⁶ and in Aramaic language, there is a word *Malkahem* that was the name of an idol of Ammonites tribes considered as the enemy of Israelites and he says *Malkahem* took the form of *Malkum* and *Malkam* in later centuries.⁵⁷

According to Arşag Alboyacıyan, Nubar Paşa (1825-1899) who occupied a number of the government posts in Khedivial Egypt was impressed by Malkum Khān's political talent.⁵⁸ As Algar points out, Armenian politicians' stepped up in the hierarchy in politics during the nineteenth century in Istanbul, Syria, Egypt and Iran so Armenians held many positions in civil service or in commerce as agents.⁵⁹ Malkum Khān is one of the few Iranian Armenians who became very famous politician in late Qajar Iran and his supposed impact on the literature of Iran has been questioned:

Although Mīrzā Malkum Khān only spent almost 20 years of his life in Iran, he had no higher education on Persian and Arabic languages and literatures, in this situation due to the God-given talent and intelligence and most importantly by

⁵² Zartaryan, Vahan, "Prince Malkum Khan," *Aravod*, 16 July 1919, *Aravod* was a newspaper in Armenian and was published in Istanbul between 1919-1920 by M. Suryan (Mildanoğlu, Zakarya, *Ermenice Süreli Yayınlar*, p. 153).

⁵³ Khanamiryan, Keğam, "Mīrzā Melkum Khan...", p. 1.

⁵⁴ Enayat, Hadi, *Law, State, and Society in Modern Iran: Constitutionalism, Autocracy, and Legal Reform, 190-1911*, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2013, p. 40.

⁵⁵ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan...*

⁵⁶ Malcolm, Sir John, *The History of Persia from the Most Early Period to the Present Time, Containing an Account of the Inhabitants of That Kingdom*, 2 Volumes, John Murray, 1829.

⁵⁷ Tabatabā'i, Mohit Muhammad, *Majmū'a-ye Āsār*, p. qa.

⁵⁸ Alboyacıyan, Arşag, "The Personages Whom We Lost," p. 1.

⁵⁹ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 4.

having the job as translator and author, he became someone who has his own and special school of writing in Persian literature. He did not make mistake in the translation of words. He opposed to exaggerated and lengthy sentences and synonyms, and that's why he created a new style to save himself from complex writing and phraseology while working in Foreign Ministry and embassy.⁶⁰

Esmā'īl Rā'īn in his biography of Malkum Khān brings forward this question of how come Malkum Khān can have special writing style without studying Persian in *madrasas*? Malkum Khān is an Armenian and converted to Islam presumably when he was 24 years old with his father in 1855; one of the books written on the Iranian-Armenian jewelers claims that in 1855 Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh ordered that anybody works in the government institutions had to be Muslim⁶¹ and Eleanor Calhoun, one of the friends of Malkum Khān in London, gives information about Malkum Khān's conversion to Christianity⁶² in her memoir so one cannot expect that Malkum Khān

⁶⁰ Rā'īn, Esmā'īl, *Mīrzā Malkum Khān, Zendagī va Kūsheshhā-ye U*, Bungāh-i Matbū'āt-e Safī'alīshāh, 1350 (1971), p. 110-1.

⁶¹ Tokat, Osep, *Ermeni Gümüş Ustaları-Armenian Master Silversmiths*, Aras Yayınları, İstanbul 2010, p. 233.

⁶² ...for among the old friends of the Malkom Khans were members of an ancient Armenian family of royal descent whose destinies were one day to intercross with mine... This family, with the Bragrations, the Rhupens-descendants of the kings of old Armenia, are all supposed to have in their veins a strain of King David, an honor claimed, too, I believe, by Queen Victoria and German Kaiser. Prince Malkom told us one day ... had become deeply interested in the Christian religion as the root-force of Western civilization. His own land, he said, had been brought to inertia and ruin by Mohammedanism, and was symbolized to day by the ruins of ancient Persian palaces, now lost in the sands of centuries, with only a jutting corner or dome to tell of past Persian grandeur. But the Christian West, with all its blemishes, was a vital, progressing force, having within it a principle of life... He gave us an account of his conversion to Christianity, the first thrilling germ of which was planted in his bosom by an actress -a Jewees, none other than the great Rachel- at the Comedie Française, in Paris, in Corneille's tragedy, 'Polyeucte'. He said that her voice, her look, her whole appearance, when, in the character of the pagan maiden, beholding Christian lover's martyrdom, she uttered the words, 'Je vois; je crois!' sent an electric shock of divine revelation throughout the audience, which for the moment understood that martyrdom in the early centuries was not 'mere hysteria,' as our age has sometimes pronounced it. (Calhoun, Eleanor, *Pleasure and Palaces: The Memoirs of Princes Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich*, New York The Century Co., 1915, p. 251.) Malkum Khān mentions of a drama Pierre Corneille's *Polyeucte Martyr* in Paris as inspiring him to Christianity. Malkum Khān didn't select a random drama to explain early centuries of

could have studied Persian in an Iranian *maktab* and *madrasas*. In the traditional education system in Iran, children received their primary education in the *maktab* under the tutelage of an *ākhund*, *mollā* (clerical teacher) or *mo'allem* and first they taught the Arabic-Persian alphabet with emphasis on phonetics and vocalized consonants, then reading and writing skills in Persian, then students study Persian and Arabic vocabularies and the meters and forms of Persian poetry with 'Amma Joz (shorter suras).⁶³ However, Malkum Khān grew up as Christian in Isfahan Nor Julfa so he received his primary education in there and the curriculum is different in the Christian primary schools. In contradiction with other sources, aforementioned Armenian writers like Zartaryan, Alboyacıyan and Movsesyan suggest that Malkum Khān's primary education took place entirely in Tehran⁶⁴ but Algars claims it is indeed possible Malkum Khān studied in a French Lazarist school in Julfa⁶⁵ and this should be the most possible case because Malkum Khān's father Mīrzā Yaqub Khān came from India in 1845 and settled in Tehran at the same year,⁶⁶ since Malkum Khān was born in 1831, most probably he received his education in Nor Julfa.

Nor Julfa had three elementary schools with 16 lay and clerical teachers, and school books, liturgical and other texts were procured from the Armenian press in Venice.

Christianity and martyrdom was not a mere hysteria because it's about an Armenian convert to Christianity in the early centuries. According to story Pauline, daughter of Felix, The Roman governor of Armenia, has married Polyucte, an Armenian lord who lost his life in the persecution of Decius or Valerian, about the year 250, or 257. Butler, Alan, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Other Principal Saints*, Compiled from Original Monuments and Authentic Records, vol. II Dublin: James Duffy 15, Wellington Quay, 22 Paternoster Row, London, 1866. p. 128-129. Pierre Corneille's *Polyucte Martyr* produced in 1643 and it is based on the life of the Martyr Saint Polyuctus and drama is set in ancient Armenia in a city Melitene (Malatya-Present-day Turkey) where Christians were persecuted. (Vincent, Leon, H, *Corneille*, Cambridge University Press, 1901, p. 121-2-3).

⁶³ Dustkhah, Jalil, Yağmai, Eqbal, "The Traditional Elementary School, *Encyclopedia Iranica*", Available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/education-iii>.

⁶⁴ Alboyacıyan, Arşag, "The Personages Whom We Lost," Zartaryan, Vahan, "Prince Malkum Khan," Ter-Movsesyan, Sahak, *Murat-Rap'ayelean*.

⁶⁵ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 16.

⁶⁶ Masroori, Cyrus, "Mirza Ya'qub Khan's Call for Representative Government, Toleration and Islamic Reform in Nineteenth-Century Iran", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 37, No.1, January 2001, p. 90.

Both Persian and English were a part of standard curriculum. Heidi Walcher claims that Armenians in Nor Julfa sent their students to India where they can have better education and they thought that their students can train for a craft or business in India.⁶⁷

One of the kind of student was Malkum Khān's father Mīrzā Yaqub Khān who received his education among the Armenian community of India and he learned French during his stay and when Yaqub Khān came back to Iran in 1845, he worked in Russian Embassy to Tehran, according to Harutun Ter-Hohanyan, Yaqub Khān even before traveling to India was sent to Lazarian Institute in Moscow to study and he learned Russian⁶⁸ and in 1846 gained much power to send his son Malkum Khān in government expense to Paris⁶⁹ where has a school founded by an Armenian from Madras in India, Agah Samuel Mackertich Moorat who died in 1816 leaving a large bequest for the establishing of a school in Europe for Armenian youth, which should be under the control of the Mekhitharist Fathers in Venice.⁷⁰ Malkum Khān started to Moorat College on 30 May 1846 and graduated in 1951.⁷¹

According to Mohīt Tabātabā'ī, Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr Kabīr had close relations with Mīrzā Yaqub Khān, he told him to encourage Malkum Khān to study political science because Amīr Kabīr was planning to create a special part in *Dār al-Fonūn* for political science and he needed teachers for this institution⁷² and when Malkum Khān came back to Iran, he was appointed as interpreter and translator for Austrian lecturers in *Dār al-Fonūn* and later also worked for Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh as translator, and Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh sent him to Europe in 1856 with Farrokh Khān to make peace with Britain and the mission was successful. When Malkum Khān came to Iran, in 1858-59, with the

⁶⁷ Walcher, Heidi A., *In the Shadow of the King: Zill al-Sultan and Isfahan under the Qajars*, I.B.Tauris, 2008, p. 26-7.

⁶⁸ Ter-Hohanyan, Harutun, *Tārikh-e Julfā-ye Isfahān*, (trans. from Armenian by Minassyan, Leon and Mūssavī, Fereydanī) Zende Rood & Enteshārāt-e Naqsh-e Khūrshīd, 2010, p. 615.

⁶⁹ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Seth, Mesrovb Jacob, *Armenians in India: from the earliest times to the present day*, Asian Educational Services, Madras, 1992, p. 593.

⁷¹ Ter-Movsesyan, Sahak, *Murat-Rap'ayelean*, p. 351-2.

⁷² Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt Muhammad, *Majmū'a-ye Āsār*, p. a, b.

assistance of his father Mīrzā Yaqub Khān (1815?-1881) he established a reform seeking secret society *Farāmūshkhānah* (The House of Oblivion).⁷³

According to Ervand Abrahamian, Malkum Khān formulated that a combination of political despotism and religious dogmatism had blocked the progress in Iran. For solving that problem, Malkum Khān adopted the secular *Religion of Humanity* of Auguste Comte as *Farāmūshkhānah*.⁷⁴ Although Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh banned *Farāmūshkhānah* and Malkum Khān exiled to Baghdad in 1861, the society continued as *Majma'-i Ādamīyat* (the Society of Humanity).⁷⁵

Ottoman authorities in Baghdad found Malkum Khān's presence as dangerous and eventually Malkum Khān had to come to Istanbul in 1862. Malkum Khān married with an Apostolic Ottoman-Armenian, Herika Dadyan⁷⁶ on 30 October 1864. Some Iranian sources spell the name as "Hanrit" or "Henriette"⁷⁷ but her name is Herika.⁷⁸ Herika is the daughter of Arakel Bey Dadyan who studied in Vienne, Paris and London and returned to Istanbul in 1843 and then appointed as the director of Azatlı Baruthanesi (Azatlı Gunpowder Factory).⁷⁹ Arakel Topçubaşı sent his daughter Herika Dadyan to Paris Girls Monastery (Couvent des Oiseaux) in 1855. Apparently the rules of monastery forced Herika to have shower with her nightdress. One day Herika took a shower naked and priestess caught her and raised her hands in the air and said "Are not

⁷³ Asil, Hujjatullah, *Resālehā-yi Mīrzā Malkum Khān Nāzim al-Dawla*, Noshreni, Tehran 1381 (2002), p. 21-23.

⁷⁴ Abrahamian, Ervand, "Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism. By Hamid Algar. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 96, No. 2 1976, p. 308.

⁷⁵ Sohrabi, Nader, *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*, Cambridge University Press 2011, p. 299.

⁷⁶ Eleanor Calhoun gives information about Herika Dadyan: How beautiful she was, Princess Malkom, a noble and poetic Oriental personality, with an unuttered sigh deep her soul. His (Malkum Khan's) wife a beautiful Armenian Princess, a Christian, was one of my dearly prized friends in London. Calhoun, Eleanor, *Pleasure and Palaces*, p. 107, 252.

⁷⁷ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform under the Qajars: 1858-1896*, Ithaca Press, 1978, p. 26.

⁷⁸ Pamukciyan, Kevork, *Zamanlar, Mekanlar, İnsanlar*, p. 251.

⁷⁹ Stepanyan, Hasmik, *Contribution of Armenians to the Ottoman Empire*, (in Armenian) Gasprint, 2012, p. 171, I owe thanks to Arsen Yarman for translating this text from Armenian.

you ashamed my girl, don't you know a male angel protects you?" and she left monastery.⁸⁰ The wedding ceremony took place in the church of Aya Stefanos according to Christian traditions.⁸¹ Philip Mansel in his book gives information about the wedding day, he says Malkum Khān had given a splendid dinner in Büyükada in honor of the wedding, in his residence the salons decorated with rare flowers and plants were crowded with the high-life of the island.⁸² Malkum Khān's wife Herika never left being a Christian and their three daughters Victoria, Lila and Sultane were raised as Christians but his only son Fereyduñ converts to Islam like his father.⁸³

In 1872, when Malkum Khān appointed as the special secretary of *Sadr-e a'zam* Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān, he left Istanbul for Tehran and then was appointed as the Iranian ambassador to London and started to work there in 1873. In 1878, in Berlin Conference, he represented Iran and took Kotur back from Ottomans. In 1889, Malkum Khān persuaded Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh to grant Lottery Concession, and when it was revoked cause of the opponents as Mīrzā 'Alī Asghar Khān Amīn al-Sultān and 'olemā, a correspondence started between Malkum Khān and Amīn al-Sultān,⁸⁴ at the end of this event, which is discussed in detail in the other parts of this thesis, Malkum Khān was dismissed. After dismissal, he started to publish *Qānūn* between 1890 and 1898. After the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, he sought total pardon of him and received it in 1898 and appointed as the Iranian ambassador to Rome and stayed in this job until his death on 13 July 1908 in Switzerland. Malkum Khān was cremated after his death.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Carmont, Pascal, *Les Amiras: Seigneurs de l'Arménie ottoman*, Salvator, Paris 1999, p. 90, I owe thanks to Arsen Yarman for translating this text from French.

⁸¹ Safā'ī, Ebrāhīm, *Rahbarān-e mashrūtah*, p. 12.

⁸² Mansel, Philip, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924*, John Murray Publishers, 1995, p. 448.

⁸³ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 65.

⁸⁴ Nura'i, Fereshteh, "Ravabet-e Amin al-Sultan va Malkum," *Berresiha-ye Tarikhi*, no: 3, year: 6, p. 56-81.

⁸⁵ Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt Muhammad, *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. Kd.

CHAPTER TWO: ARBITRARY RULE AND DEMANDING THE LAW

Malkum Khān's First Essay *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī*, 1858

Sending students to Europe for education was a novelty of nineteenth century Iran. The students received their education at government expense. When they came back to Iran, they worked in the government institutions, and in schools in different positions. These students in their writings usually compare Iran with European countries and try to find out what is missing from their societies what makes Europe successful? These students also see themselves as witnesses of advanced civilization and promote progress towards West.

Malkum Khān was one of the kinds of student in Paris. He studied in Samuel Moorat College from 1846 to 1851 and started to work in Dār al-Fonun as interpreter for Austrian lecturers and then worked in translation bureau. In 1856, Farrokh Khān was sent to the court of Napoleon III and given the mission to converse privately with Ottoman *sultān* and contact the French and British ambassadors in Istanbul in order to prepare a peace treaty with British. Because Malkum Khān was familiar with French politics and language, he joined the mission of Farrokh Khān and in 1856 he was in

Istanbul for the first time.⁸⁶ Farrokh Khān signed friendship treatises with several European states and Malkum Khān's useful performance as interpreter and advisor to Mīrzā Farrokh Khān's mission was reported to the Shāh, who expressed his gratification.⁸⁷

In 1858, Malkum Khān returned to Iran and in the same year Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh decided to make a reform on government which came from idea that a particular well-defined form of government made the west successful so the Shāh replaced Mīrzā Āqā Khān Nūrī with a six council of minister, *Darbār-e A'zam*, directly responsible to him in 1858.⁸⁸

At that time, Malkum Khān wrote kind of a constitution for the Iranian state in *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* and dedicated it to Mīrzā Ja'far Khān who was the head of *Darbar-e 'Azam*. The titles of this small constitution can show what kind of regulations Malkum Khān wants to achieve and how he characterizes the problems of Iran: "on the government of state of Iran; on the rules of enforcement of the *qānūn*; on rights of nation; on *Majles-e Tanzīmāt*; on the executive power; on the organization of *Majles-e Vozerā'* and their responsibilities; on the reclamation of Iran; on the state laws; on the consolidated *qānūns* of state; on the organization of *vozarātkhāneh*; on the organization of *viziers* of foreign affairs; on the partition of provinces of Iran; on the organization of ministry of interior; on the organization of *dairah-i zabtiyyeh* (gendermay office); on the organization of *dīvānkhāna*; on the organization of ministry of justice; on the power of army of Iran; on the organization of ministry of war; on the organization of ministry of finance; on the method of *qānūns* and finance regulations; on imposing the national education; on the organization and responsibilities of Administration *Mejāles*; on the

⁸⁶ Gaffary, Farrokh, Amin al-Dawla, Farrokh Khan Gaffari, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 1984, Available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/amin-al-dawla-abu-taleb-farrokh-khan-gaffari-1227-88-1812-71-a-high-ranking-qajar-official>.

⁸⁷ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 25.

⁸⁸ Enayat, Hadi, *Law, State, and Society in Modern Iran*, p. 40.

extermination of poorness in Iran; on the organization of *darbkhāneh* (money minting house) and the money of Iran; on the organization of bank.”⁸⁹

Most of the articles about ministries, rights of nation, national education and a bank did not exist at that time in 1858 in Iran so most of these *qānūns* and articles draws us a picture of large reform program in the government and country. In this essay Malkum Khān suggests reforms on the problem of ministries and he writes the law for ministry organization and he set forth the principal arguments for ministerial accountability and coordinating the work of the highest officials. Malkum Khān started to use the term of *Tanzīmāt* for the first time in this essay and suggested governmental reforms. The method that Malkum Khān says he undertook for writing this law is similar to Ottoman reformists, according to Ortaylı, *Tanzīmāt* reformists would read many western countries’ law⁹⁰ and then they write the law with Eastern flavor. Malkum Khān also says he collected many laws and utilized them to prepare a constitution for Iran in *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī*.⁹¹ He also tried to encourage Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, in his *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* said the Qajar Shāh has easier condition about making reforms than Mahmud the II and Petro I because there were no obstacles for him like Janissaries or Streltsy.⁹²

Malkum Khān came to Istanbul for the second time in 1862 and stayed until 1872. His Istanbul years is studied in the third and fourth parts of this thesis but here one can say Malkum Khān came to Istanbul after writing *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* and in those years, in 1862 Greek Orthodox Millet’s *Nizāmnâme* and a year later in 1863 Armenian Apostolic Millet’s *Nizāmnâme*⁹³ and a year later in 1864 The *Nizāmnâme* of Jabal Lebanon were issued.⁹⁴ In 1864 Bâb-ı Âlî reorganized the provincial system with *Vilayet Nizāmnâmesi* according to French department system. In the same year *Matbuat Nizāmnâmesi* was

⁸⁹ *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* in Tabātabā’ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu’ah-i Asar*, p. 1-52.

⁹⁰ Ortaylı, İlber, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, Alkım, 2005, p. 98.

⁹¹ Tabātabā’ī, Mohīt Muhammad, *Majmu’ah-i Asar*, p. 51.

⁹² *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* in Tabātabā’ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu’ah-i Asar*, p. 1.

⁹³ Davison, Roderic H., *Reform in The Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 114.

⁹⁴ Akarlı, Engin Deniz, *Cebel-i Lübnan’da Mutasarrıflık Düzeni 1861-1915*, Boğaziçi University Ph.D. Thesis, 1981, p. 40-42.

issued according to French Press Law.⁹⁵ *Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye* was divided into two: *Şûrâ-yı Devlet* and *Dîvân-ı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye* in 1868 and their *Nizâmnâmes* were issued in the same year.⁹⁶ Malkum Khân arrived to Istanbul when the *Tanzîmât* reforms applied faster than before and he also had the chance to observe heated debates around constitutional form of government discussed especially by Namık Kemal and other reformers in their writings.⁹⁷

After failure of Mîrzâ Ja'far Khân's reform program in 1862, Nâsir al-Dîn Shâh considered a reform program in 1869 one more time and turned to Mîrzâ Hoseyn Khân, a reform minded official who spent his twenty years in the outside of Iran. He lived in Istanbul for thirteen years during *Tanzîmât* period as the Iranian Ambassador to Istanbul, and in 1872, he was instructed to create a cabinet which can coordinate and control government offices and create a law⁹⁸ to reorganize and rationalize the state bureaucracy.⁹⁹

In 1872, Malkum Khân as the private secretary of Mîrzâ Hoseyn Khân may have helped him to write the edict of *Darbâr-e A'zam* and this reform had two main goals: establishing the principle of consultation among members of the government and creating the idea of responsibility among the government members. Mîrzâ Hoseyn Khân created two assemblies: first of all, he established a council of ministers *Darbâr-e A'zam* and was composed of *sadr-e a'zam* (grand vizier) and nine other ministers (finance, war, justice, foreign affairs, the interior, education, public works, the court, and commerce and agriculture) to reorganize and rationalize the Qajar administration and ministries' responsibilities were defined and salaries were determined. The *majleses*

⁹⁵ Ortaylı, İlber, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, p. 123.

⁹⁶ Gücüm, Kuntay, *İmparatorluğun Liberal Yılları (1856-1870)*, Tarih Vakfı-Yurt Yayınları, 2015, p. 214.

⁹⁷ Sönmez, Erdem, "From kanun-ı kadim (ancient law) to umumun kuvveti (force of people): historical context of the Ottoman constitutionalism," *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.52, no.1, 2016, p. 121-2.

⁹⁸ Nashat, Guity, "*Darbâr-e A'zam*", *Encyclopedia Iranica*, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/darbar-e-azam> (accessed on April 16, 2016).

⁹⁹ Cause of a severe drought brought famine and death of thousands Nasir al-Din Shah again considered to begin a reform program on the cabinet that can solve the problems that were rising in the provinces and for this occasion, Nashat, Guity, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran, 1870-1880*, University Press of Illinois Press, 1982, p. 78.

that Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān founded in Iran reminds us the *majlises* that Bâb-ı Âlî founded in the Ottoman Empire to control and implement the reform programs under French impact.¹⁰⁰

Hasan ‘Alī Garrūsī considered that Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān’s reform program and *Darbār-e A‘zam* were comparable with Bâb-ı Ali: “If you have the Bâb-ı Âlî in Istanbul, we have formed here a *Darbār-e A‘zam* and a council of ministers, which will provide more sources of benefits in time.”¹⁰¹ However, the Reuter concession that Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān and Malkum Khān played an important role in the granting process which triggered ‘*olemā* to oppose to the concession, and eventually Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh dismissed Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān. Although *Darbār-e A‘zam* continue to function until 1896 it wasn’t functional and satisfactory as the Qajar officials expected.¹⁰²

Malkum Khān’s *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* deserves special attention. In the introduction of his essay, he claimed constitutional monarchy, which currently Britain and France have, doesn’t fit to Iran and Iran needs *Sultān-e Motlaq* like sultanate of Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. In the essay, Malkum Khān explains that he wants to strengthen the power of *shāh* and increase the efficiency of government and improve the material state of the country, and claims such reforms can effectively empower the *shāh* and by holding executive and legislative powers in his hand and by employing rational bureaucrats, he can make reforms in the country. Malkum Khān argues in this essay that the main source of the European progress is law and administration; not only science, commerce and industry. He makes the definition of the law in this essay:

¹⁰⁰ Bâb-ı Âlî founded different *mejlis* (assemblies) to control and help to the *nezarets* (ministries) and their reform programs. One of them was *Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı ‘Adliyye* (Corps Législatif) and it was founded in 1838 and was a legislative and judicial organ and controlled, planned Mahmud II’s reform programs. Later, *Meclis-i Âlî-i Tanzîmât* focused more on legislative reform programs. In 1868 *Şûrâ-yı Devlet* (Conseil d’Etat) and *Dîvân-ı Ahkâm-ı ‘Adliyye* and later *Dîvân-ı Muhâsebât* (Cours des Comptes) were founded. (Ortaylı, İlber, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, p. 138).

¹⁰¹ Nashat, Guity, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran*, p. 88 (the text is taken from Nashat Guity).

¹⁰² Bakhsh, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 115-6.

A *dastgāh* [organization] that commands in an independent *mellat* [nation] is called the government, in every *qowm* [people] that come out of being wild inevitably have a *hokumat* [government] [.] The Government has several different combinations: if the whole government is in the hands of one person in a *tāyefe* [group] and governing inherits from family, the combination of this government is called as sultanate and if a government consist of one group agrees on a particular decision that governing transferred to individuals in turn, this government combination called as *cumhūrī* [republican]. Every *hokm* [decree] that the government issues based on the peace of public, and individuals obey to it equally is called as *qānūn*. The government is composed of two types of *ekhtiyār* [powers]: one of them is *vaz'-e qānūn* [legislative] and the other is *ejrā-ye qānūn* [executive]. Sultanate has two kinds of components: every government that *pādeshāh* holds legislative and executive powers like Sultanate of Russia and Ottoman, compose of this government called *saltanat-e motlaq* [absolute monarchy]. In a government that executive power is hold by *pādeshāh* and legislative power is hold by nation is called *saltanat-e mo'tadel* [constitutional monarchy] like England and France. Government of order and progress has accurate measurements and perfect governments by separating these two powers. The situation of constitutional monarchy has never been any relation to Iran's case, which is something necessary for us is examining the situation of absolute monarchies.¹⁰³

Malkum Khān has very important place in creating the political language of Iran, when he came back to Iran in 1852 from Paris, he was appointed as a translator for the Qajar government and he also worked as a translator for Austrian teachers in *Dār al-Fonūn* and taught Geography classes in there. Additionally, he worked in Ministry of Foreign Affairs as translator and worked as translator for Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh.¹⁰⁴ Malkum Khān learned Persian words with their foreign equivalent when translating *Dār al-Fonūn's*

¹⁰³ *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ Rā'īn, Esmā'īl, *Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 10.

Austrian lecturers' lessons for the Iranian students and when translating court documents into Persian, and he discusses the reasons of why the Iranians cannot (or can't) translate some words into Persian like political economy, bank, telegraph, balloon, telephone, dynamite in his letters¹⁰⁵ and, he associates this inability with lack of education and conservatism¹⁰⁶ and as it can be seen in the text above, he uses many Persian words in order to close this gap in the political terminology.

The fundamentals of Malkum Khān's ideas and the text that was shared above have been discussed by Fereshteh Nura'i. She claims that, considering Malkum Khān's words on Montesquieu (Montesquieu *peyāmbere-ye 'ulūm-e dowlatī*-The prophet of governing the state), he was influenced by Montesquieu and she also explains how Malkum Khān formed his ideas through years by quoting texts from Montesquieu's essays regarding the problem of government and division of powers.¹⁰⁷ According to Hasan Qadi Moradi, this text and other ones which deal with the similar problems show us that Malkum Khān directly translates the texts from Western philosophers; sometimes he adapts and sometimes he mixes the ideas of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Montesquieu without mentioning their names.¹⁰⁸ However, the bipartite approach of Malkum Khān on division of powers and his ideas' furtherance reminds us John Locke's book chapter "of the forms of a common-wealth" on the problem of different

¹⁰⁵ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 98, 28 May 1903.

¹⁰⁶ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 2, 6 August 1875.

¹⁰⁷ Nura'i, Fereshteh, *Mebānī-ye Andisheh-ye Seyāsī-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, in *Qānūn Rūznāmeḥ-i Qānūn: Cereyānshenāsī-yi Tahlili Cerāyid-i Farsi, Vijenāmeḥ-i Yād*, Nashriye-i Bunyād-i Tārīkh-i Enqelāb-i Eslāmi-yi Iran, Šūmare 82, 1385 Zamestan, the issue has also English title in the back, Ghanoon Newspaper: Analytical Currentology of the Iranian Press, *Yad*, 21th year no. 82, Winter 2007, this is a special issue on *Qānūn* and the editorial board brought together many book parts from different sources in the issue, this article is taken from Nura'i, Fereshteh, *Tahqīq dar Āfkār-i Mīrzā Malkum Khān Nāzīm al-Dawla*, Shirkat-i Sahāmī-ye Ketābhā-ye Jībī, Tehran 1973.

¹⁰⁸ Morādī, Hassan Qādī, *Malkum Khān: Nazariye-i Perdāz nūsāzī-ye siyāsī dar sadr-e Mashrūta*, Ketāb-e Āmme, 1389 Tehran (2010), p. 349-350.

styles of governments¹⁰⁹ and one easily can see in the text shared above, Malkum Khān partly translates and partly adapts John Locke's ideas on the government into Persian.

In the text above, Malkum Khān defines the Ottoman and Russian states as absolute monarchies, and the closest definition to Iran becomes the sultanate and Malkum Khān says Iran cannot become a constitutional monarchy like France and Britain so he claims that Iran should first follow the path of countries that has absolute monarchies, and that also means that absolute monarchies like Russia and the Ottoman state, cannot become a constitutional monarchy in a short period of the time.¹¹⁰

Does *Kânûn-i Esâsî* Fit to the Ottoman Empire, 1876

Probably because of this evolutionary approach, Malkum Khān claims that *Kânûn-i Esâsî* doesn't fit to the Ottoman Empire:

Midhat Paşa as *sadr-e a'zam* did enormous work for several days, I believe his constitution was very wrong and very harmful but it was precaution of *molukāneh* for getting rid of the interventions of European states, attacks of

¹⁰⁹ Locke, John, *Second Treatise of Government*, (edit. by C. B. Macpherson) Hackett Publishing Company, 1980, p. 68.

¹¹⁰ The one of the most important attempts of reform in Ottoman Empire was the declaration of *Gülhane-i Hatt-i Hümayûn* in 1839 and introduced the concept of the equality of Ottoman subjects before the law, and removed *müsadere* to protect the property, honor, and lives of all Ottoman subjects, and also regulated the collection of tax, and serving in the army. After the Crimean War, Âli Paşa, Fuad Efendi and Mütercim Mehmed Rüşdi under the allied pressure drafted *Islahat Fermanı (Hatt-ı Hümayûn of 1856)*. It was logically repeated and extended the *Gülhane-i Hatt-i Hümayûnu* but there were also significant differences like its tone, and language were modern and western, it didn't contain any mentioning of *Qo'rân*. Tax farming (*iltizam*) and bribery (*rüşvet*) abolished and converting from Islam to Christianity wouldn't be punished by death. *Islahat Fermanı* declared Muslims and Christians should be equal in matters of military service, in the administration of justice, in taxation, in admission to civil and military schools, in public employment to bond all subjects of the empire. *Kânûn-i Esâsî* (The constitution of 1876) which was declared by Midhat Paşa on 23 December 1876 created two legislative bodies: *Meclis-i Mebûsân* (a chamber of deputies) and *Meclis-i Â'yân* (senate) with responsibility for law making. Davison, Roderic H., *Reform in The Ottoman Empire*, p. 55-56.

