

The Ottoman Press (1908–1923)

The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage

POLITICS, SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

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The Ottoman Press (1908–1923)

By

Erol A.F. Baykal



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Preface

This book started its life as a Ph.D. dissertation in the fall of 2008. Now, as I am writing this preface, it has been exactly a decade since I first embarked on a journey into the history of the Ottoman press. Although I obtained my doctoral degree in 2013, it took me an additional five years to grow the thesis into a book. This was partly because I felt the need to include new material. However, I must also admit that the main cause of the delay simply was that I had abandoned the idea of publishing a book altogether.

During those aforementioned five years following my doctoral studies, my life changed dramatically. I married the love of my life, Fatmagül, and together we have built a family. We are blessed with a daughter, Melodi, and a son, Ediz. I also returned to my other great passion in life, i.e. computers. I published my Arabic conjugation software as a mobile application. I launched (and failed) a tech start-up. I started my own (albeit tiny) IT consultancy company and worked as a software developer. In short, I certainly was not putting much effort into building an academic career. So, why waste any of the precious little time I had on an academic book? Consequently, the book was pushed farther and farther down my list of priorities.

But here it is. The book is published. I certainly would love to claim that this is because I am the type of person who finishes the things he starts. That, somehow, it was all my own doing. But that would hardly be fair to those near my heart who have silently urged me not to forget about the book, who have gently kept reminding me of this unfinished business. I believe that without those people, this book would not have existed. I also believe that the birth of our children gave me the final nudge that I needed.

In our neck of the woods, there is little glory to be gained from a subject that is considered as obscure as Ottoman history. Truth be told, I expect to gain no reward from this publication at all. What is more, the countless hours that I have poured into completing this book were all on my own dime. I am convinced that, had I used that time to grow my business instead, I would be living in a bigger house and driving a nicer car. Instead, I finished this book.

This sacrifice (if I may call it so?) was made for Melodi and Ediz. This sacrifice was made because I would like my children to understand that there are many things in life that are far more important than the pursuit of material wealth. One of those things is humankind's endeavour to further our understanding of the universe that we inhabit and of the things that exist within it.

This book attempts to contribute to that endeavor. And however insignificant that contribution may be, I would like my children to understand that it is still worth a sacrifice. I hope that, should it ever be necessary, the existence of this book will serve as a gentle reminder to them not to lose sight of the duties that we carry as human beings, much like how they reminded me of mine.

Antwerp, September 2018

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I should like to mention Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Kurt of Ankara University, who kindly agreed to accept me in his classes on Ottoman palaeography, and Prof. Dr. Aloïs Vantongerloo, who is responsible for kindling my interest in Ottoman studies during my time as his student at the Catholic University of Leuven. I also want to mention Prof. Dr. Henk De Smaele for his support during my post-doctoral research at the History Department of the University of Antwerp.

I am in debt to my friends and colleagues who have made my time while doing research and writing enjoyable. Many of them were also kind enough to proof read my work (again and again!). Many of them discussed my work with me and made suggestions that significantly improved the outcome.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My wife, Fatmagül, patiently shared me with my research and writing for many years and for very long hours. My aunt, Hilal, and my mother, Faika, instilled in me a love of reading and supported my academic aspirations above and beyond what could be expected. This book is theirs as much as it is mine.

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Commonly Used Abbreviations

A	Applicant(s)
AB	Albanian
AM	Armenian
AR	Arabic
ATASE	<i>Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı</i> (Turkish Centre for Military History and Strategic Studies, Ankara)
BA	<i>Bundesarchiv</i> (German National Archives, Berlin)
BCA	<i>Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi</i> (Prime Ministerial Archives of the Turkish Republic, Ankara)
BOA	<i>Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi</i> (Prime Ministerial Archives of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul)
BU	Bulgarian
BW	Bi-weekly (publication frequency)
D	Daily (publication frequency)
DE	German
EN	English
F	(Intended) Publication frequency
FA	Farsi
FR	French
HE	Hebrew
HTU	Hakkı Tarık Us (collection)
IT	Italian
JES	Judaeo-Spanish (Ladino)
KU	Kurdish
L	(Intended) Language(s)
M	Monthly (publication frequency)
MMZC	<i>Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi</i> (Minutes of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies)
NL-HaNA	<i>Nationaal Archief</i> (Dutch National Archives, The Hague)
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
TBMMZC	<i>Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi</i> (Minutes of the Turkish Grand National Assembly)
O	Applicant occupation
OT	Other language
P.S.	Permit application result status
RO	Romanian
RU	Russian
RCiH	<i>Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis</i>

S	Source(s)
SEK	Serbo-Croatian
TıH	<i>Tercüman-ı Hakikat</i>
TiE	<i>Tasvir-i Efkar</i>
TiV	<i>Takvim-i Vekayi</i>
TNA	<i>The National Archives</i> (British National Archives, London)
TR	Turkish
TRAMS	Turkish in Armenian script
TRGRS	Turkish in Greek script
TRHES	Turkish in Hebrew script
TW	Twice-weekly (publication frequency)
W	Weekly (publication frequency)
YTiE	<i>Yeni Tasvir-i Efkar</i>

On Transliteration and Calendars

All Ottoman Turkish texts are transliterated into Modern Turkish orthography without diacritical marks. Arabic texts are transliterated without diacritical marks for elongated vowels or emphatic consonants. *Ayn* and *hamza* are transcribed as ‘ and ’ respectively, and the latter is only rendered if there is a potential for ambiguity. In the case of Arabic or Farsi words and expressions found within a Turkish context, these are transliterated either into their commonly used forms (e.g. Darüşşafaka) or, if no commonly used form exists, they are rendered as closely as possible to their Turkish version (e.g. Nüzhet ül-Efkar) as opposed to their Arabic version (in this example, i.e. Nuzha al-Afkar). When quoting from sources which included transliterations, preference is given to the system used in that source. However, when mistakes were found in the spelling, these are corrected.

Place names are rendered according to their current day English versions. If deemed necessary, the form in which they appear in sources is given in brackets, following the currently used name.

Titles and Personal Names

Personal names are rendered in their most current Turkish form (e.g., Ahmet rather than Ahmed) unless the name occurs in a bibliographic reference, or if it occurs in a direct quote from a Latin alphabet-based source text. Surnames obtained after the Surname Law passed in Turkey (1934) are added between square brackets (e.g., Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz]). Turkish authors who are best known for their work in Ottoman times are referred to by their given names.

Especially in the case of permit applications, a publication’s title or person’s name will have undergone several transformations between transliterations. For example, an Armenian title was written in Ottoman script during a newspaper permit application. This title was then francisized during the publication in RMM or it was Turkified by one of the many employees of BOA who might not have spoken the original language. Even if they did, there does not appear to be an adherence to a specific transliteration system, which means that the same title or a name could be rendered differently even among BOA records and definitely between various primary sources. Therefore, when the original spelling was not available, these titles and names are left in their presented form, unless it was absolutely clear (e.g., a missing accent in a French title) what the original name or title was, in which case they are transliterated

accordingly. In the list of permit applications and publications in the index, all spelling variations are given for both titles and names.

Dates and Calendars

Often sources are recorded using several calendars, more specifically a combination of *Hicri (Kameri)*, *Rumi* and *Miladi*. To improve legibility and overall uniformity, regardless of the order in which they were given by the source, the dates in the references to these sources were always ordered as *Hicri Kameri* first, then *Rumi* and finally *Miladi*. This, of course, was subject to whether or not a certain calendar was used by the source. In some instances, namely with newspapers and publications appearing in the 1860s, *Hicri Şemsi* dates were present alongside *Hicri Kameri* dates. These *Hicri Şemsi* dates were not taken into account due to their rarity and *Hicri* in the text refers to *Hicri Kameri*.

For dates where months are given, the names of the months identify the calendar. When only a year is given, the years will have an H or an R, to mark them as *Hicri* or *Rumi*. A “1” was added in front of *Rumi* and *Hicri* years where it was omitted by the original authors due to convenience. For example, the *Rumi* year 1324, if it was recorded as 324 in a source, was still rendered in the text as 1324R. Years and months that were illegible were placed in square brackets.

In the case of archive documents, where there was a discrepancy between the archive catalogue entry date and the document that is referred to (this can often be the case for example with records containing correspondence over a period of time), the date that was found on the document referred to was given preference over the catalogue entry date. With Ottoman newspapers and periodicals, alongside issue numbers, all recorded dates were given, because these publications were prone frequently to making mistakes by not updating the issue number, or misprinting dates in certain calendars. By giving the combination of all possible dates and issue numbers, possible confusion about which issue was referred to was reduced.

All *Hicri*, *Rumi* and *Miladi* dates where the months were given in Turkish have been converted to the Common Era calendar, which are rendered in the text in square brackets following the original dates. Sources where *Miladi* dates were used without Turkish months (for example numbers of the months or French or English names of months) were not converted. For date conversions Türk Tarih Kurumu’s online *Tarih Çevirme Kılavuzu* (“Date Conversion Guide,” developed by A.M. Aytaç) was used. If a single date or a *Hicri*, *Rumi* or *Milady* date is rendered between brackets, this means that the date is an estimate or approximation.

Introduction

1 Historical Background, 1908–1923

In July 1908, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), a secret organization of the Young Turks, who were dissatisfied with Sultan Abdülhamit II's (r. 1876–1909) rule, successfully pressured the Sultan into reinstating the Ottoman constitution. The pressure came in the form of insubordinate military officers, among whom the Young Turks had found many supporters. Two of these officers, Enver, who would later become the Minister of War and lead the Ottoman Empire into the First World War, and Resneli Ahmet Niyazi, dubbed Champion of Freedom (*Kahraman-ı Hürriyet*) for his role played in the revolution, but who was mysteriously assassinated in 1913, triggered what would be known as the 1908 Constitutional Revolution. It was their threat of moving the army to Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, that convinced Abdülhamit II to reintroduce the constitution, call for elections for the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) and to reopen the Senate (*Meclis-i Ayan*).

The streets in many cities were the scene of festivities. Throngs were celebrating what they considered to be the end of Abdülhamit II's strict regime. It was a time of hope but disillusionment soon followed. In October 1908, Bulgaria declared its independence from the Ottoman Empire and Austro-Hungarian annexed the Ottoman province of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Losing territory while the territorial integrity of the empire had been one of the main points in the agenda of the Young Turks was not good for the prestige of the CUP. Nevertheless, it obtained a landslide victory during the general elections of 1908. There was no real alternative to vote for.

Despite their electoral victory, dissatisfaction with the CUP was growing among the population and opposition was starting to get organised. One of the disgruntled factions even launched a counter-revolution, which is known as the 31 March Incident (*31 Mart Vakası*), which involved religious scholars and soldiers stationed in Istanbul. This mutiny was quickly struck down by the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) under the command of Mahmut Şevket Paşa, but not before it had caused the resignation of the government.

After the counter-revolution was quelled, Abdülhamit II was forced to abdicate from the throne. This was done on the suspicion of his involvement in the incident in an attempt to restore his own power. Thus ended the more than 30 years of Abdülhamit's reign. He was followed by Mehmet V Reşat (r. 1909–1918), who would be the penultimate sultan until his death in July 1918. Furthermore,

martial law was declared in the Ottoman capital and would remain in force virtually uninterrupted until the end of the empire, blurring the lines between military and civilian authorities.

In September 1911, rejecting Ottoman proposals for a non-military solution, Italy declared war on the Ottoman Empire over its Tripolitanian (*Trablusgarp*) province (Libya). Libya was at this point a distant and final remnant of Ottoman North African lands. However, the repercussions of this war were felt in the capital where the CUP was faced with a second revolt, this time by a group called the Saviour Officers (*Halaskar Zabitan*). The Saviour Officers forced the CUP-backed government to resign and paved the way for the so-called Grand Cabinet, consisting of older and more experienced statesmen.

Alongside this political turmoil, a larger storm was brewing in the Balkans. Not only had the Albanians been pushing for independence through revolts, but in October 1912 the Balkan League, consisting of Greece, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria and Montenegro, declared war and delivered a crushing defeat to the Ottomans who had just hastily signed a peace treaty with the Italians over the Tripoli war. This Balkan conflict, known as the First Balkan War, resulted in the almost complete loss of all European territories for the Ottoman Empire.

The enormous loss of territory and the humiliating defeat under the Grand Cabinet presented Enver Paşa with the opportunity to execute the Bab-ı Ali coup in January 1913, resulting in the exile of Grand Vizier Kamil Paşa and in Enver Paşa's appointment as Minister of War. Enver entered the Second Balkan War and retook parts of lands lost during the First Balkan War, which increased his prestige. At this time, following the assassination of Grand Vizier Mahmut Şevket Paşa and the following crackdown on the opposition of the CUP, the triumvirate of Talat Paşa (Minister of the Interior), Enver Paşa (Minister of War) and Cemal Paşa (Minister of the Navy) came into being with *de facto* control of the empire.

In October 1914, the Ottoman Empire officially entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers. Towards the end of the war, Mehmet VI Vahdettin, the last of the Ottoman sultans, ascended the throne to replace the deceased Mehmet V. Shortly thereafter, in October 1918, the Ottomans signed the Mudros peace treaty, ending the conflict as part of the losing side. The Ottoman capital came under Allied occupation and Allied troops were allowed to land in other Ottoman territories. With the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire would have been complete.

However, the Nationalist Forces (*Kuva-ı Milliye*) under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Paşa, a distinguished general who was later to become the president of the newly founded Turkish Republic, started a resistance movement. After successfully fighting off the British-backed Greek invasion of Anatolia,

this movement successfully renegotiated with the Allies to reach the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, which superseded the Treaty of Sèvres regarding the territorial integrity of the Anatolian Turkish heartlands. In October 1923, the Grand National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Meclisi*) declared the independence of the Turkish Republic under the presidency of Mustafa Kemal, ending the institution of the Ottoman Sultanate.

2 Methodology

The history of the Ottoman Empire after the 1908 Revolution, as concisely given above, is a tumultuous affair. The switch to a constitutional monarchy, the continual loss of Ottoman territory, and the creation of a republic from the ashes of the empire are just some of the examples that bear testimony to the scale of things that unfolded during these very long fifteen years. As a result, much scholarly attention has been devoted to the study of Ottoman and Turkish history of the period. Many aspects and events of this decade and a half have been discussed in depth and breadth. The press of the period, however, has not had its fair share of that attention.

This does not mean that this book is the first work to appear on the Ottoman press. On the contrary, there are so many of them that it is even possible to discern categories, i.e. (1) Indexes and lists, (2) Focus on publication/publisher, (3) General histories and (4) Specific topics.

Indexes and lists are very common and are catalogues of periodicals or articles. For example, Duman's voluminous *Osmanlı-Türk Süreli Yayınları ve Gazeteleri, 1828–1928* and Odabaşoğlu's *Trabzon Doğu Karadeniz Gazete ve Mecmuaları 1869–1928* provide the reader with a list of publications. These are valuable research tools. Çulcu's *İkdam Gazetesinde Çanakkale Cephesi* and Ilgar's *Mütarekede Yerli ve Yabancı Basın* are examples of works that are lists of articles. These are compilations of what the author believed to be interesting bits from the press of a certain period of geography, usually related to a certain subject. Such works leave the interpretation and contextualization as an exercise for the reader.

Works that focus on a publisher or a publication can usually be found in the forms of articles and dissertations, and there are surprisingly many of them in the Turkish language. Less common are books, such as Ahmetoğlu's *Şehbal Mecmuası (1909–1914)*, which also contains a detailed catalogue and index of all article titles, authors and subjects for every issue of the journal *Şehbal*. Alongside these lists one can find modern Turkish renderings of a generous selection of articles from this publication. Çakır's *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* looks

at the Ottoman feminist movement through the women's magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası*. These books are atypical examples, in that they do attempt to analyse their material. This is in contrast to most works that fall under this category, which, unfortunately, do not venture beyond the most superficial contextualization of the publication that is the subject of the work.

The general histories of the Ottoman and Turkish press are virtually all in book form. Some of the better-known ones are İnuğur's *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi* and *Türk Basınında "İz" Bırakanlar*, Koloğlu's *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, Oral's *Türk Basın Tarihi*, Şapolyo's *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönüyle Basın* and Topuz's *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. These works can cover up to two centuries of (Ottoman-)Turkish press history. They are more factual than analytical. The focus lies on chronologically listing things that happened instead of attempting to explain why they happened. Also, in these books, the usage of primary source material appears to be limited, but since most of them do not utilise proper referencing methods, this is difficult to confirm. As a result, some of the claims made in these books can feel unsubstantiated or unconvincing, and (this is the worst part) very hard to verify.

There is also a tremendous amount of overlap among the general histories. This creates the impression that they are all based on one another. However, because reference systems are almost completely absent in these works, it is very difficult to confirm this. The danger here lies in the fact that ideas and supposed facts appear often to be repeated because they are believed to be true. However, it seems as if they are believed to be true just because they are often repeated. Still, for anyone looking to study the history of the Ottoman press, if the reader maintains a critical approach, there is actually a tremendous amount of useful information to be found in these works.

The last category are works that look at specific domains within the Ottoman press. This is very different from the category of works that focus on a single publisher or publication. Here, the focus is on a single subject and potentially approached through various publications. Often, it is not the publication or publisher that is at the centre of attention. For example, *Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, by İskit, once the head of the Turkish Press Regulation Office (*Matbuat İdaresi*), gives an impressive overview of Ottoman and early Turkish policies related to the press. Koloğlu, in *1908 Basın Patlaması*, looks at the effects of the declaration of the constitution on the Ottoman press and discusses the press boom, a period of heightened press activity, and Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam*, examines advertising in Ottoman newspapers before the Constitutional Revolution. There has also been work done on censorship (such as Aslan's "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Matbuat ve Neşriyat Yasakları" and Birinci's "Osmanlı Devletinde Matbuat ve Neşriyat Yasakları Tarihine

Medhal”), and on aspects of the relationship between the press and government (Boyar, “The press and the palace: the two-way relationship between Abdülhamit II and the press, 1876–1908”, Özcan, “The press and Anglo-Ottoman Relations, 1876–1909”, and Baykal, “The Ottoman press and the Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the twentieth century”). The focus of such works is not actually the press *per se* but rather to use the press in order to gain a better understanding of various social or political issues in the Ottoman Empire. This also applies to the works of Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press*, Heinzlmann, *Die Balkankrise in der Osmanischen Karikatur* and Stein’s *Making Jews Modern: The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires*.

In which of these above categories does this book belong then? The answer is that it does not really fit into any of them. Although this book contains an index of publications in one of the appendices, that list only plays a supportive role and is not the core purpose of the work. Unlike works in the category of those that focus on a single publication, this book instead attempts to offer a picture of the Ottoman press as a whole. At the same time, it is not a chronological unfolding of the general history of the Ottoman press, but rather a thematic approach whereby each chapter attempts to tackle a specific aspect. Finally, contrary to the works in the last category, this book used social and political issues in order better to understand the press and not vice-versa.

The first chapter of the book (“Emergence and Growth”) gives an overview of the history of the Ottoman press from its beginnings in the first half of the nineteenth century until 1908. It discusses the emergence of the private press, the creation and implementation of the first press laws and regulations to control the press. Although this chapter appears to be beyond the scope of the research and certainly too lengthy for a historical background, the decision to include it in its current form was reached due to the fact that the information is not only directly relevant to placing the rest of the book in a historical framework, but also because this information is not readily available in English.

The second chapter (“1908 Press Boom”) examines the period of heightened press activity following the Constitutional Revolution, which is labelled as the 1908 Press Boom. By looking at publishing permit applications and publications, it was possible to reconstruct this boom. Among other things, the chapter looks at why the boom occurred in the first place, who contributed to it and why it was more intense in some provinces than others.

The third chapter (“Legislating the Press”) looks at the legal dimension of publishing periodicals in the Ottoman Empire. An in-depth examination of the legislative process is used to argue that, as opposed to the commonly held idea that the 1909 press law was restrictive and designed by the CUP to silence

the press, it was neither a product of CUP efforts nor restrictive. Using a case-study, in which three dailies, *Tanin*, *İkdam* and *Tanzimat* are examined, it is argued that because of the liberal 1909 press law, martial law was unable to silence the press. However, starting in 1912 a series of changes first introduced with adaptations to the 1909 press law gradually made it more restrictive. These changes resulted in a more repressive law, which would govern the press until the end of the Ottoman Empire and (in some form) was even adopted by Ankara until 1931.

The fourth chapter (“Censoring the Press”) focuses on the politics behind preventive (pre-print) censorship. The chapter looks at the abolition of preventive censorship after the 1908 constitutional revolution and its reinstatement just before the First World War. Censorship in occupied Istanbul is measured for three dailies, *Vakit*, *İkdam* and *Peyam-ı Sabah*, and the contents of *Peyam-ı Sabah* are examined in detail, leading to the finding that, despite the fact that both Imperial and Allied censors were operating, it was the latter who dictated censorship policy. Furthermore, the chapter argues that Ankara, feeling that the Allied censorship was robbing it of its voice, implemented its own restrictions and banned Istanbul’s press from entering Anatolia. In a further response to Allied censorship, Ankara also actively nourished the underdeveloped Anatolian press to help it grow into a platform for its own voice.

In the fifth chapter (“Financing the Press”), the press is analysed from a business perspective in order to understand what it took financially for periodicals to survive. By looking at the production costs of daily newspapers, circulations and sales, and industry-wide pricing policies, it is argued that the publishing industry was very competitive in the post-revolution era. As a result, publishers were hard-pressed to find money to keep their businesses running. Under these harsh economic circumstances, the press was vulnerable to a form of financial control, where capital could be used to influence content. A case-study involving advertising revenue as a means of sponsoring newspapers with certain ideological leanings is presented, where the advertisements in *Akşam*, *Alemdar*, *Peyam-ı Sabah* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* are compared and discussed.

Chapter six (“Reading the Press”) looks at the readership and the influence of the press on this readership. The chapter offers an overview of the evolution of the popularization of the periodical media among Ottoman readers, including innovations introduced in the visual design of newspapers. The chapter further argues that the Ottoman press had, or was perceived to have, significant power to impact society and politics by mobilising its readership into action. This social mobilisation is examined through a case-study, where the contents of one political newspaper, *Volkan*, is compared to the events that

took place during the 31 March Incident to examine whether a link existed between its publications and the actions of the mutineers.

After the concluding chapter, there are a series of appendices. Most of the appendices contain explanations of methodologies, sources and data. As the press laws are referred to frequently throughout the text, the appendix titled “Ottoman Press Laws” contains the full texts of the 1864 press law and the 1909 Press law, including changes made to it until October 1913.

3 Sources

This book relies heavily upon primary source material. The primary sources that were most extensively used can be grouped as follows: Ottoman periodicals, official documents from archives in Turkey, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany, works of reference, and, finally, memoirs of those who witnessed the period.

Tütengil, a Turkish journalist, sociology professor and press historian who was assassinated in 1979, argued in his work on the methodology for periodicals that studying the history of the Turkish press could not be limited to researching individuals or official documents, and that looking at every issue of every newspaper or periodical, or at least “typical” examples for certain periods, is essential.¹ The research conducted for this book follows that principle. A practical, hands-on approach to the periodical press is a central pillar of this book. Well over 600 different Ottoman and Turkish publications were consulted, ranging in date from the 1831, with the appearance of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, until 1928, when the script reform in the Turkish republic brought an end to Turkish periodicals printed in Arabic script.

At the time that this book is written, OCR² has matured to the point that its application for studying western newspapers is labelled a “technical triumph”.³ One application of this technology enables researchers to search through thousands upon thousands of newspaper pages simply by entering a keyword or a sentence. Immediately the pages containing the keywords are retrieved. Keywords are even highlighted on the page, thus saving the researcher even more time. The same technology, however, is not quite available for Ottoman

1 Cavit Orhan Tütengil, *Gazete ve dergileri inceleme metodu* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1961), 1.

2 Optical Character Recognition, the technology that allows computers to read scanned text.

3 James Mussell, “Elemental Forms. The Newspaper as Popular Genre in the Nineteenth Century,” *Media History* 20, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2014.880264>.

periodicals. I look forward to the day when a simple query will be able to graph the frequency of a certain keyword in order to understand trends over long periods of time in Ottoman newspapers, or more simply, show a list of articles that contain those keywords. However, in the meanwhile, regular human eyes had to be used to read or scan every single page and article. This technical (or rather, biological) limitation has led to certain decisions regarding the selection and processing of periodical sources. In other words, not all of the 600 publications were given the same treatment. While certain publications were worked on in-depth, most publications were represented by a few “typical” issues. Otherwise, simply reading the sources alone would have taken a lifetime.

For a more detailed reading, five publications were selected due to their popularity and longevity, namely *İkdam*, *Tanin*, *Sabah* (*Peyam-ı Sabah*) and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. In addition, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the official organ of the Ottoman government, was chosen due to its official nature. The advantage of these newspapers was that all of them were mainstream and published fairly consistently throughout the entire period. This means that they are more likely to be references in secondary sources but also that they have an element of continuity, which sets them apart from the numerous short-lived publications of the same period. And although these were all published in Istanbul, they were without doubt some of the most influential publications with a readership throughout the empire. Therefore, as a source, these publications form a good foundation for comparison, as they run like a common thread throughout the period.

Other publications were selected for in-depth reading for other reasons, such as their historic importance. For example, *Volkan*, a short-lived daily which is considered to be connected to the 31 March Incident; *Alemdar*, a fairly successful political daily which appeared in 1911 and which played an important role as opposition to the National Forces during the Allied occupation of Istanbul; and *İrade-i Milliye* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the semi-official organs of the National Forces in Anatolia, which started to appear during the Turkish War for Independence.

All the aforementioned publications were obtained from the Turkish National Library in Ankara. An approximate 20,000 pages were digitized from microfilm, specifically for this research, over a period of six months in 2009.⁴ To be able effectively to work with these digital images, most of them had

4 The digital images were donated to the microfilm department of the Turkish National Library, whose employees were kind enough to help me by further providing me with their own digitized copies of *Peyam-ı Sabah*, *İrade-i Milliye* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.

to undergo image processing (e.g., microfilms are stored as negatives), and a custom program was built to make cataloguing and retrieving specific copies easier. Unfortunately, part of the material obtained suffered from issues that hamper the legibility such as scuffs, caused by physical abrasion on the microfilms, and bad copy-photography techniques, resulting in out of focus or badly exposed images. These problems were mitigated as much as possible with digital image processing techniques, such as sharpening, increasing contrast and adjusting exposure. Still, a part of the digital collection is as illegible as the source microfilm images which they were copied from.

Due to time constraints, digitizing at the National Library was almost exclusively limited to the front pages. Digitizing all pages would have increased the time required by at least fourfold,⁵ or two years of work. Part of the considerations taken into account when making the decision to limit the data collection to front pages had to do with the breadth of the material. It was imperative to cover the Ottoman press in longitude, that is, the 15 years that were at the focus of this research. But at the same time, because the focus of the book is the Ottoman press as a whole, it was deemed equally important to obtain as many publications as possible to achieve a latitudinal coverage of the sources, in order to be able to compare publications at certain points in time. Therefore, instead of taking every page of one or two publications, the front pages of four times as many publications seemed the better choice. Naturally, the choice to focus only on the front pages has the disadvantage of missing a large portion of the newspapers' contents. However, arguably, when it comes to daily newspapers, the front page is perceived as more important than the inner pages. Although the second page could contain continuations of articles started on the first page or equally important letters from readers, the third page and fourth page were mostly official lists of wages, public transport schedules and advertisements.

The second important archive used to obtain Ottoman publications, has been the *Periodicals of the Hakkı Tarık Us Collection* (HTU), a digital repository. This product of a joint effort between Beyazıt State library in Istanbul (where the originals are located) and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies reached completion in February 2010 after 7 years of digitization and cataloguing efforts. An estimated 400,000 pages of Ottoman periodicals were made available to the public over the internet. Despite some technical shortcomings,⁶ this

⁵ A typical Ottoman daily of the period would consist of four pages.

⁶ For a detailed discussion about the advantages and the (technical) shortcomings of this archive, see: Erol Baykal, "Review: Periodicals of the Hakkı Tarık Us Collection," *Turkish Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (2011): 205–12.

digital collection proved to be of immeasurable value for this research. The available material covers nearly a century of Ottoman-Turkish periodicals, and includes various sorts of publications, such as satirical magazines, or publications aimed at specific audiences, such as women, children or niche audiences, such as hobbyists or business professionals. The material from the National Library could thus be supplemented with data from smaller publications. This material has been used throughout the dissertation, and more specifically for three purposes. Firstly, the available publications were used to strengthen the analysis on the financial aspect of publications, as it was possible to access the last pages, containing advertisements, which were key to the financial viability of periodicals, and because a much more detailed picture could be composed on pricing policies of Istanbul dailies because of the numerously available publications. Secondly, once it was established that newly appearing publications had the habit of explaining the purpose of their appearance, an exhaustive search was conducted to collect as many as possible of these first issues. These introductory articles provided a wealth of information on social, financial and technical aspects of the press.

Archival material was mostly obtained from Turkish archives. The archives that were consulted were the Prime Ministerial Archives of the Ottoman Empire (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*, henceforth BOA) in Istanbul, and in Ankara the Prime Ministerial Archives of the Republic (*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi*, henceforth BCA), the archives of the Centre for Military History and Strategic Studies (*Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı*, henceforth ATASE) and the archives of the Presidential Palace of Çankaya (*Cumhurbaşkanlık Arşivi*).

BOA material was used to cover the entire 1908–1923 period and even earlier. The material from BOA comes mostly from the files of the Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*, DH.). Among these, the files of the Secretarial Office (*Mektubi Kalemi*, DH.MKT.) and the General Communications Office (*Muhaberat-ı Umumiye İdaresi*, DH.MUI.) contain a variety of material related to the press. Documents that are specifically related to matters of censorship and propaganda were found in the Public Safety Office files (*Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti*, DH.EUM.), the Confidential Secretarial Office (Kalem-i Mahsus Müdüriyeti, DH.KMS.) and the Cryptography Office (*Şifre Kalemi*, DH.ŞFR). From the ministry of the exterior files (*Hariciye Nezareti*, HR.), due to the focus of the book on the domestic Ottoman press, far less was material was consulted. Among the files of the Imperial Decrees (*İradeler*, İ.) and those of the Cabinet (*Meclis-i Vükela*, MV.), material pertaining to legislation to regulate the press was used. However, as can be seen in the list of archival sources in the bibliography, material from other sections and sub-sections of BOA have also been consulted.

Other Turkish archives were used for more limited timeframes and, as a result, yielded a far smaller volume of useful documents. BCA material was used to cover material from 1920 until 1924. Here relevant material was found in the files of the Executive General Office (*Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü*, 30.10.0.0) and of the Cabinet Decisions (*Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları*, 30.18.1.1). At the archive of the Presidential Palace, it was not permitted to do one's own search, but a small number of documents related to the press was made available upon prior request. At ATASE, due to time-constraints related to permission to work in the archives, only the files related to the Turkish War of Independence (*İstiklal Harbi*, İSH), between 1919 and 1922, were searched. The decision to limit the search to this specific section of the archive was reached because one of the research goals from the very beginning had been to look at the relations between Istanbul's and Ankara's press during this period and any auxiliary material was considered welcome.

Both *Anadolu Ajansı*, the official Turkish news agency, founded in 1920 in Ankara, and the Press Museum (*Basın Müzesi*), founded by the Turkish Union of Journalists (*Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti*) in Istanbul were visited. Both claimed not to have any archives. Furthermore, attempts to access the library of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Kütüphanesi*), which is said to have a very good collection of Ottoman periodicals, were unsuccessful.

Three archives were consulted outside Turkey. These were the British National Archives (henceforth, TNA) in London, the German Bundesarchiv (henceforth, BA) in Berlin, and the Dutch Nationaal Archief in The Hague (Henceforth, NL-HaNA). From the British archives, especially the Foreign Office (FO) material, and more specifically the Annual Reports on Turkey, usually containing a section for the Ottoman press were valuable. Furthermore, two press guides were found with British intelligence information on journalists and publications appearing in Istanbul. The Dutch material was mostly collected from the Dutch Ministry of the Exterior's Embassy of Istanbul files (1872–1954) (*Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Gezantschap, Consulaat, Consulaat-generaal te Constantinopel/Istanboel (Turkije)*, (1817) 1872–1954 (1955), 2.05.94). Like the TNA files, the Dutch files, too, contain various press reports and, although these focus mostly on monitoring for pan-Islamic activities, the Dutch continued to create reports on the Ottoman press during the World War, something which they could do more efficiently than the British, whose embassies were closed due to the war. At the Bundesarchiv, which was an unfortunately short visit, the Sources on the History of Turkey and German-Turkish Relations (1855–1945) (*Quellen zur Geschichte der Türkei und der Deutsch-Türkischen Beziehung 1855–1945*, R901) were searched, and more specifically the files in the section on the Press in

Turkey (*Presse i/d Türkei*, R901/34036) but these only continue until 1912, while other sub-sections of R901 probably had more relevant information, it was not possible to search those due to time constraints.

Three works of reference were extensively used. These were the minutes of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Cerideleri*) and the minutes of the Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Cerideleri*), and the Ottoman legal codex (*Düstur*). All three of these were accessed in the library of the Turkish Institute for History (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) in Ankara. The Ottoman legal codex, the collection of Ottoman laws, was searched for press-related laws and provided not only full texts of these laws, but also a good reference for dates during which these laws were created. The minutes of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies were then searched for these dates. The value of the parliamentary minutes lies in the fact that they contain the complete discussions held at the meetings. Thus, with the minutes of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies, it was possible to gain a deeper understanding of the legislative process that created the 1909 Ottoman press law. The minutes of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, on the other hand, among other things, contain talks and discussions held by the various heads of the Press Regulation and Intelligence Office (*Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdür-i Umumisi*). The information contained in their remarks are very valuable as relatively little is known about the state of the Ottoman press in Anatolia at this time.

Memoires of the period and books written by journalists or in some cases about journalists, of the era, such as Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], Ahmet Rasim, Ali Kemal, Falih Rıfkı [Atay], Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], Asım [Us], Zekeriya [Sertel], Yunus Nadi [Abaloğlu], Ahmet Emin [Yalman], Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], Münir Süleyman [Çapanoğlu], and Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], all of whom were involved in the press as journalists in the 1908–1923 period, were also consulted.

The Emergence and Growth of the Ottoman Press, 1831–1908

The press, meaning regularly printed news publications, such as newspapers and magazines, arrived much later in the Ottoman Empire than in other parts of the world. When it did eventually appear, it was the result of a deliberate effort by Sultan Mahmut II to create a channel to communicate with both domestic and international audiences. Unlike what had happened in Europe and in the United States, this was not at all an organic emergence based on an economic opportunity, which itself was created by the combination of existing tradition and new technology. A few decades after this artificial inception to the press, commercially and ideologically driven Ottoman newspapers started to appear in organic fashion. The increasing popularity of newspapers, which became truly evident in the 1860's, caused the first clashes between state and journalists, many of whom were themselves bureaucrats of the state. Although some attempts by the government to control the press were quite restrictive, the Ottoman press continued to grow in quantity, experience and readership. Under Sultan Abdülhamit II (r. 1876–1909), an elaborate preventive censorship mechanism was put in place. This meant in practice the end of opinion journalism. However, under Abdülhamit, the press was also allowed to grow and was even supported, as long as it played by the Palace's rules.

The press as a medium for periodical publication emerged rather late in the Ottoman Empire. In Western Europe, newspapers with consistent publishing frequencies made an appearance in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹ Some fifty years later, the first newspapers of the Russian Tsardom² (1703) and the United States³ (1704) saw the light of day. In contrast, the initial issue of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, which is considered to be the first Ottoman newspaper, was printed no earlier than 1831. This means that Ottoman readers laid eyes on their first newspaper over two centuries after their European counterparts.

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- 1 Matthias A. Shaaber, "The History of the First English Newspaper," *Studies in Philology* 29, no. 4 (1932): 551–87. Johannes Weber, "Straßburg 1605: Die Geburt Der Zeitung," *Jahrbuch Für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 7 (2005): 3–26.
 - 2 Nadezhda Azhgikhina, "The Struggle for Press Freedom in Russia: Reflections of a Russian Journalist," *Europe-Asia Studies* 59, no. 8 (December 1, 2007): 1254.
 - 3 "Oldest American Newspaper Still Well Preserved," *The Science News-Letter* 19, no. 522 (1931): 238. *The Boston News-Letter* is considered the first newspaper with consistent publishing in the United States.

Broadening the scope of the comparison to include India (1780) and China (1828) lessens this gap but does not change the outcome.⁴ Another interesting comparison is with *Vekayi-i Mısriye*, a Turkish/Arabic newspaper that began publishing in Cairo in 1828 and was two years later followed by *Vekayi-i Giridiye* in Crete, which was printed in Turkish/Greek. These last two were the fruits of the efforts of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa, an Ottoman paşa who was working toward autonomy in Egypt.⁵ Even he had beaten the Ottomans to the press.

This, of course, raises the question of what had caused this significant, two-hundred-year delay. While some historians of the Ottoman press acknowledge the existence of this delay without explaining it,⁶ most simply do not mention it.⁷ Among those who seek to explain it, the most popular answer is that it was the late arrival of printing technology in the Ottoman Empire that played a major role in pushing back the emergence of the periodical press.⁸ However, this explanation is problematic for at least two reasons. Firstly, it did not take long for the modern printing press to reach Ottoman lands after its invention. Secondly, generally speaking, there does not seem to be a correlation between the timing of the introduction of printing technology and the emergence of newspapers.

The first documented printing of books in the Ottoman Empire using modern presses happened only 50 years after Gutenberg finished developing his machine in 1439.⁹ These early books were the work of Jewish refugees from Europe, who went on to establish several printing houses in the Ottoman Empire by the turn of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ These were followed in 1567 by

4 Andrew Green, "The Development of Mass Media in Asia-Pacific," *International Journal of Advertising* 22, no. 2 (January 1, 2003): 5.

5 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Gazeteciliği* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), 10.

6 Uygur Kocabaşoğlu and Ali Birinci, "Osmanlı Vilayet Gazete ve Matbaaları Üzerine Gözlemler," *Kebikeç*, no. 2 (1995): 101. & Hıfzı Topuz, *11. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2003), 15.

7 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Gazeteciliği*. & Enver Beyhan Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönüyle Basın* (Ankara: Güven, 1969). & Ertuğrul Özkök, "The Turkish Press: 150 Years of Controversy," in *The Transformation of Turkish Culture. The Atatürk Legacy*, ed. Günsel Renda and C. Max Kortepeter (Princeton, NJ: The Kingdon Press, 1986), 209–28. & Mehmet Nuri İnuşur, *Türk Basınında "İz" Birakanlar* (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1988). &c.

8 Cf. Hasan Refik Ertuğ, "Türk Basını Nasıl Doğdu ve Gelişti?," in *Yeni Türkiye* (İstanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, 1959), 264. & Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, Sosyal Tarih Dizisi (İstanbul: Pozitif, 2006), 11. & Nurettin Güz, "Osmanlı Basını," *Selçuk İletişim* 3 (2000): 41.

9 Sigfrid Henry Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 4th ed. (New Castle, DE: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 1996), 1.

10 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 45 (İstanbul: Literatür, 2000), 10.

the first Armenian printing establishment,¹¹ and in 1627 a Greek printer followed.¹² One century later, in 1727, the first Turkish printing house, the State Printing House (*Dar al-Tiba'a al-Amira*), despite resistance from the copiers of Istanbul,¹³ was founded through the joint efforts of Yirmisekizçelebi Mehmet,¹⁴ his son Yirmisekizzade Mehmet Said,¹⁵ *Damat İbrahim Paşa*, and the scholar İbrahim Müteferrika, the latter having become almost synonymous with the printing press in Turkish historiography.

Admittedly, the Ottoman State Printing House was founded much later than the private Jewish, Greek and Armenian printing presses, close to 300 years after Gutenberg's invention. Although this seems to support the theory that the delayed introduction of the printing press must have caused the delay in the emergence of the Ottoman periodical press, there is one crucial detail that should not be overlooked. Ottoman Jews, Greeks and Armenians, despite having a head start in printing, did not start publishing newspapers any sooner than their Turkish countrymen.¹⁶ More exactly, the first Greek¹⁷ language Ottoman newspaper, *Filos ton Neon*, was published in 1831 in Izmir, the same

11 Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönüyle Basın*, 26.

12 Ali Arslan, "Türkiye'de Rum Basını," *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, no. 3 (2003): 50.

13 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 19. The copiers had feared for their livelihoods and even staged a mock funeral for their pens and inkwells. Eventually they were placated by the guarantee that the printers would refrain from copying religious texts, a valuable source of income for the scribes.

14 Tuncer Hüner, "Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi'nin Fransa Sefaretnâmesi (1132-33H./1720-21 M.)," *Bellekten* 51, no. 199-201 (April 1987): 131. Yirmisekizçelebi Mehmet had been dispatched as a special envoy to France by Sultan Ahmet III and his son had been part of the entourage. Interestingly, in his famous *Sefaretnâme*, the travelogue of his mission to France, Yirmisekizçelebi Mehmet does not dwell on printing technology. Among other things, however, he seems generally impressed by (and interested) in technology, such as factories and engineering feats.

15 Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönüyle Basın*, 30-34. Yirmisekizzade Mehmet Said is believed to have visited several printers during his visit to France.

16 It is certainly possible that some Ottoman individuals might have experimented with periodical publications before 1831. There certainly appears not to have been a legal impediment to it. Although, there are no known laws or decrees regarding periodical publications prior to the nineteenth century, a case-by-case permission with *İrade* (imperial decree) was not out of the question. Currently, however, there is no evidence for such activity. Furthermore, such publications, had they existed, must have been very short-lived and must have gone unnoticed or they would not have been forgotten. In that case, it would be difficult to label these experiments as "press," because they were neither popular nor did they enjoy continuity.

17 George Kanarakis, *The Press of the Greeks in Australia : With Reference to Other Presses of the Hellenic Diaspora* (New York: Journal of the Hellenic diaspora, 1992), 111-12. According to Kanarakis the first Greek newspaper was published in Vienna in 1784 by George Vendotis, a member of the diaspora. It was followed by *Ephimeris* in 1790 and *Ennis o Logius*,

year as *Takvim-i Vekayi*.¹⁸ The first Armenian newspaper¹⁹ of the Ottoman Empire, *Istemeran Bidani Kidelyats*, appeared in 1839.²⁰ The first Jewish (Ladino) newspaper was also published in Izmir, but in 1842.²¹ If it was simply a matter of availability of technology and know-how, these newspapers should have been published about a century before *Takvim-i Vekayi*.

This dichotomy is not exclusive to the Ottoman press. In a very similar pattern, the modern printing press had been introduced in Russia in the 1560s,²² yet its first newspaper appeared almost one and a half centuries later, in 1703. On the other end of the spectrum, is Egypt. The first modern printing press of Egypt arrived with Napoleon during his Mediterranean campaign, at the turn of the nineteenth century, or 70 years after the foundation of the Ottoman State Printing House. Yet, the Cairene newspaper *Vekayi-i Mısriye* was published three years sooner than its Istanbul counterpart. Therefore, although its simplicity is very tempting, trying to link the timing of the introduction of modern printing technology to the emergence of the periodical press is flawed reasoning.

Other scholars have sought to answer the delay based on less materialistic factors. Yalman, who was a journalist himself, stated in his dissertation (1914) on the Ottoman press that Ottomans simply had “no need and no place” for a press, because they had relied on traditional means of disseminating news.²³

a journal, in 1819, both in Vienna. One could argue that, as Greek independence was still decades away, this was the Greek Ottoman press in exile.

18 Arslan, “Türkiye’de Rum Basını,” 51.

19 Harry Jewell Sarkiss, “The Armenian Renaissance, 1500–1863,” *The Journal of Modern History* 9, no. 4 (1937): 437. The first Armenian language newspaper ever to appear is accepted to be *Azdarar* (Observer) in 1794, which was published in India.

20 Koloğlu, *Osmanlı’dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 41. A. Djiveleguian, *Régime de La Presse En Turquie* (Paris: Émile Larose, 1912), 18–19. Places the first Ottoman Armenian newspaper in 1853. İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim Makalaları 1* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2000), 491. Places the first Ottoman Armenian newspaper in 1858.

21 Koloğlu, *Osmanlı’dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 43. Koloğlu does not provide a title or any other information besides the place and date, nor does he specify the language, but it can be assumed to have been in Ladino and not in Hebrew. Olga Borovaya, *Modern Ladino Culture: Press, Belles Lettres, and Theater in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Indiana University Press, 2011), 10. According to Borovaya, the first Ladino periodical was *Sha’arei Mizrach*, which also appeared in Izmir, but in 1845.

22 Gary Marker, “Russia and the ‘Printing Revolution’: Notes and Observations,” *Slavic Review* 41, no. 2 (1982): 269, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2496343>.

23 Ahmed Emin [Yalman], “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press,” in *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, vol. 59 (New York: Columbia University, 1914), 26.

İskit's explanation argued that the level of general culture in the Ottoman Empire was not sufficient to support newspaper publications by private individuals.²⁴ Oral blamed a religious conservative mindset that was averse to innovation.²⁵ The problem with these explanations is that, despite all of them being reasonable, none of them are developed by their respective proponents. The authors do not care to explain what constitutes "a need and a place" for newspapers in a society, what exactly is sufficient general culture for publishing newspapers or how exactly religious conservatism has blocked the appearance of newspapers. In other words, these answers are very superficial. This is exacerbated by the fact that all of them revolve around social factors which are much harder to measure than material factors, such as, for example, the existence of printing technology.

One possible explanation that appears to have been overlooked is the influence of a public postal network on the development of newspapers, or rather, the absence of such a network in the Ottoman Empire. The idea of the handwritten newsletter network as a precursor to newspapers is well-established.²⁶ In Europe and the United States, where the newspaper emerged "organically," i.e., by the effort of private individuals,²⁷ there were public postal systems that could, on the one hand, carry news from distant places²⁸ and, on the other, sustain the wide circulation of handwritten newsletters. When Johann Carolus decided to print what would later be identified as "the first newspaper" in Strasburg in 1605, he was not inventing something new, but merely introducing a mechanical copying technique to enhance an already established system of handwritten newsletters, carried by post.²⁹ Similarly, the first newspaper to

24 Server İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları* (Ankara: Başvekâlet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943), 4.

25 Fuat Süreyya Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi, Osmanlı*, vol. 1, 1968, 67.

26 E.g. Paola Molino, "Connected News: German Zeitungen and Italian Avvisi in the Fugger Collection (1568–1604)," *Media History* 22, no. 3–4 (2016): 269. James W Carey, "Journalism and Technology," *American Journalism* 17, no. 4 (2000): 131.

27 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso Books, 2006), 39–45. These were entrepreneurs who had found a way to turn a handsome profit by substituting the costly labor of manual copying with mechanical printing. Anderson's concept of "print-capitalism," whereby profit-driven decisions had significant impact on the evolution of printed media seems to be a perfect description of how printed news was born in Europe and in the United States.

28 Joad Raymond, "Newspapers: A National or International Phenomenon?," *Media History* 18, no. 3–4 (August 1, 2012): 252–53. Sheila McIntyre, "I Hear It So Variouslly Reported: News-Letters, Newspapers, and the Ministerial Network in New England, 1670–1730," *The New England Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (1998): 594, 609.

29 Johannes Weber, "Strassburg, 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe," *German History* 24, no. 3 (July 1, 2006): 390–92, <https://doi.org/10.1093/0266355406gh3800a>.

appear in Venice (1636) duplicated the contents of a handwritten gazette, and the practice of mechanically copying newsletter was soon adopted in other Italian cities.³⁰ The *Boston News-Letter* appeared in the United States under almost identical circumstances, to replace handwritten newsletters.³¹

In the Ottoman Empire, there was no public postal network until 1840 and, therefore, it was not possible for a network of circulated newsletters to exist.³² Until the foundation of the public postal system, Ottomans relied on the *Menzil* or *Menzilhane* (“Station”) system. Such stations were placed at regular intervals along roads and provided horseback messengers called *ulak* or *tatar* with an opportunity to rest and get fresh horses. Although an *ulak* could carry news between capital and periphery at considerable speed, their usage was reserved exclusively for official and military purposes.³³ The *Menzil* system was inaccessible (forbidden even) for private correspondence of ordinary people. Personal letters were sent with passing caravans, pilgrims or private couriers, and could not rely on an institutionally organized system.³⁴ Therefore, on the one hand, international news or news of the wider region could not be circulated reliably while, on the other hand, local or official news used traditional word-of-mouth methods such as gossip and public criers.³⁵ These were, of course, not the circumstances that could foster a habit of regular letter-writing,

30 Eric W. Allen, “International Origins of the Newspapers: The Establishment of Periodicity in Print,” *Journalism Bulletin* 7, no. 4 (December 1, 1930): 317, <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769903000700403>.

31 McIntyre, “I Heare It So Variously Reported,” 593, 613–14.

32 Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, “Tuna Vilayet Gazetesi,” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM* 2, no. 02 (1991): 141, <http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/otam/article/view/5000085730>. Kocabaşoğlu recognizes the newsletters as part of the evolution of the European press, but does not link their absence (nor of a postal system) with the delayed emergence of the Ottoman press. Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 11. Koloğlu, too, acknowledges the absence of newsletters (“haber yaprağı”) in the Ottoman Empire, but links this to the delayed integration of the printing press into Ottoman lives. Although he mentions handwritten correspondence in the Ottoman Empire, he does not correlate the absence of a public postal network with the absence of newsletters.

33 İzzet Sak and Cemal Çetin, “XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Menziller ve Fonksiyonları: Akşehir Menzilleri Örneği,” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 16 (2004): 36–37. Also Mehmet Güneş, “XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı Menzil Teşkilatı ve Karahisar-ı Sahib Menzilleri,” *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 10, no. 3 (2008): 195.

34 Ayşegül Okan, “The Ottoman Postal and Telegraph Services in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century” (M.A., Boğaziçi University, 2003), 16.

35 Ahmed Emin [Yalman], “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press,” 17–18.

which could in time evolve into newsletters, which could then be machine-copied as newspapers.

The absence of a postal network did not only impede the Ottoman press. In the United States, the *Indianapolis Gazette*, established in the early nineteenth century, due to a lack of regular mail could only appear sporadically because it could not secure content to print, and its publication actually influenced the establishment of a regular mail line.³⁶ In Russia, too, the creation of an adequate postal system was necessary to distribute the official state gazette, and the expanding press played a role in the further development of the postal system.³⁷

Then why did the press appear more than 130 years earlier in Russia than it did in the Ottoman Empire? Because in both cases, the press emerged as the result of official initiative within the context of modernization. The first Russian (1703) and Ottoman (1831) newspapers (and postal networks) appeared through the reform efforts of respectively Tsar Peter I (r. 1682–1721)³⁸ and Sultan Mahmut II (r. 1808–1839), whose reigns started with approximately 140 years difference. Kocabaşoğlu and Birinci state that “[the Ottoman newspaper] appeared, or rather, was made to appear, as the magic wand of Ottoman modernization of which much was expected. More importantly, Ottoman newspapers were created through ‘artificial insemination’ in an environment without books, philosophy clubs and scientific societies.”³⁹ It did not come into existence to meet the needs of the general population, but of a reform-oriented Sultan. And had reforms taken place sooner in the Ottoman Empire, the press might have appeared sooner, too.

Although the first Ottoman newspaper was the fruit of the efforts of Sultan Mahmut II, the story of its creation cannot be told without mentioning Alexandre Blacque, the Frenchman put in charge of publishing *Takvim-i Vekayi*. Almost 40 years before the Ottoman press, there was the French press in the Ottoman Empire, part of French efforts to promote the French Revolution among their countrymen abroad.⁴⁰ Following Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt in

36 George S. Cottman, “The Early Newspapers Of Indiana,” *The Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* 2, no. 3 (1906): 117.

37 A.C. Wilson, “A Thousand Years of Postal and Telecommunications Services in Russia,” *New Zealand Slavonic Journal* (1989–1990), 140.

38 Cynthia H. Whittaker, “The Reforming Tsar: The Redefinition of Autocratic Duty in Eighteenth-Century Russia,” *Slavic Review* 51, no. 1 (1992): 77, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2500262>. The start of modernising towards European model is placed under the reign of Peter I (r. 1682–1725).

39 Kocabaşoğlu and Birinci, “Osmanlı Vilayet Gazete ve Matbaaları Üzerine Gözlemler,” 101.
40 İnuğur, *Türk Basınında “İz” Brakanlar*, 15–16. *Bulletin des Nouvelles* (1795) and *La Gazette Française de Constantinople* (1796).

1798, the French embassy in Istanbul was closed, along with their newspaper.⁴¹ In 1821, and by which time Ottoman-French relations had returned to friendlier terms, a privately-owned French newspaper, *Le Spectateur Oriental*, appeared in Izmir.⁴² This publication is generally considered to be the first private newspaper published in the Ottoman Empire.⁴³ In the years that followed, *Spectateur* underwent several changes in ownership (albeit always remaining property of French citizens) and name, until it was finally bought by Alexandre Blacque (*Blak Bey*), a French merchant who had immigrated to Izmir. Blacque and his predecessors had pursued an editorial policy in line with Ottoman interests, or at least in the interest of the foreign entrepreneurs and traders who lived and did business in Izmir, causing them to clash with French officials.⁴⁴ Eventually, it resulted in the forcibly shutting down of this newspaper in 1827 by French authorities,⁴⁵ who brought in their own troops to dismantle the printing machinery and imprison Blacque for three days at the embassy.⁴⁶ After being released, he was kept under further pressure and the name of his newspaper changed several more times.⁴⁷ Blacque was in this unenviable position when he was summoned to the capital by Mahmut II to establish and run the first official Ottoman newspaper. Three years later, in 1831, the official *Takvim-i Vekayi* in Turkish and its French sibling *Le Moniteur Ottoman*, were published⁴⁸ and versions in various other domestic and foreign languages followed thereafter.⁴⁹

41 Topuz, *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*, 34–36.

42 Orhan Koloğlu, *Osmanlı Basınının Doğuşu ve Blak Bey Ailesi* (İstanbul: Müteferrika, 1998), 10. Koloğlu places the foundation of *Le Spectateur Oriental* in March 1821. Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 16–17. According to Djiveleguian the first political daily in Izmir was *Spectateur de l'Orient*, published by “Alexandre Blacque bey,” a Frenchman. However, Blacque was not involved in the publication of *Spectateur*.

43 Turkish historiography is not keen on labelling these Izmir-based newspapers as the first Ottoman newspapers, probably due to their overly French nature.

44 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Matbuatı*, ed. Ali Birinci (Ankara: Gezgin Kitabevi, 2002), 101–3.

45 Enver Ziya Karal, ed., *Yeni Türkiye* (İstanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, 1959), 174.

46 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Matbuatı*, 103.

47 Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 17. Djiveleguian notes: “Son journal s'appela ensuite le *Courrier de Smyrne*, puis le *Journal de Smyrne*” yet offers no explanation as to why Blacque would feel compelled to change the title of the newspaper twice. Furthermore, he does not mention any pressure by the French embassy. This is most likely because Djiveleguian published his book, which is very pro-French, in France where he also graduated from law school.

48 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Matbuatı*, 109. While some scholars (e.g., Gerçek himself in his older works) claim that *Le Moniteur Ottoman* preceded *Takvim-i Vekayi* by some months, Gerçek has published translated documents from French embassy archives that would strongly suggest that the French and Turkish version appeared at the same time.

49 Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 17. Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 51–52. Kabacalı lists Turkish, French, Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Persian and Turkish with Armenian script.

Sultan Mahmut II's intention was not simply to provide patronage to somebody who was defending Ottoman interests. It was rather a matter of Blacque being at the right place, at the right time. Mahmut's decision to publish a newspaper, after all, did not materialise out of thin air, but was the outcome of contemporary circumstances. He was, in fact, so interested in the project, that he personally chose the name *Takvim-i Vekayi*,⁵⁰ and, instead of using Blacque's existing press, new printing equipment was brought from France at great expense (89,000 *куруş* to be exact).⁵¹ Mahmut's interest was the result of a (perceived) necessity to communicate with both a domestic and foreign audience and *Takvim-i Vekayi*, and its French counterpart, *Le Moniteur Ottoman* were vessels for this purpose. To the foreign audience, the official organ of the state was to fulfil a diplomatic role, to the domestic audience, to explain Mahmut II's policies.

To better understand these goals, it is necessary to understand Sultan Mahmut II's policies in general. Mahmut, like his predecessor Selim III (r. 1789–1807), is known as a reformer. Selim's accession to the throne had followed a period of severe military and diplomatic defeats, symptoms of, among other things, the outdated Ottoman army, which was being outperformed by superior Western and Russian military.⁵² Seeking to guarantee the continued existence of the empire, Selim saw the solution in military and bureaucratic reforms, inspired by their European counterparts. However, Selim failed to gain popular support for his reforms and antagonized existing power structures, leading to his dethronement and eventual murder.⁵³ His successor, Mustafa IV (r. 1807–1808), was deposed by opposition forces during the Bayraktar Mustafa Paşa coup, and Mahmut II took the throne in 1808.

On foreign policy, Mahmut II continued what had been started by Selim III, which meant increasing Ottoman integration into the international diplomatic scene. It was hoped that this would help to prevent military action against the Ottoman Empire, or to make sure that one of the Powers' would be an ally in such a case. To this end, Mahmut revived the permanent Ottoman embassies in European cities, which had been a ground-breaking innovation of Selim III.⁵⁴ Mahmut II was also aware of the fact that the rogue Kavalalı Mehmet Paşa of

50 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Gazeteciliği*, 9.

51 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 51.

52 Stanford J. Shaw, "The Origins of Ottoman Military Reform: The Nizam-ı Cedid Army of Sultan Selim III," *The Journal of Modern History* 37, no. 3 (September 1, 1965): 291, <https://doi.org/10.1086/600691>.

53 Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 3rd edition (London & New York: I.B.Tauris, 2004), 24, 28.

54 Carter V. Findley, "The Foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry: The Beginnings of Bureaucratic Reform under Selim III and Mahmud II," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3, no. 4 (1972): 395–96, 404–5.

Egypt was using his newspapers (*Vekayi-i Mısriye* and *Vekayi-i Giridiye*) to influence international public opinion.⁵⁵ Therefore, as is supported by the fact that *Takvim-i Vekayi* also appeared in French, Mahmut II's founding of a newspaper must (at least partially) be interpreted as an attempt to participate in the international discourse conducted by political newspapers.

Mahmut II and Kavalalı Mehmet Paşa were not wrong in their pursuits. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Western media had started to transform into an opinion press. This type of press is characterized by not simply stating news as objectively as possible, which had been a hallmark characteristic of early newspapers, but by expressing political opinions, and thus taking on the role of political pamphleteer.⁵⁶ This meant that in France and England newspapers were increasingly becoming both a barometer and a driver for politics, including foreign policy. This development had not gone unnoticed by the Ottomans, and the importance of political newspapers was known even before Mahmut II. As early as 1779, during the reign of Abdülhamit I, European *havadis kağıtları* (literally “news papers”) were monitored and summarised for official consumption.⁵⁷ As the press gained influence in the international arena over time, so too did the monitoring activities gain importance. Eventually, in 1821, Ottoman monitoring efforts were restructured and expanded in a newly formed Translations Office (*Tercüme Odası*)⁵⁸ of the equally new Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye Nezareti*),⁵⁹ where young bureaucrats were constantly in contact with European newspapers.⁶⁰

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising to see that *Takvim-i Vekayi*'s introductory issue (*Mukaddeme*) sets out one of its goals as “reaching friendly nations,” to which end it would be translated into foreign languages.⁶¹ In doing

55 Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönüyle Basın*, 99.

56 Robert E. Park, “The Natural History of the Newspaper,” *American Journal of Sociology* 29, no. 3 (1923): 281.

57 E.g. BOA AE.SABH.I.18/1544, 20 Recep 1193H

58 Cahit Bilim, “Tercüme Odası,” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM* 1, no. 01 (1990): 35.

59 The BOA classification for *Hariciye Nezareti* (HR., “Ministry of Foreign Affairs”) has thousands of records pertaining to translation and monitoring of foreign newspapers. However, these cannot be found under Tercüme Odası (HR.TO., “Translations Office”), but under the many other sub-classifications of HR., notably under *Siyasi* (HR.SYS., “Political”).

60 Dilek Özhan Koçak, “Türk Entelijensiya'sının Filizlendiği Kurum: “Tercüme Odası,” in *Tercüman-ı Ahval'in 150. Yılında İstanbul'da Fikir Gazeteciliği Sempozyumu*, ed. Belkas Ulusoy (İstanbul: Emirler Matbaası, 2010), 36, 44.

61 *Mukaddeme-i Takvim-i Vekayi*, 2 “ve kezalik dost muahid olan bilcümle düvele hüsn-i safvet şahaneleri derkar olduğundan, havadis-i vakiyanın neşri faidası cümleye aide olmak üzere lisan-ı ahariyle tercümelere dahi tabbolunmak...”

so, it identified one of its missions as opening a communication channel with an international audience, whom it could now address as the official voice of the Ottoman state. To complete this mission, aside from its Turkish, Armenian, Greek and Arabic versions – which were all languages of the empire, *Takvim-i Vekayi* also appeared in at least two non-Ottoman languages, namely French and Persian.⁶²

It is not possible easily to gauge how successful *Le Moniteur Ottoman* was in achieving its goal of influencing international audiences. However, the least that can be said is that (to some unknown extent) it succeeded in addressing them and making the official voice of the Ottoman state heard abroad, as its publication did not go unnoticed. Selim Nüzhet has published several translated documents from the French embassy in Istanbul, dated 1831 to 1836, all of which show an interest initially in the form, and later in the content of the gazette.⁶³ Of course, it was also picked up by the foreign press. Almost immediately after being published, *Le Moniteur Ottoman* became the target of *Le Figaro*, which at that time was still a satirical publication. *Le Figaro* proclaimed that an Ottoman official gazette was published because “the Sultan desires officially to announce strangulations and impalements.”⁶⁴ However, serious publications, such as *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires* were equally quick to reprint news from *Le Moniteur Ottoman*⁶⁵ and later even carried advertisements for reprinted collections.⁶⁶ Even *Le Constitutionnel*, the most widely read Parisian newspaper, boasting 20,000 subscribers,⁶⁷ quoted news from *Le Moniteur Ottoman*.⁶⁸ The English language press, too, copied articles in translation from the gazette, which it sometimes referred to as *The Ottoman Monitor*.⁶⁹ An in-depth study could reveal how much effect these articles had on their foreign audiences.

62 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 51–52.

63 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Matbuatı*, 105–9.

64 “Bigarrures,” *Le Figaro*, December 18, 1831. “Il se publie à Constantinople un *Moniteur Ottoman*. Le Sultan désire annoncer au peuple les strangulations et les empalemens d’une manière officielle.”

65 “Au Redacteur,” *Journal Des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, January 12, 1832.

66 “Réimpression de La Gazette d’État Turque,” *Journal Des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, June 10, 1842.

67 Irene Collins, “Liberalism and the Newspaper Press During the French Restoration, 1814–30,” *History* 46, no. 156 (February 1, 1961): 21.

68 “Intérieur,” *Le Constitutionnel*, June 26, 1843. News regarding the new Ottoman ambassador to Vienna.

69 *Dublin Observer*, 1/01/1832, “Foreign,” 5; *Hereford Times*, 15/06/1833, “Foreign Intelligence,” 4; *Morning Post*, 22/06/1833, 3.

Of course, the official gazette of the Ottoman Empire was not only intended for foreign audiences, but also for domestic audiences. According to press historian İskit, the main goal of the newspaper was actually to explain Mahmut II's reforms and defend them against opposition and criticism.⁷⁰ Considering the fact that Mahmut II's predecessor Selim III was dethroned and most likely murdered because he failed to muster enthusiasm for his reforms, this does not seem an unlikely goal. Indeed, the concept of explaining domestic and international developments and state policies, but also the idea of dispelling "negative speculations" are all unmistakably present in the special introductory edition of *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁷¹ Ultimately, although it did fulfil other roles, the gazette did serve its purpose as the mouthpiece of the state and Mahmut II would have no doubt been pleased to know that the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi*, the famous edict that officially ushered in the *Tanzimat* era, was published in a special edition of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1839.

It is not easy to say whether *Takvim-i Vekayi* reached its goal of educating the people about the Sultan's reforms. There are mixed statements about *Takvim-i Vekayi*'s popularity. It has been accused of being boring⁷² due to its use of very official language, caused by the fact that it was initially written by court historians and, thus, shows similarities to the imperial annals.⁷³ However, according to other accounts, it was very successful and coffee shops were filled with people listening with great interest to public readings.⁷⁴ Its success is probably because despite being the official gazette, *Takvim-i Vekayi* was not limited to only official news.⁷⁵ As was promised in the *Mukaddeme*, there was room for all sorts of other content in its columns. On the other hand, *Takvim-i Vekayi* was the only Turkish language publication for more than a decade. In other words, for those who only understood Turkish, there was not much else to read.

Takvim-i Vekayi opened the door for the Ottoman press and, in the years to come, more publications joined it, all of which were based in Izmir and none of which were in Turkish. In fact, it appears that until the middle of the nineteenth

70 Server İskit, "The History of the Turkish Press 1831–1931," *International Communication Gazette* 10, no. 1 (1964): 17.

71 *Mukaddeme-i Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1 "... amme-i ibad-ı bilad-ı işbu vehm-ü vesvese-i su-i zan dağdağasından kurtarıp ..."

72 Hamza Çakır, "Türkiye'de Serbest Gazeteciliğe Adım: Yanı Özel Gazete Ceride-i Havadis," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 7 (March 14, 2012): 17, <https://doi.org/10.17064/iüifhd.46615>.

73 Hakan T. Karateke, "The Ottoman Official Gazette *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 1831," in *Turkish Language, Literature, and History: Travelers' Tales, Sultans, and Scholars Since the Eighth Century*, ed. Bill Hickman and Gary Leiser (Routledge, 2015), 196–98.

74 Karateke, 201–2.

75 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 3–4.

century, the “press centre” of the Ottoman Empire was not Istanbul but Izmir, which had hosted the first foreign private newspapers in the Ottoman Empire since the late eighteenth century. The earliest example of a new publication in Izmir was the Greek language *Filos Ton Neon*, which appeared in 1831, the same year as *Takvim-i Vekayi*, but which was short-lived. Its successor was *Amalthia*, which appeared in 1838 and continued until 1922.⁷⁶ Also in 1838, two more foreign owned French language newspapers appeared in Izmir, *l'Écho de l'Orient*, owned by the consul general of Tuscany, and *l'Impartial de Smyrne*, founded by one M. Edwards.⁷⁷ The first Armenian, Ladino, and Bulgarian newspapers also appeared in Izmir respectively in 1839 and the latter two in 1842.⁷⁸ There is no definitive answer as to why Izmir was the centre of press activity, but the fact that the first privately owned newspapers had appeared there, the presence of a large European and Ottoman community of merchants, and perhaps even the comfort of being able to use privately owned printing presses perhaps all played a role. Unfortunately, very little is known about these early publications and most are only known by name and year of publishing. However, the increased publishing activity between 1838 and 1842 in Izmir is in itself an indicator for an atmosphere that fostered newspaper publication.

During these early years of the Ottoman press, Istanbul was playing the second fiddle to Izmir. Excluding the various translated versions of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the second newspaper to appear in the Ottoman capital is believed to have been *Ceride-i Havadis*. This newspaper, which appeared in 1840, was a very peculiar publication for several reasons. Firstly, it was owned by an Englishman, William Churchill, who was a correspondent for the London newspaper *Morning Herald*. Despite its English owner, *Ceride-i Havadis* was distinctly Ottoman in that it was aimed not at the mercantile European community of Izmir, but the Turkish speaking readership in Istanbul. This also makes it the second Ottoman Turkish newspaper ever to have appeared. Secondly, this newspaper has a rather odd origin story. Churchill obtained the rights to publish *Ceride-i Havadis* after being involved in a hunting accident whereby he had wounded a Turkish boy. The events that ensued caused a minor diplomatic spat between England and the Ottoman Empire. Subsequently, the Ottoman government offered Churchill the opportunity to ask for a reconciliatory gift.⁷⁹ He asked for permission to enter the olive oil business and permission to publish an Ottoman language newspaper. After selling his oil business, he

76 Arslan, “Türkiye’de Rum Basını,” 51.

77 Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 17.

