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Events leading to the compilation of the first Ottoman civil code

Hudusi YAVUZ

As we shall see later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Islamic Ottoman State was obliged to make some legal reforms to appease the Europeans. Thus, a number of European codes were laid down, such as, the Commercial Code of 1850, and the Land, as well as the Criminal Codes, of 1858, which afterwards followed by the Code of Commercial Procedure of 1861 and the Commercial Maritime Code of 1864. But the more significantly than all of these was the enactment of the first Ottoman Civil Code entitled Mecelle-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye (Code of the Judicial Regulations), in short, Mecelle, or the Madjallah as it appears in western literature.

Although it was compiled, from among the views of the jurists of Hanefi School of Law, by a commission under the presidency of Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1885), the real architect of the Mecelle was Cevdet Paşa himself, a distinguished Islamic scholar and a great historian as well as a lawyer. In fact the Mecelle, eventually became necessary when the Council of Judicial Regulations (Divān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye), a kind of secular court and the basis of modern Turkish courts, had been established in 1868. That is why the complete title of the Mecelle bears the name of the Judicial Regulations. In another words, if that Council had not been established, the Mecelle would never have been enacted. Therefore, in the following paper we will throw light on the background of the Council and give the speech of Cevdet Paşa by which, in the face

1 Further information about him is in H. Yavuz, 'Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and the Ulema of his time', İslâm Tetrkleri Enstitüsü Dergisi, VII : 3-4 (1979), pp. 177-198.
of the Sharī'ah courts, he justified it, and finally will show the rejection of the French *code civil* and formation of the Mecelle Commission.

After the proclamation of the Ḥāfīz-i Hāmidīn of Gūlhāne in 1839, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclîs-i Vâlah-ı Ahkâm-i 'Adliyye*) which had been set up by Mahmud II on Zilhicce 1253/March 1838 with the idea of discussing and enacting the new regulations, was given the special function of enacting those reforms promised in the Ḥāfīz. The general principles of these laws were expressed in the Ḥāfīz. The Supreme Council possessed a set of internal rules resembling those of western parliamentary procedures. In March 1840, a new imperial rescript gave details of the reorganization of the Supreme Council of the Judicial Ordinances which in various forms played a central role throughout the period of Tanẓımāt. Early in 1854, the legislative function of the Supreme Council had largely been transferred to the Tanẓīmāt Council which emerged from the parent body to work out the reform measures. But seven years later, on 4 Rebiü'levvel 1278/9 September 1861, these two councils were again united under the title of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances, in short, *Meclîs-i Ahkâm-i 'Adliyye*. The last fusion of the councils came into being after the reform project of Sir H. Bulwer, the British ambassador at Istanbul. The fusion was intended to carry out, to a certain extent, the suggestions of the project. Sir Bulwer’s proposal was based on the answers of the British consul in the Ottoman dominions. In his circuler of June 11, 1860, which was addressed to them, he enclosed a number of questions about the conditions of the Christians in their areas. Amongst many other questions were:

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"Is Christian evidence admitted in courts of justice; and if not, point the cases where it has been refused? Are there any inequalities dependent on religion now, and if so what are those inequalities? Are Christians admitted into the Medjils or local councils? What is your opinion as to withdrawing from said Medjils their judicial functions and creating tribunals apart from them; and in such case how would you want the tribunals to be composed? What is your opinion on the possibility of establishing schools for all religions and classes and as to the effect that would be produced by these schools? What measures do you think would best attain the end of equal justice, with the more simple and least expensive forms?".

The consuls, too, on their part suggested among many other things that: a) local councils should be improved, and their judicial function must be removed, eventually they should be left only with the administrative power; b) for cases of civil rights, commercial and criminal questions, new courts should be established respectively; c) Muslims and Christians have to go to their own courts; d) all the courts should be administered by the ministry of justice, into which European codes must be put into effect.

Sir Bulwer was inspired by the reports, although he did not strictly bind himself to them. In the project, he especially pointed out that a single council should be set up instead of the two present councils, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances and the Tanẓimat Council. It would have executive, judicial, and advisory functions. Its main concern should be to supervise the application of the proposed reforms, or suggest new ones. Accordingly, the Supreme Council remained as it was and absorbed the Tanẓimat Council. The new Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances had a legislative division. Previously, the Tanẓimat Council used to have legislative as well as judicial and administrative functions. But now, after being fused in one body, the first function of it was given to the legislative division. The second function that of possessing the authority to hear cases about the ministers, was passed to the whole.

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5 Engelhardt, Türkiye ve Tanẓimat, p. 151.
body of the Supreme Council. The third function was to inspect the application of the laws, was abolished.

Finally, when the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinance was abolished on Zilkâde 1284/5 March 1868, then it was replaced by the Council of Judicial Regulations and the Council of State. It is believed that the foundation of these two top government offices was stimulated by following three factors: i) French influence, ii) the memorandum of 'Ali Paşa sent back from Crete late in 1867 while he was restoring order in the agitated island, and his impressions there, iii) and the advent of the Young Ottomans in 1865. It seems certain, however, that the French impact on these was stronger than the Young Ottomans and memorandum of 'Ali Paşa.

In fact, from 1867 onwards France had exercised a great influence over many reforms of the Empire, among which were the establishment of the Council of State together with the Council of Judicial Regulations and consequently, over the codification of part of the civil law. 'Ali and Fuad had not a French programme forced on them, but their natural inclination went in that direction. 'Ali Paşa, nevertheless, according to the evidence of Cevdet Paşa, had long been feeling a pressure from without to reform the law courts. The hearing of cases involving foreigners became more difficult consequent upon an increasing number of them coming to Turkey day by day. According to Cevdet, in the Paris Peace Conference of 1856, 'Ali Paşa was even told by the representatives of the Powers:

«If you could put your courts of justice in a position of inspiring confidence and security, then we would ban the interference of the European dragomans with the Turkish court affairs.»

Cevdet Paşa gave the preceding information while he was explaining the reasons of the establishment of the Council of Judicial Regulations which it was to be his job to constitute, and continued:


7 A detailed study about these points is in H. Yavuz, 'Western Influence upon the Ottoman Institutions', İslâm Medeniyeti, IV : 4 (August 1980), pp. 41-50; V : 1 (January 1981), pp. 71-80.
"Nothing had been done concerning the reformation of courts of justice until 1868 when it was decided by the Government to establish new courts following their French model, as well as to separate the judicial and executive powers. Eventually, the Council of State and the Council of Judicial Regulations were set up with the members of two-third Muslim, and one-third non-Muslim."

On 11 Zilhâde 1284/5 March 1868, the order was issued to replace the old Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances with the two new bodies, the Council of State and the Council of Judicial Regulations, in short, Judicial Councils. The latter was an independent council to scrutinize and to take cognizance of cases in the statutory (nişâmi) courts and of lawsuits which used to be referred to the Supreme Council. Its president was Ahmed Cevdet Paşa who was then the governor of Aleppo. Presidency of the Council of State, too, was given to Mithat Paşa, the governor of Denube. This council was to discuss and draft all projects of law and regulations which needed to be applied in the Judicial Councils. Each man «exercised considerable influence in drawing up their respective statutes»11, and ever since they have become known as the founders of modern Turkey’s legal institutions.

The règlement organique setting up the Juicial Council as a supreme court of statutory lawsuits in the country, was promulgated on 8 Zilhicce 1284/1 April 186812. Thereafter a new era began in the legal history of

9 The text of the order is in İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal, Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamlar, Istanbul 1964, p. 320/6.
11 R.H. Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire, p. 249.
the country because the Islamic tradition was to be replaced by the western models and because «the council was to take cognizance of cases that arose under the new westernized law - criminal, and commercial and civil - but not of cases under the şeriat or those which would be handled by the millet courts or by the new mixed commercial tribunals».

The council, under the authority of a minister as its president, was divided into civil and penal departments. A vice-president was appointed for each department with, at least, five and at the most ten members, besides a chief clerk and six examining clerks for the council.