Russians, but anyway it will not be constitution of Asian states... how the examination of this *Tanzīmāt -e Cedīd* [new reforms] will come out, and so how Midhat Paşa dared to refuse the decision of conference, namely the decision of all Europe with all of his power, all the people were devotees and eulogies of him; a point that made the Russian state suffer was with this constitution the Ottoman state came to the fore in the world of reforms and freedom. Now the Russian state seeks a reason for war because of this Ottoman's extraordinary reform and Ottomans' effort on supplying guns. They, dismissed Midhat Paşa in one go. I am not able to say that this dismissal is groundless in all of Europe what kind of bad works brought. All of the enemies of Ottomans, and especially Russians, cry out that Ottomans will ever come to no good and this constitution, like their other reforms, was meaningless and ridiculous. Supporters of Ottomans became grieved and hopeless as the result of these mistakes and they confirm that Ottomans really don't want to keep their independence. In short, in these twenty years the Ottoman state made mistakes and lost many things, this nefarious dismiss will be the biggest mistake of all of them. Enemies of Midhat Paşa worked hard to make him betrayer in the eyes of Europe, but these gave them no results. The *sultāns* and peoples of Europe in general will show respect to Midhat Paşa more than any Ottoman *sultān*; in these days after dismissal of him, all of important persons and ministers and especially Bismarck in the assemblies declared that Midhat Paşa grandiose vizier and he is important person and he is the most important entity of East.¹¹¹

As the text shows, Malkum Khān claims this constitution is declared to eliminate the interventions of the European states and it will not be the constitution of the Asian states and says *Kānūn-i Esāsī* is the biggest mistake of the Ottoman Empire, very harmful and it shows that the Ottoman Empire doesn't want to stay independent and this constitution like other *Tanzīmāt* reforms are meaningless and ridiculous. In another

¹¹¹ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 81, 16 February 1877.

letter Malkum Khān claims that *Kânûn-i Esâsî* will disintegrate the Ottoman Empire and the borders will come close to Rumili:

In short, the thing that is clear as the sun, they will destroy the Ottoman state in this degree or they will force this state to change all of methods of administration. Midhat Paşa have prepared a constitution. I believe that among the several mistakes this is the biggest one that if they carry out this it will devastate the Ottoman state. Regulation of the Ottoman state was easier ten and twenty years ago than now but mistakes of the past and especially carelessness of these several years situate Ottomans regulation and its future close to the continent of Rumili.¹¹²

However, some of the Iranians in Istanbul were very excited about *Kânûn-i Esâsî*. *Akhtar* a Persian Newspaper in Istanbul published the whole *Kânûn-i Esâsî* in the newspaper and in the introduction of this issue author considers *Kânûn-i Esâsî* pretty different than interpretations of Malkum Khān: “This *qānûn* [*Kânûn-i Esâsî*], the base of the happiness of Eastern nations, it is a mediator for our unity, saving our children from wildness and atrocity. It is source of pride for world history... Yes, this *qānûn* is head band of segmented homeland... Religion and state can get powerful through this *qānûn*.”¹¹³ An Armenian-Iranian state official Mīrzā Hartun who worked as a translator in the Iranian Foreign Affairs translated Midhat Paşa’s *Kânûn-i Esâsî* into Persian as *Konstitusyon-u Dowlat-e ‘Osmānī*¹¹⁴ and the copies reached to many Iranians by distributing hand to hand.¹¹⁵

According to Tarık Zafer Tunaya; Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, Namık Kemal and Rüştü Paşa also opposed to *Kânûn-i Esâsî* and one of their claims was Ottoman people’

¹¹² Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 63, 21 December 1876.

¹¹³ *Akhtar* 4, p. 2-8. 7 February 1877.

¹¹⁴ Mirza Hartun, *Konstitusyon-i Devlet-i Osmanî*, Tehran, 1876, Iranian National Library, Manuscripts Department, Reference Number: 1215-f.

¹¹⁵ Muhammad Arif Khan translated many *qānûns* of Ottoman state namely *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Teşrifat Kanunu, Tütün İhissarları Kânûnnâmesi ve Eleştirisi, Yabancı Devletler Tebasının Mülk Edinmelerine İlişkin Osmanlı Kânûnnâmesi*, Karadeniz, Yılmaz, “İran’da Tercüme Faaliyetleri...”, p. 188-9.

understanding capability is not good enough for constitutional administration.¹¹⁶ According to Abdülhamit Kırmızı, Ahmed Midhat was torn between Abdülhamid II and *Kânûn-i Esâsî*. Despite his close affiliation with Abdülhamid II's authoritarian policies, Ahmed Midhat always propagated the importance of *Kânûn-i Esâsî*. He categorizes the political positions of Ottomans toward *Kânûn-i Esâsî* into two parties, *hilâfgîrân* and *tarafgîrân*: a part of the *hilâfgîrân* considers the constitutional monarchy as *bi'dat*, an innovation which doesn't have any roots in traditional practice, for example the representation of Christians, Jews, and etc. groups was inconsistent with Islamic rules. The second part of *hilâfgîrân* didn't consider constitutional monarchy as *bi'dat* but politically detrimental. *Tarafgîrân* was also divided into at least two groups; the first one thought *Kânûn-i Esâsî* had to be achieved by the people and not given by the state, and the second group which Ahmed Midhat identified himself as part of it, argued that the Ottoman constitution could not be compared with European constitutions because it was granted by the state and was prepared by the state too.¹¹⁷ Malkum Khân seems to fit to the second group of *hilâfgîrân* because Malkum Khân doesn't consider *Kânûn-i Esâsî* as *bi'dat* but he thinks it will disintegrate the Ottoman Empire.

According to A. Kırmızı, Ahmed Midhat was an autocratic loyalist who believed in legal autocracy and the best guarantee for the preservation of the autocratic power was the establishment of clearly delineated responsibilities and rights, both for the *sultân* and people. In this case Malkum Khân's approach to law seems similar to that of Ahmed Midhat. Also Ahmed Midhat's idea that Ottoman methods of the government were still maintained by unwritten laws *teâmül-i kadîm* which were still stronger than written laws, seems similar Malkum Khân's claim in *Qânûn* that there is still *kânûn-i kadîm* in Ottoman lands without *Kânûn-i Esâsî*:

¹¹⁶ Tunaya, Tarık Zafer, "Midhat Paşa'nın Anayasa Tasarısı: Kanun-i Cedid," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İletişim Yayınları, Vol. 1, 1985, p. 32.

¹¹⁷ Kırmızı, Abdülhamit, "Authoritarianism and Constitutionalism Combined: Ahmed Midhat Efendi Between the Sultan and The Kanun-i Esasi." In *The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy*. Edited by Christoph Herzog and Malek Sharif, Ergon in Kommiission, 2010, p. 61.

[Question] You who used to have *qānūn* in Istanbul please explain this problem to me. If *qānūn* is really that much necessary, then why Ottoman state doesn't have it. This *ādam* responded it like this:

[Answer] What kind of talk is that Ottomans have no *qānūn*. During the reign of the *sultān* nobody heard anything except the codification of the *qānūn*, the need of the *qānūn* and reform of the *qānūn* and enforcement of the *qānūn* [or] another issue. Yes, until recently foreign governments protested Ottoman laws for being short and incomplete. However, personal characters of virtue of the *sultān*'s excellence that before everything is the reasons of world's admiration and bewilder that in legislative power and organization of a '*Edalatkānehha* in any era there were any *pādeshāhs* that struggled and worked as much as this caliph of justice for organizing and fortification of the *qānūns*. Now, there is no vizier and emir has a position that can carry out anything against *kānūn-i kadīm* in the Ottoman lands. And can be a thousand reasons to swear that until today this *Shāhenshāh* who is guardian of Islam didn't order any word that isn't agreeable and intensifying on the *qānūns*. How come you can attribute legislative power and organization of '*Edalatkanehha* of this state with fearsome chaos that the groups of the most abominations of the world founded Iran. What miserable can be punished and imprisoned without public trial in Ottoman lands. Who have seen a hangman close to the Palace or in the street corners of Istanbul? When an Ottoman *sultān* have sold governments and *neshānhā* [orders of the state] and titles and ranks and *hukuk* [salary] of nation against world's all *qānūns*?... and what can I say about untold troubles that drowns hearts of Iranians in mourning. In the case that all of viziers and commissioners of Ottomans were selected among the well-known men of virtue see viziers and important positions of our state in the hands of what kind of ignorant what a terrible things they founded. After these words the situations of Ottoman the excuse of lawlessness of Iran we decided that we should drown with embarrassment that this state according to us very new and more than any other state occupied with foreign involvements

even so [Ottomans] founded security of the *qānūn* for their people. And we who are part of a state for three thousand years today we don't have the *qānūn* except desire and foolishness for women.¹¹⁸

The question in letter implies that Ottomans have everything that is necessary so if the law were something necessary, Ottomans would have it and also the question by stating that “you who used to have the *qānūn* in Istanbul” denotes Malkum Khān. Malkum Khān didn't write his name on *Qānūn* until the 28th issue of *Qānūn*, Malkum Khān only once mentions of himself in the 28th issue and gives really confusing and unclear knowledge about himself.¹¹⁹ Additionally, the address of *Qānūn*'s publication place is uncertain. Malkum Khān says he publishes *Qānūn* in the outside of Iran because the writing the right words is forbidden in Iran.¹²⁰ In the first seven issues, at the end of the *Qānūn* a note says in English “All subscriptions for his periodical be sent by Post Office Orders to the Oriental Press Association, Limited, 38, Lombard Street, London.” Malkum Khān claims that publication's address changes in the 10th issue: “*Qānūn*'s office in London which was the previous location and number changed. Communication center became closer to Iran. From now on, sent all of your writings either to Baghdad or to Bombay, or to Ashkhabad to one of correspondents of *Qānūn*.” However, Malkum Khān then in 11th issue says: “Where do they publish *Qānūn*? Nobody knows. Who is the author of *Qānūn*? No one knows about.” If publication address was not clear then how come Malkum Khān corresponded with readers? Most probably Malkum Khān didn't receive any letters from readers of *Qānūn* because the publication place was indefinite. However, Malkum Khān corresponds individually with Afghānī, Mīrzā Agha Khān Kermānī, etc. to bounce ideas of each other. Therefore, this text shared above was written by Malkum Khān, Malkum Khān asks and he answers. He doesn't put date on

¹¹⁸ *Qānūn* 16, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ “Among the founders of the system completely gone sinister name is Malkum who is irreligious that nobody knows where he is and what occupies him. Some of the *hajjis* said that they had seen him in Mecca, nothing else they told. Some said he was killed in India. However, one merchant from Yazd who has just come from Mashhad said in these days they saw him in Khorasan. A few days earlier Cenab Sayyed ... swore that he [Malkum] is now in Tehran.” *Qānūn* 28, p. 3.

¹²⁰ *Qānūn* 7, p. 1.

Qānūn after sixth issue so since *Qānūn* is monthly newspaper 16th issue might be issued in 1891 May.

The question in the letter above asking why Ottomans have no *Qānūn* in 1891 is about *Kānūn-i Esâsî* but Malkum Khān doesn't discuss this problem in this text and praise Abdülhamid II for his effort on making *qānūns*. Avi Rubin's study shows what Malkum Khān claims about '*Edalatkhāneh* (The House of Justice) and public trials are true. According to Avi Rubin, *Kānūn-i Esâsî* included a section regarding the courts and "although *Kānūn-i Esâsî* was abolished in 1878, its stress on the rule of law remained unchallenged in the years that followed and the clauses that dealt with the courts was an embodiment of the law, and trials were to be public was one of the important one that remained in force"¹²¹ and '*Edalatkhāneh* in Ottoman context might refer to *Nizâmiye Mahkemeleri* and Avi Rubin claims Hamidian regime was successful on the problem of *Nizâmiye Mahkemeleri* and public trials.¹²²

Malkum Khān praises the legal achievements of Hamidian regime and doesn't discuss the abolishment of *Kānūn-i Esâsî* and claims *kānūn-i kadîm* is already in force in the Ottoman Empire and nobody can act against this *qānūn*. *Kānūn-i kadîm* refers to old practices of '*orfî* law in the Ottoman Empire¹²³ and after the reforms of Selim III *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* (New Order), the word of *cedîd* became fashionable among Ottoman bureaucrats and dignitaries and *Nizâm-ı Kadîm* was responsible for declining of the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁴ The opponents of the New Order criticized Selim III for shunning away from the *kānūn-i kadîm*.¹²⁵

Midhat Paşa calls in one of the first drafts of *Kānūn-i Esâsî* as *Kānūn-i Cedîd*¹²⁶ so as a reformer would expect that Malkum Khān would promote the *Kānūn-i Cedîd* but not

¹²¹ Rubin, Avi, *Ottoman Nizamiye Courts: Law and Modernity*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 32.

¹²² Rubin, Avi, *Ottoman Nizamiye Courts*, p. 54.

¹²³ İnalçık, Halil, "Kanun," TDVİA, vol: 24, p. 326.

¹²⁴ Tezcan, Baki, *The Second Empire*, p. 194.

¹²⁵ Sönmez, Erdem, "From kanun-ı kadim.." p. 119

¹²⁶ Tunaya, Tarık Zafer, "Midhat Paşa'nın Anayasa Tasarısı: Kanun-i Cedid..." p. 32.

the ancient *qānūn*. However, as Malkum Khān's answer in the text shows that he takes a defensive role against the Hamidian regime and criticizes Iran. Malkum Khān makes a kind of a check list in the letter and lists his general expectations from Iran: there are 'edalatkhanahs, public trial, *kānūn-i kadīm* that no viziers can act against, a *sultān* who supports the *qānūn*, a *sultān* who doesn't sell the titles, ranks and rights, a *sultān* who selects viziers and commissioners among well-known dignitaries and men of virtue. On the contrary, Iran doesn't have those things, and Malkum Khān claims there are a fearsome chaos in Iran and untold troubles that Iranians mourn; the Iranian viziers are ignorant and the Iranians should drown into this lawless country with embarrassment. Then, Malkum Khān compares the Ottoman Empire with Iran and says Iran is an older country than the Ottoman Empire and is occupied by foreign involvements more than any other state, security of life and property has established in the Ottoman Empire but not in Iran.

Malkum Khān's expectations that were listed above were discussed in different issues of *Qānūn* in detail and the list shows kind of summary of his reform program in general. Thus Malkum Khān shows Ottoman Empire as a good model for reform in Iran. In the letter above, Malkum Khān calls Abdülhamid II as the guardian of Islam, the Caliph of Justice and refers to the unity of Islam that Abdülhamid undertook in his reign.¹²⁷ According to Tanya Elal Lawrence, authors in *Akhtar* coincided their publication policy with Abdülhamid II's pan-Islamism and they used title of Caliph to avoid censorship and prohibition. Eventually this was achieved by endorsing Abdülhamid II's pan-Islamic policies in the articles.¹²⁸ Similarly, this letter was written like some of other articles in *Qānūn* to get the help of Abdülhamid II to send issues of *Qānūn* from the lands of the Ottoman Empire to Iran.

¹²⁷ Sasani, Han Melik, *Payitahtın Son Yıllarında Bir Sefir*, Klasik, İstanbul 2006, p. 204-5.

¹²⁸ Lawrence, Tanya Elal, *Akhtar: A Discussion on a Persian Language Newspaper Published in the Ottoman Capital (1876-1896)*, (Unpublished Master Thesis) Master of Arts in History, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul 2012, p. 103.

Only three months before, in February 1891, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh announced the Tobacco Concession which gives commercial and production rights of tobacco to a British company and Malkum Khān criticized this concession in *Qānūn* and also many tobacco merchants, producers, and 'olemā joined the opposition and in this case *Qānūn*'s oppositional, liberal and vogue language scared and alarmed the Shāh.¹²⁹ In April 1891 malcontents gathered in gardens of the Shāh and their placards' claims reminded to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh *Qānūn*'s oppositionary language and almost thirty people arrested for reading *Qānūn* and Shāh denounced Malkum Khān and all who might correspond with him.¹³⁰

In May 1891, at the time that Malkum Khān published the letter above; there is a document in the section of *Elçilik ve Şehbenderlik Maruzâtı* (Embassy and Consulate Documents) of Ottoman Archive that says Malkum Khān dispraises the Qajar government.¹³¹ In August 1891, there is a document in the section of *Tahrirât-ı Ecnebiye ve Mâbeyn Mütercimliği* (Foreign Correspondence and Translation Office of Chief Secretariat) that says there are some parts in the newspaper of *Qānūn* that the Iranian consul Malkum Khān publishes in London gives information about the *qānūns* that Iran enforces, domestic problems of Iran, incapableness of viziers and *ruesa*.¹³² A month later in September 1891, a document in the section of *Posta ve Telgraf Nezâreti Maruzâtı* (Post and Telegraph documents of Yıldız Palace) in Ottoman Archive says sending of Persian newspapers to Baghdad which started to be published in London against the Qajar government in the name of *Qānūn*.¹³³ This document is important

¹²⁹ Keddie, Nikki, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran, The Tobacco Protest of 1891-1892*, Frank Cass & CO. London 1966, p. 56.

¹³⁰ Qohen, Goel, *Tārīkh-e Sānsūr dar Matbū'āt-e Īrān*, (Dō Celd) Müesseseh-ye Enteshārāt-e Āghāh, 1363 (1984), p. 135.

¹³¹ BOA, Y..PRK.EŞA, 13/28, 12/Ş/1308 (21 May 1891).

¹³² BOA, Y..PRK.TKM, 22/5, 6/M/1309 (12 August 1891).

¹³³ BOA, Y..PRK.PT, 8/14, 13/S/1309 (18 September 1891).

because as Goel Cohen, in his massive history of the censorship in the press of Iran says *Qānūn* could enter to Iran especially from Iraq-e Arab and other Ottoman lands.¹³⁴

Sending *Qānūn* issues to Baghdad in 1891 was an important political attempt because the '*Atabāt-e 'Alīyāt* began to emerge as an important opposition center in Iranian politics. The *mujtaheds* of the '*Atabāt-e 'Alīyāt* began to get involved in Iranian internal affairs and also another important opponent was very close there Afghānī was in Basra at that time.¹³⁵ 19th issue of *Qānūn* that mentions of Afghānī and issue of 20th that mentions of Mīrzā Hasan Shīrāzī *marja'-e taqled* call *mujtaheds* to take an action against the concession. At that time, Shīrāzī issued a decree that the use of tobacco is against the will of twelfth Imam and there followed an internal mass boycotts in Iran and at the end Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh revoked the concession.¹³⁶

***Qānūn* and the Discussion of the Reform and the Law in 1895-6**

Afghānī impacted the writings of *Qānūn* and gave ideas about religious topics that appeared during the Tobacco protests. *Qānūn*'s language changes mainly for three times. At the beginning, Malkum Khān started with criticizing *Sadr-e a'zam* for not knowing the importance of signing a document (the cancellation of Lottery concession in 1888), associated the backwardness of Iran with *sadr-e a'zam* and viziers' misgovernment and promote the having the *qānūn* and security of life and property in Iran at least in the first nine issues. Then Malkum Khān changed the tone of *Qānūn* during the Tobacco protests and in this period Afghānī's impact is clear especially when Malkum Khān called '*olemā* to take action against the Tobacco Concession. Thirdly, *Qānūn*'s content changed after the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh in 1896. Malkum

¹³⁴ Cohen, Goel, *Tārīkh-e Sānsūr dar Matbū'āt-e Īrān*, p. 135.

¹³⁵ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, *Ottoman Administration in Baghdad, 1890-1908*, Routledge, 2006, p. 110.

¹³⁶ Keddie, Nikki, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran*, p. 145.

Khān changed his tone towards to the Mozaffar al-Dīn Shāh with positive words and instead of criticizing, Malkum Khān gave advices to the Qajar government about Iran.

After the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh in 1896, Malkum Khān writes a more detailed reform program for Iran in *Qānūn* and the title of this issue is *Darbār-e A'zam*. In this issue Malkum Khān doesn't authorize only Shāh but also 'olemā to bring together someone who have wisdom, knowledge and efficiency in a central *majles* to enforce God's justice that abolished for years.¹³⁷ Malkum Khān understood that making reform without 'olemā's participation is impossible especially after Tobacco revolts so Malkum Khān claimed the remedy is in the hands of *mujtahed* but he also wants Shāh to create a *majles* which can bring *mujtaheds* and bureaucrats together:

What is the remedy. Remedy is in the hands of *mujtahed* and bonded to efficiency of people of intelligence. *Mujtaheds* and the grandees of this race must get together around *pādeshāh* and in *Majles-e Shūrā-ye Koberā'-ye Mellī* and put out of the way these floods with measures and legitimate the *qānūns* from Iran. This *majles* is *Darbār-e A'zam-e Moqaddes-e Shūrā-ye Koberā'-ye Mellī*. You are not viziers of the state. You are the counselor of order of Iran. Rationally, you must be seventy people. Important *mujtaheds* and men of virtue of nation must be the part of this *majles*.¹³⁸

He claims Iranian officials look down upon man-made European laws and take pride on their law that came from sky.¹³⁹ In his essay *Nedā-ye 'Adālet* which was written after the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh probably around the same time that 35th issue of *Qānūn* published claimed that hundreds of *mujtahed* and *fozalā'-ye Qom* should get together in a special *majles* and should bring together the necessary *qānūns* and even

¹³⁷ The order of the world based on *qānūn*. The base of the *qānūn* lay on a boundary that God's wisdom commanded during the creation of the universe. The limits of God's justice abolished in Iran. Enforced again God's justice in this country. The presentation of such a mission is responsibility of 'olemā and men of virtue and dignitaries. Bring together the someone who have wisdom and knowledge and efficiency and (?) in the central *majles* and demand the reform of affairs from this *majles*. *Qānūn* 35, p. 1.

¹³⁸ *Qānūn* 18, p. 2.

¹³⁹ *Daftar-e Qānūn* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 135.

the ones that came from the sky.¹⁴⁰ Malkum Khān claims that he is aware of the fact that making the *qānūn* is not that much easy because if it were that much easy, Iran would have a *qānūn* long time ago and Malkum Khān says found the *Dār al-Qavānīn-e Iran* which will be the source of reforms in Iran and make decisions according to this institution.¹⁴¹ Malkum Khān in his essay *Daftar-e Qānūn* which, according to Algar, inspired the publishing of *Qānūn* claimed that Iran doesn't have *Kārkhāneh-ye Qānūn* (The factory of the *qānūn*) and without this institution viziers cannot make any change in the country.¹⁴²

In the 35th issue of *Qānūn*, Malkum Khān expresses his reform program on ministries, courthouses, government, soldiers, police, *mudarrises*, press, embassies, commerce, agriculture, banks, mines, roads, post and telegraph and general *dīvān* offices and all duties that is the responsibility of the state and will be subject of clear *qānūns* under *Darbār-e A'zam* and *Darbār-e A'zam*'s power will be limited with legislation and execution of the *qānūns*.¹⁴³ However, one of the Malkum Khān's important aims was creating the idea of responsibility that didn't exist in the Iranian political tradition according to Guity Nashat.¹⁴⁴ For Malkum Khān, viziers must be responsible for all state affairs and every provision that Shāh issues must be signed by a vizier and if an order or any provision doesn't have the sign of a vizier would be invalid and nobody has to obey to it and every provision of *shāh* that is harmful or against the *qānūns* outcome will be totally the responsibility of the vizier who signed it and any vizier who can't sign a provision of *shāh* for different reasons should resign.¹⁴⁵ Malkum Khān says *Darbār-e A'zam*'s members shouldn't be less than seventy and should issue provisions according to majority of the *majles* and every member should have right to speak whatever they want within the limits of the *qānūns* that they agreed upon and any vizier

¹⁴⁰ *Nedā-ye 'Adālet* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 203-4.

¹⁴¹ *Qānūn* 35, p. 1.

¹⁴² *Daftar-e Qānūn* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 139.

¹⁴³ *Qānūn* 35, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Nashat, Guity, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁵ *Qānūn* 35, p. 2.

who commit a crime should be punished according to the *qānūns* with proves of the crime.¹⁴⁶

As Hadi Enayat points out Malkum Khān, on the one hand, wanted to create an efficient bureaucracy on the Ottoman *Tanzîmât* model; on the other, he displayed an interest in establishing constitutional institutions in Iran.¹⁴⁷ He called for the establishment of a national assembly with the power to legislate in all spheres of life that would derive its legitimacy from the people, not the monarch.¹⁴⁸ Malkum Khān claimed in *Qānūn* that every branches of administration and every position needs a special *qānūn*.¹⁴⁹ Malkum Khān in the 18th issue of *Qānūn* brings the problem of collecting and tolling tax¹⁵⁰ then again explains his reform program on bureaucracy and says titles, positions, salaries must be specified clearly by the law and viziers should be responsible about enforcement of the *qānūns* and administration of state, and head of *majles* also should be chosen by shāh, and the shāh also should identify the rules of viziers' *majles* with special *qānūns* and punishing them with trials and with proves of crime and that is important because Malkum Khān criticized the Shāh for traveling with the *mīrqasabhā* (hangmans) even in Europe and criticized and Malkum Khān says everyone will talk in *majles* according to the *qānūns* that Shāh agreed upon.¹⁵¹ In 11th issue of *Qānūn*,

¹⁴⁶ *Qānūn* 35, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Enayat, Hadi *Law, State, and Society in Modern Iran*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁸ Enayat, Hadi *Law, State, and Society in Modern Iran*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁹ *Qānūn* 4, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Tax is something that is levied for support and enforcement of *Qānūn* of God's Shari'a [...] A state that doesn't have *qānūn* doesn't have right to demand tax[...] seizing the assets of muslims and without any kind of boundary... in what kind of state tolling tax became an action of haram and against God's shari'a and against the benefits of public. Curse on lawless state and on unconscious and effortless people who toll tax to lawless state. Collecting and spending of the state must be totally with information and permission of your *majles*. From this point of view every year beforehand must be specify one clear *qānūn* that how much tax state viziers should collect and how they should spend it. This simple *qānūn* is element of order of the state. *Qānūn* 12, p. 1.

¹⁵¹ Number of titles and positions and the amount of salary of each position must be specified and identified clearly by law that no commissioner of state appoint and dismiss and one dinar from treasure of state shouldnt be taken but with law. Enforcement of all *qānūns* of the state and administration of all country is responsibility of viziers. You must specify the numbers of viziers. The appointment of viziers is

Malkum Khān explains the right of speaking in the *majles* and claims that some of the ‘*ukalā* (learned men) understand the meaning of freedom in a wrong way and he says nobody has said that we must give freedom to people that they can express whatever they want. However, any humans should be able to express their ideas freely but we want freedom of the law, not the freedom of what our heart demands.¹⁵²

Malkum Khān claims that by making reforms on the law and administration, Iran can have the half of Asia¹⁵³ and in his essay *Rafeq and Vizier* Malkum Khān claims if the Iranian statesmen tried hard for making reform and ordering the system, Iran would have all of the Asia¹⁵⁴ and Malkum Khān sees Iran as a country of miseries because it doesn't have any *qānūn* and entire destruction comes from lack of the law.¹⁵⁵ “Who haven't cried eyes out hundred times for our mistakes on our affairs? Salary that was not paid. Instability of positions. Opression of governors. Ruined provinces. Miserable army. General poverty... Every old woman shows thousands of moanings in all of the corners of Iran.”¹⁵⁶ Malkum Khān says justice of a shāh means nothing without *qānūns* and found an institution *dīvānkhāneh-ye 'adliyye* that makes *qānūns*:

We all know that our *pādeshāh* is just but this is determinate in the world that without *qānūns* justice of *pādeshāh* means nothing. The meaning of state's

under the authority of padeshah. One of the viziers will be the head of the *Majles*. You should identify The viziers *majles*'s president rules and duties and rights and limit of viziers with special *qānūns*. You must do careful good work for not mixing affairs and limits. Any vizier who interferes to other viziers' work is enemy of the order and betrayer of the state. All viziers must be responsible in your *majles* that means your *majles* has right that every vizier that acts against *qānūns* in the administration of the state handed to trial venue and then punish him with proves of crime and power of *qānūn*. The election of the head of *majles* and the place and the organization of your consultancy must be righteousness of yours. Nobody say anything to your excellency in this *majles* ... but according to *qānūns* that you yourself agreed on. It is clear that without this fundamental right and without such a personal security there will be no *majles* no consultancy no *qānūn*. *Qānūn* 18, p. 2-3.

¹⁵² *Nedā-ye 'Adālet* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 207.

¹⁵³ *Daftar-e Qānūn* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 158.

¹⁵⁴ *Rafeq and Vizier* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 68.

¹⁵⁵ *Qānūn* 2, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Qānūn* 8, p. 1.

justice is something that any judgment is not enforced on people but provisions of the law. And provisions of law should not issue from any place but *dīvānkhāna-ye 'adliyye* and then enforcement of all rules of investigation and proves... The successful method of all religions and the provisions of sciences and experiences of great powers first must, is state's justice that investigation of crimes and criminal sentence are hold by especially *dīvānkhāna-ye 'adliyye*. Apart from *dīvānkhāna*, under no circumstances anybody has right to maltreat. In all of Europe maybe in all of world some of the wild tribe leaders there is no *pādeshāh* and *āmir* would harm a hair on people's head without clear decree against this system.¹⁵⁷

Malkum Khān and Ahmed Rıza, 1896

When Malkum Khān discussed the issues of reforms and the need for constitutional institutions in *Qānūn* in 1895-6, some of the Young Turks in Paris convinced Ahmed Rıza to join them in 1895 and they started to publish *Meşveret* in the same year to promulgate *Kānūn-i Esāsî*. Apparently Malkum Khān was one of the first enthusiasts of Young Turk Party in London. Eleanor Calhoun¹⁵⁸ who was an actress from America and one of the friends of Malkum Khān's wife visited their home in London for some time and shares her talks in her memoir:

Malkom Khan, a believer in the value of Free-Masonry for Turkey, was one of the first enthusiasts, if not founders of the Young Turk Party, whose success, as he saw it would bear a relationship to matters which interested him in Persia.

¹⁵⁷ *Qānūn* 3, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ She was born at Visalla. She was member of Shakespeare Association of America. She lived in London for a while and featured in Shakespeare's play *As You Like It* as Rosalind in 1884-5 for charity. (Powell, Kerry, *Women and Victorian Theater*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 67-8).

Princess Malkom and I talked recently passed London days and of current events. The prince [Malkum Khan] spoke of Young Turks and Persian matters.¹⁵⁹

According to this talk, Malkum Khān associated the matters of the Qajar and Ottoman Empires and predicted that Young Turk Party's success in the Ottoman Empire would bear a relationship in Iran. It is not clear at what stage Malkum Khān had relations with Young Turks but Malkum Khān most probably was aware of Ahmed Rıza's ideas on *qānūn*, Malkum Khān read at least some of the issues of *Meşveret*, because when he read that Ahmed Rıza published Fuad Paşa's Political testament as a series on *Supplement Français Mechveret*,¹⁶⁰ Malkum Khān consulted to Ahmed Rıza and claimed that he is the real writer of the Fuad Paşa's testament.¹⁶¹

Keçecizade Fuad Paşa (1815-1869), shortly before his death in Nice in 1869, claimed to have written a political testament addressed to Sultân Abdülaziz but published soon after in various newspapers about external and internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire with indications for future policies.¹⁶² Mehmed Galib¹⁶³ who was assistant member of *Târîh-i 'Osmânî Encümeni* (The Council for Ottoman History) discusses whether Malkum Khān or someone else wrote the testament in his article in *Târîh-i 'Osmânî Encümeni* and Galib is sure that Fuad Paşa did not write the testament because it was written in French and Fuad Paşa's French was not so good to write such a document.¹⁶⁴ According to him the most possible writer is Malkum Khān and he claims Malkum Khān wrote the testament for Fuad Paşa.