78 Koloğlu, *Osmanlı’dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 41–42.

79 Server İskit, *Agah Efendi* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1937), 8.

used the funds to start *Ceride-i Havadis*.⁸⁰ The third peculiarity is that *Ceride-i Havadis*, despite being privately owned, was semi-official in nature. For example, Churchill received government funding to run his newspaper, amounting to 7,000 kuruş per month.⁸¹ This was not unique to *Ceride-i Havadis*, as other newspapers were also sponsored.⁸² However, as far as can be told, unlike others, Churchill was also allowed to use *Takvimhane-i Amire* (the state-owned press where *Takvim-i Vekayi* was printed) when his own press had been damaged in a fire and he was sent typesetters from *Takvimhane* when his own employees had been stricken with cholera.⁸³ At other times, *Ceride-i Havadis* actually took over the role of the official gazette and printed official news when *Takvim-i Vekayi* could not be published that week.⁸⁴ Finally, like *Takvim-i Vekayi*,⁸⁵ the people writing for *Ceride-i Havadis* were mostly government employees.

In Turkish historiography, the period between 1831 and 1860 is usually described as a duopoly of the two (semi-)official organs *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis*. As will be seen further in the book, this is a very reasonable demarcation, because the 1860's formed the beginning of a new form of Ottoman press. However, in the same historiography, *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis* have sometimes been implied⁸⁶ to be failures and sometimes outright labelled as such⁸⁷ due to low demand and circulation figures. This sort of judgement is not entirely fair and is the result of comparing these early Ottoman newspapers to more modern publications, instead of to their contemporaries.

For example, it is pointed out that *Ceride-i Havadis* had “only” 150 regular readers after the first few issues.⁸⁸ A few years later, Churchill himself complained in a letter to the Sultan that he had approximately 300 readers, not enough to sustain the publication.⁸⁹ These figures seem damningly low and could lead to false conclusions about the success of these early publications. For seventeenth-century European newspapers, average circulations were between 350 and 400 weekly.⁹⁰ *Boston News-Letter* (1704), the first newspaper in

80 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Gazeteciliği*, 36.

81 Çakır, “Türkiye’de Serbest Gazeteciliğe Adım: Yarı Özel Gazete Ceride-i Havadis,” 18.

82 E.g. Djiveleguan, *Régime*, 19–20.

83 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 61.

84 Çakır, “Türkiye’de Serbest Gazeteciliğe Adım: Yarı Özel Gazete Ceride-i Havadis,” 18.

85 İskit, *Agah Efendi*, 7.

86 İskit, 7–8.

87 Güz, “Osmanlı Basını,” 45.

88 Topuz, *II. Mahmut’tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*, 17.

89 Çakır, “Türkiye’de Serbest Gazeteciliğe Adım: Yarı Özel Gazete Ceride-i Havadis,” 18–19.

90 Weber, “Strassburg, 1605,” 399.

the United States, had a weekly circulation of approximately 250, but still managed to be influential because it reached an elite readership of merchants, government officials and ministers.⁹¹

But even when compared to their contemporaries, *Ceride-i Havadis* and *Takvim-i Vekayi* appear to have been both ambitious and successful. For example, in 1839, at the dawn of the high-circulation penny press, the *Sun's* daily circulation of 4,000 in New York was considered an unprecedented success.⁹² By this time, the United States enjoyed a century-long experience with the press. In 1816, the combined circulation of Parisian newspapers is estimated at around 3,000 daily, which had risen to 23,000 by 1831, while France enjoyed an even longer tradition of newspaper publishing and consumption than the United States.⁹³ In comparison, *Takvim-i Vekayi* is said to have had an initial print run of 1,000 weekly,⁹⁴ a testament to the ambitious scope of Mahmut II's newspaper project.

The low circulation figures are also used to point out that *Ceride-i Havadis* was financially unsuccessful. It is true that Churchill at some point even suspended publication until such time it secured a renewed monthly stipend from the Palace amounting to 2,500 *kuruş* per month.⁹⁵ However, *Ceride-i Havadis* was not the only newspaper that received support, as subsidies were given to many newspapers under both Sultan Abdülmecit (r. 1839–1861) and Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876).⁹⁶ The *New York Times* published an editorial in 1857 accusing several Ottoman newspapers, such as *Presse d'Orient* and *Journal de Constantinople*, of being subsidized by the government in return for praise.⁹⁷

What the *New York Times* article overlooked was that this practice was not limited to Ottoman newspapers and had only recently started to change in the United States. Prior to the birth of the penny press that relied on advertisement income, most newspapers relied on some form of political sponsorship because subscription revenue was insufficient. Around the time *Ceride-i*

91 McIntyre, "I Hear It So Various Reported," 603.

92 James L. Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York 1830–1860," *New York History* 45, no. 2 (1964): 93–95.

93 Ross F. Collins, "Traitorous Collaboration, The Press in France, 1815–1914.," in *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815–1914: Essays on the Press in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States*, ed. Ross F. Collins and E.M. Palmegiano (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2007), 76.

94 İskit, *Agah Efendi*, 6. Also cf. Topuz, *11. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*, 16. According to Topuz, the initial run was 5,000, but this seems like an unlikely high figure for 1831.

95 Çakır, "Türkiye'de Serbest Gazeteciliğe Adım: Yarı Özel Gazete Ceride-i Havadis," 22–23.

96 Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 19–20.

97 "The Turkish Press.," *New York Times*, April 13, 1857.

Havadis first appeared, only a very small minority of newspapers (<3%) in the United States identified as independent, while the majority consisted of party-sponsored organs.⁹⁸ Political sponsorship and subsidization was also not unheard of in France.⁹⁹ Although things were changing, the sponsored newspaper would only disappear by the 1880's, when it was superseded by advertisement-revenue driven penny press.¹⁰⁰ In other words, *Ceride-i Havadis* was far from being the only newspaper neither in the Ottoman Empire, nor in the world relying on political sponsorship to remain afloat.

Finally, *Ceride-i Havadis* is often reduced in Turkish historiography to being a mouthpiece of the government and sometimes even called a copy of *Takvim-i Vekayi* without any innovation. Here, too, some nuance is welcome. For example, although *Ceride-i Havadis* is often overlooked in favour of *Tercüman-i Ahval* (1860) for the title of the first Turkish opinion newspaper, more recent content analysis has revealed that (anonymous) journalists of *Ceride-i Havadis* were, in fact, trying to influence public opinion and influence government policy on topics such as industry, trade, and agriculture, where it advocated the usage of modern technology and highlighted the fact that farmers who were further away from sea ports were disadvantaged when it came to exporting their goods.¹⁰¹ On top of this, Churchill himself went to the front to act as a war correspondent during the Crimean War,¹⁰² a time when war correspondents were a rarity worldwide. Consequently, his reports from the front were very popular and appeared as separate editions called *ilave* ("addition"), which had a much higher publishing frequency¹⁰³ than the (theoretically) near-weekly appearance of *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis*, thus even preparing the grounds for dailies.

All things considered, the duopoly of *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis* on Turkish language newspapers, which lasted until 1860, was a relatively successful period for the Ottoman press. Not only did the number of publications

98 Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "Newspaper Trends in the 1870s: Proliferation, Popularization, and Political Independence," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (June 1, 1995): 361–62.

99 Collins, "Liberalism and the Newspaper Press During the French Restoration, 1814–30," 30.

100 Hans Ibold and Lee Wilkins, "Philosophy at Work, Ideas Made a Difference," in *Journalism 1908: Birth of a Profession*, ed. Betty Houchin Winfield (Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 83.

101 Tank Özçelik, "Ceride-i Havadis'de Ziraat, Ticaret ve Sanayi Tartışmaları," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi*, no. 56 (2009): 469–518.

102 Çakır, "Türkiye'de Serbest Gazeteciliğe Adım: Yarı Özel Gazete Ceride-i Havadis," 21.

103 These special editions carried the numbering of the main publication but had different dates. See for example *Ceride-i Havadis, ilave* #713, 8 Safer 1271 [31 October 1854], *ilave* #713, 11 Safer 1271 [3 November 1854], *ilave* #713, 14 Safer 1271 [6 November 1854].

increase, it was also a time when the Ottoman readership could get used to the concept of newspapers.

If the period between 1830 and 1860 can be described as the genesis of the Ottoman press, the period between 1860 and 1876 should then be described as its first golden age. Especially the decade of the 1860's was a remarkable period, which witnessed both an increase in the number of publications as well as the geographical growth of the press, among other things. The cause of this growth should be sought in the activities of a newly emerging bureaucratic intelligentsia, the fact that the Ottoman reader was getting acquainted with periodicals and the interest of the state of further investing in official newspapers.

The most remarkable change of the 1860's was that there was a very large increase in publishing activity. No less than 40 new periodicals, both official and private, began publishing between 1860 and 1869, excluding periodicals published in exile.¹⁰⁴ In comparison, the nearly thirty years spanning from the first appearance of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1831 until 1859 had seen a total of 22 publications that are known.¹⁰⁵ At least seven out of these 22 were foreign-owned and many of these appear not to have had an Ottoman audience in mind, which makes the contrast even starker. These figures, while saying nothing about the success or failure, or even lifetime of these new periodicals, do make it clear that there was suddenly a lot more interest in publishing periodicals and although the growth in the number of new publications increased even further after 1869, the 1860's form a clear starting point.

Because of this increased activity, the Ottoman press began to take on new characteristics. Until the 1850's, Izmir had been leading ahead of Istanbul in terms of active publications. The several new (albeit foreign-owned) newspapers that appeared in the Ottoman capital had levelled the field. However, following the growth in the 1860's, Istanbul decisively took the lead and would remain the Ottoman Empire's most active press centre until the end. Another

104 These are (1860) *Hadiqa al-Akhbar, Tercüman-ı Ahval*; (1862) *Mecmua-ı Fünun, Tasvir-i Efkâr, Torak Zion*; (1863) *Jamanak, Mecmua-ı İbretnüma, Neologos*; (1864) *Mecmua-ı Havadis*; (1865) *Salname-i Askeri, Suriye, Türkistan*; (1866) *Manzume-i Efkâr, Sihatnüma, Trablusgarp*; (1867) *Envar-ı Şarkîye, Ghadir al-Fırat, Girit, Lübnan, Muhibir, Muhip, Salname-i Vilâyet-i Bosna, Vatan*; (1868) *Edirne, İşkodra, La Reforme, Le Phare du Bosphore, Levant Times and Shipping Gazette, Terakki, Tuna, Utarid, Yanya*; (1869) *Diyarbakir, Fırat, Kevkeb-i Şarki, Konya, Selanik, Terakki-i Muhadderat, Trabzon, Vekayi-i Zaptiye, Zevra*.

105 These are (1831) *Takvim-i Vekayi; Filos Ton Neon*; (1832) *Journal de Smyrne*; (1838) *Amalthia; Echo de l'Orient*; (1839) *İshtemeran Bidani Kidelyats/ Stemaran Pitani Giteleac*; (1840) *Ceride-i Havadis; Anatolê*; (1841) *l'Impartial*; (1842) *Ljuboslowije; La Buena Esperanza*; (1843) *Telegraphos tou Vosporou*; (1848) *Tsarigradski Vestnik*; (1849) *Presse d'Orient*; (1850) *Bizantis; Anatolê*; (1852) *Masis; Mecmua-ı Havadis*; (1853) *Or Yisrael*; (1854) *Courrier d'Orient*; (1856) *Levant Herald*; (1857) *Gazette Medical d'Orient*.

remarkable change was the Ottoman press became distinctly Turkish. Until the 1860's Turkish language publications were in a clear minority, outnumbered by French, Greek and Armenian publications. Now, Turkish became the dominant language for monolingual and bilingual periodicals. This was likely caused by publishers, in an attempt to reach as large a readership as possible, opting for the lingua franca.¹⁰⁶ However, despite a significant portion of Turkish monolingual and bilingual publications in the 1860's consisting of official provincial newspapers, there is also the simple fact that more Turkish journalists started publications.

This spurt of growth of the Ottoman press must have had many contributors. Between the appearance of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1831 and 1860, there had been several changes that were beneficial for the press. First, there was the increased capabilities in communications. After several failed attempts, the Ottoman regular postal system, open for private correspondence, was established in 1840, linking first Edirne to Istanbul and later expanding to other regions.¹⁰⁷ A regular postal system allowed newspaper publishers to obtain subscribers from other Ottoman cities. The first telegraph lines in the Ottoman Empire were built during the Crimean war, and by the end of 1855, the Ottoman capital was connected to Europe through Bucharest and Varna.¹⁰⁸ Although, *Ceride-i Havadis* had already been publishing translated articles sourced from foreign newspapers, a telegraph network could be used to obtain news faster and also from Ottoman lands. This allowed for easier and faster collection of news. But perhaps the more important change that causes the increase in Ottoman periodical output, was the creation of a new bureaucratic intelligentsia, which was heavily influenced by European thinking. These men, who started out as consumers of printed media, soon became creators. Furthermore, according to Strauss, the 1850's were a crucial period for the development of literature in the Ottoman Empire, when also a literary public came into being that was large enough to "sustain a literature."¹⁰⁹ The existence of such a reading public was, of course, imperative for the success of the periodical press.

106 It is worth mentioning here that before the 1860's there had been several publications in Turkish with Greek and Armenian script and the Orthodox Patriarchate preferring the Turkish version of *Takvim-i Vekayi* over the Greek version because it was better understood among its constituents.

107 Okan, "Ottoman Postal and Telegraph Services," 19.

108 Yakup Bektaş, "The Sultan's Messenger: Cultural Constructions of Ottoman Telegraphy, 1847–1880," *Technology and Culture* 41, no. 4 (October 1, 2000): 675, <https://doi.org/10.1353/tech.2000.0141>.

109 Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th–20th Centuries)?," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 1 (January 2003): 42–43, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14752620306881>.

İskit wrote that “[to the Turks], the first journalists were the first men of letters. [İbrahim] Şinasi, Ziya Paşa, Namık Kemal, Ebüzziya Tevfik belong to the history of literature as much as to the history of the press.”¹¹⁰ These “men of letters” were the product of the reform policies started by Selim III and Mahmut II. These reforms, which were later formally called *Tanzimat*, had created the need for a new class of bureaucrats and military officers, trained according to Western model, to run the new institutions of the modernizing state. To this end, many students were sent to Europe where they were not only exposed to their professional subjects, but also European literature, philosophy and politics. Returning students brought their new-found ideas back home and slowly but surely these began to disseminate. Later, one would no longer need to travel to Europe, as the Faculty of Political Science (*Mülkiye*) and the Faculty of Military Science (*Harbiye*) were founded, where the secular curriculum created every opportunity for students to be exposed to European ways of thinking. Another noteworthy hotbed of “European infection” was the Translations Office (*Tercüme Odası*), which was mentioned earlier. This sub-division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, trained government employees in European languages and put them to use toward translating correspondence and monitoring foreign newspapers. In that way, it was almost a training ground for the new “bureaucratic-intelligentsia,”¹¹¹ and many prominent reformist statesmen were once on the Translation Office’s payroll.¹¹²

At the start of the 1860’s, the situation had become ripe enough to give birth to a new intellectual formation known as *Tanzimat Edebiyatı* (“Tanzimat literature”), which revolutionized Ottoman literature.¹¹³ This movement itself was spearheaded by members of the bureaucratic-intelligentsia. However, this was not a literary movement for the sake of art for aesthetics or pleasure. Rather, the followers of this movement believed in the necessity of social and political change through the education of the people, which they summarized in the slogan “Art for the People.”¹¹⁴ The most influential of these Tanzimat authors, such as İbrahim Şinasi and Namık Kemal, would also go on and publish newspapers and use the press as a platform to spread their ideas of government accountability and constitutional rule.¹¹⁵

110 İskit, “The History of the Turkish Press 1831–1931,” 18–19. In the citation, the he names of the authors have been altered and written according to Turkish orthography.

111 Koçak, “Türk Entelijensiyası’nın Filizlendiği Kurum: ‘Tercüme Odası,’” 36–39.

112 Bilim, “Tercüme Odası,” 40–41.

113 Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. 5 (London: Luzac, 1967), 3.

114 Kenan Akyüz, “La Littérature Moderne de Turquie,” *Philologiae Turcae Fundamenta* 2 (1965): 471, 478.

115 İskit, “The History of the Turkish Press 1831–1931,” 19.

In 1860, the first of this new breed of publications appeared under the name *Tercüman-ı Ahval*.¹¹⁶ Its appearance marks the beginning of the transformation of the Ottoman press. *Tercüman-ı Ahval* was launched by Çapanzade Agah Efendi with the help of İbrahim Şinasi. Both men were textbook example members of the Ottoman bureaucratic-intelligentsia. Agah Efendi was a product of the Translation Office¹¹⁷ and would go on to hold other official positions, such as *Posta Nazırı* (Administrator of the Post), where he introduced the usage of postage stamps in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁸ Şinasi, at the time of the publication of *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, worked as a member of *Meclis-i Maarif* (Education Council).¹¹⁹ Both men had also spent several years in Paris, Agah working at the embassy¹²⁰ and Şinasi as a state-sponsored student.¹²¹ Needless to say, they were thoroughly impregnated with European ideas, one being the usage of the press to publicly express opinions.

Their newspaper, *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, would become known as the first private and independent Turkish language newspaper of the Ottoman Empire. The difference between it and *Ceride-i Havadis* was that, unlike Churchill, Agah and Şinasi did not receive any funding from the government. Agah is believed to have funded the entire operation.¹²² This was not out of necessity, but by choice and the apocryphal story even goes that Şinasi declined the considerable sum of 500 gold *lira* subsidy from the palace.¹²³ For all the good that receiving state funding and support had done for *Ceride-i Havadis*, it had come at the price of being subject to pre-print approval for every issue.¹²⁴ Thus, it was clear for Agah and Şinasi that financial independence meant more control over content, and this was essential if their plan to introduce a new form of journalism was to succeed.

Tercüman-ı Ahval is often credited with being the first Turkish opinion newspaper, and Agah Efendi the first Turkish opinion journalist. Both Agah and Şinasi had lived in Paris after the French Revolution, when opinion

116 Topuz, *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*, 19. Topuz gives 21 Ekim 1860 [21 October 1860], but this appears to be a typo. The first issue of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* was dated as 9 Teşrinievvel 1277R [21 October 1861].

117 Bilim, "Tercüme Odası," 41.

118 Salih Kış, "Pul Para Oldu Osmanlı Devleti Hazinesine Kaynak Arayışında Antika Posta Pulları," *Turkish Studies* 10, no. 9 (Summer 2015): 326.

119 Dilek Yalçın Çelik, "Şinasi'nin Düzyazılarında Devrin Eğitim ve Kültür Anlayışına Bir Bakış," *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 27, no. 2 (2010): 152.

120 Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 43.

121 Akyüz, "La Littérature Moderne de Turquie," 474.

122 Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönüyle Basın*, 115.

123 Çakır, "Türkiye'de Serbest Gazeteciliğe Adım: Yarı Özel Gazete Ceride-i Havadis," 33.

124 Özçelik, "Ceride-i Havadis'de Ziraat, Ticaret ve Sanayi Tartışmaları," 475–76.

journalism had become very popular. It stands to reason that upon their return, they had wanted to bring this style of journalism to share it with an Ottoman audience. However, since an aforementioned study has tentatively established that *Ceride-i Havadis* was already publishing opinion pieces and attempting to influence policy,¹²⁵ it might not be entirely fair to give this title to *Tercüman-i Ahval*. Perhaps a more accurate description of the innovation that *Tercüman-i Ahval* introduced is “opposition journalism.” This means that, unlike *Ceride-i Havadis*, this newspaper was openly critical of the government and the state. Their intention to do this was even declared in the opening sentence of the very first issue of the newspaper, which stated in no confusable terms that “a people living in a society where they have many duties cast upon them by law, then, naturally, they also have the right to express, both verbally and written, their ideas which are in the interest of their country,”¹²⁶ thus counter-balancing their duties towards the state with the right to criticise it freely.

In doing so, *Tercüman-i Ahval* ended what had been the norm during the thirty years of duopoly and broke away from repeating the official narrative. It went so far as to cast criticism on both domestic and foreign governments and openly discussed social and economic issues, which reflected badly on those in power. Şinasi, who had left *Tercüman-i Ahval* shortly after its launch, pursued the same direction with his *Tasvir-i Efkar*. They touched upon such subjects as the financial problems of the state, corruption, failures in Ottoman foreign policy and even the excessive commercial ambitions of other private newspapers.¹²⁷ Şinasi even refused to commemorate occasions such as the birthday of the Sultan in *Tasvir-i Efkar*.¹²⁸ With their actions, these newspapers were making a statement that they were not another mouthpiece of the Porte, but rather a voice of political disagreement.

Their contributions toward modernizing Ottoman journalism did not end there. Stylistically, Şinasi pushed for the use of a much clearer language, one that was more intelligible to the masses. Content wise, they introduced the concept of the feuilleton, which was the perfect medium also to publish Şinasi’s “Şair Evlenmesi,” the first modern play in Turkish that is currently known.¹²⁹ Visually, these newspapers employed section headings and less claustrophobic

125 Özçelik, “Ceride-i Havadis’de Ziraat, Ticaret ve Sanayi Tartışmaları.”

126 *Tercüman-i Ahval* #1, “Mukaddeme”: “Madem ki bir heyet-i ictimaiye’de yaşayan halk bunca vezaif-i kanuniyeyle mükelleftir, elbette kalen ve kalemen kendi vatanının menafine dair beyan-ı efkar etmeği cümle-i hukuk-ı müktesibesinden addeyler”

127 Koloğlu, *Osmanlı’dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 46.

128 İnuğur, *Türk Basınında “İz” Brakanlar*, 5.

129 Nermin Menemencioglu, “The Ottoman Theatre 1839–1923,” *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies. Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (January 1983): 51.

formatting, which was unlike the walls of text in *Ceride-i Havadis* and *Takvim-i Vekayi*, described by İskit as “filled to the brim like rice bowls.”¹³⁰

The outcome of their innovations was popularity. Both *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Tasvir-i Efkar* reached never before seen circulations.¹³¹ *Tercüman-ı Ahval* had initially been launched as a weekly, but because of popular interest, it soon changed to a nearly daily frequency. *Tasvir-i Efkar* chose this new frequency from the very start. *Ceride-i Havadis*, seeing the success of the newcomers, adopted some of their innovations, such as better formatting, but also changed its name to *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis*, because it, too, had increased its publishing frequency. These are the first signs of competitive behaviour among Ottoman newspapers.

The periodical business was booming. In the years to follow, more and more Turkish periodicals appeared.¹³² The price of newspapers dropped – or at least offered more content for the same price.¹³³ The first *kıraathane* (“reading house”) opened its doors in 1864 in Istanbul and, for a small fee, its patrons could peruse over 30 domestic and foreign newspapers.¹³⁴ More reading houses followed, indicating that it was a viable business, as some customers would spend their entire day there, reading newspapers.¹³⁵ The government on its end, as part of the *Vilayet* reforms, started in 1864 to establish provincial printing houses.¹³⁶ These were tasked with also publishing official provincial newspapers and totalled fifteen by the end of the decade.¹³⁷ Finally, together with of daily newspapers, the first journals (*mecmua*) appeared in the 1860’s, thus showing a further specialization of publications in this period. Periodical culture had struck root in Istanbul and was, again through state efforts, starting to spread to other parts of the empire.

130 İskit, *Agah Efendi*, 20. “sahifeler pilav lengeri gibi doludur”

131 Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 47. Koloğlu, among others, puts the circulation of these newspapers at over 24,000 daily. However, this does not seem realistic, as modern cylindrical printers in the United States before the penny press revolution could only reach 2,000 prints per hour and were forced to invest in significantly more expensive equipment to reach runs of over 20,000 (cf. Crouthamel, “The Newspaper Revolution in New York 1830–1860,” 105–6.). Agah and Şinasi probably were in all likelihood using hand cranked presses, which probably could not reach those volumes.

132 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Gazeteciliği*, 41–54.

133 See chapter “Financing the Press.”

134 Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, “İlk ‘Kıraathane’nin Açılışı,” *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 5 (1984): 65–66.

135 Süheyl Ünver, “Yayın Hayatımızda Önemli Yeri Olan Sarafım Kıraathanesi,” *Bellekten* 43, no. 169–172 (1979): 484.

136 Olcay Özkaya Duman, “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Ulusal’dan Yerel’e Basın ve Yayıncılık Faaliyetlerinin Gelişimi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *Turkish Studies* 8, no. 12 (2013): 1039.

137 Kocabaşoğlu and Birinci, “Osmanlı Vilayet Gazete ve Matbaaları Üzerine Gözlemler,” 103.

This rapid growth of the press and the success of opinion/opposition journalism, of course drew the attention of the authorities. In reaction to these changes, the government introduced laws to regulate the press. The first efforts to subject printing to law, excluding the occasional decree (*irade*),¹³⁸ was the *Matbaalar Nizamnamesi* (Printing Law) of 1857,¹³⁹ but this was more focused on books than newspapers.¹⁴⁰ The first laws to control the press were introduced as part of the 1858 Ottoman *Ceza Kanunu* (Penal Code). Three articles (138, 139 and 213) were added to the penal code, which were taken from their French equivalents.¹⁴¹ The most significant addition stipulated that attacking the state, the government or any people among the empire's subjects, could lead to indefinite suspension of a publication and a fine. Eventually, at the end of 1864, the first *Matbuat Kanunu* (Press Law) was passed.¹⁴² Like many things in the Ottoman press, it had been inspired by France, in this case the Napoleonic Press Law.¹⁴³ Its first article stipulated the requirement for permission prior to printing any periodical pertaining to matters of politics or government.¹⁴⁴ It also stipulated that a signed copy should be sent to Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdürlüğü*) after printing (Art. 4), while the penal section provided the possibility of suspending the publication (Art. 13, 27, 29).

According to Topuz, the 1864 Press Law was an act of forward thinking and precaution, because, he argues, the total number of publications at that time were ten at the most (including all languages and foreign-owned periodicals), and not at all capable of antagonizing the government.¹⁴⁵ There are several problems with these claims, the main one being that there were far more than ten periodicals being published in 1864. In 1861, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* printed "the list of newspapers being currently printed in the Ottoman capital," containing

138 As early as 1841, all printing in the Ottoman Empire had been made subject to obtaining permission by *irade*.

139 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 73–75.

140 Şerif Demir, "İktidar-Basın İlişkilerinin Osmanlı Devleti'nde Görünümü (1831–1918)," *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, no. 33 (2015): 372.

141 İnuğur, *Türk Basınında "İz" Brakanlar*, 18.

142 *Düstur Tertip 1*, Cilt 2, pp. 220–28, "Dersaadet'de ve Memalik-i Şahane'de tab-ü neşrolunan her nev-i gazete ve evrak-ı havadis-i mülkiye ve politikkiye tab-ü neşri hakkında bu kere tanzim olunan nizamnamedir."

143 İpek K. Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1913," *The Turkish Studies Association Journal* 27, no. 1/2 (2003): 17.

144 Ottoman Press Law of 1864, Art. 1: "Her hangi lisanda olursa olsun, mevadd-ı politikkiye ve mülkiyeyi şamil olmak üzere gerek suret-ı muntazama ve evkat-ı muayyene'de ve gerek cüz cüz ve evkat-ı gayrı muayyene'de gazete ve saire evrak-ı mürettebi-i istihsal ruhsat olunmaksızın ihdas-ü neşrolunmayacaktır"...

145 Topuz, *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*, 44.

sixteen entries.¹⁴⁶ As the title implies, the list does not include publications outside Istanbul. Although little is known about Izmir's press activity in that period, it had been the first "press centre" of the empire and at least three newspapers were being published there in 1853,¹⁴⁷ a number that must have increased by 1864. The sum of these two alone is nearly double of Topuz' figure of "at the most" ten.

Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest the existence of a "pirate press," which operated without permits, and a "forgotten press," which are legal publications that have been lost in time. According to İnuğur, the government acted against pirate publications with two *irade*'s in 1854 and 1856,¹⁴⁸ which means that this could have been an ongoing issue in 1864. Secondly, Şinasi's opening statement in *Tercüman-ı Ahval* states that "nobody among the [Turks] has bothered with the continuous publication of an unofficial newspaper."¹⁴⁹ Şinasi does not claim that they are about to launch the first independent Turkish newspaper ever (which, according to Turkish historiography, it is), but the first to have continuity ("devam üzere") in their publishing. Similarly, in his permit application for *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, Agah himself wrote that "Ottomans and foreigners are publishing Arabic and Turkish newspapers,"¹⁵⁰ meaning that it is possible that independent Turkish language periodicals had appeared earlier. Finally, there is also the "forgotten" but legal press. The best example of this is *Ceride-i Ticaret* (1857), a privately-owned newspaper which was apparently overlooked by Turkish historiography until 2011.¹⁵¹ This discovery not only disrupts the traditional image of *Tercüman-ı Ahval* being the third Ottoman-Turkish periodical, but also suggests that there might be more publications

146 *Tercüman-ı Ahval* #10, 2, "Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye'nin Paytahtında Elyevm Neşrolunmakta Olan Gazetelerin Cetveli."

147 Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 18–19.

148 İnuğur, *Türk Basınında "İz" Brakanlar*, 4. It is very likely that İnuğur's 1856 *irade* is the same one as the one mentioned earlier.

149 *Tercüman-ı Ahval* #1, 1, "Mukaddeme": "Fakat asıl Osmanlı gazetelerin bahsine gelince gayrı resmi bir varakanın devam üzere çıkarılmasında her nasılsa şimdiiye kadar millet-i hakimeden hiçbir kimse ihtiyar-ı zahmet etmemiştir." Millet-i hakime, "the ruling millet," is meant to indicate the Muslim and Turkish population of the Ottoman Empire. This statement caused some of the earliest polemics in the Ottoman press, as it did not go over well with Armenian and Greek journalists.

150 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 7. "Memaliki mahrusai şahanedede saltanatı seniye ve düveli ecnebiye tebaasından bazılarının arabî ve türki ve elsinei sairede nizamı mucibince gazeteler neşretmekte oldukları..."

151 Aziz Tekdemir, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde İlk Ticari Gazete: Ceride-i Ticaret," *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 13, no. 1 (2011): 217–30.

that are yet to be discovered, which could increase the number of publications for this period.

Topuz also claims that these publications were incapable of butting heads with the government, but evidence suggests otherwise. Case in point, staying true to its pioneering spirit, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* managed to add another feat to its impressive list of “firsts” by becoming the first Ottoman newspaper officially to be suspended in June 1861, due to its criticism of the educational system.¹⁵² Şinasi, on the other hand, was using *Tasvir-i Efkar* to promote dangerous concepts such as a parliamentary system, and his radical political ideas are believed to have played an influential role in the creation of the 1864 Press Law.¹⁵³ In 1866, *Muhbir* appeared with lead journalist Ali Suavi, who was even more radical about the necessity of a parliamentary system to solve the empire’s problems. Therefore, in contrast to what Topuz suggested, it seems that these newspapers were very much capable of antagonizing the government to the extent that it felt it needed to take action. In fact, these newspapers were such a nuisance for the government that the 1864 Press Law seemed even insufficient to deal with them.¹⁵⁴ Eventually, Prime Minister (*Sadrızam*) Ali Paşa passed a new decree in 1867, known as *Kararname-i Ali*. This supposedly temporary law, which effectively lasted until the 1908 Revolution, gave the government the authority to suspend publication of periodicals without trial.¹⁵⁵

Fear of persecution from these new laws caused the Ottoman press to bifurcate at this point. On the one hand, the press continued its growth on Ottoman soil while on the other hand, an Ottoman press-in-exile was formed by journalists/intellectuals to Europe. Especially London-based *Hürriyet* (1868), under the direction of Namık Kemal, drew attention as the mouthpiece of the society which had now started to label itself “La Jeune Turquie,” or the Young Ottomans. Their writings focused again on representative government with a parliament and a constitution as the only way to move the country forward and to ascertain its continued existence. Although they were banned, Young

152 Şapolyo, *Türk Gazetecilik Tarihi ve Her Yönüyle Basın*, 118. Also İskit, *Agah Efendi*, 35. İskit erroneously calls this close “whimsical” because it happened before the 1864 Press Law, however under the press related articles in the Ottoman Penal Code of 1858, such criticism could be classified as attack on the government. So, while perhaps unfair, it was not outside the rule of law.

153 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 15. Also, soon after the creation of the 1864 press law, Şinasi fled to Paris, which suggests that he fled out of fear for consequences. (cf. Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 67.)

154 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 49–50.

155 Hıfzı Topuz, *100 Soruda Türk Basın Tarihi*, 100 Soruda Dizisi 36 (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1973), 45–46.

Ottoman periodicals were smuggled into Istanbul and read by the bureaucratic-intelligentsia,¹⁵⁶ thus gaining important support for libertarian ideas.

In 1876, after a *coup d'état* with rather unexpected consequences and after promising to bring constitutional and parliamentary rule, Abdülhamit II took the throne. Abdülhamit's accession to the throne was the beginning of the short-lived First Constitutional Period (*Birinci Meşrutiyet*). At the same time, it was also the beginning of a new chapter for the Ottoman press. During this period, the Sultan himself directly influenced the press to such an extent, that it is possible to speak of a Hamidian press.

Abdülhamit II was very much aware of the (possibly dangerous) power of the press. As a young man, he had witnessed *Tasvir-i Efkar* and *Muhbir* openly make propaganda for a regime change and how Young Ottoman newspaper propaganda had influenced the bureaucratic elite. The sultan actively invested in buying off foreign journalists in order to control public opinion in Europe,¹⁵⁷ but he also subsidised Ottoman newspapers to propagate pan-Islamic ideas in European colonies to further his own influence as sultan-caliph.¹⁵⁸ In other words, he realised that the press could have meaningful impact on its readers.

Consequently, as Abdülhamit started to unfold as an autocratic ruler in the wake of the Ottoman-Russian war (1877–1878), he also brought the press under increasingly stricter control. The complete ban on satirical magazines in 1877¹⁵⁹ did not extend to the entirety of the press. After all, Abdülhamit was not out to destroy the press, but to control it to his own benefit. Thus, he subjected other publishers to preventive censorship, requiring them to have their proofs approved by censors before print. The censorship that followed (and which was not only limited to the periodical press) reached absurd levels with many examples bordering on the comical.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, although in 1877 a new

156 Şerif Arif Mardin, "Libertarian Movements in the Ottoman Empire 1878–1895," *Middle East Journal* 16, no. 2 (1962): 170.

157 E.g. Vahdettin Engin, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve İstanbul'u*, İnceleme-Araştırma 71 (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2008), 59. By imperial decree, the stipend Mr. Norman, correspondent for an English newspaper, was increased from 50 *lira* to 80 *lira* and he was given the liberty to send telegrams for free.

158 Erol Baykal, "The Ottoman Press and the Dutch East Indies at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *Turkish Historical Review* 2, no. 1 (May 1, 2011): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.1163/187754611X570918>.

159 Salih Seyhan, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Mizah Basını ve İçeriklerinden Seçilmiş Örnekler," *Turkish Studies* 8, no. 3 (2013): 498.

160 Ebru Boyar, "The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship between Abdülhamid II and the Press, 1876–1908," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 69, no. 3 (2006): 419–20.

press law was approved in parliament it was never enacted,¹⁶¹ nor was the still current 1864 version of the law properly applied.¹⁶² Rather, legal processes as were defined by the press law, such as applying for printing permits,¹⁶³ were now subject to the whims of the Palace.¹⁶⁴ As a result, the increasingly accelerating growth of the Ottoman periodical press was reduced to a controlled stream, with at the head of the faucet Abdülhamit.

As a result of tightened control over the press, which also included punishments for transgressing journalists, but especially because of the disillusionment with Abdülhamit's rule, intellectuals fleeing the country founded the second wave of the Ottoman press-in-exile. The second wave included a revival of the Ottoman satirical genre in Europe.¹⁶⁵ The most influential periodicals of the second exile, however, were *Meşveret* (1895, Paris) and *Şura-ı Ümmet* (1902, Cairo), both of which appeared under the direction of Ahmet Rıza, the prominent Young Turk intellectual and, later, CUP politician. Abdülhamit, like other contemporary rulers and governments, tried to silence these publications by imposing import bans (which were, again, circumvented by smugglers),¹⁶⁶ bribing journalists into silence, and by using diplomacy to leverage the local laws in the countries where the publications appeared.

However, not all was doom and gloom for publishers and journalists. If they were willing to play by the rules, they could rely on support from the Palace. Some of the best-known specimens of the Ottoman press were products of the Hamidian era, such as the political daily *İkdam* (1894) and the literary *Servet-i*

161 Gökhan Demirkol, "Tanzimat Mizahının Sonu: 1877 Matbuat Kanunu Tartışmaları ve Osmanlı'da Mizah Dergilerinin Kapanması," *Hitit Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 9, no. 2 (December 21, 2016): 689, <https://doi.org/10.17218/hititsosbil.280811>.

162 H. Williamson, "The Ottoman Press Law as Attempted to Be Applied to the Cyprus Herald: The Only English Newspaper Published in the Island of Cyprus." (1885), Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60230382>. In 1885, the *Cyprus Herald* labels the press law "obsolete."

163 The first article of the 1864 press law stipulated that upon verifying that an applicant met all the requirements laid out in the third article of the same law, they would be granted a publishing permit. These requirements included applicants age, their ability to conduct business and that the applicant should not have been found guilty of serious crimes. However, permit applicants were often being rejected with the explanation that there were too many periodicals of a certain language or in a certain region. E.g. BOA DH.MKT. 916/84, 17 Şevval 1322/12 Kanunievvel 1320 [2/12/1904]: The applicant for the newspaper *al-Thabat* was told that Beirut already had more than its share ("haddinden fazla") periodicals.

164 Yosmaoğlu, "Chasing the Printed Word," 24.

165 Seyhan, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Mizah Basını ve İçeriklerinden Seçilmiş Örnekler," 498.

166 Mardin, "Libertarian Movements in the Ottoman Empire 1878–1895," 171.

Fünun (1891), which even introduced the Ottoman “photo reportage” in 1896.¹⁶⁷ It was up to the owners of these periodicals to maintain a good relationship with the palace, an act described as “walking a tightrope” by contemporary journalist Hüseyin Cahit.¹⁶⁸ If they did well, publishers and journalists alike could rely on generous financial support (such as stipends and tax exemptions)¹⁶⁹ and prestigious imperial medals.¹⁷⁰ Publishers such as Mihran and Mehmet (Baba) Tahir emerged as veritable press barons, owning numerous newspapers and magazines, while also relying on subsidies and competing among one another for the favour of the Sultan.¹⁷¹ Among periodicals that were launched between 1876 and 1884¹⁷² only one out of the 31 (or $\pm 3\%$) expressed its gratitude to Abdülhamit in its opening statement,¹⁷³ after 1885 out of 70 launching periodicals no less than 44 (or $\pm 62\%$)¹⁷⁴ expressed their gratitude to the Sultan and only

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- 167 Uğur Kavas, *Türkiye’de Basın Fotoğrafçılığının Görsel Tarihi, Osmanlı’dan 1960’a*, vol. 1 (Ankara, 2008), 37.
- 168 Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], *Edebiyat Anıları*, ed. Rauf Mutluay, Genel Yayın 408 (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınlar, 2010), 115.
- 169 Abdülhamit’s habit of subsidising newspapers and journals is fairly well-established. E.g. Engin, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve İstanbul’u*, 58. The political daily *İkdam* was given 2,000 kuruş monthly stipend as the result of an *irade* (decree) from Abdülhamit.
- 170 This was common practice to the point that the yearbook of the Ministry of Education, which listed registered periodicals, had a column dedicated to mark which rank of medal a publisher had been granted. Cf. *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye, 1321* (Darülhilafet [İstanbul]: Asır Matbaası, 1321H). After the 1908 Revolution, these were considered a badge of shame and journalists who had received such medals would usually write in their memoirs that they did not know why they were given such a medal and that they had not even wanted it.
- 171 Boyar, “The Press and the Palace,” 428.
- 172 First issues of *Sabah* (1876), *Muharrir* (1876), *al-Nahla* (1877), *İstikbal* (1879), *Yadigar* (1879), *Mecmua-ı Ebüziya* (1880), *Aile* (1880), *Arkadaş* (1880), *Bahçe* (1880), *Medrese-i Hukuk* (1881), *Münebbih* (1881), *Cocuklara Arkadaş* (1881), *Hafta* (1881), *Hazine-i Evrak* (1881), *Ziraat Gazetesi* (1881), *Mecmua-ı Nevredigan* (1882), *Mezra-ı Maarif* (1882), *Meşahir-i Alem (Musavver)* (1882), *Türkistan (Musavver)* (1882), *Afak* (1882), *Cocuklara Kiraat* (1882), *İnsaniyet* (1882), *İntibah* (1882), *Mecmua-ı Asar* (1883), *Medrese-i Fünun* (1883), *Muhaderat* (1883), *Emvar-ı Zeka* (1883), *Güneş* (1883), *Nevruz* (1884), *Haver* (1884), *Tulu* (1884).
- 173 *Çocuklara Arkadaş #1*, 1 Cemazeyilahir 1298 [1 May 1881], 1 “İbtida.”
- 174 First issues of *Vergi ve Arazi Mecmuası* (1885), *Ziraat ve Sanat Tercüme-i Fünun Odaları* (1885), *Nilüfer* (1886), *Asar* (1886), *Gayret* (1886), *Terakki* (1887), *Manzara* (1887), *Mecmua-ı Muallim* (1887), *Payidar* (1887), *Risale-i Hafî* (1887), *Sa’y* (1887), *Etfal* (1887), *Fevaid* (1887), *Nokta* (1888), *Sefa* (1888), *Zerrat* (1888), *Kawkab al-Ulum* (1889), *Kevkebi Osmani* (1889), *Çanta* (1889), *Nevsal-ı Osmani* (1890), *Zühur* (1890), *Cihan (Musavver)* (1891), *Malumat-ı Mütenevviya* (1893), *Hazine-i Fünun* (1893), *Maarif* (1895), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (1895), *İzmir* (1896), *Mutaala* (1896), *Nevsal-ı Asır* (1896), *Cocuklara Mahsus Gazete* (1896), *Emniyet* (1896), *Malumat* (1897), *Nevsal-ı Askeri* (1897), *Pul Mecmuası* (1897), *İrtika* (1897), *Marifet* (1898), *Servet* (1898), *Fen ve Edeb (Musavver)* (1899), *Nevsal-ı*

30 (including some published in exile) did not.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, the fact that it was difficult to obtain publishing permits only helped to bolster the positions of influence of existing publishers, by keeping the number of competitors artificially low. A symbiotic, mutually beneficial relationship had been achieved between the Sultan and the press; those who behaved were allowed to thrive.¹⁷⁶

However, the symbiosis came at quite a hefty price for journalists, who, above all, now had to tread carefully. Reminiscent of the way in which Ottoman literature under Abdülhamit had moved from the socially engaged “Art for the people” of the 1860’s to “Art for the sake of art,” and, thus, had become detached from reality and politics in order to focus on abstract and metaphysical topics,¹⁷⁷ so too did the Ottoman press become apolitical as the opinion pieces and the socio-political commentary of the 1860’s were abandoned and newspapers turned into magazines filled with literary encyclopaedic articles.¹⁷⁸ Opinions, unless sanctioned by the palace, were best not printed.¹⁷⁹ This was the Hamidian press; newspapers declawed and made docile, writing exclusively what Abdülhamit allowed in order to guarantee their continued existence.

Abdülhamit II’s strict press regime was his attempt not to destroy the press, but to control its power. He tried to achieve this by, on the one hand, restricting and punishing undesirable journalists and publications and, on the other hand, supporting those who did choose to play by his rules. While certain publishers could thrive under these circumstances and the industry actually made some material advances, Ottoman journalism itself had become bland and contrasted starkly with the gusto and punch of the golden age of the 1860’s. At the same time, the organic growth of the Ottoman press was being throttled

Afiyet (1899), Nevsal-ı Malumat (1899), Terakki (Musavver) (1902), Jarida al-Haqaiq (1902), Çocuk Bahçesi (1904), Haftalık Serbest İzmir (1907).

175 First issues of *Saadet* (1885), *Gülşen* (1885), *Sebat* (1886), *Nahl-ı Emel* (1886), *al-Haqaiq* (1886), *İtila* (1887), *Nümune-i Terakki* (1887), *Çaylak* (1887), *Teaviün-ı Aklam* (1887), *Umaran* (1887), *Azhar-ı Ramazan* (1889), *Muhit* (1889), *Resimli Gazete* (1891), *Fünun* (1892), *Süs* (1892), *Kanun-ı Esasi* (1896), *Ezan* (1896), *Bedreka-ı Selamet* (1897), *Mutaala-ı Salon* (1898), *Pinti* (1898), *İirtika* (1898), *Muktebes* (1899), *Ceride-i Baytariye* (1899), *Gülşen-i Edeb* (1899), *Fen ve Edeb (Musavver)* (1899), *Mecmua-ı Kemal* (1901), *İntikam* (1902), *İctihad* (1904), *Balkan* (1906), *Füyuzat* (1906), *Hamîyet* (1907).

176 Boyar, “The Press and the Palace,” 432.

177 Akyüz, “La Littérature Moderne de Turquie,” 473, 479.

178 İskit, “The History of the Turkish Press 1831–1931,” 19.

179 Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], *Edebiyat Anıları*, 132. According to Hüseyin Cahit, *Servet-i Fünun* was a place where ideologies like the desire for a constitution were passionately alive, but could not be written about.

back through limitations on publishing permits. These were definitely not the glory days of the Ottoman press.

In the 77 years that had passed between the first publication of *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1831 and the reinstatement of the constitution in 1908, the Ottoman press had gone through fundamental transformations. The duopoly of *Takvim-i Vekayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis* had lasted 30 years. These pioneers succeeded in familiarizing a generation of Ottoman subjects to the concept of a newspaper. The 1860's marked the beginning of a new period with political newspapers and opinion journalism, which went hand in hand with the increasing popularity of periodicals among the bureaucratic elite. The increasing criticism on the government and propaganda for a regime change moved the Ottoman government better to control the press through laws and decrees, and in the process, created the Ottoman press-in-exile. The Young Ottomans, who had been pioneers in using the press as a medium for their ideology, eventually played an important part in the creation of the first constitution and the opening of the parliament. Under Abdülhamit II, strict policies placed the press under control of the Palace, while also suppressing every critical voice. The growth of the press was dammed and much fewer new periodicals were published than could have. After the 1908 Revolution, the pent-up desire to publish exploded into a veritable press boom.

The 1908 Press Boom

In the Turkish republic, the 24th of July is officially celebrated as Journalist and Press Day (*Gazeteciler ve Basın Bayramı*). The date coincides with the 1908 Ottoman revolution, the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period (*İkinci Meşrutiyet*). Although the connection might not be obvious, it was in the wake of the July revolution that the Ottoman press underwent a revolutionary transformation itself, laying the foundation of what the press would look and act like until the end of the empire, and even into the republic.

Of all the consequences of the July revolution, perhaps the earliest and most visible outcome was the press boom. The boom, which lasted for about a year, was a period of unusually high press activity, peaking in the first months, but reverberating much longer. Despite lasting a relatively short time, the boom was nevertheless a remarkably large phenomenon in terms of intensity, geography and demography. In cities all over the empire, in a matter of weeks, hundreds of new publications appeared, circulations shot skyward, and everybody who had anything (or sometimes even nothing) to say, seemingly rushed to get a publication out the door.

The boom-era press was itself revolutionary in character, so much so that, as it rapidly occupied a prominent place in public space, it was almost a physical manifestation of the revolution. Not only did it extensively celebrate the promulgation of the constitution and the liberties that the new form of regime would bring, but it also saw itself (maybe justifiably so) as an actual part of that same revolution. This was at least partially correct, for it was the press itself that was responsible for a break with the strict Hamidian press regime.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the quantifiable characteristics of the press boom in order to instil in the reader an understanding of the size of the boom in terms of publishing permit applications, actual publications, and geographic and demographic distributions. The second part of the chapter looks at both causes and effects of the boom.

To understand why the increased press activity in the wake of the revolution deserves to be labelled as “boom,” it best to look at it from various angles. First, this was a phenomenon of incredibly large scale. Second, it was a very sudden, an almost overnight occurrence. Third, it happened all over the Ottoman Empire at the same time. Finally, it thoroughly encompassed all the *millet* of the empire. In other words, it was a sudden and massive expansion in publications.

The most interesting aspect of the press boom is its sheer size, which was unlike anything before in Ottoman history. In his memoirs, Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], owner of the famous literary periodical *Servet-i Fünun*, recalls the days after the revolution as follows:

Especially Bab-ı Ali Street¹ displayed very peculiar sights regarding journalism and writing. [Incredible!] It was as if everyone in the country capable of holding a pen was becoming a writer! Whoever had a few *para* to spare immediately set out to start a newspaper! Those without ready money sold their houses and possessions and started printing shops and newspapers. The number of dailies being published was over 50. There was no counting the number of magazines and newsletters.²

It would be easy to cast aside such impressions as being exaggerations of a memoir writer. However, in the year following the revolution, Ottoman authorities received publishing permit (*ruhsat*) applications for over 1,200 separate publications throughout the empire. Obtaining a permit prior to publishing was required by the 1864 Press Law, which theoretically still governed matters of the press in 1908.³ Of course, a permit is merely evidence of intent to publish and the more than 1,200 permits did not all translate into actual publications. The fact that permits could be obtained at virtually no cost without doubt also inflated the number of applications.

However, cross-referencing the permit applications with confirmed publications reveals a very high conversion (nearly half) from permit to actual print. The Hakkı Tank Us collection (HTU), which has an unmistakable bias towards Istanbul-based Turkish-only language periodicals, contains at least 99 publications that are in Turkish, based in Istanbul, which appeared as a

1 Bab-ı Ali Caddesi, in Sultanahmet, was Istanbul's equivalent of London's Fleet Street and housed many printing shops and publishers. Many printing shops can still be found in this area.

2 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923 – Meşrutîyetin İlânından Umumî Muharebeye Kadar 1908–1914*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan, 1931), 35. “O ne idi?,” literally “What was that?,” is rhetorically used to express astonishment and has therefore been translated as “It was incredible!”

3 Please refer to the Appendix “Ottoman Press Laws” which contains the full text of the 1864 and 1909 Press Laws. The first article of the 1864 press law stipulated that any publication pertaining to political and state-related matters (“mevad-ı politikye ve mülkiye”) must apply for a permit. However, during the press boom, it seems that even for non-political publications people were applying for permits.

result of the press boom⁴ and for which permit application records exist. On the other hand, there are a total of 218 records with known positive outcome⁵ that comply to the same criteria, which suggests a conversion rate of approximately 45%. Assuming the same conversion rate for all the applications (1,225), the total number of publications in the Ottoman Empire as a result of the press boom can be estimated at 556.⁶

The accuracy of these calculations is debatable for several reasons. First, neither the HTU collections nor the permit application records are complete. For example, there are 30 publications in the HTU collection without a corresponding permit application record. Secondly, Istanbul, as will be discussed later, was a unique case and perhaps not the best candidate for generalization. Future research can be expected to drive the global numbers either up or down, but probably not significantly so. For example, if more records are discovered, the conversion rate might potentially drop, but the global estimate number of publications would increase at the same time. At any rate, the figures provide sufficient evidence of unusually high permit application and publications.

It becomes easier to appreciate the sheer size of the press boom when it is placed in historical context. For comparison, for the five years before the revolution, it was possible only to find 31 permit applications for new publications, and although a more thorough search will without doubt increase this number, it will remain utterly dwarfed by the numbers of the press boom. Similarly, a comparison between *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye* for the years 1316⁷ and 1321⁸ reveals that in Istanbul over the span of five years only two new publications had appeared, namely *Terakki (Musavver)* and *Mecmua-ı Edebiye*, while the total number of publications had dropped from 65 to 55. On the other hand, in the year after the revolution, Istanbul had 129 confirmed new publications in Turkish alone. Furthermore, if the estimate of 556 is correct, this would also make the Ottoman press boom a very remarkable event in the general history of the press as there appear to have been no comparable

4 Either its permit application happened during the press boom or it appeared during the boom or shortly thereafter.

5 There are a total of ±250 applications for which the outcome is not known. In the cases where the outcome is known (±1,000), there are less than 1% negative responses, and all the rejections are based on technicalities.

6 Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyeti Beklerken*, Tarih 36 (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversiteleri Yayınları, 2010), 7–8. Kocabaşoğlu, citing various sources, cites higher figures, but mistakenly assumes that an obtained permit automatically resulted in a publication.

7 *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, 1316 (Darülhilafet [İstanbul]: Matbaa-ı Amire, 1316H), 766–71.

8 *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, 1321, 272–73.

increase in the number of publications in such a short period of time, except in France in 1848.⁹

The press boom erupted immediately following the July 1908 Revolution with full intensity. As can be seen in Figure 1, the most intense period for permit applications were the months of July and August 1908. Despite what the graph shows, July saw a much higher rate of applicants. This fact becomes obvious when one considers that the revolution took place on the 24th day of the month, thus leaving one week for applications. Had the whole month of July shown the same activity, it would have resulted in more than 350 applications in that month. This is a crude and simplistic calculation, but nevertheless illustrates that not August, but July was the most intense period for permit applications. In other words, the desire to publish did not gather speed in August. Rather, it ignited in the week after the revolution and steadily wound down. In June 1909, permit applications had been made superfluous by the new 1909 Press Law, and thus applications dated later than that point should be considered anomalies. Therefore, for the sake of periodization, it stands to reason to accept June 1909 as the end of the press boom, but not of the boom-era press, as the number of confirmed new publications in Istanbul was still above average in the coming months.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the permit application boom did also translate into a print boom. When the permit applications are compared to confirmed publications, there is an unmistakable similarity in their progress, albeit with some delay. Before stabilizing in a steady number of new publications, there was a definite peak in August and September. The comparison reveals that most applicants rushed to get their publications out the door. Some publications, such as *Mizan*, managed to appear within the same week as the revolution.¹⁰ Although *Mizan* was a republication of a newspaper once shut down under the regime of Abdülhamit, and therefore arguably had less preparation to do, other publications did not lag far behind. For example, the famous poet Tevfik Fikret lodged his application for the daily political newspaper *Tanin*, a hallmark publication of the second constitutional era, on the 25th of July 1908, the day after the constitutional announcement,¹¹ and its first issue appeared a week later, on the 1st of August.¹²

9 Collins, "Traitorous Collaboration, The Press in France, 1815–1914," 91.

10 *Mizan* #1, 17 Temmuz 1324 [30/7/1908].

11 BOA DH.MKT 1273/28, 29 Cemazeyilahir 1326 [29 July 1908]. Tevfik Fikret's handwritten application is dated 12 Temmuz 1324 [25 July 1908]. The discrepancies between the actual date of the submission and the recorded date in the archives is discussed in Appendix "Permit Applications and Publications Index."

12 *Tanin* #1, 19 Temmuz 1324 [1/08/1908]

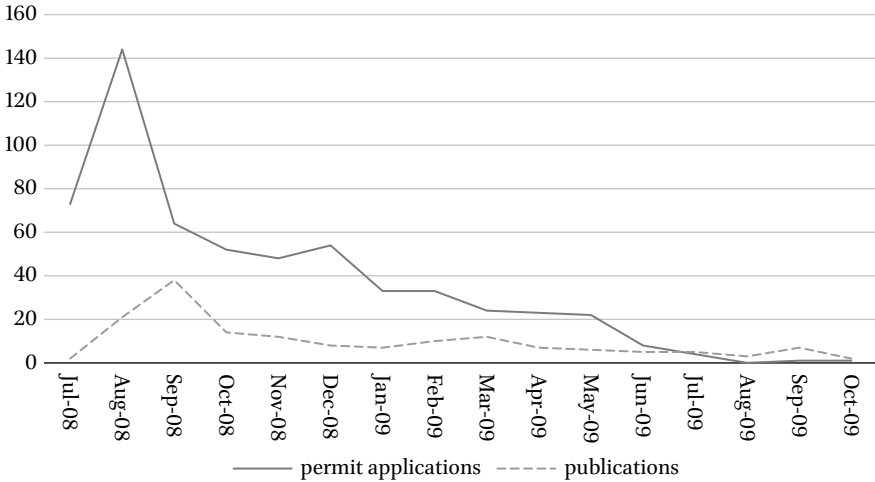


FIGURE 1 Permit applications compared to actual new publications during the press boom. Number of monthly publishing permit applications for the period July 1908 – October 1909. These are compared to the actual publications that were found in the HTU collection. For more information on how this chart was created, please refer to the Appendix “Permit Applications and Publications Index.”

Other publications alluded to the sense of urgency that seems to have had a grip on aspiring publishers. The monthly illustrated *Resimli Kitap* revealed that instead of waiting for the equipment ordered from Europe, which would allow them to reach a quality of print for which they strived, they rather chose to go to print with the inferior press at their disposal.¹³ Similarly, but perhaps even more revealing, the weekly *Necat-ı Millet (Musavver)* confessed in their first issue that they “somehow” (“her nasılsa”) had not managed to finish some of their articles, and that they would appear later,¹⁴ showing an unwillingness even to delay their publication by a week.

Although Ahmet İhsan’s testimonial regarding the press was about Istanbul, the press boom itself was not limited to the Ottoman capital. Applications were submitted, also immediately following the revolution, in 30 different administrative districts, stretching over a wide geography of the empire from North Africa to the Balkans and from the Aegean coast to the eastern edges of Anatolia. The geographic scope is succinctly visualised in Figure 3.

13 *Resimli Kitap* #1, 15 Eylül 1324 [28/9/1908], “İlk Söz.”

14 *Necat-ı Millet* #1, 20 Eylül 1324 [10/1908], “İtizar.”

Administrative District	Applications	Foundation (Hicri) oldest active printer		Printers in 1903/4	Newspaper in 1903/4	Provincial population (/1000) in 1906	Largest city population (/1000) in 1906	Trades & craft %	Arts & sciences %	Other %	Gross annual income (million kuruş) in 1894/5
		1903/4	Printer								
İstanbul	525	1247	79	55	782	782	782	44	40	16	56
Aydın Vilayeti	157	1285	33	17	1720	1720	630	33	19	48	125
Beyrut											
Vilayeti Selanik	87	1304	20	17	561	561	122	30	14	56	85
Vilayeti Trabzon	79	1292	14	8	922	922	585	43	25	32	90
Vilayeti Suriye Vilayeti	25	1282	4	1	1343	1343	627	54	18	28	125
Halep Vilayeti	24	1281	5	3	479	479	362	28	14	58	87
Bağdat	22	1284	3	1	878	878	547	33	14	53	60
Vilayeti* Kudüs-i Şerif	22	1286	3	1	178	178	126	28	13	59	89
Mutasarrıflığı Cezayir-i Bahri-i Sefid	21	1266	22	?	231	231	78	31	13	56	29
Vilayeti	9	1306	4	1	364	364	134	26	13	61	49

Administrative District	Applications	Foundation (Hicri) oldest active printer	Printers in 1903/4	Newspaper in 1903/4	Provincial population (/1000) in 1906	Largest city population (/1000) in 1906	Trades & craft %	Arts & sciences %	Other %	Gross annual income (million kuruş) in 1894/5
Sivas Vilayeti	2	1283	1	1	1194	487	28	10	62	58
İşkodra										
Vilayeti	1	1277	2	1	90	90	32	22	46	51
Musul										
Vilayeti*	1	1298	2	1	161	52	36	18	46	65
Van Vilayeti	1	1307	1	1	114	114	25	16	59	45
Erzurum										
Vilayeti	1	1281	1	1	676	430	25	13	62	92
Biga	0					24	35	25	40	17
Çatalca										
Sancağı	0		?	?	?	76	31	15	54	11
Basra Vilayeti*	0	1313	1	1	10	8	30	19	51	44
Yemen										
Vilayeti	0		1	1			21	9	70	128

Bitlis Vilayeti	0	1303	1	1	302	73	21	12	67	77
Deyr-i Zor										
Sancağı	0	0	0	0	67	41	30	12	58	20

FIGURE 2 Overview of permit applications submitted during the press boom per administrative district.

This table compares the intensity of the press boom per administrative districts, using several parameters. Best performers per category are marked in blue, top performer is italicized. Worst performers are marked in red. This table is based on the data in the Appendix "Permit Applications and Publications Index" for the number of applications. Information regarding the number and foundation dates of printing establishment and newspapers is compiled from *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye, 1321*. Darülhılafet [Istanbul]; Asir Matbaası, 1321H. Gaps have been filled with the 1316H edition of the same *Salname*. Demographic data is obtained from Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). The asterisk (*) indicated that in that district only the male population was counted in the census.

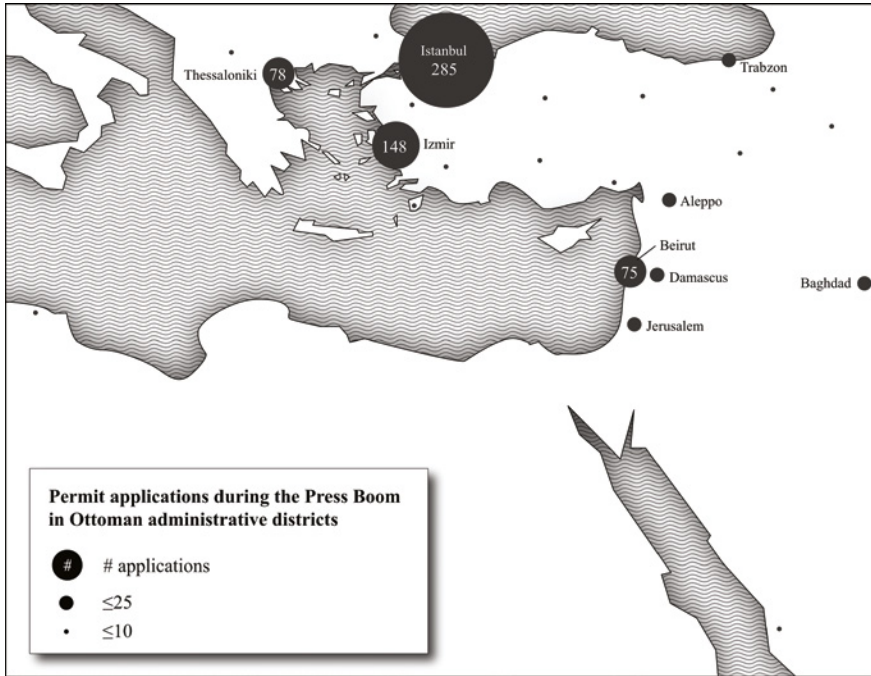


FIGURE 3 Map depicting the intensity of the press boom over Ottoman geography.

In these regions, too, permits were soon transformed into actual publications. In the HTU collection, it is possible to find issues that appeared as early as July to September 1908 in Thessaloniki, Izmir, Trabzon, Samsun and Konya.¹⁵ It is worth repeating again that this collection is heavily biased towards the Turkish language press of Istanbul and although it reveals publishing activities in many more cities, such as Aleppo, Diyarbekir and Mecca, it falls short of providing a sense of scale as it does for Istanbul. Fortunately, there are other sources that can confirm publications that cannot be found in HTU. The best example is Tauber's article on nationalist ideas in late-Ottoman Syria, which confirms that at least fourteen of the boom permits resulted in publication in Syria and the Lebanon.¹⁶ However, Tauber's list focuses almost exclusively

15 Please refer to the list of newspapers in the Appendix "Permit Applications and Publications Index."

16 Publications confirmed by Tauber are marked as such in the Appendix "Permit Applications and Publications Index."

on newspapers that explicitly supported Arab nationalist ideas, while ignoring other publications, which means that fourteen is an absolute minimum. At least one, *al-Ittihad al-Uthmani*, was published no later than September 1908.¹⁷ While more or less accurate conversion rates from permits to actual printing for cities other than Istanbul require further research, it is nonetheless clear that during the boom the appearance of new publications was not limited to Istanbul.

Records where the profession of the applicant was registered show (Figure 4) that applicants were usually practicing non-labour work and were part of an Ottoman “middle class.” There are no unqualified labourers or peasants, which is perhaps to be expected. Government employees rank highest at 26% of the total applications. Of all professions, however, this is the most diverse group, from *katıps*, all the way to higher up officials in various ministries (*nezaret*). This percentage is even higher when considered only for Muslim applicants (37%) compared to non-Muslims applicants (7%). This could tentatively be interpreted as far less non-Muslims being on government payroll, even though following the *Tanzimat* reforms government career tracks were open to all Ottomans regardless of their *millet*.

Still, the high percentage of government employees is not wholly unexpected. The first period of expansion of the Ottoman press in the 1860's was also spearheaded by bureaucrats. Agah Efendi, İbrahim Şinasi, Namık Kemal and many of their colleagues were members of the Ottoman bureaucratic-intelligentsia. In fact, the relative size of bureaucrats was probably higher in 1860s. Of course, in those days, there was far less diversity as many of the western-minded reformists could be traced back to the Translations Office (*Tercüme Odası*), part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In contrast, translators, as far as can be told, were barely represented during the press boom. A likely explanation for this shift is that more people were exposed to the press after the 1860's, whereas earlier especially the employees of the Translation Bureau were in daily contact with the European press and non-Turkish Ottoman press, while the Ottoman Turkish press was still in its infancy.

The press boom, as formidable as it was, was not magical in the sense that it could not create press out of thin air. Despite its vastness in terms of geographic

17 Eliezer Tauber, “The Press and the Journalist as a Vehicle in Spreading National Ideas in Syria in the Late Ottoman Period,” *Die Welt Des Islams* 30, no. 1/4 (January 1, 1990): 175, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1571051>.

Category	%	Remarks
Government	26%	Civil servants, ex-government, ...
Press	18%	Owners of newspapers, editors and journalists
Law	17%	Lawyers
Education	11%	Teachers, professors and principals
Printing	10%	Owners and employees
Commercial	4%	Merchants
Medicine	3%	Physicians, pharmacists and veterinarians
Military	3%	Officers
Library	3%	
Religious	2%	
Other	2%	Bankers, students, engineers, jewelers ...

FIGURE 4 Distribution of permit applicants by profession

A small number of applicants had multiple professions, thus counting towards multiple categories. Furthermore, if an individual made multiple applications, this was counted multiple times, because the distribution is based on applications and not applicants.

distribution, Figure 2 reveals the contrast that existed from one district to the other. It also reveals that the boom relied on several environmental factors in order actually to create increased press activity. The boom was most effective in districts with well-established press cultures, where printing presses were available, and cities with large and relatively wealthy populations existed.

The clear majority of the applications were lodged in Istanbul and Izmir (Aydın Vilayeti). These two cities had historically been the most important press centres of the Ottoman press, with the latter even holding the lead over Istanbul until the 1860s.¹⁸ In that regard, they were the Ottoman cities with the longest tradition of circulating printed media. Other top-ranking districts (Figure 2) almost all had a (relatively) high number of active printing establishment and periodicals in circulation before the boom occurred. The boom was mostly felt in places where the population was already used to the idea of the press.

¹⁸ See the chapter on the history of the Ottoman press before 1908.

From Figure 2 and 3, it also becomes apparent that the press was mostly an urban affair and required a certain level of welfare. Top ranking districts almost all have the largest urban population in their capital city, as opposed to just a large population in the province. Therefore, larger cities were more hospitable to the press. Secondly, the worst performing districts usually had fewer artisans and intellectuals in their population, and perhaps connected to that, also usually a lower gross income. It is worth mentioning that the ranking of the districts in Figure 2 closely follows Eldem's ranking of regions based on average per-capita income.¹⁹ These findings hint at the expensive nature of publishing, as will be explained in the chapter "Financing the Press," which is also why it is not surprising to find the highest number of privately operated printing establishments in those regions.

Although some districts scored high in one or more parameter, districts needed to score well across the board in order to be a healthy breeding ground for a press-culture and, as a result, responsive to the press boom. Without venturing into a chicken-or-egg debate about the interdependence of these parameters, one can see that, for example, Yemen Vilayeti, despite its high annual gross district income, did not fulfil the technological nor socio-economic requirements to respond in a meaningful way to the press boom. It had no printers and the lowest percentage of intellectual and artisanal workers. İškodra Vilayeti, despite scoring relatively well in social and economic parameters, and despite operating a press much sooner than most districts, simply did not have the population, nor the number of presses to increase its printing output. The most peculiar case is Hüdavendigar Vilayeti (Bursa), which should have performed much better, because it scored well on almost every parameter. This shows that there are perhaps other parameters that could better help clarify why certain cities did worse than others.