The president, vice-president, members and the examining clerks were not elected but appointed by the Sultan. They occupied their post for an unlimited time since «the members, once appointed, were irremovable except if regularly tried and convicted; the executive authority was specifically to interfere in the court's functions». The council needed procedural codes for civil and penal cases; regulations to classify its relevant suits, and to set forth the verdicts. These would be deliberated by the Council of State before being enacted by an imperial rescript. Finally, «thirteen members were appointed» to the Judicial Council «in addition to Cevdet Paşa, its president. Of these, two were Armenian Catholics, one Gregorian Armenian, one a Greek, and one a Bulgar. Among the Muslim members were several of the 'ulemâ', such as Kara .Hour Efendi, and Ahmed Hilmi Efendi, both of whom were well versed in the Fiqh, and with whom Cevdet Paşa was quite pleased to be a colleague».

The hâf establishing the Council of State was also issued on the same day, April 1, 1868. This council was apparently modelled on the French

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14 R.H. Divison, Reform, p. 241.  
16 Cevdet, Tezâkir, iv. p. 84.  
17 The text is in Dusfâr, i. pp. 703-706. Translations can be found in Young, Corps de droit, i. Oxford pp. 314; Testa, Recueil, vii. pp. 517-521. On the date further
Conseil d'État. The Council of State «was to discuss and draft all projects of law regulations, to keep a general watch on administration and report deficiencies, to act as a court to judge cases of administrative conflict or of individual officials, and to give general advice whenever asked by the sultan or the ministers». To perform these functions, the Council of State was divided into five departments: administration, police, and army; finance and endowments; legislation; public works, commerce and agriculture; and education. Each of the departments was to have its own president. The presidency of the council would be filled by one of the ministers who would be assisted by five vice-presidents and a chief clerk. Members were not elected but appointed by the Sultan. The council had no initiative in legislation, but would discuss only matters laid before it by the Grand Vizier, and no power to interfere in the affairs of the executive.

On 17 Muharrem 1285/10 May 1868, Sultan Abdülaziz formally inaugurated the Council of State together with the Judicial Council, at the Sublime Porte. In his speech the Sultan proclaimed the separation of the judicial from the executive authority, and the need for good administration to promote prosperity and equal Europe’s development. It condemned dictatorial government and supported individual liberty within the proper limits of society’s welfare. The old kânûns and regulations, he said, were in longer sufficient. He made no mention of the observance of the Sharî’ah. On the contrary there was «a hint of secularism in his speech, since he mentioned the separation of executive from judicial, religious, and legislative authority».

Ever since his appointment to the presidency of the Judicial Council, Cevdet Paşa had been preoccupied with its internal regulations. At last

see, Davison, op. cit., p. 241, n 32; S.J. Shaw, «The Central Legislative Councils», p. 75, n 6. English translation is in The Levant Herald of 8 May 1868 (see, ibid.).
18 Lewis, Emergence, p. 122; Davison, op. cit., p. 241.
19 Davison, p. 241.
20 See, «Discours prononcé par S.M. le Sultan Abdul-Aziz, le jour de sa visite à la Sublime Porte, à l’occasion de la formation du Conseil d’État et de la Haute Cour de justice, en présence des membres de ces deux corps, le 10 mai 1868 (17 Muharrém 1285)», in Testa, Recueil, vii. pp. 521-523. Turkish version of the speech is in Hâyru’d-Din, Veselî-i Tarihîye ve Siyasiyeye Tarihîye Tâlithü, v. (İstanbul 1326/1908), pp. 82-85.
21 Therefore the speech was criticised by Nâzım Kemal in the first issue of the Hürriyet, 29 June 1868, in London. On the extract from Kemal, see, İhsan Sungu, «Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar», in Tansimat I, (İstanbul 1940), p. 807.
22 R.H. Davison, Reform, p. 243.
it came into force on 13 Zilkâde 1286/14 February 1870\textsuperscript{23}. This elaborated its previous règlement organique. As Cevdet himself claims, he built the new institution on his solid experiments around the country during his missions\textsuperscript{24}.

The regulation constituted the statutory court system on four levels. Of these the first was the Councils of Civil Cases (De'âvâ Mecêlisleri) in the kasas; the second was the Courts of Appeal (Temyîz-i Hukûk Mecêlisleri) in the sancaks (or livas); the third was the Divân of Appeal (Temyîz Divânleri) in the viâyet; and the fourth was the Judicial Council (Divân-i Ahkâm-i 'Adliyye) in Istanbul. The first would work as a court of instance. Both the second and the third level courts were the courts of appeal for cases heard in the former, and would take cognizance of suits incumbent upon them by their regulation. Finally the Judicial Council as the highest level of the system was a court of cassation.

The Judicial Council consisted of two statutory courts: Temyîz (cassation) and Niçâmiye (statutory). Firstly, the Court of Cassation which was divided into penal and civil departments, would make close examination of the verdict forwarded by the lower statutory courts and against the verdict if necessary. Secondly, the Court of Statute would be the head of the lower courts of its kind. It was secular in nature, and functioned to take cognizance of civil and penal cases as the final court of appeal.

The presidency of the Judicial Council was transferred to a ministry. The minister would take charge of the functioning of both the court of Cassation and the Courts of Statutes. There would be two vice-presidents for the penal and civil departments of the Court of Cassation, respectively. But it was decided that there should be a president for the Court of Statutes. As the head of the both Courts, the minister would preside over the first Court and inspect the second. The regulation gave further explanation of some legal terms. Among them were the terms of bîdîyeten rû'yet which meant the hearing of a civil case in the first instance; of nakz-i da'vâ which meant the ruling out or endorsement of a verdict if it was in conformity with the kânûns (regulations); and lastly, of istînâf-i da'vâ which was to appeal for a new trial. The internal regulations of the Judicial Council proceeded to explain the functions of

\textsuperscript{23} The text is in Dustûr, i. pp. 328-342.
\textsuperscript{24} Cevdet, Tessêkir, iv. p. 84.
the Court of Cassation, and of the Court of Statute and their procedures. As a matter of fact, the former Court was not a court of justice where a hearing took place. Its functions mainly were: to oversee the application of the regulations in court proceedings; upon an appeal of a plaintiff or a defendant to scrutinize the decision given by a court of appeal which itself could not ask for a re-trial; to rule on a lawsuit which was litigated by a plaintiff or a defendant against the members of the statutory courts, or between the members themselves; to settle disputes that occurred between the law courts concerning the appropriate court for a case to be heard, and thus to direct it to the court concerned; to transfer a case from one court to another when a strong suspicion arose that the decision was biased or malicious, or when the hearing would cause a disruption of public security; and finally, to supervise the judges of the statutory courts as to whether or not they behaved according to professional standards, and if not, to reprimand and punish them. Cevdet Paşa explained these functions further, and illustrated them with many examples in his, so far, unpublished document25. The document, also conveys his source of inspiration in codification, as well as his arguments and simplified legal language for which he deserved praise as a pioneer26.

The functions of the Court of Statute, on the other hand, were as follows: to hear those cases which had already been ruled out by the Court of Cassation and referred to the Court of Statute; to hear the cases which appealed for a new trial from the lower courts; upon an important litigation to hear a first instance case as well.

As has already been indicated the establishment of these courts was initiated under French influence27. Therefore, there was a similarity between the French court structure and the body of the Judicial Council28. Cevdet Paşa, however, was proud of having built the Judicial Council

on his experience, and having chosen some of its members from amongst the faḳihıs\textsuperscript{29}.

The statutory court system began to be introduced in the country by the Commercial tribunal of 1860\textsuperscript{30}. Later, it became more identifiable by the Vilâyet Law of 1864\textsuperscript{31}. Then the functions of the traditional Sharṭah courts were reduced. The new statutory courts, at first, were called Tribunaux réguliers in the West. Afterwards they were called Tribunaux règlementaires, in order to please the Muslim people who might have resented the former name\textsuperscript{32}. The latter corresponds to the term (statutory) that is, operating on regulations or sets of laws and distingushed from the traditional courts\textsuperscript{33}.

A confusion, however arose concerning the spheres encompassed by both the Sharṭah and statutory courts\textsuperscript{34}. Although the separation of their limits was, at least, outwardly made clear by the establishment of the Judicial Council in 1868, the confusion around the two separate courts' function and competence continued for another ten years or so, until a new regulation was made for the statutory courts on 17 Cemaziye-lâhr 1296/24 June 1879\textsuperscript{35}.