In any case, after Malkum Khān's letter, Ahmed Rıza sent a letter to Fuad Paşa's grandson Mustafa Hikmet and told him that if he can't prove that Fuad Paşa is the

¹⁵⁹ Calhoun, Eleanor, *Pleasure and Palaces*, p. 108, 252.

¹⁶⁰ (Fuad Paşa), "Testament Politique," *Supplement Français Mechveret*, p. 7, Paris, December 1, 1896.

¹⁶¹ Akarlı, Engin Deniz, *Belgelerle Tanzimat: Osmanlı Sadriazamlarından Âli ve Fuad Paşaların Siyasî Vasiyyetnâmeleri*, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul 1978.

¹⁶² Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 72.

¹⁶³ Birinci, Ali, Mehmed Galib Bey (1863-1935), *TDVİA*, p. 486

¹⁶⁴ Galib, Mehmed, "Tarihden Bir Sahife", p. 72.

actual writer of the testament, he will stop the serialization of it. Mustafa Hikmet told Ahmed Rıza that he has the Turkish version of the testament and Fuad Paşa is the actual writer¹⁶⁵ but Ahmed Rıza probably didn't credit this claim because French and Turkish version of *Meşveret* doesn't have rest of the testament.¹⁶⁶

How come an Iranian-Armenian Malkum Khān could write a testament of Fuad Paşa? Ferīdūn Ādamīyat claims that Malkum Khān felt closer to progressive Ottoman Paşas than Iranian conservatives in Istanbul¹⁶⁷ and more importantly both of them, as liberal of their time, have similar political views, and maybe Fuad Paşa¹⁶⁸ and Malkum Khān's¹⁶⁹ similar political and financial views let Malkum Khān to write such a document. The archival documents that Mehmed Galib published show that Âli Paşa was suspicious about Malkum Khān. When Fuad Paşa tried to give Malkum Khān a job in the Foreign Affairs, Âli Paşa opposed him. Fuad Paşa continued to support Malkum but when Fuad Paşa died in 1869 in Nice, Malkum Khān tried to get the help of Âli Paşa. According to Mehmed Galib, Âli Paşa didn't trust to Malkum Khān.¹⁷⁰

Âli and Fuad Paşas were considered as the pionners of liberalism in the Ottoman Empire because they clearly defended the liberalism in their testaments.¹⁷¹ Âli and Fuad Paşas discussions around acquiring from Europe such as about the civilization, transportation, borrowing money, granting concessions, reforms in the army and education, pretty much remind Malkum Khān's ideas in his writings. Malkum Khān

¹⁶⁵ Köprülü, Fuad, 'Fuad Paşa,' *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978, p. 678.

¹⁶⁶ Galib, Mehmed, "Tarihden Bir Sahife" p. 72.

¹⁶⁷ Ādamīyat, Ferīdūn, *Fekr-e Āzādī*, p. 97.

¹⁶⁸ Fuad Paşa had to resign after the pressure of Alexander Menshikov Russian Ambassador to Istanbul in the problem of Makamat-ı Mübareke in 1853 and Canning British Ambassador to Istanbul protested Fuad Paşa in the process of processioning of Basarabia in 1856 after Paris Conference cause of his inclining to French politics, Köprülü, Orhan F., "Fuad Paşa," *TDVİA*, Vol. 13, p. 205.

¹⁶⁹ Malkum Khan's French orientation made perfect sense since France was balancing power between Russian and British politics. Balaghi, Shiva, *Nationalism and Cultural Production in Iran, 1848-1906*, The University of Michigan Doctor of Philosophy, 2008, p. 24.

¹⁷⁰ Galib, Mehmed, "Tarihden Bir Sahife" p. 72-3.

¹⁷¹ İnel, Ahmet, "Türkiye'de Liberalizm Kavramının Soyçizgisi", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Liberalizm*, (ed. Murat Yılmaz) Vol. 7, İletişim, İstanbul, 2005, p. 43-44. Çavdar, Tefvik, *Türkiye'de Liberalizmin Doğuşu*, Uygurluk Yay., 1981, p. 47-74.

translated Fuad Paşa's testament into Persian and Asil Hujjatullah published this translation in his edited book including all the essays of Malkum Khān.¹⁷² Algar discusses that Malkum Khān's political ideas in his writings and Testament's advices on Russian, British and Ottoman political relations are similar, this ideas also the approaches to Islam, and the importations of European institutions remind Malkum Khān's reform programs in his writings but there is no clear evidence to prove that Malkum Khān wrote the testament but it is still likely that he might have written such a document.¹⁷³

Besides these correspondences about Fuad Paşa's testament, one should also discuss Malkum Khān and Ahmed Rıza's ideas on law and education together to show different and similar approaches of these politicians. Showing similarities and differences in *Qānūn* and *Meşveret* can help us to introduce their ideas in 1890s. In 1890s Ahmed Rıza in Paris and Malkum Khān in London criticized the politics of Ottoman and Qajar Empires and they insisted on different issues in their writings. Ahmed Rıza puts more emphasis on education whereas Malkum Khān promotes having *qānūn*:

If there is no potential of understanding of the importance of consensus and the progress of civilization in community, unity, liberty and the words of the law remain as consist of poetic imagination and speculative actions. An important benefit doesn't ensue from changing of the method of governing. How ignorance of people [avâm] left inconclusive the many works of the great revolution for some time in France, likewise we couldn't benefit from *Kânûn-i Esâsî* and we extorted this warrant of liberty that we acquired advantage of it with many organizations.

We regrettably see that Muslims who are subjects of the English and French government and Turks who separated from us after Russian War fall under the

¹⁷² Asil, Hujjatullah, *Resālehā-yi Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 499-507.

¹⁷³ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 75-6.

rule of constitutional administration cannot benefit from constitutional administration and the progresses of civilization.

Community for some time expect everything from the predestination [mukadderat], they have been irresponsible from the thought of *en leyse lil insâni illâ mâ seâ*.¹⁷⁴ These orders and expectations are all the work of lazy. Humans should expect happiness from their work and ability; [they] should try to be humans themselves. Liberty and freedom of people can be provided with understanding of this necessity. A nation that has liberty of conscience and thoughts is independent under the favor of science and education even if the law is not available. Whereas, it has no difference from being slave if a community which is subjected to the most liberal law is ignorant.¹⁷⁵

This text is from the introduction of *Meşveret*¹⁷⁶ written by Ahmed Rıza and it points out the importance of education and potential of understanding of consensus and progress in society and also points the importance of individuality and hard work for people's happiness. He claims that French and Ottoman people couldn't benefit from French Revolution and *Kânûn-i Esâsî* and this is the cause of the ignorance; Muslims weren't aware of constitutional administration even when they lived under these kinds of governments, and Ahmed Rıza claims that the law is not so important if a nation has the liberty of conscience, science and education. Ahmed Rıza's ideas on the law are different than that of Community of Union and Progress Party (CUP) members who demand Abdülhamid II to promulgate *Kânûn-i Esâsî* which was declared in 1876. In the same issue of *Meşveret*, an article by H.H. claims the liberation of the Ottomans lays in a two words: *Kânûn-i Esâsî*. Ahmed Rıza probably wrote such an article to respond to CUP members but his ideas also challenges the claims of Malkum Khân who associates

¹⁷⁴ 39th verse of An-Najm Sura, "indeed, man only gets what he does." Gölpinarlı, Abdülbaki, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Meali*, Elif Yay, 2007, p. 538.

¹⁷⁵ Rıza, Ahmed, "Mukaddeme," *Meşveret*, no: 1 p. 1-2, Paris, December, 1, 1895.

¹⁷⁶ *Meşveret* was published bilingually, Turkish version was published between the years of 1895-1898 and Ahmed Rıza continued to publish *Supplement Français Mechveret* until 1908. (Mardin, Şerif, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri 1895-1908*, iletişim, İstanbul 2008, p. 192).

all problems of Iran with lack of law, and views the law as indispensable part of progress and civilization, and claims that a state based on the law could have solved the problems of backwardness in Iran.¹⁷⁷ Malkum Khān wants the Qajar government to establish rule of law in Iran and sometimes he exaggerates the power of the *qānūn*:

We don't want anything that out of power of our government. I say enforce the *qānūns* in the country as method of Islam, those *qānūns* that to protect the rights of God's creatures in the soil of Turcman and in the provinces of Ottoman and in India and among the provinces of wild America. I am saying make a decision that nobody can maltreat against the *qānūn*. I am saying prison us but with virtue of the *qānūn*. Take our money but with virtue of the *qānūn*. Garnishee our salaries and positions and rights but with virtue of the *qānūn*. Plunder our homes and expel us from country and make our wives captives but with virtue of the *qānūn*. Cut hands and ears and tongue of us fire gun on our body tear out our abdomen to pieces but with virtue of the *qānūn*.¹⁷⁸

Malkum Khān recommends to the Qajar government to enforce laws in Iran that protects the rights of people in the soil of Turcman, in the Ottoman provinces, India, and wild America, and according to him the basic laws are quite better than lawlessness,¹⁷⁹ and the state which has no laws, has neither religion, nor justice nor intellect.¹⁸⁰

Malkum Khān promotes having the *qānūn* in Iran, but which is worth attention is his language towards the Qajars which is also different that Ahmed Rıza's language towards Ottomans:

European passage animals know that nobody can violate their rights and we who take pride in our dignified kind, don't have a bit of confidence for undermost

¹⁷⁷ *Qānūn* 2, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ *Qānūn* 11, p. 1.

¹⁷⁹ *Qānūn* 1, p. 1.

¹⁸⁰ *Qānūn* 11, p. 1.

freedom of the law.¹⁸¹ Monkeys of forest understood but the Qajars didn't understand the meaning of the law.¹⁸² Even the blacks of Ethiopia understood but the Qajar government didn't understand the meaning of the law.¹⁸³

In the 27th issue of *Qānūn*, Malkum Khān claims “Man without human rights is an animal that shall have no fate other than hardships how hard he tries”¹⁸⁴ and this also exemplify Malkum Khān's evolutionary approach that human groups evolve into state by leaving being wild and barbarism.¹⁸⁵ Malkum Khān in his another essay says English people were kind of forest monkeys two thousand years ago and eventually they developed kind of ‘*aql-e tabi'i* (understanding of nature) and now they became intelligent people¹⁸⁶ and there is something that distinguishes a human from animal that is demanding progress, humans demand progress but animals don't.¹⁸⁷

Malkum Khān and Ahmed Rıza have similar ideas about having revolutions in their countries. Şerif Mardin claims Ahmed Rıza bases his ideas on the Positivist thought that “organic stability should continue.”¹⁸⁸ Bradley in his dictionary of Iran calls Malkum Khān as an Armenian revolutionary¹⁸⁹ and Malkum Khān explains in the different issues of *Qānūn* what he thinks about the revolution:

Our spiritual guide and preceptor is the sun of science. Our name is *ādam*. Our aim is the liberation of Iran. Our demand is happiness of the universe. We deny every kind of violence and revolution with hatred for achieving to take action to do these sacred ideas.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸¹ *Qānūn* 3, p. 3.

¹⁸² *Qānūn* 22, p. 1.

¹⁸³ *Qānūn* 37, p. 2.

¹⁸⁴ *Qānūn* 27, p. 1.

¹⁸⁵ *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīṭ M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *Dastgāh-e Divān* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīṭ M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 78.

¹⁸⁷ *Tanzīm-i Lashkar* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīṭ M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 99.

¹⁸⁸ Mardin, Şerif, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, p. 191.

¹⁸⁹ Bradley, D. L., *The Dictionary of Iran: A Shorter Encyclopedia*, Entesharat-e Navisendegan, 2016, p. 409.

¹⁹⁰ *Qānūn* 17, p. 1-2.

They say- we all who want to be enemy [and] friend assure that the ship of saltanat will sink... in the going of this system any type revolution and bloodshed of a country will not take place.¹⁹¹

But [you] shouldn't forget that in the eyes of *ādamīyat* the way of liberation is the emerging of the *qānūn* not the day of revolution. We are the roots of system in this country. Some masses are the denier of their *qānūn* in their countries. Haşa [God forbid] ... We are ambitious of the *qānūn* not denier of it. And we don't recognize any guns for having the *qānūn* only the sword of God's *qalām*. War and fighting are proper to foreign enemies. There is no need for fighting to dispel internal enemies.¹⁹²

Malkum Khān claims that he doesn't want to change the system but only want to correct it with the *qānūn* and that's why Ferīdūn Ādamīyat calls Malkum Khān as the *Prince Reformateur*¹⁹³ and this title describes his liberalism in some ways. Malkum Khān claim that the difference between Asia and Europe, lays on two different kinds of administrations: *qānūnī* administration namely the miracles of progress of Europe and arbitrary administration namely grandness of ruins of Asia¹⁹⁴ and this shows us Malkum Khān wants to legitimize the system with *qānūns* and rational bureaucracy.¹⁹⁵

Ahmet Rıza and Malkum Khān have similar and different approaches to certain problems but one similarity is, both of them constantly complaining about the politics of their country and they give advices to correct the misgovernment, backwardness and ignorance of people in *Qānūn* and *Meşveret*. Ahmed Rıza and Malkum Khān have different approaches to education, Malkum Khān in his writings usually discusses the education of viziers and other bureaucrats and he claims that students and bureaucrats should get their education in Europe; he doesn't offer a reform program on traditional

¹⁹¹ *Qānūn* 26, p. 3.

¹⁹² *Qānūn* 27, p. 4.

¹⁹³ Ādamīyat, Ferīdūn, *Fekr-e Āzādī*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁴ *Tanzīm-e Lashkar* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 105.

¹⁹⁵ Kasravī, Sayyed Ahmad, *Tārīkh-e Mashrūtah-i Iran*, p. 10-11.

schools *maktabs*. Probably he doesn't want to disturb 'olemā who control the education of commons.¹⁹⁶ Ahmed Rıza and writers of *Meşveret* put emphasis on education for unification of the Ottoman Empire. In the third issue of *Meşveret* (1 January 1896), an anonymous writer's article *Girit İhtilali* (Crete Revolution) can be given as an example.¹⁹⁷ This is not the case in Malkum Khān's writings.

Conclusion

As a liberal of his time, Malkum Khān gave importance to limiting the political power of monarch with the constitution and laws. One of the Malkum Khān's observations about Iran was the arbitrary nature of the Qajar state in his first essay *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī*. He claimed Iranians have all of these problems because there is no law in Iran.

In this first essay *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī*, Malkum Khān adapted and partly translated the book of John Locke who was the first important thinker of liberalism. According to this essay, Malkum Khān defined three types of governments which starts with sultanate (Qajars), then absolute monarchy (Russians and Ottomans), and then continues with constitutional monarchy (Britain, France). He claimed that every government passes these stages. Because of that, Malkum Khān claimed Qajars should follow the path of Ottomans to make reforms and in this case Ottomans should follow the path of Britain and France. Although Malkum Khān in this essay implied that Iran should follow the path of Russia on reforms, yet in his letters, he did not mention of Russian reforms and

¹⁹⁶ *Meşveret*, issue: 3, 1 January 1896.

¹⁹⁷ "For keeping Crete Island under Ottoman domain; government should open new big Ottoman schools which should be better than Athens' schools. There is no other remedy. Christians send their kids to Athens for education and they grow up with their culture. Literacy is not common among Muslims; indeed they even don't know their state's language. Before mentioned, rioters passed through Albania. There is no problem for rioters to attend orderly Italian schools in Albania. Italia's ideas go everywhere from these sources. How many schools state has in Albania?" "Girit İhtilali" *Meşveret*, issue: 3, 1 January 1896.

promoted the Ottoman reforms. Maybe for two reasons: First, he had a chance to observe Ottoman reforms in Istanbul, and second, he was the Iranian ambassador to London so if he promoted the Russian reforms in his writings, that could be seen as a problem by British, a rival of Russia.

When Malkum Khān was dismissed from his post in 1889 in London, he changed his approach to this problem in *Qānūn*. He started to demand the foundations of constitutional institutions for Iranians. As it was mentioned above, he claimed the constitutional institutions don't fit to Iranian society. Maybe he brought these ideas forward in *Qānūn* to oppose Qajars destructively. He had liberal approach also towards his own ideas and changed them tactically in his writings according to his political agenda.

In the last part of this chapter, it was shown that Malkum Khān got in contact with Fuad and Âli Paşas in 1860s, and when Ahmed Rıza and Malkum Khān's thoughts are compared it can be seen that how these two politicians and intellectuals got in contact with each other in Europe and created different discourses for their political aims. Although Malkum Khān put emphasis on having the law in Iran, Ahmed Rıza gave importance to education in his writings in 1890s.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SURVIVAL OF THE STATE AND THE FEAR OF THE CONCESSION

Dastgāh-e Dīvān is like a vapor machine in the state, until this essential machine is not fixed there will be no important results forever in the eyes of us. The order of army, the order of finance, guaranteeing the salary, political progress, flourishing of trade, capturing of any province, certain education benefits even making a living of sultanate depend on organization of *Dastgāh-e Dīvān*... If you don't count my words as valuable, take a lesson from what Ottoman does. People who visited Ottoman domains have cried out for thirty years... Some says our condition is the way of Ottoman's situation? There is no difference between Ottoman and Qajar's condition about foreign encroachments."¹⁹⁸

This chapter has been designed according to Malkum Khān's thoughts in this essay *Dastgāh-e Dīvān*. He explains what kind of reforms the Qajar government should make and then gives Ottoman effort as example. This chapter also focuses on Malkum Khān's letters in which he gives advices to the Qajar government about saving Iran. In these letters, Malkum Khān insists that the Qajar government should grant concessions to European countries and should borrow money from them to save Iran. He explains in

¹⁹⁸ *Dastgāh-e Dīvān* in Tabātabā'i, Mohīt Muhammad, *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 94-5.

these letters why the Qajar government should follow the path of the Ottoman government on granting concessions and borrowing money and gives his observations about the Ottoman experience. Since Malkum Khān discusses the Ottoman experience, this chapter starts with Malkum Khān's Istanbul years and his connexion to the Ottoman reformers.

Mīrzā Malkum Khān in Istanbul, 1862

The Iranian reformists Malkum Khān and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dowla have tendency to narrow down the solutions or the reasons of the problems to a particular key word in their writings. As Malkum Khān usually claims in *Qānūn*, Iran has all of these problems because of the lack of *qānūn*, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān in his book *Yak Kalemeh* gives a dialogue of him with a friend “Why have other countries achieved such progress, while we have remained in such a state of lethargy and disorder?” The friend answers, “The foundation and origins of the European system of administration are one word, and every sort of progress and benefit one see here result from this single word...”.¹⁹⁹ When one reads these texts, what they claim seems easier to implement and even encourages the reader for reforms. In *Daftar-e Qānūn* Malkum Khān says “if we want to do better than Europe, we have to leave our barbarism” and then compare Belgium and Iran's revenue and population by asking a question “how come Belgium with 8 million populations generate an income of 30 million and Iran with 20 million population generate an income of 7 million, because Iran doesn't have any *qānūn*.”²⁰⁰

Constitutionalism and rule of law are important part of liberal thinking and this chapter especially focuses on financial side of the story. As it is shown in previous chapter

¹⁹⁹ Seyed-Gohrab, A. A., Mcglinn, S., *One Word-Yak Kalemeh: 19th Century Persian Treatise Introducing Western Codified Law*, Leiden University Press, 2010, p. iv.

²⁰⁰ *Daftar-e Qānūn* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 145.

Malkum Khān adapted and partly translated an early liberal John Locke's essay on government in 1858. When he came to Istanbul in 1862, he got in contact with Ottoman liberals like Fuad and Âli Paşas. Based on Âli and Fuad Paşas testaments, Tevfik Çandar considers them as the influential liberal politicians of the period 1854-1870²⁰¹ which has been named liberal years of the Ottoman Empire.²⁰²

In Istanbul Malkum Khān occasionally joined the companion of Fuad Paşa who was criticized by Namık Kemal:

However, the services that Âli Paşa has done with Fuad Paşa to this state, nation and *pâdişâh* haven't seen in the work of any vizier and any predecessors. The state before falling down to these personages' hands didn't have an *akçe* foreign debt. Now, almost a hundred million lira domestic and foreign debt borrowed pays interests with almost half of the revenues. On the one hand, these personages grafted the state revenues, on the other, the loans that they borrowed on the behalf of state.²⁰³

The text above was written by Namık Kemal for the passing away of Fuad Paşa in 1869. As in this text Namık Kemal, and other writers in *Hürriyet* as Ziya Paşa criticized Âli Paşa and Fuad Paşa for being in a league with Western-Europeans and impose the reforms on the Ottomans to westernize the country and making country poor by granting concessions to Europeans. Namık Kemal saw the liberal politics of *Tanzîmât* reformers as responsible for the economic collapse of the empire and he claimed that the Ottomans should invest their money on their mines, forests, other resources but not to foreigners.²⁰⁴

Malkum Khān was on friendly terms with Âli, Fuad and Münif Paşas during his ten years stay in Istanbul; he came to know a number of the Ottoman reformers and joined

²⁰¹ Çavdar, Tevfik, *Türkiye'de Liberalizmin Doğuşu*, p. 47-74.

²⁰² Gücüm, Kuntay, *İmparatorluğun Liberal Yılları (1856-1870)*.

²⁰³ Kemal, Namık, "Karıncı Kanatlandı," *Hürriyet*, issue: 25, 22 February 1869, p. 1.

²⁰⁴ Kemal, Namık, "Sekizinci Numeromuzdaki Maliye Bendine Zeyl," *Hürriyet*, issue: 10, 31 August 1868, p. 2.

the reform circles. The policy that *Tanzîmât* leaders undertook that limiting the monarch's authority, enlarging and empowering the bureaucracy, constituting the *qānūns* and security of life and property to make country safe and make the country investable and borrowing money from Europe to fund the reforms had impacts on Malkum Khān. The history of borrowing money in the Ottoman Empire shows us the important role of Fuad Paşa in this policy. After the first foreign loan of 1855, the president of *Meclis-i Âli-i Tanzîmât* Fuad Paşa prepared a plan to reorganize the financial affairs and he went to Europe to find loans for funding these organization expenses but he was unsuccessful.²⁰⁵ Fuad Paşa was appointed as *Sadr-e a'zam* on 22 November 1861 and the markets were doubtful about the state of Ottoman finances so Fuad Paşa prepared a report about what kind of measure can be taken to reorganize financial affairs and he prepared first Ottoman Budget in the financial year of 1860-1 to restore credibility in the foreign markets and positive impact of the news about the founding of the Ottoman Bank, in 1862 a debt agreement was made in London Deveaux and with their partners. However, when the Ottoman state's expenses were more than incomes, Fuad Paşa resigned in 1863 and in the same year the Ottoman state made a debt agreement with Credit Mobilier to pay the debts of Galata Bankers. In 1865 two debt agreements were made for paying the debts and closing the budget deficits. In 1866 and 1867 the Ottoman state tried to reduce the expenditures and Fuad Paşa almost doubled Egyptian annual tax by allowing Khedive assignment to be transmitted from father to son in 1866 but this didn't solve any financial problem so in 1869, when the year that Fuad Paşa passed away, the Ottoman authorities were trying to make a debt agreement.²⁰⁶

During these events, the relationship of Malkum Khān with Fuad Paşa concerned the Iranian embassy in Istanbul. Since Malkum Khān knows pretty much about the Iranian politics, Mîrzā Hoseyn Khān said this would be placing a weapon in the palms of our

²⁰⁵ Kıray, Emine, *Osmanlı'da Ekonomik Yapı ve Dış Borçlar*, İletişim Yay., 1995, p. 95.

²⁰⁶ Birdal, Murat, *The Political Economy of Ottoman Public Debt: Insolvency and European Financial Control in the Late Nineteenth Century*, I.B.Tauris Publishers, 2010, p. 32, Köprülü, Orhan Fuat, Fuat Paşa, p. 203-4-5, Biltekin, p. 55-9.

rivals with our own hands and that's why he recommended offering a job to Malkum Khān who is in distress and might do something impulsive. According to Algar, Malkum Khān threatened the Qajar government to reveal their secrets to the Ottomans unless his demands were met in Istanbul.²⁰⁷ Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān also wanted to silence the rumors that Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān keeps him away from everybody and had housed Malkum Khān at the Persian embassy in Istanbul.²⁰⁸ In 1864, Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān was successful to persuade Tehran to appoint Malkum Khān as counselor at the Persian embassy to Istanbul until 1866 when Mīrzā Sa'īd Khān instructed Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān to dismiss Malkum Khān.²⁰⁹ Malkum Khān applied to Bâb-ı Âlî for citizenship and employment, eventually got both of them; obtained Ottoman nationality and a monthly salary of 120 *tumans* and offered a position at the Bâb-ı Âlî with the help of Fuad Paşa and moved to a house in Rumelihisari.²¹⁰ According to Arşag Alboyacıyan, Malkum Khān spent most of his time in Kandilli and Yeniköy neighborhoods of Istanbul.²¹¹ Safai claims Malkum Khān received 10 thousand *tuman* bribes from Khedive Ismail Pasha, and left being Iranian with removing black Iranian *qolāh* and wore the Ottoman red *fes*.²¹² Ervand Abrahamian claims Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh ordered that *ahl-e qalam* must wear gray round *qolah* to distinguish themselves from the Ottoman commissioners who wear red *fes*.²¹³

The Ottomans Through Iranian Eyes, 1873-8

In 1871 Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān went to Iran and eventually appointed as *Sadr-e a'zam* and invited Malkum Khān to Iran as his personal adviser and he had this job for two years

²⁰⁷ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 65.

²⁰⁸ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 25.

²⁰⁹ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 26-7-8.

²¹⁰ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 65, 68.

²¹¹ Alboyacıyan, Arşag, "The Personages Whom We Lost," p. 2.

²¹² Safā'ī, Ebrāhīm, *Rahbarān-e mashrūtah*, p. 13-4.

²¹³ Abrahamian, Ervand, *A History of Modern Iran*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 14.

and then Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān recommended Malkum Khān to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh as the Iranian ambassador to London since Malkum Khān studied in Europe and has comprehensive knowledge about European affairs, Malkum Khān appointed as the Iranian ambassador to London. He went there four months before Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's travel to Europe and according to Safai, this job was important for Malkum Khān because he was supposed to contact with Baron Julius Reuter about the concession that the Shāh granted in 1872.²¹⁴

Mohsen Khān Mo'īn al-Molk who was predecessor of Malkum Khān in London tried many times to grant a concession to Siemens Brothers and Sir E. Watkins to build a railway in Iran. However, he wasn't successful because Foreign Office and the British government didn't back these attempts because of the idea that Qajars don't want those kinds of developments in their country.²¹⁵ And then, Mohsen Khān turned his attention to capitalists of more adventures type like Baron Julius Reuter whose scheme envisaged the creation of a monopoly that would exploit all the mineral resources, build and run all the railways, irrigation dams and canals, manage forests, operate banks, etc. in Iran.²¹⁶

Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh and Mohsen al-Molk probably thought of a comprehensive concession cause of great famine which lasted from 1869 to 1872 and it was estimated that between one and one and a half million people died of starvation or illness in that period.²¹⁷ Although the concession was granted in July 1872, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh probably had already second thoughts from the beginning. Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān persuaded Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh to travel Europe to familiarize him with Western world and achievements but it seems Shāh had two fears, one of them was the probable opposition of 'olemā against the aforementioned comprehensive concession that might

²¹⁴ Safā'ī, Ebrāhīm, *Rahbarān-e mashrūtah*, p. 14-5.

²¹⁵ Kazemzadeh, Firuz, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864-1914*, Yale University Press, 1968, p. 102.

²¹⁶ Kazemzadeh, Firuz, *Russia and Britain in Persia*, p. 104.

²¹⁷ Gilbar, Gad G., "The Rise and Fall of the Tujjār Council of Representatives in Iran, 1884-5", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 51, 2008, p. 1.

damage the favorable situation of *'olemā* who became very rich during and after the great famine, and second one was the Russian opposition to British policy in Iran.²¹⁸

At the beginning of his travels, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh went to Moscow. During one of the meetings, Russian chancellor Gorchakov complained against the concession and claimed that the concession violated the Qajar sovereignty and independence. Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh replied that his country couldn't remain without railways and it is up to you to aid us in such a case and then Gorchakov have found an entrepreneur Baron von Falkenhagen who is willing to invest in Iran. Therefore, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh committed to revoke the Reuter concession in Russia and eventually in 1873 he revoked it.²¹⁹ After long negotiations and agreements, Falkenhagen also left the idea of investing in Iran in 1875.²²⁰

Malkum Khān had a question in mind about the making the progress of Europe acceptable in Iran. In his letters, Malkum Khān shows different reasons of opposition and sometimes he gives information about the Ottoman attempts:

The Ottoman state in this week twenty korur²²¹ money borrowed, a hundred and five korur took and the rest will be given gradually. What speaking right we have with such a state. Although, bureaucrats of the Ottoman state are blind and senseless, the same telegraph that our bureaucrats exchange their state with obtaining several *shāhī* salaries because of the insufficient accounting; it is enough for the awakening of the Ottomans.

In the year that that Excellency's server went to Istanbul incomes of Ottoman tripled until now with consumptive living that is known. I wonder, we shouldn't ask what kind of measures they are taking about that. How did that happen from the reign of Suleymān until the beginnings of the reign of Sultān Mecīd, and the

²¹⁸ Dabashi, Hamit, *Iran: Ketlenmiş Halk*, Metis Yay., 2008, p. 68.

²¹⁹ Kazemzadeh, Firuz, *Russia and Britain in Persia*, p. 114.

²²⁰ Kazemzadeh, Firuz, *Russia and Britain in Persia*, p. 146.

²²¹ One korur equals to five hundred thousand. Anvarī, Hassan, *Farhang-e Dānesh-e Āmūz-e Sukhen*, Entashārāt-e Sukhen, Tehran 2005, p. 367.

incomes of Ottomans, despite of the great conquests two centuries, never increased and maybe decreased, and in this period that is the time of declining of Ottoman, income of this state in fifteen years tripled? In the situation of several years ago, Egypt was worse than our Khorosan; now what they have done that gives annually fifteen korur income and similarly Wallachia [Eflak] and Baghdad and similarly Tunisia, no miracle happened for them. The one thing that they did was some of the new machines that European philosophers invented for financial affairs and in Iran nobody can imagine even their shadows, are used more or less in this country.²²²

This text is the part of a Malkum Khān's letter written in 2 October 1874 when he was ambassador of Iran in London and the letter tries to persuade the Qajar government about borrowing money and granting concessions to Europe. One can easily sense the Malkum Khān's anger from his complaints in the letter about the revoking of Reuter Concession that played a role in the appointment of him as London ambassador in 1872. In the letter, Malkum Khān maybe for not being totally an Ottoman supporter defines the Ottoman bureaucrats as senseless and blind but then he implies that they are not afraid of losing their salary as the result of the making reforms and that attitude is enough for awakening of the Ottoman. And then, Malkum Khān considers the day he went to the Ottoman Empire in 1862 to 1874 and says incomes tripled, and then, considers the time from Kânûnî Süleyman to Sultân Mecîd and says incomes were by and large stay the same but what happen in sixteen years, he means the years between 1859 and 1874, the years that the Ottoman state started to receive the money that they borrowed in 1855 from Europe and a year before the bankruptcy. He says no miracle happened there and advices to the Qajar government to borrow money from Europe. However, by writing these words, he actually considers the years that the Ottoman state was getting closer to Bankruptcy of 1875 but Malkum Khān shows the inextricable

²²² Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 22-3, 2 October 1874.

situation of the Ottoman Empire as a good example just a year before to the Qajar government.