In districts with a small number of printers and publications, the 1908 press boom did not cause these *vilayets* suddenly to leap forward and catch up with Istanbul or Beyrut Vilayeti. Nor was this the period wherein a local provincial press emerged. Although it certainly had an impact, the boom did not transform those areas into press centres overnight, not even in the longer run. In 1921, the director of Ankara's Press Regulation Office remarked during a meeting at the Grand National Assembly that, when compared to Istanbul, impoverished Ankara and Anatolia simply did not have a press, meaning that the

19 Vedat Eldem, *Harp ve Müttareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994), 5.

decade following the boom did little to change the situation that can be seen in Figure 3.²⁰

This does not mean, however, that the 1908 press boom was less significant for these parts of the empire. On the contrary, for *vilayets* which had a single official newspaper in 1903/1904, the appearance of even a single new publication was perhaps even more significant than for Istanbul or Beyrut, where the readership was already used to being able to read from a range of periodicals. For example, Edirne Vilayeti had a total of three publications in 1903/1904. During the boom applications were made for at least nine new publications. At least two of these, but likely more, made it to print. Hüdavendigâr Vilayeti, and Trabzon Vilayeti, which both had only one official publication, saw at least six and a staggering 25 applications respectively. Although Trabzon did not reach the levels of Thessaloniki or Izmir, it was nevertheless a formidable change. When regarded from this perspective, it becomes clear that the press boom was a life-altering event, at least for those who loved reading.

The press boom did not only encompass the Ottoman geography, but also its constituent people. The multi-ethnic and multi-lingual composition of the empire is reflected in the permit applications. There were applications for publications in Turkish, Greek, Arabic, French, Armenian, Hebrew, Judeo-Spanish (Ladino), Kurdish, Persian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Romanian, Russian, English, German, Serbo-Croatian, Italian but also for Turkish in Greek and Armenian script. A large part of the applicants expressed the intent to publish a multilingual periodical, combining many of these languages.

Turkish was by far the most dominant language of the Ottoman press, as can be seen in Figure 5. It was not only globally the most used language for monolingual records, but also the most common language to combine with others in multilingual records. Turkish had become a dominant language of the Ottoman press only in the 1860's, being outnumbered in the decades before. However, in Istanbul between 1898/9²¹ and 1903/4,²² Turkish monolingual publications hovered around 32% of the total appearing periodicals. After the revolution, monolingual permit applications were for 67% Turkish. Neither of these reflect the demographic reality of Istanbul's population according to the census of 1906/7, which would have 47% of the city's population registered as Muslim, even if all of them are assumed to have been Turks or turcophone. However, not all who published in Turkish were Muslim and vice-versa. No less than 31 (12%) of monolingual Turkish records for Istanbul were lodged

20 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İċtima 159 Celse 1, 28/2/1337 [28 February 1921], 517.

21 *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, 1316, 766–71.

22 *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, 1321, 272–73.

	Monolingual						Multilingual					
	Global		W. cluster		E. cluster		Global		W. cluster		E. cluster	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Turkish	496	51%	368	63%	4	4%	117	37%	82	37%	35	37%
Greek	170	18%	117	20%	0	0%	33	11%	31	14%	2	2%
Arabic	140	14%	11	2%	86	90%	54	17%	16	7%	38	40%
French	59	6%	40	7%	4	4%	65	21%	56	25%	9	10%
Armenian	53	5%	36	6%	0	0%	15	5%	15	7%	0	0%
Jewish	15	2%	11	2%	2	2%	30	10%	20	9%	10	11%
Other	37	4%										
SUM	970	100%	583	100%	96	100%	314	100%	220	100%	94	100%

FIGURE 5 Distribution of permit applications by language.

Global contains all records where language information is available. Western cluster is composed of Istanbul, Aydın Vilayeti and Selanik vilayeti records. Eastern cluster is composed of Beyrut Vilayeti (including Mount Lebanon), Halep Vilayeti, Suriye Vilayeti, Bağdat Vilayeti and Kudtis-i Şerif Mutasarrıflığı records. The "Jewish" language is a combination of both Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish due to the confusion in the sources regarding these languages.

by non-Muslim applicants, mostly Armenians and Greeks. Conversely, four (5%) of monolingual Greek and Armenian records for Istanbul were lodged by Muslims.

In the eastern parts of the empire, Turkish was replaced as the dominant language. The map in Figure 3 reveals two geographically isolated groups, one roughly around the Aegean Sea (the Western cluster) and the other in the Fertile Crescent (the Eastern cluster). The comparison between Eastern and Western clusters in Figure 5 leaves little doubt about the distinct linguistic characteristics of the two regions. In the Eastern cluster, Arabic is by far the most preferred language for monolingual publishing, and by a small margin, also beats Turkish as the preferred language for multilingual combinations. In the Eastern cluster, Turkish, and most other languages, are relegated to playing second fiddle to Arabic in multilingual publications.

Unfortunately, as is to be expected from an Ottoman census recorded in 1906/7, the administrators only broke down the population figures by religion, the foundation of the *Millet* system, and gender. This means that those who were ethnically/linguistically Turk and Arab were all lumped together, adding an extra difficulty to the interpretation of Arabic dominance in the Eastern cluster. It could be that this was the result of ethnic/linguistic composition of the population in that region. For example, Eldem estimates that the population of Syria before the First World War was close to three quarters Arab and only 7% Turkish.²³ Indeed, when Falih Rifkî Atay, a journalist and writer who would join the Nationalist Movement during the Turkish Independence War, found himself in Aleppo, Lebanon and Jerusalem during the Great War, he described the region as “Ottoman only in name,” with the locals unable to speak Turkish to the degree that he found himself learning Arabic to communicate.²⁴ But Atay is known for his Turkism, which is even clear from the statement where he excludes non-turcophones from Ottomanism.

If, very tentatively, one was to accept the linguistic distribution in the permit applications as reflective reality, there are several major caveats. First, the lack of, for example, Kurdish and Circassian languages obviously does not mean that these elements did not exist. This alone should be sufficient to dissuade the usage of the linguistic distribution for these purposes. Secondly, in most districts the number of applications is so few, that there could be no credible way of arguing that they could constitute a sufficient sample size. Neither of these points, however, detracts from the fact that there is a significant difference between the Western and Eastern cluster.

23 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi*, 4.

24 Falih Rifkî [Atay], *Zeytindağı*, extended 5th (İstanbul: Varlık Yayinevi, 1964), 42–44.

Returning to a more birds-eye view of the press boom, it is possible to conclude that the boom was a phenomenon of a size and intensity that was unprecedented in Ottoman history, and probably rather exceptional in the history of the press. Although its size was predetermined by other factors, the boom was felt in most administrative districts of the empire. It was also encompassing of all *millet*s and virtually all languages spoken in the empire. In other words, the press boom was truly an Ottoman event.

Of course, one of the most important questions is what had caused the boom in the first place. There is no doubt that the July 1908 Revolution triggered the event, but the revolution had no part in preparing the circumstances that caused the boom. To stay with the explosion analogy, the revolution was the match that lit the fuse, but not the dynamite itself. That dynamite was the Hamidian regime in general and its restrictive press regime, to be more specific. Consequently, the most significant cause of the press boom was the popular reaction to the removal of these restrictions on the press. Suddenly, what had been impossible due to strict control, was possible.

Contemporary journalists, such as Zekeriya Sertel²⁵ and Hüseyin Cahit,²⁶ almost all describe the days after the revolution as one of new activity in the press. While it is implied in most cases, some explicitly depicted the increased press activity in contrast to the oppressive Hamidian press regime. Ebüziyya Tevfik, for example, wrote in his memoirs:

From the moment that [people] were freed from the claws of the merciless [Hamidian] oppression that [made] them lose even their sense of humanity, and after having been paralyzed by strict laws year after year, they rushed like people starving from famine to the press, which is the food for the intellectual mind.²⁷

This sentiment was also expressed in the boom-era press,²⁸ for example, in (*Musavver*) *Devr-i Cedit* the opening article makes the comparison as follows:

25 Mehmet Zekeriya Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım (1905–1950)* (İstanbul: Yayılcık, 1968), 10.

26 Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], *Edebiyat Anıları*, 187.

27 Gür, *Ebüziyya Tevfik*, pp. 194–915: “Bu bedbaht halk! Seneden seneye zebun-ı ahkam-ı şedidesi ola ola hasse-i ademiyetini bile kaybedecek hale geldikleri pençe-i bi-aman-ı istibdattan tahlis-i giriban eder etmez kıtlıktan çıkan açlar gibi gıda-yı ruh-ı irfan olan asar-ı matbuaya tehalük göstermişti.”

28 For other examples, see *Hakayık-ı Siyasiye ve Tarihiye* #1, “Mukaddeme,” 1; *Ceride-i Rüşum-îye* #1, “Arz-ı Maksat,” 1; *İslam ve Ulum* #1, “İfade-i Mahsusa,” 1.

The press, [which is embodied by] publications that [create] the progress of people, was left buried under a black curtain. [...] For about thirty years [i.e., the length of Abdülhamit's reign] we tumbled into such great tragedies, worries, pains. [...] [But now], the press and education have obtained their freedom. Now the Ottoman pens are free, the thoughts of the people are free, and every form of patriotic action is free.²⁹

Keeping in mind the possible exaggeration when comparing a vilified past and a glorified present, such claims should be approached with a healthy dose of scepticism. However, the press boom itself carries other signs which suggest that the boom took place as a response to the strict Hamidian press regime.

For one, it would not be the first time that political revolutions paired with removing restrictions on the press caused surges in publications. The French Revolution of 1789, which had been preceded by strict press control, ushered in an era where newspapers “[appeared] like dandelions, a flowering of published opinion unknown in conservative Europe.”³⁰ Again in France, after the February Revolution in 1848, when the control over the press, put back in place by Napoleon III and further tightened by the Restoration Monarchy, was temporarily relaxed, it caused three hundred new publications to appear in Paris in a matter of weeks, as “everybody had to run a newspaper, or so it seemed.”³¹ Likewise, the 1848 Revolution caused a doubling in the number of newspapers being published in Germany, as a result of the end of press censorship.³² In all of these examples, as with the Ottoman case, the press existed under official pressure and once that pressure was removed through revolution, it led to sudden expansion in the number of publications. Given these historical precedents, the Ottoman press boom should not have been unexpected and even, one could dare to say, predictable.

In the Ottoman case, one of the most obvious examples of the boom as a reaction to suppression is the appearance of satirical publications in great, almost disproportionately large numbers, which is, in fact, another similarity

29 *Devr-i Cedid (Musavver) #1*, 27 Rebiülevvel 1327/4 Mayıs 1325 [17 May 1909], “Mesleğimiz”: “Matbuat, nazime-i terakkiyat-ı ümem olan neşriyat, bizde siyah bir perde-i istitar altında medfun bırakılmış idi. Kitaplar, münevver ül-efkar eserler, müfid risaleler... den nişane bulunmazdı. Zira ele geçenler yırtılır, yakılır, giderdi... Perişan, mahzun, daima sernegün... otuz sene kadar böyle büyük türlü haileler, gayileler, kahırlar içinde yuvarlandık. [...] Matbuat, maarif cereyan-ı serbestisini aldı. Şimdi Osmanlı kalemleri hür, efkar-ı millet hür, her guna-ı teşebbüsât vatanperverane serbesttir.”

30 Collins, “Traitorous Collaboration, The Press in France, 1815–1914,” 73.

31 Collins, 91.

32 Abigail Green, “Intervening in the Public Sphere: German Governments and the Press, 1815–1870,” *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (2001): 161.

between the Ottoman press in 1908 and the German press in 1848.³³ One of the first victims of the Hamidian restrictions on the press had been the satirical genre. According to Strauss, Abdülhamit II had a dislike for satire even as a prince, because he felt targeted by a satirical play that was put together by Theodor Kasap, the publisher of *Diyojen*, the first Turkish satirical magazine.³⁴ A more likely reason, was, as Seyhan points out, the increasingly political character of the genre.³⁵ The result was that in 1877 satirical magazines were not placed under scrutiny and threat of legal suspension, but outright banned.

This ban lasted over 30 years and it finally ended following the revolution. At that point, Ottoman satirical magazines made an enormous comeback. According to Brummett's thorough research on the subject, between 1908 and 1911, no less than 68 of these magazines (although some were only partially satirical) were printed in Istanbul.³⁶ Of this list, 32 appeared during the boomer era. Although 32 already seems like a high number, Brummett's sources were limited to Turkish publications and her list is not exhaustive. For example, it does not contain *Edep Ya Hul*, *Karagöz*, *Kartal*, *Mirat-ı Alem* or *Zuhuri*, all of which are confirmed printed in Istanbul and soon after the boom.³⁷ Other confirmed publications are *Kukuruk* and *Neşter* in Izmir, and *Çınırak* and *Karikatür*, whose publishing locations are uncertain. However, there were even more permit applications lodged during the press boom, no less than 66, where applicants wished to publish (partially) satirical periodicals, most of them in Istanbul, Aydın and Trabzon, but also in Thessaloniki, Manastir, Kastamonu and Damascus. Their languages were not limited to Turkish but also included Greek, Armenian, Arabic and French.

Another category of publications that was the direct result of Hamidian regime, were ethnic-nationalistic/political publications. Abdülhamit's reign was marked by a constant struggle to keep separatism under control, which meant that nationalistic publications could not legally be published. Following the revolution, many groups saw the opportunity to carefully or brashly come forward with their ideas, and of course a publication to spread these ideas. Among the press boom permit applications in the Eastern cluster with Arabic as the only or one of the languages, at least 14 match the list compiled

33 W.A. Coupe, "The German Cartoon and the Revolution of 1848," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9, no. 2 (1967): 137.

34 Johann Strauss, "The Millets and the Ottoman Language: The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th – 20th Centuries)," *Die Welt Des Islams* 35, no. 2 (1995): 237.

35 Seyhan, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Mizah Basını ve İçeriklerinden Seçilmiş Örnekler," 498.

36 Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (SUNY Press, 2000), 333–34. Also cf. 16 for an explanation on the nature of the sources.

37 Brummett does not include *Karagöz* in her list, but is aware of its existence, cf. 54.

by Tauber, of Arab nationalist newspapers published between 1908 and 1914 in Syria and Lebanon.³⁸ Many of these were published by nationalist journalist returning from exile.

Furthermore, many aspiring publishers chose very meaningful names, openly in defiance of Abdülhamit or in support of the Constitutional Revolution, which in itself was a defiant act. These titles carried very specific and meaningful connotations, hinting at a careful and deliberate choice. For example, among the boom era press were several publications whose titles hearkened back to older newspapers which were symbolic for the struggle for constitutional and parliamentary rule, and even outright anti-Hamidian. Ebüziyya Tevfik's republication of (*Yeni*) *Tasvir-i Efkar* in May 1909 is a salute to İbrahim Şinasi's newspaper of the same name, published in 1862, which spearheaded the Ottoman constitutional movement by publicly advocating for a representative parliament. There were also numerous permit applications and publications for periodicals bearing the name *Hürriyet* or a combination of that word. *Hürriyet* not only means "freedom," but more significantly, it was also the title of the London-based mouthpiece of the Young Ottomans society, who caused the promulgation of the first Ottoman constitution. Similarly, *Trabzon'da Meşveret*, referenced the Young Turk organ *Mechveret*, in Paris. Perhaps the most striking example of defiance was, however, *Muhbir* (*Musavver*), which appeared in August 1908. This title was arguably openly hostile and threatening to Hamidian rule, as it was originally published by Ali Suavi, who was killed during a failed attempt to dethrone Abdülhamit in 1878.

In the same vein, there were numerous publications and permit applications for titles that contained words which had been banned under Hamidian censorship. Among the application records, *Vatan* (fatherland), a word that had been popularised by Namık Kemal's banned play "Vatan yahut Silistre," appears no less than 18 times in Turkish and Arabic, by itself or in combination with other words. Other popular choices, which had an undeniable revolutionary tone to them, included *İstiklal* (independence), *Müsavat* (equality), *İnkılap* (revolution), *Kanun-ı Esasi* (constitution) and *11 Temmuz* (11 July, the Rumi calendar date on which the revolution took place) and their equivalents in other languages

One more significant category of publications were political party organs. With the parliament residing in a permanent state of dismissal and political

38 Tauber, "The Press and the Journalist as a Vehicle in Spreading National Ideas in Syria in the Late Ottoman Period," 165. *Al-'Irfan*, *al-Akhbar*, *al-Barq*, *al-Haqiqa*, *al-Islah*, *al-Ittihad al-'Uthmani*, *al-Karmal*, *al-Murakib*, *al-Muqtabas*, *al-Nafir*, *al-Nasir*, *al-Sabah*, *al-Thabat*, *al-Umma*, *al-Watan*, *Zahla al-Fatat*.

parties being as useless as they were illegal, there had naturally not been any party papers under Abdülhamit's reign. The exiled press that acted as the mouthpiece of the Young Turks cannot be classified as party press, because there was no political party, and despite their unified opposition to Abdülhamit's regime, not even a real ideological middle ground to form a single party. Rather, after the revolution, the Young Turks surfaced as two major camps, around the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) and the opposition, known as the Liberals (*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası*).

The 1908 elections revealed the importance of having a party paper, as the press had been the only viable medium for propaganda on such short notice.³⁹ The power of the press to influence elections had already been noted in the first months of the election. *Tanin's* owner Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın] was prophetically caricaturized as using his newspaper to steer his way into the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) (Figure 6). Hüseyin Cahit became one of Istanbul's representatives after the elections held at the end of 1908.



FIGURE 6 Caricature: Using the press to win elections
Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın] can be seen propelling himself towards the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) by using his newspaper *Tanin*.
SOURCE: *KALEM* #2, 28 AĞUSTOS 1324/10 SEPTEMBER 1908, 3

39 Hasan Kayalı, "Elections and the Electoral Process in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1919," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 3 (1995): 271.

A portion of the boom-era press were party papers, i.e., (semi-) official organs of a political party. The CUP first published *İttihat ve Terakki* in Thessaloniki, which appeared on the 24th of July 1908 and only later applied for a publishing permit. In Istanbul, it published *Şura-ı Ümmet*, a bi-weekly that had originally appeared in Cairo in 1902, only to move to Istanbul after the revolution. The permit application was done under the name of Bahattin Şakir, who identified himself as member of the CUP. *Tanin*, a daily in Istanbul, while not really an official CUP newspaper firmly chose this camp resulting in it to be considered the semi-official mouthpiece of the party and also causing one its founders Tevfik Fikret to leave. In Izmir *İttihat* appeared in July 1908.

Other parties were relatively slower and less prolific, but nevertheless published official organs in the boom-era.⁴⁰ The Devotees of the People Society (*Fedakaran-ı Millet Cemiyeti*) published *Hukuk-ı Umumiye* (September 1908). The Socialist Party (*Sosyalist Fırkası*) published *İnsaniyet* (August 1909). The Mohammedan Unity Party (*İttihad-ı Muhammedi Fırkası*) published *Volkan* (December 1908) under the editorship of Derviş Vahdeti. Notably, the Liberals, who were the main opposition party, did not appear to have published an official party organ during the boom-era but rather used other newspapers as a platform.

Putting ideologies and politics aside, the boom was also the result of opportunism. The Hamidian press was not open to growth based on market demands, but was limited by official quotas, not to say whims and receiving a publishing permit was nearly impossible.⁴¹ In the years preceding the revolution, successful applications were almost always re-applications to regain a permit after having lost it due to punitive censorship. The few applicants for a new publication, which were far less in number, were usually told that there were enough periodicals appearing in their city and that there simply was no need for more.

In contrast, during the press boom, virtually every single application was approved. As early as the 4th of August 1908, the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezareti*), which oversaw the permit application process for Ottoman subjects, was responding to questions from their provincial counterparts on what to do

40 Kocabaşoğlu, *Hürriyeti Beklerken*, 12–13. These pages contain a slightly more extensive list, which also includes party papers after the boom-era, but also considers the political leanings of non-party publications.

41 For example, see *Ceride-i Rüşumiye* #1, “Arz-ı Maksat,” 1. The author explains how once the project to publish his journal as an official publication (“suret-i resmiye”) failed, he did not even bother applying for a private publishing permit because of the unlikelihood (“hemen adim ül-emakin”) of getting permission.

with the applications that the press was now free by law.⁴² Correspondingly, of the nearly 1,000 permit applications for which the outcome is known, less than 1% received a negative response. In every case, the negative response was due to technicalities, such as an erroneous application or the age of the applicant being too young.

Under these circumstances, some people applied for publishing permits (and actually published periodicals) simply because they could. The nonchalance involved in the decision to publish and collaborate in the religious weekly *İslam ve Ulum* is evident from the following excerpt from its opening statement: "One day, my loyal brother, and [now] our editor-in-chief Ali said that we should publish a religious and theological newspaper. This thought had crossed my mind, too."⁴³ Another nonchalance is in the opening statement of *Muhit* (*Musavver*), where the authors explain that they had decided to launch a new periodical simply because their first publication *Resimli Kitap* (although it had been published only two months ago) was successful.⁴⁴

Unfortunately, publications of this type are far more difficult to distinguish by superficial analyses. This makes it hard to ascertain to what extent the boom consisted of such "why not?" or "me too!" publications. This is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that many applicants (Figure 4) identified as working in the press or printing business (combined nearly 30%) and that many applicants applied for multiple permits. *Lala*, a satirical magazine that appeared in December 1910, commented with the wisdom of hindsight on how the periodicals that were the result of a fad ("heves") did not make it beyond a few issues before calling it a day.⁴⁵ However, if that is the yardstick by which to measure, it would mean that most publications were nothing but a fancy, as even *Lala* itself does not appear to have published more than five issues.⁴⁶

Finally, and connected to the opportunism, it stands to reason that there was also a desire to seek fortune and power. This too can be traced back to the Hamidian press regime, for Abdülhamit's treatment of prominent newspaper owners, such as Mihran and Mehmet (Baba) Tahir, it appears, had not gone unnoticed. Such press barons who knew how to maintain their relationship with the palace had found wealth and prestige bestowed upon them.

42 BOA MF.MKT 1068/70, 19 Temmuz 1324 [1 August 1908] & 22 Temmuz 1324 [4 August 1908].

43 *İslam ve Ulum* #1, 8 Teşrinievvel 1324 [21/10/1908], "İfade-i Mahsusa," 1.

44 *Muhit* (*Musavver*) #1, "Küçük Bir Mukaddeme," 2.

45 *Lala* #1, 2 Kanunısani 1326/13 Zilhicce 1328 [15/12/1910], "Bir İki Söz," 2.

46 Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911*, 334. *Lala* is registered as having appeared weekly from December 1910 until January 1911. HTU collection also only contains five consecutive issues.

As can be seen from these examples, the common element among those who wished to publish a newspaper or journal, was that their motivation can be connected to Abdülhamit II's regime. Either as a direct response to the Sultan's 30-year rule, or as seizing the opportunities brought by the removal of restrictions on the press and politics.

Despite being a relatively short-lived phenomenon, the boom did have significant effects on the Ottoman press, some even reaching into the early Turkish republic. The press boom was a period of unusually high activity in the press. Its main effects must be viewed from that perspective. What was the result of the suddenly increased press activity in combination with the suddenly vanishing Hamidian control over the press?

The new publications that were appearing were vocal in their criticism of Abdülhamit and the Hamidian press. This was not only limited to choosing symbolic titles for publications, but also in explicit statements that depicted



FIGURE 7 Caricature: The new press attacking the Hamidian press
A group of men representing various newspapers chasing away the newspaper *Malumat*, depicted as a dog.

SOURCE: *BOŞBOĞAZ* #1, 9 RECEP 1326/24 TEMMUZ 1325 [6/08/1908], 1

the past as oppression and the constitutional rule as a sigh of relief.⁴⁷ The satirical magazine *Boşboğaz* on the front page of its first issue printed a caricature depicting the end of the Hamidian press (Figure 7). Most of the newspapermen depicted in this cartoon (e.g., *Sabah*, *Mizan*, *Tercüman*, *Servet-i Fünun* and *Kadınlara Mahsus Gazete*) had, like *Malumat*, existed under Abdülhamit and had received financial support from the palace. *Malumat* is singled out because of its very close connection to the palace through its owner Mehmet (Baba) Tahir.⁴⁸ For *Muhbir*, the newly forming press, as a result of the boom, was an attempt to restore what the earlier regime had destroyed:

In a short time, the masters of the pen have founded many respectable daily and weekly newspapers, to make up for and overcome the damage to the publication and dissemination of important knowledge, [which had been] inflicted by the oppressive treatment of the press by the tyrannical regime.⁴⁹

Under these circumstances, the exemplars of the Hamidian press, had publicly to distance themselves from the palace. This distancing brought the end of palace subsidies for the post-Hamidian press, but also for the press that had existed throughout that regime. For example, mere days after the revolution, *Servet-i Fünun*, in its new daily edition, announced that “[it had returned] the monthly subsidy, amounting to 2,453 *kuruş*, allocated by the ministry of the interior back to its treasury starting on the [24th of July], when the right of the freedom of the press was obtained”.⁵⁰ A few days later *İkdam*, too, announced that it would no longer be accepting government subsidies, which in its case amounted to 4,250 *kuruş*.⁵¹ These public statements, and the seemingly

47 For some examples, see: *Metin* #1, 28 Temmuz 1324 [10 August 1908], “Metin’in Kalbi”; *Hakayık-i Tarihiye ve Siyasiye* #1, 30 Haziran 1325 [13 July 1909], “Mukaddeme”; *Ceride-i Rüşumiye* #1, 2 Ramazan 1326/15 Eylül 1324 [28 September 1909], “Arz-ı Maksat”; *Amid-i Sevda* #1, 7 Şubat 1324 [20 February 1909], “Amid.”

48 Baykal, “The Ottoman Press and the Dutch East Indies at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.”

49 *Muhbir* #1,29 Şaban 1326/12 Eylül 1324 [26 September 1908], “İfade-i Mahsusa”: “Devr-i istibdadın matbuat hakkında tatbik ettiği muayene-i usul-ı zalımanesinden dolayı neşir ve tamim-i marifet-i kaziyeye-i mutena biha’sının düçar olduğu zararları tazmin ve telakki maksadıyla az zamanda erbab-ı kalem tarafından birçok ceraid-i yevmiye ve usbuye mutebere tesis buyurulmuş.”

50 *Servet-i Fünun* #3, 15 Temmuz 1324 [28 July 1908], untitled.

51 *İkdam* #5095, 4 Recep 1326/19 Temmuz 1324/1 Ağustos 1908 [1 August 1908], “Tahsisatın İadesi”: “Hükümet tarafından gazetemiz namına olarak verililmekte olan dört bin iki yüz elli kuruştan ibaret tahsisatı merceine iade ve terk ettiğimizi beyan ederiz.”

voluntary rejection of subsidies from the palace, show that it was important for the established press to attempt to distance themselves from Abdülhamit's press regime and to appear devoted to the new, free press which was outside of the palace's control.

The end of palace subsidies was part of a chain of events that destroyed the traditional business model for Ottoman publishers. Under Abdülhamit, publishers relied more on their relationship with the palace for their survival than with their readership. On top of that, the difficulty in obtaining a publishing permit, a Hamidian press control mechanism, had ensured that new competitors could not easily come in and threaten the incumbent publications. Now suddenly, accepting subsidies from the palace was considered a shameful act, and what was worse, everybody and their brother could get a printing permit. Consequently, when the press boom caused the market to be flooded with new publications, the periodical market became very competitive and readers (which meant sales), also became very important. Competition had positive effects, in the form of innovation. Already during the press boom publishers were investing in better equipment and trying to improve the quality of their publications to draw more sales. These aspects of the press are discussed in detail in the chapter on financing the press.

A second consequence of the destruction of the palace's protection over the press was the end of the oligopoly of Hamidian press barons. Under Abdülhamit, men such as Mihran Efendi, Ahmet Cevdet and Mehmet (Baba) Tahir had risen to prominence because of their newspapers and magazines. The key to entering this select club had been through building a mutually beneficial relationship with the palace. That blockade had now been removed. Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], once a young journalist under Mihran and Cevdet, now was rising to the same prominence without needing to go through the palace, which, according to himself, he detested. Of course, Hüseyin Cahit maintained his own relationship to another source of authority, in his case the CUP. However, the situation was now different, in that the monopoly had been broken, which again ties in with the concept of the end of the regime press.

Perhaps not wholly unexpectedly, the press boom also caused a crash. Although the revolution had caused an increase in the demand for newspapers, the boom had caused the supply to grow disproportionately in the major press centres of the empire, and the market was not able to sustain itself. Never in its history had the Ottoman press operated under these circumstances, not during the growth years in the 1860's, where the number of available publications was dwarfed by the boom-era figures, nor under Abdülhamit, where market dynamics were not decisive for success. But, the intense competition and the oversupply led to the financial ruin of many entrepreneurs (Figure 8),



FIGURE 8 Caricature: Victims of the press
 Scenes from the Hospital for the Victims of the Press (“Guraba-ı Ceraid Hastanesi”) where publishers with stacks of unsold newspapers are lying ill. Karagöz, acting as a nurse, tells the doctor not to bother, as these are hopeless cases.
 SOURCE: *KARAGÖZ* #28, 4 ŞEVVAL 1326/17 TEŞRİNIEVVEL 1324/30
 TEŞRİNIEVVEL 1908 [30/10/1908], 4

which in essence was the boom crashing under its own weight. The chapter on financing the press discusses these developments in detail.

This does not mean that the press boom was not successful in creating a lasting press. Not all publications were failures and even some of the most influential newspapers and journals of Turkish press history actually originated in the boom. *Tanin*, which has been mentioned before, appeared until 1918 and was republished in the Turkish republic. *Karagöz* appeared virtually uninterrupted from 1908 until the 1950's. Mehmet Akif [Ersoy]'s *Sebilürreşat* (initially named *Sırat-ı Mustakim*) ran from 1908 until 1925. However, when the number of new publications is kept in mind, it seems more appropriate to call these the exception rather than the rule.

The boom-era press was also, at least partially, responsible for the creation of a new press law, which was promulgated in 1909 and effective until the end of the empire and was even adopted by the Turkish republic. The

chaotic atmosphere that was created in the cacophony of opposing voices, where ad-hominem attacks and insults were slung around daily, did little to defuse the situation. It was this chaos that was used as the main justification by the authorities when it pushed to create a new press law to regain some form of control over the boom-era press.

During the press boom, the Ottoman press also saw the return of the political opinion pieces, which had been so influential in popularising the press in the 1860's. Under the Hamidian press regime, the press had taken on an encyclopaedic and bland character out of fear of punishment. Very soon after the revolution, the opinion piece was given a prominent position on the front page. Interestingly, the political opinion never disappeared after this, even during times of war and heavy censorship. This was in essence the rebirth of opinion journalism in the Ottoman Empire, which had emerged in the 1840's with *Ceride-i Havadis* and been popularised by *Tercüman-ı Ahval* in 1861 and disappeared under Abdülhamit.

It was in these opinion pieces that journalists started a war of words which soon degenerated into political polemics and ad-hominem attacks.⁵² As this chaotic atmosphere was becoming worse, one of the first things that the newly selected parliament did was discuss the creation of a new press law, to replace the 1864 Press Law, which only existed nominally. The violent polemics, threats of physical violence,⁵³ and the outbreak of the 31 March Incident, were all justifications for the legislators who were met with strong protests from the press.

In the end, the press boom was not only an increase in the number of publications in the Ottoman geography. At the same time, it was the transformation of the Ottoman press. The destruction of the control mechanisms of the Hamidian press regime brought the ending of a chapter of the Ottoman press, perhaps best described as "regime press," albeit temporarily. On the other hand, what emerged was best described as a mix between party journalism and the penny press. Although these two concepts in press history are almost by definition mutually exclusive, the post-Hamidian press displayed characteristics of both. Although newspaper prices did not drop during the boom (for they were already at a historical low), the liberty to publish, the market free from government control and the sensationalism are all signs of the penny press period. On the other hand, the near-total political identification of the most prominent newspapers is nothing short of the party press.

52 Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hâtıralarım 1872–1946* (İstanbul: Mithat Akçit, 1946), 200.

53 Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], *Gençlik Be Edebiyat Hâtıralarım*, Deneme, Anı Dizisi (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1969), 46. A group of authors from the *Fecr-i Ati* movement went to the offices of the satirical magazine *Eşref*, to have some words with the owner who then sued them for threat of violence.

In conclusion, the Ottoman press boom started in July 1908 and, although permit applications dropped about a year later, the unusually high number of new publications continued on for some time longer. The boom was a large event by measurement of the number of applicants, publications, geography and demography. It encompassed the Ottoman Empire in its entirety. However, it mostly affected relatively wealthy cities with large, educated populations with well-established press traditions. It did not create press out of nothing. The press boom was the manifestation of popular reaction to the removal of Abdülhamit's mechanisms to control the press, because of a mix of ideological, political, financial or simply opportunistic reasons. The removal of the Hamidian control mechanisms and the subsequent opening of the proverbial press floodgates caused the traditional business model of the Hamidian press to be transformed into a free and very competitive market, which spelled disaster for many entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the chaos caused by the unrestricted ability to publish and the political tensions, also paved the way for the creation of the 1909 Press Law, to replace the 1864 Press Law. Overall, the press boom marked the end of the Hamidian press regime and with it the end of the regime press. Opinion journalism was revived, and the Ottoman press entered the era of party papers.

Legislating the Press

With the promulgation of the constitution in July 1908, the Ottoman press, rather unexpectedly and suddenly, found itself operating under a new set of conditions, which could best be described as a period of absolute freedom. After the revolution, theoretically, the press was still governed by the Ottoman press law,¹ which had been enacted in 1864 under Abdülaziz to regulate the emerging Turkish-language private press. In practice, however, there was confusion among Ottoman officials about whether the declaration of the constitution also meant that the press law should be applied. This situation arose from the fact that, as with the Ottoman constitution, the 1864 press law had been placed in a state of semi-suspension by Abdülhamit II. Furthermore, the 1867 decree pertaining to the press (*Kararname-i Ali*), which was temporarily supposed to give the government powers to suspend publications, had never officially been abrogated. After the revolution in 1908, still dazed by the sudden re-declaration of the constitution by the Sultan, the administrative apparatus was caught unprepared, not knowing how to handle the sudden stream of hundreds of press permit applications. The result of this confusion was that the 1864 press law was only nominally applied, used only to regulate the press permit application process. On the other hand, the punitive measures prescribed in the press law appeared to have lost their validity, leaving journalists with a freedom to write whatever they pleased. The government, in its confusion regarding the post-revolution situation, did not restore the punitive measures in this law. This absolute freedom in an unusually prolific and highly politicised press soon resulted in an increasingly vicious cycle of polemics, *ad hominem* attacks, name-calling, and libel against even the highest echelons of the state. Arguably, it also paved the way for the 31 March Incident, by allowing *Volkan*, a newspaper linked with the mutiny, to publish its provocative articles. Before this occurred, however, the government had already set in motion a plan to create a new law. This law was eventually enacted in July 1909 and, at that point, was very liberal. However, starting in March 1912, the 1909 press law was gradually changed to become more restrictive, reflecting the changing politics and the change in the government's attitude towards the press.

¹ Because the press laws are referenced often in this chapter, and throughout the book, a full, transliterated version of both the 1864 and 1909 press laws, including additions and changes, has been supplied in the Appendix "Ottoman Press Laws."

The 1909 press law, together with its subsequent alterations, continued to be effective until the end of the Ottoman Empire, and was also adopted by the Ankara government, which would only replace it in 1931.

The constitutional revolution in 1908 presented the Ottoman press with an opportunity to enforce freedom of speech. Due to the revolution, government officials were caught completely on the hop, unsure of what powers they had, or did not have, in this new climate, and they lost all sense of initiative.² The press, on the other hand, sprang into action. Arguing that the Ottoman constitution guaranteed freedom to the press under Art. 12, which stated that the press was free within the law (“matbuat kanun dairesinde serbesttir”), it ignored censorship regulations and behaved as if laws governing the press did not exist. At this time, in fact, the press was still regulated by the 1864 press law, enacted during the reign of Abdülaziz, which was to remain in force until it was replaced in July 1909.³ Even the old system of strict control of the press was still in full force up until the day of the revolution. One anonymous report to the Ottoman foreign ministry, dated 25 July 1908, the day after the revolution, warned the government about reports on the Young Turks’ activities in the foreign press and advised that care should be taken to have these publications seized at the borders of the empire.⁴

The confusion in official circles, regarding what to do with the press in a constitutional regime, ran through all levels of officialdom, starting with the highest ranks. According to Oral, in the wake of the revolution Kemal Bey, the head of the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdüriyeti*), until then charged with overseeing the press and enforcing censorship, hurried to the residence of the Minister of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nazırı*) Memduh Paşa, to ask whether or not the practice of censorship and restricting the press would continue and, if so, how it would be applied. Memduh Paşa himself was not able to answer this question and is said to have sent a telegraph to Prime Minister (*Sadrızam*) Said Paşa, who, also not knowing what to do, in turn forwarded the question to the Sultan. Abdülhamit allegedly replied by saying: “These are delicate times... The opinions and feelings of the people are at boiling point... There is a possibility that undesirable publications could drag the people down terrible roads. Despite this, the freedom of the press should be respected...”⁵ Oral does not

2 Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks – The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908–1914* (Oxford Press: Clarendon, 1969), 14.

3 Djiveleguan, *Régime*, 25.

4 BOA HR.SYS 219b/46, 12 Temmuz 1324 [25 July 1908].

5 Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi, Osmanlı*, 1:150–51. “Abdülhamid’in cevabı. ‘...Zaman, pek nazik... Halkın efkâr ve hissiyatı son derece galeyanda... Çirkin neşriyatın halkı fena yollara sürüklmek ihtimali var. Böyle olmakla beraber, matbuatın hürriyetine riayet etmek lazımdır...”

provide any sources for his story, and it is not certain whether this chain of events actually took place. However, it does nicely illustrate the confusion that can be found in documented official correspondence and other sources.

The result of this confusion appears to have been a two-stage response. Initially, very early after the revolution, some new publications appeared without publishing permits. Here, the government instructed officials that this should not be allowed to happen.⁶ Put differently, it wanted to see the press law applied in order to prevent illegal publications. Several provinces were given instructions that: “Even though the press is free, as is stipulated in Art. 12 of the constitution, this freedom has to be in accordance with the law. Therefore, the laws and regulations related to the press which are valid today should be applied [...] and no illegal behaviour or publications should be allowed.”⁷ However, these early instructions did not explain what to do with printing permit applications. In the meanwhile, the press boom was occurring and applicants were flooding the government with paperwork.⁸ In September 1908, the Director of Education (*Maarif Müdürü*) of Tripoli wrote to the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezareti*), which was in charge of press regulation, about the following matter:

Since the day of the declaration of the constitution, [...] there have been requests for permission to publish newspapers, to set up printing establishments and to open schools. Because we have not received instructions from the Ministry of Education on how to treat such applicants, they are complaining about [our] hesitation in answering [their applications.] [The Applicants] say that in some imperial provinces, such as Izmir and Thessaloniki, several newspapers were founded and started publication and they even announced [this] in other newspapers, saying that “permission [to publish] was obtained.”⁹

6 BOA TFR.1.UM 26/2509, 14 Temmuz 1324 [27 July 1908].

7 BOA TFR.1.UM 26/2509, 12 Temmuz 1324 [25 July 1908]: “Vilayet Maarif Müdüğüne, Matbuat serbest ise de Kanun-ı Esasi'nin 12. Maddesinde muharrer olduğı üzere bu serbesti kanun dairesinde olmakla meşruttur. Binaenaleyh, eylevm bilcümle matbuata mutaallak olarak meri bulunan kavanin ve nizamata ahkâmının tatbikine... ve muhalif-i kanunca bir güne-i muamelat ve neşriyata meydan verilmemesi [...]”

8 Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi, Osmanlı*, 1:177. According to Oral, the amount of incoming permit applications caused administrative problems at the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdüriyeti*).

9 BOA MF.MKT 1077/20, 31 Ağustos 1324 [13 September 1908]: “Kanun-ı Esasinin neşir ve ilan edildiğı gündenden itibaren [...] gazete neşri, matbaa tesisi ve mekatip küşadı için imtiyaz ve ruhsat talep olunuyor. Bu bapta maarif idaresince kendilerine ne yolda muamele edileceğı hakkında yeni bir talimatname alınmadığı için ita-ı cevabda terddüt edilmesini şikayet ediyorlar ve İzmir, Selanik gibi bazı vilayet-ı şahanede mutavassıl gazeteler tesis edip neşir ve bunların ‘imtiyazı alınmıştır’ ibaresiyle diğere gazetelere de ilan edilmekte olmuş.”

It is noteworthy that the author acknowledged the declaration of the constitution and the fact that newspapers in other areas were receiving permits, yet, much like his superiors in Istanbul, he chose not to act without specific orders, which he had not yet received regarding such applications. In a strikingly similar scenario, suggesting that these were not exceptions, Ahmet Midhat, the Director of Education (*Maarif Müdürü*) of Sivas, requested to know what his course of action should be when he received applications for publishing permits, saying that the “processing of the applications, in the context of earlier instructions, was a cause for hesitation.”¹⁰ The response from Istanbul, by *Matbuat-ı Dahiliye Müdürü* (Director of the Domestic Press Regulation Office) Mahmut, was that “applications [were] to be processed according to Art. 3 and 4 of the press law.”¹¹ Although this was the response to Sivas, it was probably the instruction that all such requests received. Now, the official response was that the press law should be used to regulate the printing permit application process. After all, the reality was that permit applications were now being requested and granted by the dozens every week.

But, although Art. 3 and 4 of the 1864 press law were now being applied in order to regulate the publishing permit application process, the rest of the law seems to have been ignored. The press law was relegated to merely regulating the publishing permit applications.¹² This was the cause for a period of absolute freedom of the press, where virtually everything that was actually punishable under the 1864 press law, could be said without consequences. In September 1908, *Millet*, *Metin*, *Terüman-ı Hakikat* and *Boşboğaz* were accused of tarnishing the honour of the Ottoman army. Art. 28 of the 1864 press law clearly protected the army and the navy from defamation. Although Kamil Paşa’s cabinet decided to look into the matter, there appears to be no evidence that any of these publications suffered any consequences.¹³ When in March 1909 it was observed that many newspapers were found publishing illegal extra editions and accused of spreading fabricated news, the official reaction was to send a warning to publishers and printers that they were liable to be charged

10 BOA DH.MKT 2615/17, 26 Ağustos 1324 [8 September 1908]: “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile’sine, Vilayet dahilinde hususi gazete neşri için müracaat edenlere talimat-ı sabıka dairesinde muamele icrası mucib-i tereddüt...”

11 BOA DH.MKT 2615/17, 6 Eylül 1324 [19 September 1908]: “vilayetçe gazete neşri istidasında bulunanlar [...] Matbuat Nizamnamesinin 3. ve 4. maddelerinin fıkra-ı evlalarına [...] tevfik muamele icrası lazım [...]”

12 İskit, *Matbuat İdareleri*, 144.

13 BOA MV 120/51, 11 Şaban 326/25 Ağustos 324 [8 September 1908]. *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and *Millet* were not suspended, nor did their *müdür-i mesul* (responsible director) change due to possible imprisonment, in the two months following this decision. For *Metin* and *Boşboğaz* no issues were available for this period in the sources.

for breaking the press law, instead of taking direct action.¹⁴ Both were again punishable under Art. 1 and 26 of the 1864 press law, but no action was taken. Ali Cevat, Head Secretary of the Palace (*Mabeyn Başkatibi*), mentions frequently in his memoirs that Abdülhamit was concerned about what the press was publishing about him, but he had to inform the ruler that the government was not capable of doing much about the matter under the current circumstances, i.e., lawlessness.¹⁵ According to Djiveleguian, one newspaper even called Abdülhamit, while he was still a sultan, “un grand assassin” and usurper of his brother’s throne, but faced no consequence.¹⁶ Under Art. 15 of the 1864 press law, such “improper expressions” (“tabirat-ı gayrı layıka”) were punishable with up to three years in prison. A similar description is also found in the British embassy’s annual report, according to which “during the early part of 1909 the Turkish press enjoyed to the full the delights of its newly acquired freedom. It was no respecter of persons; it criticised where it chose and slandered whom it wished; on one occasion even, it libelled the French Ambassador;”¹⁷ which was punishable under Art. 21 of the press law.

This does not mean that the government was incapable of enforcing penalties. In October 1908, the government acted against a satirical magazine, *Kalem*, which had published a caricature ridiculing Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany by depicting him as a two-faced man regarding his policy towards the Ottomans.¹⁸ Upon request of the German embassy, Prime Minister (*Sadrazam*) Kamil Paşa personally ordered that *Kalem* should receive penalties.¹⁹ Under Art. 17 and 27 of the 1864 press law, insulting leaders of friendly states could lead to imprisonment from 3 weeks to 3 months and the offending publications could be suspended for up to a month. Indeed, according to German embassy files, the editor of *Kalem* was arrested, the publication was suspended, and the offending issues were confiscated.²⁰ However, in reality, it appears that *Kalem* was not suspended at all, as it appeared without interruption. Furthermore, although its owner Salah Cimcoz was imprisoned, this lasted for less than a day, despite the minimum penalty of 3 weeks. This further shows the confusion in official circles, where, when urged to act by a foreign embassy, some steps

14 BOA ZB 395/96, 9 Mart 325 [22 March 1909].

15 Faik Reşit Unat, *İkinci Meşrutiyetin İlanı ve Otuzbir Mart Hadisesi, II. Abdülhamit’in Son Mabeyn Başkatibi Ali Cevat Bey’in Fezlekesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1960), 11.

16 Djiveleguian, *Regime*, pp. 224–25.

17 TNA FO 195/2363, 31 January 1910, “Turkey – Annual Report, 1909,” 62.

18 *Kalem* #6, 28 Eylül 1324/7 October 1908.

19 *Kalem* #8, 9 Teşrinievvel 1324/22 October 1908, “L’Incident Du Kalem – Une atteinte grave à la liberté de la presse – a qui la faute?”

20 BA R901 34036/79, 19 October 1908.

were taken to apply the law, only to be abandoned without applying it to the fullest extent.

One result of this new press freedom was the opening up of political debate, something suppressed in the previous years of Abdülhamit's reign. Such an environment of open political expression resulted in an increase in political tensions.²¹ A Dutch embassy report on the state of the Turkish press immediately after the revolution, argued that the constitutional freedom of the press was going to revive the Turkish press but that "the further consequences of these unexpected developments [were] unpredictable."²² Later, the embassy reported back with its observation of one of these consequences:

I have already had the honour to draw Your Excellency's attention to the highly dubious shape that the polemics of dailies belonging to different [groups] is taking here and how the freedom of the press, granted by the constitution, is threatening to degenerate into complete unruliness.²³

This tension was partially caused by the fact that the Young Turk revolutionaries, who had once fled the Hamidian regime and lived in exile, were now returning to a free press where disagreements could openly be debated.²⁴ One of those to return after the revolution, Ali Haydar Midhat, son of one of the creators of the original Ottoman constitutional text, Midhat Paşa, describes a "fearsome battle" ("müthiş mücadele") taking place between CUP partisans and its opponents gathered around Prince Sabahattin, a battle which was also waged in the press.²⁵ Oral, criticising the CUP for calling the cabinet and the Sultan to swear loyalty not only to the constitution, but also to the Committee itself, sees

21 Necmeddin Sahir Silan, *11. Meşrutiyet ve Sonrası Hatıralarım*, ed. Danişmend Dervişoğlu İsmail (İstanbul: Dün Bugün Yarın Yayınları, 2010), 53.

22 NL-HaNA, Consulaat-Generaal Constantinopel/Istanboel, 2.05.94, inv. nr 505, index 920-1908, 7 September 1908, "Toezicht op de inlandsche pers in Egypte en de naburige landen – Voorlopig rapport over het toezicht gedurende de maand Juli 1908, B.I. Turkije": "De opheffing van de censuur die er [= constitution] een overmijdelijk gevolg van was, zal nieuw leven aan de Tuksche pers geven en een uitbreiding van het toezicht van Uw rapporteur zal daardoor noodzakelijk zijn. De verdere gevolgen van deze door niemand verwachte gevolgen zijn onberekenbaar."

23 NL-HaNA, Consulaat-Generaal Constantinopel/Istanboel, 2.05.94, inv. nr 454, index 514-1909, 8 April 1909: "Ik had reeds de eer U.E. aandacht te vestigen op den hoogst bedenkelijken vorm die de polemiek der dagbladen van verschillende richtingen hier aanneemt en hoe de door de constitutie verleende persvrijheid in volkomen teugelloosheid dreigt te ontaarden."

24 E.g., Orhan Koloğlu, *1908 Basın Patlaması* (İstanbul: BAS-HAŞ, 2005), 13.

25 Mithat, *Hâtıralarım 1872-1946*, 200.

this as one of the reasons why the political polemics exploded: “When those returning from exile opened their mouths [to voice their opinions] too and started speaking and writing carelessly, [the atmosphere in] Istanbul had become so tense that it was almost impossible to breathe.”²⁶ Further, according to İnuğur, the political polemics were sometimes fuelled by petty sentiments, such as when Mizancı Murat’s daily *Mizan* joined the opposition because he had been denied membership in the CUP.²⁷ Karaosmanoğlu points to the polarization, but also to the name-calling that took place in the press:

As soon as the chants of “Long live freedom, equality and justice; Long live brotherhood!,” which echoed through the streets, died away, they were replaced by the hard and harsh voices of the politicians, who had immediately split into two camps. One camp was headed by Hüseyin Cahit, the other side by Ali Kemal. One an ardent Unionist, the other a convinced opposition [writer]. Between them these coarse and petty demagogue writers, who had grabbed a pen and found a medium to publish, were ceaselessly fanning the flames. One called the other “Traitor! Jurnalci,”²⁸ the other [replied]: “Balkan terrorist!” and because of this the entire Turkish press was in uproar.²⁹

This situation of an unruly press operating in what amounted to an environment of total press freedom was not to last. With the enforcement of the 1864 press law seemingly impossible due to the political climate after the revolution, the government began, towards the end of 1908, a process to create a new law. A draft was presented by the government to parliament, with a request to pass the law as quickly as possible. Libel against the army in two foreign-owned Ottoman newspapers, against which the 1864 press law was unable to do

26 Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi, Osmanlı*, 1:178–79. “Sürgünden dönenlerin de ağızlarını açmaları, uluorta söylemeleri ve yazmaları üzerine İstanbul, havası teneffüs edilemeyecek kadar sıkı bir hale gelmişti.”

27 İnuğur, *Türk Basınında “İz” Bırakanlar*, 45.

28 *Jurnalci* refers to the practice of lodging reports with Abdülhamit II, to inform the Sultan of any opposition, a system which was abused for personal gain.

29 Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], *Hatıralarım*, 42. “Sokakları çınlatan “Yaşasın hürriyet, müsavat, adalet; Yaşasın uhuvvet!” naraları henüz dinmiştir ve bunu, derhal iki kampa ayrılan politikacıların sert ve haşin sesleri takibetmeye başlamıştır. Bu kampın bir ucunu Hüseyin Cahit, öbür ucunu Ali Kemal tutuyor. Biri koyu bir İttihatçı, öteki kızıl bir muhalif. Bunların arasında eline bir kalem geçirmiş ve bir yayın vasıtası bulmuş irili ufaklı demagog yazarlar ise havayı durmadan körüklemekte; o buna “Vatan haini, Curnalci!” bu ona “Balkan komitacısı!” diye bağırmağa ve bu yüzden bütün Türk basınında bir kızılca kıyamettir kopup gitmekte.”

anything, was put forward as the reason why a new law should be created.³⁰ However, it seems more likely that the government was attempting to impose the rule of law on the uncontrolled press freedom. The original draft, put forward by the government had rather strict regulations with many mechanisms to shut down or control the press, including very steep monetary penalties, which shows the government's desire to introduce tight control. This plan failed because once the draft was in the hands of parliament, especially the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*), it was transformed into a rather liberal product. Although criticised by its opponents as curbing the freedom of the press, the Press Law that was enacted in July 1909 was a very positive one for the press, embodying significant official support for a much more liberal press regime than had existed before. While some restrictions were introduced, the law also recognised the legal right of publications to be critical and made starting a new publication a mere formality.

The original draft appears to have been created at the request of the Minister of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nazırı*) Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa's ministry and approved and signed by Kamil Paşa's cabinet. The creation of the 1909 press law involved a lengthy legislative process. The first draft was created by the Press Regulation Office (*Matbuat İdaresi*), presumably near the end of 1908, as the draft reached the Reforms Office (*Tanzimat Dairesi*) on 9 January 1909 via the Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*).³¹ The ministry's revised version was only sent to the Council of the State (*Şura-ı Devlet*) three weeks later on 31 January 1909.³² Eventually, the Prime Minister (*Sadrazam*) and his cabinet (*Meclis-i Vükela*) approved it and sent it on to the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*).³³ There, a Press Law Committee (*Meclis-i Mebusan Matbuat Encümeni*) was formed, tasked with examining the draft and modifying it where they deemed necessary, which took nearly two months and was completed only on 3 April 1909.³⁴ However, during this time the 31 March Incident took place, and the legislative process was interrupted. Finally, on 11 May 1909, the Press Law Committee presented its work to the Chamber of Deputies.³⁵ During the next two weeks the Deputies (*Mebusan*) discussed the law in detail and voted article by article for changes and additions.³⁶ This process was repeated once more on 16

30 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 2, pp. 479–83.

31 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 349:16 Zilhicce sene 1326 [9 January 1909].

32 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 350:10 Muharrem sene 1327 [1 February 1909].

33 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 350:14 Muharrem sene 1327 [5 February 1909].

34 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 365:21 Mart sene 1325 [3 April 1909].

35 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 307.

36 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, pp. 307–45, 498–536, 558–75, 578–93, 628–35.

and 17 June 1909.³⁷ Thereafter, the law was sent to the Senate (*Meclis-i Ayan*), where, too, a special Press Law Committee was formed, and a similar process was undertaken until the 26 July 1909. After a final revision for approval by the Chamber of Deputies was considered on 26 and 27 July 1909 the law was sent to the Sultan for imperial approval and to be enacted, on 29 July 1909. It was published in the official gazette, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, on 31 July 1909.³⁸

Although the draft passed through various stages of changes and approvals, it was in parliament, especially in the Chamber of Deputies where there were lengthy and fierce debates, that the law was most influenced and moulded into its final form. In fact, the Deputies' version of the draft was so different from its predecessors, that it would be possible to speak of an entirely new draft. Figure 9 shows a schematic representation of this process. In this graph, the cobweb of lines, which represent numerous structural changes introduced by Press Law Committee of the Chamber of Deputies before they handed the draft to parliament, is particularly striking. But the *Mebusan's* changes involved far more than merely restructuring the order of the articles in the law. Articles were regrouped, merged and even deleted altogether so that almost every article was altered, some fundamentally, at this stage. With their penchant for the idea of a free press, unencumbered by censorship and limitations, yet aware of the fact that some form of control was necessary to prevent chaotic situations, the Deputies thus turned the 1909 press law into a very liberal one, which was very beneficial for the press. The 1909 press law made it easier to start a new publication, it supported free journalism by guaranteeing new rights to journalists and publishers, and, while it certainly did have an extensive penal section, it was overall less strict than its predecessor.

Changes introduced to the draft by both chambers were aimed at making it easier for interested parties to establish a publishing business in the Ottoman Empire. Not only were eligibility criteria changed, to accommodate far more Ottoman citizens, but a steep financial barrier to entry was also removed. The Chamber of Deputies further made the process for applying for a publishing permit almost obsolete, a step that was later finalized by the Senate. Compared to its predecessor, therefore, the 1909 press law was a breakthrough and now, legally speaking, it had never been easier to start a new publication in the Ottoman Empire.

The new law widened eligibility for entry into publishing. Under the first article of the 1909 press law, every newspaper was required to have an executive director (*müdür-i mesul*), the go-to person in case of legal problems with

37 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 5, pp. 516–23, 550–57.

38 *Takvim-i Vekayi* #287, 18 Temmuz 1325/14 Recep 1327 [31/07/1909].

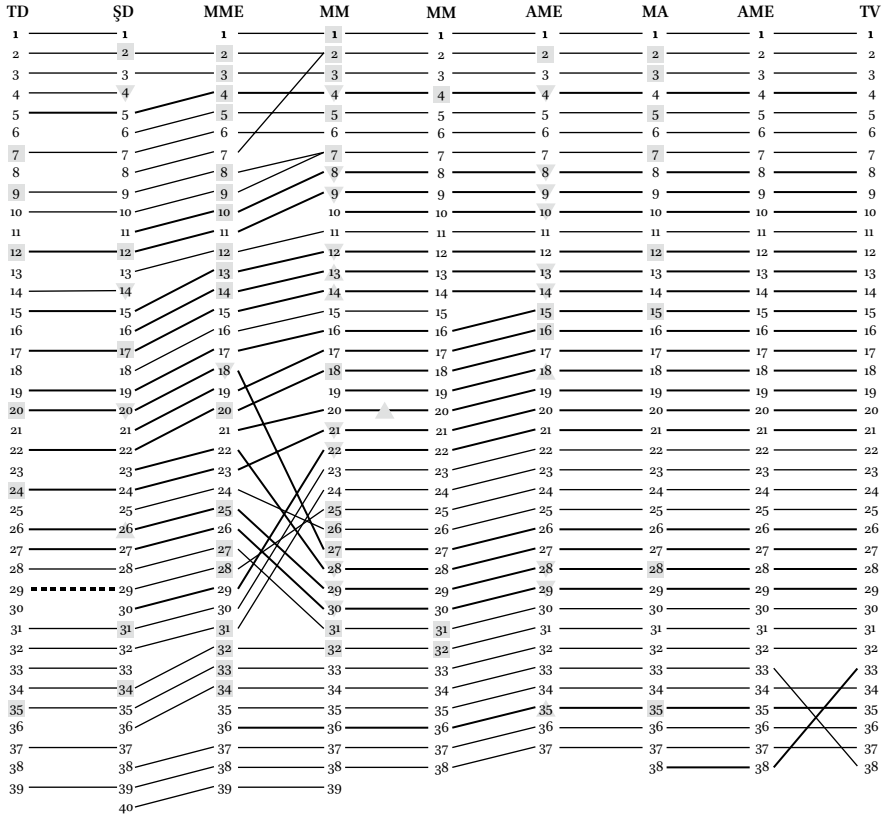


FIGURE 9 Chart of the legislative evolution of the 1909 press law. The stages that are depicted are *Tanzimat Dairesi* (TD), *Şura-ı Devlet* (SD), *Meclis-i Mebusan Matbuat Encümeni* (MME), *Meclis-i Mebusan* (MM), *Meclis-i Ayan Matbuat Encümeni* (AME), *Meclis-i Ayan* (MA), *Takvim-i Vekayi* (TV). The numbers represent the articles and the lines show the interconnection of articles throughout various steps of the drafting process. Squares indicate a significant change to the content of the article. This means a change, which goes beyond replacing words with their synonyms or clarifications, and a change that alters the application of the law. Lines show continuity and reordering. If a line does not continue beyond a stage, this means that that article was left out. Conversely, if an article has a line beginning at a certain step, that means that article was newly introduced. Dashed lines mean uncertainty, due to a lack of supporting evidence. Bold lines represent articles that contain punitive measures. Triangles pointing up show that the penalty in an article was raised and the reverse holds true for triangles pointing down.

the periodical. Charged with running the newspaper for the owner, this person was subjected to criteria, stipulated in Art. 2, which had to be met prior to receiving permission to publish. Because appointing and identifying the executive director was a required part of the process, not having a suitable executive director meant not having a publication. This made Art. 2 critically important, for it established who would or would not be allowed to run a newspaper or journal. As a result, this article was the cause of the lengthiest debates in the Chamber of Deputies, spanning the better part of two sessions. Major changes were made to this article in both chambers. For example, the original government draft excluded people who had been sentenced to one year in prison, arguing that they showed lack of character.³⁹ In the Chamber of Deputies, this led to discussions on the grounds that not everybody who had served a one-year prison sentence could be considered lacking good morals. This was especially so because of all the political prisoners during Abdülhamit's reign, who would be automatically excluded under this clause. Indubitably, the fact that Lütfi Fikri, a prominent member of Press Law Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, himself had spent over a year in prison due to political activities against Abdülhamit's regime, played a role in this.⁴⁰ The *Mebusan* further discussed adding a higher-education prerequisite. The general sentiment was that the press was mostly a vessel for ideas and therefore an educational tool to enlighten an entire nation. Some thus argued that people in charge of a newspaper should have had some form of (higher) education. The majority, however, believed that accessibility was more important and that the lack of a formal education should not prevent those who wished to from entering into journalism. Furthermore, the legal age for starting a publication was reduced from 30 to 21 and it was made easier for people in the provinces by removing the requirement to obtain the permission via Istanbul.

The new law also made the process of obtaining a publishing permit significantly easier by changing it into a "declaration of intent" rather than a "permit application." This process was described in Art. 3 of the 1909 press law. According to Art. 4, illegal publications, i.e., those which had not been through the process explained in Art. 3 or had done so in an incomplete or otherwise incorrect fashion, were subject to immediate suspension and other penalties. Art. 3 was therefore as significant as Art. 2, for the severity of its requirements could hamper applications or deter potential applicants. The original government draft article required that the address of the printer should be disclosed along with information on the amount and location of the caution money that

39 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat Kanunu Layihası," 4.

40 Füzûzan Husrev Tökin, *Basın Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Kulen, 1963), 84.

would be used to pay for damages and penalties. Furthermore, the application, no matter where the applicant was located in the empire, would be processed in Istanbul by *Matbuat-ı Dahiliye İdaresi* (Domestic Press Regulation Office).⁴¹ This was further altered so that applications could be made locally to avoid unnecessarily burdening the applicant and to keep their expenses as low as possible.⁴² Furthermore, the requirement to register the printing establishment was removed. Again, the move was aimed at making life easier for the applicants: if they chose not to have their own printing establishment, they would not be locked into a single provider, but would be able to pick their printer based on their own needs and switch printers if they felt that it was necessary.⁴³ While in this case some people did point out that the 31 March Incident could have been prevented if the printer had been known,⁴⁴ the majority was not convinced by this argument.⁴⁵ Finally, a further change introduced by the Chamber of Deputies obliged the government to respond to the application process within 21 days, a change aimed at preventing any use of the application process as a means of preventing or undermining an application.⁴⁶ The Ayan

41 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat Kanunu Layıhası," 4.

42 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layıhaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası," p. 20: "[...] vilayatta çıkarılacak gazete veya risale-i mevkuteler için Dahiliye Nezaretinden ruhsat almak faydasız bir külfet olacağı ve eshabı müsted'ayâtı beyhude birtakım msarif ihtiyarına mecbur edebileceği nazarı dikkate alınarak ruhsatname itası hakkının Dersaadet'te Dahiliye Nezaretine ve taşrada hükümatı mahalliyeye tevdi ve itası Encümenimizce tensip olunmuştur."

43 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 327: "MUSTAFA ARİF BEY (Kırkkilise) – Bendeniz hangi matbaada neşredeceğini malumat vermek, bu bapta arzuhal vermenin matbaayı da tahsis etmenin bir faydasını anlamıyorum... Bir gazeteci de imtiyaz alacağı sırada bir matbaa tahsis etmesi o matbaayı menfaaten geri bırakmaya tabi tutmaktan başka bir işe yaramaz. Nerede teminat, nerede menfaat görürseler orada tabettirebilir gazetesini..."

44 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3 328: "SAIT EFENDİ (Üsküp) – Efendim, bendeniz bu kaydın kalmasını talep ederim. Nitekim, Volkan Gazetesinin çıktığı matbaa bilinseydi hiç olmazsa men edilirdi..."

45 Strangely, although parliamentary discussions took place immediately following the 31 March Incident, it was only used in arguments to make the law less strict, and in Parliament discussions urged not to have a knee-jerk reaction. Only in the case of attacks on the constitution was the incident used to introduce stricter regulations (See MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, pp. 568–70).

46 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layıhaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası," p. 20: "Bir gazete veya risale-i mevkute neşretmek için evveleminde Hükümetten ruhsat istihali esasını kabul etmekle beraber, bu ruhsat hakkının devairi aidesi elinde bir vesilei rasib olmasına meydan bırakmamak için bazı ahkam vaz ve ittihazını faideden hali görmemiş ve bu cümleden olarak ruhsatnamenin itasından mukaddemen icabeden tahkikatın nihayet yirmi bir gün zarfında ikmal edilmesini Hükümet için tahtı mecburiyete almıştır."

took this one step further and decided that an application for a permit was no longer necessary, and that instead aspiring publishers would merely need to declare their intentions and register their details with the local government.

These liberating changes were further supplemented by dropping a draft article that stipulated that the sum of 500 *lira* should be deposited as caution money (“teminat akçesi”) with a financial institution, which would provide the applicant with an official document stating that the monies would be released in the event of the newspaper or periodical having to pay damages or penalties. This official document was a prerequisite and had to be submitted along with the application for a printing license.⁴⁷ Although the article was protested against in the Council of the State on the grounds that it would be detrimental to the freedom of the press,⁴⁸ it was accepted by a majority as a precautionary measure but with the sum reduced to 250 *lira* in Istanbul and 150 *lira* outside the capital. However, the Press Law Committee of Chamber of Deputies, arguing that there were already a number of prerequisites demanded from applicants (referring to Art. 2 on eligibility requirements), considered the article not only useless, as breaking the law would still require the owner of the newspaper to pay damages and penalties, but also excessive, meaning that it was an unnecessary burden on those who wanted to start a publication, and removed it by a majority vote.⁴⁹ Indeed, the sum of 500 *lira*, or even 150 *lira*, that had to be deposited in advance was a significant increase in the capital required to set up a publication. As explained in the fifth chapter, “Financing the Press,” in the worst case, this could mean a doubling of the capital required to start a publication and, consequently, would mean that a certain number of aspiring journalists, without access to such sums, would be, purely for financial reasons, barred from pursuing their goals.

The draft of the press law was also changed by the *Mebusan* in order to safeguard rights of journalists when criticising the government and officials

47 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat Kanunu Layıhası,” 4.

48 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat Kanunu Layıhası,” 4. “Ceraid ve resaili yevmiye ve mevkute için kefaleti nakdiye alınmasına dair olan dördüncü madde mevzuu bahis ve münazaraya konulduktaki, bunların neşri için eshabından nakden teminat ve kefalet alınması serbestii matbuata muğayir olmakla...”

49 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layıhaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası,” 19: “Gazete veya risale-i mevkute sahibinden layıhanın talep eylediği kefaleti nakdiye hususuna gelince, bunu Encümenimiz ekseriyetle ret eylemiştir. Çünkü bir az evvel denildiği veçhile, bir kimsenin bir gazete veya risale-i mevkute çıkarmak hususundaki hakkı sarhini menafii içtimaiye noktaı nazarından kendisinde birtakım evsafı mahsus aramak ve fazla olarak bir de yine bir takım kuyud ile takyit etmek matlup olan maksadı temine kafidir. Kefaleti nakdiye şartı, kavaidi hukukiye noktaı nazarından fazla bir şiddet olacağı...”

by better defining what constituted libel. Much like the 1909 press law, where *zem ve kadh* (libel) had its own subsection, the 1864 press law dealt a great deal with matters of insults and libel. Of the 35 articles in the original 1864 law, a total of 10 were related to these matters. However, while both press laws gave the same weight on the issue, they emphasised different aspects. Whereas the 1864 law gave only vague descriptions for what constituted an insult, the newer press law attempted to frame them within the legally defined terms of *zem ve kadh*. While the 1864 law placed importance on social hierarchy, the 1909 law tried to level the field. The 1864 press law made it very difficult to express any negative opinion about the upper echelons of the state by protecting them against “improper expressions” (“tabirat-ı gayrı layıka”), a phrase which was both ambiguous and undefined and use of which brought some of the heaviest penalties in the law. Three articles in the 1864 law (Art. 15, 16 and 17) protected the Sultan, the Sultanate or the imperial government from such improper expressions, with fines up to 150 *lira* or three years in prison for contravention of these articles. On the other hand, laws against *zem ve kadh*, much better-defined concepts than “improper expressions,” were also present (Art. 19 to 25) in the 1864 law but these were reserved for lower government officials, foreign officials living in the Ottoman Empire and common people, and the penalties were reduced according to how low down one was on the ladder of official hierarchy. In the 1909 press law, the vagueness concerning the aforementioned articles was completely removed, and all matters regarding the leaders of the state were governed by the *zem ve kadh* guidelines. For example, although in its drafting process the law did contain an article⁵⁰ that used the same “improper expressions,” it was removed on grounds of its ambiguity and potential for abuse, which several *Mebusan* argued was reminiscent of the pre-constitutional oppression. One Deputy (*Mebus*) argued:

[...] let me just add this. If the phrase ‘improper expressions’ [‘tabirat-ı gayrı layıka’] is going to be included, it will in any case require an explanation, for if we cannot interpret something here [in Parliament], the courts will [certainly] be unable to interpret it. But if something is open to many possible [interpretations] and it is left thus, it will have many possible [interpretations]. The courts will seize on these possibilities and interpret

50 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layihaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası,” 23: The Parliamentary press law Commission believed that libel was not sufficient to cover the person of the Sultan, who was after all also the Caliph. Hence it decided to change the article with “tabirat-ı gayrı layıka.” The 6 month minimum prison sentence, however, was seen as too steep and was lowered to 3 months.