In Muharrem 1285/May 1868, the title of presidency of the Judicial Council was transferred to the Ministry of Justice\textsuperscript{36}. Cevdet Paşa, thus, became the Minister of Justice. While still constructing the Judicial Council, he was immediately faced by the two problems. One of these was to find a justification for the existence of the statutory (nizāmî) courts beside the Sharṭah courts, and the other was to prepare a code to replace the existing Commercial Code of 1850 which had proved to be too crude and impractical\textsuperscript{37}.

«Why was it necessary to establish new tribunals and statutory courts (mecālis-i nizāmiyye) while the traditional Sharṭah courts are

\textsuperscript{29} Cevdet, Tesākür, iv. p. 84.
\textsuperscript{32} Engelhardt, Turkiye ve Tanzimat, p. 238.
\textsuperscript{33} N. Berkes The Development of Secularism in Turkey, Montreal 1964, p. 166, n 17.
\textsuperscript{34} A. Lüft, Mīrūt-ı 'Adâlet, p. 180; H. Veldet, op. cit., 202.
\textsuperscript{35} H. Veldet, loc. cit.; the text is in Dastār, iv. Istanbul 1296, pp. 245-260.
\textsuperscript{36} İbnü'l-Emin M. Kemâl, Buhfî-ı Hamâyûn Neşaretî, İstanbul 1335, p. 164.
functioning?», some of the ‘ulema were reported to have said when the Judicial Council was established. Inevitably, Cevdet was obliged to answer this charge. He tried to find justification in the Islamic institution of the Mezâlim courts. He declared that the adjudication of the new statutory courts and the Judicial Council in particular, were in conformity with the Sharî‘ah. In a meeting of the general assembly of the Judicial Council, Cevdet Paşa delivered a lengthy speech in which he included his translation of Celâlu’d-Din Devvânî’s treatise on the Divân-ı Mezâlim.

Devvânî’s work, was based on the el-Ahkâmî’s-Sulûniyye of el-Mâverdi. Ebûl-Hasan ‘Alî b. Muhammed b. Habîb el-Baṣrî el-Mâverdi (d. 450/1058), was Şâfi‘î faqîh. His works are believed to have been collected and edited only after his death by one his pupils. Among other books is the well-known Kitâbu’l-Ahkâmî’s-Sulûniyye, the most authoritative exposition of political principles in Sunni Islam. It was based upon the traditional bases of Islamic Law, that is, Kur’dn, Hadîṣ İmo’ and Kyûds, as well as historical and political deductions from the formative period of Islam supported by the views of the selef (the early Muslims). Here, Mâverdi also discusses the views of other jurists, not necessarily belonging to his own Şâfi‘î school of law.

Chapter VII of the Akhâmî’s-Sulûniyye deals with the administration of justice under the title of tribunals for appeals (Divânul’-Mezâlim, or en-Nazar fi’l-Mezâlim). The Divânul’-Mezâlim is an institution which works under the authority of those men who are competent forcibly to take political and administrative measures against some crimes, wrongdoings and injustices occurring amongst the people. It is composed

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38 Cevdet, Tesâkir, iv. p. 85.
of the following figures: protectors, or police, and court ushers; kādīs and hākims; fażīhs; clerks; and witnesses. The main reason for the existence of this tribunal was the curbing of wrong. It has been described in the following words:

«The purpose of the institution was defined as compelling those who would do each other wrong to mutual justice and restraining litigants from repudiating claims by inspiring fear and awe in them. The incumbent of this office is to combine vigilance with firmness. Al-Mawardī specifies matters proper for the cognizance of these tribunals under the following ten headings: (1) acts of injustice in the levying of taxes, to be remedied on the just principles which governed the administration of the early caliphs; (2) acts of injustice and tyranny committed against people by governors; (3) supervising the acts of the secretaries of government offices, since they are in a judiciary position toward Moslems, in respect of what they receive and disburse from their property; (4) claims by regular troops in respect of reduction in, or withholding of, their pay; (5) restoring property taken by force; (6) care for pious foundations, whether public or private (the former should be supervised even in the absence of a complaint); (7) enforcement of decisions given by the qādī; (8) restraint of open evil-doing, in accordance with sacred law; (9) care for public worship and religious practices in general; (10) hearing and decision of disputes: the decision must be proceeded with in accordance with the law, as administered by the ordinary judges, for it often happens that the tribunals for appeals misconceive their jurisdiction and overstep proper limits.»

Ve have described the Devânul-Mezâlim as a court of appeal. But it is more than that. The following words of Al-Mawardī, in which he enumerates ten points on which it differed from the kādī’s court, will suffice to illustrate this point:

(1) Superiority in dignity and power, enabling it to check groundless denials on the part of litigants and restri
tarian acts of violence on the part of wrongdoers. (2) A
jurisdiction wider and more unfettered, both in scope of
action and in sentence. (3) Greater power of intimidation
and of eliciting and getting at the facts of the cause, a task
which judges find difficult, and of thus arriving at the
truth. (5) Power of deliberation, by recalling the litiga
tants to attend when a case is doubtful and making
searching inquiry into the facts, whereas a Kâdi by a liti
gant without any such delay. (6) Power to refer the
litigants, if they be obstinate, to an amîn, as referee, to
settle dispute without the need of any consent, whereas
the Kâdi can do this only by consent of the parties.
(7) Full power of securing the attendance of a litigant
(muldszama) in cases where an absence of good defence is
apparent, and of requiring security when that is ad-
missible, to the furtherance of justice and discouragement
of false defences. (8) Power to hear the evidence of per-
sons leading a retired life (mustûrin) on matters beyond
the Kâdi’s means of knowledge, through approved wit-
nesses. (9) Power of putting the witnesses on oath where
they seem to be wanting in their duty from complaisance,
or where their number is very great, so as to remove
doubt and suspicion. This again a judge (hâkim) has no
power to do. (10) Power, at the outset, to summon the
witnesses and to interrogate them as to their knowledge
of the dispute, whereas the practice of the Kâdi is to re-
quire the complainant to bring forward his witnesses, and
they are heard only after examined by the complainant.

These are the main points of difference between the
two jurisdictions, which in other respects are uniform
in their paractice. These general differences are then set
forth in some detail*.

* H.F. Amedroz, «The Mazalim Jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultanîyya of
Mawardi», pp. 641-642; cf. El-Maferdî, Kitâbu’l-Ahkâmî’-Sülûnîyye, (Cairo 1909),
pp. 70-71; İmam Ebû’l-Hasan el-Maferdî, el-Åkhâma’-Sûlûnîyye : İslâm’dâ Hâlâyet
of el-Åkhâma’-Sülûnîyye’s contents, see, E. J. Jurjì, «Islamic Law in Operation», pp.
40-43. A full study of the Medînî institution is to be found, following el-Maferdî,
in H.F. Amedroz, op. cit., pp. 635-674; see also, Emile Tyan, Histoire de l’Organisation
judiciaire en Pays d’Islam, (Leiden 1960), pp. 433-525; Farhat J. Ziadeh, «Urf and
Law in Islam», in James Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder, eds., The World of Islam:
Celâlû’d-Dîn Muhammed b. Es’ad el Devvânî, an Iranian scholar, was born in 830/1427 at Devvân, a village of the district of Kâzarûn in which his father Sa’du’d-Dîn Es’ad was kâfî. He claimed descent from the Ca-
lîph Ebûhekîr, therefore, he was also called Siddîkî. The name Devvân is very often spelt as Devvân. We shall call him Celâlû’d-Dîn Devvânî as Cevdet Paşa did.

Celâlû’d-Dîn Devvânî received his early education from his father who was then teaching Hadîs at Câmi’ûl-Mursîd in Kâzarûn. Devvânî later went to Shiraz to complete his further education in a medrese. He ultimately became a müdderris at the Medreseti’l-Eytâm, in Shiraz, during the reign of Uzun Hasan (872/1467-882/1477), the ruler of the turkoman dynasty of the Akkoyunlu («of the White Sheep»), which covered the areas of eastern Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Persia. While lecturing he was attended by a vast number of students from Transoxiane, Khorosan, and Anatolia.

Uzun Hasan, whom Devvânî calls Hasan Bey Bahadîr Hasan, died in 882/1477. His eldest son Halî, who during his father’s life had been governor of Fârs, succeeded him on the throne, but he was soon overthrown by his brother Ya’kûb Bey. Finally, Celâlû’d-Dîn Devvânî served as Kâfî of Fârs during the reigns of Ya’kûb Bey (1478-1490), and his brother Murad (1496-1058), and died in 908/1502 near Kâzarûn45.