However, the difficult situation of the Ottoman Empire was very visible. According to Emine Kıray, the financial obligations that payments of debts created was ten percent of the state expenses at the beginning of the 1860s, this value went up to thirty three percent at the end of the 1860s. In 1874, it went up to fifty seven percent and in 1869 the Ottoman state paid the interests of the borrowed money with almost half of the revenues.²²³ Bâb-1 Âlî borrowed 220 Millions Sterling from 1855 to 1875 but could only get 116 millions of it and the years Malkum Khān lived in Istanbul, between 1862 and 1872, and being a companion of Fuad Paşa for a while make him aware of the situation that leads the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the Qajar officials warned Malkum Khān about the Ottoman finance and in one of his letters Malkum Khān says some of the ignorant Iranians claim that the Ottomans are declining because of these namely borrowing money, railways, and founding bank, and Malkum Khān says it is true that the Ottomans are declining but not because of these measures. If Ottomans didn't make any reform, they would have collapsed twenty years ago and today Ottomans are the proud of their daily income of twenty korur that you can see in some of the European countries.²²⁴

In another letter, Malkum Khān compares the way states borrowed money formerly and shows the increased possibilities of borrowing money with new technology and says once there was an owner of broken-down village and he wanted to fix and develop the village, but like him nobody could find the money easily but now it is easier than ever before and then Malkum Khān gives again Egypt as an example and says if nobody spent a hundred korur to develop Egypt now the income of Egypt wouldn't rise to a hundred korur these days and now in several years income of Egypt is more than what Harun al-Rashid and Anushirevan had. And then, Malkum Khān says borrow five

²²³ Kıray, Emine, *Osmanlı'da Ekonomik Yapı*, p. 11.

²²⁴ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 23, 2 October 1874.

hundred korur change all of stones of Iran into goods, and bureaucrats of Iran don't have any right to stop this country from this salvation measures that the future of Iran depends.²²⁵

In another letter about the similar topic, Malkum Khān says to the Qajar government that it must not look at the miserable condition of the Ottomans and must continue as we shouldn't make the same mistakes rather take lessons from the Ottoman's condition and don't make the same mistakes. He claims in this letter that the most important problem of Iran is lack of money which Ottomans, even Afghans, realized long time ago, so there is no future without borrowing money and must borrow a hundred korur from Europe and spend it for recovery of Iran.²²⁶

Now ... ask if today in the Tehran Bank forty korurtuman exist and if a hundred tuman that come from Britain and France to be spend for railways and mines in Iran, what kind of loses we would have? Tthey will say if that happens Europeans would come with an excuse of demanding their rights and they will take over Iran. In response to such a strange vision, for this bright wish they bring a witness today they attacked to Ottomans and they are the ones who didn't loan even a dinar to Ottoman and if there is a nation that this abyss will give death to Ottoman again the nations that loaned money to Ottomans. They loan money to countries that protect their country not to a country that demand and wait for ruining.²²⁷

The language of Malkum Khān gets more critical of the Ottoman Empire after the bankruptcy in 1875. Malkum Khān in his letter, dated 18 February 1876, says he wants to give information about a conversation among European leaders on the future of the Ottoman Empire and briefly he says that the Ottoman provinces, without any doubt, are the property of the *sultān* and no country do have the right to take them from the *sultān*

²²⁵ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 22, 2 October 1874.

²²⁶ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 21-9, 2 October 1874.

²²⁷ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 77, 25 October 1876.

but even the *sultān* doesn't have the right for keeping the country away from the advantages of progress.²²⁸ However, it seems Malkum Khān didn't write this letter for providing information about the Ottoman Empire, rather he wanted to warn the Qajar government on what European leaders think about governments who keeps their country away from progress. As can be seen in the first letter, Malkum Khān shows Ottomans they are not the one keeping their people away from European progress but Qajars. The rest of the letter shows us that Malkum Khān says, from the time of Jamshid until this very century, every country has the right to govern their country with their own will but this will have been lost for twenty years, and Belgium, France and Russia have to make progressive reforms to keep away the encroachment of progressive countries, and other countries cannot say that this is my country and I want to use camels for transportation and I want to sell slaves because the way people live, the way people progress has changed and got complicated and nobody can say that I don't want trading and I don't want to use my resources of mines and forests and people who say these are betrayer of the Shāh and country.²²⁹

Malkum Khān writes a letter to the Qajar government on 25 August 1876 for showing some methods that Ottomans used to borrow money from Europe:

If the opinion of Iranian state leads them to make a decision about borrowing money from Europe, they shouldn't tell that they are borrowing money to buy guns. Europeans and any other country don't loan money for buying guns and for stuff like these. A state that wants to borrow money should express that we want this money for science that we want for developing country; for instance if Russian and Austrian states say we want to borrow money to build railway or to mine minerals, people easily give money because they see their money will be spend for the benefits of them and they are sure that their money will not be lost but all the time states say 'give me money to supply guns for war' they will not

²²⁸ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 40-1, 18 February 1876.

²²⁹ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 40-1, 18 February 1876.

get a dinar; because it doesn't have any commercial profits, maybe in a time of war all the money that people loaned will be lost together with state treasury. That's why, every state that wants to borrow money first should distract dream of war and should show with thousand proves that they are in peace with other countries and there is no possibility for war. Yes, some states borrow money and sometime spend it for needs of army like Russian and Ottoman but they hide their real intentions with thousand measures. These soldiers and armory and excellent guns and war ships that Ottoman state has all of them organized with borrowed money, but in the time of borrowing money all the time swear that we want this money for railways and for developing provinces; any time Iranian state wants to borrow money should distract the idea of war from consideration.²³⁰

Malkum Khān's letter was sent when Serbia and Montenegro declared war against the Ottoman Empire and eventually the events lead to a Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. Probably because of that Malkum Khān assumes that the Iranian state might want to buy guns for defending country that might lead the Iranian state to borrow money from the Europeans. However, there was another problem for Iran that Malkum Khān mentioned in another letter: "let's assume a few days later Ottomans attacked to the borders and took over the some areas with the power of gunpowder, rifles and a hundred new kind of war tactics and what will happen then, what will be the solution"²³¹ and that refers probably to Kotur where Ottomans took over the control of it in 1848 in the years of Treaty of Erzurum. In 1876 Malkum Khān could have thought that action can lead to a war or small conflicts between Ottomans and the Qajars and maybe that's why he mentions about buying guns and borrowing money.

According to Malkum Khān, European countries don't loan money for buying guns because after war this money can get lost with the state's treasury and a state should be

²³⁰ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 63, 21 December 1876.

²³¹ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 21-9, 2 October 1874.

in peace so can get loans and investments easily are true but the way Malkum Khān shows the reality needs explanation. Additionally, Malkum Khān's idea that the Ottoman state bought guns by money that they borrowed from Europe for investing it on railways is very controversial. In 1870, *Sadr-e a'zam* Âli Paşa asked to Sir Henry George Elliot, the British ambassador to Istanbul, about a very possible Russian and Ottoman war and their availability on helping to buy military equipment and financial support. Elliot answered that it was not possible at that time.²³² As Mehmet İpşirli shows us the Serbian and Greece governments borrowed money to buy military equipments from foreign markets and according to his research, between the years of 1885-1887, the Ottoman government wanted to buy military equipments in the amount of 16, 219 millions Mark and for funding these expenses borrowed money from European markets²³³ so Ottomans and other countries didn't borrow money for railways but spent it for military. They directly made agreements for their real purpose. As Ali Akyıldız shows us in his book, Ottomans don't borrow money to build railways themselves so they don't get money but they grant these building projects as concessions and then the related companies invest their money on these projects.²³⁴

These two different actions of borrowing money and granting concession for railways are shown by Malkum Khān as something similar but his explanation that the foreign markets don't loan money for military equipments because it is not as profitable as loaning to mines or other resources is true. As Murat Birdal shows in his book, after 1860s there were two factors making Ottomans' economy worse: one of them was the unproductive use of external resources for the import of military goods and second one

²³² Ünver, Metin, "Teknolojik Gelişmeler Işığında Osmanlı-Amerikan Silah Ticaretinin Önemi", *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi (TAD)*, 54, Ankara 2013, p. 197.

²³³ Beşirli, Mehmet, "II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Osmanlı Ordusunda Alman Silahları", *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no: 16, Kayseri 2004, p. 123-6.

²³⁴ Akyıldız, Ali, *Anka'nın Sonbaharı: Osmanlı'da İktisadî Modernleşme ve Uluslararası Sermaye*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2005, for the text of concessions that Ottoman government granted look at Collas, Bernard Camille, *1864'te Türkiye: Tanzimat sonrası düzenlemeler ve Kapitülasyonların tam metni*, Bileşim Yayınevi, İstanbul 2005, p. 300-422.

was its consumption by the state bureaucracy.²³⁵ Even though Malkum Khān was aware of the problem of unproductive use of borrowed money on military equipments, he wanted to persuade the Qajar government to borrow money by stating that Ottomans have these military equipments with such a method which wasn't true.

According to Shahbaz Shahnava, around that time in 1875 onward, numerous proposals were made to the Qajar government for the opening of the Karun route especially by the British investors²³⁶ and Shahbaz also argues on the Ottoman government's economic policy in Al-Amarah in Ottoman Iraq for attracting the foreign trade of Khuzestan by devising easy customs, regulations and by encouraging the Iranian agriculturists to immigrate to the area. This project was successful; many Iranians came to this area and found easy conditions and ready land and water for farming around.²³⁷ Malkum Khān who was Iranian ambassador to London at that time couldn't stay out of discussions between the Ottoman and Qajar governments about borderlands and he uses the rivalry between the Iran and Ottoman governments to persuade the Qajar government to borrow money and grant concessions to British investors:

The same right and concession that Ottoman granted in Shatt-e Baghdad [Shatt al-Arab] to British and in the progress their [Ottomans] claim is Karun River in Mohammerah [Khorramshahr] will be given to British too, the Iranian state now should grant the same freedom and concession of trading in Mohammerah and Karun River to British. I know they will cry out that Iran will go downhill... If British state really wants that to take over some part of our country and British is such a stupid and incapable for doing this, stay years as inactive and for a meaningless concession gives for a merchant and why we sit without doing anything. Why they don't take over India a stupid state... The spirit of this

²³⁵ Birdal, Murat, *The Political Economy of Ottoman Public Debt*, p. 39.

²³⁶ Shahnava, Shahbaz, *Britain and the opening up of South West Persia 1880-1914: a study in imperialism and economic dependence*, RoutledgeCurzon, 2005, p. 11.

²³⁷ Shahnava, Shahbaz, *Britain and the opening up of South West Persia*, p. 51.

writing of this servant is designed to as a response to Ottomans, we should prepare for the protections of our boundaries and we should locate the benefits of British to the agreeable terms with our rights. All the concessions that Ottomans grant to British people in Shatt al-Arab, we also rationally in Iran and in Karun River should grant concession to British people. There will be no mistake in this action.²³⁸

Karun River originates in the Zagros Mountains and is an important transportation resource for inhabitants of the Southwestern Khuzestan province and Karun joins with the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and they all forms the Shatt al-Arab River.²³⁹ As Sabri Ateş shows us, proprietary and navigational rights over the Shatt al-Arab River and ownership of the small town of Mohammerah that located at the junction of the Karun were the subject of discussions of the frontier in Erzurum in 1848. Mīrzā Taqī Khān stated that Mohammerah is a part of Khuzestan province and Enveri Efendi claimed Mohammerah is a part of Basra province during the discussions and at the end both sides had an agreement, and according to Treaty of Erzurum in 1848 Mohammerah and its port stayed as a part of the Iranian territory.²⁴⁰

The Ottomans granted a concession for steam navigation on the Euphrates and Tigris to British Lynch Company in the beginning of the 1860s.²⁴¹ In 1869, the Qajar government planned steam navigation on Karun and concluded a deal with France for the purchase of a number of the steamers and the project was signed by Mīrzā Sa'īd Khān.²⁴² It seems France was preferable between the rival powers of Russia and Britain because whenever one of the rivals achieved a privilege or concession for commerce from Iran, other rival would demand the similar privilege so this plan made some sense for the Qajar government. With such a project, the Qajar government could produce

²³⁸ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 190-1.

²³⁹ Ghareeb, Edmund A., *Historical Dictionary of Iraq*, Scarecrow Press, 2004, p. 218.

²⁴⁰ Ateş, Sabri, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands: Making a Boundary, 1843-1914*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 150-5.

²⁴¹ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, *Ottoman Administration in Baghdad*, p. 128.

²⁴² Walcher, Heidi, *In The Shadow of The King*, p. 57.

revenues for the Qajar government and could flourish the surroundings of the river. However, this project was never materialized. British traders, Gray Dawes and Co. and the Lynch Brothers of the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company, tried to get a concession of steam navigation on Karun. Yet in 1875, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh granted the Karun Concession to Dr. Tholozan his personal French physician. The concession in many ways looks like similar to Reuter concession which was revoked by the Shāh in 1873. The British investors protested the concession, and claimed it had to be granted to British not French.²⁴³

The above quoted text is part of a letter of Malkum Khān and it is undated but probably it was written around the end of 1874 or at the beginning of 1875 based on ‘Alī Asgar Haqdar’s classification of letters. In this letter, Malkum Khān insists on granting Karun concession to British investors as Ottomans granted in Shatt al-Arab and implicates there will be problems about frontier when Iran doesn’t grant the concession to British investors as a response to Ottomans. There is another implication that the Ottomans are more preferable than Qajars for the British investors, a question comes to our mind but stay unanswered that if Mohammarah were part of the Ottoman domains in 1848, the Ottoman state would grant the concession in 1860s?

The Fear of the Concession, Tujjārs and ‘Olemā

In the letter, Malkum Khān also mentions of the fear that the Iranian state has about the granting concession to British cause of the destructive effects it could have on Iran and Malkum Khān tries to explain why this fear is groundless because Britain is already capable of doing this and if they want to take such an action, they would do it and then Malkum Khān says why they don’t take over India. At that time India was governed by

²⁴³ Walcher, Heidi, *In The Shadow of The King*, p. 59.

the British government, after the massive revolts of 1858, the East India Company was set aside and the British government took the direct responsibility of the administration of India and the period of British Raj, started in 1858.²⁴⁴

In the letter, Malkum Khān implicates that don't fear of granting concession to British and in his other writings Malkum Khān thinks about this problem and he claims Iranians have fears about foreign-European things. In one of his essay he gives the word of 'protest' as an example and says in the idea of our bureaucrats this word was seen as 'western monster' and whenever a foreign consul used this word the tongue of vizier of foreign ministry became tied and still when some of the bureaucrats hear this word in a *majles*, they run away²⁴⁵ and according to Malkum Khān this happened because they don't know the real meaning and this is the case for bank, borrowing money and railways which Malkum Khān says they are probably seen as predatory animals by Iranians and if they come to Iran, they will destroy and plunder the country.²⁴⁶

Say why the Iranian statesmen are that much ignorant about these enormous floods that came into being for twenty and thirty years. It is clear that whether you want or not the railway could be built in Kalat, forty years ago, each group used to economize a land of the continent and say this land is my property and I can do whatever I want, in ancient times... from one place to another one took six months and groups of people were ignorant about each other, every property was limited a specified group but in this age the earth become even smaller and the power of humanity... reached to mines and forests and islands of the earth and to unknown streets of Africa even they overturn the North pole and in such an age how you can say that flood of progress might cause ruining, the reason of this illness is our ruins, now general philosophers and whole nations know the fact that whole earth the property of humanity and their responsibility are development of the world and the carrying progress forward, every group that

²⁴⁴ Gopal, Sarvepalli, *British Policy in India 1858-1905*, Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 2.

²⁴⁵ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 23, 2 October 1874.

²⁴⁶ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 24, 2 October 1874.

wants to develop one land and the land belongs to them but every group that deprives the land from the God-given progress, it is clear that... the land should be saved from their hand.²⁴⁷

This letter was written on 16 February 1877 by Malkum Khān and he calls the reader's attention to the year around 1848 the time that he was a student in Paris during the 1848 Revolution. Malkum Khān lived in The French Second Republic for a while and in this letter he refers to the time period 1847 to 1877 that Eric Hobsbawm calls *The Age of Capital 1848-1876*, the period that was marked with expansion of capitalist economy and the unification of world through steamers and trains that equipped with last technology.

Malkum Khān's observation between the differences of ancient ages and contemporary world remind us the words of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and their point on the civilization and the creating an image, giving us some hints about Malkum Khān: "The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image."²⁴⁸ Malkum Khān is aware of the floods of capital that discovered the North Pole and wild Africa and he doesn't accept the idea that these floods of foreign capital destroy these places but it has responsibility to carry the civilization and according to him, if some countries prevent this progress, they can be occupied.

²⁴⁷ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 187, 16 February 1877

²⁴⁸ Marx, Karl, Engels, Friedrich, *Manifesto of Communist Party*, London 1848, p. 37.

Malkum Khān associates this problem with ‘political economy’ as well and in this letter he criticizes the Iranian statesmen for not knowing it:

However, there was no smell of the science of political economy that is all fresh and the product of this age ever in Iran. There is no word about economy politic in the whole literature of Iran. Any Iranian philosopher will not understand without several years of European education what does mean paper money and what kind of measures make possible the national debt. We Iranians, definitely our mind is not less intelligent than Europeans’ but we have an important disadvantage that we haven’t understood the difference between wisdom and science yet. Servants of our viziers are not far away from being smarter than the inventors of telegraph but all of our scholars will not understand without studying how can they speak from Calcutta to London. Bank, national debt and railway and the organization of company and all the branches of economy politic too have the same rule as telegraph because they haven’t studied anything about the sciences and measures of economy; for the same reasons, there were no words of in Iran and they have the right for not understanding the meaning and they are laughing on our demands but we are agreed on this truth of science for thousands of proves and know it as *ilm-i yaqin* that the rescue of state depends on the accepting these measures...²⁴⁹

In the letter, Malkum Khān considers political economy as *ilm-e yaqin*. The term means the knowledge that originates in the heart and doesn’t have any possibility of doubt in it.²⁵⁰ Malkum Khān sometimes uses religious words for expressing his views in politics and it seems his ideas took the attention of the ‘*olemā*. Although Malkum Khān didn’t see any problem with the floods of capitalism that conquers the world, ‘*olemā* in Iran was concern about this problem for many different reasons and they associated this problem with Malkum Khān’s effort.

²⁴⁹ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 31-2, 6 August 1875.

²⁵⁰ Demir, Osman, Yakīn, *TDVİA*, Vol. 43, p. 273.

'*Olemā* targeted Malkum Khān during the negotiations of Reuter concession and Hajji Mullā 'Alī Kanī issued a public proclamation addressed Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, recalled the British occupation of India and claimed similar fate awaited Iran if the concession remain in force: "With the onrush of Europeans into Iran, no mujtahed would survive. Even if some '*olemā* did survive, what guarantee do we have that Mīrzā Malkum Khān or the company, with all the wealth it can amass, and all the men it can bring into country, would not surround us with their troops and weapons?"²⁵¹

Can Malkum Khān destroy '*olemā*? Targeting of Malkum Khān by '*olemā* is something that warned Malkum Khān about the dangers, it might lead to. It seems Malkum Khān didn't change his political role in granting concession but blamed '*olemā* for being ignorant about Europe. Malkum Khān associates '*olemā*'s opposition to reforms with their ideas on Christianity. For instance, he says that '*olemā* claims trinity is infidelity but in actuality European philosophers also struggled with Christian monks and he tries to show anti-religious nature of science to show being progressive is not being against to '*olemā*:

Iran fell behind of the progressive way that much because of one foreign fact not because of shortcoming of Iranian kind.

Christian monks suggested different ideas during the ignorant times of Europe such that progress of the world is just limited to Christianity and the right of Christians. Islamic nations based on this absolute hatred originated from Islam and declared that trinity has a nature of infidelity they should avoid so as all of the progressive ideas of Europe.

Some of the '*olemā* didn't accept the railway and steamship until now... by having no connection with foreign nations, '*olemā* of Islam totally remain uninformed about the difficult struggles that European philosophers showed against the invalidity of monks' claims and later they separated progressive science from old superstitions of monks with many efforts and bloodsheds. At

²⁵¹ Nashat, Guity, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran*, p. 94.

the same time of this nice event the intelligence and science of Japan on the whole Asia proved that the lights of progress is the right of all groups and acquiring this civilization is hundred steps easier and better come into existence without rules of Christianity.

The progress of Iran, in addition to this foreign obstacle, has a domestic obstacle as well and abolishment of this obstacle depends on your favor. The people of Iran by its medium of natural poets, confuse the simple mind and their solitude with the power of science of whole world...²⁵²

It was not easy for Malkum Khān to persuade Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh and the Qajar government members of Tehran to grant concessions. Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's unfavorable and negative approach toward economic activity of European merchants and investors gave the Iranian *tujjārs* an important advantage over their foreign competitors. Gad Gilbar argues that how *kārguzārs* (an official of the ministry of foreign affairs) played a significant role in controlling the activities of foreigners. And also they have a tool to enhance government policies with regard to economic penetration into the country. In his article, he gives Suleiman as an example who was Armenian and commercial agent of British firms in Iran, Messers Ziegler & Co., and was killed in Mashhad after the firm had transferred a large sum of money to buy wool from Baluchis in Khorasan for the carpet factory. *Kārguzār of Mashhad* held a *majles* to discuss the matter but the result was unsatisfying for the company, they lost their agent and couldn't find new one so company's commercial activity in Khurasan were cut back.²⁵³ On the other hand, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh was ready to support the Iranian Muslim *tujjārs* in their efforts to expand their economic activities and *tujjārs* granted to the Shāh and governors generous loans at agreeable rates; supplied the court and high ranking officials with exclusive goods and gave them *pishkash* (presents) and by so government could count on the commercial potential and ability of the big merchants in periods of logistic crisis and

²⁵² *Nedā-ye 'Adālet* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 209-210.

²⁵³ Gilbar, Gad G., "The Mysterious Death of a Commercial Agent and the *Kārguzār* of Mashhad, 1890", *Iran and the Caucasus*, vol. 15, 2011, p. 79-80, 90.

did not levy direct taxes on the big merchants. Big *tujjārs* initiated the first electrical plants in Iran and made considerable investments in the transportation, they laid a tramway in Ahwaz in 1890 and Haji Mohammad Hasan Amīn al-Zarb financed a railway from Mahmudabad to Amol.²⁵⁴

Support of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh continued, he approved the establishment of *Majālis-e Wukalā-yi Tujjār* (Councils of Representatives of the Big Merchants) in the main commercial centers in Iran, and then in eighteen cities, *tujjārs* elected their councils to supervise commercial activities, encourage investments in new projects by big *tujjārs*. However, clerics oppose to these *Majālis* in several cities and especially Zill al-Sultān didn't support these establishments. The end of the *tujjār* councils started in the same year in Tabriz, one of the *tullāb* in this city shout at 'Alī Akbar Bāshī as "you [merchants] want to abolish Qur'ān, you are infidels". As the result, *tujjār* council disappeared in Tabriz and later in Iran.²⁵⁵ *Tujjārs* in the cities usually continued to do the same tasks without an organization. However, *tujjārs* had other complaints like lack of security of property and life, the threat of a confiscation and unclear nature of *pishkash* (present) sometimes became intolerable for the *tujjār*, and also thefts on the roads made trading more difficult.²⁵⁶

Malkum Khān published many *tujjārs'* letters in *Qānūn* to show their problems. It is most probable Malkum Khān wrote these letters himself with the aim of showing *tujjārs'* concerns in *Qānūn* and *tujjārs* helped to deliver the issues of *Qānūn* to Iran. Some letters in *Qānūn* says that *Qānūn* was found in the boxes of textile, tobacco and sugar and in one of them there were a hundred copies of *Qānūn* to be delivered to Iran.²⁵⁷ For example in one of them Malkum Khān says all astonishing settlements and public security and endless colonies and seas of wealth that we witness in foreign countries, all the work is for the *qānūn's* security. Although newly established countries

²⁵⁴ Gilbar, Gad G., "Qajar Dynasty viii. "Big Merchants" in the Late Qajar Period", online edition, 2015, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qajar-big-merchants> (accessed on 20 February 2015).

²⁵⁵ Gilbar, Gad G., "The Rise and Fall of the Tujjār Council ..." p. 639, 664.

²⁵⁶ Gilbar, Gad G., "The Rise and Fall of the Tujjār Council..." p. 655-6.

²⁵⁷ *Qānūn* 14, p. 3.

have *qānūn*, in Iran as the center of progress for centuries and with a thousand years of history, nobody can mention the word of the *qānūn*.²⁵⁸ Malkum Khān claims that first *qānūn* must be about the security of life and property and honor and any power shouldn't be able to punish and prison people but according to provisions of the law.²⁵⁹

Revival of Iran is bonded to enforcement of God's laws. Organization of the *qānūns* is responsibility of your *majles*. The first *qānūn* of state must be about security of life and property and security of all individuals of nation. The base of the *qānūn* of security of life and property must be empowered that no one can lay a hand on to anybody's assets and rights without the *qānūn*.²⁶⁰

Most of the big *tujjārs* were Muslim in Iran, whereas in the Ottoman Empire most were minorities like Greek, Armenian, Jewish, etc. and their population is high in the major cities where they live with foreigners unlike Muslims, they faced no social restrictions in associating with them and they knew European languages well so they could also work in the foreign embassies or in their trading as translator.²⁶¹ The association of *'olemā* and *tujjār* had different nature in the Ottoman and Qajar Empires. The Iranian *tujjārs* had close relations with *'olemā* in the major cities and many *'olemā* came from merchant families, and most of the *tujjārs* received their formal education in Islamic institutions therefore both *tujjār* and *'olemā* had common attitude of rejection of the growing economic penetration of European companies.²⁶² Mīrzā Hasan Shīrāzī's fatwa on prohibiting smoking tobacco had an important impact on the success of Tobacco Protests which showed to *tujjārs* the *'olemā*'s power. Moreover, *'olemā* and *tujjār* were

²⁵⁸ *Qānūn* 3, p. 3.

²⁵⁹ *Qānūn* 35, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ *Qānūn* 18, p. 2.

²⁶¹ Göçek, Fatma Müge, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 92.

²⁶² Gilbar, Gad G., "Qajar Dynasty viii. "Big Merchants" in the Late Qajar Period", Online version

dependent to each other; *tujjār* supported religious endowments financially and *'olemā* maintained their reputation in public.²⁶³

Shi'i 'olemā played different role in Iran than the Ottoman *'olemā* and impacted nineteenth century concessions. Most of the concessions were revoked lead to opposition of *'olemās* and Islamist mobilization in Iran²⁶⁴ but in the Ottoman Empire *'olemā* didn't oppose to the concessions. There was a more centralized *waqfs* foundations in the Ottoman Empire than the Qajars. However, that doesn't mean there was no social movements against Régie Company in the Ottoman Empire, as Emine Tutku Vardağlı shows, there were significant differences between the protestors in Iran and of the Ottoman Empire where smuggling by producers was one face of resistance but religion did not function as a unifying force for the protestors because none of the protesting groups belonged to a single religion in the Ottoman Empire, they would be Jewish producers in Thessaloniki, or in Kavala Greek-Orthodox producers.²⁶⁵

The administration of *vakıfs* was centralized with the foundation of Evkâf-ı Humâyûn Nezâreti in 1826. Mahmud II probably wanted to weaken the *'olemā* class which was very powerful with their revenues that comes from those *vakıfs* and could resist to the Ottoman center's reform programs and with this reform Bâb-ı Âli broke the janissary and *'olemā* alliance which was very important part of opposition to the center and also found a financial resource for its reform programs from *vakıfs* revenues.²⁶⁶

Probably considering this situation, Malkum Khān says: "there are two states in Iran: the state and *'olemā* whereas in the Ottoman Empire there is one *pādeshāh* over all state

²⁶³ Keddie, Nikki, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran*, p. 27.

²⁶⁴ Algar, Hamid, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period*, University of California Press, 1980, p. 205-6.

²⁶⁵ Vardağlı, Emine Tutku, "International Tobacco Politics and the Question of Social Movements in the Middle East: A Comparative Analysis of Ottoman and Iranian Cases," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50:4, p. 611.

²⁶⁶ Akyıldız, Ali, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi ve Modernleşme*, İletişim Yay, 2006, p. 54.

structure.”²⁶⁷ Malkum Khān mentions different visions of *Sunnī* and *Shi‘i madhhab* towards the sultanate in the 26th issues of *Qānūn*:

There is another problem in Iran which is actually the key of all problems in this country: Imamate, that the structure of *Shi‘a* and foreign people very little maybe don’t have any information about their ideas [dekayık]. Ottoman *sultān* has the absolute power and *khalīfa* of the *Sunnī* people. *Shi‘i madhhab* agrees that sultanate of the time of Iran is contrary to the principles of Islam and Shāh is a usurper. Based on this *madhhabī* idea today in Iran there are two governments: one of them is legal that related to religious ‘*olemā* and the other is the usurper that they call it as the system of darkness.²⁶⁸

The Qajar state officials couldn’t limit *Shi‘i ‘olemā*’s power because some of the important ‘*olemās* were living in Iraq or could go to there to prevent the Qajar’s pressures and could have considerable autonomy in the shrines of Nacaf, Karbala and surrounding places under the authority of the Ottoman Empire.²⁶⁹ Malkum Khān and his friend Afghānī was aware of the *Shi‘i ‘olemā*’s power and they try to use that power against the Qajar officials during the Tobacco protest. There is no attempt to limit ‘*olemā*’s power in the Qajar Iran in nineteenth century and this combined with the scholastic legalism of the *Shi‘i ‘olemā* and the considerable autonomy they enjoyed in administrating the civil law in nineteenth century, made legal reform and state building a particularly contested and difficult process for Iran.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ *Qānūn* 26, p. 2.

²⁶⁸ *Qānūn* 26, p. 2.

²⁶⁹ Çetinsaya, Gökhan, *Ottoman Administration in Baghdad*, p. 104-5.

²⁷⁰ Enayat, Hadi, *Law, State, and Society in Modern Iran*, p. 2.

Bureaucrats, Reforms, Security of Life and Property

According to Abrahamian, before the twentieth century, *shāhs* ruled Iran not with an organized army and bureaucracy but with tribe leaders, landlords, prominent members of *Shi'i 'olemā*, rich merchants, and *a'yān*. The Qajars ruled Iran with very limited numbers of officers and commissioners who comes from the family of *shāh* or other prominent families.²⁷¹ According to Amanat, in the Qajar state there was no clear line had been drawn by state like the Ottoman *sultān*'s palace and Bâb-ı Âli, in the Iranian model, the distinction between the *shāh*'s court (*dargāh*) and the government administration (*dīvān*), headed by the vizier, had remained ambiguous.²⁷² Abrahamian argues that the ministry of interior, commerce, education and endowments, prosperity and fine arts, and post and telegraph only existed on paper in Iran, these ministries had really limited numbers of commissioners and even the already established ministries like the ministry of war, the ministry of finance, the ministry of justice, and the ministry of foreign affairs had lack of permanent filing system, salaried commissioners and offices.²⁷³

Centralization and creating a rational bureaucracy was an inevitable outcome of state sponsored reforms in the Ottoman Empire and Qajar Iran. According to Ali Akyıldız, there was one obstacle for the rational bureaucratization of the Ottoman center: *Tevcîhât Usûliü*. According to that system, commissioners, at the beginning of their careers, tested for a year and if they were successful, then they could stay in the commission. In this system anyone, usually the relatives of bureaucrats, could get a job without having required qualification and they could be appointed to another commission within a year

²⁷¹ Abrahamian, Ervand, *A History of Modern Iran*, p. 11-12.