[the article] accordingly. What does ‘improper’ mean? This must, at the very least, be explained using simple definitions and interpretations in the memorandum setting out the reasons of requirement (“esbab-ı mucibe layıhası”) [for the article]. This cannot be any other way. Otherwise, in the future, when somebody writes something insignificant in one of the newspapers, he will have to be convicted just as under the former regime, saying: ‘Ah ha, you have been found to be saying unpleasant words! And this is not acceptable.’⁵¹

As a result, the 1909 press law still contained Art. 26 in order to give the Sultan some form of protection from the press, but as with Art. 27 and 28, which cover foreign leaders and Ottoman and foreign officials, everything was set within the definitions of *zem ve kadh*. In theory, this meant that journalists had guidelines which, if they kept to them, would allow them to criticise even the Sultan, while it also reduced the gap between the punishments for libel directed against the upper echelon, the common people or anybody in between. Furthermore, Art. 34 of the 1864 press law stipulated that in cases of libel or insult against the Sultan or high officials, a special committee of five members was to convene at the Bab-ı Ali (Porte) to decide over the matter, instead of a regular court. This regulation, which clearly was not in favour of journalists, was no longer present in the 1909 press law, and all matters were now to be handled by regular courts.

Journalists were further safeguarded from potential abuse by ambiguous laws. The Press Law Committee of the Chamber of Deputies changed a draft article regarding the punishment for publishing the *Mebusan’s* proceedings which appeared in such a way as to unintentionally create a wrong impression,⁵²

51 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 569: “YUSUF KEMAL BEY (Kastamonu): ... yalnız şurayı ikmal edeyim. İlave edilecek olursa, “tabirâtı gayri layıka” sözü de her halde tefsire muhtaçtır. Çünkü bizim burada tefsir edemediğimiz bir şeyi mahkeme tefsir edemez. Ancak bir şey ihtimalâtı muhtelifeye, müteaddideye mütehammil olur da böylece terk olunursa, mahkeme onu ihtimallere alır, tefsir eder. Gayri layıka ne demek? Bunu, hiç olmazsa esbabı mucibe layıhasında umumi tabirlerle, tarifelerle olsun izah etmeli. Başka türlü olmaz. Yoksa yarın gazetelerden birine birisi ufacak bir şey yazdığı ve devri sabıkta olduğu gibi “vay, sen tefevvühatta bulundun” diye mahkum etmek lazım gelir ki olmaz.”

52 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat Kanunu Layıhası,” 11: “Heyet-i Mebusan mübahasat ve müzakerat ve mukarreratını aynen ya hulasaten nesrinde hüküm ve manasını tagyir edecek surette tahrifat vukubulursa Meclis-i Mebusan Riyaseti Valasından tanzim ve Adliye Nezaretine tevdi olunacak müzekkere üzerine mahkemece tahrifat-i vakianin derece-i ehemmiyetine göre müdir-i mesul 10 altından 100 altına kadar ceza-i nakdi itasına ve 1 aydan 6 aya kadar hapse mahkum edilir.”

so that only intentional alteration would be punished.⁵³ Subsequently, this entire article was scrapped in the Chamber of Deputies on the grounds that it would damage the functioning of the press. Again, references were made to Hamidian censorship:⁵⁴

The old [Hamidian] regime too had this much censorship. If [journalists] misspelled something they would be sent into exile. They were supposed to write “Cülûsu Hümayun Leylei Mesûdesi” [sic.] [‘joyful night’] but wrote “Leylei Mesûde” [‘dark night’].⁵⁵ That newspaper suffered enormously... So, its [meaning was changed on purpose]? How are you going to prove this? Is it a misspelling or not?⁵⁶

Furthermore, the 1909 press law safeguarded the continuation of publications and reduced government control of their contents. The original government draft imposed a three-strike law. This meant that any publication that broke the law three times in the span of two years incurring the imposition of a prison sentence, would be either suspended for an undefined time or would be forced to shut down altogether.⁵⁷ Opponents of the article in the Council of the State claimed that it was detrimental to the freedom of the press and that it therefore should be removed entirely from the draft.⁵⁸ Their objections were overruled by the majority, who believed that any newspaper that was breaking the law with such frequency should be treated with suspicion and therefore be shut down. The Press Law Committee of the Chamber of Deputies explained that it would obviously not partake in such methods that it considered to be

53 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layihaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası,” 23: The word “kasten” (“on purpose”) was added.

54 Here, the *mebus* was referring to the story of how *İkdam* was suspended under Abdülhamit for a simple typo. For this and other examples, see Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], *Edebiyat Anıları*, 115–16.

55 The setter had dropped the Arabic letter ‘Ayn, turning مسعود into مسود.

56 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 4, 392: “İdarei Sâbıkada da bu kadar sansür var idi. Bir yanlış şey yazacak olsalar gider, sürülürlerdi. Cülûsu Hümayun leylei mesûdesi [sic.] yazılacaktı. Leyleri mesude düşmüştür. Gazete, çekmediği şey kalmadı... İşte kasden manası tahrif olunacak surette değişmiştir. Nasıl bunu ispat edersiniz? Bu yanlışdır, bu değildir.”

57 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat Kanunu Layihası,” 12: “Bu nizamname mucibince hapis cezasını müstelzim nesriyatı iki sene zarfında 3 defa tekerrür eden ceride yahut risale hükümetçe muvakkaten tatil veya ilga olunur.”

58 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, “Matbuat Kanunu Layihası,” 6: “[...] muhalif-i nizam harekette bulunanlar kanunen dışarı mücazat olacaklarına göre, iki sene içinde üç defa hapsi müstelzim neşriyatta bulunan ceraidin, velev muvakkaten olsun, tatil ve ilgası hakkında olan otuzüçüncü madde, serbestii matbuata irsai halel edeceğine maddei mezkurenin tayyi lazım geleceği [...].”

clearly unconstitutional. For the Press Law Committee, the article was not only open to abuse because it could be arbitrarily executed but it was also reminiscent of the treatment of the press under Abdülhamit's regime:

Although the draft had given the government the right temporarily to suspend or [completely shut down] a newspaper or periodical that, within a period of two years, would publish three times things that could lead to prison sentences, our Committee has refrained from giving such power to the government because it would result in a subjective [situation], reminiscent of the treatment [of the press] under the previous regime. In essence, our Committee saw no benefit in such powers that are in contradiction with the constitution [...] Furthermore, our Committee naturally refrains from such unconstitutional measures.⁵⁹

Government control over newspaper content was brought to an absolute minimum. Draft Art. 14 obliged newspapers and periodicals to publish official announcements issued by the government or the Press Regulation Office (*Matbuat İdaresi*) and stipulated that these were to be published in the issue immediately following their receipt.⁶⁰ Again in the Council of the State, protesters insisted that the newspaper was the property of its owner and that the government had no right to force it to publish its announcements. That, they argued, was what the official state organ *Takvim-i Vekayi* was for,⁶¹ but such protests failed to gain a majority vote to remove the article. The Press Law Committee of the Chamber of Deputies however, considered the article

59 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layihaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası," 24: "Layiha, hapis cezasını müstelzim neşriyatı iki sene zarfında üç defa teker-rür eden gazete yahut risalenin muvakkaten tatil yahut ilgası için Hükümete bir hak ve salahiyet vermek istemiş ise de, bu muamelenin pek keyfi bir şey olacağı ve idarei sabıka teammülümü andıracağı Encümenimizce nazarı dikkate alınarak Hükümete böyle bir hak ve salahiyetin itası cihetine gidilmemiştir. Esasen, böyle bir Meşrutiyete mugayir bir hak ve salahiyetin mevcudiyetinde Encümenimiz hiçbir fayda görmeyip, [...] bundan fazla olarak bir de böyle mugayiri Meşrutiyet tedabire müracaattan heyeti içtimaiyemizin varestede kalacağı tabiidir."

60 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat Kanunu Layihası," 10: "Matbuat İdaresi yahut hukümet-i mahalliye tarafından cerideler ve resail-i mevkuteye tebligat ve tenbihat-i resmiiyi havi irsal olunacak evrak-i resmiiyenin idarehaneye tevdiinden itibaren nihayet 12 saat sonra nesrolunacak ilk nüshaya derci mecburidir. Aksi halde müdir-i mesulden 50 [adet osmanli altını alınır]."

61 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat Kanunu Layihası," 5: "Ceridelerde vaki olacak tebligatın mecburiyeti neşriyesini mutazammın olan ondördüncü maddede tilaf olunarak ... tarafından her ceride eshabının malı olmak itibarıyla kendilerini Hükümetin ceridei resmiesi ile lazım geleceği tizkar kılınmış..."

incompatible with constitutional rule and regarded it as impinging on the personal freedoms of people and in consequence removed it.⁶²

While the legislative process relaxed the strict draft of the 1909 press law, the law was not void of penalties. However, when the final version of the 1909 press law is compared to the 1864 press law, it is clear that in almost all instances it set lighter punishments for the same offences. All the penalties for libel were less severe in the 1909 law. Although the maximum sentences remained the same for libel against the Sultan the minimum of one year was significantly reduced to three months, the minimum sentence for libel against leaders of friendly states went from a minimum of six months to one month, and the sentences for *zem* against high-ranking officials, including the *Mebusan* and Ayan, underwent a similar transformation in the new law. Publishing an illegal newspaper, in other words an unregistered or unlicensed publication, under Art. 10 of the 1864 law, would be fined at 10 *lira* per issue and the offending newspaper would be suspended. Furthermore, the 1864 law did not offer a maximum limit on this penalty, thus theoretically left the maximum possible fine open. Although suspension remained part of the penalty under Art. 4 of the 1909 law, the fine was dropped to 5 *lira* per issue, with a maximum fine of 50 *lira*. But repeat offenders would be charged 10 *lira* per issue with a 100 *lira* maximum limit. However, the 1864 law, as stated in Art. 33, could double the penalties in case of recidivism, too, thus still rendering the 1909 law less strict. Both the 1864 and the 1909 law, respectively in Art. 11 and 8, required publishers to send in copies of every issue to local officials. This was to make sure that the law was not being broken and also to have copies in the case of legal action. The 1909 law displayed much greater leniency, by only charging half a *lira* for every issue that was not submitted, which is much less than the 10 *lira* imposed on the publisher for similar negligence under the 1864 law. In similar vein, the penalty for publishing immoral texts or images was reduced from a fine of 10 to 50 *lira* to 2 to 10 *lira*. Finally, refusing to publish government announcements could lead to a fine of up to 25 *lira* under Art. 12 of the 1864 law, while the practice of forcing newspapers to publish government statements was completely abandoned in 1909. Furthermore, even in cases where the 1909 press law had the same penalty as the 1864 press law, real and nominal wages had increased between 1864 and 1909, thereby technically making the same penalty less strict.⁶³

62 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layihaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası," 21: "Böyle bir mecburiyeti, hürriyeti şahsiye ve Meşrutiyeti İdare ile kabili telif görülmemiştir."

63 Süleyman Özmucur and Şevket Pamuk, "Real Wages and Standards of Living in the Ottoman Empire, 1489–1914," *The Journal of Economic History* 62, no. 2 (2002): 301.

In three cases the 1909 press law prescribed heavier penalties than the 1864 law. However, in these instances, the aim was clearly not to limit the press, but to prevent malpractice in journalism. Art. 26 of the 1864 law and Art. 19 of the 1909 law forbade the intentional dissemination of fabricated news. The 1909 version doubled the maximum penalty, but, on the other hand, halved the minimum penalty. Furthermore, the new version added that publishing of fabricated news could only be punishable if it actually resulted in public disturbance, thereby again preventing potential abuse of the article based on the interpretation of what constituted “fabricated news.” Art. 12 of the 1864 law and Art. 19 of the 1909 law provided the “right of reply.” This meant that if a publication mentioned a person, that person had the right to have their reply published. In the 1909 law, the maximum penalty for denying the right of reply was double that of its predecessor. Finally, under Art. 14 of the 1864 law and Art. 16 of the 1909 law, insulting religions which were officially recognized, was made punishable. In this case both the minimum and the maximum penalties were significantly higher in the 1909 version. In two of the abovementioned articles, the aim seems to have been to improve the profession of journalism, by stopping intentional sensationalism and by placing greater importance on any individual’s right to defend themselves against claims made in the media. The last article, however, must be seen in light of the realities of the post-1908 era, as one of the motivations of the revolutionaries had been to grant all minorities the same rights in order to stop secession movements and as a result, having newspapers raising inter-sectarian tensions was not considered best-practice. Despite this, the 1909 law still allowed more room for genuine discussions of religions than its 1864 counterpart, as it stipulated that scientific and philosophical discussions could not be considered insulting. In the same spirit of improving the quality of journalism, Art. 18 of the 1909 press law was introduced at the Chamber of deputies. This article stipulated that “extorting money, receiving any form of benefit or preventing benefit [to others] from somebody by threatening to publish something that could blemish their honour or damage their reputation” would be punishable by law and thereby made it illegal to use the press as a vehicle for blackmail.

However, it should be noted that the Press Law Committee of the Chamber of Deputies introduced one of the strictest articles in the new law. Art. 35 of the 1909 press law gave the cabinet and the government the power to ban a single issue of a publication from being brought into the Ottoman Empire. The Press Law Committee considered it as the government’s right to ban foreign publications if this were thought to be in the best interests of the empire.

It argued that France had a similar article in its press law,⁶⁴ an argument likely to appeal to the *Mebusan* for whom Europe was the yardstick to follow in matters of freedom of the press. In this context it is interesting to note that the Dutch, only a few years previously, had passed a similar law in their colonies to prevent undesirable Ottoman newspapers from being imported.⁶⁵ The Ayan also introduced an article, suggested by the government, which gave the office of the Prime Minister (*Sadaret*), in times of war or when there was the threat of war, the power to forbid newspapers to publicise information about the actions of the Ottoman army and navy or the defences of the state.⁶⁶ Arguably, the heaviest penalty in the 1909 law is Art. 17, which, in the case of attacks on the constitution could lead to life-long exile. This is one of the very few instances⁶⁷ in which legislators chose a more severe penalty than what was in the government draft.⁶⁸ But this should be seen in light of the 31 March Incident, as this is the only instance in which the 31 March Incident was used to increase penalties or restrictions, arguing that, had this article existed, *Volkan* could have been stopped before the military uprising took place.⁶⁹

The final version of the 1909 press law, which was enacted in July 1909, was undeniably a far more positive piece of legislation for the press than both its 1864 predecessor and the original government draft. It was supportive of the

64 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanun Layihaları ve Encümenin Mazbatası," 25.

65 Baykal, "The Ottoman Press and the Dutch East Indies at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," 15–16. Towards the end of 1900, the Dutch government enacted a law in their colonies in the Dutch East Indies that made it illegal to bring into the country, to distribute, own or read newspapers that had been declared dangerous to the wellbeing of the colonial society. This was an attempt by the Dutch government to prevent certain Ottoman pan-Islamist publications from reaching the Muslims in their colonies.

66 BOA İ.DUİT 99/3, 9 Recep 1327, 14 Temmuz 1325 [27 July 1909]. The document itself is not dated, this is the date from an accompanying letter to *Sedaret*, i.e., "Meclis-i Ayan Tarafından Vaki Olan Teklif Üzerine Encümençe İcra Olunan Tadilatı Muhtevi Matbuat ve Matbaalar Kanunu Layihasıdır," 8.

67 The only other occurrence where the final version of an article had a more severe penalty than the government draft was Art. 13, regarding the publication of official meetings and courts that were declared secret. However, in this case the set penalty of 10 *lira* was changed to a 5 to 25 *lira* fine and therefore foresaw a minimum penalty that was still lower than the original.

68 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, "Matbuat Kanunu Layihası," 22: Usul-i Mesrûtiyeti tagyir yahut ahaliye hukümet-i mesrûta aleyhine tahrik veya sunuf-i ahali beynine ilka-i nifak yolunda nesriyat vukuunda mudir-i mesul ve sahib-i makale 1 senden 3 seneye kadar haps olunmakla beraber, her birinden 50 Osmanlı altınından 250 altına kadar ceza-i nakdi ahz olunur[...].

69 MMZC, Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, pp. 568–70.

freedom of the press and guaranteed the rights of journalists to an extent that had not previously been the case. According to Djiveleguian, an Ottoman lawyer who taught law at a university in Paris and as a result also knew the French press law, the new law did away with all forms of “preventive measures.” He wrote in his book on the 1909 press law:

Under a purely preventive and prohibitive regime, one cannot exercise a right, except when one is authorised by [officials], who have the discretionary [power] to grant or revoke authorisation. This constitutes a police regime. Preventive prohibition measures have all disappeared from the new Turkish [press law of 1909]. These are:

- (a) Preventive censorship. Preventive censorship is the most terrible of all preventive measures. We see with its abolition that all agents of the Press Regulation Office [i.e., censorship apparatus] have disappeared.
- (b) Preliminary authorisation. The preliminary [requirement to obtain] authorisation [to publish] is replaced by the declaration [of intent to publish], in Art. 3 of the 1909 law.⁷⁰

Despite thus being a very liberal law, the 1909 press law was condemned by some journalists at the time and has often been regarded by modern scholars as restrictive, serving the interests of the CUP by silencing the opposition press.⁷¹ However, the idea that the 1909 press law was intentionally constructed by the CUP to silence the opposition appears rather unlikely in light of the legislative process. The law had been the initiative of Kamil Paşa’s cabinet in a period when the cabinet was void of CUP partisans. Although Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa, who is considered to have been sympathetic to the Unionists, is said to have been involved with the drafting of the bill, it was approved, and

70 Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 76–77. Sous le régime de la prévention pure, prohibitive, on ne peut exercer un droit que si on est autorisé par les pouvoirs publics, qui ont une appréciation discrétionnaire pour accorder une autorisation ou la retirer. C’est un régime de police. Les mesures de prévention prohibitive, ont toutes disparu de la nouvelle loi turque; elles sont les suivantes: (a) La censure préventive. La censure Préventive, est de toutes la mesures préventives la plus redoutable. Nous voyons avec son abolition, disparaître tous les agents du Bureau de la Presse. (b) L’autorisation préalable. L’autorisation préalable est remplacée par la déclaration, dans l’artiel 3 de la loi de 1909.

71 E.g., M. Şükrü Hanioglu, “The Second Constitutional Period, 1908–1918,” in *Turkey in the Modern World*, vol. 4, *The Cambridge History of Turkey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 71. Nurşen Mazıcı, “1930’a Kadar Basının Durumu ve 1931 Matbuat Kanunu,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkilap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* 18 (1996): 137, https://doi.org/10.1501/Tite_0000000210.

therefore supported, by Kamil Paşa's cabinet. Even if one were to argue that the CUP, which nominally held a majority in Parliament, had been responsible for changing the draft there, the result was a more liberal, not a more repressive, law, and thus does not support the claim that the CUP produced a restrictive press law aimed at controlling its opponents.

While it is clear that the government was not imposing authority over the press in what İskit describes as the "anarchy" of the post-revolution period,⁷² it is also evident that the government eventually actively adopted measures designed to support the press and its expansion. For example, printing equipment was exempted from import tax.⁷³ This sort of equipment, purchased by many new publications, was not readily available in the empire and had to be imported from abroad at great cost and was one of the costliest aspects of starting a new publication. Removing taxes was probably a welcome financial support for new publishers. Furthermore, the press was given special, reduced tariffs for distributing their issues to their readers, in order to cut down on the costs of mailing issues to subscribers outside Istanbul.⁷⁴

The argument about the restrictive nature of the 1909 press law is presumably partially influenced by the attitudes of the press-workers of the time whose reactions were not only rooted in an aversion towards limiting the freedom of the press, but also the original draft, which was far stricter than the final version of the law. For example, in April 1909, four months before the law was enacted, Ali Kemal warned in *İkdam* that the freedom of the press was being limited by the 1909 press law, asking its readers what was wrong with the 1864 press law and arguing that, if a new law was to be created, it should be based on the French or British examples.⁷⁵ Interestingly Ali Kemal himself had complained earlier, in August 1908, about the laxity of the law over *ad hominem* attacks after having been labelled a *jurnalci* by *Tanin*. Such attacks, he noted, did not happen in France or Britain because these countries had laws to prevent them.⁷⁶ But, the 1909 press law was indeed based on the French press law, and in terms of its penalties, the two laws were almost identical.⁷⁷ Similarly, the prominent journalist and author Ahmet Rasim, wrote in *Sabah* in June 1909 how the new press law, with its heavy fines and jail times, was making

72 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 192.

73 TNA FO 195/2280 #291, 5 September 1908.

74 BOA İ.DUİT 94/41, 29 Rebiülahir 1328/26 Nisan 1326 [9 May 1910].

75 *İkdam* #5335, 11 Rebiülevvel 1327, 20 Mart 1325, 2 Nisan 1909 [2 April 1909], "Geri Değil, İleri!"

76 *İkdam* #5104, 13 Recep 1326, 28 Temmuz 1324, 10 Ağustos 1908 [10 August 1908], "Matbuat ve Şahsiyet."

77 Djiveleguan, *Régime*, 73.

journalism “the most dangerous profession in the world.”⁷⁸ A critical look at his writings, however, immediately shows that Ahmet Rasim was not following the developments in the legislative process. For example, he referenced Art. 15, which had become Art. 12 several months earlier, in the first sessions of the Press Law Committee. Secondly, by that time, Chamber of Deputies had already voted to severely reduce penalties in the articles that bothered Ahmet Rasim.⁷⁹ One would have expected Ahmet Rasim, a long-time journalist, to follow closely the discussions in parliament regarding the press law, either through his network of contacts or even by reading the parliamentary minutes in *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁸⁰

After the final version of the law was published, the lack of indignation and backlash in the press should be a good indicator of how well-received 1909 Press Law was. *Kalem*, seemed to have forgotten all about its fears for the future of the press in February 1909 (Figure 10). On the contrary, in the issues following the publication of the 1909 Press Law, several of its cover-page cartoons were related to the power that the press yielded over politics.⁸¹ None of the popular dailies appear to have given the matter any more attention. These cases create the impression that the complaints in the press directed at the new law need to be considered in the context of the period and should be interpreted not as reflecting any repressive nature of the new law but as a (panicked) reaction to the curbing of the absolute and unregulated freedom which the press had enjoyed in the chaotic period immediately following the 1908 Revolution and the declaration of the constitution. In this context, any attempt to regulate the press, however liberal, was not automatically likely to be welcomed by all. Ironically, the 1909 press law, although criticised as curbing freedom of the press, was to play an important role in keeping the press free under martial law.

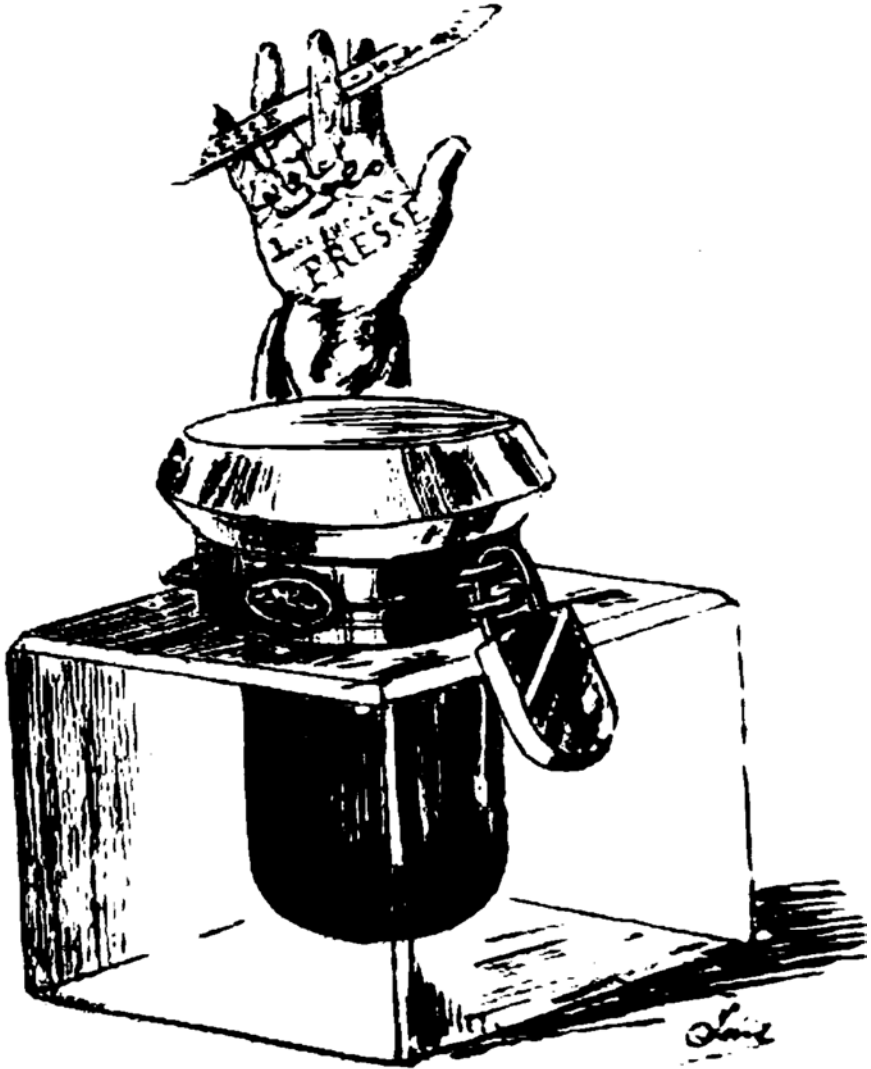
One reason for this misconception might be the coincidence of the enactment of the 1909 press law and the declaration of martial law after the 31 March Incident. Like the creation of the 1909 press law, the declaration of martial law, too, is often incorrectly regarded as an opportunity for the CUP to silence the opposition press, because of the trials held against newspapers. However, regardless of any arguments about the nature of the 1909 press law, the

78 *Sabah* #7075, 24 Mayıs 1325/17 Cemazeyilevvel 1327/6 Haziran 1909 [6/06/1909], “Matbuat Nizamnamesi,” 1. “Şu halde gazetecilik kadar tehlikeli bir sanat dünyada mevcut değildir.”

79 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 11 Mayıs 1325 [24/05/1909], 630.

80 The discussions pertaining to the press law can be found in the official gazette, e.g., *Takvim-i Vekayi* #227, 18 Mayıs 1325/11 Cemazeyilevvel 1327 [3/05/1909].

81 *Kalem* #48, [23 Temmuz?] 1325/12 August 1909, 16. Error in date. #49, 6 Ağustos 1325/19 August 1909, 16.



La presse de demain.

پریسکی مطبوعات

FIGURE 10 Caricature: Expectations of censorship
“The Press of Tomorrow,” expectations of the 1909 Press Law before it was enacted. A censorship lock has been placed on the inkwell of the press.
SOURCE: *KALEM* #25, 5 ŞUBAT 1324/18 FEBRUARY 1909

imposition of martial law following the 31 March Incident ensured that the environment in which the press was to function was not a normal one, a situation which would continue virtually uninterrupted until the end of the empire. In a way, almost reflective of the conflict between the constitution and the 1864 press law in the immediate post-revolution period, martial law and the 1909 press law produced conflicting rulings, for while martial law gave the military courts the right to shut down publications, the 1909 press law presented them with a loophole to circumvent such closures.

When the 31 March Incident occurred, the second and third armies formed the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) which, under the command of Mahmut Şevket Paşa, moved into Istanbul to restore order. The Action Army successfully took control of Istanbul after skirmishes with resisting mutineers and proceeded to install courts-martial to try those suspected of having been involved in the mutiny. The press was also subjected to these courts. The court-martial issued a declaration which openly put the blame for the mutiny, at least partially, on the press:

The unfortunate influence that newspapers had in poisoning the minds [of the populace] and in corrupting the harmonious friendship among the people, by abusing the absolute freedom of the press is well known among all. [The fact is that] the trials have shown that the questionable content of the newspapers was reduced to slandering and dishonouring the government and vilifying the commanders of the army and that some members of the press, without anybody to stop them, continued their false publications of great influence, seeking to create a [source of] financial power, which could be tapped into when needed, through the opportunistic aim of capturing [the minds] of the people by using their religious feelings and that, by using the power granted to them through the ad-hominem attacks of newspapers, which gave them a control and advantage, to force their personal influence on the decisions of the government and that the government was unable to take any other position than powerlessness and surrender towards the clamorous torrent of transgression and slander emanating from the press.⁸²

82 Quoted from Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi, Osmanlı*, 1:196. "Tesmimi ezhanda ihlâli ahengi vikafi anasırda evraki havadisın hadsiz hudutsuz hürriyeti matbuatı suüstimal etmek suretiyle icra ettiđi tesirâtı meş'ume malumu havassı avamdır. Esnayı muhakematta [...] zemini sual teşkil eden münderecatı ceraidin hükümete tahkir ve terzile ve Ordunun kumanda heyetinin tezyifine hasredilmiş olduđunu irae etmesi ve bir kısım matbuat erbabının icabında istimal edilmek üzere bir kuvve-i maddiye şeklinde avamı celb için halkın taassubu dindaranesinden istifade maksadı menfaatcuvenesıyla hilafı hakikat neşriyatı

Among those tried was Derviş Vahdeti, owner and editor-in-chief of *Volkan*. He was found guilty of treason and hanged and *Volkan* ceased to exist. Other journalists, too, were interrogated. According to Ahmet İhsan, newspapers were subjected to an examination of all of their issues that had appeared prior to and during the mutiny.⁸³ Ali Kemal and Ahmet Cevdet, respectively editor-in-chief and owner, of *İkdam* and the French language *Independence* and Mevlanazade Rifat of *Serbesti* fell under suspicion. These three men were suspected of being among the instigators of the mutiny and chose to flee.⁸⁴

This action against newspapers, that included prominent newspapers with an anti-CUP bias, has led to the claim that this was a deliberate action by the army to suppress political opposition (including the press) to the CUP, whose bidding was done by the military.⁸⁵ However, the evidence at hand suggests that such claims should be nuanced. In the case of *İkdam*, which in the 1909 annual report of the British embassy is described as “important as being the organ of Kiamil Pasha and the Ahrars”⁸⁶ (i.e., the opposition to the CUP), the allegation brought against the owner and the editor-in-chief was that the newspaper was guilty of publishing material that led to the occurrence of the mutiny.⁸⁷ A survey of *İkdam*'s contents in the weeks before the mutiny hardly reveals any overly inciting articles, such as those published in *Volkan* during the same period. However, *Volkan* clearly aligns itself with both *İkdam* and *Serbesti* on more than one occasion, either by copying articles from these newspapers or by speaking about them in friendly or supportive terms (something that was unthinkable with *Tanin*, which was frequently portrayed as the

mühimmeye bila mani devamları ve gazetelerin şahsiyat ile uğraşmalarının kendilerine verdiği tahakküm be tegallüp kuvvetiyle mukarreratı hükümete ikai resiratu mahsusa eylemeleri ve Hükümetten matbuattan akan bu seyli huruşanı tecavüz ve tahkirata karşı aczü teslimiyetten başka bir tedbir ittihaz edememesi.”

83 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:79–80.

84 BOA ZB 603/50, 6 Haziran 1325 [19 June 1909]: “Otuzbir Mart'ta Dersâdet'te vukugelen ihtilal-ı askeriye'nin mürettip ve müşviklerinden oldukları iddiasıyla maznunaleyh olup hal-i firarda bulunan *İkdam* gazetesi sahib-i imtiyazı Ahmet Cevdet ve sermuaharrirleri Ali Kemal ve *Serbesti* gazetesi sahibi Mevlanazade Rifat beylerin divan-ı harb-ı örfiye gelmeleri [...]”

85 Victor R. Swenson, “The Military Rising in Istanbul 1909,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 4 (January 1, 1970): 183.

86 TNA FO 195/2363, 31 January 1909, “Turkey, Annual Report 1909,” 63.

87 BOA ZB 602/49, 21 Nisan 1325 [4 May 1909]: “31 Mart 1325 vaka-ı ihtilaliyesinin tahaddüsüne mucip olacak surette neşriyatının bulunmasından dolayı divan-ı harb-ı örfiyece tevkiferine karar verilmiş olan *İkdam* ve *Independence* gazetelerinin sahib-i imtiyazı Cavid ve sermuaharriri Ali Kemal [...]”

archenemy along with *Şura-ı Ümmet*, both strong supporters of CUP).⁸⁸ Although in these cases *İkdam* involuntarily found itself associated with *Volkan*, which no reasonable court would deem damning evidence, what could have initiated the case against Ali Kemal and Ahmet Cevdet might be the attitude their newspapers displayed in the wake of the mutiny. There are three interesting points by which *İkdam*'s position regarding the revolt can be gauged: the description of the uprising and the motivations behind it, the coverage of the deaths that occurred and the position that the newspaper took vis-à-vis the religious leaders who were involved.

When reporting the death of officers killed during the mutiny, *İkdam* took a very apologetic tone, where it shifted the blame onto the officers and justified the acts of the mutineers. In a piece entitled "How many were killed?" published on 14 April 1909, the author explains that four officers had been killed the day before but that these men had tried to stop the military uprising and had shown signs of aggression or transgression ("tecavüze kalkışmış"), a choice of words which deliberately puts the blame onto the officers.⁸⁹ Further reading in the same issue reveals a similar reflection of the events, when the paper goes into detail about the murder of one of the officers:

In the morning, as said officer had climbed on top of a car on the bridge and started to deliver a speech against the soldiers, two soldiers affiliated with the sniper battalion listened to his statements, after which they said to him: "Sir, Officer! What you are saying is wrong. Our aim is only to see the application of sharia law within a constitutional framework," upon which the officer pulled out his revolver and fired on the soldiers. The fired bullets hit a soldier in the hand and one porter, who happened to be there, in the knee. It is upon this that the very agitated soldiers wounded

88 E.g., *Volkan* #72, 21 Safer 1327, 28 Şubat 132[5], 13 Mart 1909 [13 March 1909], "Doktor Nazım Beyin Konferansları": Taken from *İkdam*, *Volkan* #74, 23 Safer 1327, 2 Mart 132[5], 15 Mart 1909 [15 March 1909], "Biz De Görüyoruz Ki İş Fena Gidiyor": Taken from *İkdam*, *Volkan* #97, 17 Rebiülevvel 1327, 25 Mart 1325, 7 Nisan 1909 [7 April 1909], "Davetname": Taken from *Serbesti*; *Volkan* #99, 8 Rebiülevvel 1327, 27 Mart 1325, 9 Nisan 1909 [9 April 1909], "Miting": Taken from *Serbesti*.

89 *İkdam* #5347, 23 Rebiülevvel 1327, 1 Nisan 1325, 14 Nisan 1909 [14 April 1909], "Kaç kişi telef olmuş?": "Dünki hadise-i askeriyede saat altıya kadar dört kişi telef olmuştur. Bunlar da bir mülazım, bir kolağası, bir katip, bir binbaşısıdır. Zabıtanın telef olanları, askerinin bu hareketine mümanaat etmek istemiş ve tecavüze kalkışmış olmalarından dolayı telef edilmiştir."

and killed the officer by shooting him in the chest and by [using] a knife on his head.⁹⁰

In both instances, the report suggests that it had been the officers who had been showing aggression, and that, in contrast, the soldiers' decapitating an officer after shooting him was not an offensive act.

Similar language is used when reporting the deaths of Minister of Justice (*Adliye Nazırı*) Nazım Paşa and the *Emir* of Latakia (*Lazkiye*): "When the Minister of Justice Nazım Paşa was passing in front of the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) yesterday, he was mistaken for Ahmet Rıza Bey and killed. The soldiers have been extremely saddened by the accidental killing of the minister."⁹¹ The newspaper did not care to explain how the murder could have been justified had the correct man been killed. The following day the story of the Minister's death was reported in more detail.

According to an account which has been verified the Minister of Justice Nazım Paşa and the Minister of the Navy (*Bahriye Nazırı*) Rıza Paşa had boarded an automobile to go from the Sublime Porte to the Imperial Palace to present their resignations and as they were moving towards Sirkeci they were turned around and led in front of the parliament. According to some accounts the Minister of the Navy Rıza Paşa there took out his revolver and fired on the soldiers, who returned fire. They mistook the late Minister of Justice Nazım Paşa for Ahmet Rıza Bey and wounded him. Two bullets hit the justice minister and the former Minister of the Navy was injured in the foot.⁹²

90 *İkdam* #5347, 23 Rebiülevvel 1327, 1 Nisan 1325, 14 Nisan 1909 [4 April 1909], "Kaç kişi Telef olmuş?": "Sabahleyin mumaileyh köprü başında araba üzerine çıkarak askere karşı nutuk irad etmekteyken avcı taburuna mensup iki asker mumaileyhin beyanatını dinlemişler, badehu mumaileyh zabıta hitaben: 'Zabıt efendi! Siz yanlış söylüyorsunuz. Bizim maksadımız kanun-ı esasi dairesinde şeriat tatbikidir.' demeleri üzerine zabıt belinden revolverini çıkarıp askere ateş etmiş, çıkan mermi askerin eline ve orada bulunan bir hamalın dizine isabet etmiştir. Bunun üzerine neferat son derece hiddete gelerek zabıtı mermiyle göğüsünden ve kasaturayla başından cerh ve itlaf etmişlerdir."

91 *İkdam* #5347, 23 Rebiülevvel 1327, 1 Nisan 1325, 14 Nisan 1909 [14 April 1909], "Adliye Nazırı": "Adliye Nazırı Nazım Paşa dün Meclis-i Mebusan önünden geçtiği sırada Ahmet Rıza bey'e benzetilerek telef edilmiştir. Asker, Adliye Nazırı Paşa'nın böyle bir yanlışlıkla itlaf edilmiş olduğuna fevkalade müteessir olmuştur."

92 *İkdam* #5348, 24 Rebiülevvel 1327, 2 Nisan 1325, 15 Nisan 1909 [15 April 1909], "Adliye ve Bahriye Nazırları": "İyice tahkik ül-mübin bir rivayete göre istifalarını arz için Bab-ı Ali'den Mabeyn-i Hümayun'a gitmek üzere bir arabaya binmiş olan Adliye Nazırı Nazım

Here, too, the report justified the action of the soldiers by ascribing the initial act of violence to the victims. It is, of course, possible that this account of events is in fact correct. However, it seems unlikely that a minister, presumably an educated man, would think it wise to open fire with a revolver (containing a limited number of rounds) on a group of soldiers who not only outnumbered him, but also had superior firepower. Added to this is the fact that the account, while repeating the earlier report on the mistaken killing of the Minister of Justice, still does not offer any further justification for the actions of the soldiers. *İkdam*'s attitude in this respect is further demonstrated by its reporting of the killing of Mehmet Arslan, the *Emir* of Latakia, who was reported as "having passed away" ("vefatı vukubulmuştur") while the man had in fact been the victim of violence and clearly did not die of natural causes.⁹³

Not only did *İkdam* absolve the soldiers from any blame over the violence committed, but it also heaped praise on them for their "historical" achievement, noting that "the events that this country has seen in the past two days can really teach us all a lesson. It is important for the army because the good nature, the pureness of being, the obedience to the laws of humanity of our soldiers and the importance they place on the Ottoman honour was not only seen by us but also by [the rest of the world]."⁹⁴ The next day, the newspaper claimed that the soldiers in mutiny had been fighting against tyranny ("istibdat"), a word that was associated with Hamidian oppression. "The night of April 1st [Rumi calendar]," the newspaper explained "is an important page in the history of the Ottoman [constitutional] revolution... the soldiers were excitedly awaiting the appointment of the new Prime Minister (*Sadrızam*) and Minister of the Navy (*Bahriye Nazırı*) in an attempt to end the tyranny of the

ve Bahriye Nazırın Rıza paşalar Sirkeci'ye doğru indikleri sırada çevirilip Meclis-i Mebusan dairesi önüne getirilmişlerdir. Bazı kimselerin ifadelerine göre Bahriye Nazırın Rıza Paşa orada revolverini çıkarıp asker üzerine ateş etmesiyle onlar da bilmukabele ve Adliye Nazırın Nazım Paşa merhumu da Ahmet Rıza Bey zannıyla cerheylemişlerdir. İlk kurşun Adliye Nazırına isabet etmiş ve Bahriye Nazır-ı sabıkı da kurşunla ayağından yaralanmıştır."

93 *İkdam* #5348, 24 Rebiülevvel 1327, 2 Nisan 1325, 15 Nisan 1909 [15 April 1909], "Arslan Bey'in Vefatı": "Bu sekiz mebus Meclis-i Mebusan'a avdet ettikleri sırada bu meyanda bulunan Lazkiye mebusu Mehmet Arslan bey'in dünki nüshamızsa yazdığımız vechile vefatı vukubulmuştur."

94 *İkdam* #5347, 23 Rebiülevvel 1327, 1 Nisan 1325, 14 Nisan 1909 [14 April 1909], "Hamiyet-i Osmaniyyeden Beklediğimiz": "İki gündür bu memleketin geçirdiği hadiseler hakikaten hepimiz için mucib-i ibret olsa gerektir, orduca mühimdir, asker kardeşlerimizin fazilet-i fitriyelerini, necabet-i halkiyelerini, hukuk-ı nasa riayetlerini, şeref-i Osmaniye'ye mertebe-i vekayelerini biz değil ecanib bile takdir eyledi."

secret society and to bring true justice within the Islamic sharia.”⁹⁵ The shots fired into the air by the mutineers were, according to the article, simply the soldiers’ expression of joy for the great service rendered to the entire nation and were not something anybody needed to worry about.⁹⁶

İkdam’s support for the mutiny (after it had happened) can further be seen in the fact that it published many articles supporting the application of the sharia. But perhaps the most telling sign was that it published a statement by Seyid-i Kürdi telling the soldiers that, now that their job was finished, they should return to listening to the commands of their officers.⁹⁷ Seyid-i Kürdi was not only a prolific author in *Volkan* but also a member of Derviş Vahdeti’s Mohammedan Union Party. Allowing the newspaper to act as a platform for spreading this message explains a great deal about *İkdam*’s position immediately after the revolution.

Once it became clear that the Action Army, poised to suppress the mutiny, was gathering forces in Thessaloniki, and this news reached Istanbul, there was a change of tone. It was only on 17 April 1909, several days after the events, that Ali Kemal first published (or at least signed) an article to be published in *İkdam*. In his first article he criticised the attacks on the *Tanin* and *Şura-ı Ümmet* offices, but strangely chose to call it “an act of vengeance,” thus still agreeing that somehow one could understand why these attacks occurred.⁹⁸

95 *İkdam* #5348, 24 Rebiülevvel 1327, 2 Nisan 1325, 15 Nisan 1909 [15 April 1909], “1 Nisan Gecesi”: “1 Nisan gecesi’ tarih-i inkilab-ı Osmaniye’de mühim bir sayfa teşkil eder. Gece, reda-ı siyahla İstanbul afakını ihate eylemeğe başladığı zaman, gündüzün tab-ı bi-nihayesiyle bitab kalan millet-i Osmaniye fevc fevc evlerine çekiliyor, fakat asker cemiyet-i hafiyenin istibdadına nihayet vermek, şeriat-ı İslamiye dairesinde adalet-i hakikiyeyi tesis ettirmek için azim bir sabırsızlık içinde tayin edilecek Sadrazama, Harbiye Nazırı’na intizar ediyordu.”

96 *İkdam* #5348, 24 Rebiülevvel 1327, 2 Nisan 1325, 15 Nisan 1909 [15 April 1909], “1 Nisan Gecesi”: “Saat beş buçuğa doğruydu, müthiş bir yayılım ateşi etrafı azim bir dehşet içinde bıraktı. Gecenin hululiyle istihsal-ı malımata muvaffak olamayan halkımızı oldukça endişenak eden bu velvele, askerın sürur-ı muzafferanesinden başka bir şey değildi. Bütün efrad vatandaşlarına nafi bir hizmet ifa etmekten mütevellid bir hazla havaya ateş ediyorlardı.”

97 *İkdam* #5349, 25 Rebiülevvel 1327, 3 Nisan 1325, 16 Nisan 1909 [16 April 1909], “no title”: “Biliyorum ki müşfik pederleriniz olan zabıtlarınızı mesul etmemek için işe karıştırmadınız. Şimdi iş bitti. Zabıtların avuç-ı şefkatlarına atılız. Şeriat-ı gara böyle emrediyor.”

98 *İkdam* #5350, 26 Rebiülevvel 1327, 4 Nisan 1325, 17 Nisan 1909 [17 April 1909], “En Büyük Tehlike Nedir?”: “Matbuatımız da bu vakayiden hisse-i intibahi aldı, rufekamızdan bazılarına reva görülen muamele-i gayr-ı layıka ibtida-ı emirde bizi dilhun etti. Ancak asker kardeşlerimizin de o itisafı şiddetle tekbih ettiklerini görerek biz de o hasaratın maddi, yani kabil-i tazmin olduğuna anlayarak teselli bulduk. O tazmin ise adeta yine militemizin borcudur. Cihanda her ne suretle olursa olsun, intikam, adavet bir zillettir, fakat

By 21 April it had become abundantly clear that the Action Army would enter Istanbul. In an ultimatum, the army declared that resistance would be met with great force. These new developments prompted Ali Kemal to publish a lengthy article explaining his past actions during the days following the revolt: he had not been supportive of the mutiny at all, the soldiers who had done so were an unruly and undisciplined bunch of criminals and Derviş Vahdeti was declared a *serseri* (good-for-nothing, bum).⁹⁹ In the days following the aforementioned ultimatum, *İkdam* welcomed the Action Army as saviours from the tyranny of the “reactionary forces” who wished to return to the old Hamidian oppression.¹⁰⁰

When all of these examples are considered, an image emerges of *İkdam* as a newspaper in limbo, not certain of where to place its allegiance. However, the Action Army’s approach seems to have been convincing enough for Ali Kemal and the newspaper to start to attack the mutineers, which they had openly supported days before. This did not stop Ali Kemal from feeling unsafe and fleeing, together with the paper’s owner, Ahmet Cevdet. In their absence, they were tried by court-martial, but they were found not guilty of the charges regarding the content of the newspaper. However, Ali Kemal was found guilty of having been a secret agent of Abdülhamit in the past and was exiled.¹⁰¹ He would return to Istanbul in 1912 and continue to write for *İkdam*. Although its owner and editor-in-chief had fled the country out of fear of being prosecuted, *İkdam* reappeared shortly after Ahmet Cevdet was absolved. Had the army wished to crush the opposition to the CUP, the post 31 March situation would have provided it with ample opportunity to do so and to penalise any newspapers severely. *İkdam*, however, despite statements such as those given above, received no penalty. Religious publications began to reappear, taking care, however, to

bir vatanın evladı birbirinden böyle intikama, birbirine bu suretle adavete kalkışlırlarsa o zillet en müthiş bir cinayet mertebesine varır.”

99 *İkdam* #5354, 30 Rebiülevvel 1327, 8 Nisan 1325, 21 Nisan 1909 [21 April 1909], “Bir Haftadan Beri.”

100 *İkdam* #5356, 2 Rebiülahir 1327, 10 Nisan 1325, 23 Nisan 1909 [21 April 1909], “Sükuney, Daima Sükunet.”

101 BOA DH.MKT 2883/55, 25 July 1909: “[...] maznunlardan İkdam gazetesi sahib-i imtiyaz Ahmet Cevdet ve sermuharri Ali Kemal beylerin icra olunan mahkeme neticesinde hadise-i ihtilaliye ve irticaiyeye dahl-ü iştirakları ve İkdam gazetesi muhtevyatınca mucib-i mesuliyet bir halleri görülemediginden o cihetten beraatlarına fakat mumaileyhimadan yalnız Ali Kemal beyin hatt-ı destiyle muharrer mektub ve jurnal mundarecatına nazaran, hakan-i mahluun amal-i mahsus-i malumesine tevfiakan muebbeden nefyine ve hukuk-i mediniyeden biliskat emval-ı mevcudesinin idare ettirilmesine [...]”

emphasize that the constitution was compatible with the sharia.¹⁰² It is clear that the claims that the Action Army was trying to silence CUP opposition in the press should be reconsidered. These findings are in agreement with Shaw's claim that the Action Army was not a CUP army, and that the 31 March Incident was not immediately followed by a CUP dominated period.¹⁰³

Legally speaking, with the introduction of martial law, the Ottoman press again entered a period of ambiguity for while martial law, as noted above, placed restrictions on the press, the 1909 press law was more liberal. Under the circumstances in which the revolution had taken place, and the occurrence of the 31 March Incident a situation existed where the military recognized the civilians' legal right to power, by restoring the constitution, while the civilians consented to the establishment of martial law, which placed the military above the civilian administration, resulting in an ambiguity where two authorities enjoyed undefined powers.¹⁰⁴ However, the introduction of martial law meant that the press law could be bypassed. Art. 6 of the martial law decree of 1877 stipulated that it was within the authority of the courts immediately to suspend any newspaper which they deemed to be engaging in "tehdîş-i ezhan" (obfuscating minds).¹⁰⁵ Under the 1909 press law, however, suspension was only imposed if the publication had failed to be registered with local authorities, i.e., had failed to declare its intentions to publish to officials, as required under Art. 4, or under Art. 23, if it had incited its readers to commit serious crimes as described in the second part of the Ottoman penal code. While the press law set out very specific and exceptional circumstances in which the suspension of a publication could be invoked, martial law relied on a loose term like "tehdîş-i ezhan." Because this term was open to interpretation, it could be used to circumvent the press law with its better-defined terms.

In this period, both martial law and the press law were apparently being applied.¹⁰⁶ Immediately after the declaration of martial law, in mid-May 1909, the Porte informed the Ministry of the Police (*Zaptıye Nezareti*) that the Action Army and the Third Army Corps Command had ordered that the press law (*matbuat nizamnamesi*) should be applied to *Papağan* (*Musavver*), due to

102 NL-HaNA, Consulaat-Generaal Constantinopel/Istanboel, 2.05.94, inv. nr 505, index 1152–1909, 3 Augustus 1909, "[...] persverslag van Mr. Van Ophuijzen over de maand Juli."

103 Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808–1975* (Cambridge University Press, 1977), 281–82.

104 Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, 55.

105 Djiveleguan, *Régime*, 80–81.

106 For example, BOA DH.EUM.THR 92/46 29 Teşrinievvel 1325[?] [11 November 1909], asking for the application of Art. 35.

its publishing articles and images that could incite agitation.¹⁰⁷ The issue of *Papağan* immediately preceding this order contained a two-page colour caricature of the ex-Sultan Abdülhamit II being dragged away in a cage as dogs barked at him, a highly controversial way of depicting a sultan, even if he was deposed.¹⁰⁸ The next issue of this illustrated satirical journal, which appeared nominally weekly or occasionally every two weeks, only appeared three weeks later.¹⁰⁹ If it had not been able to publish, as had happened due to technical reasons a few weeks earlier, it would have published an apology to its readers.¹¹⁰ The fact that it did not supports the supposition that it was in fact suspended for a week. That martial law could override the press law is clear from the suspension, in October 1911, of a daily newspaper, which was charged with libelling ministers of the cabinet.¹¹¹ Under Art. 28 of the 1909 press law, libel against members of the royal family (excluding the Sultan) and high-ranking officials could not result in the suspension of the publication, yet the newspaper was suspended. Such suspensions happened frequently under martial law, and across the political range of newspapers from CUP supporting to CUP opposing dailies. But, because of the 1909 press law, these suspensions were easily circumvented by merely republishing under a different name. With the 1909 press law, the application process for permission to publish had been greatly simplified. It was sufficient merely to submit a statement of intent to publish to the local government, a proceeding which remained unaffected by martial law which made no ruling on it in the martial law decree.

The ineffectiveness of suspension is nicely demonstrated in the case of *Tanin*, considered the unofficial mouthpiece of the CUP. On 22 December 1909 the paper appeared as *Tanin* with an issue number of 469.¹¹² A few days later it appeared as *Yeni Tanin* with its issue number reset to start from 1.¹¹³ While it is not clear why *Tanin* received a suspension at this point, it remained *Yeni Tanin* for over two months before reappearing as *Tanin* from 10 February 1910 onwards.¹¹⁴

107 BOA DH.MKT 2810/66, 22 Rebiülahir 1327/30 Nisan 1325 [13 May 1909].

108 *Papağan (Musavver)* #32, 20 Rebiülahir 1327, 27 Nisan 1325, 10 Mayıs 1909 [10 May 1909].

109 *Papağan (Musavver)* #33, 1 Cemazeyilevvel 1327, 18 Mayıs 1325, 31 Mayıs 1909 [31 May 1909].

110 *Papağan (Musavver)* #31, 7 Rebiülahir 1327, 14 Nisan 1325, 27 Nisan 1909 [27 April 1909], "İtizar."

111 *Islahat* #84, 20 Şevval 1329, 29 Eylül 1327, 12 Teşrinievvel 1911 [12 October 1911], "Tanzimat Gazetesi Müdüriyetini": Heyet-i Vükela aleyhinde kadhi havi neşirde bulunmuş [...].

112 *Tanin* #469, 9 Zilhicce 1327H, 9 Kanunievvel 325R, 22 Kanunievvel 1909 [22 December 1909].

113 *Yeni Tanin* #2, 13 Zilhicce 327H, 13 Kannuevvel 325R, 24 Kanunievvel 1909 [26 December 1909].

114 *Tanin* #517, 29 Muharrem 1328, 28 Kanunievvel 1325, 10 Şubat 1909 [10 February 1910].

It is interesting to note that when *Tanin* did reappear it did so from issue number 517, while it had been suspended at 469 thus appearing as if it had not been suspended at all. This shows quite clearly that, to all intents and purposes, suspensions of newspapers at this point were a mere formality. Both *Tanin* and *Yeni Tanin* were under the control of the same *müdüür-i mesul*, Hüseyin Cahit, as was clearly printed in the header and the additional *Yeni* in the title was printed inconspicuously, in much smaller characters, giving the daily the appearance of having the title *Tanin* instead of *Yeni Tanin* (Figure 11).

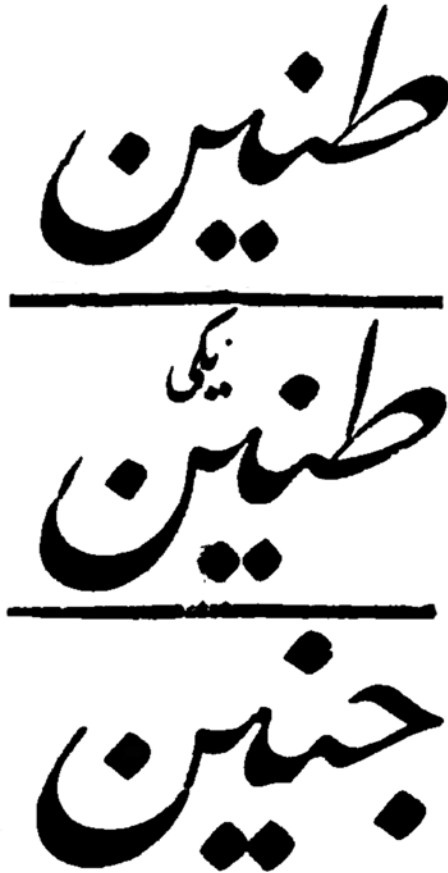


FIGURE 11 Comparison of *Tanin* headers with different titles. Modifiers such as *Yeni* ("New") were added in an inconspicuous fashion while new names were not only chosen to be as homophonous as possible, but also to resemble visually the original title.

Again in 1911, *Tanin* was hit by a series of suspensions, which were, according to Ahmet İhsan, the result of Kamil Paşa's cabinet being in power and being hostile to the CUP.¹¹⁵ In May 1911, the court-martial suspended *Tanin* indefinitely for "publishing ad hominem attacks and sensationalist news," but the newspaper reappeared the next day as *Canin*.¹¹⁶ Less than a week later, *Canin* was suspended for the same reason, but reappeared as *Senin*, only to be suspended again in June and to reappear as *Renin*.¹¹⁷ More than two months after its initial suspension, *Tanin* was allowed to reappear as its suspension was considered to have "lasted long enough."¹¹⁸ In September 1912, the whole spiel was re-enacted once again: *Tanin* appeared as *Tanin*, *Canin*, *Senin* and *Hak*, before finally reappearing as *Tanin*.¹¹⁹

İkdam, traditionally considered to be closer to the Liberals, underwent suspensions too, although to a lesser degree. In mid-March 1910 *İkdam* was suspended and reappeared as *Yeni İkdam*.¹²⁰ While it refrained from using its old issue numbering as an alternative, it kept Ahmet Cevdet as the responsible director (*müdür-i mesul*) and concession owner (*sahib-i imtiyaz*). In late

115 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:130.

116 *Cenin* #1-974, 20 Cemzaeyilevvel 1329/6 Mayıs 1327/19 Mayıs 1911 [19 May 1911], "Tanin Gazetesi Müdüriyetine": "Gazetenizle divan-ı harb-ı örfiyeden ahiren vakiolan ihtarat-ı resmîyeye hilafata olarak yine şahsiyata mutaallak ve heyecan amiz makalar neşredildiğinden idare-i örfiye karamamesinin altıncı maddesine tevfikân bila müddet tatiline müttefiken karar verildiği divan-ı harb-ı örfiyeden sadır olup Harbiye Nezaret-i Celilesi'nden batezkere tevdi olunan mazbatada beyan kılınmakla ber mucip-i karar Tanin gazetesinin bu günden itibaren bilamüddet tatil kılındığı teblig olunur. 5 Mayıs 1327, Matbuat-ı dahiliye müdüriyeti." *Tanin* #973, 19 Cemzayilevvel 1329/5 Mayıs 1327R/18 Mayıs 1911 [18 May 1911] appeared, which means that the publication did not miss a single day.

117 *Senin* #1-977, 23 Cemazeyilevvel 1329, 9 Mayıs 1327, 23 Mayıs 1911 [23 May 1911], "Cenin Gazetesi Müdüriyetine," *Renin* #15-1030, 17 Recep 1329, 1 Temmuz 1327, 14 Temmuz 1911 [14 July 1911]. The first issue of *Renin* is missing but as it was at issue 15, this would mean that *Renin* first appeared at the end of June.

118 *Tanin* #1043, 1 Şaban 1329/15 Temmuz 1327/28 Temmuz 1911 [28 July 1911], "Tanin Gazetesi Müdüriyetine": "Matbuat-ı dahiliye müdüriyetinden: divan-ı harb-ı örfice mukaddema bilamüddet tatil edilmiş olan "Tanin" gazetesinin müddet-i tatiliyesi kafi görülerek tekrar intişarına müsade itasına karar verildiği divan-ı mezkurdan sadır olup Harbiye Nezaret-i Celile'sinden batezkere gönderilen mazbatada işar olunmakla gazetenizi tekrar neşre mezun bulunduğunuz beyan olunur efendim. Fi 14 Temmuz 1327."

119 *Tanin* #1431, 21 Ramazan 1330, 21 Ağustos 1328, 3 Eylül 1912 [3 September 1912]; *Cenin* #1-1432, 22 Ramazan 1330, 22 Ağustos 1328, 4 Eylül 1912 [4 September 1912]; *Senin* #40-1433, 23 Ramazan 1330, 23 Ağustos 1328, 5 Eylül 1912 [5 September 1912]; *Hak* #149-1441, 1 Şevval 1330, 31 Ağustos 1328, 13 Eylül 1912 [13 September 1912]; *Tanin* #1442, 1 Şevval 1330, 31 Ağustos 1328, 13 Eylül 1912 [13 September 1912].

120 *Yeni İkdam* #1, 2 Rebiülevvel 1328, 1 Mart 1326, 14 Mart 1910 [14 March 1910].

خنده تقيات عدليه بزده سندن طولاني



Le Tanine dit :
 • La politique du Gouvernement, au lieu d'être dirigée par lui-même, lui est dictée par un tas de vanu-pieds.
 — Quelle est la date de ce numéro ?
 — Le 4 Septembre 1912.
 — Sûrement il y a erreur des chiffres. Ça doit être de l'année 1908.

— خدايے جاھد ڪنہ ڊيمش : «باب عاليڪ پوليٽيڪسي مشول اولان مجلس وڪلاءه ڊڪل غير مشول اولان بر سورور بالهيري بيچلاق مخالفده قرار لاندہ بريلور .»
 — خرابه ڪ تاريخه باق !
 — جنيڻ ۲۲ آگسٽوس سنه ۴۴۸
 — ڊيڊيڪي طوغري . قسط سنه سندهه ترتيب خطاسي ولاءه
 — ۴۴۵ اولهه جنيڻ !

FIGURE 12 Caricature: Reading *Canin*
 The newspaper header clearly reads *Canin*, but the French caption says “Le Tanine dit...” and the Ottoman caption starts with “Bakalım Cahit Bey [the owner of *Tanin*] ne demiş...”
 SOURCE: *CEM* #37, 25 AGUSTOS 1328/7 SEPTEMBER 1912, 8

February 1912, it appeared as *İktiham*,¹²¹ but the responsible director was now Ahmet Mecit. It reappeared again as *İkdam* only in August 1912, with Ahmet Cevdet again at its head, explaining its reappearance as being due to the fact that martial law had been suspended.¹²²

That these suspensions did not amount to more than a formality was not a secret. A caricature in the satirical magazine *Cem* (Figure 12) shows a man reading *Canin* while the French caption refers to “*Le Tanine*.” The caricature is not mocking the fact that *Tanin* appeared as *Canin*, on the contrary, that is accepted as a given. In official circles, too, this was recognized. Attempting to persuade the Minister of Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye Nazırı*) Rıfat Paşa to suppress *Tanin*, which had been publishing articles on British activities in Mesopotamia, the British ambassador Lowther, who regarded these articles, which he claimed to be completely inaccurate, as liable to incite anti-British sentiment, remarked that a suspension would be easy due to the existence of martial law in Istanbul. Rıfat Paşa, however, pointed out that this move would be useless, as *Tanin* would simply reappear the next day under a different name. Furthermore, the paşa added that *Tanin* was not a government newspaper, but an independent one over which the state had no control. Rıfat Paşa, however, did reassure Lowther that *Jeune Turc* had been warned about not publishing an upcoming series of articles attacking Britain.¹²³ This correspondence is evidence to the amount of liberty the press enjoyed under the 1909 Press Law.

A striking example of the absurdity of press suspensions in this period is that of the daily *Tanzimat*, founded by Lütü Fikri, a member of the Ottoman Chamber, who, as a member of the Chamber of Deputies’ press law Committee, had had an influential role in the creation in the 1909 press law. Lütü Fikri gave an account of his own experience of suspension in an article in *Tanzimat* published in September 1912, when martial law was suspended for a short time.

I remember very well; at that time [under martial law] we had in our office about fifteen newspaper publishing declarations [i.e., statements submitted to the government declaring the intention to publish], and as many clichés with the titles, that were written on these declarations, engraved on them. This was our biggest weapon against the Unionist government, our ammunition. When an order for suspension was received from

121 *İktiham* #18, 24 Rebiülevvel 1330, 1 Mart 1328, 14 Mart 1912 [14 March 1912]: While the first issue is missing, it should have appeared at the end of February 1912.

122 *İkdam* #5558, 27 Şaban 1330, 29 Temmuz 1328, 11 Ağustos 1912 [11 August 1912], “İkdam’ın intişarı.”

123 TNA FO 424/226, October 1911, “Further Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Asiatic Turkey and Arabia, Part 1,” #108, 14 February 1911, 96.

the Press Regulation Office, we regarded it as of such little consequence that, for example, if I was busy with something at that point, I would not see the need to interrupt [this activity] and with a nearly habitual motion of my hand would seek out one of these declarations from the document container on my desk, and hand it to the person [bearing the order of suspension]. And, I, satisfied with only warning [the workers] not to make any errors with the issue numbering and the headers on the pages, would once again return to my work.¹²⁴

Lütfi Fikri's account does not appear to have been in any way exaggerated. *Tanzimat* first appeared in 1911 and received what appears to be its first suspension in October 1911. This was the start of a very long series of suspensions in a very short time span. In the next four months, in which most changes took place in the first month, *Tanzimat* appeared as *Islahat*, *Maşrek*, *Tanzimat* (illegally), *Merih*, *Matbuat*, *Zühre*, *Tenbihat*, *Nevrah*, *Tesisat*, *Takdirat*, *Teşkilat* and *Teminat* with a new *müdür-i mesul* every time, but with Lütfi Fikri as the editor-in-chief throughout.¹²⁵ What sets Lütfi Fikri's daily apart was its blatant defiance of the martial law courts. When *Islahat* was suspended for an article in which it criticised Germany, *Maşrek* published a stinging attack on Art. 6 of the martial law decree. The article noted:

124 Lütfi Fikri in *Tanzimat* #343, 23 Ağustos 1328 [5 September 1912]: "Pek iyi hatırlarım; bizim o vakit idarehanemizde onbeş kadar gazete beyannamsi ve onlarda muharrer isimler üzerine hak olunmuş o kadar da klişe daima hazır bulunurdu. Bu İttihad hükümetine karşı en büyük silahımız, mühimmat-ı harbiyemiz idi. Matbuat İdarehanesinden tatil emri geldi mi, onu o kadar ehemmiyetsizlikle telakki ederdik ki, mesela o anda birşeyle meşgul oluyorsam, bunu bir an olsun bırakmaya lüzum görmeyerek masamın üzerindeki kağıtlıktan elimi artık sevk-i tabii halini almaya başlayan bir hareketle bu beyannamelere birini bulur, karşımdaki kimseye uzatırdım. Ben de sadece -numaralarda, sahife başlıklarındaki yazılarda bir yanlışlığa meydan vermeyin- demekle iktifa eder, yine işime dönerdim."

125 *Tanzimat* #83, 19 Şevval 1329, 28 Eylül 1327, 11 Teşrinievvel 1911 [11 October 1911], *Islahat* #84, 20 Şevval 1329, 29 Eylül 1327, 12 Teşrinievvel 1911 [12 October 1911], *Maşrek* #91, 27 Şevval 1329, 6 Teşrinievvel 1327, 19 Teşrinievvel 1911 [19 October 1911], *Tanzimat* #104, 10 Zilkade 1329, 19 Teşrinievvel 1327, 1 Teşrinisani 1911 [1 November 1911], *Merih* #106, 11 Zilkade 1329, 20 Teşrinievvel 1327, 2 Teşrinisani 1911 [2 November 1911], *Matbuat* #108 [12] Zilkade 1329, 21 Teşrinievvel 1327, 3 Teşrinisani 1911 [3 November 1911], *Zühre* #110, 13 Zilkade 1329, 22 Teşrinievvel 1327, 4 Teşrinisani 1911 [4 November 1911], *Tenbihat* #112, 15 Zilkade 1329, 24 Teşrinievvel 1327, 6 Teşrinisani 1911 [6 November 1911], *Nevrah* #113, 16 Zilkade 1329, 25 Teşrinievvel 1327, 7 Teşrinisani 1911 [7 November 1911], *Tesisat* #116, 19 Zilkade 1329, 28 Teşrinievvel 1327, 10 Teşrinisani 1911 [10 November 1911], *Takdirat* #153, 28 Zilhicce 1329, 6 Kanunievvel 1327, 19 Kanunievvel 1911 [19 December 1911], *Teşkilat* #168, 13 Muharrem 1329, 12 Kanunievvel 1327, 3 Kanunisani 1911 [3 January 1912], *Teminat* #205, 20 Safer 1330, 27 Kanunisani 1327, 9 Şubat 1912 [9 February 1912].

This time it has become completely apparent that the court-martial interprets ‘agitation’ (“tehyic-i efkar”) and ‘panic’ (“tedhiş-i ezhan”) completely incorrectly. Because an article about Germany – even if it is very critical – will not cause ‘agitation’ in Ottoman lands [...] The Courts Martial should end this situation. We are informing [the court] and warning it one last time: if it continues in its practices, it will leave us no choice but to act (within the law) in a different manner and it will create difficulties for itself and for us.¹²⁶

Despite its tone, this threatening and defiant statement produced no reaction. Less than two weeks later, in what could be considered another act of provocation, *Tanzimat* reappeared without permission and with a letter on its front page addressed to the army expressing strong criticism of the on-going martial law.¹²⁷ This rebellious act did actually elicit a reaction. The next day it appeared as *Merih* and expressed its disgust at the fact that its offices had been raided by the police and that the copies of *Tanzimat* had been confiscated, thus forcing the newspaper to appear as *Merih*. It commented scathingly that:

While there is an option for the court-martial not to meddle with things that are outside its duty, its leaving that [option aside] and attempting to forbid the publication and distribution of a newspaper in this way and, as a legal reason for this, coming up with oddities that could be filed under the funniest things in the world, and that could not even mislead a fresh law student. [This] is cause for great sadness and the words “woe, what type of [men] have control over the government” involuntarily spring to one’s lips.¹²⁸

126 *Maşrek* #91, 27 Şevval 1329, 6 Teşrinievvel 1327, 19 Teşrinievvel 1911 [19 October 1911], “Islahat Gazetesi Müdüriyetine”: “Tehyic-i efkar ve tedhiş-i ezhan sözlerini idare-i örfiyenin pek yanlış olarak telakki ve tatbik etmekte olduğu artık bu kere büsbütün tezahür etti. Çünkü Almanya hakkında – velev şiddetle aleyhinde olsun – yazılmış makale Trablusgarp meselesine Almanya’nın Ağadır’e panzer gemisi gönderilmesinin sebep-i aslı olduğunu bilen Osmanlı muhitinde tehyic-i efkar değil, belki asabı teskin eder. İdare-i örfiye şu hale nihayet versin. İşte kendisine son defa beyan ve ihtar ediyoruz ki, bu meslekte devam ederse bizi, yine taraf-ı kanununiyede kalmak şartıyla, başka türlü hareket etmeğe mecbur edecek ve kendisini de bizi de çok bozacaktır.”