Celâlî’l-Devvânî has numerous works in Arabic and Persian, from mathematics to philosophy, and from medicine to Fûkh. Reportedly, Istanbul libraries contain twenty-eight of his Arabic, and seven of his Persian treatises46. Of these, for instance, the Evndâzeceli’l-Uleâm is a


46 M. Eroglu, op. cit.
small encyclopaedic book which deals with Fākḥ, medicine, Tefsīr geometry, astronomy, logic and mathematics\(^\text{47}\). Some of his treatises have been printed, such as his commentary on *el-Åhåddīlll-Åduñye*, the creed of Küddi ‘Åduñl’d-Dın Ñyçl (d. 756/1355), published in Istanbul in 1817, and in St. Petersburg 1313 A.H.; his commentary on the *Tehzībīl-Mantik ve’l-Kelām of el-Taftāzan* (d. 791/1389), printed in Lucknow in 1264/1848, 1293/1876; and his *Risāletii’z-Zevāri*, a treatise on several philosophical and mystic points, printed in Cairo, in 1328/1908. All these were in Arabic.

In the West, Celālī’l-Dın Devvānī has become known through his Persian work entitled *Levāmī’u’l-Eṣrā’ fi Mekārīmi’l-Åhālāk*, or briefly, *Åhālāk-s Celālī*, printed in Calcutta in 1810. He drew most of its contents from Nāṣṛu’d-Dın Tūsī (d. 672/1273). Tūsī’s work is called *Åhālāk-s Nāṣrī* which was itself a translation of the *Kitābu’-Tahārē* of Ibn Miskeveyh (d. 421/1030)\(^\text{48}\). The *Åhālāk-s Celālī* is an ethical work, and was translated into English by W.F. Thompson under the title of *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People*, printed in London in 1839\(^\text{49}\). Because of his students, literary and other scholarly works, Devvānī’s fame spread far beyond the border of his native land, and received recognition in the Ottoman Court\(^\text{50}\); Beyazid II (d. 1512), the Ottoman Sultan, who favoured scholars, patronized even foreign literary men amongst whom was Celālī’l-Dın Devvānī who received yearly five hundred gold pieces according to the rate of currency of the time\(^\text{51}\).

It was therefore, one of Celālī’l-Dın Devvānī’s treatises which helped Cevdet Pașa in persuading the ‘ulema who objected to the statutory courts and the Council of Judicial Regulations in 1868. In his speech, delivered to the members of the Council during its general meeting, Cevdet Pașa declared that his action concerning the new tribunals beside the *Sharīf* courts, was justifiable since they were the same as the *Divān*-

\(^{47}\) M. Eroğlu, *I. A. Art. «Devvānî».\(^{48}\)
\(^{48}\) On the preceding information, see, *Bid.; C. Brockelman, El. Art. «al-Dawwarana».\(^{49}\)
\(^{49}\) Although this is an outdated translation it still remains the only. A modern study on Devvānī’s political views, following the *Åhālāk-s Celālī* is to be found in Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, (Cambridge 1858), pp. 210-223, which is based on a private translation of the *Åhālāk-s Celālī*.
\(^{51}\) Hammer, *Devlet-i ‘ Osmanîyye Tarihi*, lv. p. 92. Devvānī received this as a faštî.
Megâlim which were defended by some of the most eminent Muslim jurists, such as el-Mâverdî, and Celâliü'd-Din Devvânî.

Here is Cevdet’s speech:

«There are some people who without having any knowledge of the point in question, have begun to talk about the uselessness of the establishment of the Statutory Courts. Now, first of all, I shall speak of the necessity of the establishment of the Judicial Council. In order to elucidate the problem I am going to make an abridged translation of a treatise of Celâliü'd-Din Devvânî, about the Divân-i Megâlim. He wrote this in Persian, to advise the sultan of his time, when the Lâristân area [south west Iran], was afflicted with a calamitous dearth of food in time of famine. Celâliü'd-Din Devvânî starts his introduction with the following words:

«The contents of this treatise has been drawn from one of the most esteemed books, the Aihâmû's-Sultaniyye of the Kâdi Ebu'l-Hasan Mâverdî who was the Imam [i.e. the most authoritative Muslim judge], of his century. The treatise contains some rules as well as some solutions to various problems. It is hoped that governors of Islam and the heads of the administration will read it and act in accordance with them, so that they will deserve praise in this world, and attain a reward in the Hereafter. Since, if they carry out what they have been advised, then the rights of Muslims will not be lost and order in the affairs of the subjects will be secured».

After these preliminary remarks, Celâliü'd-Din Devvânî continued as follows:

«To keep atrocities in check consists of protecting the oppressed and warding off the transgression of oppressors. [The court for this kind of case is called Divân-i Def-i Megâlim - A Council to abolish atrocities]. Hence, the judge for the Divân-i Def-i Megâlim should be a person who is superior to the kâdis in being awe-inspiring, and having power in execution. He may even be a sultan, or a prince, or a vizier, because they are more precious to the people and more influential than anyone else. Besides, their decisions and piety are far more effective. If the judge of the Divân-i Def-i Megâlim is powerful, then the people will stop engaging in malicious misrepresentations and trickery. Consequently, justice would prevail, and Islam could not be blamed for failing to fulfill its obligations. [It is essential to set up a Divân-i
Megālim] because the kādī is quite likely to be obliged to hear a Sharī'ah case which he reckons to be a sound case although deceitful. Under these circumstances the enforcement of the people’s rights may be delayed. Further, if the sultan himself is not favourably disposed to hold a Divān-i Def-i Megālim, or he does not encourage anyone to set one up, then he would have failed in the completion of his duty towards his subjects. The Prophet Muhammed, personally, tried to avoid atrocities, and gave a judgement by means of Divān-i Megālim when a dispute arose about a water right between Zubayr Ibn ‘Avvām [a faqih, and one of the first Companions of the Prophet, who died in 36/656], and one of the men of the Bnēdār [these inhabitants of Medina who invited the Prophet Muhammed, and his adherents to their city, and were the first to take up arms on behalf of Islam]. Much earlier than the Prophet, however, it was reported that two women had quarrelled about a child, of whom each mother claimed that he was hers. The case was brought before the Prophet Suleymān [King Solomon], who gave a decision in the following way:

«I would like to divide the child into two parts, and give each a portion of its».

At this the false mother did not become upset while the real mother became terribly anxious and said «give it to her». The child was thereby given to the real mother.

Zuleyha [«wife of the Potipher»] accused the Prophet Yūsuf [Joseph] of attempting to seduce her, although it was the converse. In order to reach decision, it was therefore, suggested to see whether his shirt was torn from the front, or from behind. The shirt was torn in the back. Hence it was deduced from the accompanying circumstances that she was a liar, and he was an honest man. The resultant judgement was valid. This case has even been mentioned in the Kur’ān.

In the time of pre-Islamic Arabian Paganism, the Kureyṣ [«the Prophet’s tribe»] in Mecca, had acted in giving judgement in a similar way. ‘Abbas [the uncle of the Prophet, died in 32/652], and Ebū Sufyān [the father in law of the Prophet, died in 31/651], together with other chiefs of the Kureyṣ took an oath to set up the Divān-i Megālim, in order to prevent people from being able to treat each other unjustly. At the age of twenty-five the Prophet Muhammed, the peace of Allah be upon him, had joined them in the house of a certain ‘Abdu’l-lah bin Cudān. After the advent of Islam, the Prophet, referring
to that meeting, has said: «Islam only confirms this». That is to say, Islam does not abrogate the custom [of hearing in the Divân-i Mezbûlîm], but emphasizes its significance.