²⁷² Amanat, Abbas, "The Downfall of Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir and the Problem of Ministerial Authority in Qajar Iran", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1991, p. 577.

²⁷³ Abrahamian, Ervand, *A History of Modern Iran*, p. 9.

without learning their jobs. As these inexperienced commissioners were seen as obstacle on the reform programs, Bâb-ı Âlî abolished *Tevcîhât Usûlu* in 1838.²⁷⁴ In addition, before *Tanzîmât*, Bâb-ı Âlî commissioners were selected from sons of the prominent statesmen at the age of 7-8 or 12; they learned their job by working in the state offices in a master-apprentice system and also continued the classes in the mosques. However, the Ottoman center needed more educated men than it had at that time so they opened schools, *Dar al-Ma'ârif* and *Rüşdiyyes* and the Ottoman center established *Mekteb-i Ma'ârif-i Adliyye* and *Mekteb-i Ulûm-ı Edebiyye* to solve the complex and growing problems with educated commissioners.²⁷⁵ Malkum Khân also wanted Iran to make reform on bureaucracy and create rational-educated commissioners for the state offices. Most of the ministries had limited numbers of commissioners who were selected from the families that exist from Safavids and provide commissioners for particular offices, for instance, Ministry of Finance's commissioners were selected from the family of Mostawfi al-Mamalik.²⁷⁶

Malkum Khân, makes an assumption in his writings such that if the Iranian bureaucrats had received their education in Europe and had had European experience as much as himself, Iran would have been a chance of progress. In a letter Malkum Khân sent to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, he says that someone in Iran asked him about what kind of reforms can be made in Iran and he made the list of thirteen things to do:

We should borrow 50,000,000 (100 *korur*) from the people of Europe.

Request 100 people of *mo'Allem* (teacher), *mohāseb* (accountant), *mohandes* (engineer), *sāheb-e mansab* (official) from European states.

Employ these hundred people of *mo'Allem* and *sāheb-e mansab* under the ten viziers that they can give order to the *vozarātkhānehā* and to all of the affairs of administration with the success of science.

²⁷⁴ Akyıldız, Ali, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi*, p. 24.

²⁷⁵ Akyıldız, Ali, *Osmanlı Bürokrasisi*, p. 25-6.

²⁷⁶ Abrahamian, Ervand, *A History of Modern Iran*, p. 10.

Invite twenty big companies from European countries to Iran and grant them concessions that they can bring another 100 *korur* to Iran and occupy them with inventing enormous things that don't have any name in Persian.

Start to build railways of Iran from several places with the guide of these economists and via these companies.

Build commercial banks and national banks and agricultural banks in the provinces of Iran.

Turn the mine and waters and forests of Iran into places that makes profit like in the whole world. Give order to the *dīvānkhānehā-ye tecāretī* (commercial offices) with successful rules.

Change and renovate taxes and the partition rules and collecting finance with the success of science that known by whole of the world.

Make eligible our internal customs.

Organize a special administration through *Administracteuse*.

Iran's money *sekke* that one of the reasons that nation's helpless life and now additionally it is reason for ruins of our commercial life and renovate it.

For whole of Iran organize police department.

Send a hundred students to Europe... maybe ten years in the universities of here they should prisoned themselves and they should learn a job to become *ādam*.²⁷⁷

This letter is important to understand Malkum Khān's ideas on reform in Iran and it seems he has no hope in Iranians to make reform. In the letter he wants to bring to Iran a hundred Europeans to organize a reform program under tutelage of ten Iranians to control the process and that means these Europeans will make reforms and the Iranians only try to follow what they do and then he says Iran should send a hundred student to Europe to study, so one can assume that if this project were implemented, a hundred European would come to Iran and a hundred Iranian would go to Europe, and in this

²⁷⁷ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 180-2, 20 December 1877.

way Malkum Khān could provide to every institution in Iran someone like him and can control easily the reform program and investments.

In the rest of the letter, Malkum Khān says the Iranians think that the reforms that Western countries have done are meaningless because the Iranians compare these progressive attempts with their culture and in the process of comparing, they confuse and it becomes meaningless to think about the reforms. Malkum Khān states that the world was very simple and easy to understand in the past but we can't take pride on Hushang, Hasan Sabbāh and Karīm Khān Zand. As these times past and new information emerged, their names don't exist in Persian anymore we can't exist without these innovations. Then Malkum Khān starts criticizing the viziers and says that people in Europe spend their whole life to study and when they don't know something they don't express any idea about it with embarrassment but in our culture people speak even if they don't know the problem and they don't even get embarrassed by this ignorance: "We have a group of viziers who doesn't know economy politic or anything else so dismissed the viziers who say I know everything but appoint the viziers who say I don't know anything."

Malkum Khān thinks that uneducated bureaucrats were the main responsible of Iran's backward condition. He tries to show us the condition of Iran with these bureaucrats in one of his essay. Malkum Khān gives a broken *santūr* as an example to describe the situation of Iran and this *santūr* doesn't play *maqāms* because it has broken woods, mixed up ropes and it needs a fix, it needs a system that can make it play nice *maqāms*:

We put a *santūr* (hammered dulchimer) in the middle of a room and have gathered twenty thirty different persons from different classes around a *santūr* and we sat at the head of *majles* pass judgments that...I am saying don't wait for the play of any of these *maqāms*... This *santūr* that you want to play is not working right its woods are broken and frets have fall down, some of the strings ropes are mixed up. When everybody who has consciousness sees this instrument will cry out like me that do not make yourself inactive no *maqām*

will come out from this instrument. Iran's condition is like our *santūr*, we have sit in the middle of capital and continuously negotiate that they should take over Marv, put post offices in order, I am saying all of them are true but... before everything, fix our *santūr* then desire different *maqāms*.²⁷⁸

Malkum Khān draws a traditional picture of a musical perform that usually takes place in a small chamber ensemble with a single instrument. People and musicians sit on benches or carpets spread on the floor with some pillows behind them.²⁷⁹ To symbolize Iran Malkum Khān selects a traditional Iranian musical instrument *santūr* which is played by Iranians for almost thousands of years. It is important because he chooses a traditional instrument but also implicates a very modern concept that is the security of life and property. As Malkum Khān discusses in his writings the Iranian statesmen don't consider Iran as an instrument which you should respect and take care of it to play nice *maqāms* but according to him, as he commented in his essay *Rafeq and Vizier*²⁸⁰ Iranian bureaucrats demand to appoint as viziers to accomplish their dreams of riding white horses and eating camel meat like Arabic Beduins.

In *Rafeq and Vizier*, Malkum Khān also tries to show these eastern bureaucrats' character. Rafeq (represents Malkum) talks about the problems of Iran and incapability of the Iranian viziers to the Vizier (represents an Iranian bureaucrat). Rafeq says to the Vizier that you will not be a *sadr-e a'zam* and Vizier asks why then Rafeq answers it by asking questions: "What book have you written? What kind of ability and profession do you have? Have you read any *'ahdnāme* (treaty) yet or have you seen any picture of war? No. Have you heard the word of bank? No. Do you know the names of the countries and in this situation you demand to be a *sadr-e a'zam*."²⁸¹ Then, Vizier says I wish you told me those things long time ago and claims he understood what Rafeq told him but in the rest of dialogue Rafeq sees that Vizier doesn't understand him because

²⁷⁸ *Daftar-e Qānūn* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 145-6.

²⁷⁹ Daniel, Elton L., Mahdi, Ali Akbar, *Culture and Customs of Iran*, Greenwood Press, 2006, p. 195.

²⁸⁰ *Rafeq and Vizier* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 63.

²⁸¹ *Rafeq and Vizier* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 59.

Rafeq talks about the method of governing in Europe and the idea of reform, on the other hand Vizier responds him by asking a question that you say all the time the method of order and where is this order?²⁸²

Malkum Khān implicates in his different writings that the *santūr* can be only fixed by enforcing the *qānūn*, which is enforcing security of life and property. He uses informative language in *Qānūn* to explain its meaning:

What does security of life and property mean? It means that you will not be a prisoner anymore without being on trial and without the proof of the crime. They will not confiscate your home and assets without investigation. Your positions and rights will not be sold to others. They will not cut your ears and nose in any other case... And your brothers and children will not be cut in half alive.²⁸³

Malkum Khān sees security of the law and property as the basis of the civilization and claims Asian countries didn't understand the meaning of these words for thousand years and that's why they also didn't even think about many interesting inventions that in use in Europe:

Since Adam's race rules, in all civilized nations conclusively is definite that the first basis of prosperity in the world is law, in foreign countries it is called as security of life and property. With thousands of pain and regret, I must admit that the meaning of these two words in a few thousand years for the peoples of the Asia remained completely unknown. This strange system that like telegraph and vapor machine and other hundred strange things didn't receive to our minds of Asian philosophers it comes to our mind as nothing....²⁸⁴

²⁸² Rafeq and Vizier in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 60.

²⁸³ *Qānūn* 5, p. 1.

²⁸⁴ *Nedā-ye 'Adālet* in Tabātabā'ī, Mohīt M., *Majmu'ah-i Asar*, p. 201.

Malkum Khān also explains what kind of results having security of life and property in Iran will give and draws very positive, optimistic picture of Iran: famines will be solved, plentiful blessings, schools are full of knowledge, council's actions are all virtue, well ordered army, and everyone is cheerful and happy:

What kind of result will give the enforcement of the *qānūn* in this country. Enforcement of the *qānūn* will change to a new world like a new miracle in every country that these degrees of miracles cannot be understood by anybody before this. In a country that has the *qānūn* affairs will be hold by the men of virtue in Kom... A country that the *qānūn* has the understanding and effort and *cavhar-e ādamīyat* increase eventually more and more and all people contribute gradually to the regulation and inhabitation and cultivation and magnificence of the state with the stimulation of personal benefits and the necessity of public affairs. Solving the famine. Plentiful life blessings. Treasures of nation are prosperous. Schools are full of knowledge. Council's actions are all virtue... Well ordered army. The rights of *ādam* are all completely protected. Legitimate happiness is grant of public. Everyone is cheerfull and delighted. Everyone protected by the *qānūn*.²⁸⁵

Conclusion

Malkum Khān has served as the Iranian ambassador to London for seventeen years and in this climate he gradually become a Victorian politician who didn't see any problem in doing shady financial deals and making profit out of it. As a liberal of his time, he pictured or wanted to show the floods of capitalism as a carrier of civilization. These floods were the only hope for making the country a civilized one. He tried to persuade

²⁸⁵ *Qānūn* 11, p. 3.

the Qajar government to grant concessions by showing the Ottoman attempts as examples.

In his letters Malkum Khān claimed that Qajar government should implement the politics of British to the agreeable terms in Iran like the Ottomans did in Iraq. Therefore, Qajar government should grant concessions to British in Karun River and Mohammarah as a response to Ottomans. However, he wasn't successful on doing that and he associated the reason of this failure with the ignorance of Iranians and the fear of foreign things. Malkum Khān's effort on granting concession made him the target of '*olemā*' and for explaining of this problem, a comparison was made to show different natures of the Qajar and Ottoman Empires. Such a comparison can be seen as unnecessary because these are already very different countries in many respects. However, a comparison showed a great deal of information to understand the issues that Malkum Khān dealt with in his writings.

Malkum Khān's reform projects on education and bureaucracy showed us that he considered himself as successful politician which Qajar government needed. He claimed Iranians should get their education in Europe and then they should serve in government institutions and make reforms. Also, according to Malkum Khān, Europeans should come to Iran to make reforms. Therefore, it seems Malkum Khān wanted to create a bureaucracy which is consist of the politicians like him, educated in Europe and civilized. In this way, he might wanted to eliminate the opposition of '*olemā*' against him in the affairs of the state. Because these European educated bureaucrats could have understood the meaning of security of life and property and backward situation of Iran and could help the implementations of his projects.

CHAPTER FOUR: ZANBŪR-E BĪ ‘ASAL-MALKUM KHĀN AND THE OTTOMANS

This chapter is titled as *zanbur-e bī ‘asal* which means ‘a bee without honey’. Khān Malak Sāsānī derives this proverbial sentence from *Golestan* of Saadi to describe Malkum Khān’s failed policies, “One being asked what a learned man without practice resembled, replied: A bee without honey.”²⁸⁶ Although Malkum Khān’s many projects were not implemented, he continued to send letters about reforms until his death. This chapter focuses on Malkum Khān’s political role that he played between relations of Ottoman and Qajar Empires. It starts with Malkum Khān’s first visit to Istanbul in 1856, then shows Malkum Khān’s role in the negotiations of Iranian-Ottoman Borderlands. It continues with his relations to Abdülhamid II and tries to show how and why Malkum Khān got in contact with Sabuncuzade, Afghani. The chapter ends with the problem of his changing political approach towards the Ottoman Empire and Japan and shows his reasons.

Tracing Ottomans in Malkum Khān’s writings enable us to see his liberal politics through his life. Malkum Khān’s discourse towards the Ottomans, Qajars and

²⁸⁶ Sāsānī, Khān Malak, *Dast-e Penhān-i Siyāsāt-i Engīlīs*, p. 577.

Europeans in different periods of his life shows us that he tactically changes his political language according to changing political landscape in his writings.

Malkum Khān in the Service of Foreign Relations, 1856-78

Malkum Khān returned from Paris to Iran in 1268/1851-1852 and worked in the classes of *Dār-al-Fonūn* as an interpreter to translate and explain what Austrian teachers taught. Besides this, he worked as a translator for Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁸⁷ In 1853, around the time that Malkum Khān started to work, Crimean War started and Iran made a 'secret' agreement with Russia about banning the transportation of food and provisions to the Ottoman Empire. Iran also stopped the transportation of British arms to the Ottoman Empire via Azerbaijan during the Crimean War.²⁸⁸

In 1851 when Iran took over the control of Herat, Justin Sheil, the British minister in Tehran demanded immediate withdrawal of Iran from Herat and then with this British pressure, Iran withdrawn from Herat. However, Russia's success in Kars in North-East Anatolia in 1855 gave an impression to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh that if he secures the Russian borders, he can take over the control of Herat again. In late 1855, Farrokh Khān was dispatched to negotiate with the British ambassadors in Istanbul and in Paris on Iran's conditions for ending the Herat campaign. When the mission reached to Istanbul in October 1856, the news reached to Tehran that the Iranian troops captured Herat.²⁸⁹

In 1855, Malkum Khān was employed as an interpreter during the negotiations of a defense treaty between Britain and Iran. Sir Charles Augustus Murray had expressed his concern to the Foreign Office about young Malkum Khān who had a dangerous

²⁸⁷ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 20.

²⁸⁸ Amanat, Abbas, *Pivot of the Universe*, p. 454.

²⁸⁹ Amanat, Abbas, The Herat Question, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 2012, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/herat-vi>.

character and was the last person in Tehran that Murray would trust, because Malkum Khān's father worked in Russian embassy in Tehran as an interpreter. According to him, the negotiations could be conveyed to the Russian representative.²⁹⁰ However, Malkum Khān was entrusted by Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh and he was appointed as *Mutarjim-i Humāyūn*, an appointment for translating news from European newspapers and that enabled him to contact with Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh directly and regularly.²⁹¹ Murray constantly threatened abrupt departure unless his demands were met and in order to satisfy him, Mīrzā Agha Khān Nūrī appointed Malkum Khān as an interpreter for the Iranian embassy in Istanbul upon the advice of Lord Stratford Redcliffe who was the British ambassador to Istanbul and was willing to negotiate the restoration of diplomatic relation with Iran. However, Murray warned Redcliffe about Malkum Khān by sending a letter that says Malkum Khān is a great admirer of France and has spoken hostile against Britain. Abbas Amanat says it is no wonder that the negotiations of Redcliffe with Malkum Khān in Istanbul doomed from the beginning.²⁹²

One month after the conquest of Herat on 25 October 1856, the British ships bombarded Bushehr and soon troops from India landed at Muhammara, then Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh had to give up on his ambitions on Herat and sent ambassador Farrokh Khān Amīn al-Dawla to the court of Napoleon III, and for this visit Farrokh Khān was also given the mission to converse privately with the Ottoman *sultān* and contact the French and British ambassadors in Istanbul in order to prepare a peace treaty with British. Since Malkum Khān has familiarity with French politics and language, he joined the mission of Farrokh Khān.²⁹³ Farrokh Khān signed friendship treaties with several European states and on his return to Iran, Farrokh Khān came to Istanbul.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁰ Amanat, Abbas, *Pivot of the Universe*, p. 275.

²⁹¹ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 22-3.

²⁹² Amanat, Abbas, *Pivot of the Universe*, p. 284.

²⁹³ Gaffary, Farrokh, Amin al-Dawla, Farrokh Khan Gaffari, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 1984, Available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/amin-al-dawla-abu-taleb-farrokh-khan-gaffari-1227-88-1812-71-a-high-ranking-qajar-official>.

²⁹⁴ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 25.

Farrokh Khān and his counselor Malkum Khān were employed in Istanbul to negotiate with the Ottoman authorities for appointing new officers to the borderlands of Iran. They were expected to negotiate with the Ottoman Empire to solve the disputes between two countries, control the tribes in borderlands, determine summer and winter postures for tribes, and prevent them from attacking each other, and also negotiate about Kotur where the Ottomans occupied during the negotiations of Erzurum Treaty in 1848.²⁹⁵ This way, Malkum Khān entered into the politics and disputes of these two countries in the borderlands. According to Mohammad Reza Nasiri, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh didn't want to solve the problems during negotiations on the borderlands in 1858 for two reasons: Firstly, according to the border map, Ottomans could take the control of Zuhab which had large prairies that were very important for tribes in Kermānshāh. Secondly, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh didn't want to make any agreement without getting back Kotur in North-West Iran in Khoy and wanted to delay the negotiations as much as he could to find the appropriate moment to demand Kotur from the Ottoman Empire.²⁹⁶

Malkum Khān came to Istanbul almost a month earlier than Farrokh Khān who arrived on 29 October 1855. In Istanbul, Farrokh Khān and Malkum Khān tried to seek the help of the Ottoman government about the attacks of British troops in Bushehr and Mohammara. During the negotiations the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Paşa, told Malkum Khān that the Ottoman government will try to stay neutral in this problem, yet if the British troops attack Khuzestan, the Ottoman government couldn't stop them from doing this.²⁹⁷ Thereby, Malkum Khān got in contact with Fuad Paşa who in the future will support him when he was exiled to Istanbul and had a glimpse on Istanbul where he will live almost for ten years.

During the negotiations, the Ottoman government believed that father of Malkum Khān, Mīrzā Yaqub Khān urged the Qajar government to become ally with the Russians and

²⁹⁵ Nasiri, Mohammad Reza, *Nāsireddīn Şah Zamanında Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri (1848-1896)*, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1991, p. 36.

²⁹⁶ Nasiri, Mohammad Reza, *Nāsireddīn Şah Zamanında*, p. 41-2.

²⁹⁷ Nasiri, Mohammad Reza, *Nāsireddīn Şah Zamanında*, p. 86.

declare war on the Ottomans in the Crimean War. Probably that's why Malkum Khān wanted to leave Istanbul as quickly as possible. Malkum Khān asked to be recalled to Tehran and he arrived there in 1858 with favorable position as someone who did useful job as an interpreter and advisor to Farrokh Khān's mission. He furthermore established a telegraph line between *Dār al-Fonūn* and royal Palace which increased the favorable view of Malkum Khān's talents in the eyes of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh.²⁹⁸ Malkum Khān focused on doing two things; First, he established a lodge called *Farāmūshkhāna*, and second, he began to write essays on reform in Iran which Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh also demanded from the ministers after the dismissal of Mīrzā Āqā Khān Nūrī. Malkum Khān wrote and sent his famous essay *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī* and other essays like *Tanzīmi Lashkar*.²⁹⁹

The *Farāmūshkhāna* was accused for being subversive to overthrow the monarchy and finally the Marv campaign showed to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh that Malkum Khān was not an entrusted person. At the end Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh exiled him to Baghdad and Malkum Khān came to Istanbul in 1862.³⁰⁰ Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān Sepāhsālār did his best to prevent Malkum Khān from getting in contact with the Ottoman authorities since he knew the political secrets of Iran and undertook important missions in foreign affairs before coming to Istanbul.³⁰¹ Many of the critics that hold against Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān were that he had been so familiar with the Ottoman conditions and spent most of his years in the Ottoman Empire. Nashat Guity claims that it is not surprising that in Istanbul Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān welcomed the friendship of Malkum Khān who was also a zeal for reforming Iran.³⁰² Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān tried to give a salary to Malkum Khān in Istanbul and thereby he wanted prevent Malkum Khān working in the Ottoman foreign ministry. He found a job for Malkum Khān in the Iranian embassy in Istanbul until 1866. Yet, the Reuters Concession changed both of their lives; Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān was

²⁹⁸ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 7.

²⁹⁹ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 6-7.

³⁰⁰ Nashat, Guity, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran*, p. 22-3.

³⁰¹ Nashat, Guity, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran*, p. 38.

³⁰² Nashat, Guity, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran*, p. 34, 38.

appointed as the *sadr-e a'zam* after holding some other posts and Malkum Khān was appointed as the Iranian ambassador to London in 1872.³⁰³

When Malkum Khān was appointed as the Iranian ambassador to London, the Ottoman state was dealing with political pressures and especially with financial problems. The Ottoman government raised taxes in the Balkan region, since people couldn't pay their taxes in Anatolia due to the drought seasons. In April 1875 the Slavic Orthodox tenant-farmers in Hercegovina rebelled against the taxes and heavy obligations. The Ottoman government suppressed the rebellion with very harsh measures and many Slavic-Orthodox took refuge in Montenegro and Serbia. The rebellion was spreading into different Balkan provinces and in October 1875, the Ottoman government declared bankruptcy. The abdication of Abdülaziz on 29 May 1876 made the situation even more complicated. Abdülaziz's brother Murad V. became the *sultan*. However, having a mental breakdown over the killing of his brother, he was deposed on August 31 and Abdülhamid II became the *sultân*.³⁰⁴

Malkum Khān as an Iranian ambassador to London informed Tehran of the Ottoman affairs, and sent a letter to Tehran on 18 February 1876 about what the Western newspapers and political groups think about the Ottoman sultanate and Abdülaziz:

Last year one time Ottoman *sultân* had said such and such building *enshā' llāh* will be built; Mimarbaşı [Chief Architect] had said what kind of meaning *enshā' llāh* has in the time of ours *pādeshāh*, *enshā' llāh* is good for other people who have no power of their own, but you are *shāhanshāh*, you are caliph of the earth, you can finish all of your work by an order. *Enshā' llāh* is the evidence of incapacity and saying of such words from an Imperial body is against traditions... today, when people mention about the Ottoman Empire in reliable

³⁰³ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 112-3.

³⁰⁴ Yavuz, M. Hakan, Sluglett, Peter, *War & Diplomacy: The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and The Treaty of Berlin*, The University of Utah Press, 2011, p. 20-4.

newspapers and assemblies, they say the future of the Ottoman Empire is the deceased reign of the Ottoman sultanate.³⁰⁵

Even though Malkum Khān doesn't express it clearly, it seems that he has heard some news about overthrowing Abdūlaziz in London. When Abdūlaziz was abdicated by force on 29 May 1876, Malkum Khān sent another letter on 8 June 1876 to inform Tehran about the abdication and the murder of Sultān Abdūlaziz. This letter is also about the Andrassy Note that league of the three emperors. Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany declared on 30 December 1875 to call for a religious reform in Balkans for Christian subjects. Yet, the Ottoman government hadn't made any reforms according to this Note. Thus, the Russian Prince Gorchakov invited the other league members to discuss the Ottoman Empire's future in Berlin. These three empires declared the Berlin Memorandum.³⁰⁶ Malkum Khān in this letter below gave valuable information about the negotiations of the state representatives:

Due to the bad news from Istanbul, my time was painful for two days. Poor and helpless *sultān* who was like one of my children died, I had cried for two hours involuntarily. Helpless *sultān* didn't have any sin, he devastated Ottoman Empire and he threw all of Europe into great danger, despite this, he had no fault, all the damage was the fault of his ministries. The intentions, and efforts and postures of the *sultān* were all based on good, but betrayer ministries and irreligious people talk a lot according to people they speak to and they worship on his human nature so much that this helpless becomes an angle, it was no possible that among these kinds of merciless flatteries, the meaning of words and their deeds of them will not cheat. Any word that comes out from their mouth, around the minister, servants cried out with admiration for him to make a miracle and when do they order the sultanate for the *sultān*, what kind of right people have to demand the talent of Napoleon from the *sultān*. Forty years,

³⁰⁵ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 41, 18 February 1876.

³⁰⁶ Yavuz, M. Hakan, Sluglett, Peter, *War & Diplomacy*, p. 65-6.

without a teacher, without a training, without education and they help him about nothing, after they brought that now this great state that its each corner has deadly problems should be regulated and for empowering this helpless caution what they found was each hour they go to in front of him prostrate themselves to floor and say your eyes are elixir what for you is divinely inspired. You are god's shadow, you are intellect and omniscient. They repeatedly say these kinds of words clearly to ears of everybody three days... In every place, the Sultān had a guy to praise him sometimes based on facts of the situations certainly he didn't lead these things here. However, what should I say to despicable ministries have committed despicable acts. Despite the fact that I am familiar with them from the beginning, for few days I have been cursing them. Whenever a disgraced foreign minister does a betraying, it is an open manner, but it is really infamy and utmost cowardly that a person who accepts to serve to the *sultān* and afterward used this position for betraying and the reasons of death of *sultān* happened. Damn on Hüseyin Kuli [Hüseyin Avni Paşa] and spit on his white growth beard.

It has been a month everybody knew that they will dismiss the *sultān*, but this servant six month before this at the time that there was no word about this around, by one of the ministers who committed this despicable act, I understood secretly two three people, together, have decided to dismiss the *sultān*; I have told this information to Lord Derby to take precautions. It could occur at that time; the dismissing of one of the ministers delayed it until these days. Helpless *sultān*.

The world of Europe politics is too unsettling. At the beginning, ambassadors here believed that the world war can happen in any minute in these days; this situation's revolutionary cause is Russian and Austrian and German governments have decided in Berlin that they will demand new things from Ottoman government after what some of the European governments have decided without notifying other governments, they called other great states for

approval. France and Italy approved the decision of Berlin without thinking. English government contrary to expectations with a perfect politeness and firmness responded that we will not interfere to aforementioned decision, but at that time gave an order to send British warships to east. The reaction of British surprised us and other states, because British state in the Ottoman problem stepped aside and acted neutrally. The Russian government take advantage of this silence and neutrality of British, Russian government showed his power in the eastern problem and in the conference of Berlin decided that Russia is the head of the conference and acted in this way like British state doesn't exist but this kind of threatening act lead British to send the warships to East and that awaken other governments and this tough situation made Russian state doubtful; the Russian government like a defeated state will give up his claims on Slavic people or the war with British is determined and this kind of result is tough for both sides. When British state comes to arena with such aims, France and Italy will be closer to British, and they will use the incident of Istanbul to excuse their approach on approval of Berlin decision. The Austrian government towards Russian government braced up, the relations are not like previous times and even German state slowly leaves Russians alone, in the Eastern affairs until now couldn't follow the same policy with Russians; in brief now the Russian government is alone against British. French supports the British policy, but some of the French politicians don't want to break the relation with Russians. The prevailing opinion is that the Russian government has broken their way into a dangerous position but the British government with perfect intensity and with full confidence is busy preparing for war and if war breaks out, the British government will strike all over the world; because this war will not be only for Ottoman...³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 42-3-4-5, 8 July 1876.

Malkum Khān's language toward Abdūlaziz is very emotional which wasn't the case in the previous letter that was quoted. In this letter, he says that he cried for him and he learned the plan for a dismissal of the *sultān* even there was no such words and nobody was aware of it. He even took action against such a dismissal almost six months ago and told this information to Lord Derby. However, at the end, a minister was dismissed and Abdūlaziz could delay this coup for only six months.

The second part of this letter is about the league that gathered in Berlin to suppress the Ottoman Empire to make reforms in Balkans and where Christians live. It seems the Russian government tried to gathered Western countries around Eastern Question according to Russia's agenda. As Malkum Khān says, France and Italy approved Berlin Memorandum which was prepared by the German, Russian, and Austria-Hungary governments. The British government that stayed neutrally in the Ottoman problem approved it with gentile message. However, the British warships moved toward East because according to Malkum Khān these negotiations were not only for the Ottoman Empire but were for world politics, Russia acted as head of the league and declare memorandum like Britain doesn't exist and it seems Britain showed its power and left Russia all alone in the problem. The information Malkum Khān provided, brings forward a question that if Russia could establish successful relation with some of the European countries, and if the Ottoman government could made British and French governments ally again like in the Crimean War, Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 could have been a world war between these different sides?

It seems that both sides wanted to prevent a world war from happening. The British policy toward the Ottoman Empire played an important role in this result. The Slavic-Orthodox rebellions against the Ottoman rulers in Balkans gained sympathy among British people and a major debate occurred in Britain over British policy toward the Ottoman Empire. The former Prime Minister William Gladstone supported the liberation of the Balkan Christians among British people and current Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli was skeptical about these campaigns and had doubts about Russian

intentions and media coverage of the events. However, he was sure the sheltering of the Ottoman Empire against Russia became too costly for Britain.³⁰⁸ In July 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against the Ottoman Empire. Russia's diplomatic pressures lead to Istanbul Conference on 23 December 1876 when Midhat Paşa declared *Kânûn-i Esâsî*, the constitution to disband pressures of the Western countries about making reforms on the Ottoman-Christian subjects. The Ottoman government rejected the proposal that Istanbul conference gave and Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire.³⁰⁹

Malkum Khān informed Tehran about these politic processes by sending letters. Malkum Khān didn't consider *Kânûn-i Esâsî* as a successful attempt to disband pressures but a political trickery as *Tanzîmât* process has been in the Ottoman Empire.³¹⁰ He followed the news on the war and even told that despite the fact that the Ottoman soldiers fought like lions with Russians, they would lose the war and the borderland in Balkans would decline to Rumeli.³¹¹ Malkum Khān has become familiar with the Ottoman politics in Istanbul and continued to inform Tehran about these political issues as the London ambassador. This was important for Iran because the Qajar government viewed Kotur problem as a British plan for getting away the attention of Iran from the East, from Herat and Afghanistan to the west to the Ottoman borderland. Malkum Khān as the London ambassador could be very useful for the negotiations on Kotur between the Iran and Ottoman governments in the Berlin Conference where two powers gathered after the victory of Russia in Russo-Turkish War 1877-8.³¹²

Kotur problem started in the 1820s and during the negotiations of borderland in 1848, Derviş Paşa entered to Kotur and took the control of the city, Iran claimed the center

³⁰⁸ Yavuz, M. Hakan, Sluglett, Peter, *War & Diplomacy*, p. 22.