127 *Tanzimat* #104, 10 Zilkade 1329, 19 Teşrinievvel 1327, 1 Teşrinisani 1911 [1 November 1911], “Dersaadet Merkez Komandanlığı Cenab-ı Behiyesine.”

128 *Merih* #106, 11 Zilkade 1329, 20 Teşrinievvel 1327, 2 Teşrinisani 1911 [2 November 1911], “Tanzimat Gazetesi ve Divan-ı Harb-ı Örfi”: “Divan-ı harb vazifesi dışında işlerle uğraştırmamak tariki var iken, onu bırakıp da şu suretle cebren gazetenin neşir ve intişarını menetmeğe kalkışması ve bu bapta sebep-ı kanuni olarak dünyanın en gülünç şeyleri meyanına

An inevitable suspension followed. There was again an attempt to illegally continue publishing the suspended *Merih*, but when this failed *Matbuat* appeared. The next day *Matbuat* was suspended and *Zühre* appeared in its place, announcing its defiance of the court-martial, despite what it described as the illegal actions taken against the paper.¹²⁹ In the next week *Tenbihat* and *Nevrah* followed each other in quick succession as a result of further suspensions. Lütfi Fikri continued this game, where he deliberately provoked action against his newspaper and then republished under a different name for three more months, until February 1912, right before the first steps were taken prevent such circumventions of martial law.

After the revolution, the period of legal confusion was followed by the codification of liberties for the press. This shows that, despite martial law, official policy remained supportive of the press. However, in 1912, the supportive policy changed, where support was sacrificed for control by the CUP. The first move towards tightening control over the press was taken in March 1912, when Art. 2 of the press law was altered. A deposit of 500 *lira* caution money was now required when lodging a declaration of intent to publish, an alteration presumably related to an attempt to prevent suspended newspapers from immediately springing up again under a new name. This move, however, was probably ineffective because, apparently, newspapers already owned a number of licenses under different names and the change to the article exempted existing license holders, meaning that newspapers could use their stock of licenses.¹³⁰ The changes applied to the press law in 1913 were more numerous and thorough. Art. 2 was changed again. Those publications with permission to publish but which had not yet done so, publications which had ceased publishing voluntarily and publications which had been suspended by the government were now required to pay the 500 *lira* caution money before they could reappear.¹³¹ The bill, as it was presented to parliament, justified the change as “preventing the procedure where a new publication appears in the place

sokulabilecek ve en mübtedi hukuk talebesince bile mahiyetinin bilinmemesi imkanı tasavvur olunamayacak garibeler etmesi cidden mucip-i teessür oluyor ve vah vah hükümet ne ellere kaldı sözü bila ihtiyar ağızdan çıkıyor.”

129 *Zühre* #110, 13 Zilkade 1329, 22 Teşrinievvel 1327, 4 Teşrinisani 1911 [4 November 1911], “Divan-ı Harb-ı Örfiye Heyetine”: “Muhakkak biliniz ki siz mugayir-i kanun muamelata devam ettikce biz sizden hiç korkmayız [...]”

130 *Düstur* tertip II, cilt 4, #132, “Matbuat Kanunu’nun ikinci madde-i muaddelesi” pp. 365–66. See Appendix “The Ottoman Press Laws,” for the 1909 press law, including changes made to the law.

131 *Düstur* tertip II, cilt 5, #117, “Matbuat Kanunu’nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat” pp. 181–85.

شرکت خیره واپورنده :



قره کوز — [غزته ساتارق] طین ، حق .
 برمشتری — بداهت یوقی ؟
 قره کوز — یوق . .
 برمشتری — تأمینات ؟ . .

قره کوز — اوده یوق ، سنک ایستدیکک غزته یی آکلادم اما جیقماسی ایچون هر نسخه یه بیوز لیرا وبره حک بابا بکیت زده : . سن
 یاواش یاواش طین ایله حقه آیشمه باق : . .

FIGURE 13 Caricature: Stricter press laws

Karagöz, while selling newspapers on a ferry, explains to a potential customer that the newspapers that he is asking for would need to sell at 500 *lira* per issue. This is referring to the 500 *lira* fine and insinuating that certain newspapers were expected to be hit hard by the new addition to the press law.

SOURCE: *KARAGÖZ* #396 11 REBİÜLEVVEL 1330/17 MART 1328 [30/03/1912], 1

of a publication that was suspended by the civil or military government, and which has an undesirable impact on the purpose of the suspension and the benefits and image of the government.”¹³² Furthermore, Art. 23 was changed

132 BOA DH.İD 79/30, 11 Cemzayilevvel 1331 [18 April 1913], “Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı Mad-delerinin Tadili Hakkında Hükümetin Esbab-ı Mucibe ve Mevad-ı Muaddele Layihaları,” 2: “[...] hükümet-i mülkiye ve askeriyece bugün tatil edilen bir gazete yerine [...]diğer bir gazetenin neşri suretiyle suretiyle ceza-ı tatilin vasfındaki maksada, menafi ve haysiyet-i hükümete su-i tesir icra etmekte olan muamelatın meni [...]”

to state specifically that suspended newspapers were not permitted to use the caution money from their suspended publication towards a new license. In October 1913, Art. 23 was further changed, giving the cabinet (*Meclis-i Vükela*) the right to suspend temporarily (but without defining a maximum period) any publications which it deemed dangerous to the domestic and foreign security of the state.¹³³

These measures must have been particularly effective. The changed Art. 23 gave the government the right to suspend any newspaper on the premise that it found it to be “dangerous.” Once suspended, a publisher could only start a new publication once he had paid the 500 *lira* caution-money and was unable to reuse his original deposit for caution-money to pay for the new publication. Furthermore, 500 *lira* was a very large sum and with repeated suspensions, would have multiplied rapidly. For example, had this law existed during *Tanzimat*’s aforementioned rebellious month, the daily would have had to pay a sum close to 5,000 *lira*, in order to keep publishing. To put this in perspective: Turkish language dailies were sold at ten *para* per issue and in order to raise 500 *lira* in revenue alone, one would have needed to sell over 200,000 copies in a period when the average daily circulation figures for higher end dailies was probably only around 10,000. When real profits rather than revenue are considered, the real figure, due to the minimal profit margins, would probably have been around 2,000,000 copies to pay for a single suspension or almost a year’s worth of sales for a popular daily. In comparison, the penalty for libel against the imperial family or the upper echelons of the state was a maximum fine of 100 *lira*, under Art. 28 of the 1909 press law. It was now in the government’s power to subject publishers to such penalties on a whim.

The 1909 press law underwent other changes in the following years. However, none of these were of any significance, when compared to the system which was set in place in 1913. In September 1914, on the eve of entering the First World War, in what appears to have been a precautionary move, the government changed Art. 33, which explicitly forbade publishing about military activities during wartime or when threat of war was present. The penalties for this law were more than doubled, with the maximum fine reaching 500 *lira* and legally obliging the owner or editor-in-chief to disclose their sources.¹³⁴ In 1916, it was decided that publishers who published in languages other than Turkish were required to be fluent in one of the officially recognized languages of the

133 *Düstur Tertip* 11, cilt 6, #12, 49, “11 Recep 1327 tarihli Matbuat Kanunu’nun 23. maddesini muaddel kanun-ı muvakkat.”

134 *Düstur Tertip* 11, cilt 6, #522, 1259, “11 Recep 1327 tarihli matbuat Kanunu’nun 33. maddesine muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat.”

empire.¹³⁵ In 1920, an article was introduced that explicitly made it illegal to publish any official document that could cause problems for domestic peace and foreign relations.¹³⁶ Finally, in 1921, it became illegal to print religious texts from the Quran or the Hadith.¹³⁷ Although these were further restrictions on the freedoms of the publishers, they were of relative insignificance to the easy-suspensions and high-fees system finalized in October 1913, when the 1909 press law took on its definite character.

In 1920, the Grand National Assembly in Ankara adopted the 1909 press law. It is not clear whether this included the changes and additions made after 1912. Most of the changes to the 1909 press law were introduced in the absence of parliament and, therefore, qualified only as temporary (*kanun-ı muvakkat*). Once parliament reconvened, they would supposedly be turned into regular laws.¹³⁸ What Ankara's policy was towards these temporary laws, and the laws created by the occupied government, is not fully clear. According to Mazıcı, Ankara took the Ottoman press law including its additions.¹³⁹ However, in one case, during a discussion in the Grand National Assembly, it is suggested that Deputies (*Mebusan*) should be barred from being an executive director (*müdür-i mesul*).¹⁴⁰ However, Art. 3 of the 1909 press law had already been altered in March 1913 to prevent both Deputies (*Mebusan*) and Senators (*Ayan*) from holding that position.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, during a later discussion it was suggested that the requirement for caution money, which was introduced in March 1912, should be dropped to help the industry grow.¹⁴² Whether it had the additions or not, until it was replaced in 1931, the 1909 Ottoman press law governed the Turkish press, too.¹⁴³

Following the 1908 Revolution, there was a period of confusion in the government regarding the application of the 1864 press law. As a result of this confusion, this law was relegated to regulating the permit application process.

135 BOA DH.KMS 36/46, 29 Ramazan 1334/17 Temmuz 1332 [30 July 1916]. This law was not found in *Düstur Tertip II*.

136 BOA İ.DUİT 94/45, 19 Zilkade 1338/5 Ağustos 1336 [5 August 1920]. This law was not found in *Düstur Tertip II*.

137 BOA İ.DUİT 99/4, 17 Safer 1340/19 Teşrinievvel 1337 [19 October 1921]. This law was not found in *Düstur Tertip II*.

138 E.g., BOA MV 231/10, [11 Rebiülahir 1331] [20 March 1913]; BOA MV 230/98, 20 Zilhicce 1331/20 Teşrinisani 1329 [20 October 1913].

139 Mazıcı, "1930'a Kadar Basının Durumu ve 1931 Matbuat Kanunu," 139.

140 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 110 Celse 1, 7/12/1446 [7 December 1919], 255.

141 *Düstur tertip II*, cilt 5, #17, "Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat" pp. 181–85.

142 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 2 İçtima 43 Celse 1, 27/6/1337 [27 June 1920], 60.

143 *Resmi Gazete* #1867, 8 August 1931, "Matbuat Kanunu."

Under these circumstances, there was an uncontrolled freedom of the press, which led to fierce attacks between political camps, name-calling and libel. Although the government issued tax exemptions and advantageous mail tariffs to support the press as an industry, it still wished to restore strict control over the press with the creation of a new press law. However, parliament transformed the strict government draft into a very liberal law, by allowing more Ottoman citizens to publish and by making the process easier and by granting liberties and guarantees to journalists. The 1909 press law protected publishers from suspensions under martial law, which targeted publications regardless of their political inclinations. Therefore, neither the 1909 press law nor martial law can be said to be products of CUP efforts designed to silence the opposition press. However, starting after the coup in 1912, a series of changes were introduced to the 1909 press law, which gradually lost its liberal nature and eventually enabled the government easily and effectively to silence publications. This restrictive law would remain in force until the end of the Ottoman Empire and was also adopted by the government in Ankara.

Censoring the Press

Censorship, in the form of suspensions and banning of newspapers or, more obliquely, violence against journalists had been in use from the early beginnings of the Ottoman press and was certainly applied after the Constitutional Revolution. However, following the revolution, the most invasive form of censorship, pre-print or preventive censorship, which prevented “undesirable” material from ever appearing in the press rather than reacting to it after publication (punitive or post-print censorship), was abolished temporarily. It was reintroduced at the beginning of the First World War. It also continued after the armistice, during the occupation, now with a variety of censoring parties, Ottoman, Allied, Greek and Turkish Nationalists. An analysis of censorship applied to Istanbul’s press during the occupation period shows that the combined Imperial and Allied censorship apparatus robbed the Nationalist Movement of a platform from which to voice its own opinion and to conduct its own propaganda in the face of propaganda directed against it. As a result of this, the Ankara government reacted by following a policy of constructing its own press infrastructure in order to spread its own message. In this context one could thus argue that the censorship imposed on Istanbul’s press in this period had a beneficial effect on the Anatolian press.

The constitutional revolution brought with it the end of Hamidian censorship. Pre-print censorship had been an inextricable part of Abdülhamit II’s strict press-regime. In the confusion that followed the declaration of the constitution, the press not only found itself working in a state of near lawlessness, it also unilaterally abolished preventive censorship. For *İkdam* and *Sabah*, this decision is said to have been taken during an improvised meeting at a pub (“birahane”) and the next day, when censorship officers came around, they were simply told to go away.¹

This action had not been sanctioned by officials. Rather, the government was presented with a *fait accompli*. As a result, although no official instructions had been given to this effect, preventive and punitive censorship were no longer being applied in practice. One week after the declaration of the constitution, censorship officers in some post offices were reported to have “abandoned their duties” (“terk-i vazife”), meaning that they had done so

1 Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıçtan Günümüze Türkiye’de Basın Sansürü*, Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayınları 29 (İstanbul: Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Yayını, 1990), 81.

without permission, and that, officially, at that point censorship was still in force according to some authorities. However, the same report concluded that the censorship officers in Galata, who had remained dutifully at their desks, were informed that their services were no longer required.² In other words, the *de facto* abolishment of censorship was being made official.

Similarly to what had happened regarding the application of the 1864 press law after the July revolution, provincial authorities were apparently officially informed only some time later about the new situation. For example, Thessaloniki's Director of Education (*Maarif Müdürlüğü*), upon asking how to proceed with publishing permit applications,³ was informed that: "as dictated by the constitution, the press is free according to the law and can therefore not be subjected to pre-print censorship. Naturally, the application of censorship has therefore come to an end."⁴ This response from Istanbul was sent on 4 August 1908, or ten days after the declaration of the constitution and the decision of Istanbul's press to refuse censorship. At this point censorship was officially over. Newspapers could no longer be held for inspection at post-offices (which functioned as censoring offices) and books (which had also been subjected to censorship), held for inspection, were to be returned to their rightful owners.⁵ According to the German embassy, with the introduction of the freedom of the press, censorship had become superfluous and had disappeared and that inspections at the customs of printed material were solely done to estimate its monetary value, and no longer for the purpose of its content.⁶

Yet, even though censorship controls were abolished both officially and in practice, there seems to have been an expectation that this would merely be temporary. Ahmet İhsan, a successful publisher whose career had started under the reign of Abdülhamit II and lasted into the early Turkish Republic, obtained a copy of a memo from the Postal and Telegraph Ministry (*Posta ve Telgraf Nezareti*) which informed the post offices that "the movement of newspapers

2 BOA DH.MKT 1273/87 1 Recep 1326H/17 Temmuz 1324 [30 July 1908].

3 BOA MF.MKT 1068/70, 19 Temmuz 1324 [1 August 1908].

4 BOA MF.MKT 1068/70, 22 Temmuz 1324 [4 August 1908]: "Kanun-ı Esasi mucibince matbuat kanun dairesinde serbest olup kablettab hükümetin muayenesine arzolanamayacağından sansür muamelesi bittab hitam bulmuştur."

5 BOA MF.MKT 1068/70, 5 Recep 1326/21 Temmuz 1324 [3 August 1908].

6 BA R901 34036/75, 13 August 1908: "Nachdem mit der Einführung der Preßfreiheit die Censur als überflüssig in Wegfall gekommen ist, sind die den einzelnen Zollämtern bis dahin überwiesenen Zensurbeamten nunmehr ihrer Posten enthoben worden. Eine Prüfung der Bücher, Zeitschriften und dergleichen findet nur noch insoweit statt, als dies zur Feststellung ihres Wertes zum Zwecke der Zollzahlung erforderlich ist. Alle, aus politischen oder religiösen Rücksichten früher erlassenen Einfuhrverbote für Drucksachen, Grammophonplatten, Tabaksdosen usw. sind damit ohne weiteres als aufgehoben zu betrachten."

and similar [materials] should temporarily not be hindered,"⁷ which indicated that censoring was expected to return shortly. In response to protests about this situation, the Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*) replied assuring the worried parties that this memo had been sent out by mistake. If Ahmet İhsan's claim was truthful, it should not come as a surprise. After all, after three decades of tight control over what was being published, censorship would be considered the normal state of affairs in the mentality of the Hamidian bureaucratic echelon, which had not yet been replaced.

Although time would prove the Postal and Telegraph Ministry right, the abolition of censorship remained in place for several years. The press had justified its action through the constitutional guarantee that the press was free within the law ("matbuat kanun dairesinde serbesttir"), under Art. 12 of the Ottoman constitution. In April 1909, this article was altered to make pre-print censorship explicitly unconstitutional. The new wording was unequivocal: [the press] may under no circumstances be subjected to pre-print control or examination ("hiçbir veçhile kablettab teftiş ve muayeneye tabi tutulamaz").⁸ Officially, thus, pre-print censorship was not only abolished, but even unconstitutional.

In the post-revolution atmosphere of limitless liberty for the press, however, official circles displayed an aversion to all forms of censorship. Although there seems to have been confusion again, this time it was regarding what constituted and what did not constitute censorship. In February 1909, the Third Army Corps requested that the newspapers in Thessaloniki be warned not to publish details about their logistic and other activities in the area, in order not to give away militarily sensitive information. The Governor (*Vali*) of Thessaloniki declined this request:

[Telling the press] that they may not publish such things is not considered to be in the spirit of this [constitutional] era of freedom and progress. The journalists of the [offending] Turkish newspapers were invited over and the necessary information was given to them in a fitting language [which addressed] their patriotic convictions. And, as happens in civilized countries with freedom of the press, if such [information] on military operations is kept strictly secret by the military [itself] without

7 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:24–25. "Bir müddeti muvakkate için gazete ve sairelerin imrarına mümanaat olunmaması."

8 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 156. İskit gives the date as 4 Nisan 1908, but this is a mistake as it is several months before the declaration of the constitution and there would certainly have been no commission tasked with updating the constitution at this point.

allowing any opportunity [for it] to leak outside, newspapers will naturally [have to remain quiet].⁹

At the time this correspondence took place, in February 1909, the 1864 press law was *de jure* still in force, although it was not really being applied. Even if it had been fully applied, this law did not contain any articles to prevent militarily sensitive information from appearing in the press. Therefore, demanding that journalists should refrain from printing such things could be considered a form of illegal censorship, which was rejected by the Governor (*Vali*).

In similar fashion, when in August 1909 editors and owners of two newspapers in Basra, *Izhar al-Haqq* and *al-Iqaz*, complained that İsmail Efendi, the director of Basra's official newspaper, enforced pre-print censorship by only allowing approved and signed drafts to be printed,¹⁰ and that their newspapers were therefore being treated illegally, the Ministry of the Interior warned the District (*Vilayet*) of Basra that they were to act in accordance with the Ottoman constitution and the 1909 press law.¹¹ However, earlier, in June 1909, an episode between the same Ministry of the Interior and the Customs Office (*Rüsumat Emaneti*) highlights the existence of confusion among official circles. The Ministry of the Interior requested from the Customs Office to keep *Tuhfat al-Arab*, a newspaper published in Paris, from coming through the Ottoman borders. Customs showed an unwillingness to co-operate, remarking that "because methods of censorship [were] abolished under the Constitutional Regime in accordance with the constitution, such activities were not going to take place at the customs."¹² The Ministry tried to justify its request by arguing that *Tuhfat al-Arab* was attacking the Ottoman constitution (which had ended said censorship) but it also drew attention to a technical detail by noting that "because the content of the newspaper [would] not be censored and [only] its entry [into the country would] be directly forbidden, there [was] no need

9 BOA DH.MKT 2760/14, 7 Safer 1327, 14 Şubat 1324 [27 February 1909]: "[...] o misüllü neşriyatta bulunmamaları hususunu tefhim etmek bu devr-i hürriyet ve terakkinin icabatına muvafık görülmediğine, yalnız mezkur Türkçe gazetelerle muharrirleri [...] davet olunarak lisan-ı münasible ve hamiyet-i vatanperveranelerine müracaatla kendilerine tebligat muktezi ifa kılındığı ve ancak matbuatın serbest bulunduğu memalik-i müteneddinede cari olduğu veçhile bu gibi tedarikat-ı askeriye, devair-i askeriye tarafından fevkalade mektum tutularak harice teşhini katıyyen imkan bırakılmadığı takdirde evrak-ı havadis bittab istilaatta bulunacağını[...]"

10 BOA DH.MUİ 5-1/4 17 Ağustos 1325 [30 August 1909].

11 BOA DH.MUİ 14-1/85 10 Eylül 1325 [23 September 1909].

12 BOA DH.MKT 2854/63 26 Cemazeyilevvel 1327, 2 Haziran 1325 [15 June 1909]: "[...] üsul-ı meşrutiyet ve kanun-ı esasi ahkâmınca sansür üsulünün mülga olmasından naşi bu gibi şeyle tevaggulun gümrüklerde tertip etmeyeceği mülahazasına binaen [...]"

nor place for censorship.”¹³ The Ministry of the Interior apparently submitted further such requests to ban foreign publications, because in July 1909, the Ministry of Finance (*Maliye Nezareti*) intervened on behalf of the Customs Office, by pointing out another technical detail: identifying banned publications at customs could only be done through examining their contents, which was “a procedure that could not be interpreted otherwise than as censorship.”¹⁴ In its response, the Ministry of the Interior insisted that such bans were not a form of censorship as they were being used only to stop publications that attacked the constitution.¹⁵

This back and forth argument reveals several things. First of all, there still existed confusion among officials regarding what censorship meant. This uncertainty is further emphasized by the Ministry of the Interior’s display of two completely different approaches in the two examples above, whereby in the first example it enforced the freedom of the press by referring to the constitution and in the second one tried to circumvent that same freedom based on technicalities, albeit for the “foreign” press. Second, it also underlines the aversion in official circles towards censorship as the Ministry of Finance was unwilling to apply what it considered “censorship” and the Ministry of the Interior adamantly rejected allegations of “censorship.”

The absence of laws to enforce censorship did not mean the absence of a desire to apply censorship. This was already made clear by the Ministry of the Interior in the second example. It was the legal protection of publishers and publications that caused the search for illegal ways to silence the press. In the years following the revolution, on top of the general atmosphere of liberty, the press had, on the one hand, the constitutional guarantee of protection against preventive censorship and on the other, the 1909 Press Law, which was very forgiving. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to silence critics and opposition in the press. Ironically, this legal protection might have resulted in threats and violence towards several journalists and even assassinations. It is generally accepted that the deaths of *Serbesti* journalist Hasan Fehmi¹⁶ (1909),

13 BOA DH.MKT 2854/63 4 Cemazeyilevvel 1327, 10 Haziran 1325 [23 June 1909]: [...]gazetenin münderecatı sansür edilmeyip doğrudan doğruya ithali menedileceği cihetle sansür istihdamına lüzum ve mahal olmayacağıın emanet-i müşarunileyhe tebliği [...].

14 BOA DH.MKT 2893/53 4 Recep 1327, 8 Temmuz 1325 [21 July 1909]: [...] evrak ve resail-i mezkurenin muayene ve taharrüsü icabederek şu muamele sansür muamelesinden başka surette olunamayacağından [...].

15 BOA DH.MKT 2893/53 15 Recep 1327, 20 Temmuz 1325 [2 August 1909].

16 MMZC Devre 1, Sene 1, Cilt 2 25 Mart 1325 [7/04/1909], pp. 651–55. The murder of Hasan Fehmi is considered by some deputies of parliament as a political assassination.

Seda-ı Millet editor Ahmet Samim¹⁷ (1910) and journalist/publisher Zeki Bey¹⁸ (1911) were the result of their criticism of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). The attempted murder of journalist Hüseyin Cahit during the 31 March revolt in 1909, despite ending with the death of an unfortunate lookalike, should be considered another such example. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the serial killing of journalists¹⁹ ended at the same time as more stringent amendments were introduced to the press law, thus creating legal means of effectively silencing publications.

Although assassinations are of course the most extreme way of silencing critics, violence or the threat thereof, or smear campaigns aimed at discrediting journalists, appear not to have been uncommon, as the dangers of being a journalist even became the subject of satirical magazines.²⁰ According to Karaosmanoğlu, when Refik Halit, a journalist who gained fame through his work in satirical publications, criticised the CUP in the satirical magazine *Cem*, the pro-CUP press attempted to depict his father and brother as almost single-handedly responsible for the existence of Abdülhamit's tyranny in an attempt to discredit him.²¹ Mizancı Murat, a fierce opposition journalist, was subjected to smear campaigns in the CUP press, which questioned his loyalty to the Ottoman Empire because of his Caucasian origins.²² He was also threatened at gunpoint and was subsequently taken into custody, allegedly for his own protection.²³ During the 31 March revolt in 1909, the offices of the pro-CUP publications *Tanin* and *Şura-ı Ümmet* were specifically attacked by a mob, while the offices of the more neutral *Servet-i Fünun* were left alone by the same mob.²⁴ Derviş Vahdeti, journalist and owner of *Volkan*, the newspaper that played an influential role in the coming about of the 31 March revolt, claimed several times to have received anonymous threats against him,²⁵ albeit after his newspaper was accused of sending out threats to other newspapers.

If censorship should be defined as the act of controlling information, it is also possible to add bribery to the list of illegal censoring techniques. After all,

17 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:97–100.

18 Ahmed Emin [Yalman], "The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press," 104.

19 The deaths of *Silah* editor and CUP member Silahçı Tahsin (1914) and *Hukuk-ı Beşer* editor Hasan Tahsin (1919) were different in nature and neither were killed for being a journalist.

20 Seyhan, "11. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Mizah Basını ve İçeriklerinden Seçilmiş Örnekler," 513–14.

21 Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], *Hatıralarım*, 72–73.

22 Oral, *Türk Basın Tarihi, Osmanlı*, 1:180. Oral, *Basın Tarihi*, pp. 180.

23 Oral, 1:180–82.

24 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:71.

25 *Volkan* #98, 1[8] Rebiülevvel 1327, 26 Mart 1325, 8 Nisan 1909M [8 April 1909], "İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti – La Turquie Gazetesi ve Bir Zabıt Tehditnamesi."

money could be used to keep journalists quiet, as had been done since Abdülhamit II and even by his predecessors. The difficulty of keeping a publication afloat, as is discussed in the chapter on financing the press, certainly made money the Achilles heel of many publications, and therefore a perfect tool for manipulation of their contents.

The introduction of draconian articles to the 1909 Press Law in 1912 and 1913 had given the authorities the power to effectively silence publications through what amounted to financial pressure, which in itself opened the way to punitive censorship. However, in 1914, only six years after it was abolished and five years since it had officially been made unconstitutional, pre-print or preventive censorship resurfaced under military authority. Although the 1914 censorship should be regarded as part of the ongoing efforts to increase government (specifically at this point, CUP) control over the press, on the outside it had every appearance of being introduced because of the First World War. On the eve of the war, a Censorship Guideline (*Sansür Talimatnamesi*), in the form of a booklet detailing how military censorship was to be applied, was distributed throughout the empire.²⁶ This contained guidelines for censorship for post, telegrams, valuable goods, books, theatre plays and the press. Art. 54 of the *Sansür Talimatnamesi* said that all press drafts needed to be submitted to the Censorship Supervisor (*Sansür Müfettişliği*), in order to receive an approval stating that it was in accordance with the guidelines (“talimata mutabıktır”) and a signature. Only then could the newspaper go to print and after print, another copy had to be submitted to the censors for control. Art. 55 stated that printing unverified material, or material marked for removal could lead to the publication being shut down. Art. 50 of the guideline warned that acting in violation of the guidelines would lead to immediate shutting down or temporary suspension. In other words, circumventing both the 1909 Press Law and the constitution, the military guideline made it impossible to print anything without permission.

In June 1919, *Alemdar*, looking back on the censorship during the First World War, recounts that even when enemy bomber planes were flying near Istanbul, the people were not aware of any danger, as the military censorship forced the press to explain the presence of the airplanes as an act of desperation on the part of the Allies.²⁷ Strangely, although pre-print censorship was certainly introduced by the *Sansür Talimatnamesi*, and acknowledged to have existed, it

26 BOA DH.EUM.5.ŞB 44/59, 1330 [1914], “Sansür Talimatnamesi.”

27 *Alemdar* #173-1483, 19 Ramazan 1337/15 Haziran 1335-1919 [15 June 1919], “Hükümet ve Matbuat.”

has not been possible to find direct evidence of its application in the form of blanked out sections in newspapers.²⁸ According to the Dutch embassy, by 1915, “a strict censorship resulted in that, aside from the daily reports on the war, very few things of any importance [could appear in the Ottoman press].”²⁹ Furthermore, after the war, in October 1918, when reports were being read on the misconduct of wartime officials, one of the accusations against the Said Halim and Talat cabinets was the “needless and illegal introduction of military and civil censorship and impeding the freedom of the press [...]”³⁰ Furthermore, journalists mention this pre-print censorship in their memoirs.³¹ Karaosmanoğlu, who worked at *İkdam*, a major Istanbul daily, during the war recounts the situation:

My exhaustion while working at *İkdam* was not only physical, but also mental. A two-edged, Military and civilian censorship found even in the simplest news reports qualities that were “perturbing public opinion” and because of this I was constantly called to the Press Regulation Office or the Police. The head of the Press Regulation Office was at that time Nazım Hikmet’s father, Hikmet Bey. Despite being my neighbour and friend, he subjected me to threats. The head of police would interrogate me standing for hours.³²

Even official correspondence mentions the application of the censorship in practice, thus providing evidence the military censorship guideline was not

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- 28 The effects of preventive censorship could be seen by missing bits of texts (or even entire articles). For more details on this, see Appendix “Quantifying Censorship.”
- 29 NL-HaNA, Consulaat-Generaal Constantinopel/Istanboel, 2.05.94, inv. nr 505, index 1211–1915, 8 December 1915, “Persverslag tot 1 Dec. 1915”: “Een strenge censuur heeft tengevolge, dat buiten de dagelijkse oorlogsberichten zeer weinig van belang kan worden gepubliceerd.”
- 30 Silan, *II. Meşrutiyet ve Sonrası Hatıralarım*, 70–72. “Hiçbir lüzum ve kanuna müstenit olmayarak siyasi ve askeri sansürler ihdası ile hürriyet-i matbuat ve muhaberatı ihlal eylemesi ve Avrupa matbuatını memlekete ithal etmemesi.”
- 31 E.g., Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:169. Ahmet Rasim, *Muharrir Bu Ya* (Istanbul: Hamid Matbaası, 1926), 175.
- 32 Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu], *Hatıralarım*, 82. “*İkdam* gazetesindeki yorgunluklarım ise yalnız “bedeni” değil aynı zamanda “ruhi” idi. Askeri ve sivil iki yanlı bir sansür, en basit görülen havadislerden bile “tahdişi ezhanı mucib” nitelikleri buluyor ve bu yüzden ikidebir ya Matbuat ya da Emniyet Umum Müdürlüklerine çağırıldığım oluyordu. Matbuat Umum Müdürü o devirde Nazım Hikmet’in babası Hikmet Beydi. Komşum ve ahabbım olduğu halde bana yapmadığı gözdağı kalmazdı. Emniyet Umum Müdürü ise beni saatlerce ayakta sorguya çekerdi.”

merely a paper tiger.³³ Despite all this evidence of its existence, the usual signs of pre-print censorship, blanks in a body of text, could not be found in a survey of major Istanbul dailies, *İkdam*, *Tanin* and *Sabah*, for the First World War period. This however, should not be understood to mean that preventive censorship was not being applied, given the evidence to the contrary, but that it was probably being applied in such a way as to avoid the tell-tale blank spaces in the censored texts.

Towards the end of the war, in June 1918, the Ottoman government decided to lift the political (i.e., civil) censorship that had been in place throughout the war. Military censorship, however, would remain in place until İzzet Paşa's cabinet came to power in November 1918 at which point newspapers simply stopped sending in drafts to (in this case) the military censors, who, not having received an official order to stop their work, continued with only censoring letters and telegraphs.³⁴ This is reminiscent of what had happened immediately after the Constitutional Revolution in 1908. Then, too, before any orders to dismantle the censorship apparatus had been sent out by the government, the press, in its own act of revolt, had refused censors their drafts, turning the freedom of the press into a *fait accompli*. As this had been possible in 1908 due to the chaos caused by the revolution, in 1918 these actions were probably made possible by the signing of the armistice and general uncertainty about what was going to happen next.

However, in terms of the press, what happened next was the exact opposite of what had happened after the Constitutional Revolution: instead of unprecedented freedom, an Allied censorship was enforced, which employed pre-print examination of publication drafts. The Allied forces entered Istanbul on the 13th of November 1918. In the beginning of December 1918, an Allied military administration was installed³⁵ and, asked to do so by the Allied high commissioners and unwilling to cause issues by refusing demands,³⁶ Tevfik Paşa's cabinet reinstated a new press censorship, under the control of the Press Directorate (Matbuat Müdüriyeti), but with military representatives, while military censorship was limited to controlling letters and telegraphs once more.³⁷ This was done despite opposition in the Chamber and the Senate as this was

33 E.g., BOA DH.EUM.5.ŞB (Military censorship officers discovered that pro-French propaganda was being conducted through the press in Beirut); BOA DH.ŞFR 441/93 (From Izmir, regarding pre-print military censorship).

34 ATASE İSH kutu no. 83, gömlek no. 11, belge no. 1, 1/2/35 [1 February 1919].

35 Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 235.

36 Mithat, *Hâtıralarım 1872–1946*, 327. Tevfik Paşa is described as not wishing to create justification for unnecessary actions by the Allied forces by complying with all their wishes.

37 ATASE İSH kutu no. 83, gömlek no. 11, belge no. 1, 1/2/35 [1 February 1919].

considered against the spirit of the constitution.³⁸ In February 1919, a decree (*Matbuat Kararnamesi*) was issued, Art. 1 of which stipulated that the last paragraph of the amended Art. 2 of the 1909 press law, and Art. 3 and 4 were indefinitely suspended.³⁹ In practice this meant that suspended newspapers could no longer reappear without government permission and that starting a new publication was wholly dependent on the government's will.⁴⁰ Istanbul's press would be subjected to censorship until October 1923, when, immediately following the end of the occupation, press censorship and martial law were lifted, as they were deemed no longer necessary.⁴¹

During this period, censorship appears to have been rather under the control of the Allies, than of the Imperial government. Talat Paşa describes this period as one with an "Allied press," which served only the purpose of spreading the propaganda and ideas of the occupiers.⁴² For the Allied forces, the apparent aim was to suppress articles that were "acrimonious, revolutionary or diplomatically indiscrete."⁴³ To ensure that this aim was reached, an Allied censorship commission was set up in the British embassy, with Ottoman, British, French and Italian military representatives. Newspapers were examined and complaints were reported to the Press Directorate.⁴⁴ However, in mid-December 1918, both the British and French representatives of the Allied censorship commission argued for the introduction of pre-print censorship, as they felt that the current method was not effective.⁴⁵ As a result, still in December 1918, pre-print censorship was once again introduced and, this time, in contrast to what had happened during the World War, Ottoman dailies started to appear with blank spots where lines, paragraphs or entire articles were removed. This was possibly a sign of protest, as had happened in the 1870's,⁴⁶ but also more practical as constantly struggling to fill the gaps in an unnoticeable way and in time for print was probably too time and labour intensive.

Furthermore, while initially the role of the allied representatives had been to give guidance to the censorship commission, starting on the 20th of January 1919, they took on full roles as censors.⁴⁷ As can be seen in the chart in Figure 14,

38 Sina Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1983), 117.

39 BOA MV 250/25, 3 Cemazeyilevvel 1337/4 Şubat 1335 [4 February 1919].

40 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 184–86.

41 BCA 30.18.1.1/7.35.19, 7 Teşrinievvel 1339 [7 October 1923].

42 Enver Bolayır, ed., *Talât Paşa'nın Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Güven, 1946), 38.

43 TNA FO 371/4141, #49194, 8 March 1919, Part 4.

44 ATASE İSH kutu no. 83, gömlek no. 11, belge no. 1-2, 1/2/35 [1 February 1919].

45 ATASE İSH kutu no. 83, gömlek no. 11, belge no. 2, 1/2/35 [1 February 1919].

46 Kabacalı, *Başlangıçtan Günümüze Türkiye'de Basın Sansürü*, 46. In 1876 *Sabah* had intentionally left blank spaces where censors had cut during the preventive censorship imposed by Mahmut Nedim Paşa as a form of protest.

47 TNA FO 371/4141, #49194, 8 March 1919, Part 4.

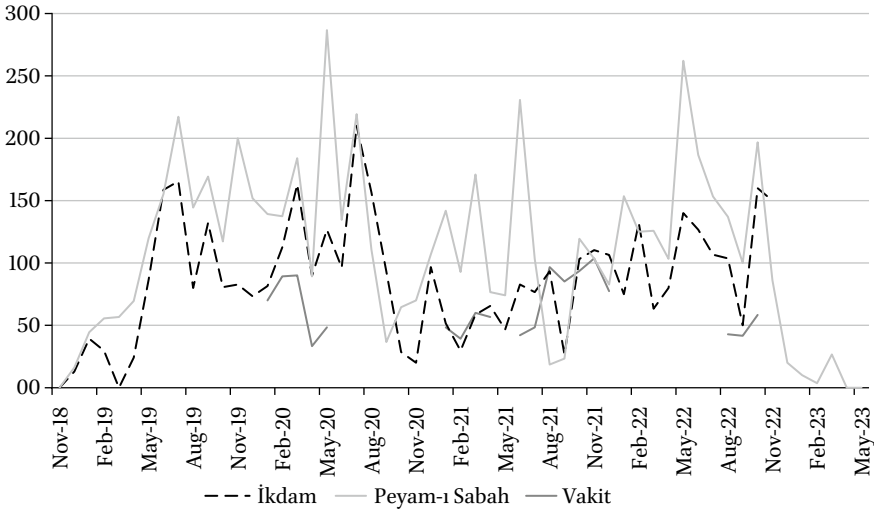


FIGURE 14 Chart of preventive censorship in Istanbul (November 1918–June 1923)
Preventive censorship frequency and volume for selected dailies in Istanbul.
A higher number means that more text was removed by censors.
SOURCE: DATA PROVIDED IN APPENDIX “QUANTIFYING CENSORSHIP”

when Allied participation in censorship began, it resulted in a significant increase in the amount of measurable blank spaces since November 1918. Likewise, following the termination of Allied involvement in censorship in November 1922,⁴⁸ there was a sudden decline in the visible amount of censorship and, although censorship continued to be applied for another year, it was virtually invisible after this point. These changes suggest that the Allied representatives in the Ottoman censorship commission were very influential and responsible for the great majority of removals.

The chart, although showing fluctuations, further reveals a constant presence of censorship. This indicates that there remained a certain level of defiance against the censors by certain journalists. This was, without doubt, partially caused by the vagueness of the censorship guidelines of December 1918, which stated that it was forbidden to (1) write about military movements of the Allied forces, (2) publish inciting (“heyecan verici”) material and material that could cause unrest among different ethnicities, (3) publish material disrespectful of the Sultan, government officials and allied officials, (4) publish material inciting action against the Powers, (5) publish *ad hominem* attacks and (6) write

48 Cumhuriyet Arşivi A 111-10-B, D 45, F 171, 171-1, 19/11/338 [18 November 1922].

about changes in the form of government.⁴⁹ The guidelines lacked further details, and in the end the decision to remove or keep something was in the hands of the censors. But Istanbul's press at times deliberately took a defiant attitude. Reports from the censorship commission show that in early February 1919, newspapers went ahead and published text that was marked for removal by the censors. Both *Sabah* and *Vakit* defied such orders for several consecutive days.⁵⁰ No reports of newspapers defying censors' orders were found dated after February 1919, which suggests that the aforementioned decree (*Matbuat Kararnamesi*) regarding the closure of newspapers, whether it was for that purpose or not, did strike enough fear to the hearts of the newspaper publishers to make them comply with the censors. Failure to follow the censorship guidelines could have serious consequences. Sertel, who was a journalist in the early days of the occupation, but later went to study journalism at Columbia University only to return to Ankara in 1923 to become the head of the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdüriyeti*) and who was one of the founders of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, recounts such an act of defiance in his memoirs:

Nebizade Hamdi and I were publishing a daily by the name *Yeni Ses* in those days. We were young, excited, sad and in a state of revolt. We were unable to cope with the pressure of the [Allied] censorship. Finally, one day we went mad and decided to publish our newspaper without showing [the proofs] to the censors. We prepared vehement writings and statements, resembling manifestos, calling the people to rise in revolt and we filled the newspaper with these and sent it to print. [The two of us] hid in a friend's house, where the British would be unable to find us. The next morning the newspaper was distributed all over Istanbul and created great commotion. The Occupation Forces took immediate action. [They] had the copies they found confiscated, stormed and sealed our [offices], they searched for us but could not find us. Nothing good could come out of this action of ours. We were aware of this. But being unable to express the defiance we felt had choked us. This was a drawing of breath. Nothing more, nothing less.⁵¹

49 Akşin, *İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Milli Mücadele*, 116.

50 See three such reports: ATASE İŞH kutu no. 83, gömlek no. 17, belge 1-3, 6/2/35 [6 February 1919], 7/2/35 [7 February 1919], 8/2/35 [8 February 1919].

51 Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım (1905-1950)*, 66-67. "Biz o sırada Nebizade Hamdi ile birlikte "Yeni Ses" adında bir gündelik gazete çıkarıyorduk. Gençtik, heyecanlıydık, üzüntülüydük ve isyan halindeydik. Sansürün bu baskısına dayanamıyorduk. Nihayet birgün kızdık, gazeteyi sansüre göstermeden çıkarmaya karar verdik. Halkı isyana davet eden beyannamelere benzer şiddetli yazılar ve çağrılar hazırladık, gazeteyi bunlarla doldurduk, baskıya verdik.

Asım Us explains that censorship was not only limited to removing information, but also meant forcing a certain type of information to be published in the form of official notices (*tebliğ-i resmi*). Such notices were handed out to publishers by special officers accompanied by armed soldiers, who explained that severe punishments would be meted out to those who refused to publish them. One day, Asım Us was invited to the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdüriyeti*), where he was informed that the government was not pleased with *Vakit*'s publications. Asım Us, who replied that his newspaper followed all the rules, published the government issued official notices and never criticized them, adding that his newspaper underwent censorship in accordance with regulations, was told that he was expected not only not to criticize Istanbul's government, but also to write positive things about it. In other words, he was being warned not to abstain from writing, but rather to write positively about the government, which he claims, in an act of defiance, refused to do. A few weeks later he was called in to court-martial.⁵²

The literary magazine *Küçük Mecmua* also adopted a defiant stance in the face of censorship. Initially so careful to avoid raising the censors' suspicions that its contents were dull in the extreme, to the extent, according to Sertel, that readers might imagine the authors to be "completely uninterested in the hellish life in Istanbul and the whole country in those days" and "might believe that the intellectuals were living in a fantasy world," erupted in massive protest following the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks. Sertel commented that although most articles were censored, the magazine had every appearance of being in an act of revolt,⁵³ probably referring to the large gaps in the articles where the censors had been at work. Conspicuous absence of chunks of text was, after all, a highly visible sign that a publication was doing something that the censors did not like and could therefore have acted as advertisement of non-compliance.

Biz de İngilizlerin bulamayacakları dost evlerinden birine sığınarak saklandık. Ertesi sabah gazete İstanbul'un her yanına dağıldı, büyük bir heyecan yarattı. İşgal kuvvetleri derhal harekete geçtiler, buldukları gazeteleri toplattılar, matbaayı basıp kilitlediler, bizi aradılar, fakat bulamadılar. Bizim bu hareketimiz olumlu bir sonuç veremezdi. Bunu biliyorduk. Fakat duyduğumuz isyanı ifade edememiş olmak bizi boğmuştu. Bu bir nefes almaydı. O kadar."

52 Asım Us, *Gördüklerim, Duyduklarım, Duygularım. Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Devirlerine Ait Hâtıralar ve Tetkikler*. (İstanbul: Vakit, 1964), 24–25.

53 Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım (1905–1950)*, 74–75. "Yazarlar, ilk zamanlarda öyle konularla uğraşüyor ve öyle şeyler yazıyorlardı ki, sanki İstanbul'un ve memleketin o günkü cehennem hayatı onları hiç ilgilendirmiyordu. Dergiyi okuyanlar, o vakitki Türk aydınlarının sanki bir hayal aleminde yaşadıklarına hükmedebilirlerdi."

The chart in Figure 14 further reveals the strong Allied influence on the censorship of the press through the varying levels of harshness with which different newspapers were hit. These differences show that, while the censorship apparatus seems to have worked on dailies that could be placed on far ends of the political spectrum, some of these newspapers bore the brunt of the censorship, while others were treated in a milder manner. *Vakit* appears to have encountered more censorship than *İkdam*, while *Peyam-ı Sabah*, for the issues available during the research, almost always had significantly less text removed by the censors. This difference coincides with how the British perceived these dailies.

In *Peyam-ı Sabah*, under the direction of Ali Kemal, the British had found a powerful ally in Istanbul's media. A well-known opposition journalist, who had briefly served as Minister of the Interior, and supporter of the Sultan, Ali Kemal believed that the salvation for the empire lay in gaining the favour of the Allies. His animosity towards the National Forces, whom he, much like the British, considered a reincarnation of the CUP, further facilitated his relations with the British, who regarded him favourably. A report on the Ottoman press composed for the Allied commissioner in December 1918, described Ali Kemal, who would become the editor of *Peyam-ı Sabah* in 1920, as a furious opponent of the earlier regime and an archenemy of Talat, Enver and other CUP leaders.⁵⁴ In March 1919, a similar report nominated Ali Kemal "one of the best journalists of Constantinople," although adding that his honesty was sometimes the prey of his expensive tastes.⁵⁵ One and a half year later, the British Foreign Office's guide to the Turkish press in 1921 described *Peyam-ı Sabah* as "foremost among Opposition organs; hostile to the Committee of Union and Progress, Ali Kémal (who is a Philippic), at present directing his antagonism against the Forces Nationales, which he looks upon as the revival of the Party."⁵⁶ It should also be noted that, as described in the chapter on finance, *Peyam-ı Sabah* enjoyed a disproportionate amount of advertisement from foreign companies and the Allied administration, suggesting that the political link was further cemented by financial support. *Vakit*, on the other hand, represented the opposite viewpoint. Its owner, a Yale graduate, Ahmet Emin Yalman, was among the people who had been exiled to Malta, in order to be tried for having connections to the CUP. Asım Us, one of the journalists for *Vakit*, was harassed for his publications

54 TNA FO 471/3421, #209964, 21 December 1918, "La Presse Turque," 2.

55 TNA FO 371/4141, #49194, 8 March 1919, "Part 4. Influence of the Committee in the Turkish Press."

56 TNA FO 141/504, "A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople," April 1921, 35.

for apparently illegitimate reasons, simply for not being supportive enough of the occupied government.⁵⁷ Initially, in 1918, the British described *Vakit* as a natural ally of the Young Turk movement, yet moderate,⁵⁸ but it was regarded in the 1921 guide as a “fervent propagandist of Wilsonian ideas in Turkey, and under cover of acting in the name of the American principle which accords to every people the right of self-government, the paper strives hard to revive the Unionist system in Turkish political circles”⁵⁹ and as “one of the most cynical and chauvinistic organs of Turkish irredentism.”⁶⁰ Finally, *İkdam* is described as not having any pronounced political tendencies in December 1918,⁶¹ and similarly as lacking political colour in domestic affairs but as having made occasional immoderate comments about the Allies in the 1921 guide.⁶²

As far as the British were concerned, the main difference between *Vakit* and *Peyam-ı Sabah* was their respective support and opposition to the CUP, whom they considered the enemy and of which they considered that the Anatolian Nationalist Movement was a resurrection. Naturally, Mustafa Kemal’s organizing the national resistance in Anatolia were considered to be against Allied interests.⁶³ The opposition to the Nationalists formed a key characteristic of the Allied censorship until mid-1921, after which it took a more neutral form. Yunus Nadi, a journalist who was arrested during the occupation for publishing “illegal material,” a charge which the court was unable to prove with specific examples, wrote that Ali Kemal’s *Peyam*, which argued in its publications that the country should remain under British occupation because the Ottomans were incapable of governing themselves, received British and French backing, while adding that the occupied press showed strong signs of palace influence and published along the lines of presenting the Sultan-Caliph as the only possible salvation of the country (i.e., against the Turkish nationalist proto-government in Ankara).⁶⁴

57 Us, *Gördüklerim, Duyduklarım, Duygularım. Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Devirlerine Ait Hâtıralar ve Tetkikler.*, 24–28.

58 TNA FO 471/3421, #209964, 21 December 1918, “La Presse Turque,” 1.

59 TNA FO 141/504, “A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople,” April 1921, 36.

60 TNA FO 141/504, “A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople,” April 1921, 34.

61 TNA FO 471/3421, #209964, 21 December 1918, “La Presse Turque,” 2.

62 TNA FO 141/504, “A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople,” April 1921, 35.

63 Gotthard Jäschke, “Mustafa Kemal Und England in Neuer Sicht,” *Die Welt Des Islams* 16, no. 1/4 (January 1, 1975): 191, 193, 195, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1569959>.

64 Yunus Nadi [Abahoğlu], *Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları, Tarih – Anı – Gezi – Olay* 20 (İstanbul: Çağdaş, 1978), 9–10.

According to Asım Us, who was a journalist with *Vakit* during the armistice, it had become impossible for pro-nationalist papers to mention the nationalist forces openly.⁶⁵ This is further supported when the fact is considered that Izmir, the second largest press centre of the Ottoman Empire, was subjected to preventive censorship, starting in December 1918 and at British request.⁶⁶ Yet, in several other cities, either the press was censored only after August 1919, i.e., when the Nationalist movement was making itself public through the Amasya Circular (*Amasya Tamimi*) and the Congress of Erzurum (*Erzurum Kongresi*).⁶⁷

Consequently, when the nationalist movement declared its intentions to open the Grand National Assembly in April 1920, neither *Vakit* nor *İkdam* mentioned a word about it nor did they have any articles directly related to the nationalist movement, but both *Vakit*⁶⁸ and *İkdam*⁶⁹ had their main articles removed by censors on the 24th of April, the day following the opening of the Grand National Assembly. While it could be a coincidence, it appears far more likely that the total removal of the main articles was an act designed to prevent the opinions of pro-nationalist and neutral newspapers and coverage of the opening of the Grand National Assembly from reaching the public. In contrast, *Peyam-ı Sabah*, in the days leading up to the opening of the Grand National Assembly published an article by Ali Kemal, under the headline “The Best Course of Action”:

Charlatanism, shamelessness, and backstabbing are arts. We should meet with approval and laughter the clownish behaviour of these tyrants, whose skills in these arts we cannot deny, in forming governments,

65 Us, *Gördüklerim, Duyduklarım, Duygularım. Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Devirlerine Ait Hâtıralar ve Tetkikler*, 24.

66 BOA DH.ŞFR 608/76, 21/12/1334 [21 December 1918]: The Governor (*Vali*) of Izmir informs İbrahim, the Minister of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nazırı*) that the British commander in Izmir requested this at the end of December 1918, on the grounds that some newspapers were causing inter-communal strife. BOA DH.ŞFR 609/26, 2/1/35 [2 January 1919]: This request was repeated a few days later. BOA DH.ŞFR 610/92, 15/1/35 [15 January 1919]: although it is not clear when it started, two weeks later the *vali* informed the minister of the interior that censorship would continue for some time to come.

67 BOA DH.KMS 54-2/78, 20 Ağustos 1335 [20 August 1919]: Censorship applied to *İtidal* and *İmdad* in Eskişehir. DH.KMS 54-2/78, 10 Ağustos 1335 [10 August 1919]: All newspapers in Havza (Samsun) must undergo censorship due to “tahdiş-i ezhan” (inciting) content in publications. BOA DH.ŞFR 641/54, 11 Teşrinievvel 1919 [11 October 1919]: Orders that *İkaz* in Karahisar must be suspended or censored.

68 *Vakit* #882, 5 Şaban 1338, 24 Nisan 1336-1920 [25 April 1920]: Main article removed by censorship.

69 *İkdam* #8331, 5 Şaban 1338, 24 Nisan 1336-1920 [25 April 1920]: Main article removed by censorship.

establishing Extraordinary National Parliaments, [...] appointing that parrot Halide Edip, of whom we all know what she is capable of, minister of education and then sending fabricated telegrams to Europe [claiming] while no woman minister exists in a developed country, in Mustafa Kemal's government a woman had attained such a position. It is as they stoop like this that the scandals of that CUP-nest will become apparent.⁷⁰

Apart from ridiculing the nationalists, Ali Kemal suggested that they should all be punished by being hanged by invoking images of executions.

While *Vakit* and *İkdam*, probably forced to do so by censors, refrained from writing about the Nationalist Movement, Ali Kemal's *Peyam-ı Sabah* very regularly covered the movement negatively. It ignored the defeat of Anzavur at the hands of Çerkes Ethem, who was at that point acting for the Nationalist Forces, claiming that operations were still under way and were very successful,⁷¹ while in reality Anzavur had been routed one week earlier and was retreating to Istanbul. Ali Kemal accused Mustafa Kemal, Kazım Karabekir and Ali Fuad Cebesoy of being brigands ("haydut"), gang leaders ("çete reisi") and despicable cowards ("namerd"), while predicting a swift and harsh punishment for them.⁷² *Peyam-ı Sabah* continued its attacks, publishing articles peppered with derogatory terms, until 1921,⁷³ writing in early January 1921, in the days leading up to the First Battle of İnönü, that Prime Minister (*Sadrazam*) Damat Ferit had sent Mustafa Kemal to Anatolia, but that the latter had revolted:

70 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #10932, *Peyam* #502), 29 Recep 1338, 20 Nisan 1336-1920 [20 April 1920], "En Doğru Yol": "Şarlatanlık, bihayalık, kahpelik fendir bütün bu fenlerde meharetlerini inkar edemeyeceğiz o zorbalarn hükümetler, Meclis-i Milli-i Fevkaladeler teşkil eylemek, [...] ne işler gördüğünü hepimiz bildiğimiz Halide Edip hanım tutisini maarif Nazırı tayin etmek, sonrada henüz hiç bir müterakki memlekette taife-i nisadan nazır yok iken Mustafa Kemal hükümetinde bir Türk kadını bu mertebeye ihraz eyledi diye Avrupa'ya musanna telgraflar göndermek gibi maskaralıkları hoş görmeli ve kahkahalarla karşılamalıyız. Böyle sukut ettikcedir ki İttihad ve Terakki ocağının rezaletleri bütünü tezahür eyler."

71 *Peyam-Sabah* (*Sabah* #10933, *Peyam* #503), 30 Recep 1338, 21 Nisan 1336-1920 [21 April 1920], "Anzavur Paşa'nın Harekatı."

72 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #10937, *Peyam* #507), 6 Şaban 1338, 25 Nisan 1336-1920 [25 April 1920], "İdam! İdam!"

73 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11186, *Peyam* #756), 1 Cemazeyilevvel 1339, 11 Kanunısanı 1337-1921 [11 January 1921]: "Niçin?": While not specifically naming Mustafa Kemal or the Nationalist movement, Ali Kemal uses "zorbalarn" ("bullies") and "başıbozuk" ("crazies," referring to bashi-bazouk troops) for the people who have been causing unrest during the First World War and since the armistice, i.e., the Nationalist Forces.

The former Prime Minister wanted to defend our rights abroad by first securing order domestically. With this concern, he dispatched Mustafa Kemal and his friends to Anatolia. But those [overly ambitious men], because they care more about their lives and themselves than for their country, revolted at the first opportunity and pushed the state as a whole into a weak position. Concretely, domestically they razed and destroyed Anatolia, perpetrated every possible malice against even the white-collar workers, the traders and shopkeepers of Istanbul and abroad they destroyed our relations with the Allies, they caused the terms of our peace agreements to be even heavier for us, and as if that was not enough, they caused another couple of our provinces to be occupied by the Greeks.⁷⁴

Furthermore, *Peyam-ı Sabah* clearly argued that military conflict against the Greeks was causing more harm than good and that the only solution for the Turks was maintaining good relations with the Allies.⁷⁵ After the battle had resulted in Turkish victory, the daily suggested that the victory was insignificant.⁷⁶ During this time, both *Vakit* and *İkdam* again refrained from giving their opinions on the conflict and reporting the battles mainly from Greek sources, while devoting their editorial columns to subjects like “The first Sufis in Turkish literature”⁷⁷ and “How to get the villager to love his village.”⁷⁸ This

74 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11181, *Peyam* #751), 26 Rebiülahir 1339H, 6 Kanunısani 1337-1921 [6 January 1921], “İbret ve Nefret”: “Sadır-ı asbak ki [...] dahilde asayışı temin ettikten sonra hariçte metin bir siyasetle hukuk-ı mensubemizi müdafa etmek istedi, bu endişeyle Mustafa Kemalleri Anadolu’ya o memur etti. O [muhtarlar] da memleketten ziyade o canlarını, şahıslarını düşündükleri için, ilk fırsatta ayaklandılar, devleti büsbütün zafa düşürdüler. Filvakia dahilen Anadolu’yu kastılar, kavurdular, memurlarından tacirlerine, esnafına kadar İstanbul halkını da her fenalığı ettiler, haricen İtilaf devletleriyle aramızı bozdular, şerait-i sulhiyemizin bir mertebe daha ağırlaşmasına sebep oldular, onunla da kalmadılar bir iki vilayetimizi daha Yunanistan’ın istila etmesine saik-i [illegible] oldular...”

75 For example, see: *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11188, *Peyam* #758), 3 Cemazeyilevvel 1339, 13 Kanunısani 1337-1921 [13 January 1921]: “Yok! Yok! Yok!” and *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11188, *Peyam* #758), 4 Cemazeyilevvel 1339, 14 Kanunısani 1337-1921 [14 January 1921]: “19 Kanunısani” and *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11179, *Peyam* #749), 24 Rebiülahir 1339, 4 Kanunısani 1337-1921 [4 January 1921], “İtidal ile.”

76 İzzet Öztoprak, “Birinci İnönü Savaşı’nın Anadolu, İstanbul ve Dış Basında Karşılığı ve Yorumu,” *Bellekten* 64, no. 240 (August 2000): 523–40. Öztoprak presents a case study of the press coverage of the First Battle of İnönü. His findings are in line with the findings in this chapter.

77 *İkdam* #8563, 3 Cemazeyilevvel 1339, 13 Kanunısani 1337-1921 [13 January 1921], “Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi – Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar.”

78 *İkdam* #8565, 5 Cemazeyilevvel 1339, 15 Kanunısani 1337-1921 [15 January 1921], “Köylüye Köyünü Sevdirmek.”

type of leading articles seem surreal and very much out of place considering the amount of vital events occurring in the empire, but they were safe on account of being encyclopaedic and apolitical, very much like the contents of the Ottoman press under Abdülhamit II and ultimately can be considered the symptoms of fatigue or fear among the writing staff.

The Allied control of censorship and its effect on *Peyam-ı Sabah* is clearly visible in light of a British shift in policy in mid-1921. This change in British policy resulted in a temporary yet very abrupt change in *Peyam-ı Sabah's* tone. Towards the end of March 1921, the Second Battle of İnönü took place, which, in terms of Istanbul's censorship, was a tipping point. In the days leading up to the battle, *Peyam-ı Sabah* was expressing the same opinions as it always had: it accused the National Forces of being solely responsible for the further Greek occupation of Anatolia,⁷⁹ while predicting that Mustafa Kemal's belligerence would bring even greater damage to the country than the First World War.⁸⁰ However, almost overnight, without the outcome of the second battle yet known, *Peyam-ı Sabah* changed its opinion dramatically regarding who the transgressors were and who was to blame for the violence:

As we have said, because our inefficient governments, with their inefficient policies, were unable to reduce the ill-feelings of the Allies towards us, the Greeks have plunderously trodden over these places and they wish to continue to do so. These places [...] [where] six hundred years ago a Turkish khan arrived and created the foundations of this sultanate. How can the Ottoman Turks not defend the sanctity of such a khan with all their blood and their lives? How can they not forget all their other concerns in the face of such a great attack? How can they not work with great resolve as an iron mass forming a unity to fend off such treachery? A good nation, when charged with such a patriotic duty, will not have time to think about the inefficiency and mistakes of its government, but reach for its crescent moon and weapons and plunge into battle. [...] Regardless of the difficulties and hurdles of our duty, the enemy transgression must be brought to a halt and, once it has been stopped, we must have this matter brought before the courts of justice of the nations. As we have always said, our cause cannot be won by force alone. It requires politics. The government in Ankara that is still chasing adventures in Batumi,

79 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11257, *Peyam* #827), 14 Recep 1339H, 23 Mart 1337-1921 [23 March 1921], "Haza Min Fazli Rabbi."

80 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11258, *Peyam* #828), 15 Recep 1339H, 24 Mart 1337-1921 [24 March 1921], "Barut Kokuları."

the Caucasus, Iraq and other places cannot conduct or follow such politics [...]. That duty can be performed by the Sublime Porte, which is a true representative of the Caliphate and the Sultanate, and knows the world, in other words Europe and the Powers, better than [the Ankara government].⁸¹

Not only was the blame for the conflict shifted from the Nationalist Forces to the Greeks overnight, but suddenly the leaders of the Nationalist Forces, branded traitors, brigands and gang leaders just two months earlier, were showered with compliments. "It is possible" the paper noted in March 1921, "that the majority of those who have created Ankara and the National Forces, especially the vigorous, determined and devout military leaders, are people who love their country and their people with great conviction. Indubitably, they are so. For, it is especially because they are like this [that they understand that] the military is one thing and that politics are another."⁸² The newspaper went on to say that the leaders in Ankara could not be blamed for their lack of experience in international politics, for they were soldiers and that nobody held this against them. Not only were the Nationalist leaders now praised, they were also now accorded titles. Until this point, it had been illegal to use military rank titles for Mustafa Kemal, Kazim Karabekir and the rest of the leaders in Ankara, as

81 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11261, *Peyam* #831), 18 Recep 1339, 27 Mart 1337-1921 [27 March 1921]: "Yine Ümidvarız": "Arzettiğimiz gibi o fena hükümetlerimizin o fena siyasetleriyle İtilaf devletlerinin aleyhimizdeki husumetlerini mütarekeden beri izale edemediğimiz için Yunanlılar bu yerlere böyle gaspane ayak bastılar ve gittikçe de basmak istiyorlar. Bu yerler ki [...] altı yüz küsür sene evvel bir Türk hanı geldi, bu saltanatın temelini oralarda kurdu. Osmanlı Türkü böyle bir hanın mukaddesini nasıl kan ve can pahasına müdafâ etmesinler? Bu büyük taarruz karşısında mümkün müdür ki bütün diğer endişelerini unutmasınlar? Demirden bir kitle gibi yekvücut olarak harikülade bir metanetle o ihaneti, o hiyaneti defe çalışmasınlar. İyi bir millet böyle bir vazife-i vataniye ile mükellef olunca hükümetinin fenalığını, kusurlarını düşünmeğe vakit bulamaz, hilal ile silaha sarılır, cihada atılır [...] Vazifemizin her türlü müşkilatını, müzahemetine rağmen düşman mütacavüzü durdurulmalı, durdurduktan sonra da devletlerin mahkeme-i adaletine celbet-tirmeliyiz. Daima dediğimiz gibi bu dava yalnız kuvvetle felsede edilemez. Siyaset de ister. Bu siyaset de hala Batum'da, Kafkasya'da, Irak'ta vesairede macera peşinde koşan Ankara Hükümeti teşebbüs ve takip edemez [...]. O vazifeyi Hilafet ve Saltanatı bihak temsil etmekle beraber, dünyayı, Konyayı, yani Avrupa'yı, Düvel-i Muazzama'yı da onlardan iyi tanıyan bir Bab-ı Ali ifa edebilir."

82 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11262, *Peyam* #832), 19 Recep 1339H, 28 Mart 1337-1921 [28 March 1921], "Böyle Olmayacaktır": "Ankara'yı, Kuva-ı Milliye'yi ekseriyetle vücuda getirenler, bilhassa o dinç, azmen, imanen dinç erkan-ı askeriye memleketlerini, milletlerini candan iman ile seven insanlar olabilirler, ve hiç şüphe yok öyledirler, memafih bilhassa böyle oldukları için – askerlik başka, siyaset başkadır."

they had been stripped of their ranks by the Istanbul government. Even the use of the title *bey* could prove problematic, as journalist Asım Us had discovered when he was summoned to court-martial in July 1920 for writing Mustafa Kemal *Bey*, which the court argued was an official rank. Asım Us claims to have pointed out that the porter at their office was also called Ali *Bey*, which did not mean that the man had a rank.⁸³ Similarly, during the First Battle of İnönü in January 1921, *Vakit* referred in its articles to İsmet *Bey*, instead of mentioning his military rank.

As late as the 24th of March in 1921, only days before the Second Battle of İnönü, which again resulted in Turkish victory, *Peyam-ı Sabah* still referred to nationalist leaders such as Mustafa Kemal without their military rank title.⁸⁴ Only three days later, there was change in *Peyam-ı Sabah's* tone, which was as profound as it was sudden. The daily contained a headline reading “Mustafa Kemal Paşa is at the Front”⁸⁵ and bestowed the same title on Kazım Karabekir.⁸⁶ In April, it also acknowledged Mustafa Kemal as having the rank of Marshall (*Müşir*), conferred on him by the Grand National Assembly.⁸⁷ As it now lauded the generals, so did the newspaper also congratulate the troops. It dedicated a poem to the soldiers of the National Forces, calling them “our warriors”⁸⁸ and speaking of the fallen soldiers as “our martyrs”⁸⁹ and of the victory as “our victory.”⁹⁰ Finally, there was also a switch from Greek agency sources (which had also been the main source during the First Battle of İnönü

83 Us, *Gördüklerim, Duyduklarım, Duygularım. Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Devirlerine Ait Hâtıralar ve Tetkikler.*, 28.

84 E.g., *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11258, *Peyam* #828), 15 Recep 1339, 24 Mart 1337-1921 [24 March 1921]: “Barut Kokuları.”

85 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11261, *Peyam* #831), 18 Recep 1339, 27 Mart 1337-1921 [27 March 1921]: “Mustafa Kemal Paşa Cephede.”

86 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11262, *Peyam* #832), 19 Recep 1339, 28 Mart 1337-1921 [28 March 1921]: “Andolu’da Umumi Seferberlik: [...] Kazım Karabekir Paşa’nın Kuvvetinden Bir Kısım Eskişehir’e Geldi.”

87 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11273, *Peyam* #843), 1 Şaban 1339, 8 Nisan 1337-1921 [8 April 1921]: “Mustafa Kemal Paşa Müşir Oldu – Metris Tepe’de Şühedamız İçin bir Abide İnşasını Takarrür Etti.”

88 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11273, *Peyam* #843), 1 Şaban 1339, 8 Nisan 1337-1921 [8 April 1921], “Cephelerde Kahraman Mücahitlerimiz.”

89 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11273, *Peyam* #843), 1 Şaban 1339, 8 Nisan 1337-1921 [8 April 1921]: “Mustafa Kemal Paşa Müşir Oldu – Metris Tepe’de Şühedamız İçin bir Abide İnşasını takarrur etti.”