There was no need to set up a Divân-i Mezbûlîm in the time of the first four caliphs, because at that time justice was dominant, and a dispute used to be solved by a simple adjudication. But afterwards, wilful misrepresentation, and falsehood came to be dominant; injustice and usurpation prevailed amongst the people. Ḥalîfe Ibûn ʿAbdûl-Melîk (d. 86/705), who was one of the Omayyad caliphs, therefore, fixed a day in a week to hear the cases of those who had been oppressed. When the time came that the injustices of the judges and of the tyrants, as well as the deceits of the people increased further, the need was felt for more attention to be directed towards justice. Because of this, ʿOmer ibn ʿAbdûl-ʿAzîz (d. 101/720), the Umayyad caliph, personally exercised vigilance over atrocities. He even acted very severely in dealing with, and disclosing the atrocities of the Umayyads. Because of this he was warned: «we fear that at the end of this business something will have happened to you». He retorted: «a day on which I fear is worse than the Day of Judgement». Earlier during his reign he had already said in his ʿuyûbe [a sermon delivered before the Friday prayer]: «I advise you by the fear of Allah. Since there is no other thing which would be beneficial. Allah would only show mercy to those men and women who are paying serious attention to religious duties. I swear by God that I would not have wanted to live any more, even as much as to milk a camel - that is, as much as to clench one’s fist, if I have not endeavoured to revive those customs and practices which were forsaken, although they were good and right, and have not abrogated those customs which had been practised although they were absurd, or if I have not been successful in dispensing justice in people’s affairs. You should try to ameliorate your future life in the next world by elevating and improving your present life here».

At a later time, the Abbasid caliphs, Mehûl (d. 169/785), Hârunûr-Reşîd (d. 193/899), and Me’mûn (d. 218/833), also dealt with the Divân-i Def-i Mezbûlîm during their trems of office. Of these, Me’mûn was reported to have presided over the Divân on Sundays. Imâm Fahru’d-Dîn Râzî (d. 606/1209) has said in his menâhûb [«legends»] of Imâm Şâfi’î (d. 204/820), [the founder of Şâfi’î school of law]: «Hârunûr-Reşîd appointed to
the judgeship of the Divān-i Mezālim, and to the office of kādī, respectively, Muḥammad bīn Ḥasanī’s-Ṣayybhānī (d. 189/805), and Ebū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), both of whom were the disciples of Ebū Ḥanīf (80/699 - 150/767), [the founder of Ḥanefī school of law]. Subsequently, Muḥīdī (d. 256/870), another Abbasid caliph, also administered the Divān-i Mezālim.

On the other hand it was related that the Persian kings had, long before the Abbasid caliphs, regarded this institution as one of the basic principles of justice and sovereignty and had kept it with great care.

With regard to what has been explained so far, the sultan has to assign a day in order to concern himself with the affairs of the Divān. If he wants to hand it over to someone then the sultan will have to persevere at this important job every day. Ḥasan Bey Bahādur Han [Uzun Hasan], may Allah illuminate his proof and whom Allah had supported, was a protector of justice. He gave serious attention to, and persevered constantly in this matter [the affairs of the Divān-i Mezālim]. Besides, he persuaded the ministers of the state to do the same. He, in fact fixed two days in a week for this important task. It was, therefore, indeed a glorious time during his period and the reigns of his noble successors, notably, that of Ya’kūb Bey Ḥān [the son of Uzun Hasan], the powerful sultan - may Allah seat him in the paradise. The servants and countries of Allah at large, were in the cradle of safety. The benediction was evident in cultivation and offspring. Thanks to the fortunate nature of these men’s hearts, a prosperous life is expected to prevail amongst the Muslims. It is to be hoped that they would be saved from the present grief and cruelty.

Because of its happy consequences, the eminent predecessors of the sultans of Lārīstān had been in the practise of being present at the Divān, together with the honourable ‘ulamā, ministers, and their assistants, for two days a week.

What the sultan needs to do is to issue a ferma n giving an order that the transactions of the Divān’s assembly should be in accordance with the the imperial regulations. In addition, he should also pay great attention to what is being done there. Since, the sultans will be asked by God whether they have done their job [concerning the Divān-i Mezālim]. Their responsibility will not be lifted by handing it over to some one else. If anything goes wrong with the transactions, the following
will be God's address to them: "yâ râ'î's-aevr şerîtelebene, ve eksîte'l-lahme velem tucbîrl-kerves", that is to say, "O herdsman, you drunk the milk, ate the meat, but did not bandage the fractures."

There must be an easy way for handling the questions of those who have been complaining of an injustice. The assembly should comprise men from amongst the defenders, ministers, kâdis, hukkâm (judges), witnesses, and experts.

It is amongst the duties of the Divân-ı Mezâlim to take care in preventing the transgressions of civil servants and finance officials; and to hear the cases of those men of obligations and salaries whose oppressions have been the cause of complaint; to be responsible, in general, for the cases about property that has been taken away by violence. The latter case does not need a witness as long as it is understood that the property was registered in the public treasury. If it is at one's disposal it can be proved either by the confession of the possessor, or on evidence, or well-known name. If the judge of the Divân-ı Mezâlim knows the circumstances of the case there is no need for further proof because his knowledge is sufficient. It is also one of the duties of the Divân-ı Mezâlim, to put into execution the judgements which the kâdi and the muhtesib (a municipal officer), are unable to do owing to either weakness, or the strength and arrogance of the possessor. Further, one of the main functions of the Divân is to take cognizance in accordance with the Sharî'ah of some matters upon which the kâdi is not able to adjudicate. For instance, when the judge of the Divân feels some suspicion about the case he might ask the possessor: "where did you get that property from?". This inquiry would lead him to find out the Truth. Then he could punish the man whose injustice was evident and threaten the men who falsified; consequently, he, in spite of the witnesses, would stop the judgement, and bring the Truth to light by means of deductions, and circumstantial evidence, as well as information given by experts.

As for the kâdi, he will be a sinner, if he suspends the judgement under such circumstances without having the consent of the parties concerned.

The judge of the Divân, by intervening between the the plaintiff and the defendant, is able to refer the dispute to mediators; but the kâdi is not able to do likewise unless the two sides were contended with this.

If suspicion arises within the judge of the Divân, he will be able to oblige the witnesses to take an oath. A case,
which has not been registered according to the observed procedure in the tribunals, could be brought directly before the judge of the Divân, and he could hear the testimonies of the witnesses straight away; and discover the cause for complaint. But the kâdi is not able to do likewise.

When the judge of the Divân was asked to conduct a trial, he would start with completing a close examination: he would either, serve a summons on the witnesses, if the plaintiff has competent and disinterested ones, besides a written document both of which could indicate his honesty, or he would try to urge the defendant, by intimidating him, to give up his denial, as well as requiring him to bring a guarantor.

If it deemed necessary, the judge can compel the litigant to bring the controversial property and ask in accordance with the Mâlikî school of law: «where did you get this from?». Although this questioning is not permitted by both the Hanefî and Şafîî schools of law, the judge of the Divân-i Meşâlîm could, however, act in accordance with the Mâlikî law for the sake of a good cause. He is not bound to follow his own school of law (vâcil üsere ıktisâba mecbur değildir). But the kâdi will have to judge according to his own school of law; he cannot as freely as the judge [i.e., the kâdi is not allowed to follow other than his own school of law]; if the kâdi conducts the trial contrary to his own school’s views it will not be lawful according to most sound opinions.

When witnesses are present, the judge of the Divân would give an order to verify their conditions and investigate the state of affairs by means of questioning the neighbours and experts. Although the document and the file [of a case] are to be found at the court (Divân-i Meşâlîm), the judge could adjudicate upon the writing of the defendant if it is in agreement with the petition of the plaintiff, and if the defendant admits that that writing was his; but if the defendant denies that, then sometimes the judge may give a decision upon the analogy of resemblance between the script and the defendant's own writing, after this fact had been investigated.

The short of it is that many Muslims' rights would be lost without the existence of the Divân-i Meşâlîm. Men of deceit would, unjustly, seize the property and the rights of the people. When these men express their state of affairs before the kâdi their first attempt is the pretension of being fair, although they are always unfair, therefore it would be desirable to take down in writing a
transcript of the lawsuit. They would sometimes obstruct the progress of a hearing and engage in malicious misrepresentations as well as cheating, for which they put forward an ostensible justification that the judicial decision has long been delayed. After this stage when it comes to the question of witness they would continue in repeating the formula used in testimony and play tricks with it (şığa-yı şähâdette doluşup kalırlar), Further they would try to cause a delay in the proper course by asking whether or not the conjugation of the word of the testimony had been completed. When the procedure is freed from this peril then it might be stuck on the question of teşkiiye ["pronouncing a witness to be acceptable"]. Next, they hamper the subject by accusing a witness of telling a lie, or bring the trial to a standstill by other means (cerh ve ta'dil ile teselsule vardırırlar). In such a manner an insignificant trial could be long drawn out, and no decision reached even after many years. Finally, the plaintiff and the defendant become vexed and tired. If the trial was a criminal one then it would certainly be an irreparable loss.