³⁰⁹ Ateş, Sabri, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands*, p. 212-3-4.

³¹⁰ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 81, 16 February 1877.

³¹¹ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 83, 18 February 1876.

³¹² Nasiri, Mohammad Reza, *Nāsireddīn Şah Zamanında*, p. 83.

and thirty-nine villages were part of Khoy province and the Ottoman government claimed the villages and the center are the part of Van province and Derviş Paşa laid the foundation for two fortified barracks to house three hundred soldiers.³¹³ According to Sabri Ateş, taking the control of Kotur was important for the Ottomans for two reasons: First of all, in this strategic region, a small army could stop a large one, and secondly, the Ottomans could influence almost the entire *Sunnī*-Kurdish borderland.³¹⁴

A commission was held in Istanbul to discuss Kotur, Mohammara and Zuhab but commission wasn't successful and disbanded on 17 December 1874. Upon the invitation of the Iranian ambassador to Istanbul, the commission was gathered on 26 August 1875 but once again the discussion about the borderlands didn't give any result. Since the both sides didn't want to change the favorable present situation for them. The Qajar government's main target was getting back Kotur because this neighborhood was very important for the security of Azerbaijan.³¹⁵

After defeating the Ottomans, Russia made the Treaty of Ayastefanos with the Ottoman Empire on 3 March 1878 and Kotur was a part of the Treaty and was given back to Iran but when Britain pressured Russia to make another treaty with modifications, the future of Kotur became uncertain. Russia in appreciation of Iran's strong support during the war introduced Kotur problem into the Berlin conference debates. The Iranian representative Malkum Khān won the audience in Berlin conference with the help of Russia. During the subsequent negotiations, the Russian representative Count Shuvalov returned Bayezid and Alashkerd in exchange for the restitution of Kotur to Iran.³¹⁶ Taking back of Kotur in Berlin Conference took the attention of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh and other ministers and the Shāh granted Malkum Khān the titles of *Nazım al-dowla*, *Sefīr-i Kebīr* and Prince.³¹⁷

³¹³ Ateş, Sabri, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands*, p. 146-7.

³¹⁴ Ateş, Sabri, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands*, p. 148-9.

³¹⁵ Nasiri, Mohammad Reza, *Nāsireddīn Şah Zamanında*, p. 47.

³¹⁶ Ateş, Sabri, *The Ottoman-Iranian Borderlands*, p. 221.

³¹⁷ Rā'īn, Esmā'īl, *Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 88.

A Lip Service? Unity of Islam and the Publishing of *Qānūn*, 1890-8

In one of his letters about the passing away of Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān in 1881, Malkum Khān tells that Mīrzā Hosayn Khān was the one who advised him to participate negotiations in the Berlin Conference and in this letter, he mentions some of his memories with him.³¹⁸ The death of Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān affected political position of Malkum Khān, although they were in bitter terms after the revoke of Reuter Concession; they continued to support each other.³¹⁹

The death of Mīrzā Hoseyn Khān in 1881 and the appointment of Mīrzā ‘Alī Asghar Khān Amīn al-Sultān as *sadr-e a‘zam* in 1883 changed the political support towards Malkum Khān in Tehran. Mīrzā ‘Alī Asghar Khān was trusted by the British legation of Tehran and continued his Anglophile policy until Tobacco Revolts, and he had hostile attitude toward Malkum Khān who could easily become one of his rivals. In 1883 the evolution of Anglo-Iranian relations might have been beneficial to Malkum Khān but Henry Drummond Wolf and Mīrzā ‘Alī Asghar Khān have mistrusted to Malkum Khān.³²⁰

Earlier in 1889, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh decided to visit European countries and when he was in Antwerp, Malkum Khān joined them and escorted to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh as the interpreter and guided him in England. In Scotland Malkum Khān persuaded the Shāh to grant infamous Lottery Concession. Thereby the chain of events started and led Malkum Khān’s dismissal. As a result, he lost all the titles that he received after the Berlin Conference.³²¹ After he dismissed, Malkum Khān decided to publish a newspaper and found a person who could share his experience about publishing with

³¹⁸ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 90.

³¹⁹ Rā‘īn, Esmā‘īl, *Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 82.

³²⁰ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 165-6.

³²¹ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 168.

him in London: John Louis Sabuncu. In his memoir, Sabuncu tells that Malkum Khān invited him to the Iranian embassy in London on 25 December 1889. The day later he went to the embassy, as Sabuncu quotes the conversation between them:

Malkum: I want to ask your opinion about a work that I am about the start. I have decided to publish a political newspaper in Persian in London. You have knowledge on these kinds of things. In the first place, tell me, where can I bring the Persian letters?

Sabuncu: You can bring them either from Istanbul or from Beirut.

M: I prefer the letters that were molded in Istanbul than the ones molded in Beirut.

S: After several days, I will go to Istanbul for the concession of railway anyway. When I arrive there, I will send the letters you want.

M: May God bless you. Tell me now. There are what kinds of rules to publish a political newspaper in London. Doesn't it necessary to get permit or give the assurance or pledge the British government?

S: There is no necessity for getting permission or giving assurance; because here if anybody wants to publish a newspaper, then they can do it on their own. Nobody can say anything to them.

M: Can you find typesetters who can set Persian letters in London among English people? Otherwise, should we bring them from Istanbul?

S: There is no need to bring typesetters from Istanbul since they don't know English. Beside they would want to go to their country after several days since they would get bored. You will have to cover the expenses of their travel. Meanwhile the publishing of the newspaper will stop. I think, you should find the typesetters among the English people.

M: Very good, could you show me English typesetters who can set the Persian letters?

S: Yes, there is a person who previously publishes the newspaper of *Ennahle*. He has a printing house in this neighborhood. He is a trustworthy person. He can accomplish this very well.

M: Thank you. I really appreciated. I will write a recommendation letter to the Iranian ambassador in Istanbul, to my friend Mohsen Khān and will give you before you go to Istanbul to help you in favor of undertaking enterprise at *Pâdişâh* and ministries. Ambassador has influence at *Pâdişâh*. *Pâdişâh* likes him.³²²

Why did Malkum Khān seek Sabuncu's help on publishing a newspaper? It seems Sabuncu's experience on publishing a newspaper for political causes and getting help in the process attracted Malkum Khān. Sabuncu was born in 1838 in Diyarbekir as a member of Maronite community. In 1850, he went to Eş-Şarfa school in Kişravan Mountain and in 1854 Aġatiyos Anton Bahir Antalya Maronite Patriarch sent Sabuncu to Rome for the higher education. In 1863, he received his PhD degree and was appointed as the Priest of Assyrian community in Beirut. He established a school and a printing house in Beirut and in 1870, he published several issues *en-Nahle* and *en-Necah* but Governor Reşit Paşa banned publishing these newspapers for political reasons.³²³ Sabuncu left Beirut and went on a world trip, at the end of the trip he went to London. In 1876, he published *Mir'āt al-Āhvāl*, then *en-Nahle* in 1877 and *Al-Hilāfa* in 1881 with British help proposed to deal mainly with the issues concerning the caliphate and in these newspapers Sabuncu directed criticism toward the Ottoman government.³²⁴ Abdülhamid II created a policy to struggle with the foreign and domestic press; for example, *Vakit* (Time) published articles about Pan-Islamic issues

³²² Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, (ed. Mehmet Kuzu) Selis Kitaplar, 2007 p. 58-9. I am very thankful to Arsen Yarman for sending me this book.

³²³ Şerifoġlu, Ömer Faruk, "John Louis Sabuncu", *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, Haz: Komisyon, Yapı Kredi Yay., İstanbul 1999, vol. 2., p. 476-477.

³²⁴ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 12.

and directed opposition to British and devoted considerable space to the affairs of the Muslims under British rule.³²⁵ It seems that many journalists and authors made money by publishing articles in the newspapers according to different policies of the states. Did Malkum Khān try to obtain a help by publishing a newspaper after his dismissal?

This question is not easy to answer since Malkum Khān doesn't state anything about these issues in his writings. Mehmet Kuzu published the memoirs of Sabuncu. Yet, as Kuzu claims there has been a problem with the publication because he couldn't find the manuscript of the memoirs but used the serialization in *Vakit* newspaper in 1952.³²⁶ Furthermore, there are some confusions or mistakes or fabrications in the memoir. Sabuncu says that Malkum Khān awarded him the *Shīr-i Hūrshīd* (the lion of the sun) with the state order of Iran in January 1890. However, this doesn't look like plausible since Malkum Khān was already dismissed almost a year ago from the post. As Kuzu states in the book, Sabuncu has a tendency to exaggerate his role on the stories; in every event he is a must and in the memoirs he always assumes that nobody appreciates his work. Since he knows eight languages, he expected to be in higher positions.³²⁷

A similar approach can be seen in the part of the memory that he tells his connections with Malkum Khān and his role in the publishing of *Qānūn*. According to the information Sabuncu gives in his memoir, in the day that he received the order of *Shīr-i Hūrshīd*, Malkum Khān and Sabuncu had an agreement to publish *Qānūn* in three different languages, Persian, Turkish and Arabic. According to this agreement this newspaper would be published monthly via Mister Trübner and the owner of the *Qānūn* will be Sabuncu.³²⁸ After making this agreement, Sabuncu goes to Dotty, the owner of printing house, and rents a house in Kornodil Street to make it executive office of *Qānūn*. And then, Sabuncu makes an agreement with the owner of printing house about

³²⁵ Karpat, Kemal H., *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 199.

³²⁶ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 9.

³²⁷ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 8.

³²⁸ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 61.

the papers, setting the Persian letters, folding, and for sending issues to Mister Trübner to send issues to readers and makes an agreement for publishing five hundred issues of the *Qānūn* in the value of forty shilling.³²⁹ At that time, Malkum Khān wants from Sabuncu to find a cliché seller and in the same day he also does the proof-reading of *Qānūn*'s February issue in 1890.

This information that Sabuncu gives deserves some comments: first, maybe Malkum Khān discussed the publishing of *Qānūn* in three different languages with Sabuncu but it seems Malkum Khān designed *Qānūn* as a Persian newspaper for political aims and for criticizing Mīrzā 'Alī Asghar Khān but in many ways *Qānūn* would appeal to the Turkish and Arabic readers since Malkum Khān discusses many essential questions in it such as *qānūn*, freedom and *majles*, second; there is no mentioning of ownership in *Qānūn*, even Malkum Khān doesn't express his name on *Qānūn* but a company name. Although Sabuncu could have changed this information about language and ownership in his memoirs as something didn't happened but he doesn't give the reasons, since he does the proof reading of *Qānūn* he could explain why Malkum Khān decided to publish *Qānūn* only in Persian and why Sabuncu is not the owner of *Qānūn* anymore, on the other hand he continues to give information about what kind of work he has done about the publishing.

Sabuncu published newspapers in London, he knew publishers and the publishers who had interest in Oriental issues like Mister Trübner. He was most probably the brother of Nicholas Trübner (1817-1884) from Heidelberg who established a publishing company in London in 1851. The publishing house was specialized in books on India, Thailand and Middle East yet also other parts of Asian languages and cultures. Nicholas Trübner died in 1884 and his brother Trübner undertook the business.³³⁰

³²⁹ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 62.

³³⁰ Howsam, Leslie, *Kegan Paul, a Victorian Imprint: Publishers, Books and Cultural History*, Routledge, 2011, p. 2.

During the financial crisis of 1889, Trübner & Co publishing company merged with Kegan Paul. Nicholas Trübner's legacy on publishing books on Oriental topics, such as books on Anatolian and Persian coinages,³³¹ Mesopotamian civilizations,³³² the Ottoman poems and grammar³³³ was inherited by Kegan Paul.³³⁴ Sabuncu assumes that Trübner who helped many researchers to publish their books on Oriental issues could help them to publish *Qānūn*. In fact, at the beginning Trübner told that he could help them. Yet, Trübner sends a letter on 13 February 1890 saying that he can't publish *Qānūn*. Sabuncu informs Malkum Khān with a letter of this problem.³³⁵

Sabuncu wanted to travel to Istanbul for a company for a railway concession of Hama-Damascus-Aleppo-Baghdad-Basra and in this case Sabuncu seems to have similar approach with Malkum Khān about getting commission through consulting concessionaries. In the memoir, Sabuncu gives information about his Istanbul days. On 12 February 1890, Sabuncu goes to the Iranian embassy in London and gets two recommendation letters from Malkum Khān as being stated in the abovementioned quotation. Sabuncu arrived to Istanbul on 20 February and he directly went to the Iranian embassy in Istanbul. He gave Malkum Khān's letter to Mohsen Khān and Javad Khān and they told him that they could help him whenever he needs. And in March 1890 he tries to find Persian letters for Malkum Khān in Istanbul. On 21 February, he went to workplace of a letter molding and saw the samples of the letters, and on 24 February, he wrote a letter to Malkum Khān to inform him about the letters.³³⁶

However, Sabuncu's interest towards Malkum Khān has changed when he attracted Münif Paşa's attention. Eventually with Münif Paşa's assistance he was introduced to

³³¹ Barclay, V. Head, *The Coinage of Lydia and Persia*, Trübner & Co, 1877, Gardner, Percy, *The Parthian Coinage*, Trübner & Co, 1877.

³³² Budge, Ernest Alfred, *The History of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, B.C. (681-668)*, Trübner & Co, 1880.

³³³ Gibb, Elias John Wilkinson, *Ottoman Poems*, Trübner & Co, 1882, Arnold, Edwin, *A Simple Transliterated Grammar of the Turkish Language*, Trübner & Co, 1877, Redhouse, J. W., *A Simplified Grammar of the Ottoman-Turkish Language*, Trübner & Co, 1884, Brown, John P., *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, Trübner & Co, 1868.

³³⁴ Howsam, Leslie, *Kegan Paul, a Victorian Imprint* p. 138-174.

³³⁵ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 62.

³³⁶ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 69.

Abdülhamid II and was appointed as a translator in the palace. He later became the teacher of the *şahzâdes* (princes). Considering the languages he knew such as English, French, Italian, Arabic, Turkish and Latin, he was appointed to read newspaper in these languages to Abdülhamid II and informed the sultan two times a week about the policies of foreign countries followed against the Ottoman Empire. He stayed in this job from 1891 to 1909.³³⁷ After this appointment, Sabuncu stopped giving information about *Qānūn* and Malkum Khān.

Another person who Mūnif Paşa tried to get in a contact with was Afghānī. In 1885, Afghānī tried to establish a contact with Abdülhamid II, and Nikki Keddie informs us that Afghānī did not have special interest in working with Abdülhamid II and he just wanted to be employed by him.³³⁸ In 1885, in any case, Mūnif Paşa went to London to see Afghānī to determine his political position regarding the problem of Muhammad Ahmad who claimed to be Mahdi and rebelled against the Ottoman authorities in Sudan. Mūnif Paşa probably thought Afghānī was more of a supporter of Mahdi than supporter of Abdülhamid II and this first attempt of Abdülhamid II failed.³³⁹ Afghānī left London in 1886 and eventually went to Moscow in 1887 and tried to obtain an office from the Russian government in Central Asia in order to propagate the Unity of Islam but he wasn't successful.³⁴⁰ Afghānī left Russia to meet with Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh in Europe and he met him in Munich in 1889 and went to Tehran in November 1889 but the opposition leaflets of 1891 against Tobacco concession attributed to Afghānī and he was expelled from Iran.³⁴¹

According to Kemal Karpat, *Shi'ities* of all varieties probably constituted about twenty percent of the total Muslim population in the Ottoman Empire and considering this Cevdet Paşa prepared a memorandum on the question. He stressed the political

³³⁷ Sabuncuzade Louis Alberi, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Bir Papaz*, p. 7.

³³⁸ Keddie, Nikki R., *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": A Political Biography*, University of California Press, 1972, p. 139.

³³⁹ Keddie, Nikki R., *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn*, p. 258-268.

³⁴⁰ Keddie, Nikki R., *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn*, p. 285.

³⁴¹ Keddie, Nikki R., *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn*, p. 335.

importance of the *Shi'i* Imams in Arabic speaking Iraq and claimed that since European occupation threatened the entire Muslim world, including *Shi'ites*, they were under religious obligation to unite. Abdülhamid II invited Afghānī to Istanbul and correspondence between Cevdet Paşa and Abdülhamid II indicates that the latter wanted Afghānī's help to counteract Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's propaganda in Iraq and win the loyalty of the Ottoman *shi'ites*, possibly even convert them to *Sunnīsm*.³⁴²

Afghānī was expelled from Iran by Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh in early 1891 and went to London and met with Malkum Khān there and they worked together to attack the Qajar government through issuing *Qānūn*.³⁴³ Edward Browne visited Malkum Khān's house in 1891 in Holland Park in London to see Afghānī. He says they talked a good deal about Babism³⁴⁴ and after for a while, in 1892 Afghānī went to Istanbul upon the invitation of Abdülhamid II. According to Nazim al-Islam Kermani, Afghānī didn't accept the invitation of Abdülhamid at the beginning and Malkum Khān persuaded him to go to Istanbul.³⁴⁵ According to Nikki Keddie, Abdülhamid II invited Afghānī because he was worried about Afghānī's ties with Wilfrid Blunt's schemes for an Arab caliphate. Instead of using him as a major foreign policy adviser, Abdülhamid II limited Afghānī's activities. Afghānī wrote letters to the Iranian opponents to the *shi'i 'olemā* to support the pan-Islamic schemes.³⁴⁶

Occasionally Afghānī sent advice on approaches that Malkum Khān might take to the *'olemā* during the writing of the issues of *Qānūn*. Malkum Khān says that Abdülhamid II was the first *pādeshāh* who understood the meaning and importance of *Ettehad-i Eslām* (Unity of Islam).³⁴⁷ The topic of unity of Islam appears in the 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26 and 27th issues of *Qānūn*. The 20th issue is important because Malkum Khān publishes the letter of Afghānī to Mīrzā Hassan Shīrāzī who declares a fatwa to ban the

³⁴² Karpat, Kemal H., *The Politicization of Islam*, p. 200-1.

³⁴³ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 328.

³⁴⁴ Browne, Edward G., *The Persian Revolution*, p. 45.

³⁴⁵ Kermānī, Nāzim al-Islām, *Tārīkh-e Bīdārī-ye Īrānīyān*, p. 114.

³⁴⁶ Keddie, Nikki R., *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn*, p. 64.

³⁴⁷ *Qānūn* 28, p. 4.

use of tobacco and in the course events Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh revokes the Tobacco Concession.³⁴⁸ The 18th issue of *Qānūn* can be a good example to discuss. In this issue, Malkum Khān mentions of a surveying between some of the religious people about what city should be the capital of Islamic countries:

Many surveys were conducted on the union of Islamic Nations in these days in the different provinces... One of the *'olemā* of India wrote: the house of God is in Mecca. The capital of Islam should be this holy city. One of the hajjis in Turkistan wrote: greatest sheikhs of Islam emerged in Bukhara and the spread of Islam was from the blessing of this country. From this point of view, make a decision to make this land that has virtue the capital of lights of Islam. One sheikh from Egypt said: Egypt is in the middle of Asia and Africa and Europe and South Islands in reality Egypt is in the heart of Islam and capital of Islam should be Cairo of Egypt. One *mujtahed* from Jama' al-Sharā'it said the real soul of Islam is in Najaf. One imam who has virtue preferred Baghdad with the proves of *madhabī* and with the historical documents among all of the centers of others. A legal scholar wrote: Islambol is addition to religious considerations in terms of geography the first point on earth. All of the scientists of states say Islambol is the key of the sultanate of the world. Formal virtues and political greatness of this unique place on every affair should be counted as higher than others. One Iranian prince from Khorasan wrote: the overall invasions of Islam happened in the continent of Asia and Iran is in the middle of countries of Islam therefore natural center of Islamic states should be in the holy earth and in holy Mashhad. We here without any denials and affirmations return back to the votes of *evliyā-ye Islām*. The clearer point that comes out from these ideas that Baghdad, Egypt, Isfahan, Islambol and all countries of Islamic nations are the property and the right of all Muslims of the world. Because all of them were

³⁴⁸ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 212.

conquered with the blood of Muslims and protection of each of them is the responsibility of all Muslims.³⁴⁹

This text is important for several reasons: first it compares the features of cities around the Islamic countries to select the capital of Islamic people; second these features and characteristics of the cities show us how these cities were considered by an Armenian-Iranian former ambassador who lives in London; third there is no name of Tehran but there are Mashhad and Baghdad where *'olemā* plays an important role in the Tobacco rebellion; another point, Istanbul is the only city Malkum Khān speak of as the sultanate of the world and actually in the previous issue of *Qānūn* he wrote about Istanbul as the crown of the world:

Islambol is the first independent stronghold of Islamic states. If Istanbul had gone, where would remain Mecca and *'Atabāt-e 'alīyāt* and Isfahan and Kabul? Istanbul is the crown of the world. Every Muslim who doesn't consider the protection of this city as the rule of their religion, they have not understood anything about the glory of the Islam.³⁵⁰

At that time, in 1891, Istanbul was an important city for Malkum Khān because Mīrzā Agha Khān Kermānī who delivered *Qānūn* issues to readers and tried to find potential readers and other subscribers lived in this city.³⁵¹ Agha Khān Kermānī also tried get in touch with Abdülhamid II to secure the financial assistance for *Qānūn*. Shaul Bakhash sees these writings about the *Ettehād-ı Eslām* as the lip service to the Abdülhamid II and he says apart from occasional reference to the idea of Islamic unity and scattered instances of praise for Abdülhamid, *Qānūn* paid little attention to the question.³⁵² However, at that time, Malkum Khān's main target was taking attention of *'olemā* in shrines cities of Iraq and elsewhere to take action against the Tobacco concession.

³⁴⁹ *Qānūn* 18, p. 1.

³⁵⁰ *Qānūn* 17, p. 4.

³⁵¹ Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 313.

³⁵² Bakhash, Shaul, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy and Reform*, p. 321.

Assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh changed the political situation of the Qajar Iran. After the assassination, those associated with the action like Mīrzā Agha Khān Kermānī, and Sheikh Ahmad Rūhī who were in Trabzon at that time were sent to Iran and executed in Tabriz³⁵³ but Afghānī had the protection of Abdūlhamid II, and even for that, he wanted leave Istanbul for London. According to Keddie, in the last years of his life, Afghānī didn't have the permission to publish anything, Abdūlhamid II's spies followed him everywhere he wanted to go and in 1897, he caught the jaw cancer and eventually died.³⁵⁴

Malkum Khān changed the language of *Qānūn* after the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh in 1896. Considering the 36th issue of *Qānūn*, it seems Malkum Khān changed his language in different ways: on the one hand Malkum Khān started to praise Mozaffar al-Dīn Shāh and put emphasis on authenticity of Iran as a country of Islam. On the other hand, he changed his language towards the Ottoman Empire. There are many blanks between the pages of *Qānūn* issues after the assassination Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh and instead of criticizing Malkum Khān praises to the new the Shāh and explains the mistakes of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh and writes detailed reform programs for administration, the law and finance in these issues.³⁵⁵

Your second mistake is when you want to lead our country to progress; you give us the example of the laws and customs of Europe. This method is completely wrong. In the Islamic countries every order that comes from outside will not have any roots. Why the Ottoman state with all of this state powers didn't have any benefits of *Tanzīmāt*. Because the Ottoman statesmen wanted to bring *Tanzīmāt* from Europe and this was meaningless. In Islamic countries, the order should emerge within Islam.³⁵⁶

³⁵³ Algar, Hamid, *Mirza Malkum Khan*, p. 215-225.

³⁵⁴ Keddie, Nikki R., *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn*, p. 419-21.

³⁵⁵ *Qānūn* 34, *Qānūn* 35

³⁵⁶ *Qānūn* 36, p. 3.

36th issue of *Qānūn* probably was published around August or September of 1896, because Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh was assassinated in May and Malkum Khān published other two issues after the assassination. By reading this text, one can say that Malkum Khān changed his ideas and discourse on advance of European civilization but Malkum Khān continues to send letters about reforms with European scientists when he was an ambassador to Rome.³⁵⁷ From 1889 to 1896, all Iranian statesmen were very cautious to get contact with Malkum Khān, for example Amīn al-Dawla Mīrzā ‘Alī Khān who had relations with British legation sees his relation with Malkum Khān as dangerous for his position in 1891. However, after the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, Mozaffar al-Dīn Shāh dismissed Amīn al-Sultān Mīrzā ‘Alī Asghar Khān and appointed Amīn al-Dawla Mīrzā ‘Alī Khān as grand vizier and Amīn al-Dawla initiates the proceedings leading to total pardon of Malkum Khān in 1896³⁵⁸ so probably Malkum Khān doesn't want to be seen as someone Ottomanist who praised Abdūlhamid II in the pages of *Qānūn* and wants to be seen as someone who criticizes the Iranian reformists and the Ottomans who encounter the same problems in their country and someone who knows the importance of Islam for Iran maybe to get the attention of conservative statesmen of Iran. When Amīn al-Sultān dismissed, several ambassadors recommended Malkum Khān to Mozaffar al-Dīn Shāh as a member of government and for this, they requested from Malkum Khān to go to Tehran, because in the thirty-eight issue of *Qānūn*, Malkum Khān says that he is done with Iran and of course there are talented viziers in Iran to handle these appointments.³⁵⁹ And then, two years later, Malkum Khān appointed as an Iranian ambassador to Rome in 1898 but presumably Malkum Khān expected a higher appointment because in of his letters Malkum Khān complaints about the rumors that the Iranian embassy in Rome is not politically important.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 134-5, 30 Mart 1903.

³⁵⁸ Farmayan, Hafez, “Amin al-Dawla p. 341-3.

³⁵⁹ *Qānūn* 38, p. 2.

³⁶⁰ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 137, 20 February 1905.

Japanese and Ottoman Reforms, 1898-1905

In 1898, when Malkum Khān was appointed as the Iranian ambassador to Rome, he stopped publishing *Qānūn* but his ideas can be traced on the Ottoman politics in his letters. There are two letters of him written in March 1903 and in these two letters he evaluates the Ottoman reforms to prevent the discouragement that the unsuccessful attempts of the Ottoman government can cause in the eyes of Iranian statesmen. In one of his letter written on 3 March 1903, he says even though the Ottoman government gave up on making reforms, the State is in some matters still in very good condition even better than before but Malkum Khān claims that the Ottoman government has lack of information and experience about state-building which is very important part of progressive states and that causes the failure of the Ottoman Empire. Malkum Khān in this letter addresses to the readers in Tehran and gives advises to the Qajar government, rather than stating facts about the Ottoman Empire:

The Ottoman political situation is not in great demand; the ruling of neighboring state completely against the survival of this state, all of them accepted the Ottoman *sultān* helplessly without question and answer but with all of these kinds of cautions, the *sultān* will not reach anywhere. Former the Ottoman authorities gave up making reforms for quite some time, now whatever they do will not give any result. The Ottoman army has never been this much ordered, talented, powerful before the reign of this *sultān* also the regulation of finance and the advancement of education and the expertise in foreign relations in this state has never been as good as this but the troubles of this state are in the disadvantage of something else. Back in the centuries, in Europe, the machine of state as a factory like industrial factories, on the basis of a miracle progressed, and the machines of contemporary states don't have any similarity and relation

to former states machine in terms of power and action and the result of works and for understanding the rules of this new machine it is necessary to study thirty years in addition to perfect wisdom, none of these have names in Eastern countries and these things in the Ottoman lands and this state building even among important statesmen have taken the attention really less; no matter how much effort and zeal and wisdom and (?) the Ottomans have used and because of this kind of science learning that shouldn't have interested the efforts of their mind change the good results of state and failures the state independence. In contrast to this grievous situation of the Ottoman government, we should never become discouraged...³⁶¹

As Malkum Khān observed the enthronement of Abdülhamid II in 1876, he expresses that everybody didn't make it difficult for him and accepted his enthronement. Malkum Khān then gives other two observations about the reign of Abdülhamid II that are his cautious policies and giving up the reform making. For all that, Malkum Khān says the Ottoman state in many ways has better education, finance and army than ever before but the problem is the Ottoman government pays less attention to the problem of state-building because state structure has changed like the machines has changed and as Malkum Khān claims it is not easy to understand state-building without studying thirty years in Europe. Most probably Malkum Khān denotes himself because he left Iran in 1873 and in 1903 he has been in Europe for thirty years so Malkum Khān shows his important position in the reform making. For Malkum Khān, state-building means understanding the structure of the new state like the new machine and then, leave the old machine behind because it doesn't have any connection to the new one but since Ottoman example seems unsuccessful in this problem, Malkum Khān says to Iranian statesmen never become discouraged and Malkum Khān finds another country Japan to make state-building favorable for Iran:

³⁶¹ Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 134-5, 30 March 1903.

Nations that lead the progress of the world say we have been suffering for three thousand years to find out the method of wealth and now the method of every sufficient progress orderly and ready for us and with the work of three thousand years of us, every state that totally open their eyes and ears can see very easily what to do in these days, like the most of Asian countries and Africa and especially the progress of Japan within ten twenty years, made them the reason of astonishment of the world and you are Iran and Afghanistan and Turkestan and China and Arabia don't have any right to keep your treasuries from your own people and outside world. Whether like Japan make progress really fast or we come in these days and without spending a dinar from our pocket, from the entries of the same countries we will make the wealth and prosperity and trade of one great world hundred times larger. How proves and embodies the ruling of European states, justice or injustice from west to China, now hesitation on this action will be an inexcusable foolishness. In this regard, for our consideration the Ottoman state decided to remain inactive; the situation of the Ottoman state never has any relation to Iran's situation. In the Ottoman Empire there is no place that they can claim as their own Ottoman property, they took all of them from others and now they have hundred claimers but Iran has been the property of Iranians for three thousand years and in a day that the Iranian state wants to enrich their country with a real will, foreign states will not only cut off greed but with total intention they will gladly help to this blessing cause.³⁶²

Malkum Khān has written this letter on 1 March 1903 and before discussing the issue of Japan, several points should be made on the issue of the Ottoman state in this letter. When Malkum Khān mentioned about the progress of Europe, he denotes the accumulation of three thousand years and when he compares Iran and the Ottoman state, he denotes that Iranian history goes back to three thousand years ago so he draws a parallel between Europe and Iran for their authenticity not in this text but in another

³⁶² Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 106-7, February 1903.

writing Malkum Khān defines the Ottoman Empire as a state that was founded yesterday³⁶³ so the Ottomans came latter and occupied the lands and they will have to hand over what they occupied and that's why reforms didn't work in the Ottoman land but Iran is not such a state, so that's why reforms can work in Iran. In this letter, Malkum Khān says Iran's situation doesn't have any relation to the Ottomans and then, advises on making reforms like Japan. For Malkum Khān, giving the Ottoman reform program as an example to the Qajar government is already problematic because these two countries has rivalry for hundreds of years and this kind of advice can mark Malkum Khān as someone who supports the Ottoman policy but in the case of Japan, there is not such a problem and also Meiji reform program has been successful.

From 1868 to 1912, Meiji state-building reforms reorganized the legal structure to establish a unified legal order which was something Malkum Khān demanded for years and a unified state structure, a unified and centralized administrative system, Meiji statesmen initiated large scale projects to establish bureaucratic structure, and they also established centralized tax, education and police system to replace feudal structure.³⁶⁴ As Malkum Khān mentions the factors which made Meiji state-building so distinctive was timing and speed, and successful Meiji reform program shows how a non-European state's westernization program can allow it to fulfill the standards of civilization and Japan at that time became the first non-Western country to gain full recognition as a civilized state.³⁶⁵

However, Malkum Khān in very early career took the Iranian governmet's attention into Japanese reforms, on 18 March 1876, sent two letters to Tehran. In the first one he discussed the issues of founding of Banks and money transfer programs in Iran and at the end of the letter, said "if you want to keep Iran as a country, you have to establish embassies in Europe and if you want to learn the rules of ambassadorship better learn

³⁶³ *Qānūn* 35, p. 3.