90 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11273 *Peyam* #843), 1 Şaban 1339H, 8 Nisan 1337-1921 [8 April 1921], “Nabi Bey Muzafferiyetimizi İzah Ediyor.”

for all three newspapers), to Anatolian news sources, including Ankara's official news agency Anadolu Ajansı.⁹¹

Peyam-ı Sabah's sudden shift in attitude coincides with a change in Allied policy. The British had been disappointed by Venizelos losing the elections in Greece and started to realize that pursuing the agreements of the Sèvres Treaty appeared to be unrealistic because the nationalists were achieving unexpected successes and could no longer be left out of the equation. This prompted the Allies to adopt a more cautious attitude, which led to Britain declaring its neutrality in the Turkish-Greek war. A day before Ali Kemal's great change of heart, his newspaper carried a headline stating that the British had under no circumstances encouraged the Greek attack.⁹² British neutrality⁹³ and lack of support for the Greeks⁹⁴ was repeated over the next few days and at the same time a headline reported that the Porte had lodged a protest with the powers regarding Greek aggressions,⁹⁵ thereby revealing either a supportive or at least a neutral position from these parties towards the nationalists. All such statements had been forbidden under censorship rules and had even been punishable a few months earlier.

This turning point reveals unmistakably that, although both Ottoman and Allied censorship officers were used, it was the latter who pulled the strings. For, while censorship was still being applied, *Vakit* and *İkdam* were from then on allowed to celebrate Ankara's victories, which had not been possible earlier. On the other hand, *Peyam-ı Sabah's* change of heart was only temporary, and it soon resumed its attacks on the nationalists.⁹⁶ This suggests that not *Peyam-ı*

91 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11263, *Peyam* #833), 20 Recep 1339, 29 Mart 1337-1921 [29 March 1921], "Anadolu'nun İlk Tebligleri," "Anadolu Haberleri." Greek sources remained, but less prominently so. See: "Yunan Tebligleri Ne diyor?"

92 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11260, *Peyam* #830), 17 Recep 1339, 26 Mart 1337-1921 [26 March 1921], "İngilizler ve Anadolu Harekatı": "Büyük Britanya hükümeti Yunanlıları Katiiyen Teşci Etmemiştir."

93 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11261, *Peyam* #831), 18 Recep 1339, 27 Mart 1337-1921 [27 March 1921], "İngiltere'nin Bitaraflığı."

94 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11262, *Peyam* #832), 19 Recep 1339, 28 Mart 1337-1921 [28 March 1921], "Andolu'da Umumi Seferberlik": General Harrington was ordered by the British government to step down as commander of Greek troops in Izmit.

95 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11261, *Peyam* #831), 18 Recep 1339, 27 Mart 1337-1921 [27 March 1921]: "Bab-ı Ali'nin Protestosu."

96 E.g., *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11415, *Peyam* #984), 28 Zilhicce 1339, 2 Eylül 1337-1921 [2 September 1921], "Hakiki Müdafı-ı Milliye": Accusing Ankara of being a miniature version of Moscow; *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11457, *Peyam* #1027), 12 Safer 1340, 14 Teşrinievvel 1337-1921 [14/90/1921], "Tavassut Sözleri": Ankara is accused of having chosen a military solution for a problem that cannot be solved by conflict, thereby wasting millions of the people's money and causing the needless deaths of thousands of young men.

Sabah's views, which were arguably a reflection or extension of the palace's views, but British policy dictated the rules of censorship. Clearly, it was not the Ottoman government, but the Allied administration that decided what could be published. So, in September 1921, *Peyam-ı Sabah* wrote:

[censored] ideas cannot be changed by force. Whatever happens, the truth cannot be suppressed. Right now, it is an obvious truth that, as had happened during the World War, this time [censored], exactly as with the Committee of Union of Progress, the path chosen by the Nationalist Forces too has dragged this country and people into catastrophes all over again. Every [person] with a [clean] consciousness admits this now.⁹⁷

It is noteworthy, as can be seen in the chart in Figure 14, that the only occurrence of *Peyam-ı Sabah* being subjected to more censorship than either *Vakit* or *İkdam* occurred in September and October 1921. September 1921 was when the Sakarya battle ended in a Turkish victory and a Greek defeat, and which arguably constituted a breaking point for British foreign policy as even *The Times* started to suggest that a new direction should be pursued in British Near East policy.⁹⁸

Although there were shifts in the Allied policy towards Ankara, *Peyam-ı Sabah* continued its attacks on the nationalists unabatedly. In August 1922, as the Battle of Dumlupınar, which would end in the expulsion of the Greek army from Anatolia in September 1922, had just started, *Peyam-ı Sabah* questioned Ankara's integrity because of its participation in the London conferences:

If Ankara had been sincere in its warmongering efforts from the beginning, would it then act as [it does now]? What was that pickle? And what is this diet? [i.e., why this change in attitude]. How then can [Ankara] join peace talks with the Greeks today? [...] The Sublime Porte never opted for armed conflict or defence against the Greek transgression because it realized how we had emerged from the World War and to what degree we were restricted by [the Sèvres] Treaty. It could only trust [Allied] politics

97 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #[11415], *Peyam* #984), 27 Zilhicce 1339, 1 Eylül 1337-1921 [1 September 1921], "Beklediklerimiz": "[censored] fikre karşı kuvvet para etmez, ne olursa olsun, hakka, hakikate galbe çalınmaz. Bu dem pek bariz bir hakikattır ki Harb-ı Umumi esnasında [censored], tıpkı İttihad ve Terakki gibi Kuvva-ı Milliye'nin tuttuğu yol da bu devlet ve milleti yeniden yeniye badirelere sürükledi, bunu şimdi her sahib-i insaf teslim eyler."

98 Ebru Boyar, "Savaş ve Basın: Türk Ulusal Kurtuluş Savaşı ve İngiliz *The Times* Gazetesi (1919-1922)," *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi* 36 (2009): 134.

and that, eventually, from these politics would emerge a change for the better. It hoped that we could receive the support from the [Allies] once we overcame the excesses and demands from our government and sovereignty which were unacceptable to Europe. How dare Ankara, when it acted in complete opposition to these efforts, change its direction? If they really are abandoning their drive to solve this issue with cannons and rifles, then, for the sake of this country and its people, the very first duty of the men of the National Forces, as we have always said, is to move aside and leave our fate in the hands of a Sublime Porte which represents the Caliphate and the Sultanate.⁹⁹

However, once the National Forces achieved decisive victory, by expelling the Greek army from Anatolia, and this was known as a certainty, Ali Kemal, in an article titled "Our Goals Were One and Are One," cautiously admitted that he might have been wrong by not having confidence in the abilities of the National Forces, but that he was happy to see the outcome.¹⁰⁰ Shortly after this, *Sabah* announced that it would no longer be cooperating with *Peyam*, and that it fully supported the national cause, thereby ending the joint *Peyam-ı Sabah* publication, which had started in 1919.

İkdam and *Vakit* had been able to show support for the Nationalist movement after mid-1921. However, the Allied censors only tolerated this as long as it was not against their interests. As can be seen in the chart in Figure 14, both dailies continued to be censored frequently until the Allied censorship was lifted in November 1922. For example, the peak which is apparent for both dailies in October 1922 can be attributed to the fact that the front pages during

99 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11769, *Peyam* #1339), 4 Muharrem 1341, 28 Ağustos 1338-1922 [28 August 1922], "Siyasette Mantık": "Ankara ibtidadan ictihad-ı cenkcuyanesinde samimi olsaydı, şimdi böyle mi hareket ederdi? O turşu neydi? Bu perhiz nedir? Nasıl Yunan ile bugün bir sulh masasının başına geçebilir? [...] bir Bab-ı Ali hükümeti ki Yunan'ın bu tecavüzübe karşı hiç bir zaman silahla mukavemet, müdafa ihtiyar etmedi. Çünkü Harb-ı Umumi'den nasıl çıktığımızı, bu mutarekename ile ne derece mukayyet olduğumuzu biliyordu, ancak devletlerin siyasetlerine, siyasetlerinden er geç bir imtibahın husuluna itimat edebiliyordu. Biz hükümet ve hakimiyetimizi Avrupa'nın kabul edemeyeceği efratlardan, ihtiraslardan tenziye edince, aynı devletlerin bu yolda muzaheretlerine nail olabileceğimizi umuyordu. Ankara böyle bir ictihadın büsbütün zıddına gitmiş iken ne yüze şimdi saggdan geri edebiliyor? Filhakika topla, tüfikle bu davayı fasletmek iddaasını bırakıyorlarsa bu devlet ve milletin selameti için Kuva-ı Milliye ricaline tertip eden en birinci vazife mukadderatımızı, daimedeğimiz gibi, hilafet ve saltanatı temsil eden bir Bab-ı Ali'ye tefriz ederek çekilmektir."

100 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11782, *Peyam* #1352), 17 Muharrem 1341, 10 Eylül 1338-1922 [10 September 1922], "Gayeler Bir idi ve Birdir."

this month were dominated by the Mudanya peace talks between Ankara and the British, which ended in Eastern Thrace being evacuated and handed to the Turks. It is highly likely that *Vakit* and *İkdam* portrayed this as a major Turkish victory over the British, thus causing the Allied censors to intervene to prevent statements that could be damaging to British prestige.

With Istanbul and Izmir, the major press centres of Anatolia, under Allied and Greek occupation and censorship, the nationalist movement in Ankara found itself, from the very beginning, without a platform to voice its own position. Furthermore, the press in these cities was not merely unable to support the movement, but it was also openly hostile to the nationalist cause. However, the nationalists were very much aware of the power of propaganda, as conducted through the press. In response to this, on the one hand, steps were taken to prevent hostile propaganda from entering the territory under the control of the Grand National Assembly and, on the other hand, a nationalist press infrastructure was created with the purpose of disseminating propaganda both domestically and internationally.

The Ankara government regarded the Istanbul press, because of the Allied censorship, as being in opposition to the interests of the Nationalists. On the 28 September 1921, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the semi-official mouthpiece of the National Forces and the Grand National Assembly, explained what it believed was the problem with the “foreign censorship” in Istanbul:

What is it that the Istanbul censorship does not allow to be written? These [topics] tally up to an innumerable large, meaningless, illogical, and merciless total. [...] However, there is one thing that we cannot but mention. That is that the censorship in Istanbul does not allow our Turkish colleagues to write about Greek atrocities. We understand, from very reliable letters, and we see, by following Istanbul’s newspapers, that the censorship in Istanbul tries to keep the press from writing even a paragraph about the atrocities of the uncivilised [Greeks] who are burning down and destroying Anatolia. Why? Why should the atrocities [committed by] these monsters, who maim children and women in Anatolia indiscriminately, be kept from surfacing? [...] It would be difficult to show a better example that reveals what a great lie Istanbul’s neutrality is.¹⁰¹

101 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #306, 26 Muharrem 1340, 28 Eylül 1337-1921 [28 September 1921], “İstanbul Sansürü”: “İstanbul sansürü neleri yazdırmıyor? Bu sayılıp dökülemeyecek kadar çok, manasız, mantıksız, insafsız bir yekün tutar. [...] Fakat kemal-ı lisanla söylemekten vazgeçemediğimiz bir şey var. O da İstanbul sansürünün Türkçe rufekamıza Yunan mezalimini yazdırmamasıdır. Aldığımız gayet mevsuk mektuplardan anlıyor ve İstanbul gazetelerini takip ile de görüyoruz ki İstanbul sansürü Anadolu’yı yakıp yıkan vahşilerin

The article further noted that the Greeks could say whatever they wished about the Turks in the Greek press in Istanbul, but that the Turkish press in Istanbul was not allowed to mention Greek atrocities.

In response to the negative press they received from Istanbul, Ankara established a news agency called *Anadolu Ajansı*, which is still in existence today. In its founding statement, the occupation of Istanbul and the requirement for disseminating (what the nationalists considered) correct information to the public, are given as important reasons to establish the agency:

Because of the importance of the need to enlighten the people with correct domestic and foreign news during the national and holy war, in which Rumelia and Anatolia partake as a whole because the Ottoman capital is under enemy occupation and the entire country and nation is exposed to the gravest danger, an institution by the name Anadolu Ajansı was formed here, consisting of a committee of the most trustworthy people. As the news and information spread by Anadolu Ajansı through the fastest means will actually be the real and reliable source [of information] from our *Heyet-i Temsiliye* [i.e., the proto-government in Ankara], its bulletins will be disseminated.¹⁰²

In launching its own information outlet, Ankara was not only concerned with having its own voice heard, but also in countering what it regarded as “foreign propaganda.” One month after the founding of Anadolu Ajansı, Mustafa Kemal sent a note to all *vilayets*, stressing the importance of Anadolu Ajansı, but this time specifically mentioning it as a countering move to enemy propaganda, arguing that “the reason for creating Anadolu Ajansı was to provide true and correct information to every individual regarding domestic and foreign

zulmünden, matbuata bir satır bile çizdirmemeye çalışıyor. Niçin? Anadolu içinde kadın, çocuk, çoluk demeden kesen, yakan canavarların zulmü niçin meydana çıkmasın? [...] İstanbul bitaraflığının ne büyük yalan olduğunu bu sansür misali kadar güzel numune göstermek cidden müşküldür.”

102 ATASE İŞH kutu no. 274, gömlek no. 179, belge no. 179-1, 8/4/36 [8 April 1920]: “... merkez-i Saltanat-ı Osmaniyenin düşman işgaline geçmesi ve bütün vatan ve milletimizin en büyük tehlikeye maruz kalması neticesi olarak bütün Rumeli ve Anadolu’nun giriştiği millî ve mukaddes mücadele esnasında efrad-ı milletin dahili ve harici en sahîh havadisle tenviri ihtiyac-ı müberremi? nazar-ı dikkat ve ehemmiyete alınmış [...] burada en selahetdar zevattan merkebi bir heyet-i mahsusada idaresinde ve “Anadolu Ajansı” ünvanı altında bir müesseseye vücuda geçilmiştir. “Anadolu Ajansı” dan en seri vesaitle vereceği havadis ve malumat esasen Heyet-i Temsiliyemizin menabi-i asliye ve mevzuatı [illegible] olacağı cihetle bu ajans tebligatının oraca ve ezcümle Müdafâ-ı Hukuk teşkilatımızca daha [illegible].”

events and [in doing so] to safeguard them from the negative influence of foreign propaganda.”¹⁰³ Anadolu Ajansı soon became active and its bulletins, printed twice daily, were distributed to even the smallest villages by means of gendarmes and tax-collectors.¹⁰⁴ A message from Mustafa Kemal informed post and telegraph offices in Erzurum, Trabzon, Van, Diyarbakir, Sivas, Konya, Kastamonu, Bursa and Edirne that Anadolu Ajansı bulletins should be distributed without delay and that in all cities where newspapers were published, editors should receive a copy of the bulletins.¹⁰⁵ The 14th Corps in Bursa was ordered to print special bulletins for Istanbul and distribute them to important agencies in the capital.¹⁰⁶

In the eyes of the governments in Ankara and Istanbul and the Allies the press could be an effective vessel for (harmful) propaganda. The Grand National Assembly, in May 1920, mere weeks after its opening under the jeering remarks of *Peyam-ı Sabah*, passed a decision to the effect that not only official correspondence from Istanbul, but also any newspaper printed in Istanbul was to be barred from entering Anatolia. Anybody receiving such material was to immediately return it to the sender, or, otherwise, be charged with treason.¹⁰⁷ Two weeks later, on 20 May 1920, a Censorship Directive (*sansür talimatı*) was published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, which instructed post offices on how censorship would be conducted, and here, too, it was made clear that allowing Istanbul newspapers into Anatolia would be considered treason.¹⁰⁸ The ban on newspapers was not unilateral, as Istanbul, too, took measures to prevent Ankara's press from being distributed. In late April 1921 copies of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* were seized by the police, as ordered by the British forces.¹⁰⁹ Early in June of the same year, the head of Istanbul's police Hasan Tahsin,¹¹⁰ who according

103 ATASE İSH kutu no. 575, gömlek no. 163, belge no. 163-1, 4/5/36 [4 May 1920]: “Anadolu Ajansı'nın tesisinden maksat her ferd-i ahalinin hadiset-i dahiliye ve hariciye hakkında sahih ve hakiki malumat istihsalı ile harici propagandaların tesirat-ı muzırından varesten? kalmalarını temin olduğuna göre her gün muntazaman verilen ajansların mahalli matbuat ve ilaveler neşri suretiyle büyük şehir ve kasabalarda ve köylerde her türlü vesait müracaatla tamim ve neşri fevaid azimeyi mucip olacağından bu bapta lazımı ihtimam buyurulmuş elzem ve vakit ve zamaniyle gelemeyen ajanslar hakkında posta ve telgraf merkezinde tahkikat icrasıyla maksadın her suretle temini sarf-ı himmet buyurulması rica olunur.”

104 ATASE İSH kutu no. 273, gömlek no. 91, belge no. 91-1, 12/4/36 [12 April 1920].

105 ATASE İSH kutu no. 273, gömlek no. 120, belge no. 120-9, 14/4/36 [14 April 1920].

106 ATASE İSH kutu no. 273, gömlek no. 205, belge no. 205-1, 21/4/26 [21 April 1920].

107 BCA 30.18.1.1/1.1.2, 6 May 1920.

108 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #31, 20 Mayıs 1336 [20 May 1920], “Sansür Talimatı.”

109 ATASE İSH kutu no. 1480, gömlek no. 63, belge no. 63-1, 27 Nisan 37 [27 April 1921].

110 Although in his Memoires Yunus Nadi mentions the chief of police, he admits to not recalling his name properly but says that it must have been Hüsnü, which is almost identical to Hasan and could therefore be easily mixed up.

to *Yeni Gün* editor Yunus Nadi was a driving force in having the latter sent to prison while he was in Istanbul, declared it illegal to sell or carry *Yeni Gün* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, both pro-nationalist papers, in Istanbul on punishment of immediate arrest and confiscation of the newspapers.¹¹¹ This happened on 25 April 1920, or two days after the opening of the Grand National Assembly and one day after *Vakit* and *İkdam* appeared with their leading articles completely removed by censorship, which were probably on the subject of the opening of the Grand National Assembly. The General Director of the Postal, Telephony and Telegraphy Office (*Posta ve Telgraf ve Telefon Müdür-i Umumisi*) Refik Halit [Karay], who himself was a journalist opposing the Nationalist Forces, which he saw as an extension of the CUP, informed the Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*) that publications of the National forces, printed in Ankara and sold openly or secretly in Istanbul, had all been collected and destroyed.¹¹²

As long as Istanbul's press was under Allied censor control, Ankara rejected it. It would be more than a year later, around the tipping-point for nationalist victories, that exceptions were made for publications based in Istanbul on the grounds that they were found to be suitable from the point of view of Ankara. For example, in June 1921 the Grand National Assembly decided that the satirical magazine *Karagöz*, which had been supportive of the nationalists, was to be allowed into Anatolia.¹¹³ In September and October of the same year, *Tevhid-i Efkar*¹¹⁴ and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*¹¹⁵ received the same permission. Although a search in the archives did not produce a document with a similar permission for *Vakit*, it is likely that at a certain point, it, too, given its views, received such permission. However, it was not until after the end of the Allied censorship in October 1922, that Ankara decided to lift the general ban on Istanbul newspapers. It argued that because the Allied censorship commission was disbanded, and control of the censorship was handed to Rafet Paşa, Istanbul's newspapers would no longer be publishing material that was adverse to the aspirations of the Ankara government.¹¹⁶ This ban appears to have been extended to other parts of the occupied territories. *Ferda*, an anti-nationalist publication, which would change its tone to be more moderate after Adana came under control of the Nationalist Forces, was also restricted.¹¹⁷

111 ATASE İSH kutu no. 1474, gömlek no. 25, belge no. 1-2, 2/6/37 [2 June 1921].

112 BOA DH.İ.UM 16-3/1-18, dd. 6 Şaban 1338H, 25 Nisan 1336 [25 April 1920].

113 BCA 30.18.1.1/3.24.4, 5 Haziran 1337 [5 June 1921].

114 BCA 30.18.1.1/3.32.4, 8 Eylül 1337 [8 September 1921].

115 BCA 30.18.1.1/3.32.5, 8 Teşrinievvel 1337 [8 October 1921].

116 BCA 30.18.1.1/6.40.19, 12 Kanunievvel 1338 [12 December 1922].

117 İbrahim İslam, "Milli Mücadeleye Muhalif Bir Gazete: 'Ferdâ,'" *Dicle Üniversitesi Ziya Gökalp Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 12 (2009): 162,170.

With this move, the nationalists attempted to cut off the stream of information from the Ottoman capital. However, attempts were made to smuggle copies of *Peyam-ı Sabah* illegally into Anatolia by wrapping copies around commercial goods, giving them the appearance of mere wrapping paper.¹¹⁸ It is likely that these smugglings were supported by the imperial government, as it was already investing in propaganda in Anatolia as can be seen by its financial support of *Yeni Gazete* in Sivas before Ankara's ban on Istanbul's press occurred.¹¹⁹ It is not difficult to imagine that such a ban was not fully waterproof and that some illegal copies made it to both Anatolia and Istanbul from opposing sides.

However, one of the consequences of cutting off Anatolia from Istanbul's press was that Anatolia was left with very small local newspapers. The most popular Anatolian newspapers only reached 1,500–2,000 circulation at their heights¹²⁰ and Muhittin [Birgen], General Director of the Press (*Matbuat Müdür-i Umumisi*) in Ankara, said during a discussion at the Grand National Assembly that Anatolian newspapers were unable to reach circulations more than 700 per day and, due to the paper shortage, circulation figures could be as low as 150.¹²¹ These figures are dwarfed by the major Istanbul dailies who could reach an average of 10,000 and catered for a smaller region than some of their counterparts, which were distributed over Anatolia. It bears repeating that lower circulation figures do not indicate a lower reach *per se*, as newspapers could be read aloud and passed on to other readers. However, these numbers do show the material shortcomings of the Anatolian press when compared to its Istanbul counterpart. For example, while it is said that the increase in press activity after the 1908 Revolution increased the number of available printers in Anatolia, which in turn benefited the press efforts of the nationalist movement,¹²² even the most prominent nationalist newspapers, such as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (the official mouthpiece of Ankara) and *Yeni Gün* (*Ankara'da*) had substandard printing equipment (some even smuggled out

118 Documents regarding this were found at ATASE and accessed for the purpose of this research. Unfortunately, no digital copies were given and as a result the dates on these documents are lost. They are probably from the mid 1920s. E.g., ATASE İSH kutu no. 571, gömlek no. 86, belge no. 1; İSH kutu no. 669, gömlek no. 66, belge no. 1-2; İSH kutu no. 881, gömlek no. 47, belge no. 1.

119 BOA DH.KMS 52-5/71, 15 Recep 1337/16 Nisan 1335 [16 April 1919].

120 İzzet Öztoprak, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Türk Basını (Mayıs 1919 – Temmuz 1921)* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1981), 10. Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 156.

121 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İċtima 159 Cele 1, 28/2/1337 [28/2/1921], 520.

122 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 134.

of Istanbul) and suffered from a lack of know-how and expertise in the region.¹²³ In that vein, alongside paper shortage, Anatolia is also said to have suffered from occasional ink shortages, causing printers to improvise with a mixture of soot and linseed.¹²⁴ In other words, the Anatolian press was underdeveloped and, according to Muhittin, while Istanbul had a well-established press, “press [did virtually not] exist in Ankara and Anatolia”¹²⁵ and that the region was so poor that “no printing press worthy of the name [existed].”¹²⁶

Consequently, the government in Ankara felt the need to support this press, which was done through Ankara’s creation of a Press Regulation and Intelligence Office (*Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdüriyeti*). Although its name was reminiscent of its counterpart (*Matbuat Müdüriyeti*) in Istanbul, its purpose was different. In Istanbul, such institutions had existed long before the Constitutional Revolution and had served as a means to apply censorship. After the revolution, not only had the 1909 press law removed references to this institution, thereby removing its influence over the press and relegating it to the function of permit dispensary, but also the whole concept disappeared until 1912, when it reappeared alongside changes to the law that allowed tighter control and after 1913 effectively resumed its function as a censorship coordination office.¹²⁷ In Ankara, the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdüriyeti*), according to Muhittin, was not interested in controlling the nearly non-existent press, but its purpose was to conduct propaganda.¹²⁸ This is further supported by Tunalı Hilmi, a Deputy from Bolu, who claimed that “saying Press Regulation Office is the same as saying Propaganda Office.”¹²⁹ Domestically, Ankara’s Press Regulation Office sought to fulfil this function by giving financial and material aid (paper, which had become very expensive during the war due to shortages) to local newspapers that supported the nationalist ideals, without which, the Director of the Press Regulation and Intelligence Office claimed, Anatolian

123 Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, “Milli Mücadelenin Sözcülerinden: Anadolu’da Yenigün,” *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 36 (2015): 180–81. Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 155.

124 Fethi Kardeş, *Basın-Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü – 60 Yılın Hikayesi* (Ankara: Basın-Yayın Genel Müdürlüğü, 1980), 17.

125 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 159 Celse 1, 28/2/1337 [28/2/1921], 517: “Matbuat Müdürü Umumisi Muhittin B.: [...] Ankara’da ve Anadolu’da matbuat yoktur.”

126 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 159 Cele 1, 28/2/1337 [28/2/1921], 519: “Matbuat Müdürü Umumisi Muhittin B.: [...] Anadolu memleketi çok zavallı bir memlekettir. Anadolu memleketinde matbaa denebilecek bir matbaa yoktur efendim.”

127 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 197–98.

128 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 159 Celse 1, 28/2/1337 [28 February 1921], 518.

129 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 159 Celse 2, 28/2/1337 [28 February 1921], 527: Tunalı Hilmi B. (Bolu): Matbuat Müdüriyeti demek; Propaganda Müdüriyeti demektir.

newspapers could not exist.¹³⁰ With high paper prices and low circulation figures, nowhere near that of the major dailies of Istanbul, it was probably not easy for these publications to sustain themselves, even under less competitive circumstances than in Istanbul. Discussions in the Grand National Assembly regarding budget allocation for the Press Regulation and Intelligence Office for the financial year 1337R resulted in great cuts due to financial problems, however, both the amount allotted for the monies to support the local press (“Anadolu matbuatına muavenet”) and for obtaining paper (“kâğıt tedarîği”) to help Anatolian newspapers, were raised.¹³¹ Showing the continued dedication for this support, in the budget review for following financial year (1338R), the money for supporting the local press was substantially increased, to 40,000 *lira*,¹³² which equalled what was set aside for (foreign) propaganda purposes,¹³³ with again the rationale being that supporting the struggling local press was part of domestic propaganda efforts aimed at informing the public about the on-going national struggle.¹³⁴ Thus publications such as *Küçük Mecmua*, *İleri*, *Babalık* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* all received financial support. Although 40,000 *lira* annually may not appear much, especially considering the inflation during the war, it should be kept in mind that the number of newspapers being published, and thus required financial aid, was much lower when compared to Istanbul.

Subsidizing was only one part of Ankara’s policy to breathe life into Anatolia’s press. Prominent or upcoming journalists, such as Falih Rıfka [Atay] and Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu] were actively recruited by the Nationalist Movement and invited to Ankara.¹³⁵ Tax exemptions were given to newspapers.¹³⁶ The proposal that import tax for printing equipment should be removed, put forward by the Press Regulation and Intelligence Office in December 1920, was accepted and the law to this effect was enacted in April 1921. In January 1921,

130 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 159 Celse 1, 28/2/1337 [28 February 1921], pp. 519–20.

131 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 159 Celse e, 28/2/1337 [28 February 1921], 532.

132 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 3 İçtima 99 Celse 2, 9/9/1338 [9 September 1922], 579. Although the 1337R [1921] budget apparently has that the money set aside for subsidizing local newspapers was to be 4,957 *lira*, the 1338R [1922] budget shows over triple that amount. It is possible that more money was made available for this purpose over the year.

133 *Propaganda ve Telifat* received 20,000 and *Masarif-i Muhabere ve İstihbariye* also received 20,000 *lira*.

134 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 3 İçtima 99 Celse 2, 9/9/1338 [9 September 1922], 573.

135 Hüsnü Himmetoğlu, *Kurtuluş Savaşında İstanbul ve Yardımları*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Ülkü Matbaası, 1975), 67–68.

136 E.g., BCA 30.18.1.1/2.39.10, 30 Mart 1337 [30 March 1921], BCA 30.18.1.1-3.29.4, 3 Temmuz 1337 [3 July 1921], BCA 30.18.1.1-7.22.3, 21/6/1339 [21 June 1923], BCA 30.18.1.1-10.28.18, 8 /6/1340 [8 June 1924].

a law was proposed to allow telegraphs for the press to be sent at quarter the regular price to facilitate the communication of newspapers.¹³⁷ In June 1921, a proposal to remove the requirement for caution money was accepted by the Grand National Assembly, as being in the best interests of the development of the press, and forwarded to the ministry of the interior.¹³⁸ It is not immediately clear whether the latter two proposals, which were accepted for discussion, were enacted as laws, but what can clearly be seen here is an attempt by the new Ankara government to support the growth of the press, similar to the official Ottoman policy after the 1908 Revolution. These efforts were successful to a certain degree, and the period of the National Struggle for Independence has been identified as one of a booming Anatolian press, with at least 100 new periodicals appearing and especially Ankara becoming an active press centre,¹³⁹ which had not been the case earlier.

While some forms of censorship were used, legally and illegally, the Ottoman press was spared from preventive censorship until the empire entered the World War in August 1914. Pre-print examinations were at that point reintroduced for the first time since the 1908 Revolution. After the armistice and the occupation of Istanbul, a new round of preventive censorship started, this time through the insistence of the Allied Forces. The Allies' negative attitude towards the Nationalist Movement, and their influence on censorship, had ensured that newspapers in Istanbul and Izmir, the two largest press centres of the Ottoman Empire, were unable openly to support the nationalist cause, while opponents of Ankara were given all liberty to conduct propaganda against Mustafa Kemal and the Grand National Assembly. However, aware of the importance of propaganda, Ankara resorted to a policy of supporting the Anatolian press by supplying it with financial and material aid, and it established Anadolu Ajansı, its own news agency, through which it tried to make itself heard in Anatolia, Istanbul and the West.

137 BCA 30.18.1.1/2.27.9, 15 Kanunısani 1327 [15 January 1921].

138 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 2 İçtima 43 Celse 1, 27/6/1337 [27/06/1920], 60.

139 Nâzım H. Polat, "Türkiye'de Yerel Basının Gelişimine Kısa Bir Bakış," *Türklük Bilimi Araştırmaları* XI (2002): 8–9. Polat puts the number of new publications during the Struggle for Independence at 141. Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 155. Ali Çakır, "Samsun'da Piyasa' Gazetesi," *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. 18 (2015): 199. At least 18 new publications were published in Samsun alone during the National Struggle for Independence.

Financing the Press

While some scholars have sought to re-examine the workings of the Ottoman press and in doing so have touched on the importance of certain financial aspects,¹ no in-depth studies have to date been made of the subject. It is, however, important to examine the economy of the press, and more specifically, the financial dimension, if one is to gain any effective understanding of the press in the late Ottoman and early republican period. This chapter examines concepts such as the costs of establishing and running a publication, the importance of demand in a competitive market, the importance of advertising as a source of revenue, thus revealing the power of money over the press and how it was employed as a control mechanism by various actors.

In contrast to the Hamidian era, when newspapers were effectively tied to the state, in the years after the 1908 Revolution, entering the newspaper business was (legally speaking) much easier. Where obtaining a permit to publish had once been very difficult and subject to the whims of the palace, with the boom-era press was almost indiscriminately provided with permits and in 1909, a new press law had even removed that requirement. Paradoxically, after the revolution, it had also become much more difficult for newspapers to survive, not because of political but because of economic pressure. The post-Hamidian press was one of fierce competition, low prices and the emergence of the battle for readership market shares. At the same time, the toughness of the industry created the circumstances which allowed for newspapers to be influenced by financial sponsors. More positively, this situation opened the door for a new wave of innovation in the Ottoman press.

Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], distinguished journalist, and owner and editor-in-chief of the successful *Servet-i Fünun*, in discussing the rise and fall of newspapers in the post-revolution era noted that:

Of the innumerable newspapers that had mushroomed in Bab-ı Ali Street [where most newspaper offices were located] in the first days of the Constitutional Regime, most had gone bankrupt. A few had tried to survive and struggle by merging [with other publications], but that too

¹ Boyar, "The Press and the Palace." Azmi Özcan, "The Press and Anglo-Ottoman Relations, 1876–1909," *Middle Eastern Studies* 29, no. 1 (1993): 111–17. Baykal, "The Ottoman Press and the Dutch East Indies at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century."

had proven to be impossible [to make work]. This was because the passionate rush on all things printed [initially displayed by] our people, who did not read the censored newspapers under Abdülhamit, had long gone. The numbers of those who bought newspapers had dwindled. Those who had tried their hand at journalism ended up in loss. But the desires remained never-ending. Still new newspapers were published, and as I have written earlier, those who did not receive support from an official or private source could not possibly stay afloat. Like with cormorants, their rising and sinking happened almost simultaneously.²

As Ahmet İhsan's account makes clear, Ottoman newspapers in this period were expensive to run and difficult to make profitable. Publishing newspapers was, in the words of Asım Us, himself a journalist and publisher, "not only a matter of journalism; foremost it [was] a matter of capital."³ The authors of the twice-weekly satirical magazine *Cingöz* were also very much aware of the financial challenges of running a publication:

What we aim to do by publishing this [magazine], under the protection of freedom [i.e., the constitution], is both to serve to the best of our ability and to make a profit. Better put, to work and, in return for our effort and hard work, to earn a few *kuruş*. Yes, a few *kuruş*... Because men of good conscience realize what level of sacrifice is required to publish a periodical, given the scarcity of printing presses, machines and typesetters today and the extremely high prices on the paper market. If they consider the cheap price we have chosen [for our publications], given the good quality print of *Cingöz*, they will also understand that we do not expect much of a profit from *Cingöz*.⁴

2 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:63. "Meşrutiyetin ilk günlerinde mantar gibi Babiali caddesinde çıkan sayısız gazetelerin çoğu batmış, birkaç tanesi birleşip yaşamağa ve tutunmağa çabalamıştı, o da mümkün olmamıştı. Çünkü Abdülhamit zamanında sansürlü [=sansürlü?] gazete okumayan halkın 23 Temmuzdan sonra matbu kağıda, ne olursa olsun, gösterdiği hücum ateşi çoktan sönmüş, gazete alanlar azalmış, gazeteciliğe kalkanlar zararlı oturmuşlardı. Fakat heveslilerin arkası azalmıyordu, gene yeniden gazeteler kuruluyor, evvelce yazdığım gibi bir resmi ve [=veya?] hususi membadan kuvvet almayanlar mümkün değil tutunamıyordu. Hepsinin karabatak gibi çıkmaları ile batmaları bir oluyordu."

3 Us, *Gördüklerim, Duyduklarım, Duygularım. Meşrutiyet ve Cumhuriyet Devirlerine Ait Hatıralar ve Tetkikler*, 8. "Fakat bir gazete çıkarmak yalnız yazıcılık meselesi değildir; daha evvel bir sermaye meselesidir."

4 *Cingöz* #1, 26 Ağustos 1324 [08 September 1908], "İfade-i Mahsusa": "Bizim de şu gazeteyi neşretmekten maksadımız, saye-i hürriyette hem elimizden geldiği kadar hizmet etmek hem

The clarity of mind possessed by the editors of this particular publication appears not to have been shared by many of the would-be publishers during and after the press-boom. From the hundreds that appeared, only a handful managed to appear longer than a few years. At the core of these failures lay the difficulty of making a publication profitable.

If starting a new publication were considered a process involving multiple stages, the first step towards materializing the idea would be securing initial capital. Establishing a newspaper required an amount of money that was not immediately available to most people. In May 1909, during discussions regarding the 1909 press law in the chamber, one Deputy (*Mebus*), pointing out the importance of capital for starting a newspaper, placed the estimated required amount at 2,000 *lira*.⁵ In the same session, Rıza Paşa, the Deputy for Karahisar-Sahip, who had experience in the press, said: “You are all aware that journalism requires capital. A gentleman who has finished higher education, at no point has the capital to just establish a newspaper with a lump sum payment of 500 *lira*, 1,000 *lira* or 2,000 *lira*.”⁶ These figures should be approached with some caution, as they were presented as arguments in a discussion during a vote on an article of the press law that would have required the *müdür-i mesul* (responsible director) to have received higher education. However, the Deputy who had proposed the article in the first place, Hüseyin Cahit, a journalist himself and co-founder of the successful daily *Tanin*, never dismissed these numbers in his counter arguments as being exaggerated.⁷

Therefore, taking the middle figure, rather than the highest, the sum of 1,000 *lira* can be used as a careful and reasonable estimate what one would approximately need to get started. This was, especially before the wartime inflation,

de temin-i menfaat eylemektir. Daha doğrusu çalışmak ve bu say ve gayretimiz mukabili beş on kuruş kazanmaktır. Evet, beş on kuruş... Çünkü erbab-ı insaf, bugün matbaa, makina, mürettip kahtından, hatta kağıt piyasasındaki az çok tereffu fiyattan dolayı gazete neşretmek için ne mertebe fedakarlık ihtiyar edildiğini takdir ederler. Biz de (Cingöz)ün nefaset-i tabına göre cüzi bir fiyat vazettiğimizi nazar-ı dikkate alırlarsa (Cingöz)den pek büyük menfaat beklediğimizi takdir ederler.”

5 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 28 Nisan 1325R [11 May 1909], 345: Zehrap Efendi (İstanbul).

6 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cilt 3, 28 Nisan 1325R [11 May 1909], 321: “Rıza Paşa (Karahisar Sahip) – Acizane 10, 15 sene gazetecilikte bulunmak hasebiyle... bu tecrübem noktai nazarından birkaç söz söyleyeceğim [...] malumu ihsanınızdır ki Mekatibi aliyeden neşet edenler, gazetecilik sermaye ile olur. Mekatibi aliyeden neşet ettikten sonra bir efendi, hiç bir vakit öyle defaten 500 lira, 1000 lira, 2000 liralık bir gazete teşkil etmek için bir sermayeye malik değildir.”

7 Incidentally, *Tanin*, one week after these discussions in the chamber, estimated its own value as a business at 20,000 *lira*, less than one year after its launch. Cf. *Tanin* #255, 29 Rebiülahir 1327, 1 Mayıs 1325, 19 Mayıs 1909 [19 May 1909], “Tanin Anonim Şirketi.” More information on the company can be found in *Tanin* #449, 11 Zilkade 1327, 19 Teşrinizani 1325, 2 Kanunievvel 1909 [2/12/1909], “Tanin Gazetesi Şirketi.”

a very large sum. So large, in fact, that Rıza Paşa argued that even for the lowest estimate, not even men who had enjoyed higher education, and therefore arguably were better off financially than most, would have immediate access to the required capital. To put things further into perspective, around this time the average wage for unskilled labour is estimated at three *lira* per month,⁸ as, for example, newspaper distributors working for *Takvim-i Vekayi* received in 1908.⁹ In other words, it would take well over 30 years of wages to save 1,000 *lira* for common workers, and only if they saved every last *kuruş*, which is simply unrealistic. This put launching a publication well out of the reach of the common individual. Therefore, although other aspects, such as education and literacy levels, most probably played an important role, the financial dimension of starting a publication explains why most of the applicants during the press boom were from relatively wealthy regions, as was explained in the chapter on the press boom.

This capital investment was required to cover two types of expenses. On the one hand, the initial set-up and on the other, the operational costs, which could be far more expensive. The initial would require obtaining printing equipment, which could be rented or outright bought. When purchasing, the starting costs could be substantially higher than 1,000 *lira*. For the official government organ, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the price of printing materials alone was estimated at 600 to 700 *lira* in 1908 by Ebüziyya Tevfik, an experienced journalist who had operated newspapers both under Abdülhamit II and under the Constitutional Regime.¹⁰ When these prices are compared to the estimates for the required capital, they appear high, but they could run even higher. According to Ahmet İhsan, in 1909 he was offered 4,500 *lira* for his state-of-the-art printing press¹¹ and, in 1915, when a printing establishment was to be installed in the parliament building (to print minutes and drafts) a budget of 2,380 *lira* was allocated.¹² Such investments were a substantial financial outlay, even for prominent publishers like Ahmet İhsan, who, out of financial precaution, eventually did sell his equipment, which was still underway from France.¹³

One of the reasons why the machinery was so expensive in the years after the revolution was probably, just as in Ahmet İhsan's case, that the equipment needed to be imported from Europe because it was not readily available in

8 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi*, 55.

9 BOA İ.DUİT 136/50, 10 Eylül 1324 [23 September 1908]: "[...] ve iki nefer-i muvezzî maaşı olan altı yüz kuruş [...]"

10 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cild 1, 9 Şubat 1324R [22 February 1909], 785.

11 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888-1923*, 2:82.

12 BOA İ.DUİT 77/8, 4 Safer 1334, 29 Teşrinisani 1331 [12 December 1915].

13 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888-1923*, 2:64.

the Ottoman Empire. The sole cause for this unavailability, according to revolutionary journalists, was Abdülhamit II's oppressive regime.¹⁴ In *İttihad ve Terakki*, a political daily, a small note on the front page expressed the following complaint: "Because the most afflicted, subjugated and devastated thing during the period of despotism was the press and the equipment and means that served it [...] we are unable to publish our first few issues more than three times per week."¹⁵ That a newspaper named after the CUP should blame the previous regime for the unavailability of printing equipment seems hardly surprising. However, the fact remained that the 1858 Law on Printing Presses (*Matbaalar Kanunu*), which, much like the 1864 Press Law appears not to have been applied after the 1908 Revolution, required that printers, like publishers, were required to obtain an official permit. With Abdülhamit's whimsical treatment of the media, where the risk of losing one's permit was very real, it probably made little sense to make such a large investment during his reign. In fact, according to the 1898/9 and 1903/4 yearbooks of the Ministry of Education (*Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*), the number of privately owned printing presses actually dropped in those five years from 87 to 75.¹⁶ This created a situation where even the official organ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, over a month after it was relaunched after in September 1908 after having been shut down under Abdülhamit, had to rely on existing private printing establishments and the presses of *Matbaa-ı Amire* (the imperial press of which *Takvim-i Vekayi* was to become a part), as it had not managed to obtain its own printing equipment.¹⁷

The equipment ordered for *Takvim-i Vekayi* was presumably on its way to Istanbul from Europe, as was the case for other periodicals. Around the same time when *Takvim-i Vekayi* was forced to find alternatives until its own machines arrived, *Fazilet* had the same problem and was "eagerly awaiting the arrival of [the] printing equipment that [they] had ordered from Europe last

14 E.g., *Resimli Kitap* #1, Eylül 1324 [September 1908], "İlk Söz."

15 *İttihad ve Terakki* #1, 9 Recep 1326, 24 Temmuz 1324 [6 August 1908], "İtizar": "Devr-i istibdadın en ziyade düçar, kahr ve tahrib olan şey matbuat ve ona hadim olan alat ve vesait olduğu cihetle gazetemizi istediğimiz kıta ve nekasette olarak şimdiden her gün neşredebilmek için bir haftadan beri vakiolan Mesaimize rağmen meetteessüf ilk birkaç nüshamızı bu hacimdem fazla ve haftada üç defadan ziyade neşretmek mümkün olmayacağından ve memafih yakında arzumuz veçhile bir matbaa tesisi esbabına tevessül edilmiş olduğundan ona intizaren karilerimizin kısa bir zaman için bizi mazur görmelerini rica ederiz."

16 *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, 1316, 756–65. *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, 1321, 266–71.

17 BOA DH.MKT 2644/2, 19 Teşrinievvel 1324 [1 November 1908].

week.”¹⁸ Six months later, when the press boom had mostly subsided, equipment was still being hauled in from abroad, a situation which affected *Hilal*, as it explained to its readers:

Although *Hilal* was being prepared for daily publication since the beginning of the revolution, because the equipment which we ordered from Europe was damaged on its way to our city, it became necessary for our printing establishment to return [the equipment] and because of the unnecessarily high increase in the publication of dailies since then and because of other difficulties, it was afterwards decided that it would be published as an illustrated and useful periodical, once every fifteen days.¹⁹

As can be seen from the examples above, during the press-boom, even those who had access to machinery sometimes thought it necessary to invest in better hardware. According to Djiveleguan, the customs were flooded with printing equipment.²⁰ This allows for a glimpse inside the psyche of the press boom: the intensity of the craze was such that some were willing to invest beyond the bare necessities in order to get prints of a higher standard and therefore paid more. New machines, after all, did not serve only to increase production, as was intended by *İttihad ve Terakki* and *Hilal*, but they could create better quality output.²¹ *Resimli Kitap* was clearly out to improve the quality of its product by using European equipment. It noted in September 1908 that:

[...] we shall not give up our struggle to bring our periodical to the level of the European illustrated magazines. Although of course it is impossible to show this [sort of] perfection all at once before the equipment we have ordered has arrived, trusting in the demand and interest that our readers

18 *Fazilet* #1, 8 Ramazan 1326 [3 October 1908], “İki söz”: “Geçen hafta Avrupa’dan sipariş ettiğimiz levazım-ı temsiliyenin vürudunu bey-sabrane intizar ediyoruz.”

19 *Hilal* #1, 8 Ramazan 1326, 7 Nisan 1325 [20 April 1909], “İzah-ı Maksat”: “*Hilal*” bidayet-i inkılapta yevmi olarak intişar etmek üzere hazırlanmakta iken Avrupa’ya sipariş edilen makinesinin şehrimize esna-ı naklinde sakatlanarak matbaaca iadesine mecburiyet hasıl olunmasından, o sırada ceraid-i yevmiyenin lüzum ve hadden efzun bir derece tekessür etmesinden ve mevani-i saireden dolayı bilahere on beş günde bir çıkarılacak bir mecmua-ı musavvere ve nafia halinde intişara karar vermiş idi.”

20 Djiveleguan, *Régime*, 225.

21 For example see: *Kıbar* #1, 23 Teşrinisani 1326 [6 December 1910], “İtizar.” Although apparently *Kıbar* had not ordered new machinery, but rather what appear to be typesets (*takımlar*) from within the Ottoman Empire and not from Europe, they explain they did so to improve the quality of their publication.

will graciously bestow [upon us], we have many miraculous things and imaginative ideas which we will display in our journal.²²

Renting a printing press or working with a third party would not have been particularly cheap, and in the years following the boom, even very expensive. In Istanbul, 75 privately owned printers were registered in 1903/4. It is not known whether all of these survived into 1908, nor how many of them were equipped to print newspapers without further investment. For example, nine of these only offered lithography and not movable type, which was not particularly desirable for periodical printing. Printers that were capable of producing periodicals were usually themselves in that business, such as Sabah Matbaası, which printed the daily *Sabah* and Ahmet İhsan Matbaası, which printed *Servet-i Fünun*.

This did not make things easy for those who would have wished to work with a third-party printer. Why should a printer capable of producing newspapers or magazines allow a competing publication to be produced, thereby cannibalizing its own output capacity during a press craze, when many believed that a fortune could be made? After all, any printer would have realised that once a customer's publications had become successful, they would have bought their own presses and abandoned them as soon as possible in order to cut costs. On the other hand, those who were not swept up by the craze would realize that they could make a handsome profit due to the high demand, especially in cities with a low number of printers. However, as will be explained later, production costs per copy of a newspaper already ran very high. Profit margins were flimsy and even negative, causing publishers even to sell at a loss. Working with a third-party printer would have further increased that cost. These economic (high demand for printers) and psychologic (the hype surrounding the press boom) circumstances could explain why many presses were bought at great cost instead of renting them.

The importing and buying of new machinery was likely largely limited to the first years after the 1908 Revolution. The failure of many of the new publications to survive must inevitably have had an impact on the availability of equipment which presumably came onto the market at a cheaper price, and thus on the amount of set up capital required. In October 1917, Asım Us and

22 *Resimli Kitap* #1, Eylül 1324 [September 1908], "İtizar": "... mecmuamızı Avrupa'nın resimli gazeteleri derecesine getirmek için sarf-ı mesaiden geri dönecek değiliz. Sipariş ettiğimiz makinelerimiz gelinceye kadar tabii bu tekemmülü birden bire göstermek müstahil ise de kari ve kariyelerimizin lütfen ibraz edecekleri rağbet ve teveccühe istinaden daha mecmuamızda göstereceğimiz ne harikalarımız, ne tasavvurlarımız var."

Ahmet Emin Yalman founded *Vakit*, one of the handful of Ottoman dailies that was a success, with a 700 *lira* capital, which was, considering the hike in prices during the First World War, relatively cheap. This low figure reflects the fact that they were able to rent an unused printing establishment for their own use. Buying new printing equipment was still expensive. In 1919, Osman Nuri, owner of the newspaper *İkbal*, which appeared in Trabzon, requested 5,000 *lira* from the government to set up a new printing establishment,²³ after his print shop was destroyed by Russian troops during the World War²⁴ and, around the same time, the Press Directorate (*Matbuat Müdüriyeti*) had spent between 6,000 to 7,000 *lira* to set up its own printer.²⁵ Similarly, when *Cumhuriyet*, which is still being printed today, was established in 1924, its initial capital was 30,000 *lira*, a figure which soon had to be increased to 60,000 and even higher as it was insufficient to run the newspaper.²⁶ However, it should be kept in mind that at that point, because of the war, there had been a substantial inflation increasing prices approximately tenfold.

Apart from the initial set-up costs, the new periodical proprietor was faced with operational costs. As Zekeriya Sertel, a journalist who would become one of the co-founders of the daily *Cumhuriyet* in 1924, noted, financing set-up expenses was not enough:

My friend Hamdi (Nebizade) convinced his older brother and got him to give us a small amount of [financial] help. However, this money was not sufficient, we needed to add to it because, with that money we could only establish a typesetting atelier and buy a printing press. But we needed operating capital. How else were we going to cover the wages of our employees, the cost of paper and daily expenses?²⁷

Operational expenses could be very high and although the price of equipment probably diminished over time, operating costs of newspapers increased significantly during the First World War, partially because of rising paper prices. If the initially required 600 to 700 *lira* for *Takvim-i Vekayi*'s printing presses are

23 BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 52/43, 7 Mayıs 1335 [7 May 1919].

24 BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 52/43, 20 Mayıs 1335 [20 May 1919].

25 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İçtima 159 Celse 1, 515.

26 Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım (1905–1950)*, 120–24.

27 Sertel, 55. "Arkadaşım Hamdi (Nebizade) ağabeyini kandırdı, ondan ufak bir yardım sağladı. Fakat bu para yetmezdi, bunu tamamlamak gerekiyordu. Çünkü bu para ile ancak bir mürettiphane kurulabilir ve bir baskı makinası alabilirdik. Fakat ayrıca döner sermayeye ihtiyaç vardı. Çalıştıracağımız kimselerin aylıklarını, kağıt parasını, günlük masrafları neyle karşılayacaktık?"

considered, the monthly 100 *lira* for operating expenses budget it received in 1908 shows that operating costs for one year could be double that. A significant portion of this was for paying employees, whose numbers could run up in the dozens for an entire staff of mechanics, typesetters, editors, journalists, translators, accountants, etc. The official provincial newspaper *Tuna*, for example, had over 40 people in regular payroll.²⁸ Thus, half of *Takvim-i Vekayi*'s monthly budget went simply towards covering employee wages. This included 3,000 *kuruş* for the director, 2,000 *kuruş* for the editor and typesetter, 700 *kuruş* for his assistants, 600 *kuruş* for a clerk, and 300 *kuruş* for distributors.²⁹ Although *Takvim-i Vekayi* is an exceptional publication, due to being state-owned and funded, private sector wages appear to have been on similar levels. In August 1908, the unskilled workforce, probably at the bottom of the pay scale, at *Levant Herald*, *Stamboul*, *Turquie* and *Moniteur Oriental*, received an average wage of 400 *kuruş* monthly, but chose (apparently unsuccessfully) to go on a strike for an average increase of 100 *kuruş*.³⁰ These wages must have gone up during the First World War, when according to Eldem, the lack of able-bodied men increased labourers' pay.

There were also those who were employed to deliver publishable content. Ahmet Rasim claims that after the Constitutional Revolution he received 2,500 *kuruş* monthly as editor-in-chief (*başmuharrir*) at *Sabah*, a well-established newspaper founded in 1875, while earlier in his career this was between 800 and 2,000 depending on the employer.³¹ Ahmet Rasim was a prominent journalist and newcomers to the trade were probably never paid as much as he was. Nevertheless, his account shows what higher end positions in the Ottoman press were likely to be paid after the Constitutional Revolution. Furthermore, Hüseyin Cahit recounts how, in the post-revolutionary era he poached talented writers from competing publishers,³² which probably involved higher pay-rates for the journalists. If this practice was common among other publishers, it might have led to significant increases in skilled journalists' wages. *İkdam* allegedly employed up to 15 reporters to focus on news and events from Istanbul alone.³³ It seems unlikely that this number of reporters for Istanbul alone would all have received over 2,000 *kuruş*, as veteran journalist Ahmet

28 Osman İbrahimov, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde İlk Basın Yayın Faaliyetleri Ve Tuna Gazetesi," *Kafkas Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, no. 5 (2016): 89.

29 BOA İ.DUİT 136/50, 10 Eylül 1324 [23 September 1908], 2.

30 TNA FO 195/2280, 266–70, 18 August 1908, 269.

31 Ahmet Rasim, *Muharrir Bu Ya*, 1926, 395.

32 Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], *Edebiyat Anıları*, 189–90.

33 Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu, *Basın Tarihine Dair Bilgiler ve Hatıralar*, "Hür Türkiye" Dergisi Yayınları 3 (İstanbul, 1962), 27.

Rasim did. What is more likely is that these reporters were freelancers, who were paid per report or scoop, and not with a monthly salary, but they still required to be paid. After the Balkan Wars, when printing photographs on the front pages of political dailies had become common, İbrahim Ferik allegedly was paid 10 *lira* (or 1,000 *kuruş*) monthly by one employer, while he also sold photographs as a freelancer to other publishers at 25 to 50 *kuruş* per piece.³⁴ This means that publishers who wanted to stay up-to-date with trends in publishing had to incur extra costs.

Apart from wages, operating costs also needed to cover materials, such as paper and ink. The cost of printing, when compared to the prices at which dailies were sold, was so high that profit margins for sales must have been very slim. In the 100 *lira* monthly budget for *Takvim-i Vekayi* 4,800 *kuruş* were allocated specifically to paper and printing expenses.³⁵ This figure would be better understood in the light of circulation numbers. However, exact circulation numbers for newspapers for this period are not readily available. Available sources give significantly different figures. A British Foreign Office report on Turkey for 1906 estimated a circulation of 9,000 for *İkdam*, 6,500 for *Sabah* and 1,000 each for *Saadet* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, what it called “noteworthy newspapers.”³⁶ Djiveleguian, an Ottoman lawyer with expertise on the press laws, estimated the pre-revolution circulation for large Turkish-language newspapers higher, at around 12,000 to 15,000, while, according to him, Armenian and Greek-language dailies had a 3,000 to 5,000 daily run.³⁷ İskit, who had served as the General Director of the Press (*Matbuat Müdür-i Umumisi*) in the early Turkish Republic, gives a much lower estimate for the pre-revolutionary figures at around 2,000 per day and claims that after the revolution circulations reached 15,000.³⁸ Again in 1919, British Foreign Office reports indicated that newspapers that did well had a daily circulation of between 6,000 to 9,000, only exceptionally exceeding the 10,000 barrier.³⁹ The British Foreign Office’s “Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople,” published in 1921, estimated *Peyam-ı Sabah*, which it called “the largest opposition newspaper,” at 8,000 to 10,000 and placed *Alemdar* in second place with a daily

34 Çapanoğlu, 22.

35 BOA İ.DUİT 136/50, 10 Eylül 1324 [23 September 1908], 2.

36 TNA FO 195/2362, 18 January 1907, “General report for Turkey for the year 1906,” 40.

37 Djiveleguian, *Régime*, 64–65.

38 İskit, *Türkiyede Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları*, 148.

39 TNA FO 371/4141, #49194, 8 March 1919, Part IV: *Tasvir-i Efkar* was apparently one such exception at a circulation of 22,000.

circulation of 3,000 to 4,000.⁴⁰ The aforementioned journalist Sertel, claimed for *Cumhuriyet* a daily circulation between 5,000 to 10,000 around 1924.⁴¹ In Anatolia, the figures must have been substantially lower. Tökin gives the circulation of *İrade-i Milliye*, the Ankara-based semi-official organ of the nationalist movement, as 5,000 daily in 1919.⁴² Around the same period, according to Öztoprak, *Açıksöz*, which he describes as the most popular publications of North West Anatolia, had a circulation of 1,500 per day⁴³ The estimates of Ankara's Press Regulation Office, however, put the figures much lower at 600 or even 150 a day.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, none of these sources explains how they arrived at these figures, which is why they are referred to as estimates and claims. If these were not estimates, they might have been based on figures provided by the publishers, who no doubt kept records of their printing volumes. However, as Boyar points out, even in this case, the numbers might have been purposefully inflated in order to appear more influential.⁴⁵

In the end, while sales for popular dailies could in fact reach peaks over 15,000 occasionally (see Figure 15), for example during the first days of the press boom or when some extraordinary and newsworthy event had taken place, it seems safe to assume from these numbers that sustaining an average daily circulation of 10,000 in Istanbul was certainly at the higher end and not easily achieved at all, and that even for popular dailies daily circulation could be as low as a few thousand. This gives a clear idea of just how low the numbers must have been for the dailies which were not even considered worth mentioning by these sources. The 1908 reincarnation of *Takvim-i Vekayi*, for example, could never have reached the 10,000 circulation of the larger dailies. In its earliest days, in the nineteenth century, *Takvim-i Vekayi* had contained odd bits of news and trivia, simply because it was the only available Ottoman newspaper; in its post-revolution form, it was simply not destined to be popular. The official state organ contained five sections, which were all limited to official information.⁴⁶ The first part was reserved for new legislation, imperial decrees (*irade*) and other news from official sources, together with telegrams from foreign correspondents and financial news, such as the situation on the stock markets. The second to fourth parts were dedicated to proceedings, decisions

40 TNA FO 141/504, "A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople," April 1921, pp. 34–45.

41 Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım (1905–1950)*, 122.

42 Tökin, *Basın Ansiklopedisi*, 75. "İrade-i Milliye Gazetesi."

43 Öztoprak, *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Türk Basını (Mayıs 1919 – Temmuz 1921)*, 10.

44 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İctima 159 Celse 1, 520.

45 Boyar, "The Press and the Palace," 431.

46 MMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 Cild 1, 9 Şubat 1324 [22 February 1909], 786.

Son cauchemar!

ساتلامانلار آرمسته، اوغوسز گچن بر كجه نك مباحی



قعودی دو آنک نسیخته مایر. اوك نظمانی کلایورم بی تکلیله متوقف، قالدیکه کیلار تودیمای سیات اوزریکه فرض، بعدما قیریلان نی بدز قدر آیمکدن نوقیمان بایله جق' تصرعاه حاجت یوق لسطیاده جله ایجون مساوات تطیقاندده بول جنم، بیانیای او توتمه.

— افدم . . . نسیات . . .

— نسیات دیکلام، تزویرات ایه بزه اولز

17000 tirages, le Tanin! Et dire que je n'arriverais jamais à dépasser ce chiffre qu'avec mes Tanzimatats invendus retournés au dépôt.

FIGURE 15 Caricature: Importance of circulation figures

A publisher is shown waking up from a nightmare due to low circulation figures. The Ottoman title of the caricature is “The morning following a sleepless night among those who cannot be sold” (“Satlamayanlar arasında, uykusuz geçen bir gecenin sabahı”). In the French caption the owner of the newspaper exclaims: “17,000 circulation, *Tanin*! And to say that I have never surpassed this figure except with my unsold *Tanzimat*s returned to the depot.” The mosquitos, symbolizing the worries that kept this newspaper owner awake during the night, are calligraphies of *Tanin*'s title in Arabic script and insects can be seen crawling on the bed with *Tanin* written on their backs. The man appears to be the owner of a series of fictional newspapers, such as *Teshilat*, *Tekrimat* and *Tesisat*, probably a ridiculing reference to Lütfi Fikri's *Tanzimat*, which appeared under a variety of similar sounding names due to being suspended by martial law.

SOURCE: *CEM* #37, 25 AĞUSTOS 1328/7 SEPTEMBER 1912, 16

and correspondence of the Senate (*Meclis-i Ayan*) and the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*). It thus contained very little in terms of news, opinions, and much less of sensational or entertaining content such as serial stories one might find in a regular daily. Furthermore, popular dailies generally devoted some portion of their publication to the most interesting events in parliament, therefore rendering the purchase of *Takvim-i Vekayi* only desirable to a select audience composed of people such as government officials in provinces who wanted to stay up to date on proceedings in the capital.

On the basis of calculation one can suggest a probable average circulation figure for *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1908 of less than 1,200. A budget report of *Matbaa-i Amire* for the fiscal years 1325–1335R [1908–1918], containing the details for *Takvim-i Vekayi*'s expenses and revenues for the fiscal year 1335R (1919) shows a total sales figure for both subscriptions and individual sales as 337,992 *kuruş* for that year.⁴⁷ As *Takvim-i Vekayi* was sold at 1 *kuruş* per issue in that year⁴⁸ and appeared about 312 days per year, this would mean 1,083 issues per day on average.⁴⁹ Considering *Takvim-i Vekayi*'s audience this is a reasonable figure in relation to the popular dailies. Assuming that *Takvim-i Vekayi*'s circulation remained roughly the same for that decade, its 1908 monthly printing budget of 4,800 *kuruş*, would mean that every copy was produced at 6.8 *para*,⁵⁰ when disregarding all costs except printing costs and materials. In 1908 *Takvim-i Vekayi* was sold at 10 *para*, suggesting that nearly 70% of sales revenue per unit would have to go towards covering printing expenses and paper. Although 70% might seem excessive, it should be noted that in 1919, for which exact figures are available, the production cost of a single copy was 116 *para*, which is far higher than the sale price of 40 *para* per unit in that year. This meant selling at a loss. The sharp hike in costs had to do with prices increasing during the First World War,

47 BCA 30.10.0.0/83.545.14, 26 March 1923, "Matbaa-yi Amire'de basılan Takvim-i Vekayi'nin 11 Yıllık Bilançosu," 30.

48 E.g., *Takvim-i Vekayi* #3491, 6 Cemzayilahir, 9 Mart 1335 [9 March 1919], *Takvim-i Vekayi* #3523, 14 Recep 1327, 15 Nisan 1335 [15 April 1919], *Takvim-i Vekayi* #3586, 29 Ramazan 1327, 28 Haziran 1335 [28 June 1919].

49 Although the sales in the report reflected revenue for both individual sales and subscriptions, subscribing to a newspaper did not change the price much. Major dailies would sell subscriptions at 340 times the price of a single issue, which also included postage fee. E.g., *Sabah* #10497, 4 Cemazeyilevvel 1337, 5 Şubat 1335 [5 February 1919], *İkdam* #7992, 9 Şaban 1337, 10 Mayıs 1335 [10 May 1919], *Alemdar* #2665, 23 Rebiülevvel 1338, 16 Kanunievvel 1335 [16 December 1919]. However, as the aforementioned budgetary report for *Takvim-i Vekayi* itemizes postage expenses separately from paper and printing expenses, this should not have an impact on the calculations.

50 Monthly 4,800 *kuruş* equals annually 57,600 *kuruş*. This divided by 337,992, the number of issues sold in 1919, equals 0.170 *kuruş* or 6.817 *para*.

where, according to Eldem's figures, which are based on the Public Debt Administration (*Düyun-i Umumiye*) indexes, in 1919 prices were on average fifteen times higher than prior to the war⁵¹ and according to Toprak the cost of living in Istanbul had seen an eighteenfold rise between 1914 and 1918.⁵² Incidentally, the 1919 annual paper and printing expenses (982,175 *kuruş*) are seventeen fold the 1908 annual budget for the same expenses (57,600 *kuruş*) or a close match to Toprak and Eldem's figures, suggesting some level of accuracy.

However, the 70% production cost estimate remains speculative, for many variables in the equation remain unknown. The most important caveat is that, while the 1919 figures show the actual expenses, the 1908 are budget figures, and therefore expense estimates which, in reality, could have been higher or lower. Secondly, it is based on the assumption that circulation figures for *Takvim-i Vekayi* for the two years were similar, a point that can be argued based on the nature of the readership but is not proven. The 70% figure is at best a guideline to understand what the order of expenses could have been. It is not, however, necessarily a low estimate. In 1911 *Takvim-i Vekayi*, which was given to distributors at 7 *para*, was acknowledged to be selling at a loss⁵³ and given that for 1919 it is certain that production costs were 300% of sale price per unit, 70% does not seem an overestimate.

Therefore, it can be argued that in the year following the revolution, a substantial portion of the sales price of a daily newspaper went towards covering the printing expenses alone, excluding employee wages, office rent and other expenses such as heating. While one could argue that this cost might be lower than the 70% estimate for popular dailies because higher circulation numbers would introduce economies of scale, rendering production costs per unit cheaper, it should also be noted that, first of all, there were only a handful of popular dailies that could reach and sustain these high sales figures and secondly, *Takvim-i Vekayi* was physically about half the size of private dailies, which meant half the paper and half the ink was spent for each copy. This is especially important, because, despite the difference in size, privately operated dailies, from 1908 until 1914, were sold at the same price as *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 10 *para* per issue. The high costs of printing are probably part of the reason why dailies invested in their own printing presses as a long-term measure to cut costs, as relying on third-party printers, who naturally had to make their own profits, would inevitably further increase costs.

51 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi*, 49.

52 Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Millî İktisat (1908–1918)* (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982), 330–31.

53 BOA MF.MKT 1176/54 28 Teşrinievvel 1327 [10 November 1911].

Costs associated with printing did not remain stable but increased considerably with the start of the First World War. This increase was generally speaking connected to the increase in market prices in Istanbul, which eventually affected newspapers too. Specifically, the most important factor that impacted the expenses of newspaper publishers was the widespread shortage of paper which led to an increase in the prices of newspapers and books. The war caused paper to become scarce all over the world, due to disrupted trade routes, and therefore more expensive in many countries. In the United States, following disruptions in trade with Germany, imports of raw materials and paper were cut off within a few months of the start of the war.⁵⁴ The resulting scarcity and high prices in the paper market became a threat to the existence of small newspapers and a burden on the larger newspapers in the United States, forcing them to change tariffs in advertising and prices.⁵⁵ Similar situations occurred in other countries: the paper shortage in Paris is said to have caused the price of printing paper to increase fivefold over pre-war prices and resulted in fewer books being published in countries such as Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the United States.⁵⁶ In Britain, during wartime, the British propaganda institution Wellington House had to reduce its literary output significantly⁵⁷ while, according to *The New York Times*, in 1918 a combination of lack of paper and advertisers forced London dailies to reduce the number of pages per issue.⁵⁸

The Ottoman Empire relied heavily on Austro-Hungary and Germany for its paper imports, with over half of the total volume coming from those two countries in 1915.⁵⁹ When trade connections were severed during the World War, the Ottoman economy was cut off from its source of imports, which further exacerbated the rising prices in the open market. The Ottoman paper business was one of the first industries to be hit by the war, because it relied heavily on imports. As early as 1916 available stocks were running out. The number of people employed in the paper industry dropped 33%, from 1,897 in 1914 to 1,267 in 1915.⁶⁰ As a result, paper scarcity became an even bigger issue for the Ottoman

54 C.A. Hubbard, "Paper Making – Past and Present.," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 6, no. 4 (April 1917): 74.

55 E.O. Merchant, "The Government and the News-Print Paper Manufacturers," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 34, no. 2 (1920): 234–44, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1882366>.

56 Willam Crawford Gorgas, "Paris," *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 75, no. 5 (1920): 331–32.

57 M.L. Sanders, "Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War," *The Historical Journal* 18, no. 1 (1975): 142.

58 *The New York Times*, 6 August 1915, "London Dailies Smaller"

59 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye’de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 142.

60 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Ekonomisi*, 75–76.

press, both in terms of increased cost and the simple unavailability of paper to print on. This situation lasted at least until 1924, when publishers still complained about the difficulty of obtaining paper.⁶¹ There is also a likelihood that the further increase in the price of dailies in the early Turkish Republic might have been related to paper scarcity.⁶² Furthermore, during the First World War, according to the British Foreign Office press guide, the scarcity of paper in the Ottoman Empire allowed Germany to advantage *Vakit*, a pro-German daily, by supplying it with “plant and material free of charge,” presumably here also meaning paper.⁶³ The lack of paper, which started during the First World War and was still felt in the early years of the republic, was therefore substantial enough to add to the general increase of market prices and further increase the production costs of press material.