Whereas the hostility between the two opponents could be put aside and the Truth would be out in one hearing if there was an honest and a disinterested judge who acted in accordance with the system of the Divân-i Mezâlim. In this respect I myself have observed on many occasions that the case which had long been neglected at the courts, was solved before the awe-inspiring judges in a single moment.

[Therefore the Divân-i Mezâlim is a necessity], because the present time is vicious; most of the people have no fear of God, but they, nevertheless, are afraid of the judge who has power of punishment. As long as they realise that the judges have as their aim ascertaining the state of affairs then they would commit fewer frauds and falsehoods, and eventually the Truth would become visible.

The purpose of the preceding introduction has been to explain the true nature of the judicial judgement of the Divân-i Mezâlim in that it was exactly the same as a Shar'îah court's decision. It is, therefore, an obligatory duty upon the sultan of the age that he, either himself, should attempt to set up a Divân-i Mezâlim, like the caliphs who have done so in the past, or he should hand it over to a just and an unavaricious man from amongst his most able ministers. If he feels contempt for this task he will be a sinner. Whoever says that the judgement
of the Divan is not a legal one, then it will be regarded as an attribution of a mistake to the great Imams; and thus he will deserve to be sharply reprieved, or it may even be that there is a risk of blasphemy. Since as was mentioned above, the judicial decision of that kind was given by our lord, the Prophet (Peace of Allah be upon him), and latterly by his successors, the first four caliphs, and by the eminent authorities; its transmission has reached a level of absolute reliability. So, any further attack on the legitimacy of the Divan’s judicial decision, would be considered as heresy; we seek refuge in God from heresy and rebellion.

With regard to this information, the appropriate action to be taken by His Majesty the sultan is to put into practice the requirements of the Divan-i Mezālim whose judicial judgement is entirely in conformity with the Sharī‘ah». The end.

Cevdet Paşa concluded as follows:

Now, the summary of the research of Celâlu’d-Dîn Devvâni has become known to you. In his time, how indispensable it was, to establish a Divan-i Mezālim beside the Şarî‘ah courts.

Today, too, trade transactions have increased more than ever. And the Ottoman dominions extend over vast areas. When these reasons are observed and compared with the past, it should be clear why it was essential to set up a Divan [-i Ahkâm-i ‘Adliyye] in the Ottoman Empire.

The first duty of the Islamic states is to dispense justice in law-courts. The performance of this duty has been carried out with serious attention in every century. In some other towns the clerks and the servants of the Sharî‘ah, who had been suspected of wrongdoing, used to be asked to seal and sign written documents as well as proofs and verdicts concerning the incidents which took place in the Sharî‘ah courts. The system of witnessing, however, was already spoilt at that time, and Celâlu’d-Dîn Devvâni, therefore, was complaining of his time, and saying that the majority of witnesses were not reliable.

In its early centuries, the Ottoman State had given more serious attention to the most important matter of the administration of justice, than to any other state affair. As has been related, the Sultan of the time used to attend to the Hzâr Murâfa’alares®; twice a week, which used to be held in the place of mu’âdyade-yi humdâyân [an imperial state levee held at bayrâm] of the Imperial
Palace. This place, which is known as the 'Atık Divân-şâne, is still used as a gathering hall for the men of 'ül-miyye on the day of mu'āyde, at the present time. Later, the Hüzûr Murâfa'aları began to be held in the Kubbe Altı ['the apartments in Topkapı Sarayı Palace where councils of state and public receptions used to be held'], consequent upon the expansion of the State and its considerable number of affairs. Ever since the Grand Viziers, personally, had attended the Hüzûr Murâfa'aları, on behalf of the Sultan of the time who had only followed from behind a wall. It is a well-known fact that the Hüzûr Murâfa'aları continued to be formed in the presence of the Grand Viziers until recently. Subsequently, the Şeyhü'l-Islâms replaced them and it was administered under their directions. Nevertheless, the Supreme Concil of Judicial Ordinances was established in lieu of the Divân-i Meğâlim, for political and legal affairs. Business transactions and in consequence the State affairs have increased enormously in our century. The extent to which the Supreme Concil of Judicial Ordinances has been preoccupied with this matter is a well-known fact. Our Lord, the Shadow of God (Zât-e hâzret-i zilhü'l-lâhi Efendimiz), [in title of the Caliph], His Majesty, the Sultan, divided these affairs into sections in accordance with the natural tendency of the time. He, thus, separated the administration of justice from other State affairs and for that purpose he established the Council of Judicial Regulations. For this outcome there is nothing to add except to repeat your thanks and the obligatory prayer for the Sultan's:

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52 A council which was convened under the presidency of the Şeyhü'l-Islâm to decide important legal questions. When the litigants raised an objection against the judicial decision of a Şari'âh court they could appeal to the council where a final judgment was to be given. It was held twice a week. The Minister of Cases who later became the Minister of Justice was also in the council (Hüzûr Murâfa'aları). It was replaced by the Meclis-i Teşâküt-ı Şerîyye in 1279/1862: M. Zeki Pâkû, Osmanlı Tarih Değilleri ve Torümleri Sosyâli, l. (İstanbul 1946), p. 865. İsmail Haikâ Uzunçarşılı, İlimiye Teşkilâtı, Ankara 1965, p. 213, confused the Meclis-i Teşâküt-ı Şerîyye with the Mecelle Commission. The latter was to set up six years later. For a comprehensive treatment of the Hüzûr Murâfa'aları, see, ibid., pp. 211-214; Tevfîk 'Abdu'l-Rahman Paşa Kânûnmâmeleri', in MTM, vol. 3, pp. 501-503. See also, Uriel Heyd, Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law, pp. 224-227.

This speech, in which the ideas were almost entirely derived from el-Mâverdî, and Celâlu'd-Dîn Devvânî, made a good impression on the audience who consisted of some of the members of the Judicial Council and the 'ulemâ. Endorsing the setting up of the new statutory courts they said:

"If a man like Celâlu'd-Dîn Devvânî has said this, nobody can object to it. This must be printed and distributed, so that everyone can know the facts."54

Upon this suggestion, Cevdet Paşa sent a copy of it to the Grand Vizier 'Âli Paşa. But he did not agree with its publication owing to some private reasons, and kept it to himself55.

Although Cevdet Paşa had the approval of the 'ulemâ concerning the new statutory courts, the question of what should be the civil code for the both court systems remained untouched. Then the problem which divided the ministers into two groups, was whether it was going to be an adoption of a Western civil law, or a compilation of a book from the Islamic jurisprudence. Of course, the existence of the two different codes side by side could not be practical. There was a clear choice; either the adoption of the French Civil Code, or a book based on Islamic grounds. The provisions of the Islamic Law, as Cevdet Paşa said, do not accept the testimony of a non-Muslim against a Muslim, or of a foreigner against a non-Muslim subject, in the Shari‘ah courts. If the civil code was based on the Shari‘ah, then how could the question of testimony be solved? If the French code was accepted, then would it be workable in a different society? These were the questions which raised two opposite movements, or opinions, one of which was led by Cevdet Paşa who stood against the French Civil Code, the other was advocated by 'Âli and Ka-bûlî Paşas who favoured the French code civil.

Mâverdî and Celâlu'd-Dîn Devvânî, as is mentioned above, put forward that any kind of testimony could be heard before the Divân-i Mezâlim. It is evident from his expressions that Cevdet Paşa, who knew

54 Cevdet, Tesâkir, iv. p. 91. The original text of Devvânî's treatise in Cevdet's script, is in Istanbul Buğulânsîb Arşivi, Yildiz Esas Evrak, "Cevdet Paşa Evrâki", MS. 552, K/18, Z/13, Ku/32.
55 Cevdet, loc. cit.
the conditions of the time, had to apply the procedures of this court of law for the Judicial Council, for the reason of testimony. It is more likely that the idea of adopting the French Civil Code had prevailed from the beginning of the Tanzimat period in 1839. In 1840, the task of the preparation of a civil code was given to one of the French men of letters. Its result, however, is not known. The problem had been tackled again in October 1855 by a commission of jurists set up within the Tanzimat Council. The motivation of the work, then, resulted from the increasing commercial contacts with Europe, and the question of whether to accept the French code civil. The commission, including Cevdet, had begun to put into one book in Turkish the provisions of the Fiqih on transactions, under the title of Metin-i Metin («Basic Text»). But it remained incomplete.