³⁶⁴ Kayaoğlu, Turan, *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 80-81.

³⁶⁵ Kayaoğlu, Turan, *Legal Imperialism*, p. 88.

from Japan.”³⁶⁶ In the second one, Malkum Khān discussed the different European states’ features and at the end claimed for a state the most important thing is regulated system which Russia, Denmark, Britain and Asian Japan has.³⁶⁷ Malkum Khān in 22nd issue of *Qānūn*, dated 1891 November, said “Japanese statesmen try to make reforms in their country and this is what Iran should do.”³⁶⁸ Malkum Khān in another letter advised to the Qajar government that Iran has to understand how Japan progressed.³⁶⁹ When Japan defeats Russians in 1905, Malkum Khān sends a letter to Mīrzā Nasrallah Moshīr al-Dawla and says “the mind and effort of the Iranian nation and the power of Shāhanshāhi don’t have any obstacles and Kaykhusraw of Iran and Shāh Abbas of Iran will create the new Japan.”³⁷⁰

It seems Malkum Khān was not the only Iranian who brought such an issue forward at that time. His very important rival, Mīrzā ‘Alī Asghar Amīn Al-Sultān, after being dismissed the second time in September 1903, went on a world trip. According to Barbara Stocker-Parnian, he had two reasons for this: first many Iranian statesmen opposed him due to his Anglophile policies and he feared for his life. And second, the Iranians were especially impressed with that the Japanese had managed to modernize their country, while preserving their own culture and traditions. Mīrzā ‘Alī Asghar Amīn Al-Sultān arrived in Japan in December 1903 and he was audiened by Emperor Meiji and he stayed in Japan for twenty-eight days and he left Japan only several months before the beginning of Russo-Japanese War which started on 8 February 1904 and ended on 5 September 1905.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 65, 18 March 1876

³⁶⁷ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 65, 18 March 1876

³⁶⁸ *Qānūn* 22, p. 3.

³⁶⁹ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 100, 28 May 1903.

³⁷⁰ Haqdar, ‘Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 140, 4 November 1905.

³⁷¹ Stocker-Parnian, Barbara, “An Unusually Long Way to the Kaaba: Reflexions in the Safarnāma-ye Makka of Mehdiqoli Hedāyat”, in *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century)*, edited by Elger, Ralf and Köse, Yavuz, Harrassowitz Verlag-Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 106.

In 1903, he wrote a letter to Moshīr al-Dowla and made many confessions about the past. Malkum Khān says we saw railways, telegraph and other material inventions of Europe but we didn't understand the state organization that we knew but forgot during the centuries which is *dowlatsāzī* (state-building), and our viziers knew thousand of things but didn't know this one and the imitations of the *Tanzīmāt-e Ferengī* was wrong and was the reason that we have ruins and we have to see that we have a factory of state (*karkhāneh-ye dowlat*) and we sent our students to Europe to teach them engineering, medicine, minecraft and etc. but they didn't learn one thing which was very important. Our students had to learn *dowlatsāzī* which is the most important thing that Iran needs and send forty students to Europe that should learn the *dowlatsāzī* and in *Darbār-e A'zam* they can make essential reforms on the state.³⁷²

Conclusion

This chapter tried to demonstrate Malkum Khān's role in the political affairs of the Qajar and Ottoman Empires and his connections with the other intellectuals and politicians of his time. Malkum Khān regularly informed the Qajar government about political affairs of the Ottoman Empire by sending letters. After bankruptcy of 1875, he left promoting Ottoman reforms and claimed Iranians should make reforms like Ottomans, but shouldn't make their mistakes. During the reign of Abdülhamid II, he changed his discourse towards the Ottoman Empire and started to praise Abdülhamid II and his policies for his political interests at the time of Tobacco revolts. After the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, he sought total pardon of him from the new Shāh Mozaffar al-Dīn in 1896. At that time, Malkum Khān started to criticize Ottoman reforms and what he wrote earlier.

³⁷² Haqdar, 'Alī Asghar, *Nāmahā-ye Mīrzā Malkum Khān*, p. 97, 28 May 1903.

Eventually, Malkum Khān received total pardon and was appointed as an Iranian ambassador to Rome in 1898. He claimed Iran had potentials to make reforms like Japan but Ottomans didn't because they stole other people's lands and established a country and they will have to give these lands away to their owners. However, Iran has been around for three thousand years like Japan and other European countries so Iran would have a chance to be successful on making reforms.



CONCLUSION

In general, the previous chapters have tried to answer two related questions: what kind of ideas Malkum Khān expresses on the Ottoman Empire in his writings (letters, *Qānūn*, and essays) and what are the relations of Malkum Khān with the Ottoman statesmen, reformists and writers?

Now, it is time to answer the aforementioned questions that we set out above: the second question about relations was already answered in the parts of the thesis but the first one can be answered thoroughly here. This study is largely based on *Qānūn* and Malkum Khān's letters which were written when he worked as an ambassador. The letters cover the time period between 1873 and 1889, when he served as the Iranian ambassador to London and the period between 1898 and 1908, when he was the Iranian ambassador to Rome. In the first period Malkum Khān frequently sent letters to Tehran from London and showed and explained the British concerns toward political issues. He promoted the British presence in Iran and for doing that he constantly wrote about concessions and investments on railways, telegraph, roads and bank. He also showed the Ottoman government's policies on these issues. Yet, one shouldn't forget that Malkum Khān wrote these letters to Tehran, not solely for giving information on the Ottomans. He instrumentalizes the information in the letters by considering the

audience in Tehran as well as explaining his political and economical reasons as in different parts of the thesis tried to demonstrate.

In the second period, between 1898 and 1908, Malkum Khān's letters from Rome shows us that Malkum Khān changed his approach to the Ottoman Empire. Whereas, he claimed, in the first period, that there was no difference between the Qajar and Ottoman states on foreign encroachments so Iran should understand the Ottoman reform projects and their reasons, he thought in the second period that the Ottoman and Qajar states had no relation to each other and shifted his attention especially to Japan and other European countries.

Malkum Khān mentioned the Ottoman reforms especially in *Kitābcha-ye Gaybī*, on the other hand, he rarely dealt with the Ottomans in other essays. The information that Malkum Khān provided in *Qānūn* about the Ottoman Empire is pretty limited. He also had different approaches towards the Ottomans. As we mentioned throughout the thesis, *Qānūn*'s language changed mainly three times: Malkum Khān in the first nine issues largely criticizes the Iranian bureaucrats for not knowing how to sign documents as well as the importance of signing. In the time of Tobacco revolts, Malkum Khān changed his focus towards revolts and after the assassination of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, Malkum Khān changed the critical language of *Qānūn* and wrote more about reforms and praised the new Shāh Mozaffar al-Dīn. In the first two periods Malkum Khān had positive attitude toward the Ottoman Empire and Ettehad-e Islam. Several times he mentioned of the Ottoman laws, *Kānūn-i Esāsī* and Abdülhamid II. However, after the assassination, he changed this attitude and had more critical writings about the Ottoman Empire.

The chapter of Mīrzā Malkum Khān's biography showed us Malkum Khān started to get in contact with Ottomans, when he was a student in Paris. In this part, Malkum Khān's biographies from different Armenian sources were examined and that showed us that different Armenian writers introduced him as progressive, enlightened intellectual who tried to awake the Iranians. These writers used Shahdahdinak's article

in *Araks* and that explained in many ways why these writers' stories have the same gaps and approaches in the biographies of Malkum Khān.

In this thesis, I tried to show how he illustrates European and Persian 'civilizations' and how he uses Ottoman reforms on law and concessions as good example to legitimize his ideas in his writings. Malkum Khān uses different discourses when he writes to treatises to Shāh, letters to bureaucrats, and in *Qānūn* for readers. Therefore, this thesis also tries to show how Makum Khān in his different writings deals with Ottomans differently by discussing the instrumentalization of Ottoman finance, law and politics in the letters of Malkum Khān to show how he changes his language towards Ottoman Empire in his ambassadorship through years.

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APPENDIX A: PERSIAN TEXTS AS QUOTED FROM MALKUM KHĀN'S WRITINGS

Footnote 5:

ملکم از جلفای اسپهان و از ارمنیان انجا بوده/ و در کارهای دولتی پاگزارده و جایگاه بالایی یافته و باروپا رفته و چنانکه گفته میشود اسلام پذیرفته و چون مرد با فهم و بیداری بوده و از سیاست دولتهای اروپایی درباره اسیا آگاهس درستی یافته دلش بحال ایران میسوخته و این بوده که به بیداری مردم میکوشیده... و خود خواهی و نا درستی امین السلطان دشمنی مینموده...

Footnote 6:

در علم تاریخ و حقوق بین الملل تخصص داشت و به اوضاع جهان متمدن آشنا بود با دانشمندان و رجال معروف انگلستان و فرانسه امیزش داشت و چون بیشتر عمر خود را در کشور ازاد انگلستان می گذرانید و از قید استبداد حکومت ایران ازاد بود بدون پروا آنچه را که برای ابنای وطن خود مفید می دانست می گفت و می نوشت.

Footnote 11:

ملکم در تمام مدتی که در دستگاه حکومت ناصرالدین شاه دارای سمتی بود میکوشید برای انگلیس ها امتیازاتی تحصیل کند البته تحصیل این امتیازات برای انگلستان از روی ایمان و عقیده وی نبود بلکه رشوههای انگلیس.

Footnote 12:

در این هنگام ملکم شغلی در وزارت خارجه عثمانی با ماهی چهل لیرا بدست آورده در مطبوعات استانبول بدولت ایران برخاش و تهدید آغاز کرد و صریحا میگفت اگر پست وزارت مختاری باوندهند اسرار دولت را بوزارت خارجه عثمانی خواهد فروخت.

Footnote 16:

اگر این حرفها را قابل اعتنا نمی شمارید اقلا از حالت دولت عثمانی عبرت بگیرید. در این سی سال هواخواهان عثمانی هر چه بر خطرات حالیه فریاد زدند، وزرای آن دولت همه را تاریخ قدیم و عظم استخوان تحویل دادند. بفرماید که حالت ماورای حالت عثمانی است. دولت ایران در مقابل هجوم استیلای فرنک از دولت عثمانی هیچ فرقی ندارد...

Footnote 60:

با اینکه میرزا ملکم خان از مجموع سنوات عمرش فقط در حدود بیست سال در ایران به سر برد، و تحصیلات عالییه زبان و ادبیات فارسی و عربی نداشت، با این حال به علت داشتن هوش و قریحه سر شار خدادادی و از همه مهمتر شغل مترجمی و نویسندگی صاحب مکتب و روش مخصوص در ادبیات ایران شد... هم در ترجمه لغات مرتکب اشتباه و نادرستی نگردد. او اساسا با مبالغه و جملات مطول و کلمات مترادف، مخالف بود، و برای اینکه در کار وزرات خارجه و سفارت، از عبارت پردازی و مغلط نویسی نجات پیدا کند، سبک جدیدی وجود آورد.

Footnote 91:

این صد و هشتاد قانون را در یک هفته تمام کردیم... در مدت شش ماه چهار هزار قانون جمع کردیم.

Footnote 103:

آن دستگاهی که در میان یک ملت مستقل منشأ امر و نهی میشود آنرا حکومت میگویند در قومی که از حالت وحشی بیرون آمده است لا محاله یک حکومتی هست حکومت چندتر کیب مختلف دارد هر گاه در یک طایفه حکومت کل در دست یک نفر باشد و اجرای حکومت در خانواده آن حکومت موروثی باشد ترکیب آن حکومت را سلطنت میگویند و اگر حکومت یک طایفه موافق یک قرار معین نوبت بنوبت باشخاص منتقل شود ترکیب آن حکومت را جمهوری مینامند. هر حکمی که از حکومت صادر شود و مبنی بر صلاح عامه طایفه باشد و اطاعت آن بالمساوی بر افراد طایفه لازم بیاید آن حکم را قانون می گویند. حکومت مرکب است از دو نوع اختیار یکی اختیار وضع قانون و دیگری اختیار اجرای قانون. سلطنت دو ترکیب دارد در هر حکومتی هم اختیار وضع قانون و هم اختیار اجرای قانون در دست پادشاه است ترکیب آن حکومت را سلطنت مطلق گویند مثل سلطنت روس و عثمانی. و در حکومتی که اجرای قانون با پادشاه و وضع قانون با ملت است ترکیب آن حکومت را سلطنت معتدل مینامند مثل انگلیس و فرانسه. نظم و پیشرفت حکومت بجای این دو اختیار تدابیر دقیق و دستگاههای معظم دارند. اوضاع سلطنتهای معتدل بحالت ایران اصلاً مناسبی ندارد چیزیکه برای ما لازم است تحقیق اوضاع سلطنتهای متلق است.

Footnote 111:

مدحت پاشا در چند روز صدارت خود کارهای معظم کرد، اگرچه کنستیتوسیون او به اعتقاد بنده خیلی معیوب و خیلی مضر بود ولیکن به جهت رفع مداخلهی دول فرنگستان تدبیر ملوکانه بود از برای اسکات فضولی های فرنگستان و به خصوص به جهت دفع و شکست روس بهتر از این کنستیتوسیون آسیایی نمی شد. مهمی اهل فرنگستان حق می دادند که دیگر نباید از دولت عثمانی ضمانت و گرو مخصوص گرفت و باید آن دولت را تا چندی آسوده و مستقل گذاشت تا ببینم از امتحان این تنظیمات جدید چه طور بیرون خواهد آمد و از این که مدحت پاشا چنان جرعت و مردانگی به کار برد که حکم کنفرانس یعنی حکم کل فرنگستان را در کمال قدرت رد نمود همه ی خلق مدداح و هواخواه او شدند؛ نکتهای که دولت روس را بیش از همه مضطرب و متحیر کرد این بود که دولت عثمانی به حکم این کنستیتوسیون در عالم تنظیم و آزادی از خود روس به مراتب پیش افتاد. در حینی که دولت روس از این تنظیمات فوق العاده ی عثمانی و از مقابل تدارکات حربیه ی آن دولت سر شکسته پی بهانهای می گشت که از میدان جنگ به یک طور بیرون بیاید، یک دفعه مدحت پاشا را معزول کردند. نمی توانم عرض نمایم که این عزل بی موقع در تمام فرنگستان چه نوع اثرهای بد بخشید. جمیع دشمنان عثمانی و به خصوص روس ها فریاد کردند که عثمانی ها هرگز آدم نخواهند شد و این کنستیتوسیون هم مثل سایر تنظیمات ایشان بی معنا و آلت سخریه بود. هواخواهان عثمانی نیز از این خبت ها تنها به حدی متأسف و مأیوس شدند که آن ها هم حالا تصدیق می کنند که عثمانی ها واقعا قابل حفظ استقلال خود نیستند. خلاصه در این بیست سال گذشته دولت عثمانی هر قدر خبت کرده بود و هر قدر ضرر برده بود ضرر این عزل سفیهانه از همه ی آن ها بیشتر خواهد بود. دشمنان مدحت پاشا خیلی سعی کردند که او را در نظر فرنگستان نسبت به سلطان خائن قلم بدهند، اما تدبیر ایشان به جایی نرسید. عموم سلاطین و خلق فرنگستان مدحت پاشا را بیش از جمیع سلاطین عثمانی احترام و تمجید خواهند کرد؛ در همین ایام معزولی او همه ی اشخاص بزرگ و وزرا و شخص بزرگ و وجود یکنای مشرق است.

Footnote 112:

خلاصه چیزی که دیگر مثل آفتاب روشن شده است، این است که یا دولت عثمانی را در این صفحات بالمره محو خواهند کرد یا آن دولت را مجبور خواهند کرد که اصول حکمرانی خود را به کلی تغییر بدهد. مدحت پاشا یک کنستوتوسیونی حاضر کرده است. به اعتقاد بنده در میان آن چند سهود غلط بزرگی هست که اگر مجرا بدارند حکما مایه ی خرابی دولت عثمانی خواهد شد. تنظیم دولت عثمانی ده بیست سال قبل از این آسان بود اما خبط های گذشته و به خصوص غفلت های این چند سال آخر تنظیم و بقای آن دولت را در قطعه ی روم ایلی قریب به حال ساخته است.

Footnote 113:

چون این قانون همه نیک بختی مشرق زمین را اساس است و اقوام وطن را پس بحشت. بیگانگی و استیناس؛ تاریخ جهان را سرمایه افتخار است. دولت ال عثمان را برترین پایه شرف و اعتبار. آری این قانون اجزای پر اکنده وطن را شیرازه است و

جمال ملک و ملت را رونق و ارایش تازه. بنیان عدالت و راستکاری بوی استوار است و امنیت و رفاه عمومی بدین واسطه بر قرار. پشت دین و دولت بدین اساس قوی است و مزرع ملک و ملت بدین و سیلت شاداب روی.

Footnote 118:

از تبریز شخص در ضمن بعضی اعتراضات نسبت به دولت عثمانی به یک ادمی که مقیم اسلامبول است نوشته بود؛ این اوقات متصل از فواید قانون می شنویم شما که در اسلامبول از اصحاب قانون شده اید لطفا این مسئله را از برای من حل نمائید. اگر قانون واقعا اینقدر لازم است. پس چرا دولت عثمانی قانون ندارد. ان ادم این طور جواب داده. این چه حرفیست که دولت عثمانی قانون ندارد. در عهد این سلطان بجز ترتیب قانون و لزوم قانون و اصلاح قانون و اجرای قانون مطلب دیگر شنیده نمی شود. بلی تا این اواخر دول خارجه اعتراف میکردند که قوانین عثمانی ناقص و غیر معمول است. اما از صفات شخصی این سلطان ان فضیلتی که بیش از همه اسباب حیرت و تحسین دنیا شده اینست که در وضع قوانین و ترتیب عدالتها در هیچ عهد هیچ پادشاهی نبوده که بهقدر این خلیفه عدالت پرور در تنظیم و استحکام قوانین بذل سعی و جهد کرده باشد. الان در کل ممالک عثمانی هیچ وزیر و هیچ امیر و هیچ صاحبمنصبی نیست که بتواند بر خلاف قانون قدمی بردارد. و می توان بهزار دلیل قسم خورد که تا امروز این شاهنشاه اسلام پناه یک لفظ تلفظ نفرمده که مطابق و مقوی قانون نباشد. وضع قوانین و ترتیب عدالتخانههای این دولت را چه طور میتوان نسبت داد بان هرج و مرج مهیب که ایران را ذلیلترین گروه دنیا ساخته است. در ممالک عثمانی کدام بدبخت را میتوان بدون محاکمه علمی حبس و تنبیه کرد. کیست که در نزدیکی سرای همایون یا در کوچه های اسلامبول هرگز یک میر غضب دیده باشد. کی شده است که یک پادشاه عثمانی حکومتها و نشانها و القاب و مناصب و حقوق ملت را بر خلاف جمیع قوانین دنیا مخض چند شاهی مداخل قبیح بهر نوع ارادل داخل و خارج فروخته باشد. و چه بگویم از ان هزار دردهای نکفتنی که قلب دولتخواهان ایران را غرق عزا کرده است. در حالی که وزرا و کل مأمورین عثمانی از فضلالی معروف منتخب میشود به بینید وزارتها و مناصب بزرگ دولت ما را در دست چه نوع جهال اسباب چه نوع رسوائیها ساخته اند. پس عوض اینکه اوضاع عثمانی را عذر بی قانونی ایران قرار بدهیم باید غرق شرمساری بشویم که ان دولت با اینکه نسبت بما خیلی جدید و بیش از هر دولت گرفتار مشکلات خارجه است باز تبعه خود را تا باین درجه بهر هیاب امنیت قانونی ساخته است. و ما که هزار سال است از دول بزرگ محسوب میشویم امروز بجز میل و سفاهت اسافل ناس قانون دیگر نداریم.

Footnote 119:

در میان بانیان این دستکاه کسی که اسم منحوشش بکلی از میان رفته همان ملکم بد کیش است که هیچ کس نمیداند کجا و در چه کار است. بعضی از حاجیها که او را در مکه دیده بودند میگفتند دیگر هیچ حرف نمیزند. بعضیها میگویند مدتیست او را در هند کشته اند. اما یک تاجر یزدی که تازه از مشهد برگشته میگفت در همین روزها او را در خراسان دیده اند. چند روز پیش از این جناب سید... قسم میخورد که الان در خود طهران است. حقیقتش اینست که بد اوضاعی فراهم آورده اند.

Footnote 138:

چاره چیست. چاره در دست مجتهدین و بسته کفایت عقلای ایران است. باید مجتهدین و بزرگان قوم بر دور پادشاه جمع بشوند و در مجلس شورای کبرای ملی این سیلهای مصائب را به تدابیر و قوانین مشروع از ایران بر طرف نمایند. عدد شما کم است. باید اقلا هفتاد نفر باشید. مجتهدین بزرگ و فصلاهی ملت باید لا محاله داخل این مجلس باشند.

Footnote 150:

مالیات اسبابیست که از برای تقویت و اجرای قوانین شریعت خدا وضع شده دولتی که قانون نداشته باشد حق ندارد که مالیات بخواهد اگر یک دولت بی قانونی بخواهد اموال مسلمانین را بزور بگیرد و بدون هیچ نوع حد و صد صرف حظ نفس خود بکند دادن مالیات بچنان دولت عمل حرام و خلاف شریعت خدا و بر ضد منافع عامه خواهد بود.

Footnote 151:

باید عدد عمال دیوان و القاب و مناصب و مقدار مواجب هر منصب را بحکم قوانین صریح چنان مشخص و مقرر نماید که هیچ چاکر دولت نصب و عزل نشود و یک دینار از خزانه دولت نکیرد مگر بحکم قانون. اجرای جمیع قوانین دولت و اداره کلیه امور ملک بر عهده وزراست. عدد وزرا شما باید مشخص نماید. نصب وزرا در اختیار پادشاهست. یکی از وزرا رئیس مجلس وزرا خواهد بود. شرایط ریاست مجلس وزرا و تکالیف و حقوق و حدود وزارتها را باید شما بحکم قوانین مخصوص مقرر نماید. باید منتهای مراقبت را بعمل بیاورید که امور و حدود وزارتها باهم مخلوت نشوند. هر وزیری که در امور وزرات دیگر مداخله نماید او دشمن نظم و خائن دولت است. همه وزرا باید در حضور مجلس شما مسول باشند یعنی مجلس شما حق خواهد داشت که هر وزیری که در اداره امور دولت بر خلاف قانون حرکتی کرده باشد او را بمقام محاکمه بیاورد و پس از اثبات تقصیر او را موافق قانون تنبیه نماید. جمع و خرج دولت باید تماماً به اطلاع و به اجازه مجلس شما باشد. به این معنی که هر سال قبل از وقت باید بحکم یک قانون صریح نقطه به نقطه مقرر بدارید که وزرای دولت باید چه قدر مالیات بگیرند و بچه تفصیل خرج بکنند.

Footnote 157:

ما همه میدانیم که پادشاه ما عادل است ولیکن این را هم دنیا ثابت و مقرر ساخته است که عدالت شخص پادشاه بدون قوانین عدلیه هیچ معنی ندارد. معنی عدالت دولتی اینست که هیچ حکمی بر رعیت جاری نشود مگر بحکم قوانین از هیچ جا صادر نشود مگر از دیوانخانهای عدلیه و انهم پس از اجرای جمیع شرایط تحقیق و اثبات. در کل فرنگستان بلکه در کل دنیا بجز بعضی روسای طوایف وحشی هیچ پاداه و هیچ امیری نیست که بر خلاف این اصول بتواند بدون حکم صریح دیوانخانه یک موعی از سر ادنی رعیت کم بکند.

Footnote 178:

ما چیزی نمخواهیم که از قدرت دولت ما خارج باشد. میکویم ان قانونی که بجهت محافظت حقوق بندگان خدا در خاک ترکمان و در ولایات عثمانی و در دهات هند و در میان ایلات وحشی امریکا معمول است شما هم بر طبق اصول اسلام جاری بسازد. میکویم قرار بدهید که هیچکس بر خلاف قانون نتواند به احدی اذیت بکند. میکویم ما را حبس بکنید اما بحکم قانون. پول ما را بگیریید اما بحکم قانون. مواجب و مناصب و حقوق ما را ضبب بکنید اما بحکم قانون. خانه ما را غارت و ما را از وطن مألوف اخراج و عیال ما را اسیر بکنید اما بحکم قانون. دست و کوش و زبان ما را ببید وجود ما را ایش بزیند شکم ما را پاره بکنید اما بحکم قانون.

Footnote 181:

حیوانت کوچهای فرنگستان میدانند که هیچ کس نمی تواند در حق انها تعدی بکند و ما که بشرافت جنس خود فخرها می کنیم از ادنی حقوق زندگی بقدر ذره اطمینان ندادیم.

Footnote 182:

بعد از انکه بزرگان ملک حتی از برای حفظ جان خود بقدر میمونهای جنکلی وجوب اتفاق را نفهمند واضح است که هست و نیست چنان ملک بسته خواهد بود به اشاره یک فراش خلوت.

Footnote 183:

این مطلب واضح را کل طوایف روی زمین حتی کاکا سیاهای حبش فهمیدند و قاجاریه ما نفهمیدند.

Footnote 184:

انسان بدون حقوق ادمیمت یک حیوانیست اسیر که هر چه سعی نماید در دنیا بجز بار مشقت هرگز قسمت دیگر نخواهد داشت.

Footnote 190:

این ما همه بر اصول ادمیت. مرشد ما افتاب علم. اسم ما ادم. مقصود ما نجات ایران. ارزی ما سعادت کل عالم. در اجرای این افکار مقدس هر نوع تعدی و انقلاب را به نفرت تمام منکر هستیم. و از برای نصرت این طرح ربانی هیچ اسباب و اسلحه قبول نداریم مگر آن وسایل معقول و آن تدابیر مشروع که تجربیات تاریخ و انوار علوم بجه تنزیم امور بشری مقرر ساخته اند.

Footnote 191:

میکویند ما همه خواه دوست خواه دشمن یقین داریم که کشتی این سلطنت حکما غرق خواهد شد. و حالا سعی و مقصود واحد ما اینست که طوری اسلبل فراهم بیاوریم که بجای این دستکاه رفتنی بدون هیچ نوع انقلاب و خون ریزی یک دولت حسابی بمیان بیاید. و آنچه از ظاهر اوضاع معلوم میشود طور خواهد شد.

Footnote 192:

ولیکن نباید فراموش کرد که در این ادمیت راه نجات در ظهور قانون است نه در روز انقلاب. ما در این ملک ریشه نظم هستیم نه تیشه بی نظمی. در دول دیگر بعضی گروهها منکر قوانین ملک خود هستند. حاشا که ما شریک چنان مسلک باشیم. ما تشنه قانون هستیم نه منکر قانون. و از برای تحصیل قانون هیچ اسلحه را جایز نمیدانیم مگر شمشیر کلام حق. جنک و جدال مخصوص دشمنان خارجی است. از برای دفع ظلمهای داخله چه احتیاج به زور بازو..

Footnote 198:

الان در ایران کاری نداریم مگر ترتیب این مبنای اصلی. مهندسین فرنگستان قبل از آنکه کشتی بخار و راه آهن بسازند، قبل از آنکه بفکر چرخ ما هونبافی و کارخانه ریسمان ریزی بیفتند، اول علم و حواس خود را صرف ترتیب چرخ بخار نمودند، بعد از آنکه چرخ بخار ترتیب یافت سایر کارخانها گویا بعلم ساحری از اطراف بنای ظهور را گذاشتند. دستگاه دیوان در وسط دولت بمنزله چرخ بخار است، تا این چرخ اصلی درست نشود آن نتایج بزرگ که منظر ماست ابد حاصل نخواهد شد. نظم لشکر، نظم مالیات، ضمانت حقوق، پیشرفت پولیطیک، رونق تجارت، تسخیر فلان ولایات، تحصیل فلان منافع، حتی تعیش سلطنت کلا بسته بترتیب دستگاه دیوان است و اکنون تأسف و اصرار من منحصر باین نیست که چرا دستگاه دیوان نداریم، افسوس و فریاد من از این است که چرا حواس خود و عمر دولت را در فروعات بیمعنی تلف مینماید، بیجحت خود را معطل این بازیچه های جهالت میساید. بدون نظم دستگاه دیوان هر تدبیری بکنید و هر قدر که بگوشید باز یقین بدانید که استیلای خارجه نه از شما و نه از ایران آناری خواهد گذاشت. اگر این حرفها را قابل اعتنا نمی شمارید اقلا از حالت دولت عثمانی عبرت بگیرید. در این سی سال هواخواهان عثمانی هر چه بر خطرات حالیه فریاد زدند، وزرای آن دولت همه را تاریخ قدیم و عظم استخوان تحویل دادند. بفرماید که حالت ماورای حالت عثمانی است. دولت ایران در مقابل هجوم استیلای فرنک از دولت عثمانی هیچ فرقی ندارد...

Footnote 222:

دولت عثمانی در همین هفته دویست کرور قرض کرد، صد و پنج کرور را گرفت و باقی را به تدریج به میل خود خواهد گرفت. با چنین دولت ما چه حق گفتوگو داریم. وکلای دولت عثمانی هر قدر کور و بی حس بلشد همان تلغراف هایی که مأمورین ما به جهت قطع جزء حساب و تحصیل چند شاهی مواجب با دولت خود مبادله می کنند، از برای بیداری عثمانی کافی است. از آن سالی که بندگان عالی به اسلامبول تشریف بردند تا امروز مالیات عثمانی با همه ی سفاقت های معروف، سه مقابل بیشتر شده است. آیا ما هیچ نباید بپرسیم که در این باب چه برده اند. چه طور شده که از عهد سلیمان تا به اوایل سلطنت سلطان مجید مالیات عثمانی با وصف فتوحات معظم در مدت دویست سال هیچ زیاد نشد و بلکه نقصان پیدا کرده و در این عهد که ایام تنزل عثمانی بوده است، مالیات آن دولت در مدت پانزده سال سه مقابل زیاد می شد. چند سال قبل از این حالت، مصر بدتر از خراسان ما بود؛ حالا چه کرده اند که سالی پنجاه کرور مالیات می دهد و همچنین افلاق و بغداد و همچنین تونس هیچ کرامت و معجزه از برای آن ها نشده. کاری که کرده اند این است که بعضی از آن چرخ های تازه ای که حکمای فرنگستان در امور مالیه اختراع کرده اند و در ایران هنوز سایه آن را هم نتوانسته اند تصور بکنند، در آن ممالک کم و بیش به کار برده اند.

Footnote 227:

حال از انصاف و از دولت خواهی مدعیان ما بپرسید هر گاه امروز در بانک طهران چهل کرور تومان موجود می شد و هر گاه صد کرور تومان از ممالک انگلیس و فرانسه در ایران به جهت راه آهن و معادن ما صرف شده بود چه ضرر می داشتیم؛ خواهد گفت آن وقت ملل فرنگ به بهانه ی طلب خود می آمدند و ایران را می گرفتند. در جواب چنان بصیرت عجیب، این مطلب روشن را شاهد بیاورید که امروز مللی که بر سر عثمانی حمله آورده اند آن ها هستند که یک دینار به عثمانی قرض نداده اند و اگر طایفه ای هست که در این ورطه ی هلاکت به داد عثمانی برسد باز آن طوایف هستند که عثمانی قرض داده اند. قرض را به آن دول می دهند که می خواهند حفظشان نمایند نه به آن دول که طالب و منتظر خرابی شان هستند.