While these expenses discussed above, namely obtaining or renting printing presses, paying employees and the costs of printing and of paper combined are already high, the final figure for operating costs must also include rent, maintenance and repair costs of equipment, and heating. However, these latter expenses are harder to estimate correctly as sources tend to ignore them, focusing instead on wages, equipment and printing costs. It is known, however, that Mehmet (Baba) Tahir, an important figure in the Hamidian press, received over 100 *lira* from the Sultan’s own treasury to cover his heating expenses.⁶⁴ Although the document regarding this does not specify what time period the gas bill covered, given that a monthly expenditure of 100 *lira* for heating seems excessive, it would seem logical that it was for a year, in which case the monthly expenses for heating would have been 8.5 *lira*. Although clearly this figure cannot be used as an across the board figure for all publishers, it does give some indication of monthly expenses for heating, and of the possible significance of such an expense in annual budgets of newspapers.

With these costs, publishers had to create sufficient revenue to cover their expenses and keep their business viable. Sales, driven by demand, were an

61 E.g., *Hür Çocuk* #1, 5 Şaban 1336, 16 Mayıs 1334 [16 May 1918], “Gazetemize ve Mesleğimize Dair,” *Hizmet-i Umumiye* #1, 1 Teşrinievvel 1336R [1 October 1920], “Hizmet-i Umumiye’den İlk Söz,” *Mahfil* #1, Zilkade 1338 [July 1920], “Badelbesmele Velhamdele Vessulule [=Vessalavat?],” *Haftalık Resimli Gazetemiz* #1, 13 Teşrinisani 1340 [13 November 1924], “Ana ve Babalara ve Bütün Muallim Arkadaşlara.”

62 See the data in Appendix “Pricing,” for prices from 1923 until 1928.

63 TNA FO 141/504, “A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople,” April 1921, 36. A similar claim is also made by Kazım Karabekir Paşa, commander of the Eastern Army, in his memoirs. Cf. Erol Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey During World War I* (London & New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 13–14.

64 BOA Y.MTV 235/94, 17 Recep 1320, 6 Teşrinievvel 1318 [21 October 1902].

important source of money, especially after the Constitutional Revolution when Hamidian subsidization was no longer available. Abdülhamit II, intending to create a Hamidian press as a vehicle to spread the palace's propaganda, financially supported newspapers and journalists who were successful in disseminating the Sultan's ideas both at home and abroad. Dailies that were unable to make enough profits to sustain themselves could rely on these subsidies. However, after the revolution, this safety net was effectively removed and, as a result, both well-established publications and newcomers to the industry had to make sure their operations were viable, by creating enough profits.

Consequently, demand (*rağbet*), a concept of less significance for the survival of the press under Abdülhamit II's press policy, became a central pillar for supporting a publication. Demand was not a wholly alien concept in the Hamidian press, where a few newly established publications justified their



موضوع: یکی غزته، صریح، همراه...
جالدوز — آبول نه قاجیشیوردسکن؟ آلامزسه کزده سیرایدک غزته آدم بجز آ!!

FIGURE 16 Caricature: Demand for newspapers
Gazetelere Rağbet ("Demand for Newspapers") depicts a crowd running away from a paperboy.
SOURCE: CADALAZ #31, 21 RECEP 1329/5 TEMMUZ 1327/18 TEMMUZ 1911 [18/07/1911], 4

appearance as a response to existing or increasing demand from the readership.⁶⁵ This discourse took on a new shape after the revolution, and demand became a regularly mentioned topic.⁶⁶ Demand changed from being an excuse or justification for existence, to being the means to exist. For example, *Hiyaban*, a scientific and literary periodical, stated in the introduction in its very first issue: "Of course, to be able to continue with this service of ours [i.e., publishing], we need to be able to cover our costs through the sale of our periodical. ... We will put in the effort, let our fellow countrymen show demand and let God lead us to success."⁶⁷ Those who enjoyed demand for one of their publications, found the courage (and probably the financial means) to start new ones.⁶⁸

In other words, where once owners of publications appealed to the Sultan for financial help, it seems that after the 1908 Revolution new and struggling publications turned to the public for support. Under these circumstances, the readership had become so important, that some placed it on an equal footing with divine blessing. "Success comes from God" ("Min Allah al-Tawfiq") was a formulaic prayer linking the success of a newspaper or periodical to God that can be found in the opening statement of new publications in the Ottoman press from the 1860's to the 1920's.⁶⁹ However, after the press boom, altered

- 65 E.g., *Payidar* #1, 15 Safer 1305 [2 October 1887], "Bir Kaç Söz"; *Nokta* #1, 1 Recep 1305 [14 Mart 1888], "Arz-ı Kelam," *Safa* #1, [4 Zilhicce 1305], 31 Temmuz 1304, [12 August 1888] "Arz-ı Meram," *Çanta* #1, 29 Eylül 1305 [11 October 1889], "İfade"; *Haftalık Serbest İzmir* #1, 25 Cemazeyilahir 1325, 23 Temmuz 1323 [5 August 1907]: "Mütaaliyin-i Kirama."
- 66 E.g., *Gülistan* #1, Haziran 1326 [June 1910], "Mukaddeme Yerine," *Yeni Avrupa* #1, 12 Zilhicce 1329, 21 Teşrinisani 1327 [4 December 1911], *Gençlik* #1, 11 Mayıs 1327 [24 Mayıs 1911], "İfade," "Mukaddeme," *Cici* #1, 12 Mayıs 1327 [25 May 1911], no title; *Mütalaa* (1911, #1), "İfade-i Mahsusa"; *Türk Duygusu* (1913, #1), "İhtar"; *Kadınlık* (1914, #1), "Mesleğimiz"; *Karikatür* (1914, #1), "Maksat"; *Hizmet-i Umumiye* (1920, #1), "Makale-i Mahsusa, Hizmet-i Umumiye'den İlk Söz."
- 67 *Hiyaban* (1914, #1), "Bir İki Söz": "Şu hizmetimizde devamımız için tabii, masarifimizi mecmuanın satışıyla temin edebilmemiz lazımdır. [...] Gayret bizden, rağbet vatandaşlardan, tevfik Allahtan..."
- 68 *Muhit (Musavver)* (1908, #1), "Küçük Bir Mukaddeme": "Resimli Kitap"ımız nail olduğu rağbet-i teveccühten cesaret alarak... Daha ziyade tafsil-i kelama lüzüm görmeyerek "Musavver Muhit"imizin "Resimli Kitap"ın nasip olduğu rağbete muzahhar olacağından ümidvar olduğumuz..."
- 69 For examples of this prayer in various forms see: *Mirat* (1862, #1), "Mukaddeme"; *Hülasat ül-Efkar* (1873, #1), "Mukaddeme"; *Vakit* (1875, #1), "Vakit"; *Nilüfer* (1886, #1), "İnfıtah"; *Ümrân* (1887, #1), "İfade"; *Ceride-i Baytariye* (1899, #1); *Balkan* (1906, #1), "İfade-i Meram"; *Zevzek* (1908, #1), "İfade-i Mahsusa"; *Gramofon* (1909, #1), "İfade-i Meram"; *Pervin* (1910, #1), "Fatiha-ı Kelam"; *Guvaze* (1911, #1), "Mesleğimiz"; *Ahali* (1912, #1), "Mesleğimiz"; *Ayntab Haberleri* (1918, #1), "Maksat ve Gayemiz"; *Genç Kadın* (1918, #1), "Mesleğimiz"; *Genç Kalemler* (1919, #1), "Mecmuanın Meslek, Gaye ve Vazifesi"; *Genç Anadolu* (1921, #1), "Genç Anadolu niçin çıkıyor?"; *Millî Mefkure* (1922, #1), "Adana'nın Muhterem Halkına."

versions of this prayer started to appear.⁷⁰ *Hür Çocuk*, a weekly illustrated publication aimed at children, declared in its first issue in May 1918 that: “with the help of God and the demand, attention and thirst for knowledge of our beloved people, our newspaper will appear regularly.”⁷¹ Consequently, journalists made appeals to the public explaining that it was in the power of the readership to help grow a publication.⁷² For example, *Kainat* explained that its ability to increase its publishing frequency depended on the demand from its readership, and explained that “*Kainat* will [appear] temporarily twice weekly on Mondays and Thursdays and, with the support of the continuous demand we expect and hope to see from our beloved brothers [i.e., readership], it will be published daily in the future.”⁷³ Unfortunately for these publishers, the increased number of available publications probably meant low circulation figures in general, because there are only so many different periodicals a reader will buy.⁷⁴ This pushed at least one magazine, *Spor Alemi*, which covered sports, as far as to beg: “[Why don’t] you, your friends, everybody buy [this magazine], so that we can keep alive this one little sportsman.”⁷⁵

The desire to increase demand also triggered a drive for innovation in the press. Innovation can be an indicator of competition, and, particularly in the case of Ottoman newspapers, the innovations introduced into the front page of the dailies do reflect the competitive nature of the post-revolution market. The first time in over 80 years of its existence that the Ottoman newspapers underwent thorough changes in front page design does coincide with the period of increased competition and the battle for demand.⁷⁶

The importance of demand underlines the competitive nature of the post-revolution press market. It was not only the fact that palace’s subsidies were

70 E.g., *Musavver Mecmua* (1909, #1), “Mukaddeme”; *Cici* (1911, #1), “Mukaddeme”; *Malumat-ı Nafia* (*Musavver*) (1914, #1), “İfade”; *Genç Kadın* (1918, #1), “Mesleğimiz”; *Halka Doğru Mecmuası* (1919, #1), “Maksat ve Meslek”; *Doğu* (1921, #1), “Gayemiz.”

71 *Hür Çocuk* (1918, #1), “Gazetemiz ve Mesleğimize Dair Bir Kaç Söz”: “Binaenaleyh, gazetemiz Allahın inayeti ve muhterem ahalinizin rağbet ve teveccühatıyla, maarifperverliğiyle muntazaman neşrolunacak.”

72 *Tonguç* (1909, #1), “Başlangıç”; *Doğu* (1922, #1), “Maksat ve Meslek.”

73 *Kainat* (1909, #1), “İfade-i Mahsusa”: “*Kainat* şimdilik haftada pazartesi ve perşembe günlerine mahsus olmak üzere iki defa ve ümit ve tahmini [illegible]inde muhterem kardeşlerinden göreceği rağbat-ı mütevaliyeden bilistifade istikbalen her gün neşredilecektir.”

74 Cf. Rutenbeck, “Newspaper Trends in the 1870s,” 362. In the United States, the increasing number of different publications in the 1870’s led to a decrease in per publication circulation, too.

75 *Spor Alemi* (1919, #1): “İfade-i Meram”: “Kendiniz, arkadaşlarınız, hepiniz alınız ki şu çıkardığımız bir tanecik idmancıyı da yaşatalım.”

76 For more on this subject, please see the chapter “Reading the Press.”

no longer available, but also the great number of competitors that flooded the scene with the press-boom and afterwards, that made demand important. For dailies in Istanbul, this meant having to sell their newspapers at very low prices, dictated by the industry as a whole, with very small, or perhaps even non-existent profit margins.

The constitutional revolution had done away with what had been a tremendous barrier to entering the press-industry: in contrast to the strict Hamidian press policy, whereby receiving a publishing concession was a privilege, it was now within everybody's reach to receive permission to establish their own publication. As a result, a press boom occurred, and new newspapers and periodicals mushroomed, creating many alternatives to what used to be essentially an oligopoly of a select subsidized club. For new entrants into the industry, there was little choice but to follow the prices set by large circulation incumbent dailies that used to benefit from imperial subsidies, because, given the established existence of strong brands, such as *Sabah* and *İkdam* and the high number of competitors, raising the price of a daily would push readers to the many alternatives and create a loss in readership, which would not bode well for the survival of the publication in question. Consequently, the status quo of the press in July 1908, as defined by Hamidian sponsorship, set the standard for size and price for an industry which could no longer rely on financial support from Abdülhamit II. This forced prices for dailies to remain constant at a historic low-point and virtually inflexible in the first decade following the revolution, thereby minimizing profits from sales. From the press boom until the end of 1917, dailies in Istanbul were forced to set their prices at 10 *para*. Setting a higher price was impossible, as the availability of many alternatives at the common 10 *para* price would potentially drive readers to the competing publications. Lowering the price was also not an option, considering the high costs involved in running a newspaper and the costs associated with it.

The competitive nature of the newspaper industry after the press-boom can be seen in Figures 17 and 18. In Figure 17, it is clear that there was a clear-cut difference between how nominal prices of dailies in Istanbul behaved before and after 1908. Price variations, such as the ones in the mid 1870s and the late 1880s, which were likely triggered by economic crises that occurred in those periods,⁷⁷ and in the latter case also probably be related to Abdülhamit II's project to create his own press through carrot and stick methods, which caused a non-competitive situation to emerge, were more common in the pre-1908 era. After the revolution, appealing to the readership required offering

77 Donald Quataert, "The Economic Climate of the 'Young Turk Revolution' in 1908," *The Journal of Modern History* 51, no. 3 (September 1, 1979): d1149, <https://doi.org/10.1086/242040>.

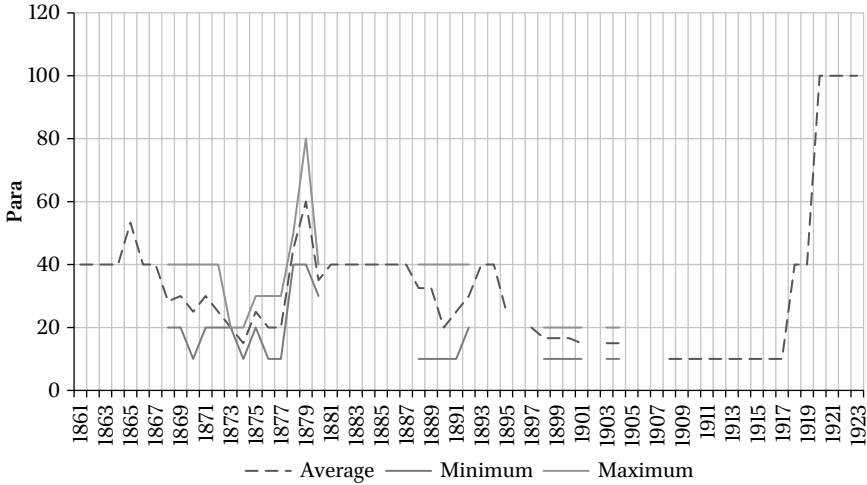


FIGURE 17 Annual overview of daily newspaper prices in Istanbul (1861-1923).
SOURCE: DATA PROVIDED IN APPENDIX “PRICING”

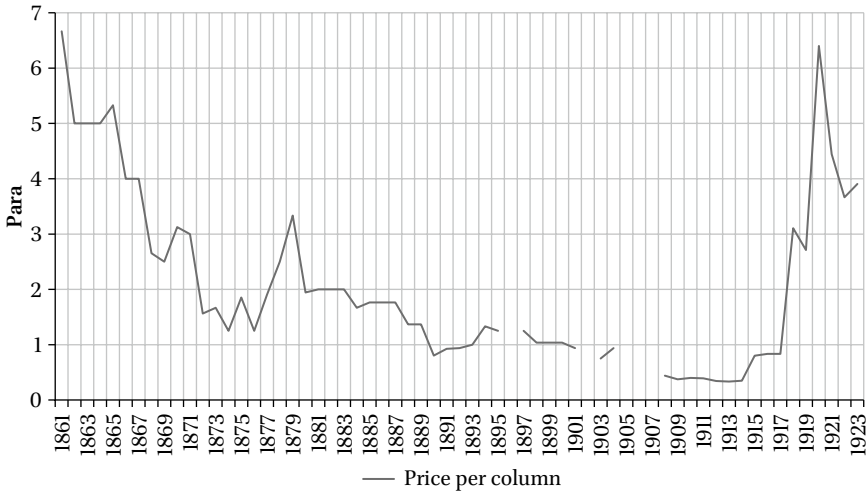


FIGURE 18 Annual averages of the price per column for Istanbul dailies (1861-1923).
SOURCE: DATA PROVIDED IN APPENDIX “PRICING”

the lowest possible price, which kept the whole industry of private dailies at the same price, even when prices eventually inevitably increased. While by looking at the nominal prices in Figure 17, it appears as if in the 1880's, until the impact of the Hamidian press became visible in the pricing, there was a situation similar to that after the press-boom, with stable prices, a comparison with Figure 18 shows a different picture. The latter chart shows the approximate real

value of newspapers, expressed in the amount of *para* paid per column in the newspaper, reveals that the 1880's, while maintaining stable nominal prices, fluctuated in real prices.

A similar comparison between the period after the press-boom in Figures 17 and 18, reveals a stability both in nominal and real values. This would suggest that dailies were forced, by competition over readership, to offer the same amount of reading material for the same price. Furthermore, since 1861, or around the birth of the Ottoman private press with Agah Efendi's *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and Şinasi's *Tasvir-i Efkar*, when real value is considered, daily newspapers became cheaper over time, either because they lowered their prices, or offered more value, that is more columns to read, for the same price. Children's publications underwent a similar process of price reduction in the two decades before the Constitutional Revolution, which suggests that not only newspapers, but all forms of periodicals gradually became cheaper.⁷⁸ By 1908, when the Constitutional Revolution occurred, this historical trend had reached an absolute low. This essentially locked an industry with high operational costs into low profit margins. When *Takvim-i Vekayi* reported in 1911 that it was selling at a loss, its rationale was that the 10 *para* price had been set in the past and it had simply been kept at that point.⁷⁹ In other words, for the dailies in Istanbul, increasing the price would drive readers away and lowering the price was not feasible. Although these findings are for dailies, according to Brummett, some satirical journals which appeared after the revolution had to lower their initial prices as a result of the market not being receptive of their initial prices, which were higher than that of the dailies.⁸⁰

The severity of this price lock can be seen in Figure 19. Even in the face of rising prices in the market, caused by the First World War, the price of 10 *para* per issue was stubbornly upheld by Istanbul's dailies, thus further pushing down the profits. By mid-1917, prices in Istanbul had increased on average by over eight times, yet dailies were still selling at pre-war prices. However, although nobody dared change the 10 *para* price, the industry reacted to the increasingly higher costs by decreasing the physical size of its publications.⁸¹ This initially increased the real value of newspapers to be generally on par

78 B.C. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 171–72.

79 BOA MF.MKT 1176/54, 28 Teşrinievvel 1327 [10 November 1911].

80 Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911*, 41. Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 41.

81 This practice was not limited to Istanbul's newspapers, but also to Anatolian newspapers during the Turkish Struggle for Independence. Cf. Kocabaşoğlu, "Milli Mücadelenin Sözcülerinden: Anadolu'da Yenigün," 182.

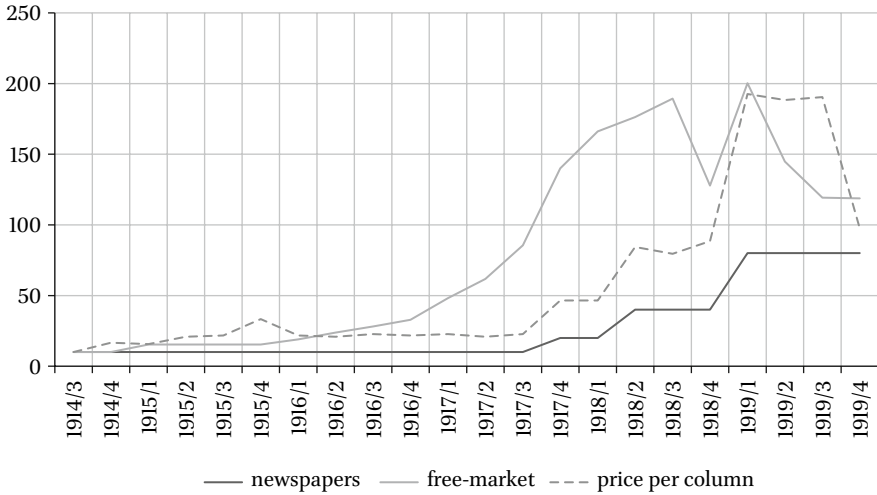


FIGURE 19 Quarterly comparison of daily newspaper prices and relative market prices in Istanbul (1914–1919).

The data for newspaper prices is based on data provided in the Appendix “Pricing.” The relative market prices, converted to a base figure of 10 in the third quarter of 1914 to match newspaper prices, are based on Eldem, Vedat. *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994), 49. Eldem uses data from the Public Debt Administration (*Duyun-ı Umumiye*) records.

with the rising market. But, there is a limit to how small a newspaper can be: a single sheet with two faces and this limit was reached about one year into the war. Rising prices in the market, however, did not have a limit and continued to climb unabated. From mid-1916 until 1919, newspapers were effectively selling well below what they should have. According to one British report, around this time, a single sheet of paper cost 27 *para*. After the war, the paper cost for a single issue of the Ankara government's semi-official organ, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, and of other publications of the same (small) format, was estimated at 30 to 40 *para*,⁸² which was probably higher for large format dailies. Yet, prices were kept at 10 *para* until 1917, when a series of increases in the price brought the real value of the newspapers to a level resembling the market in the second half of 1918. Remarkably, the changes in price occurred simultaneously throughout the industry,⁸³ as the result of concerted efforts by publishers.

82 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 2 İçtima 72 celse 1, 163.

83 See for example these dates: Increase from 10 to 20 *para*: *Tanin* #3149, 29 Zilkade 1335, 17 Eylül 1333-1917 [17 September 1917], *İkdam* #7399, 28 Zilkade 1335, 16 Eylül 1333-1917 [16 September 1917]. Increase from 20 to 40 *para*: *Tanin* #3327, 2 Cemazeyilahir 1336,

These increasing prices were the result of the costs becoming finally unbearable. In 1917, with the first increase, *Tanin* placed the problem squarely on the lack of paper, caused by the war time situation:

Of course, our readers know the scarcity caused by the war in all aspects [of life] also affects paper. Because [the paper] that is used in our country is obtained from abroad and in order not to leave our readership without newspapers, publishers have since the beginning of the war had to reduce the volume of the dailies to half or even a third of what [they used to be]. Only so have [they] been able to ensure the continued publication with the paper at hand. This problem, which our country had to cope with earlier [than other countries], was soon afterwards also felt in countries that produce paper and in all of the warring countries. Sooner in some [countries], later in others, first the volume of the newspapers was reduced and eventually the necessity to increase prices was felt. We are again the last to increase our prices. Along with the current difficulty of obtaining it, there was also an extraordinary increase in paper prices. Adding to this the costliness of other printing material, it becomes clear that it will not be possible to publish without [incurring] loss. It is because of this that some newspapers, in order not to incur too much loss, had significantly reduced their printing output. This is why, at a meeting between publishers, [they had] decided, in order to guarantee the continuation of publications, to increase the prices to 20 *para* starting on 16 September. [...] In accordance with this decision *Tanin*, like other Turkish and French language newspapers in the capital [...] will be sold for 20 *para*.⁸⁴

16 Mart 1334-1918 [16 March 1918], *İkdam* #7578, 2 Cemazeyilahir 1336, 16 Mart 1334-1918 [16 March 1918]. Increase from 40 to 80 *para*: *İkdam* #7894, 29 Rebiülahir 1327, 1 Şubat 1335-1920 [1 February 1920], *Alemdar* #49, 29 Rebiülahir 1327, 1 Şubat 1335-1920M [1 February 1920].

84 *Tanin* #3142, 22 Zilkade 1335, 10 Eylül 1332-1917 [10 September 1917], "Gazete Fiyatlarının Tezyidi": "Eylülün on altısından itibaren gazeteler 20 paraya. Harbin fevkelumul uzayıp gitmesinden mütevellid müşkilat karşısında, bundan böyle tezyid-i fiyatı lüzum-ı katiyyesi hissedilmiştir. Muharebenin her sahada husula getirdiği tahdidata kâğıdın da [illegible] maruz bulunduğu bittab karilerimizin malumudur. Memleketimizde sarfedilen hariçten celbedildiği içindir ki gazete tabileri, daha harbin bidayetinde, karileri gazetesiz bırakmamak için gazetelerin hacmini eskisinden nisfine ve hatta sülüne indirmek mecburiyetinde kalmışlar ve ancak bu suretle ellerindeki kağıtla gazetelerin devam-ı intişarını temin eylemişlerdi. Memleketimizin daha daha evvel maruz kaldığı bu müşkül, kâğıt imal eden yerlerde de bilahere çok geçmeden hissedilmiş ve muharip memleketlerin kaffesinde, bazılarında biraz evvel, bazılarında biraz sonra, evvela gazetelerin hacmi

Tanin emphasized the fact it was not alone in taking this action, but that all of its competitors were doing the same, a fact that was also underlined during the second price increase in 1918, when again paper shortages were shown as the main reason for price increases.⁸⁵ Even in 1920 *İkdam* justified the increase in its prices by blaming the increasing paper prices:

With the newspapers appearing in various languages in our city having already increased their prices to 100 *para*, we sold it at 2 *kuruş* [=80 *para*] while coping with great sacrifices [to be able to do so]. But certain expenses, [connected] with the extraordinary increase of paper prices, make it impossible to sell newspapers at 2 *kuruş* in the future. Therefore, we are announcing we are now forced to sell at 100 *para* in order not to rob our nation the press, which it needs a lot these days.⁸⁶

The price and availability of paper had serious consequences for the industry. Köroğlu claims that the number of publications in Istanbul had dropped from hundreds to a mere 14 in 1918, which he explains through strict censorship applied by the CUP.⁸⁷ It is clear from Figure 19, that the years between the third quarter of 1916 and the third quarter of 1918 must have been financially devastating for dailies and the situation cannot have been much better for weeklies or bi-weeklies, as the rising paper prices affected the industry as a whole. Therefore, the dwindling numbers of publications during the First World War should rather be seen in the light of financial or technical hardship which

küçülmüş ve nihayet fiyatının tezyidi mecburiyeti de hasıl olmuştur. Fiyatların tezyidinde en geri kalan yine biz oluyoruz. Hal-ı hazırda kâğıt tedarîği pek müşkül olduktan maeda fiyatında da fevkalade bir tereffü hasıl olmuştur. Buna bir de mevadd-ı tabiiye-i sairenin pahalılığı ilave edilince gazetelerin ziyansız olarak intişarı kabil olamayacağı anlaşılıyor. Bundan dolayıdır ki bazı gazeteler, fazla ziyana maruz kalmamak için, aded-i tablarnı haylice tafsiye/nakise? mecbur olmuşlardı. İşte bu sebeple tabiler arasında akdettikleri bir içtimada gazetelerin devam-ı intişarını temin edebilmek üzere fiyatların Eylül'ün on altıncı pazar gününden itibaren yirmi paraya iblagına karar vermişlerdi. [...] Bu karara tevfikân 'Tanin,' payitahtta munteşir sair Türkçe ve Fransızca gazeteler gibi, [...] yirmi paraya satılacaktır.”

85 *Tanin* #3326, 2 Cemazeyilahir 1336, 15 Mart 1334-1918 [15 March 1918], “Tanin Kırk Paraya.”

86 *İkdam*, #8327, 1 Şaban 1338, 20 Nisan 1336-1920 [20 April 1920], “Muhterem Karilerimize”: “Şehrimizde elsine-i sairede munteşir gazetelerin bir seneden beri fiyatlarını yüz paraya çıkarmasına mukabil gazetelerimizi birçok fedakarlıklar iltihâm ederek iki kuruş fiyatla satıyorduk. Lakin kâğıt fiyatının tereffü-i fevkaladesine [illegible] eden zaruri bazı masarifat mabâd gazetelerin iki kuruşa satılması imkanını salb ediyor. Binaenaleyh memleketin pek ziyade muhtaç olduğu bu zamanda matbuattan mahrum etmemek için gazete fiyatlarını bugünden itibaren yüz paraya iblağa mecbur kaldığımızı [...] beyan ederiz.”

87 Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity*, 12.

was a more likely cause than any other for the demise of especially smaller publications. For example, from March until May 1916, *Sabah* had to cease its publication because it had simply run out of paper.⁸⁸ Sertel, who had started publishing a daily during the World War explains why he was forced to cease publication as follows: “Our newspaper faced hardships, increasing day by day. We were at war and we had difficulty finding paper. We had not been able to stock up on enough paper because we did not have the money. This is why [...] we were forced to shut down our newspaper.”⁸⁹

With sales apparently barely enough to break even, an important source of revenue for the dailies had to be advertising income. As early as in the 1830s, *Takvim-i Vekayi* contained advertisements for books printed in *Takvimhane* and fez headgear produced in the state owned *Fezhane*,⁹⁰ seemingly limiting advertisements to state owned products. However, for the private press, born in 1861, advertisements seem to have been a more prominent source of income and in 1880, the foreign company Nestlé started advertising in *Vakit*, *Tercüman-ı Efkar*, *Levant Herald* and *Neologos*.⁹¹ As can be seen in Figure 20, as the size of newspapers grew over time, the amount of advertisement increased proportionally. After 1887, when the Hamidian press was created, a break occurred from this tradition when some richly illustrated dailies appeared containing no advertising at all, because they were subsidized by the palace.

This correlation of total size and the number of columns that were dedicated to advertising appears to return after the Constitutional Revolution. This would suggest that, without funding from the palace, advertising was important for the growth of dailies, as the increased costs of having a larger publication appear to have been carried by advertising.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to estimate what the revenue from these advertisements was. Although prior to the press-boom, it was common for dailies to share their advertisement pricing policies in their mastheads, later this changed, probably a result of the increased competitiveness of the market.

88 NL-HaNA, Consulaat-Generaal Constantinopel/Istanboel, 2.05.94, inv. nr 505, index 485-1916, 10 Juni 1916, “Persverslag over de maanden April en Mei 1916.”

89 Sertel, *Hatırladıklarım (1905–1950)*, 63. “Gazetede hergün artan zorluklarla karşılaşuyorduk. Savaş içindeydik. Kağıt bulmakta zorluk çekiyorduk. Yeter paramız olmadığı için, vaktinde yeter derecede kağıt depo edememiştik. Bu yüzden nişanlandıktan birkaç ay sonra gazeteyi kapamak zorunda kaldık.”

90 Hamza Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam* (Ankara: Elit Reklamcılık, 1997), 60.

91 Yavuz Köse, “Nestle: A Brief History of the Marketing Strategies of the First Multinational Company in the Ottoman Empire,” *Journal of Macromarketing* 27 (2007): 77, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146706296713>.

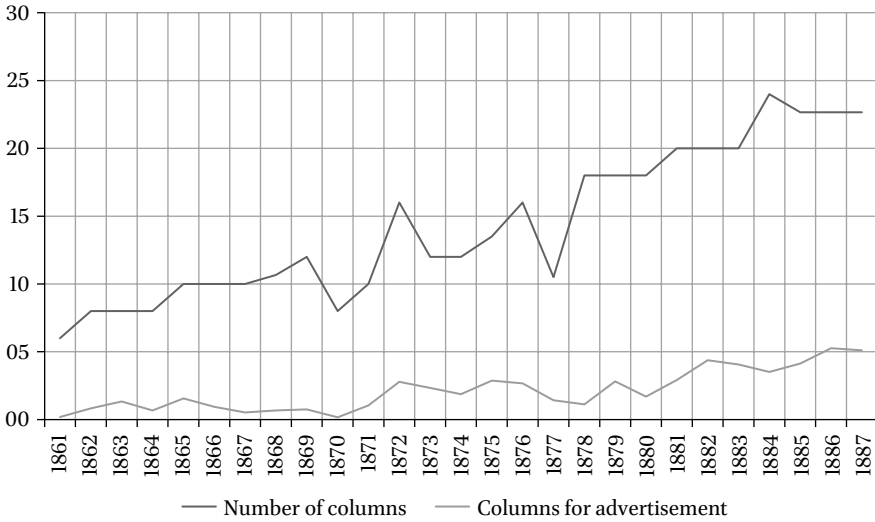


FIGURE 20 Annual comparison of advertisement space in Istanbul dailies (1861–1887).
SOURCE: DATA PROVIDED IN APPENDIX “PRICING”

Now advertisement pricing was kept secret in most cases, only to be obtained by contacting the offices of the newspaper. The exceptional pricing schemes that were found, on the other hand, seem to suggest that, while newspaper prices remained inflexible across the industry, advertising costs could vary greatly between dailies, which was probably based on circulation and one of the reasons why circulation figures could have been inflated and obtaining a large readership remained important. *İttihad ve Terakki* initially charged between 1.5 and 10 *kuruş* per line,⁹² depending on the placement of the ad, but later dropped its minimum price to 0.75 *kuruş* per line,⁹³ suggesting that the initial minimum price had been too high. *Tasvir-i Efkar*, on the other hand, charged between 3 and 6 *kuruş* per line, depending on the nature of the advertisement, with the high price reserved for commercial companies.⁹⁴ While later editions of *İttihad ve Terakki* could not be obtained for this research, *Tasvir-i Efkar* quickly stopped publishing the cost of its advertising space.

Because advertising played a significant role in the financing of dailies, this made the advertisers themselves important contributors to the survival of

92 *İttihad ve Terakki* #14, 10 Şaban 1326, 24 Ağustos 1324, 6 Eylül 1908 [6 September 1908], header.

93 *İttihad ve Terakki* #61, 9 Zilkade 1326, 20 Teşrinisani 1324, 3 Kanunievvel 1908 [3 December 1908], header.

94 *Tasvir-i Efkar* #557, 5 Rebiülahir 1329, 23 Mart 1327, 5 Nisan 1911 [5 April 1911], header.

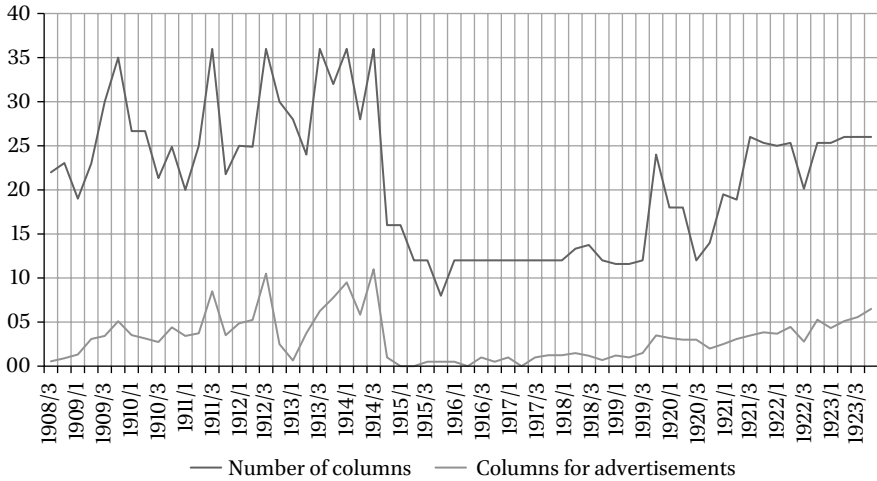


FIGURE 21 Quarterly comparison of advertisement space in Istanbul dailies (1908–1923).
SOURCE: DATA PROVIDED IN APPENDIX “PRICING”

these publications and shows that capital could be used to control or influence the press. Indeed, it seems that sometimes entities would specifically use a daily for their advertising in what appears to be an attempt to supply them with funding. This was not unseen or unheard of. William Tweed, a New York politician, bought off newspapers through lucrative advertising deals in order to keep them from publishing about his corruption scandals. In 1874, it was reported that 24 New York newspapers went out of business after the patronage stopped.⁹⁵

Things were, of course, not much different in the Ottoman press. For example, in 1919 the Ministry of the Interior (*Dahiliye Nezareti*) came to an agreement with *Yeni Gazete* in Sivas to the effect that, in return for propaganda for the government, *Evkaf-ı Hümayun* would systematically buy advertisement space in *Yeni Gazete*.⁹⁶

In the case of *Peyam-ı Sabah*, a daily that came into existence through the merger of *Peyam* and *Sabah* after the First World War, a clear British bias is discernible. *Peyam-ı Sabah* was under the editorship of Ali Kemal, a man described by Yunus Nadi, another journalist of the time, as being supported by the British and French occupying forces because of his publishing of articles

95 Betty Houchin Winfield, “1908 A Very Political Year for the Press,” in *Journalism 1908: Birth of a Profession*, ed. Betty Houchin Winfield (Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 26–27.

96 BOA DH.KMS 52-5/71 15 Recep 1337H/16 Nisan 1335R [16/04/1919]

suggesting that the Ottoman Empire should remain under British occupation because the Ottomans were incapable of governing themselves.⁹⁷ The British Foreign Office's guide to the press describes him as "at present [in 1921] directing his antagonism against the Forces Nationales,"⁹⁸ yet does not mention any type of support. However, a survey of the advertisements in the first half of 1921 reveals a different image: significant portions of the total of advertisements are devoted to public auctions held by Mr. Tuplis (sp.?) and Mr. Harding, who were charged by the British military authorities with handling the auctions. These advertisements by Mr. Tuplis and Mr. Harding would sometimes cover over one sixth of the available advertising space in *Peyam-ı Sabah*⁹⁹ and would appear with high frequency. Furthermore, there is an instance where a large announcement of the sale of surplus British army items can be found.¹⁰⁰ Conversely, neither in *Vakit* nor *Akşam*, described in the same Foreign Office guide respectively as moderately or very supportive of the nationalist movement, can these advertisements be found. If the aim had merely been a matter of making an announcement in large circulation papers *Akşam* should have received the same advertisement because the same British press guide described *Akşam* as "amongst those most read by the Turks." However, it further added that "beyond all other Turkish papers of the capital, [*Akşam*] is the most ultra-patriotic Unionist organ."¹⁰¹ Therefore, it would appear that the decisions were not based on best practice in terms of commerce and marketing, but rather on British foreign policy, which was hostile toward Ankara and the nationalists. *Ferda*, an anti-nationalist publication in Adana, also enjoyed French, American and British advertising.¹⁰²

Furthermore, while *Peyam-ı Sabah* enjoyed great attention from foreign advertisers, such as Banco Di Roma, the American Foreign Trade Corporation (which sold Ford cars), Guarantee Trust Company of New York and Edwards and Sons (Near East) Ltd., this calibre of companies appeared less keen to advertise in *Vakit* and even less so in *Akşam*. Edwards and Sons, a company that sold Vaseline, chocolate and tea among other things, appears to have been the most indiscriminate in choosing a medium for its marketing but even

97 Yunus Nadi [Abaloğlu], *Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları*, 9–10.

98 TNA FO 141/504, "A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople," April 1921, 35.

99 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #1183, *Peyam* #753), 28 Rebiülevvel 1339, 8 Kanunısani 1337–1921 [8 January 1921].

100 *Peyam-ı Sabah* (*Sabah* #11281, *Peyam* #851), 9 Şaban 1339, 16 Nisan 1337–1921 [16 April 1921], "İngiliz Hükümetine Ait Fazla Malzemenin Furuhtü."

101 TNA FO 141/504, "A Guide to the Press of Egypt and the Soudan and Constantinople," April 1921, 33.

102 İslam, "Milli Mücadeleye Muhalif Bir Gazete: 'Ferdâ,'" 162.

so gave far more of its advertising to *Peyam-ı Sabah* than to *Vakit* or *Akşam*. Therefore, *Vakit* and especially *Akşam* have a distinctly different feel in their advertisement pages, with *Vakit's* foreign advertising mostly shaped by Edwards and Sons and J. Roussel, a French clothing company, together with various smaller companies and *Akşam*, which received around two Edward and Sons advertisements monthly, devoting more space to local and personal advertisements.

Hakimiyet-i Milliye, the official organ of the nationalist movement, had no foreign advertisers at all in 1921 and relied wholly on local advertisers. Although one could argue this was because *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was Ankara based, unlike the others that appeared in the capital, it should appear as no coincidence that after the Turkish victories against the Greeks in September 1922 and the liberation of Izmir, foreign advertising started to trickle into *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. The first occurrence of foreign advertisement is on 18 September 1922, placed by Swiss watchmaker Zenith,¹⁰³ which had already been advertising in the Ottoman Empire before the outbreak of the war. One week later, Zenith was joined by two large department stores located in Istanbul, namely Galata Tiring and Selanik Bonmarché.¹⁰⁴ But, more interestingly, a French company, producers of a the medicine Tricalcine also started to advertise in the official organ of the nationalist movement.¹⁰⁵ Before the year was over, German car manufacturer Benz also started taking out advertising space.¹⁰⁶ While Tricalcine, Zenith, Benz and the Istanbul department stores were advertising both in Istanbul dailies and in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the conspicuous lack of British and American companies, who were prominent advertisers in Istanbul, raises questions. However, this first wave of foreign advertisements was a short-lived one and ended abruptly at the end of 1922. The reason for this is presumably related to the negotiations over Lausanne and the pressure applied by the British, together with the desire of the business community to wait and see which way things would go.

However, just months after the declaration of the Turkish Republic, there was a return of foreign advertisers to what had now become the organ, not of the resistance movement, but of the government. Tricalcine, Zenith and Benz returned as advertisers, and this time for longer.¹⁰⁷ In fact, Benz, the first foreign company to advertise in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* after the declaration of the

103 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #611, 25 Muharrem 1341, 18 Eylül 1338-1922 [18 September 1922].

104 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #618, 3 Safer 1341, 25 Eylül 1338-1922 [25 September 1922].

105 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #615, 29 Muharrem 1341, 22 Eylül 1338-1922 [22 September 1922].

106 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #663, 27 Rebiülevvel 1341, 17 Teşrinisani 1338-1922 [17 November 1922].

107 See *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #915, 28 Muharrem 1342, 9 Eylül 1339-1923 [9 September 1923] for Tricalcine, #990, 2 Cemazeyilevvel 1342, 11 Kanunievvel 1339-1923 [11 December 1923] for Zenith, #886, 29 Zilhicce 1342, 12 Ağustos 1339-1923 [12 August 1923] for Benz.

republic, continued as Mercedes Benz later on and several German companies such as Deutz, Rheinmetall, Biox, and Bayer, would follow it, giving advertisement in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* a distinct German bias in 1924.¹⁰⁸ French companies that also advertised in this period were J. Roussel, Franco-Roman Air Transport, and Memalik-i Şarkiye Fransız Bankası, with the latter appearing only once.¹⁰⁹ Italian car manufacturer Fiat was, although low in frequency, present all through 1924.¹¹⁰ Interestingly, the only British company to advertise was Sentinel Cammel, a producer of train wagons, which ran a short lived campaign from mid-December 1923 until early February 1924.¹¹¹ In this context, the absence of British companies needs explanation, as both former allies Italy and France were advertising in the organ of the new republic. Italian and French businesses had sought to establish economic ties with Ankara starting in 1922, when it became clear that Ankara would be victorious in the Turkish-Greek war. British companies, however, had initially been hampered by British foreign policy and then subsequently suffered from the hostile stance taken by the Ankara government towards British capital.¹¹²

This is further evidence of how presence or absence of advertising in newspapers with certain political affiliations was a reflection of support or opposition to those leanings.

It is clear that money was changing hands with the aim of influencing the press in various ways. That this is the case and that such payments were widespread and important is supported by an article published in December 1910 in the Ottoman daily *Azad*.

The unbiased complaints, criticism and objections of the press have increasingly diminished. Those who were amazed by this change in the situation were not small in number. [...] A honourable friend of mine

108 See *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #1296, 15 Cemazeyilevvel 1343, 12 Kanunievvel 13240-1924 [12 December 1924] for Deutz, #1242, 10 Rebiülevvel 1343, 9 Teşrinievvel 1340-1924 [9 October 1924] for Rheinmetall; #1276, 14 Rebiülahir 1343, 19 Teşrinisanı 1340-1924 [19 November 1924] for Biox; #1064, 29 Recep 1342, 6 Mart 1340-1924 [6 March 1924] for Bayer.

109 See *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #1244, 13 Rebiülevvel 1343, 12 Teşrinievvel 1340-1924 [12 October 1924] for Roussel; #1226, 21 Safer 1342, 21 Eylül 1340-1924 [21 September 1924] for Franco-Roman Air Transport; #1275, 13 Rebiülahir 1343, 18 Teşrinisanı 1340-1924 [18 November 1924] for Memalik-i Şarkiye Fransız Bankası.

110 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #1032, 21 Cemazeyilahir 1342, 29 Kanunisanı 1340-1924/ [29 January 1923].

111 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* #999, 12 Cemazeyilevvel 1342, 21 Kanunievvel 1339-1923 [21 December 1923].

112 Kate Fleet, "Money and Politics: The Fate of British Business in the New Turkish Republic," *Turkish Historical Review* 2, no. 1 (May 1, 2011): 30-38, <https://doi.org/10.1163/187754611X570936>.



غزىمىچىلر شمدى توجە ابدەجك لىطب مىقناطىيىسى بولدىلر .

FIGURE 22 Caricature: Newspapermen drawn to money
 “Journalists have found a magnetic pole to orient towards.”
 SOURCE: *BOŞBOĞAZ* #19, 19 EYLÜL 1324 [2/10/1908], 3

said that this silence [in the press] was related to “hidden payments.” I was surprised and said:

- It was only in the era of [Hamidian] oppression that newspapers accepted money to keep quiet. That [practice] was cut off after [the revolution].
- It was cut off, but an event that occurred recently [would suggest that] some newspapers still keep quiet because of hidden payments...
- No sir, you are wrong. How could it be that the *Nigehban-ı Meşrutiyet*, *Tercüman-ı Millet* would sell their conscience?! Impossible! [These are fictitious newspaper titles, alluding to existing ones, such as *Meşrutiyet*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and *Seda-ı Millet*]
- I agree. What is more, the other day I was passing by one of the official offices and one of our hard working journalists was there too [...]. I asked him: “You are here, Sir?” He said: “Yes, I am waiting for the payment for my newspaper...” I did not believe him, and you had better not believe him either!¹¹³

113 *Azad* #1, 30 Zilkade 1328, 19 Teşrinisani 1326 [2 December 1910], “Politika Panoraması”: “Matbuatın lisan-ı şekva-ı bi-tarafanesi, tenkidatı, itirazatı, gittikçe tahfif etti. Bu tebeddül-i ahvalden meraka düşenler pek az bir yekün teşkil etmiyorlardı. [...] bir refik-i müstear, bu

Such government support, however, probably happened in a clandestine way. As was argued by Muhittin Birgen, the *Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdürü* of the Ankara government, financial support given to newspapers was not to be discussed in public, unless a public perception should arise that recipients of subsidies were merely official organs of the state.¹¹⁴

There were open and clandestine attempts to bribe journalists, some more successful than the other. For example, soon after the Constitutional Revolution, the CUP organized a gala-dinner for members of the press, where, probably after having enjoyed an expensive meal, they were informed that they should refrain from printing articles on the annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary.¹¹⁵ In another example, CUP's Cemal Paşa, upon his removal from the position of Bahriye Nazırı (Minister of the Navy), is said to have paid journalists to have positive things written about himself.¹¹⁶ Ahmet İhsan, in his memoirs, relates many attempts at bribing him from both official and unofficial sources.¹¹⁷ If his memoirs are to be believed, he always dutifully rejected such offers, of course.

A flagrant example is the sale of *Tanin*. Although Hüseyin Cahit claims to have sold *Tanin* after the Balkan Wars due to being tired and disillusioned by the outcome of events,¹¹⁸ according to Atay, the CUP bought *Tanin* for "several thousand *lira*," shortly after it had taken a critical position towards the Committee's minister of education. Hüseyin Cahit, Atay adds, was given a very lucrative position Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Düyun-i Umumiye*). The

sükunun (Tahsisat-ı Mesture) ile alakadar olduğunu söylüyordu. Taaccüp ettim, refikime dedim ki:

Azizim, gazeteler yalnız zaman-ı istibdatta hakk-ı sükut alırlardı. Bunlar, on temmuzdan sonra kat edildi.

Vakian kat edildi ama ahiren ceryan eden bir vaka hala bazı gazetelerin tahsisat-ı mesturdan teskin-i ateş-i zaruret etmekte olduklarını... [...]

Yok efendim, su-i tefehhüm buyurdunuz. Hiç öyle yeni devrin nighban-ı meşrutiyet, tercüman-ı millet gazeteleri vicdanlarını satarlar mı?! Haşa!...

Ben de öyle diyorum. Hatta geçen gün devair-i resmîyeden birinin önünden geçiyordum. Hamiyetperver gazetecilerimizden biri de oralarda [...] Kendilerine sordum: Buralardasınız efendim, dedim.

Evet, gazetenin tahsisatını bekliyorum da...

Ben inanmadım ya siz de inanmayın!"

114 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 2 İçtima 72 Celse 1, 162.

115 NL-HaNA, Consulaat-Generaal Constantinopel/Istanboel, 2.05.94, inv. nr 505, index 226-1909, 31 Januari 1909, "VERSLAG van Mr. J. van Oordt, over de maand September 1908, B.I. Turkije."

116 Falih Rıfka [Atay], *Zeytindağı*, 20.

117 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888-1923*, 2:43-49.

118 Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], *Edebiyat Anıları*, 191.

once fiercely political and prolific journalist passed his time during the World War spending his money in yacht clubs. The aforementioned Muhittin Birgen, who took over from Hüseyin Cahit at *Tanin*, described journalism to Atay as “writing a lot without really saying anything!” (“Bir çok şey yazarak hiç bir şey söylememek!”).¹¹⁹

Abdülhamit, who had a history of playing a cat and mouse game with blackmailing journalists who accepted “hush money,” appears clearly to have been of the opinion that journalists could, and should, be bought. Ali Cevat, his personal secretary (Mabeyn Başkatibi), recounted how Abdülhamit complained to him about the press, saying:

Whether in Europe or here, journalists are blackmailers. [...] Our enemies are making progress. Yet we do nothing. They give these newspapers money. [Addressing Ali Cevat:] You are an honourable man. Let me give you a few hundred *lira* and you keep it on you. Whenever these journalists come to you, give them a fitting sum of money so that they act with good manners. Try and get these men to shut up.¹²⁰

Ali Cevat claims to have replied that money could not silence the press in its current chaotic state adding that it could also lead to rumours about the Sultan trying to buy the press. Abdülhamit probably insisted that this should be done anyway as Ali Cevat adds that some money was still given to journalists and that this had led to “incorrect accusations,” by which he probably means the allegations regarding *Volkan* and the 31 March Incident being linked to the palace. That *Volkan*, a daily newspaper with barely any advertisements could be distributed for free leads one inevitably to the conclusion that it was receiving substantial outside financial support, and that, despite Ali Cevat’s claim that he personally turned Derviş Vahdeti away when he came seeking financial support for *Volkan*, this support might have come from the Palace. Such support for newspapers was not limited to the palace. British intelligence reported that, during the First World War, the Ministry of Interior allegedly had a secret fund for newspapers, from which pro-CUP newspapers received 20 to 50 *lira*

119 Falih Rıfki [Atay], *Batış Yılları* (İstanbul: Elif Kitabevi, 1963), 69.

120 Unat, *İkinci Meşrutiyetin ilânu ve Otuzbir Mart hâdisesi*, 40–41. According to Unat, Abdülhamit also tried to bribe newspapers after the revolution and journalists, addressing his *Mabeyn Başkatibi* (Palace Headscribe): “Gerek burada gerek Avrupa’daki gazeteciler şantajcıdırlar. [...] Bizim düşmanlarımız iş görüyorlar. Biz hiç bir şey yapmıyoruz. Onlar bu gazetelere para veriyorlar. Sen namuslu bir adamsın, sana bir kaç yüz lira para vereyim; yanında dursun. Bu gazeteciler nezdine geldikçe edeb daihilinde hareket etmeleri için münasib miktar para ver. Artık bu heriflerin ağızlarını kapamağa gayret eyle.”

per month while adding that the entire press was probably subsidized, as there was no other explanation to how issues could be sold for a mere 40 *para* when the price of paper was 27 *para* for a single sheet.¹²¹ The Grand National Assembly in Ankara, too, financially and materially supported newspapers that it considered aligned with its own interests.¹²²

It was not merely internal actors who could, by the judicious use of money, influence what was published in the press and push their own agendas. Foreign actors also adopted the same approach. Even before the Constitutional Revolution, the British Embassy in Istanbul suggested that either Turkish newspapers should be subsidised or that a new Turkish newspaper should be published in order to prevent loss of British prestige in the Ottoman Empire because of articles appearing in the press which were critical of British policy in India.¹²³ Shortly after the Constitutional Revolution, the German ministry of the exterior and Deutsche Bank, with the financial aid of German businessmen, such as Eccius, the president of Krupp, published the bi-lingual *Osmanischer Lloyd-Lloyd Ottoman* soon after the Constitutional Revolution.¹²⁴ Zionist funding was made available to newspapers which sought to convince Ottoman Jews of Zionist ideals¹²⁵ and *Jeune Turc*, according to the British Foreign Office annual report for the year 1910, was funded by the Anglo-Palestine Trading Company, registered in England and an offshoot of the Judaic Colonisation Association, which frequently published articles on why a wholesale Jewish immigration to Mesopotamia would be beneficial for the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁶ Further, according to a 1919 British intelligence report, prior to the Armistice the majority of Turkish papers (including *Sabah* and *İkdam*) appear to have been subsidised by the Austro-Germans at rates varying between 1,000 to 3,000 *lira* per month,¹²⁷ and this on top of the material help in the form of paper, as was discussed earlier. Tauber claims that it was highly likely that the French supported pro-French newspapers in Syria.¹²⁸ In 1919, in occupied Istanbul, anti-Turkish newspapers, originating in Greece, were sold at cheaper prices than those of

121 TNA FO 371/4141, #49194, 8 March 1919, Part IV.

122 TBMMZC Devre 1 Sene 1 İctima 159 celse 1, 516.

123 Özcan, "The Press and Anglo-Ottoman Relations, 1876–1909," 112.

124 I. Jacobsen, "La Politique de La Presse Allemande Dans l'Empire Ottoman En 1908," in *Variata Turcica* 23 (La Turquie, les Turcs et la presse), ed. N. Clayer, A. Popovic, and T. Zarcone (İstanbul: İsis, 1986), 144–45.

125 Esther Benbassa, "Presse d'Istanbul et de Salonique Au Service Du Sionisme (1908–1914). Les Motifs d'une Allégeance," *Revue Historique* 276 (October 1986): 337–65.

126 TNA FO 195/2363, "Turkey, Annual Report, 1910," 14 February 1911, 66.

127 TNA FO 371/4141, #49194, 8 March 1919, Part IV.

128 Tauber, "The Press and the Journalist," 168.

domestic papers, thereby making them a popular choice and a vessel for Greek propaganda.¹²⁹ In this last case, although no direct financial support was given, the domestic market was, presumably deliberately, undercut.

The quest for money could also have been bi-directional. The British Foreign Office annual report for the year 1909 describes the Turkish press, with the exception of *Tanin*, as corrupt, since they would seek monetary support from financial institutions and gives the example of *Yeni Gazete*, that had sought the support of the Lynch Company and upon failing to secure it, had resorted to attacking it in its publications.¹³⁰ Given that one of the articles that was introduced in the 1909 press law to combat malpractice was Art. 18, which dealt with blackmail, this was probably not an exceptional case.

The financial sources of a newspaper were also considered important by the government. Even though under martial law newspapers could reappear with a slightly different name after being shut down, when *Seda-ı Millet* was hit with such a closure and was going to reappear as *Cidal*, those thought to be the source of finance for this newspaper were secretly observed by the police.¹³¹

Publishing periodicals, especially dailies, was an expensive business. It required substantial capital up front, which is why most of the permit applications during the press boom were submitted by people who were arguably better off. The initial capital investment was necessary to buy or rent printing equipment, which in the first few years after the Constitutional Revolution had to be imported from Europe, adding to the cost. After the boom, when there was a surplus of equipment, the cost of acquiring printing equipment most likely went down. However, operating costs, to cover consumables, such as paper and ink, but also to pay the wages of the employees, increased during the First World War, due to the war-time economy, which affected the markets in general. Paper was exceptionally expensive because it became scarce almost as soon as the war started and remained so even after the declaration of the Turkish Republic. In addition to the high costs, the press boom had caused the prices of daily newspapers to be locked in at the lowest levels for the entire industry and ignited competition over readership, which resulted in very slim and potentially negative profit margins. Under these circumstances, sustaining a profitable publication was very difficult. In contrast to what is often suggested, it is very likely that these economic realities had more to do with the decrease in the number of publications during the First World War than with censorship.

129 TNA FO 608/92, 17 April 1919, 95; 29 May 1919, pp. 98–99.

130 TNA FO 195/2363, "Turkey, Annual Report, 1909," dd. 31/01/1910, 63

131 BOA DH.EUM.THR 93/10, dd. 23 Teşrinisani 1325 [6/12/1909].

This harsh climate left publishers vulnerable and any financial support was likely to be welcome, regardless of any conditions that might be attached to it. However, it is very difficult to quantify or obtain the precise details about such financial support since it was, of necessity, usually a clandestine arrangement. Even with advertising, there appears to have been a form of censorship, with preference given to publications that aligned with the sponsor's interest.

Reading the Press

When examining the history of the press, the question of reading is unavoidable. Was there an audience reading that which was produced by the press? Arguably, the act of printing itself implies that there is an expectation that a readership exists. Otherwise, there would be little benefit to copying texts and images. On the other hand, an author hopes that when the message is delivered to the readership, it invokes some form of response. A political-philosophical pamphlet tries to change the worldview of the reader, while a humoristic article might simply try to elicit laughter. Although they are different in many ways, in both examples the authors seek to influence the reader, each in their own way. In this chapter, these two components, namely the readership of the Ottoman press, and the influence the periodicals had on their readers, are discussed. The Ottoman press by 1908 already enjoyed a fairly broad readership, something which had been cultivated through 80 years of exposure to periodicals. After 1908, when the financial survival of the press had suddenly become reliant on higher circulation figures, the press was driven to increase its appeal to an even larger reading public, thus furthering the trend of popularization. Equally important is the fact that the Ottoman press was in fact capable of influencing its readers to the point of changing their behaviour, political ideas, and even to move them all into action.

The history of the periodical press around the world can be summarised as one of increasing popularization. Certainly, for their own time, the newspapers of the seventeenth century were “mass media.” However, when compared to their twentieth-century counterparts, they had a miniscule readership, consisting of a socio-economic elite. Over the span of three centuries, and through many different stages, the printed media grew its readership by following a trend of appealing to a larger audience by becoming more affordable and/or by making the contents more appealing. This trend is so fundamental to the history of printed media that even the very birth of the printed newspaper could be seen as, in its essence, the story of making the expensive hand-copied newsletters more affordable, and thus, more accessible to a larger segment of the population.¹ Through other milestones (both small and large), such as the introduction of expert analysis to contextualize dry and factual news, or the

1 Weber, “Strassburg, 1605,” 392.

move also to include regional and local news alongside world-affairs,² little by little the periodical press became more popular, and by the early twentieth century, it was solidly part of the lives of all layers of society.

The Ottoman press followed this pattern closely. Despite being introduced relatively late in the Ottoman Empire, the press still had time to undergo its own process of popularization, which was often similar to developments around the world. By 1908, magazines and newspapers had become common items (certainly in major Ottoman cities) and were well within the economic and intellectual reach of a broad audience.

The first notable newspapers were printed in the Ottoman Empire in the port city of Izmir around 1820. These newspapers were published by and were mostly intended for the French minority of the city³ (i.e., an elite audience), which was most likely already consuming European periodicals.⁴ Although there have yet to be studies on the content of Izmir's early newspapers, from what is known, they appear to have been focussed on defending the interests of the city's affluent merchant community.⁵ Like their American counterparts of the same period,⁶ they most likely would have contained specialized information of mercantile nature, such as cargo ship schedules and advertisements that today would be classified as "business-to-business." This sort of newspaper, of course, did not appeal to the general Ottoman population. To make matters more difficult for the average Ottoman, Izmir's newspapers appeared in French.

When *Takvim-i Vekayi* was published in 1831, it made the press much more accessible to an Ottoman audience. Primarily, *Takvim-i Vekayi* removed the massive language barrier. Although it also appeared in a French version, the main publication was in Ottoman Turkish. There were also Greek, Armenian

2 Jeremy Black, "The Development of the Provincial Newspaper Press in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 2 (September 1, 1991): 160, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-0208.1991.tb00501.x>.

3 Ali Budak, "The French Revolution's Gift to the Ottomans: The Newspaper – The Emergence of Turkish Media," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2, no. 19 (2012): 161–62.

4 *New York Times*, 13/04/1857, "The Turkish Press." According to this article, in 1857, foreigners (i.e., Westerners) living in Istanbul consumed only Western newspapers, which they had sent by post. Foreign post offices existed before newspapers were printed in the Ottoman Empire and, therefore, it stands to reason that subscribers could have their reading material sent to them from abroad even before the 1820's.

5 Selim Nüzhet [Gerçek], *Türk Gazeteciliği*, 22–25.

6 Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York 1830–1860," 91–92.

and Arabic versions, and, possibly, a Persian version.⁷ This meant that, linguistically, the population of the empire was well-represented. Secondly, *Takvim-i Vekayi*, until 1860, tried to appeal to a general public.⁸ It was an official gazette, an organ of the state, which are traditionally limited to publishing official announcements. However, *Takvim-i Vekayi* contained general news, both domestic and foreign, encyclopaedic articles and even social news, such as announcements about important weddings. Third, *Takvim-i Vekayi* was not limited to one city. It was distributed outside of Istanbul⁹ and subscriptions were even mandatory for provincial bureaucrats. In other words, *Takvim-i Vekayi* was easier to obtain, read and enjoy for the average Ottoman than Izmir's specialized mercantile newspapers.

In the 1860's, a second wave of popularization of the press took place, which increased popular appeal, geographic coverage and affordability of Ottoman periodicals. Privately owned and fully-independent newspapers, such as *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (1860) and *Tasvir-i Efkar* (1862), introduced the exciting genre of the political opinion piece and engaged in public debates over social and political issues, causing them to surge in popularity and making Ottoman dailies (as opposed to weeklies) sustainable for the first time.¹⁰ Furthermore, serialised publications of original and translated literary works, and the move towards a more natural journalistic language¹¹ added to the general appeal of the periodical press.

Starting in 1864, the government launched official newspapers in various provinces. In many cases these were the first newspapers of those regions,¹² but more importantly, they also included regional news, which was more relevant for local readers than the Istanbul-centric reporting of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. In addition, the geographic spread of periodicals was further increased by innovations in the Ottoman modern postal network, including standard postal tariffs and cheaper rates,¹³ meaning that readers could more easily subscribe to publications from other cities. At the same time, periodicals became more affordable. Not only did newspapers prices per column drop by half due to increasing sizes of publications, but publishers were also starting to offer the

7 The multilingual nature of *Takvim-i Vekayi* is well known. See, for example Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 39–42.

8 İnuğur, *Türk Basınında "İz" Brakanlar*, 3.

9 Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa Basın Ve Yayın*, 50.

10 Ottoman dailies appeared weekly or bi-weekly, with exceptional daily prints, e.g., *Ceride-i Havadis* during the Crimean war.

11 Koloğlu, *Osmanlı'dan 21. Yüzyıla Basın Tarihi*, 47.

12 Kocabaşoğlu, "Tuna Vilayet Gazetesi," 142.

13 Okan, "Ottoman Postal and Telegraph Services," 20–25.

option to buy single issues instead of expensive annual or quarterly subscriptions. On the other hand, reading cafés (*kıraathane*) started to appear and offered an interesting alternative to those who wanted to read more of the domestic and international press than they could afford to purchase. Excluding the Ottoman press-in-exile, no less than 40 new official and private periodicals were launched between 1860 and 1869. The 1860's, therefore, constituted not one, but several major milestones in the process of broadening and deepening the readership of the Ottoman press.

The 1880's saw the flourishing of the specialised periodicals or sub-genres of the press. Such specialised periodicals were aimed either at a subset of the existing readership or trying to lure in as yet untapped readers. The novelty herein was not the idea of addressing a specific audience, which was arguably already being done by ethno-linguistic targeting through "minority" publications, but rather the attempt to appeal to audiences with shared interests beyond the scope of the general news publications. Barring few exceptions, such as the mercantile bi-weekly *Ceride-i Ticaret* (1857), *Mecmua-ı Fünun* (1864) for those interested in sciences, and the women's supplement *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (1869), this had not yet been attempted, or at least not been very successful. The first sub-genre to truly develop in the Ottoman press was satire, initiated by the magazine *Diyojen* in 1870. Although it was quite successful and no less than eight other satirical publications were launched until 1875,¹⁴ the genre was short-lived because it was soon completely banned and would only reappear after the 1908 Revolution. Other genres, such as periodicals for women, children, youth, professionals, hobbyists, also started appearing tentatively in the 1870's. However, none of these genres saw the surge in the number of publications as the satirical press had until the 1880's, when a growing number of periodicals catering to readers of sub-genres appeared, apparently with the support of Abdülhamit II.¹⁵

Although it seems counter-intuitive at first, the move toward specifically targeting smaller sections of the population was a sign of popularization and the result of a growing and maturing readership. Anderson's concept of "print-capitalism," whereby publishers historically sought new markets when the traditional ones had been saturated,¹⁶ suggests that the increased publishing

14 1873: Çıngıraklı Tatar, Hayal; 1874: Şarivar-ı Medeniyet; 1875: Geveze, Kahkaha, Latife, Meddah.

15 Beyhan Kanter, "Osmanlı Basın Hayatında Kadın Yazarlar," in *Tercüman-ı Ahval'in 150. Yılında İstanbul'da Fikir Gazeteciliği Sempozyumu*, ed. Belkıs Ulusoy (İstanbul: Emirler Matbaası, 2010), 19.

16 Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 38. Andersen argues that European "capitalist book printers" only ventured into the vernacular languages market after the Latin market had been saturated.

and reading activity in the Ottoman press of the 1860's resulted in a thorough popularization of general news publications aimed at the general readership, thus making the sub-genres an interesting niche for publishers. Furthermore, tailoring a periodical to a specific audience shows the publishers' confidence in the existence of a meaningful readership in that niche. The increased attention given to public education under Abdülhamit, especially for women, no doubt added to that confidence, as it increased the rate of literacy among the public.¹⁷ Therefore, this trend not only reveals the saturation of the general audience market, but also that this audience had grown large enough that subsections of it could realistically sustain a publication.

However, in addition to all of the aforementioned evolutions, perhaps the most important factor in popularising the printed media was that periodicals were becoming more affordable over time. Barring exceptional circumstances, such as periods of financial crises or the devastating paper shortages during the First World War, Ottoman periodical prices followed a downward trend. While the average nominal wage for unskilled labour in Istanbul remained remarkably similar between 1860 and 1909 (3 *lira* per month, i.e., 12,000 *para* per month),¹⁸ the average nominal price of newspapers in Istanbul had over time dropped from 40 *para* per issue to 10 *para* per issue. Purchasing a newspaper every day for a month (without a subscription) decreased from costing 10% of an 1860's wage to a mere 2.5% of a 1909 wage. Of course, the comparison does not take into account such complexities as the cost of living, however, it does illustrate the trend towards affordability. Additionally, the price per column of printed newspaper had also dropped dramatically, especially in the 1860's, from nearly 7 *para* to less than 1 *para* per column. In other words, when compared to an 1860's reader, a 1900's reader, paid far less and received more reading material.

In the United States and England, similar substantial decrease in newspaper prices had helped to increase the size of the readership by making the periodical press financially accessible for a larger segment of society. A good example of this is the penny press revolution in the United States, which is accredited with bringing the newspaper to the masses. In the 1830's in New York,¹⁹ newspapers appeared which were sold for 1 cent, instead of the usual 6 cents.

17 TNA FO 195/2363 f. p.1, 18/01/1907, "General report on Turkey 1906" (19–21) Turkish press. Abdülhamit II's educational policies are believed to have increased the number of newspaper readers.

18 Özmucur and Pamuk, "Real Wages and Standards of Living in the Ottoman Empire, 1489–1914," 301.

19 Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York 1830–1860," 94. The first successful penny press paper was the *Sun* in September 1833, but its formula was soon copied and its popularity dwarfed.

For the sake of comparison, buying a newspaper every day in 1830 New York would cost 7.5% and, from 1833 onwards, only 1.5% of an unskilled labourers monthly wage.²⁰ Disregarding once again other factors such as cost of living, the magnitude of the price drop in the Ottoman Empire and the United States are quite similar. The main difference is that the price drop in the United States happened abruptly, while in the Ottoman Empire it was the outcome of a decades-long and fluctuating evolution. However, there is no reason to assume the reaction of the Ottoman readership should be different, i.e., more people buying newspapers. Of course, the penny press owed its success not only to a lower price, but also novel content that appealed to a general audience. And, as was discussed earlier, the popularization of the contents of the Ottoman press also took place over several decades. In other words, the Ottoman press did not undergo a penny press revolution but appears to have been undergoing a penny press evolution, achieving similar results over a much larger timescale. The outcome was, of course, a more affordable press with broader appeal and thus a larger readership.