Along with the Islamic solution to the point in question, the idea of adopting the French civil law had continued to exist until 1867. By the same year, two memoranda, one by the Grand Vizier 'Ali Paşa, and the other by the French government, favoured its translation into Turkish and adoption as a civil code. 'Ali paşa, as soon as he had returned from his mission in Crete, on 29 February 1868, ordered Sa'id Paşa (1838-1914), who later became Grand Vizier several times, to translate the French Civil Code from Arabic. Although 'Ali's proposal in the memorandum was restricted to suggesting that the French Civil Code should be used for the mixed courts in cases involving Muslims and non-Muslims, he saw in its translation a solution for completing the judicial reforms. Eventually, the attempt failed, because the opposite idea superseded it, and Cevdet Paşa was appointed to organize the compilation of the Mecelle-i Ahkâm-i 'Adliyye. But on the other hand «it is a question as to how far 'Ali wanted to go in applying the French civil law to the Ottoman Empire». Nevertheless, there is no ambiguity in his feelings that 'Ali, in his memorandum of November 30, 1867, suggested the acceptance of the


57 Engelhardt, 44; N. Berkes, Secularism, 166; O. Ergin, Maarif Tarihi 1. İstanbul 1939, pp. 228-230; iii. p. 881, gives the report of the H. Metin commission.

58 [Sa'id Paşa], Sa'id Paşa'nnn Hıdırât, (İstanbul 1338/1910), pp. 5-6.

59 R.H. Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire, p. 252.

French Civil Code for political expedience at the time. He was encouraged by French policy. Previously, the French memorandum of February 22, 1867, had pointed out clearly that the French Civil Code was applicable to commercial matters. The provisions which the Ottoman Commercial Code lacked were to be found in the French Civil Code.31

Apparently it was a year earlier than the Meselle Committee was finally set up that the French political campaign had been intensified. In a letter, dated July 10, 1867, the French chargé d'affaires to Istanbul, wrote the following telegram in which he insisted that the Grand Vizier accepted the French proposal, and at last 'All Paşa formed a commission charged with extracting from the Code Napoléon:

«Monsieur le Marquis,

Ainsi que me l'avait recommandé M. Bourée, avant son départ pour Paris, j'ai insisté auprès du grand vizir pour que l'on s'occuppât d'une nouvelle rédaction du code de commerce actuel. Ce code, calqué en partie sur le nôtre, manque cependant de base et devrait être complété par les dispositions de notre code civil, relatives aux contrats et obligations. En combattant cette regrettable lacune, on donnerait aux tribunaux de commerce la possibilité de juger, non plus arbitrairement, mais sur un texte de loi, toutes les matières civiles qui leur sont actuellement dévolues.

V. Exc. avait, pendant son séjour à Constantinople, préparé un travail fort étendu sur cette matière. Aâli-Pacha en a adopté les idées. Une commission a été chargée par lui d'extraire du code de Napoléon tous les articles qui peuvent être d'une application immédiate en les appropriant aux besoins de la Turquie, c'est-à-dire en les faisant concorder, dans la mesure du possible, avec la loi musulmane du «Cheriat»; ce travail sera soumis ensuite à l'approbation du cheikh-ul-islam avant de recevoir la sanction du Sultan.»32

The following year the French Ambassador to Istanbul reported to the French Foreign Minister that after 'Ali Paşa's return from Crete a new cabinet was constituted in which a Christian minister was included

62 Dépêche (extrait) de M. Outrey, chargé d'affaires de France à Constantinople, au marquis de Moustier, en date de Thérapie, le 10 juillet 1867 (8 rébiil-évével 1284, in Baron I. de Testa, Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane, vii. p. 469.
for the first time since the Empire came into existence. Further he reported: the Council of Judicial Regulations became a supreme court under the presidency of Cevdet Paşa who ʿĀli and Fuad Paşas regarded as a distinguished Ottoman jurist, with a liberal spirit, and they were counting on his assistance for putting into action a new legislation which would be the product of the fusion of European law and Turkish law. The French Ambassador also reported that the commission, in charge of extracting from the code civil some fifteen hundred or sixteen hundred articles which could conveniently be drawn out of it, had greatly advanced its work. Here are his words:

«Monsieur le marquis,

Le Cabinet a été reconstitué aussitôt après le retour d’Aali-Pacha à Constantinople.

La combinaison nouvelle donne satisfaction à d’importantes nécessités et à des doctrines tutélaires. Pour la première fois depuis que l’Empire existe, un chrétien fait partie du ministère et le Sultan lui confie un des services les plus importants ou tout au moins un des plus difficiles à diriger, celui des travaux publics.

Le conseil supérieur d’administration et de justice devient cour suprême de justice, sous la présidence de Djëvdet-Pacha, aujourd’hui gouverneur d’Alep. Aali-Pacha et Fuad-Pacha le tiennent pour un légiste ottoman distingué, d’un esprit libéral, et ils comptent sur son concours pour la mise en vigueur d’une législation nouvelle qui serait le produit de la fusion de la loi européenne et de la loi turque.

A ce propos, je me félicite d’avoir à apprendre à Votre Excellence que la Commission, chargée d’extraire du Code civil les quinze ou seize cents articles qui peuvent lui être empruntés sans inconvénient, a grandement avancé son travail.

Le principe de la création du Conseil d’État est adopté. Mîdhat-Pacha an aura la présidence. L’organisation en sera d’ailleurs plus ou moins calquée sur la nôtre. Pendant le séjour d’AallPacha en Crète, il était naturel que cette question fût ajournée. Cet ajournement ne devait pas en compromettre le succès, puisqu’elle a été reprise avec une grande activité des son retour à Constantinople».

63 Dépêche de M. Bourée au marquis de Moustier, en date de Pêra, le 10 mars 1868 (16 alicadé 1284), in Baron I. de Testa, Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane, vii. p. 611.
Amongst the ministers who vehemently supported the acceptance of the code civil, and challenged Cevdet Paşa over the Mecelle, was Mehmed Kabûli pasha (1812-1877). He was one of the disciples of Mustafa Rêşid Paşa; a product of the Tercîme Odası, and of the Mekteb-i Ma'dârif-i 'Adliyye. He worked in the offices of the Foreign Ministry; later became an ambassador to Athens in 1851, and to Vienna in 1873. By 1867, he was the Minister of Cimmerce, and accompanied ‘Ali Paşa to Crete.64

Sir Henry Layard says of him among other politicians:

«Reshid Pasha had also his ardent followers and disciples, who were imbued with his political ideas, and who were sincere and earnest advocates for the introduction of European constitutional institutions in the administration of the Ottoman Empire. He founded a school of Turkish statesmen, who were destined after his death to take the leading part in the government of the country... Amongst the most remarkable of these rising men were Ali, Fuad and Cabouli Effendies, who each in turn rose the rank of Pasha...»

Cabouli Efendi, the third rising Turkish statesman with whom I was intimate, was perhaps the most truly liberal in his convictions, and the most throughly honest of the three... He was like Ali and Fuad, well acquainted with French language, and with the literature of Europe. He gave a proof of his liberal opinions, and of his desire to introduce social as well as political reforms amongst his Mussulman fellow-countrymen by having his wife taught French and the pianos.65

The French code civil is known as the Code Napoléon66. It was the first modern codification in legal history. It is based largely on customs; contains 2281 articles; is divided into three books, the first of which deals with persons, the second with property and the different kinds ownership, and the third with the different ways by which ownership may be acquired.

64 Further on him, see I.A. Güvenc, Türk Meşhurlar, p. 201.
66 «Originally entitled Code civil des Français, the title was changed to Code Napoléon by decree of Napoleon III in 1852, and was finally restored to Code civil with the beginning of the Third Republic in 1870»: René David and Henry P. de Vries, The French Legal System: an introduction to civil law systems, (New York 1958), p. 13, n1.
The effect of the *Code Napoléon* on the countries outside the Anglo-American world, in which it served as the model for similar codes, was enormous\(^\text{67}\). There were three ways by which its expansion was carried out: conquest, direct persuasion, and inspiration\(^\text{68}\). It had no influence on the Mecelle, but there are a few "fortuitous similarities"\(^\text{69}\).