Footnote 230:

در باب استقراض فراموش کردم با پسته ی سابق یک نکته ای عرض نمایم. اگر رأی دولت علیه واقعا بر این قرار گرفته است که از فرنگستان پول قرض بکند باید به هیچ وجه نگویند که این پول را از برلی خرید اسلحه می خواهند. اهل فرنگستان به هیچ دولت از برای خرید اسلحه و امثال این مخارج پول نمی دهند. دولی که قرض می خواهند همیشه قبل از وقت باید بگویند که ما این پول را از برای فلان علمی که مایه ی آبادی ملک است می خواهیم؛ مثلا اگر دولت روس یا اوسترلیا بگویند ما قرض می خواهیم که فلان راه آهن را بسازیم یا در فلان معدن کار بکنیم، مردم بی مضایقه پول می دهند زیرا که در عوض پول خود یک عمل بامنفعتی در پیش روی خود می بینند و مطمئن می شوند که پول ایشان سوخت نخواهد شد ولیکن هر گاه این دول بگویند ما به پول بدهید که ما تدارک جنگ ببینیم ممکن بیست یک دینار به آن ها بدهند؛ زیرا که این نوع مخارج در عقب خود هیچ نوع منفعت تجارتي نخواهند داشت، بلکه بر عکس آن در صورت جنگ تمام پولی که مردم قرض داده اند به انضمام کل خزانه ی دولت به هدر خواهد رفت. به این جهت هر دولتی که قرض می خواهد باید اول خیال جنگ را از نظر ها دور بکند و به هزار دلیل بنماید که با همه ی دول در صلح است و هیچ احتمال جنگ در میان نیست. بلی بعضی دول پولی که قرض کرده اند گاهی صرف تدارک حربیه نموده مثل روس و عثمانی اما این مقصود خود را به هزار تدبیر پنهان کرده اند. این عساکر و این همه قورخانه و اسلحه ی ممتاز و کشتی های جنگی که دولت عثمانی دارد همه را با پول قرض ترتیب داده است، اما در وقت قرض همیشه قسم ها می خورد که این پول را از برای فلان راه آهن و از برای فلان نوع آبادی ملک می خواهیم؛ هر گاه دولت علیه هم قرض بخواهد باید اول خیال جنگ را به کلی از نظر ها دور بکند. ثانياً به مردم حالی نماید که پول ایشان صرف چنین کارها خواهد بود که منافع تجارتي آن مسلم باشد.

Footnote 238:

همان حقوق و امتیازاتی که عثمانی در شت بغداد به انگلیس داده و در صورت پیشرفت ادعای او در محمره و رود کارون هم به انگلیس خواهد داد باید دولت ایران از حالا همه ی آن آزادی و امتیازات را در محمره و رود کارون به تجارت انگلیس بدهد. می دانم که باز فریاد خواهد کرد که ایران به باد خواهد رفت. اما حقیقت دیگر کمال حماقت و بامردی است که ما در مقابل چنان حرف های مکرر ده از عرض تدابیر واجب و بی عیب اجتناب نمایم آن عقلای بی شعور که حفظ دولت را بسته به تسدید مراودات خارجه می دانستند حالا حتا در چنین هم از این عقیده ی شوم خود تاسف و خجالت دارند. اگر دولت انگلیس واقعا در صدد این است که بعضی از قطعات ملک ما را بگیرد و این احمق و عاجز است که به جهت اجرای این قصد خود سال ها معطل شود که یک امتیاز بی معنا برای فلان تاجر خود تحصیل نماید پس چرا بی کار نشستیم. چرا هند را از چنین دولت احمق نمی گیرید و چرا مالیات لندن را به سط من مطالبه نمی کنید. روح این عریضه بنده این است که در مقابل عثمانی باید تدارک دید و از برای حفز حدود ما باید منافع انگلیس را به قدر امکان از حالا مطابق و مساعد حقوق ما ساخت. باید همه ی آن امتیازات را که عثمانی در خاک خود و در شط بغداد به تبعه ی انگلیس داده ما هم اقلا آن قدر را در ایران و در رود کارون به تبعه ی انگلیس بدهیم در عطای این امتیازات به قدر ذره ای ضرر نخواهد بود و در مضایقه ی این امتیازات هزار خبط و ضرر خواهد بود که از آن جمله یکی رفتن محمره است.

Footnote 247:

می گفت اولیای دولت ایران چرا باید از این سیل های معظم که در این بیست سی سال در دنیا ظهور کرده به این شدت بی خبر باشند. این بدیهی است که خواه و نخواه در کلات باید راه آهن ساخته شود تا چهل سال قبل از این، هر طایفه یک قطعه ی زمینی را تصرف کرده بود و می گفت این زمین مال من است و هر طور می خواهم آن طور نگاه می دارم در ایام قدیم کره ی زمین در نظرها یک و سعت عظیمی داشت و از یک ملک تا ملک دیگر شش ماه راه بود و طوایف از اوضاع و از هستی همدیگر بی خبر بودند هر ملکی منحصرآ مال مخصوص یک طایفه محسوب می شد اما در این عهد که کره ی زمین از ایران خاقان مغفور کوچکتر شده و جوش قدرت انسانی در بارها را با متصل می کند کوه ها را از میان بر می دارد معدن ها و جنگل ها، اقصا جزایر دنیا و بیابان های غیر معروف افریقا حتا ظلمت و یخ های قطب شمالی را زیر و زبر می نمایند در چنین عهد چه طور می توان گفت سیل این ترقی باید بر لب فلان خرابه بایستد به علت این که این خرابه مال من است الان عموم حکما و کل ملل و دول معترف این حقیقت هستند که تمام دنیا مال بنی انسان و مأموریتایشان این است که آبادی این دنیا را الی غیرنهایه ترقی بدهند هر گروهی مادامی که آبادی یک ملکی را به اندازه ی اسعداد و طبیعت ترقی می دهد مالک بالحق آن ملک است ولیکن هر گاه یک گروهی یک جزء معتبر دنیا را به یک وجهی تصرف بکند و بر خلاف اوامر الهی بخواد آن ملک را محض جهالت و وحشی گری خود خراب و مغشوش نماید و تمام دنیا را از نعمات خداداد آن ملک محروم بگذارد بدیهی است که موافق احکام هر دین و به حکم اصول آبادی دنیا که حال مذهب عامه ی دول شده است، باید آن ملک را از دست آن گروه ناقابل خلاص کرد.

Footnote 249:

اما از علوم اکونومی پولیتیک که همه تازه و همه محصول این عهد است در ایران هرگز بویی نبوده است. در تمام کتب ایران لفظی نیست که دایر بر اکونومی پولیتیک باشد. هیچ حکیم ایرانی بدون چندین سال درس فرنگی هرگز نخواهد فهمید که پول کاغذی یعنی چه و استقراض ملی به چه تدبیر ممکن است. ما اهل ایران قطعا عقل مان از عقل فرنگی ها کمتر نیست ولیکن این تقصیر بزرگ را داریم که هنوز فرق عقل و علم را نفهمیده ایم. فراش های وزرای ما دور نیست از مخترع تلغراف عاقل تر باشد اما جمیع عقلای ما بدون تحصیل علم ابدنا نخواهند فهمید که از کلکته تا به لندن چه طور می توان حرف زد. بانک و استقراض ملی و راه آهن و تربیت کمپانی و جمیع فروع اکونومی پولیتیک نیز همین حکم تلغراف را دارند چون از فنون و از تدابیر اکونومی هیچ لفظی تحصیل نفرموده اند؛ به همین دلایل که از این مطالب هیچ لفظی در ایران نبوده است لهذا حق دارند که معنای این تدابیر را نفهمند و بر این نوع عرایض ما بخندند ولیکن ما که بر حقیقت این علوم به هزار دلیل معتقد شده ایم و به علم الیقین می دانیم که نجات دولت بسته به قبول این تدابیر است.

Footnote 252:

اینکه ایران از روش ترقی دنیا اینقدر ها عقب مانده سبب آن در یک حادثه خارجی است نه در نقص جنس ایرانی. کشیشهای عیسوی در ایام جهالت فرنگستان باقسام تدابیر چنان وانمود کردند که ترقی دنیا منحصرآ حاصل و حق مزه ب عیسوی است و ملل اسلام بنا به آن نفرت مطلق که بحکم توحید اسلام به کفر تثلیث دارند از جمیع افکار و تراقیات فرنگستان اصلا و فرعا اجتناب کردند چنانکه تا این اواخر بعضی از علما از سواری راه آهن و کشتی بخار و از قبول کرویت زمین و از استعمال قند و کبریت فرنگی اگر اه بین داشتند و بواسطه این انقطاع روابط خارجه، علمای اسلام بکلی بیخبر ماندند از آن مجادلات سخن که حکمای اروپا بر بطلان ادعای کشیشها بر پا نمودند و پس از مجاهدات و خونریزیهای زیاد آءین ترقی علمی را از کهنه مز خرافات کشیشها جدا کردند و بحسن اتفاق در همین روزها عقل و علم ژاپون بر تمام آسیا ثابت کرد که انوار ترقی حق عموم طوایف است و اخذ آءین تمدن بدون هیچ آلائش عقاید عیسوی صد مرتبه آسانتر و بهتر میسر میشود. ترقی ایران علاوه بر این مانع خارجی یک مانع خانگی هم دارد که رفع آن بسته بهمت خود جنابان شماسا. خلق ایران بواسطه حدت مشاعر طبیعی خود عقل ساده و انفرادی خود را با قدرت علوم مجتمعه دنیا مشتبّه کردند و اغلب وزرای ما بگر فتاری این خبت موروثی عقل شخصی خود را واقعا مستغنی از علوم کسبی میدانند.

Footnote 260:

احیای ایران موقوف به اجرای قوانین عدل الهی است. ترتیب قوانین بر عهده مجلس شماسست. اولین قانون دولت باید بر امنیت جان و مال و بر ضمانت جمیع حقوق افراد ملت باشد. باید اساس قانون امنیت را چنان مشید و محکم نمائید که احدی نتواند بدون حکم قانون نه به کسی دست بزند نه از اموال و حقوق کسی ذره کم بکند.

Footnote 268:

در حقیقت کلید جمیع مسایل این ملک است و ان عبارت است از ان سر امامت که مبنای دین شیعه است و اهل خارجه از دقایق ان خیلی کم بلکه هیچ اطلاع ندارند. در میان ملل سنی سلطان عثمانی رابس مطلق و خلیفه مفترض الطاعه است. موافق مذهب شیعه سلطنت حالیه ایران خلاف اصول اسلام و شاه غاصب است. بنا به این عقیده مذهبی امروز در ایران دو حکومت است یکی مشروع که متعلق به علمای دین است یکی دیگر غصبی که دستکاه ظلمه میکوبند.

Footnote 277:

از خلق فرنگستان صد کرور پول بگیریید. از دول فرنگستان صد نفر معلم و محاسب و صاحب منصب و بخواد. این صد نفر معلم و صاحب منصب را در تحت ده نفر وزیر ایرانی مأمور نمایند که وزارت خانه ها و کل شقوق اداره ی دولت را موافق علوم این عهد نظم بدهند. از ممالک فرنگستان بیست کمپانی بزرگ به ایران دعوت نمایند و با آن ها امتیازات بدهید که صد کرور تومان دیگر به ایران بیاورند و مشغول شوند به آن احداثات معظم که در زبان فارسی اسم هم ندارند. به راهنمایی این و به به توست این کمپانی ها راه های آهنی ایران را از چندین جا شروع کنید. در هر یک از ممالک ایران ECONOMISTES بانک های تجارتی و بانک های ملی و بانک های زراعت بسازید. معدن و آب ها و جنگل های ایران را موافق همان اصول که در جمیع دول معمول است به کار ببندازید. دیوانخان های تجارتی ما را موافق قواعدی که مقتضی این عهد است نظم بدهید. رسوم و شرایط تقسیم و تحصیل مالیات که الان از جمله ی علوم عمیق دنیا شده است موافق این علوم تغییر و ترتیب تازه بدهید. گمرک های داخله ی ما را به کلی موافق نمایند. از برای خالصه جات به توست این یک اداره ی مخصوص ترتیب بدهید. سکه ی پول ایران که یکی از اسباب ناگزیر زندگی ملت و الان معايت آن علاوه بر خرابی تجارت مایه ی افتضاح دولت شده است نظم بدهید. از برای تمام ایران به دستیار این صاحب منصب ها یک پولیس درستی هزار نفر شاکرد به فرنگستان بفرستید نه این که مثل سابق هر کدامی دو سه زن بگیرند، بلکه همه تا ده سال در مدرسه های این جا مجوس بمانند به طوری که یک ثلث آن ها در ازیر کار بمیند و باقی دیگر آدم بشوند.

Footnote 278:

ما در وست اطاق یک سنتوری گذاشته ایم و بسیت سی نفر از اصناف مختلف بر دور این سنتور جمع کرده ایم و ما خود در صدر مجلس نشسته غلی الاتصال حکم میکنیم که فلان مفاورا بزنیید و فلان دستگاه را بنوازید. گاهی همایون می خواهیم، گاهی کابلی ترجیح می دهیم، گاهی فریاد می زنیم که حال وقت تصنیف است. اهل مجلس همه منتظر هستند که الان مقام مطلوب را خواهند زد. من میگویم بیجه معطل نشوند هیچیک از اینمقامها زده نخواهد شد ولیکن افکار من نه از این است که ذدن این مقام ها را مشکل بدانم یا در علم سازنده ما حرفی داشته باشیم. زدن این مقامها بسیار آسان است ولیکن اینکار من در عیب ساز ها است. این سنتور را که میخواهید برنید هیچیک از اجزای آن درست نیست تخته های آن شکسته است و پرده های آن افتاده، سیمهای آن بعضی از ریسمان اغلب پوسیده کلا معکوس و در هم پیچیده است. هر ذی شعوری که حالت آن ساز را ببیند مثل من فریاد خواهد زد که بیجه خود را معطل نسازید از این ساز هیچ مقامی بیرون نخواهد آمد. حالت ایران بعینه مثل سنتور ماست، در وسط پای تخت نشسته ایم و متصل حکم میکنیم که مرو را بگیرید، چاپارخانه را نظم بدهید، من میگویم انها همه صحیح اما بیجهت فریاد مکنید، بیحت خود را معطل نسازید. محال عقل است که هیچ یک از این آرزو های شما بعمل بیاید. چرا. بعلت اینکه آن دستگاهی که باید مصدر و اسباب این آرزو ها بشود بحدی مغشوش و پریشان است که از چنین دستگاه ایدا چنان مقصودی حاصل نخواهد شد. درک این مطلب شرح مختصری لازم دارد.

Footnote 283:

امنیت جانی و مالی یعنی چه. یعنی بعد از این بدون محاکمه و اثبات تقصیر شما را حبس نخواهند کرد. خانه و اموال شما را بدون سوال و جواب ضبط نخواهند کرد. طلبهای شما را بمیل خود باطل نخواهند ساخت. حقوق رعیتی و مناصب کسی شما را بدیگران نخواهند فروخت. و دیگر در هیچ صورت گوش و دماغ شما را نخواهند برید. چشمهای شما را نخواهند کند. و برادران و اولاد شما را زنده زنده شقه خواهند کرد.

Footnote 285:

اجرای قانون در این ملک چه نتیجه خواهد داشت. اجرای قانون در هر ملک مثل یک نوع معجزه کل اوضاع آن ملک را مبدل خواهد ساخت بیک عالم تازه که مراتب کرامت آنرا هیچ عقلی نمی تواند قبل از وقت تصور نماید. در ملکی که قانون هست عنوان امور حکما در دست فضلالی قوم خواهد بود. در ملکی که قانون هست هیچ جانوری نمی تواند به ادم اذیت بکند. در ملکی که قانون هست شعور و غیرت و جوهر ادمیت دقیقه بدقیقه زیاد تر میشود و احاد مردم هم به تحریک منافع شخصی و هم باقتضای مصلحت عامه روز بروز بر نظم و عمارت و شوکت دولت خود میافاید. قحط و غلا مرفوع. نعمات زندگی فراوان. خزاین ملت معمور. مدارس پر از معرفت. عمال دیوان همه فاضل. احاد رعیت همه مستطیع. عساکر منظم. حقوق ادم تماما م محفوظ. عیش مشروع نصیب عام. همه خرم و خوشدل. همه در امان قانون.

Footnote 305:

پار سال سلطان عثمانی در حین حرف گفته بود فلان عمارت را انشالله فلان طور خواهم ساخت؛ معمارباشی عرض کرده بود انشالله در زمان مثل شما پادشاه چه معنا دارد انشالله از برای سایر مردم خوب است که از خود قدرتی ندارند، اما شما که شاهنشاه هستید، شما که خلیفه ی روی زمین هستید، همه کار را به یک اراده می توانید انجام بدهید. انشالله دلیل عجز است و تلفظ چنین عبارت از برای وجود همایون که جامع جمیع قدرت هاست به کلی خلاف اصول است. سلطان این مضامین را زیاد از وصف تحسین و آن معمار خائن را حقیقت غرق التفات فرموده بود ولیکن امروز در روزنامه های معتبر و در مجالس عالیه وقتی از دولت عثمانی حرف میزنند می گویند استکلال سابق عثمانی، سلطنت مرحومه ی عثمانی.

Footnote 307:

دو روز است اوقاتم از اخبار اسلامبول زیاد از وصف تلخ است. بر قضیه ی بیچاره سلطان مثل این یکی از اولاد من تلف شده باشد تا دو ساعت بی اختیار گریه کردم. بیچاره سلطان هیچ گناهی نداشت، دولت عثمانی را خراب کرد و تمام فرنگستان را به خطر بزرگ انداخت اما با وصف این هیچ تقصیر نداشت، همه ی این خرابی ها تقصیر وزرای او بود. نیت و همت و اطوار سلطان اوایل همه مبنی بر خبر بود، اما وزرای خائن و اطرافی های بی دین این قدر مزاج گویی کردند و طبیعت بشری او را این قدر پرستش نمودند که اگر آن بیچاره فرشته هم می شد ممکن نبود که در میان آن نوع تملقات بی رحمانه بر معنای اقوال و کردار خود فریب نخورد. هر لفظی که از دهنش بیرون می آمد از اطراف خواه وزیر، خواه پیشخدمت فی الفور به تعجب فریاد می کردند که کرامت فرمودید؛ وانگهی سلطان را کی از برای سلطنت تربیت کرده بودند مردم چه حق داشتند که از او هنر ناپولیونی بخواهند. چهل سال او را بی معلم بی مراده بی سواد و بی هیچ نوع تربیت نگاه داشتند و بعد آوردند که حالا باید این دولت معظم را که در هر گوشه ی آن ده خطر مهلک هست نظم بدهی و از برای تقویت آن بیچاره تدبیری که پیدا کردند این بود که هر ساعت بروند در پیش او به خاک سجده و بگویند نظر شما کیمیاست آن چه به خاطر شما می رسد الهام الهی است. شما سایه ی خدا هستید، شما عقل کل و دانای مطلق هستید. این نوع حرف ها بدیهی است که به گوش هرکس سه روز تکرار بکنند باید حقیقت عقل کل و وجود خارق عادت باشد که خود را به کلی گم نکند. هر گاه سلطان بیچاره یک نفر آدم می داشت که او را گاهی ملتفت بر حقایق اوضاع می کرد قطعا کارش به این جا نمی کشید. اما چه بگویم از آن وزرای نامرد که مرتکب چنان عمل شنیع شدند. با این که با اغلب آن ها آشنا هستیم این چند روز علی الاتصال ایشان را لعن کرده ام. هر گاه یک وزیر مغضوب یک نوکر خارجی مصدر خیانت بشود باز طوری است، اما کمال شناعت و منتهای نامردی است که یک شخص از جانب پادشاه خود منصبی قبول بکند و بعد قدرت آن منصب را صرف خیانت و اسباب اتلاف ولی نعمت خود نماید. لعنت بر حسین قلی و تف بر ریش سفید رشدی. یک ماه بود همه کس قبل از وقت می دانست که سلطان را معزول خواهند کرد، اما بنده تمام شش ماه قبل از این در وقتی که چنان حرفی در میان نمود از جانب یکی از همان وزرا که مرتکب این عمل شنیع شدند محرمانه فهمیدم دو سه نفری با هم قرار داده اند که سلطان را معزول بکنند؛ من مطلب را فی الفور به لرد دربی

خبر دادم که شاید تدبیری به کار ببرد. این قضیه می بایستی در همان روزها بروز بکند؛ عزل یکی از وزرا کار را تا این اواخر عقب انداخت. بیچاره سلطان. عالم پولیطیک فرنگستان زیاد از حد مغشوش است. اغلب سفرای این جا بر این اعتقاد هستند که دور نیست در همین روزها جنگ عمومی ظهور بکند؛ سبب انقلاب اوضاع این است که دولت روس و اوستریا و آلمانیا در برلین قرار دادند که از دولت عثمانی بعضی شراعت تازه مطالبه نمایند بعد آن چه را که پیش خود بدون اطلاع سایر دول فرنگستان قرار داده بودند به سایر دول بزرگ تکلیف کردند که آن ها نیز تصدیق نمایند. فرانسه و ایتالیا قرار برلین را بلا تأمل تصدیق کردند. دولت انگلیس بر خلاف انتظار عامه با کمال ادب و آرامی جواب گفت که در قرار مزبور مداخله نخواهند کرد، اما در آن ضمن حکم داد که کشتی های جنگی انگلیس رو به مشرق حرکت نکنند. این حرکت انگلیس از برای عامه ی دول مایه ی تعجب شد، زیرا که دولت انگلیس در این مسائل عثمانی زیاد کناره جویی می کرد و به طور حقارت و بی طرفی حرکت می نمود. دولت روس هم از این سکوت و کنار هجویی انگلیس فریب خورده در این مسائل مشرق زیاد خودنمایی کرد و در مجلس برلین خود را رئیس مذاکرات قرار داد و به چنان اطمینان حرکت کرد که گویا دولت انگلیس هیچ وجود ندارد ولیکن این حرکت تهدید آمیز انگلیس به معنای آموریت کشتی های جنگی به سمت مشرق سایر دول را بیدار کرد و دولت روس را سخت به جای شک گذاشته است؛ حال دولت روس یا باید مغلوبا با خفت تمام از ادعای حمایت خود نسبت به طوایف اسلاو و دست بکشد یا این که جنگ انگلیس را مصمم باشد و هر دو این دو کار بسیار سخت است. از وقتی که دولت انگلیس این طور به میدان آمده است دولت فرانسه و ایتالیا نیز به انگلیس نزدیک شده اند، و حادثه ی اسلامبول را بهانه کرده تصدیق خود را در خصوص قرار برلین یک طوری پس می خواهند. دولت اوستریا نیز بسبب به روس جسارتی پیدا کرده مثل سابق همراهی تمام ندارد و حتا دولت آلمانیا هم کم کم به روس حالی می کند که در امور مشرق تا به همه نمی تواند با پولیتیک روس همراهی نماید؛ خلاصه الان بر حسب ظاهر دولت روس در مقابل انگلیس تنها مانده است. اهل فرانسه طالب موافق انگلیس هستند، اما بعضی از وزرای فرانسه نمی خواهند از دولت روس دوری بکنند. ظن غالب این است که دولت روس سر شکسته به یک طوری خود را از این مقام خطرناک پس خواهد کشید ولیکن دولت انگلیس در کمال شدت و از روی اطمینان کامل مشغول تدارک جنگ است و اگر شو، دولت انگلیس تمام دنیا را هم خواهد زد؛ زیرا که این جنگ تنها از برای هر یک و عثمانی نخواهد بود تا یک هفته ی دیگر مطالب معلوم خواهد شد.

Footnote 349:

در باب احماد ملل اسلام این روزها از ولایات مختلف تحقیقت زیاد می رسند. افسوس که تفصیل آنها خارج از اندازه این اوراق است. این دفعه لابد به ذکر بعضی از مضامین اکتفا می نمایم. یکی از علمای هند می نویسد. خانه خدا در مکه معظمه است. مرکز اسلام باید حکما در این نقطه مقدس باشد. یکی از حجاج ترکستان از بادکوبه می نویسد. اعظم مشایخ اسلام از بخارا بر خاسته اند و شیوع علوم اسلام از برکت ان مرزبوم بوده. به این جهت مرکز انوار اسلام را باید در ان خاک فاضل قرار داد. یک شیخ مصری میگوید. مصر در میان اسیا و افریقیه و اروپا و جزایر جنوب در حقیقت قلب دولت اسلام است و باید پایتخت اسلام در قاهره مصر باشد. یک مجتهد جامع الشرائط میفرماید. روح حقیقت اسلام در نجف اشرف است. یک امام فاضل به دلایل مذهبی و به سندهای تاریخی دار السلام بغداد را بر جمیع مرکزهای دیگر ترجیح میدهد. یک ادیب حکمی می نویسد. اسلامبول علاوه بر ملاحظیات مذهبی بر حسب جغرافیا اول نقطه روی زمین است. دانشمندان عموم دول اسلامبول را کلید سلطنت دنیا گفته اند. محسنات صوری و عظمت سیاسی این موضوع بی نظیر را بر مصالح دیگر باید فایق شمرد. یک شاهزاده ایرانی از خراسان می نویسد. استیلای کلی اسلام در قطعه اسیا واقع شده و ایران در وسط ممالک اسلام است لهذا مرکز طبیعی دول اسلام باید در ارض اقدس و در مشهد مقدس باشد. ما در اینجا بدون هیچ تکذیب و تصدیق قطع مسله را رجوع به رأی اولیای اسلام می نمایم. نکته که در این میان از همه روشن تر پیداست اینست که بغداد مصر اصفهان اسلامبول و همه ممالک اسلام مال و ملک و حق عموم مسلمین دنیاست زیرا که همه اینها به مجاهدت و به خون مسلمین فتح شده و حفظ و حراست هر یک از این نقاط بر ذمه عموم مسلمین فرض مطلق است.

Footnote 350:

اسلامبول اولین حصن استقلال دول اسلام است. اگر اسلامبول برود مکه معظمه و عتبات عالیات و اصفهان و کابل کجا خواهد ماند. اسلامبول تاج کره زمین است. هر مسلمان که حفظ ان نقطه شریف را فرض دین خود نشمارد از مهنی شوکت اسلام هیچ نفهمیده است.

Footnote 356:

خبط دوم شما اینست که وقتی می‌خواهید در ممالک ما محرک ترقی بشوید قوانین و رسوم فرنگستان را از برای ما سر مشق قرار می‌دهید. این سبک بکلی فلت است. در ممالک اسلام هر نظمی که از خارج بیاید نه ریشه خواهد داشت نه ثمر. چرا دولت عثمانی با همه تقویتهای دول شما از تنظیمات خود هیچ فایده نبرد. بعلت این که وزرای عثمانی خواستند تنظیمات را از فرنگستان بیاورد و این محال بود. در ممالک اسلام باید ناچار از خود اسلام ظهور بکند.

Footnote 361:

حالت دولت عثمانی در عالم پولیتیک چندان رونقی ندارد؛ تحکیمات دول همجوار که تماما بر ضد بقای آن دولت است همه را سلطان عثمانی ناچار بی سوال و جواب قبول کرد اما به اعتقاد جمعی این قسم تمکین سلطان به جایی نخواهد رسید. اولیای سابق عثمانی موقع اصلاحات را مدتی است از دست داده اند حالا دیگر آن چه بکنند بی حاصل است. عساکر عثمانی در هیچ زمان مثل عهد این سلطان منتظم و مکمل و مستعد و مقتدر نبوده است و همچنین انتظام مالیات و ترویج معارف و استادی در مرادات خارجه هرگز در آن دولت به خوبی این اوقات نبوده است ولیکن دردهای آن دولت در معایب دیگر است. در قرون آخر در فرنگستان چرخ کارخانه ی دول مثل کارخانه جات صنایع به پایه ی معجزه ترقی کرده است به طوری که چرخ امروزه ی دول بر حسب قدرت و عمل و نتایج مطلوبه هیچ شباهت و مناسبتی به چرخ دول سابق ندارد و فهمیدن دقائق چرخ تازه علاوه بر عقل کامل اقلای سی سال تحصیلات چنان علوم لازم دارد، که هیچ کدام در ممالک مشرقهنوز اسم ندارند و به این واسطه در ممالک عثمانی این علوم دولت سازی حتا در میان وزرای بزرگ به طور خیلی ناقص ظهور داشته است؛ این است که هر قدر جهد و غیرت و عقل و دولت خواهی به کار می برند چون از اصول علوم کسبی آن طوری که باید بهره ندارند مجاهدات عقلی ایشان عوض نتایج حسنه موجب تنزل دولت و اسباب شکست استکلال می شود. در مقابل این وضع تأسف انگیز دولت عثمانی، ما نباید ابداً مأیوس بشویم؛ بخت بلند اقدس شاهنشاه روهی فداه جوهر عقل ذاتی ایران چنان که بسی مشکلات را تا به حال به سعادت حل کرده مخاطرات آینده را نیز انشاءالله به فیروزی رفع خواهد کرد.

Footnote 362:

مللی که پیشرو ترقی دنیا واقع شده اند می گویند ما سه هزار سال زحمت گشیده ایم تا اصول آبادی را پیدا کرده ایم و حالا اصول هر قبیل ترقی به طوری مشخص و مرتب و حاضر شده است که کار سه هزار ساله ی ما را هر دولتی که فی الجمله چشم و گوش خود را باز بکند می تواند در کمال سهولت در همین ایام انجام بدهد چنان که اغلب ممالک آسیا و افریقا و به خصوص ژاپون در مدت ده بیست سال پیشرفت ترقی، خود را اسباب حیرت دنیا ساختند و شما که ایران و افغانستان و ترکستان و چین و عرب هستید هیچ حق ندارید که خزاین و نعمات ممالک خود را هم از برای خودتان و هم از برای دنیا این طور عاطل و باطل بگذارید یا مثل ژاپون خیلی زود ترقی بکنید یا ما در همین ایام می آییم و بی آن که از جیب خود یک دینار مایه بگذاریم از مداخل همین ممالک ثروت و آبادی و تجارت یک جزء معظم کره ی زمین را صد مرتبه زیادتیر می کنیم. این حکم دول فرنگستان خواه عدل خواه ظلم از مغرب زمین تا به چین به چنان بر اهن قاطع ثابت و مجسم شده است که حالا دیگر تردید بر این عمل قاهر یک سفاهت غیر معذور خواهد بود. در این باب نباید تانی دولت عثمانی را از برای ما سند معطلی قرار داد؛ وضع دولت عثمانی اصلا ربطی به حالت ایران ندارد. در دولت عثمانی یک نقطه نیست که مال خود عثمانی باشد همه را از دیگران گرفته است و حالا صد قسم مدعی دارد اما سه هزار سال است که ایران مال ایران است و آن روزی که خود دولت علیه بخود به عزم صحیح ایران را آباد بکند دول خارجه نه تنها قطع طمع خواهند کرد بلکه از روی کمال میل ممد و مقوی چنان عزم مبارک خواهند بود.