Apart from Kabûlî Paşa, Cevdet Paşa singled out in his *Ma’rûţât: Bîginci Ciźdân*, the Şeyhul-Islâm Kezûîbî Hasan Efendî, as his opponent in the compilation of the *Mecelle*. Hasan Efendî clashed with Cevdet not over the interpretation of the *Sharî'ah*, but because of personal and self-seeking motivations. He became Şeyhul-Islâm in 1868 when the new government administrative bodies were constituted. Then, the fuctions of the Şeyhul-Islâm’s office were reduced. From his appointment to the office onwards, this is how things developed:

 «This was a time when the moderation of the apparatus of government was reducing the jurisdiction and power of the office of the Şeyh âl-Islâm; the creation in particular of new administrative bodies dealing with law and education meant a curtailment of his authority in matters previously regarded as his exclusive concern. Hasan Fehmi tried to resist these encroachments. The first object of his counter-attack was the committee which under the chairmanship of Ahmad Djewdet and the authority of the Diwan-ı Ahkâm-ı Adilîye, was preparing a new Ottoman civil code, the famous *Medjelle*. Djewdet and his committee had successfully resisted the pressure of the extreme Westernizers, egged on by the French ambassador Bourée, for a French-style code, and were preparing a modern statement of Hanefî Muslim law. They now had to face the opposition, on the other side, of the ‘ulamâ, led by the Şeyh al-Islâm who saw in the preparation of this under the department of justice a usurpation of the functions and prerogatives of his own office»\(^\text{70}\).


The following passage is very significant in explaining Cevdet’s participation in the codification of the Şarî‘ah. In the unpublished part of his memoranda which was submitted to the Sultan ‘Abdü’l-Hamîd II (1842-1918) upon his verbal decree, in 1892, Cevdet Paşa summarizes what happened over the dispute of the civil code in 1868, and how he had achieved the compilation of the Mecelle as a civil code from the Şarî‘ah sources, as follows:

"The Establishment of the Mecelle Commission:
It was necessary to make laws and regulations which would be practised both in the Council of Judicial Regulations and the statutory courts of Biddâyet and Istînâf whose establishment were being decided upon, and in the court of commerce. Whereas the basis of every state’s codes and regulations is the civil code, that is to say, the Hûkûk Kâmînînâmêstî, in the Ottoman State it was founded on the holy Şarî‘ah. So it had been a desire among all those holding sound opinions that the kânûns of the Şarî‘ah should be the foundations of the Ottoman, codes and regulations. Only those mâleferniân who were the followers of European ideas, had the intention of translating the Code Napoléon in order to put it in force in the Ottoman State’s courts. In this respect, the opinions of the ministers were divided into two parties. Of these the first group was in favour of the composition of a book of the Şarî‘ah compiled according to the demands of the time from the Fûlân literature on transaction. This would be a code of the Şarî‘ah for the Muslims, and a kânûn for the non-Muslims, too.

As has been mentioned above the compilation of the Mecelle-u Mecûn had been started but never completed, during the time of Rûşdî Paşa. That task was revived once again [in 1868]. I myself and Sîrvânî-zâde Rûşîd Paşa who had been the Minister of Finance for many years, and Minister of the Interior for some time, had the opinions of the first group.

The other group favoured the translation of the French code civil to apply it in the statutory courts. At that time, M. Bourée, the French ambassador to Istanbul, being the most influential figure amongst the ambassadors in the capital, had wished to see the French codes applied in the courts of the Ottoman State, and all those who supported the pro-French policy had the same unsound opinion. The Minister of Commerce, Kahûlî Paşa had insisted upon this view and even tried to pass transla-
tion into Turkish, but he had not been able to achieve his aim, because of our opposition in the Council.

Amongst the senior ministers a private session was held to discuss this question, where it was decided, consequent upon the speeches of Fuad Paşa and the proofs put forward for consideration by Şirvâni-zâde Ruşdi Paşa and by myself, to form a commission from the very learned faqih under my presidency, in order to compose a book which would be entitled Meccelle-i Aḥkām-i Âdliyye, and extracted, according to the needs of the time, from the Fikih books, on transactions.

That was the commission of scholars which has been renowned as the Meccelle Commission whose product, the Meccelle-i Aḥkām-i Âdliyye is still in use in all the statutory courts. In Cyprus, the British government, too, kept it in force without modification. Further, the Bulgarians, after translating it into their own language, made the Meccelle the fundamental basis of their codes when the first Bulgarian Emirate was constituted.

Instead, if the French civil code was translated in the past, the Code Napoléon would still have been in force in the Ottoman courts of justice. The compilation of the Meccelle, therefore, was confirmed and admitted to by everyone as a great religious duty. But, at the beginning, the band of opposition had intrigued against it, and tried hard for it to be left incomplete.

All the mütefernicân (i.e., those who pretended to be European), and especially those who followed the pro-French policy, wished to separate the statutory courts entirely from the Şarī'ah courts, and were antagonistic towards me on account of the commencement of the compilation of the Meccelle.

Above all, the Şeyhül-Islâm Kezûbî Hasan Efendi who had been deceived by Kabûlî Paşa, and with him a number of ignorants who were in the costume of ʿulemah, were also at loggerheads with me for the reasons relating to why such a work of Fikih was being prepared in the department of justice rather than in the office of the Şeyhül-Islâm.71

The Meccelle Commission, after a preliminary report in 1869, completed its work between 1870 and 1876. The outcome was the Meccelle-i Aḥkām-i Âdliyye. Like any Fikih book, the Meccelle was divided into

sixteen books of the law of transactions derived from the Shari‘ah. Each book took some time to prepare, and came into force as soon as its text was completed. According to procedure of the time the books were in turn passed by a cabinet and ratified by the sultan through the grand vizier. Thus the Mecelle which contains 1851 articles, became a civil code of the Ottoman State, and satisfactorily served the needs of the country for fifty seven years. After the demise of the Ottoman State, the Government of Ankara replaced the Mecelle by the Swiss Civil Code in 1926. Until recently, however, it remained in force in the territories which were part of the State. Of these Lebanon repealed it in 1932, Syria in 1949, and Iraq in 1953. The Mecelle is still the basis of the «civil law» of Cyprus, Israel and Jordan.

The Mecelle was not a complete civil code, and infact, as the Commission’s preliminary report pointed out, was not so intended. For this reason it did not deal with delicate matters of personal status, like marriage, divorce and adoption. There were also no rules in it concerning inheritance, will, vakıfs and other similar matters which might be found in modern civil codes. And «the reason for these gaps is attributed to several factors, one of which is the considerable divergence in the interpretation of these questions by jurists. Another factor was the existence of several ethnic groups and religious denominations in the Ottoman Empire, and the policy of toleration which the Ottomans pursued in those days with the non-Muslim elements, giving them a free hand in dominational matters and problems of personal status».

As far as its limited scope is concerned the Mecelle stands as a masterpiece of the Islamic jurisprudence. It is an excellent example for the codification of the Islamic law. A lot of work, still remains to be done about it.

75 J. Schacht, 93; S. Mahmassani, 48.
76 J. Schacht, 93.
77 S. Mahmassani, p. 44.
ÖZET


Mecelle’nin hazırlanmasında, Code Napolion’un tatbik edilme istenisi kadar önemli bir sebep olan Divân-ı Ahkâm-1 Adliyye’nin kurulması ise, daha ziyade Fransız ve İngiliz baskılar ile oldu.

Divân-ı Ahkâm-1 Adliyye’nin nizâmi yapan ve memleket çapında teskilâtlanmasını sağlayan Ahmed Cevdet Paşa idi. Paşa bu sefer, Şerî mahkemeler yanında nizâmi mahkemelerle ne lüzum var, diye itirazlarla karsılıştı, şöhretli İslam âlimlerinden Mâverdî ile Celâlüddîn Devvânî’den iktilâslar yaparak hazırladığı uzun bir hitâbesini, Divân-ı Ahkâm-1 Adliyye’nin bir toplantısında okudu. Hristiyân şehadetinin kabul edilmediği Şerî mahkemelerden baskı, bu şehadetin kabul edildiği bir başka mahkemenin İslâm ülkelerinde geçmiis ve mevcut bulunduğunu, Divân-ı Mezâlim ve Huzur Murâfaalarının böyle davaları bakan müesseleri olgunu ispat ederek itiraz edenleri iknâ ve iskât etti.