It is difficult to quantify or objectively measure the effects of the popularization process, but it is clear that the availability and accessibility of newspapers had increased. Consequently, by the time the 1908 Revolution had occurred, the press had become part of the daily lives of a broad section of society, especially in larger cities. The affinity between the printed media and the population had reached such levels in major cities, that it could cause a press boom to occur. The illustrated satirical magazines of the post-revolution years depicted “the reader” perusing periodicals in the privacy of their home,²¹ at restaurants,²² on public transport²³ and even while slacking at work, or simply as a common bystander, an inextricable part of the public background.²⁴ Furthermore, newspapers were no longer sold in specialised tobacco shops as something exotic, but rather on the streets by criers, because the chance that a passer-by might buy a copy on a whim was realistic.

20 M. Stewart Estelle and J.C. Bowen, “History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928. Revision of Bulletin No. 499 with Supplement, 1929–1933 (Page 523),” in *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics*, vol. 604, Wages and Hours of Labor Series (Washington: United States Department of Labor; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1934), 253. The average daily wage for a common labourer in New York in 1840 was \$0.95 per day or approximately \$24 per month when working 6 days per week. Before the penny press revolution, 30 newspapers would cost \$1.80 and after the penny press revolution only \$0.30.

21 E.g. *Kalem* #38, 21 Mayıs 1325 [3/06/1909], 9.

22 E.g. *Cem* #9, 23 Kanunısanı 1326 [5/01/1911], 9.

23 E.g. *Kalem* #61, 29 Teşrinievvel 1325 [14/11/1909], 13.

24 E.g. *Karagöz* #562, 3 Zilkade 1331/21 Eylül 1329 [4/10/1913], 4.

This did not mean that by 1908 the press had finished its popularization process. The press boom itself, after all, allowed every niche of publishing to be filled, thus making the press more interesting for a larger group of people. The renaissance of the satirical magazines, the increase in the number of publication for women or youth, the appearance of hobbyist magazines for sports and arts are all examples of this.

More importantly, after the revolution, newspapers tried to appeal to a larger audience. A 1917 Dutch consulate report remarked that Ottoman dailies were “trying to mimic the appearance of major European newspapers.”²⁵ This transformation, however, had less to do with mimicry and more with the fact that the dailies were trying to cater to a new readership. After the revolution, the dynamics of the periodical market had changed in a way that emphasized the importance of attracting a large readership; Abdülhamit’s subsidies were gone and competition was both numerous and fierce. Consequently, daily newspapers started a transformation, which is perhaps best described as a vulgarization by shedding all signs of elitism in order to draw in even more readers. The most visible sign of this transformation is the change in the presentation of political dailies. Between 1912 and 1914, Ottoman newspapers underwent a veritable visual revolution, which broke away from 80 years of tradition, resulting in a completely new appearance for dailies (cf. Figures 23–25).

To appreciate the profundity of the visual revolution of the Ottoman dailies in 1912–1914, it is necessary to understand the glacial pace of innovation in the appearance of newspapers since the days of *Takvim-i Vekayi*. In the 80 years between 1831 and 1911, the only noticeable changes in newspaper design were, on the one hand, the move from tabloid-size to broadsheet-size, which consequently increased the number of columns, and on the other hand, the more elaborate mastheads due to an increasing number of publications. The presentation of the text itself, however, remained almost unaltered. Text flowed from one column to the next with the only indication regarding content or structure being in the form of section headings, such as Domestic News (*Dahiliye*), Telegraphs (*Telgraflar*), etc. Unlike modern headlines, these section headings usually were not movable type, but rather (calligraphic) engravings and, therefore, did not disclose further details about the contents of the articles they grouped together.

As can be seen in Figure 26, the adoption of new presentation techniques occurred abruptly between 1912 and 1914. During this period, the usage of three

25 NL-HaNA, Consulaat-Generaal Constantinopel/Istanboel, 2.05.94, inv. nr 505, index 2125–1918, 19 Juli 1918, “Verslag over de Turksche pers van 1 Januari tot 1 Juli 1917”: “Uiterlijk men het groote dagbladwezen in Europa na te bootsen....”

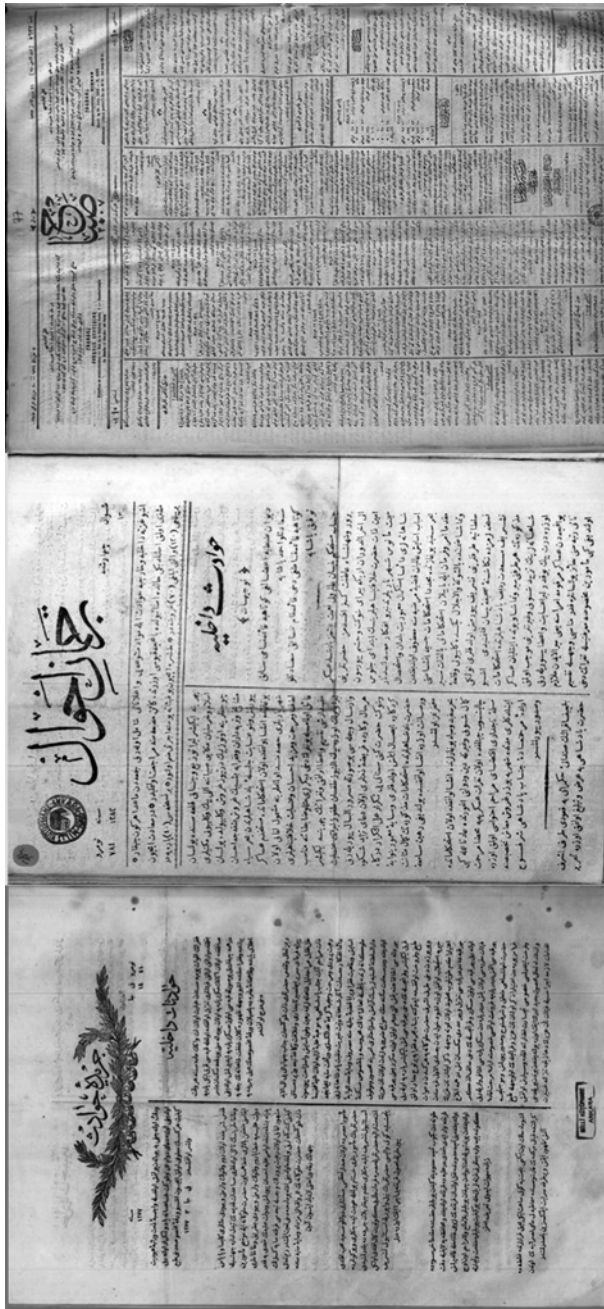


FIGURE 23 Comparison of newspaper front page design.

From their inception until after the 1908 Revolution, there were no profound changes in the way content was presented in Ottoman newspapers. Left to right: *Ceride-i Havadis* #41, 14 Cemazeyilahir 1257 [20 November 1841], *Tercüman-ı Ahval* #784, 13 Şevval 1282 [1 March 1866], *Sabah* #5933, 16 Rebiulahir 1323, 7 Haziran 1321, 20 Haziran 1905 [20 June 1905].



FIGURE 24 Comparison of Yeni Gazete front page design. Left to right: *Yeni Gazete* #1005, Cemazeyilahir 1329, 30 Mayıs 1327, 12 Haziran 1911 [12 June 1911], *Yeni Gazete* #1566-2, 28 Sefer 1337, 1 Kanunievvel 1334/1918 [1 December 1918]. The 1918 edition uses headlines, leads, sub-titles, different type sizes, multi-column layouts and images, whereas the 1911 edition employs none of these techniques.

techniques became standard practice, i.e., headlines, multi-column layouts and images. Headlines replaced section headings and, unlike section headings, conveyed information about the content of the article at a glance. Later sub-headlines (i.e., lead sentences) were also used, thus adding even more hierarchy. Multi-column layouts broke the monotonous column-to-column flow of text and allowed editors to give more prominence to certain articles. Images, either illustrations or photographs, could help readers visualize people and places. These techniques became common practice in the industry, and publications appearing after the visual revolution adopted them from the very beginning.

The visual revolution was not the outcome of technological advancements but of a paradigm shift among publishers who were now seeing the benefits (and necessity) of appealing to a broader audience. Figure 26 shows that dailies were already experimenting with some of these techniques before they were adopted as standard practice, for example the assassination of journalist



FIGURE 25 Comparison of İkdam front page design. Left to right: *İkdam* #5462, 20 Zilkade 1327, 30 Teşrinisani 1325, 3 Kanunievvel 1909 [3 December 1909], #7312, 27 Şaban 1335, 18 Haziran 1333-1917 [18 June 1917]. The 1917 edition uses headlines, leads, sub-titles, different type sizes, multi-column layouts, text wrapping around shapes and images, whereas the 1909 edition employs none of these techniques.

Hasan Fehmi was announced with headlines in 1909.²⁶ Even long before the 1908 Revolution, newspapers contained some rare examples of headlines and multi-column layouts.²⁷ But these were the proverbial exceptions to the rule. On the other hand, one needs only to look at the illustrated magazines or even the adverts section of daily newspapers themselves to see the usage of pictorial material, including photograph reproductions, long before the visual revolution.²⁸ Despite this, it was not until after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) that

26 *İkdam* #5341, 17 Rebiülevvel 1327/26 Mart 1325/8 Nisan 1909 [8/04/1909], 1, “Serbesti-i Matbuatın İlk Müdafî-i Mazlumu.”
 27 *Ceride-i Havadis (Ruzname-i)* #1802, 4 Şevval 1288/4 Kanunievvel Rumi/15 Kanunievvel Efrenci [15/12/1871], 8042. Example of non-standard column width, albeit not on front page.
 28 Tökin, *Basın Ansiklopedisi*, 20–21. *Vatan* (1866) was the first periodical to use illustrations. Kavas, *Türkiye’de Basın Fotoğrafçılığının Görsel Tarihi, Osmanlı’dan 1960’a*, 1:28. Kavas argues that the first photographic reproduction happened as early as 1874 in *Medeniyet (Musavver)*, albeit not using photographs, but clichés.

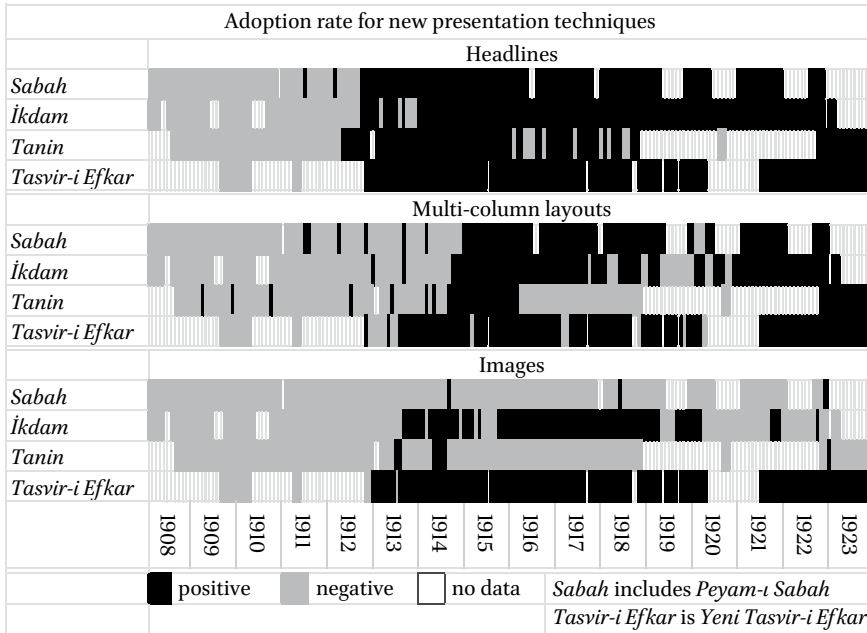


FIGURE 26 Adoption rates for new presentation techniques among major political dailies. Usage of these techniques prior to 1908 was virtually non-existent. Compiled by the author.

İbrahim Ferik, a pioneer of Ottoman photojournalism, received full-time employment as a photographer at a political daily, i.e., *İkdam*.²⁹ In other words, although both the techniques and the technology had been available for a fairly long time, they were not being used.

Innovation in Ottoman newspaper design was prevented by a mixture of complacency and tradition. The pre-1908 press, especially under Abdülhamit II, lacked sufficient competition to drive innovation. Furthermore, relations with the palace were more important than relations with the reader to guarantee survival of the publication. Conditions favoured sensible stability. After the 1908 Revolution, however, the concept of demand (*rağbet*) became central for the existence of publications. To draw in more readers, publishers abandoned traditions and tried to make their newspapers more appealing. Increasing the visual appeal was part of this strategy. This prompted Yalman to argue in 1912 (i.e., before the visual revolution had fully occurred) to remark that headlines,

29 Çapanoğlu, *Basın Tarihine Dair Bilgiler ve Hatıralar*, 22.

which were considered “sacrilege” by the traditional readership, were being used to draw in new readers from a “less educated class.”³⁰

Unflattering as Yalman’s remark was, it was truthful. Publishers in the west, too, had realised that vulgarization was interesting for the bottom line. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, publishers in North America and Europe had successfully appealed to the uneducated masses and lower classes through the usage of sensationalist headlines, pictures and a generally more appealing front page.³¹ The Ottoman press was simply picking up slack. And this strategy must have worked. Ahmet Rasim, a veteran journalist and author who started his newspaper career under Abdülhamit II’s regime, melancholically looked back on the readership of his youth (±1880’s) as “consisting of people who were cultured above average,”³² while he complained about the modern reader (±1920’s) as, both young and old, “incapable of truly understanding what they are reading.”³³ Looking beyond Ahmet Rasim’s typical cynicism, his statement supports the idea that vulgarization, as in the west, had succeeded in the Ottoman press.

The changes to the visual language were accompanied by the shedding of symbols of elitism or status. For example, at the eve of the 1908 Revolution, one of the most constant features of the Ottoman front page had been the section on the Parisian stock market, which adorned the face of major political dailies in Istanbul. Although there must have been some readers who had direct financial interests in this marker, for the vast majority of Ottomans, such reports would have been irrelevant and outright useless. They were presumably printed so prominently to give the publication a *chic* or sophisticated image. The same could be said of the French in the mastheads, which showed the title of the publication, the name of the owner, subscription information, among other information. While these were arguably useful for foreign postal services,

30 Ahmed Emin [Yalman], “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press,” 123.

31 E.g. E.M. Palmegiano, “The ‘Fourth Estate,’ British Journalism in Britain’s Century,” in *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815–1914: Essays on the Press in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States*, ed. Ross F. Collins and E.M. Palmegiano (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2007), 163.

32 Ahmet Rasim, *Muharrir Bu Ya*, ed. Hikmet Dizdaroğlu (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, Devlet Kitapları, 1969), 206. “Benim gençliğimde gazetecilik adeta “devşirme” kişilerden, az çok okumus, az çok fikir sahibi, az çok anladığımı anlatır, söyleneni anlar, bu halleriyle beraber okuyucu zümresi çoğunluğunun üstünde bir kültür seviyesinde kimselerden meydana gelmişti.”

33 Ahmet Rasim, 203–4. “Çünkü müşahede ve tetkiklerim sonunda beliren hakikatlerdendir ki, değil çocuklarda, hatta mektep mezunu gençler, saçlı sakallı kimseler arasında bile okur göründükleri gazetelerin yazdıklarını hakkıyla anlayanların sayısı oldukça sınırlıdır.”

the “form-over-function” placement and the unnecessarily large type used for the text gives the impression of a declaration of status. After all, it is hard to believe that the number of subscribers in Europe amounted to a number to warrant such ostentatious visible usage of French. After the Constitutional Revolution, both of these practices were continued for several years, especially by the dailies that had existed before revolution, although some newcomers did copy them.³⁴ However, both practices were abandoned by the major dailies in the 1912–1914 period.³⁵ This adds to the idea that the visual revolution was only part of a broader attempt to appeal to a more common and less elite reader. It also suggests that the transformation of the dailies in 1912–1914 was more than visual and that a study could reveal a coinciding change in content.

It is important also to understand that the popularization of the press was not simply the numeric growth of the reading public, but that, with the growth, came a diversification in the readership. Identifying the individual reader is, unfortunately, not possible on the basis of direct evidence. The practice of obsessively collecting as much personal information as possible about consumers (e.g., for marketing) is relatively new. There is one promising source in the form of a written survey conducted by journalist Ahmet Emin [Yalman] in October 1913,³⁶ but it suffers from major drawbacks. According to this survey, an Ottoman newspaper reader was most likely a man between the ages of 20 and 29, and an exceptionally well-educated polyglot. Unfortunately, these findings should be taken with a grain of salt. Ahmet Emin himself mentions the low number of respondents (120) as a problem. However, there is also the fact that the questionnaires were passed around only among “Turks” and in the social circles of his own friends and acquaintances in Istanbul who “as far as possible” tried to get a representative sample, rendering the measurements very vulnerable to specific errors, such as nonresponse and social desirability biases.³⁷

An indirect approach toward identifying the Ottoman readership is by looking at the entirety of the periodical press itself. This is akin to approximating

34 E.g. *Yeni Gazete* (1908).

35 The removal of French from the mastheads did coincide with the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the First World War, which made France the enemy. But the fact that French was not replaced by German, or that the practice did not return after the war had ended, adds to the idea that its use was strictly ornamental.

36 Ahmed Emin [Yalman], “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press,” 133–38.

37 Because the survey was passed around in a certain social circle, it lacks randomness, thus making respondents from other socio-economic circles absent. Furthermore, the survey does not appear to have been done anonymously as Ahmet Emin offers personal information about one of the respondents regarding something that was not part of the survey. Lack of anonymity is known to increase social desirability bias.

the imagined or implied reader of a single publication through textual analysis and relies on the idea is that the press is like a mirror, containing in its corpus a reflection of its authors and readers. After all, why write if nobody is reading? When the post-1908 Ottoman press is approached in this way, it suggests that a more diverse reading public existed than is suggested by Ahmet Emin's survey. As was mentioned before, the specialization of the periodical press into sub-genres, which started in earnest in the 1880's, only increased over time, almost explosively so after 1908. For example, periodicals aimed at women, youth and children increased after the revolution, suggesting that this group was growing. This is not contradictory to Ahmet Emin's survey results. However, the mix of the languages during the 1908 press boom, and especially the fact that many periodicals appeared in multiple languages simultaneously, would also suggest that most readers were monolingual or, at least not as comfortable in a multilingual environment as is suggested by the survey. At the same time, the linguistic distribution of the boom era press is a testament to the popularity of the press among the Ottoman public as a whole.

Therefore, after 1908, the Ottoman press continued its popularization by further opening itself to an even broader readership. This also resulted in a dramatic change in the appearance of daily newspapers, which ended up changing more in the few years after 1912 than in the 80 years before. A longitudinal analysis of newspaper content for this period, especially with a focus on the front page and the adverts page, will no doubt reveal a shift in both subject and tone, akin to the rising sensationalism in the American and European press when it was undergoing the same transformations. Finally, although it is difficult to quantify the effects of the various smaller changes and larger milestones along the path of evolution of the Ottoman periodical press, it seems reasonable to assume that it did not stray from the global pattern of increased popularization, and, that this popularization when the 1908 Revolution occurred, was already quite significant.

A careful observer might point out that, despite its apparent popularity, the Ottoman press appears to have suffered from two major hurdles. The first of these were the relatively low circulation figures. Even during the post-1908 revival of the Ottoman press, when peak figures could be significantly higher, consistently maintaining an average run of 10,000 daily copies would classify an Istanbul daily as very successful. This was far lower than circulations in contemporary Western cities. For example, the London-based *Daily Mail* is believed to have achieved a circulation of 200,000 by the turn of the twentieth century.³⁸ Around the same time, the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* in Germany even

38 Palmegiano, "The 'Fourth Estate,' British Journalism in Britain's Century," 169.



بالتري برر برر كو:كار تايور زوالينك خبرى يوق. اوه كيدنجه عجا النده كي كوزمه يوقى اسفاره باپوبده يه جيك ؟

FIGURE 27 Caricature: Reading a magazine

A man so engrossed in his reading that he does not notice dogs are eating his fish.

SOURCE: *BOŞBOĞAZ* #9, (DATE ILLEGIBLE) SEPTEMBER 1908?, 1

outperformed the *Daily Mail*.³⁹ The *New York Times* boasted a daily circulation of over 172,000 in 1908.⁴⁰ Istanbul’s circulation numbers, which can be assumed to have been the highest of the Ottoman Empire, are dwarfed in comparison to these examples. Secondly, literacy rates are estimated to have been fairly low, even in Istanbul with its high concentration of educated government employees. Estimates for the overall literacy rates in the Ottoman Empire in its final

39 Ulf Jonas Bjork, “Germany, Mass-Circulation Newspapers Shaped by an Authoritarian Setting,” in *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815–1914: Essays on the Press in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States*, ed. Ross F. Collins and E.M. Palmegiano (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2007), 132.

40 Fred Blevens, “Power, Irony and Contradictions. Education and the News Business.,” in *Journalism 1908: Birth of a Profession*, ed. Betty Houchin Winfield (Columbia & London: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 106.

decades are commonly accepted to have been below 10%.⁴¹ Karpat appears to be the only one to present a higher rate at an optimistic high of 54% general population being literate.⁴²

However, neither literacy rates (whether high or low) nor circulation figures are good metrics for the popularity or readership of the late Ottoman press. The problem with relying on circulation figures is that it applies the modern mentality of individual ownership of printed media and projects this onto the historical reader. Barring some exceptions, a modern reader is expected to buy and owns his/her own copy of the newspaper or magazine which he/she alone reads. This makes it easy to forget that co-ownership and (public) co-readership were well-established practices in many places throughout the history of the press.⁴³ The Ottoman readership followed similar patterns. In the mid-nineteenth century, when the price of both domestic and imported printed media was relatively high, a new type of coffee shop called *kıraathane* (“reading house”) started to become popular.⁴⁴ Patrons could peruse for a fair price the large collection of recent and older copies of both Ottoman and Western publications.

For those who were illiterate, the coffee shop could provide them with a reader, as according to one observer in 1836:

The Turks, when [*Takvim-i Vekayi*] first appeared, had no conception of any amusement to be derived from such a thing; but, like children, when their curiosity was once excited, it knew no bounds. The publication of the news of the empire in this way soon became of universal attraction. The paper made its way to the coffeehouses, and the same Turk that I had noticed before dozing, half stupefied with coffee and tobacco, I now saw actually awake, with the paper in his hand, eagerly spelling out the news. But the most usual mode of communicating it are news-rooms, and a place is taken where those who wish to hear it assemble. A stool is placed in the centre, on which the man who can read sits, and others form a

41 E.g. Fortna, *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic*, 20–21. Fortna suggests around 10%. Yücel Yanıkdağ, “Educating the Peasants: The Ottoman Army and Enlisted Men in Uniform,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 6 (2004): 94. Yanıkdağ suggests between 5–7%.

42 Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 221.

43 E.g. Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida, “The Portuguese Cholera Morbus Epidemic of 1853–56 as Seen by the Press,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 66 (2011): 51, <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsnr.2011.0001>; Weber, “Strassburg, 1605,” 339.

44 Ünver, “Yayın Hayatımızda Önemli Yeri Olan Sarafim Kıraathanesi,” 484.

circle round him and listen. The attention paid is very different from what which I saw them give to a story-teller. There was no mirth of laughter excited, but all seemed to listen with profound attention, interrupted only sometimes by grave ejaculations of “Inshallah” or “Allah keerim.”⁴⁵

Although individual ownership and subscriptions were becoming increasingly affordable, this did not completely end the practices of shared reading. Even as late as 1913, when Ahmet Emin conducted his aforementioned survey, many of his respondents either swapped periodicals with their friends, borrowed from others or sent their copies to their relatives in rural areas.⁴⁶ This is even more striking when one considers the fact that these respondents belonged to a more elite social circle, almost all of whom purchased copies for reading and less than 3% relied on coffee shops for reading material.

Still, for many, the coffee shop remained a hub where they could read (or listen) to newspapers and discuss events with others. The 1906 British report on the Ottoman Empire pointed out that, indeed, the *kuraathane*-tradition continued, meaning that circulation numbers were misleading.⁴⁷ And even in later years, it was possible to find the trope of the coffee shop reader reflected onto the pages of the satirical press (see Figures 28 and 29).

Furthermore, group readings were not limited to coffee shops. A parent or sibling could read in a house, or among friends in the privacy of their home. From the public readings, the age-old capillary mechanism of word-of-mouth transmission could take over and help spread whatever interesting content the publications had to offer into virtually every household. Therefore, especially in a “café society,” such as the Ottoman, literacy was not as important for the dissemination of printed information as one might expect.⁴⁸ Nor is circulation a particularly accurate way to gauge the reach and influence of the press. In fact, the observation that in French journalism “throughout the nineteenth

45 Robert Walsh, *A Residence at Constantinople, During a Period Including the Commencement, Progress and Termination of the Greek and Turkish Revolutions*, vol. 2 (London: F. Westley & A.H. Davis, 1836), 283. via Karateke, “The Ottoman Official Gazette Taqvim-i Veqayi, 1831,” 201–2.

46 Ahmed Emin [Yalman], “The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press,” 135.

47 TNA FO 195/2363 f: p:1, 18/01/1907, “General report on Turkey 1906” (19–21) Turkish press. The report points out that despite low circulation figures news were read in coffee houses and could rely on word of mouth to disseminate.

48 Nelly Hanna, “Literacy among Artisans and Tradesmen in Ottoman Cairo,” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), 321.



— حاله باق ازم كوز ... مجا القشاه قدر طاوله اونامندن بوريلوب اوسا تيوروسى ...
 — بو بوك برآدم اولسه ايلك اجرا آتم امين اوله كه بو خط لكاهله عالم اولور ... خلق نيل ايشكندن غيبري بر شيشه ياراماز ... ياكوز بول سسقطه ..
 ايسنديك قدر فصل و دم ...

FIGURE 28 Caricature: Group reading in a coffee shop

Contrasting readers and non-readers. The non-reading patrons, who would rather play backgammon all day, are accused of being lazy. On the other hand, nothing is said about the reading group. Their activity appears to be acceptable.

SOURCE: *KARAGÖZ* #106, 15 RECEP 1327/20 TEMMUZ 1325/2 AĞUSTOS 1909 [2/08/1909], 4

century and into the twentieth [...] high circulations were not necessary for significant clout,⁴⁹ can be applied to Ottoman journalism, too.

In the end, however, the question of readership is perhaps best approached from a different angle. Was the press capable of exerting influence on their readership and, through them, on their surroundings in, for example, political, economic and social matters? The answer to this question determines whether the Ottoman press was an intellectual hobby or whether it was actually a medium capable of transferring messages from authors to their audiences in a

49 Collins, "Traitorous Collaboration, The Press in France, 1815–1914," 82. Collins argues that circulation figures can be misleading. Parisian journalists managed to mobilize a revolution in 1830 when the total circulation of all dailies put together was 50,000, adding that more than half of the dailies were probably government supporters.



— Au coin du café!
Après le pas de parade Allemande, le
repos à la turque.

آلمان اصولی بودو پشدن سکره آلاتوره
استراحت.

FIGURE 29 Caricature: Reading in a coffee shop
Smoking *nargile* and reading a newspaper at a coffee shop labelled as Turkish
pastime (“Alaturka istirahat”).

SOURCE: *CEM* #23, 2 NISAN 1327 [15/04/1911], 1

meaningful way. For the Ottoman press, the answer is a resounding “yes.” In the years between 1908 and 1923, the press was capable of exerting a huge amount of influence. It was an effective cause or catalyst of change. It could pressure governments into changing policy or move masses by calling them to action with emotional appeals.

In fact, the Ottoman press had been an influential medium long before 1908. The attempts at controlling the press through legislation in 1864, with the First Ottoman Press Law, and in 1865, with the infamous decree known as *Kararname-i Ali*, are clear indicators of such upcoming influence. The government was starting to recognize the press as a potential instigator of political upheaval, and rightfully so. After all, the press would play a central role in the Young Ottomans movement. Not only had the movement been formed by bureaucrat-journalists, but the Young Ottoman press-in-exile was also a decisive factor in reaching and influencing the right people, the bureaucratic-intelligentsia, which in turn led to the declaration of a constitutional monarchy. Abdülhamit II was not averse to the press simply because he felt like it, but rather because he realised that his predecessors had fallen victim to its influence. Thus, he attempted to control the press, not only domestically, but also to use it to his advantage abroad.⁵⁰ But, again, the influence of the press-in-exile, this time of the Young Turks, on the correct audience, this time on western-style educated officers in the military, played a role in bringing about the 1908 Revolution.

Needless to say, the post revolution, the press did not lose any of its power. One of the more dramatic examples of the impact of the press during this period is the 31 March Incident (*31 Mart Hadisesi*) in April 1909.⁵¹ During this uprising, which is often considered a counter-movement to the July 1908 Revolution, a group of soldiers and religious figures took to the streets of Istanbul, demanding better compliance with Sharia law, while rejecting the authority of Westernised military officers. In some of its more violent episodes, the mutineers wounded or killed officers and civilians. The suppression of the revolt by the Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) was followed by the dethronement of Sultan Abdülhamit II, who was accused of having organised the event. Whether Abdülhamit was truly involved in its organization or whether it had been the result of efforts by other political parties is still the subject of debate.⁵² Luckily, in order to establish the influence of the printed media, there is no need to venture into the quagmire of conspiracy theories regarding who was actually pulling the strings behind the scenes. After all, *Volkan*, the daily newspaper that played a major role in instigating the revolt, did so in broad daylight.

50 Baykal, "The Ottoman Press and the Dutch East Indies at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century."

51 The uprising is named after the date on which it began according to the Rumi calendar, i.e., 31 Mart 1325 [13/04/1909].

52 See for example Zürcher, *Turkey*, 99. Engin, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve İstanbul'u*, 22. Unat, *İkinci Meşrutiyetin ilânı ve Otuzbir Mart hâdisesi*, 56–62.

Reading *Volkan's* content reveals too many connections to what transpired during the 31 March Incident to be coincidental. A side-by-side comparison of articles published in the daily and the events during the mutiny reveals, with the clarity of hindsight, allusions (if not predictions) of what was about to happen. This is particularly clear in the targets and goals of *Volkan*, the former being the victims of violence and the latter the ideals which it propagated.

The link between the mob that took part in the uprising and the contents of *Volkan* can be seen in the slogans that they chanted and in the official demands, which were made later in the day. On the morning of 13 April 1909, as the mutiny was gathering steam, the second dragoman of the Dutch embassy, who was an eye-witness, described the scene as follows:

Early this morning a very large group of religious scholars gathered at the square in front of Ayasofya, near the offices of the Ministry of Justice and the Chamber of Deputies. [The group], as their numbers grew, took a more and more aggressive attitude. Shortly, soldiers (but not officers) were seen joining them, [and] among the regular blue uniforms the white uniforms of the Albanian troops, the old palace guards, could be seen... From this large mass of people chants [were] rising: We want the Religious Law! Out with the Committee [of Union and Progress]! Long live our Sultan Abdülhamit! And such [other chants] ...⁵³

The mob consisted of people who supported Abdülhamit II and believed that it could get an imperial pardon for the crimes that had been committed during the uprising. Unlike the press of the period, which ranged from neutral to outright hostile towards the Sultan, *Volkan* acted as an apologist for Abdülhamit II. On the surface, *Volkan*, too, spoke of pre-revolution period as tyranny ("istibdat") and celebrated its abolition.⁵⁴ However, it refrained from linking

53 Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Gezantschap, Consulaat, Consulaat-generaal te Constantinopel/Istanboel (Turkije), (1817) 1872-1954 (1955), nummer toegang 2.05.94, inventarisnummer 454, index 540-1909, 13 April 1909: "Heden morgen vroeg verzamelde zich op het plein van Aya Sofia, vlak bij het ministerie van justitie en het gebouw der kamer der afgevaardigden, een zeer grote menigte hoja's die met het aangroeien van hun getal tevens een meer en meer dreigende houding begonnen aan te nemen. Spoedig zag men zich ook soldaten (echter geen officiers) bij hen voegen, waaronder naast de gewone blauwe uniformen ook de witte kleding van de Albanese troepen van't vroegere paleisgarnizoen opviel... Uit de thans zeer groote menschen massa stijgen de kreten op: Wij willen de Godsdienstige Wet! Weg met het Comité! Leve onze Sultan Abdul Hamid! En dergelijke."

54 For example, see: *Volkan* #94, 13 Rebiülevvel 1327, 22 Mart 1324, 4 Nisan 1909 [4 April 1909], "Menkabe-i Celile-i Cenab-ı Peygamberimiz."

wrongdoings to the Sultan himself. In one article, *Volkan* accused the CUP, which it regularly antagonized,⁵⁵ of being responsible for the assassination of *Serbesti* journalist Hasan Fehmi and argued that the Sultan himself had never resorted to such violence, suggesting that the Sultan was less oppressive than the Committee: “If His Majesty the Sultan Abdülhamit had wanted men assassinated [...] he had the power to do so. [...] What we are trying to say is that, while under the previous regime countless forms of abuse was suffered at the hands of ministers and the like, the murders and scandals of today were unheard of.”⁵⁶ Thus, *Volkan* was putting the blame for the oppression not on the Sultan but on corrupt “ministers and the like” in the government. Similarly, it suggested that Abdülhamit was not to be blamed for problems among officers, and that he had been deceived by manipulators.⁵⁷

In his memoirs, Atay describes a scene from the 31 March Incident where a mob of religiously garbed men were hanging on the fences around the Ministry of War building and hurling in copies of *Volkan* over the walls.⁵⁸

The mob consisted for a great part of religious scholars and students who were chanting for rule of sharia law. *Volkan* was the mouthpiece of the Mohammedan Union Party, whose constitution explained in its third article that

55 E.g., *Volkan* #88, 7 Rebiülevvel 1327, 16 Mart 1325, 29 Mart 1909M [29 March 1909], “Hükümet İçinde Hükümet” or *Volkan* #99, 18 Rebiülevvel 1327, 27 Mart 1325, 9 Nisan 1909 [9 April 1909], “İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyetinin Tesirâtı.” In the latter example, *Volkan* calls the members of the Mohammedan Union Committee to support the government, but qualifies that by saying “as long as the government is not in the hands of a single party,” meaning the CUP. (“Daima hükümete zahir olunuz. Çünkü bizim hükümetten bir beklediğimiz yoktur. [...] O halde biz hükümetin muhafazakarı müsabesindeyiz. Lakin, hükümet de bir fırkaya mensup olmadığını isbat ederse.”)

56 *Volkan* #102, 21 Rebiülevvel 1327, 30 Mart 1325, 12 Nisan 1909 [12 April 1909], “Teskin-i Helecan Emr-i Mehal”: (After claiming that Hasan Fehmi was assassinated by order of the CUP) “Sultan Abdülhamit Han Hazretleri, eğer adam öldürmek isteseydi, şeref sokağının reisini de, avnesini de, Paris apartmanlarında, Mısır’da, Hidiv imarethanelerinde, öldürtebilirdi [...] Ve hiç şüphe yoktur ki: Hakan-ı müşarun ileyh Hazretleri bu kuvvet ve kudrete balağan mabalag malik idi. Ve o zamanlar bizzat – Ceddim siyaseten yüz bin kişiyi kılınçtan geçirmiş iken, ben bugün nefyile iktifa ediyorum – dediği de yine bizim ceridelerimizde görülmüştü. Demek istiyoruz ki: derv-i sabıkta nüzzar ve saire tarafından bin türlü mezalim tatbik olduğu halde, bu günkü cinayetlerin, rezaletlerin hiç birisi görülmemişti.”

57 *Volkan* #82, 30 Sefer 1327, 10 Mart 1325, 22 Mart 1909 [22/03/1909], “Alaylı – Mektepli Zabitanla Askerler.” Arguing that Abdülhamit himself was being deceived into keeping the formally educated officers (*mektepli*) from reaching high ranks within the military. “Kabihat ne alaylıda ne mekteplide idi. Fakat zannetmeyiniz ki: halifedeydi. Hayır! Onu da aldatıyorlardı. Mektepliler sana sadık olamaz diyorlardı. Velhasıl, ortada bir fırıldaklar dönüyordu.”

58 Falih Rıfki [Atay], *Batış Yılları*, 34.

“the purpose of the party is to work and strive to guarantee the continued [application] [...] of the Glorious Quran and the Holy Sharia” by making sure that the new Ottoman laws created in parliament would be based on religious law (*fiqh*) books and to enforce the application of sharia through common courts.⁵⁹ Although it tried to frame it within a constitutional framework,⁶⁰ *Volkan* argued explicitly and strongly for the establishment of sharia law.⁶¹ Three days before the 31 March Incident took place, however, it went as far as to reject the rule of secular law. *Volkan* claimed that the newly drafted law on societies would have no effect on the Mohammedan Union Party, claiming that the party was “not an organization to be subjected to worldly laws. For it is governed only by divine [i.e., sharia] law” and that “societies can all be subjected to a certain law, however the holy Mohammedan Union Party is exempt from such requirements. How can an eternal society, such as the Mohammedan Union Party, which seeks to subject Ottoman laws to religious law [...] be limited [by non-religious laws]?”⁶²

59 *Volkan* #48, 26 Muharrem 1327, 4 Şubat 1324, 17 Şubat 1909 [17/02/1909], “İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti nizamnamesi”: “Madde 1: Cemiyetin reisi Hazret-i Muhammed Mustafa’dır. Madde 2: Cemiyetin ismi ‘İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti’dir 1327 sene-i Hicriyesinde Darülhilafe’de teşekkül etmiştir. Madde 3: Cemiyetin maksadı, Memalik-i Hilafet’te ve sair biladde mütemekkin anasır-ı muhtelif-i İslamiye’nin tehzib-i ahlakına ve içtimai terakkilerine bais-i yegane olan Kuran-ı Kerim’in, Şeriat-ı Mutaharra’nın ileyvmilkiyame temin-i devamına say ve gayret eylemek ve kaffe-i Müslüminin faliyet-i siyasiye ve içtimayilerini tezyid ve tevhid etmek ve Şer-i Şerif ve Kanun-ı Esasi-i Münif ile müeyyed olup Darülhilafe’de teessüs eden usul-i meşvereti hırz-ı can bilerek muhafaza eylemek. Memalik-i Osmaniye’de kavanin-i hukukiyeyi *Mecelle-i Ahkam-ı Adliye* müştetal bulunduğu gibi kütüp-i fikhiyeden bilistinbat bir de Ceza Kanunu ve kavanin-i saire-i mukteziye meydana getirerek ileride Meclis-i Mebusan’a arzetmek ve bu suretle istikbalde Memalik-i Osmaniye’de mehakim-i nizamiyelerde kavanin-i şeriyenin desturülamel olmasına gayret etmek ve bütün liva-ı Muhammedi altında bulunan alem-i İslamiyeti taarruzdan sıyanet eylemek.”

60 For example, *Volkan* #87, 6 Rebiülevvel 1327, 15 Mart 1325, 28 Mart 1909 [28/03/1909], “Nida-ı Mazlumane”: “Fakat biz meşrutiyeti keyf için, zevk için, Frenk adetlerini memleketimize sokmak için kabul etmişlerden değiliz. Dinimize nakise vermek isteyenlerden değiliz. Biz meşrutiyetle beraber, Meclis-i Mebusanımızda yapılacak kanunların şeriserife muvafık olmasına gayret edeceğiz.”

61 E.g., *Volkan* #91, 11 Rebiülevvel 1327, 20 Mart 1325, 2 Nisan 1909 [2/04/1909], “Dayak Mı Vahşettir, Yoksa Zindan Mı?,” where the author is arguing for corporeal punishments, as part of sharia law.

62 *Volkan* #99, 18 Rebiülevvel 1327, 27 Mart 1325, 9 Nisan 1909 [9 April 1909], “İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyetinin Tesirâtı”: “İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti, cemiyet-i muhdese değildir ki kanun-ı beşeriyeye tabi olsun. Onun kanunu, Kanun-ı İlahidir. [...] Cemiyetlerin, cemiyet-i muhdeselerin her biri bir kanuna tabi olabilirler, lakin İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyet-i mukaddesi bu gibi kuyudattan varestedir. İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti, yapılacak kavanin-i Osmaniye’nin bile kendisinin tabi olduğu kavanin-i şeriyeye tabiyetini

The mob also consisted of military. The crucial detail in this is that the military component of the mutiny was comprised of regular soldiers and not officers, who had been taken prisoner or killed. *Volkan*, which is reported to have been distributed for free among the common soldiery,⁶³ regularly presented itself as a patron of the common soldier, showering them with praise. It also regularly printed letters from soldiers who would from time to time complain about their officers.⁶⁴ One soldier wrote in to say: “May God keep us from becoming the type of soldiers that oppose sharia and law. We must obey our superiors, we know this. However, [we will not accept] injustice that will torment our souls,”⁶⁵ thus touching on both the subject of obedience to sharia and possible disobedience to superiors if the situation dictated it. *Volkan* contains a surprising number of articles that touch on the subject of obedience⁶⁶ in the military where it subtly introduced conditions for that obedience: “[...] obedience is required to those superiors who do not stray from the law and just action. But what are we to do? If we were to call all of them bad, where are we to find good ones?”⁶⁷ A reader of the daily knew, of course, that “bad officers” were the *mektepli* type, products of the European model academy. In one instance, it urged such officers to find spirituality before they came to regret

aramakta ve o hudut dahilinde hareket edilmesini takip edeceği emelini izhar etmekte iken, hiç ezeli, ebedi olan bir cemiyet başka bir suretle tahdid mi edilir.”

- 63 The scale of these handouts is not currently known, but it must have been sufficiently large to draw the attention of the British embassy. Considering the cost of material and printing, the handouts could have been a significant financial outlay. Cf. TNA FO 195/2363, 31 January 1910, “Annual Report, 1909,” 62: “In especial the inflammatory articles of the semi-religious ‘Volcan’ must have had great influence on the soldiery, among whom it was distributed gratis.”
- 64 E.g., *Volkan* #80, 29 Safer 1327, Mart 1325, 21 Mart 1909 [21 March 1909], “Volkan Sahib-i İmtiyazı Derviş Vahdeti.”
- 65 *Volkan* #87, 6 Rebiülevvel 1327, 15 Mart 1325, 28 Mart 1909 [28 March 1909], “Nida-ı Mazlumanane”: “Allah bizi şeriate, kanuna karşı gelen askerden eylemesin! Amirimize itat boynumuza borç olduğunu, hamdolsun biliriz. Lakin ruhumuza sıkıntı verecek cevri cefaya da yer yoktur.”
- 66 E.g. *Volkan* #82, 30 Sefer 1327, 10 Mart 1325, 22 Mart 1909M [22 March 1909], “Alaylı – Mektepli Zabitanla Askerler”: “Yalnız, bir zabıtın aşcılığını, çocuğunun pisliğini yıkamak gibi hizmet-ı hususilerini ifa etmeğe mecbur değilsiniz. Angaryalarda istihdam olunamazsınız. Bir zabıtın rey-i hudiyle dayak yiyemezsiniz. Bunlar bir takım haksızlıklardır ki: yaptığımız için kimsenin sizi ne taktir ne tahkire hakkı yoktur. İşte milletin size karşı medyun olduğu şeylerden biri de muğayir-i kanun olarak size yapılan muamelattan dolayı mafevkinize şikayet edip de dinlemezseniz, o vakit millet, bu hakkınızı da arayabilir.”
- 67 *Volkan* #87, 6 Rebiülevvel 1327, 15 Mart 1325, 28 Mart 1909M [28 March 1909], “Nida-ı Mazlumanane”: “Emin olunuz: aldanırsınız vakia bu dediklerimde, kanundan, haktan ayrılmayan amirlere lazımgelen bir itaattir. Lakin ne yapalım. Eğer biz her ferde fena diyecek olursak, iyileri nereden bulacağız?”

it.⁶⁸ At other times, its owner Derviş Vahdeti claimed to have received death threats from an anonymous officer,⁶⁹ or that certain officers had commanded their soldiers that, if ordered to do so, they should not hesitate to kill turbaned *hocas*.⁷⁰ In the end, even though *Volkan* never openly called on the soldiers to mutiny against their *mektepli* officers, it is not difficult to read the suggestion between the lines:

A soldier [...] should live for the army; he should die for the army. However, if [a man] is a soldier for four westernised drunks, who [have only just] returned from Europe, and believes them when they say that they are patriots, then woe to this people. Soldiers! The people expect a service from you this instant. [You must] think and believe! [You must] act!⁷¹

There were, however, also targets mentioned specifically by name. The mob was out to kill Hüseyin Cahit and Ahmet Rıza. These were prominent CUP-members that had been painted as targets by *Volkan*. However, the mob

68 *Volkan* #82, 30 Sefer 1327, 10 Mart 1325, 22 Mart 1909M [22 March 1909], “Alaylı – Mektepli Zabitanla Askerler”: “Kadrinizi bilmezseniz pişman olursunuz zabitan! Mektepte gördüğünüz yahut mutalaa ile öğrenmiş olduğunuz felsefenizi ali bir dereceye ivsale çalışınız. Rica ederim biraz ruhun ahvalinden haberdar olunuz ve şehitlik ne olduğunu daha ziyade öğreniniz!”

69 *Volkan* #98, 1[8] Rebiülevvel 1327, 26 Mart 1325, 8 Nisan 1909M [8 April 1909], “İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti – La Turquie Gazetesi ve Bir Zabıt Tehditnamesi.”

70 *Volkan* #102, 21 Rebiülevvel 1327, 30 Mart 1325, 12 Nisan 1909 [12/04/1909], “Teskin-i Helecan Emr-i Mahal”: “Bu mülkte evvel ve ahir hükümler olan şeriat kuvvetidir. O halde ahkam-ı şeriye bigünah olanları sokak ortalarında öldürmeği, memleketimizi Avrupa’nın bazı aksamına döndermeği mi emrediyor?” A similar story rant he next day in *Volkan* #103, 22 Rebiülevvel 1327, 31 Mart 1325, 13 Nisan 1909 [13/04/1909], “Volkan”: “Bir kaç gün evvel, burada, bir zabıtın bir kışlada, [...] guya askere itat dersini, nasihatı verdiği esnada – Askerler! Şu, sokaklarda gördüğünüz başı sarklı hocalar yok mu? Size emrettiğimiz zaman, bunları süngülerinizin ucuna takacaksınız!! gibi nasihat vermek de askerlikte var mı?! Varsa hata, ender hatadır. Çünkü bu milletin askeri, ancak ya şehit ye gazi olmak için harp eder. Asker toprak için boğuşmaktan ziyade, ala-ı kelimetullah için terk-i can eder. [...] yoksa, sokaktaki hocaları gördünüz mü? İcabı halinde onları keseceksiniz?! Milleti mi ziyade seversiniz? Padişahı mı? gibi pek bayağı nasihatlerle, nasihatlerle değil, askerin nefretini mucip olacak hallerle uğraşan zabitan ne Allahın emrini tanır, ne de kanun-ı şeriati. Böyle zabitan, elimden gelip de yapabileceğim bir şey var ise acımadır.”

71 *Volkan* #81, 39 Safer 1327, 9 Mart 1325, 22 Mart 1909 [22 March 1909], “İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti”: “Askerler bütün manasıyla asker olmalı. Askerlik için yaşamalı, askerlik için ölmeli. Yoksa Avrupa’da frenkleşerek avdet etmiş dört tane sarhoş için askerlik ediyorsa, ve onların vatanperveriz dediklerine inanyorsa, vay bu milletin haline. Askerler! Millet sizden bu dakika hizmet bekliyor. Düşününüz, inanınız! Yapınız!”

mistakenly killed two other people. Silan, parliamentary secretary when the incident occurred, recounts in his memoirs:

Seeing in front of my own eyes on Sultanahmet Square how Minister of Justice Nazım Paşa, [who was mistaken for] the then President of the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan Reisi*), Ahmet Rıza, and Arslan Bey, the *Emir* of Latakia, [who was mistaken for] Istanbul Deputy Hüseyin Cahit, were killed with bayonets as they were approaching the building of the Chamber of Deputies [one of them] in a roofless and [the other in] a roofed car, was an unfortunate [sight] for unspoilt minds [like mine].⁷²

In the weeks before the mutiny, Hüseyin Cahit, journalist/politician, had published an article (mockingly) titled “We Want Sharia!” in which he strongly criticised the voices demanding a return to the application of the Muslim religious law. In his article, Hüseyin Cahit warned about the occurrence of reactionary events (“silsile-i irticai”) which were aiming to cause havoc and were abusing people’s religious sentiments to achieve this goal.⁷³ The result of this publication was that attacking Hüseyin Cahit became a recurring theme in *Volkan*, either for this particular article or for others.⁷⁴ The aforementioned article was attacked in several issues of *Volkan*, being called a scandalous article (“rezalet alud”),⁷⁵ in compliant with the sharia (“mugayır-ı şer-i şerif”),⁷⁶ while Hüseyin Cahit was accused of wanting to “strike another blow at the sharia and

72 Silan, *II. Meşrutiyet ve Sonrası Hatıralarım*, 19. “[...] Sultanahmet Meydanı’nda, o zamanın Meclis-i Mebusan Reisi Ahmed Rıza Bey’in yerine Adliye nazırı Nazım Paşa’nın, İstanbul Mebusu Hüseyin Cahit Bey yerine Lazkiye Emiri Arslan Bey’in kapalı ve açık arabalar içinde Meclis-i Mebusan binasına gelişleri sırasında gözlerimin önünde süngü ile şehit edildiklerini görmek [...] masum dimağlar için ayrı bir talihsizlik oldu.”

73 *Tanin*, #210, 8 Safer 1327, 17 Şubat 1324, 2 Mart 1909 [2 March 1909], “Siyasiyat – Şeriat isteriz!”: “Bir de alttan gizliden gizliye icra-ı tesireden eller müslümanların hissiyat-ı diniyesini tahrike çalışıyor. Din ve ahiret ile zerre kadar alakası olmadıklarında şüphe olmayan bir takım gizli ağızlar şeriat istiyoruz, kelimelerini [illegible]ca bu söz derhal bir çok saf müminlerin kalbinde makes buluyor, ‘Şeriat isteriz’ cümlesi bir rad-amiz şeklinde yükseliyor. Bu tahrikatı vatanımız için gayet muzır gördüğümüzden ve hainlerin bu defa bir çok vicdanları saf, kalpleri temiz kimseleri şeriat [illegible] altında aldatabilmelerinden korktuğumuzdan bu gün şu meseleyi mavubahis ederek nazar-ı enbuha açmak istiyoruz.”

74 E.g., *Volkan* #76, 25 Safer 1327, 4 Mart 1325R, 17 Mart 1909 [17 March 1909], “Aynen”; *Volkan* #77, 26 Safer 1327, 5 Mart 1325, 18 Mart 1909 [18 March 1909], “Aynen”; *Volkan* #78, 27 Safer 1327, 6 Mart 1325, 19 Mart 1909 [19 March 1909], “Aynen.”

75 *Volkan* #68, 17 Safer 1327, 24 Şubat 1324, 8 Mart 1909 [8 March 1909], “Aynen.”

76 *Volkan* #69, 18 Safer 1327, 25 Şubat 1324, 9 Mart 1909 [9 March 1909], “İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti hakikatı.”

open another wound among the supporters of the sharia,⁷⁷ and (intentionally) abusing the freedom of the press to create hubbub in the press.⁷⁸

The other victim was mistaken for Ahmet Rıza, who was targeted more often in the days preceding the counter-revolution. In an example that was mentioned earlier, it was pointed out that he could have easily been assassinated in the past.⁷⁹ But he was also accused of “plotting intricacies to dethrone the Caliph” and “crushing the Muslim people.”⁸⁰ Furthermore, the opinion piece published on the day of the incident claimed that Ahmet Rıza was trying to establish a new form of tyranny, threatened the members of parliament and displayed a remarkable level of accuracy about the events to come: “Rest assured: your joys of today will not last [until] tomorrow. Not you, nor your leader [Ahmet Rıza] will reach your goals.”⁸¹ Indeed, that same day Nazım Paşa suffered the fate that was meant for Ahmet Rıza.

The mob ransacked the offices of two newspapers, *Tanin* and *Şura-ı Ümmet*. Both were linked to the CUP, with *Tanin* being owned by the aforementioned Hüseyin Cahit. Ahmet İhsan, who, during the mutiny, was in the office of his own newspaper *Servet-i Fünun*, explains that this was a deliberate attack on Unionist organs, which saved his newspaper from being destroyed:

A large mob, led by the people belonging to the lowest class in the city, was moving towards Bab-ı Ali after having destroyed the print shop of

77 *Volkan* #70, 19 Safer 1327, 26 Şubat 1324, 10 Mart 1909 [10 March 1909], “Fikri”: “Tanin gazetesinin ikiyuzon numaralı nüshasında şeriat’a bir darbe daha vurmak, ehl-i şeriata bir yara daha açmak maksadıyla [...]”

78 *Volkan* #76, 25 Safer 1327, 4 Mart 1325, 17 Mart 1909 [17 March 1909], “Aynen”: “... Hüseyin Cahit pişdar olup ‘Matbuat serbest’ diyerek ortalığı haftalarca yaygaralarla doldurmasından [...] ortalığı velveleye vermesi [...]”

79 *Volkan* #102, 21 Rebiülevvel 1327, 30 Mart 1325, 12 Nisan 1909 [12 April 1909], “Teskin-i Helecan Emr-i Mehal.”

80 *Volkan* #98, 17 Rebiülevvel 1327, 26 Mart 1325, 8 Nisan 1909 [8 April 1909], “İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti – La Turquie Gazetesi ve Bir Zabıt Tehditnamesi”: “O Mebusan reisi, halifeye hülul ederek, entrikalar çevirmesine meydan vermeyeceğini, Paris’te geçirdiği hayat-ı sefilinin intikam-ı gayr-ı meşruunu aldurmayaacağını, vaktiyle halifeye karşı etmediği tecavüz, yapmadığı rezalet kalmamış iken, bugün halife [illegible] o halifeye nevaşiler ibrazıyla, millet-i İslamiyeyi ezdirmeyeceğini derpiş ediniz!”

81 *Volkan* #103, 22 Rebiülevvel 1327, 31 Mart 1325R, 12 Nisan 1909 [12 April 1909], “Bu Devir Ahmaklar Devri Değildir”: “Bakınız, Ahmet Rıza Bey, Paris’te, Mısır’da senelerce inledi. Ve ibtida-ı meşrutiyeti elde ettikten ve kendisine güzel bir mevki temin eyledikten sonra idare-i mutlakayı meydana getirip de, kendisi o idare-i mutlakanın izzet-i sanisi olmasını düşündü. Bugün tasavvuratının nisfinden ziyadesine nail olmuş ise de bilakis maksadına nail olamayacaktır. Ey Mebusan! Emin olunuz ki: sizin de bugünkü zevkiniz, yarın için de baki olmayacaktır. Ne siz nail-i meram olabileceksiniz, ne de reisiniz.”

Şura-ı Ümmet. And I was looking out of the window of my print shop. Voices could be heard... they were shouting: This is a print shop too! Is it Unionist? No! It is neither Unionist nor Liberal! It only opposes tyranny!... We do not want complete tyranny, let us not harm this place!⁸²

From this testimony, it appears that the ransacking was not the result of random vandalism, but of deliberate targeting. Both of the newspapers that were attacked had been targeted by in *Volkan*.⁸³ For example, *Tanin* was dubbed *Tanin-i Bedanin* ("the ruckus of the wicked")⁸⁴ and described as "a dangerous microbe destroying the press-scape by spreading the intolerant smell of animosity and hypocrisy with its every sentence and its every word..."⁸⁵ The article concluded by comparing *Tanin* and *Şura-ı Ümmet* to two drunks randomly attacking whomever they saw.⁸⁶ In one instance *Şura-ı Ümmet* was accused of not obeying fundamental Islamic rules, when it reprinted an article by a Christian journalist, who had praised a recently deceased professor by calling him "one of God's rare children." "Could a small explanation not be added [saying] 'the Lord does not beget, nor was he begotten'?"⁸⁷ [...] If it were up to us, a Vlach can describe a deceased person whichever way he wants. However, a Muslim may not publish that description in his newspaper. He could [publish it], however, only to criticize it, [but] otherwise..."⁸⁸

82 Ahmet İhsan [Tokgöz], *Matbuat Hatıralarım 1888–1923*, 2:71. "Kalabalık bir güruh, önde şehrin en aşağı tabakasına mensup ayaktaıklarını olduğu halde Şûrayı ümmet' matbaasını dağıttıktan sonra Babıaliye doğru geliyorlardı. Ve ben matbaanın penceresinden bakıyordum. Sesler yükseldi... Burası da matbaa! İttihatçı mı? Hayır! Ne İttihatçı, ne İtilafçı! Sade istibdada karşıdır!... diye bağırıyorlardı. Hep istibdat istemeyiz, buraya dokunmayalım!"

83 For example see: *Volkan* #69, 18 Safer 1327, 25 Şubat 1324, 5 Mart 1909 [5 March 1909], "İttihad-ı Muhammedi Cemiyeti Hakikati," *Volkan* #70, 19 Safer 1327, 26 Şubat 1324, 6 Mart 1909M [6 March 1909], "Şeriat İsteriz Ünvanı Altında İstemeyiz Fikri," *Volkan* #79, 28 Safer 1327, 7 Mart 1325, 20 Mart 1909 [20 March 1909], "Tanin."

84 *Volkan* #68, 17 Safer 1327, 24 Şubat 1324, 8 Mart 1909 [8 March 1909], "Aynen."

85 *Volkan* #68, 17 Safer 1327, 24 Şubat 1324, 8 Mart 1909 [8 March 1909], "Koca Taninci": "Her bir satır ve kelimesiyle, tahammülsüz bir bu-ı gazez ve televvün saçarak, sahne-i intişar-ı matbuatı, muzır bir mikrop gibi telviseden 'Tanin' dün yine bir hücum-ı müfterisaneyle rastgeldiğine saldırmaktadır."

86 *Volkan* #68, 17 Safer 1327, 24 Şubat 1324, 8 Mart 1909 [8 March 1909], "Koca Taninci": "Ah! Şu sen ile *Şura-ı Ümmet*, kol kola iki sarhoş gibi etrafa saldırı saldırı, hıramengiz ne tuhafdır... koca Taninci!!..."

87 *Quran*, chapter İhlas, verse 3. A cornerstone verse in Islamic theology, which is considered basic knowledge to all Muslims and which rejects the idea of the Christian trinity.

88 *Volkan* #80, 29 Safer 1327, 8 Mart 1325, 21 Mart 1909 [21 March 1909], "Volkan": "Cenab-ı Hakkın "Lam yalid wa lam yulad" olduğuna dair bir mutaalacak olsun beyan edilemez

When the demands and actions of the mob are compared to *Volkan's* writings, the links become obvious. The connections are so numerous, that it seems unlikely that they are coincidental. It seems almost certain that *Volkan* influenced the mutineers. However, this does not have to mean that *Volkan* single-handedly caused the 31 March incident. If hypothetically one were to assume that *Volkan*, or a similar publication, never existed, the counter-revolution might still have occurred. However, the evidence suggests that the daily newspaper, even if it had no part in creating, for example, the tensions between the officers and the soldiers, certainly acted as a catalyst and helped escalate matters. At the least *Volkan* acted like a forum for groups and individuals that were already dissatisfied and created for them an imagined community. Arguably, the sense of mutual support created by this imagined community created extra motivation, in the form of courage and religious justification, for the mutineers.

The 31 March Incident forms an interesting example, but it is not unique, in the sense there are other instances where the press moves masses into action. The build-up towards the First Balkan War (1912) is another showcase for the tremendous amount of influence the press could exert on politics. In 1912, the Balkan League (Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro) issued an ultimatum to the Ottoman Empire regarding reforms in Macedonia, which boiled down to virtual independence for the region. Ahmet Muhtar Paşa's cabinet was in favour of finding a diplomatic solution.⁸⁹ This was not unreasonable, considering that, following a demilitarization under a promise of the Powers to maintain the status quo in the region, Ottoman military presence in the Balkans had become very weak. On top of that, the army was already engaged in an active conflict against Italy in Tripoli.

However, both the public and the press in the Ottoman capital were calling for war. Agitation in the streets⁹⁰ and agitation in the press created a feedback loop that amplified emotions of the population until Istanbul was under the spell of a veritable war frenzy. Gatherings were held in streets and squares, which were dubbed War Rallies (*Harp Mitingleri*) which were attended by hundreds and thousands from all walks of life.⁹¹ While it is not clear how the

miydi? [...] Bize kalsa bir Ulah merhumu istediği gibi tevsif edebilir. Lakin, bir müslim o vasıfları gazetesine dercedemez. Eder; lakin muahheze ve tenkid etmek için yoksa..."

89 TNA F.O. 424/234 #344 (2 October 1912), #362 (4 October 1912), #407A (6 October 1912).

90 Falih Rıfki [Atay], *Batış Yılları*, 51–52. Atay describes the meetings as having a very aggressive and even irredentist nature, with crowds chanting "War! War!"

91 TNA F.O. 424/234 #737 (18 October 1912); Cemil Topuzlu, *İstibdad – Meşrutiyet – Cumhuriyet Devirlerinde 80 Yıllık Hatıralarım*, ed. Hüsrev Hatemi and Aykut Kazancıgil (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Cerrahpaşa Tıp Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982), 119. Topuzlu Paşa describes



فره گوز - یوو . . . اندیلر کوزونی، باطیردی زمانی دیکلر، رانف او ارا کوردو کی داوولری، بوربری ده شونلری آتک یظام. شمدی
زمان بو سکدر:

FIGURE 30 Caricature: Calling for war

Calling both sides of the political spectrum to stop their drum and trumpet noises (i.e., war rallies) and pick up weapons to go to the front.

SOURCE: *KARAGÖZ* #453, 23 ŞEVVAL 1330/22 EYLÜL 1328 [5/10/1912], 4

first war rally was organised,⁹² subsequent rallies were called for by newspapers. A craze was sweeping through the press, with opinion pieces and poems clamouring for war (see Figure 30). Eventually the government yielded to the belligerent public opinion and pursued a military solution, resulting in the disastrous outcome of the First Balkan War.

In another example, the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina on 8 October 1908 led to a boycott of Austrian import products. The call for boycott followed the very next day in *Tanin*, and was repeated by other daily newspapers,⁹³ while it was also supported in satirical magazines,

the garden of the imperial palace filled to the brim with people even climbing in trees.; *New York Times*, 11 October 1912, "Turks Howl For War." The article mentions a crowd of up to 5,000.

92 *İkdam* #5608, 2 October 1912 "Tezahürat." According to *İkdam*, the first war meetings happened spontaneously and grew to hundreds of attendants.

93 E.g., *Tanin* #70, 13 Ramazan 1326, 26 Eylül 1324 [9/10/1908], "Siyasiyat – Avusturya Emtiasını Almayınız!"; *Sabah* #6841, 14 Ramazan 1326, 27 Eylül 1324 [10/10/1908], "Bayram Geliyor. Bulgar ve Avsturya Malı Almayalım."

which depicted the Ottoman ability to boycott as a weapon against Europe.⁹⁴ In Ottoman port cities, such as Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki, Trabzon, Beirut and Yafa (which also happened to be cities with noteworthy press activity), dockworkers and porters played a key role in the protests by refusing to handle Austrian goods. Ahmet Rasim describes in his memoirs how propaganda had caused everyone “to throw away their fez”⁹⁵ while, according to Falih Rıfki Atay, “because the fez was produced in Austria, for a while, due to the boycott, [they] did not know what to wear on [their] heads.”⁹⁶ When the Ottoman government tried to end the boycott after official Austrian complaints, the press further supported the boycott by applauding the dockworkers who stubbornly refused to comply with official instructions.⁹⁷ Eventually, the boycott became a valuable bargaining chip during the Ottoman-Austrian negotiations and helped the Ottoman Empire in receiving financial compensation.⁹⁸ Similarly, the Triploitanian war with Italy led to a boycott of Italian products. Thus, merely two months after the 1908 Revolution, the new Ottoman press was already showing its potential power by organizing and supporting a popular movement that was capable even of influencing foreign relations.

The influence of the press, however, was not limited to things that were immediately visible, such as a mutiny, war rallies or boycotts. Arguably, the press played a much greater role as a subtle influencer. In that capacity, the Ottoman press played a role in literature and language. Important literary movements, such as *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (“Modern Literature”) and its reactionary movement *Fecr-i Ati* (“Future Dawn”) were concentrated around periodicals, through which they influenced a generation of authors and readers. When Turkish literature entered the period of Milli Edebiyat (“National Literature”), its pioneers were again grouped around a periodical, namely *Genç Kalemler* (originally *Hüsn-ü Şiir*), which, among other things, helped to popularize the idea of Turkish language reform. The Ottoman press was also a champion of Ottoman women’s movements and helped to promote ideas such as feminism.⁹⁹ From a less noble perspective, it is also known that advertisements in the press were

94 Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911*, 175–76.

95 Ahmet Rasim, *Eşkâl-i Zamân*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, Devlet Kitapları, 1969), 23. “Bosna ve Hersek’in ülkelerine katılması üzerine, bize Avusturya mallarına karşı bir boykotaj yaptırmışlardı, hatırladınız mı? Yaman süratli bir propaganda hemen hepimize fesleri attırmıştı.”

96 Falih Rıfki [Atay], *Batış Yılları*, 30. “Fez Avusturya malı olduğu için boykot yüzünden başımıza ne gieceğimizi bilemiyorduk.”

97 Mehmet Emin Elmacı, “1908 Avusturya Boykotunda Liman İşçileri,” *Kebikeç*, İşçi Hareketleri, no. 5 (1997): 156–57.

98 Zürcher, *Turkey*, 104.

99 Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996), 313–17.

effective, to the point that urban Ottomans resorted to self-medication with all sorts of potions and pills that were promoted in the classifieds.¹⁰⁰

In conclusion, when the 1908 Revolution happened, newspapers and magazines had already become common items, especially in larger and wealthier cities. The new dynamics in the market, caused by the press boom, further helped to push publishers towards popularizing the press by changing the visual language of newspapers and most likely also the contents. Furthermore, although circulation figures were relatively low when compared to contemporary publications in the west, and despite the possibly low literacy rates, the Ottoman press did manage to deliver its message to the general population. This is because culture and habits, such as public readings, swapping copies with friends, sending copies to relatives in rural areas and the fact that information gathered from the press could simply be plugged into the word-of-mouth network, helped to disseminate news further than just the person who had bought a copy. Ultimately, the most important thing is that the press reached enough people or the people necessary to affect change. There are many examples where the press influenced the public into action at a scale that had impact both on social and political issues, going as far as to create a public opinion that would rush the empire into a disastrous war.

100 Erol Baykal, "Istanbul During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913)," *Turkish Historical Review* 5, no. 2 (October 7, 2014): 147–56, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18775462-00501002>.

Conclusion: Controlling the Press

When a few months after the Young Turk revolution, in December 1908, the satirical magazine *Kalem* published a caricature of a young child swatting at the portrait of an Ottoman minister with a newspaper in an attempt to make him fall (see Figure 31), it was spot on in its identification of the Ottoman press as a powerful political weapon. Journalists, as insignificant as this child, so small that they actually needed a stool to stand on to even reach the level of the portrait, were now capable of causing ruckus in Ottoman politics.

The true power of the Ottoman press after 1908 reveals itself in two separate layers. First of all, it was clearly capable of having far reaching real-world impacts. Obvious examples of these include the boycotts on foreign goods, in response to, for example, the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and the Italian push for the Tripoli war, which were both met with chauvinistic calls from the press to respectively stop buying Austrian made fez headgear and Italian products. Even more visible were calls for political rallies and mass gatherings, which, in the case of the war rallies before the Balkan Wars, placed enough pressure on the government to choose a military solution over its initial, more diplomatic approach. With the introduction of elections, following the Young Turk revolution, the press also played a role as a disseminator of political propaganda and, thus, it paved the way to parliament and office for some men, including *Tanin's* Hüseyin Cahit. On the other hand, Turkish scholars have published on the influence of the press on society, in topics ranging from nationalism, language reform to feminism.

The second, subtler yardstick by which the power of the Ottoman press in this period can be gauged is the desire that existed to control it. Between 1908 and 1923, the Ottoman press was perceived as a powerful tool both domestically as abroad. This is why many attempts were made by authorities, social and political actors, and individuals to exert control over the contents of the press. The introduction of press laws, which became more and more strict, the eventual reintroduction of preventive censorship, and the information war waged between Istanbul and Ankara, with both parties attempting to make their opinions public and to silence the other's, are examples of how authorities fought to gain control over the press. Assassinations and attacks on journalists, bribes and hush monies, on the other hand, showcased a similar desire by others who perhaps did not have legislative or government authority, but were willing to invest money and effort nevertheless. In its own way, the 1908 press boom, the period of heightened press activity following the Young

Les enfants terribles.

بارماز جوجنلر



— Papa disait hier qu'un seul journal peut faire
tomber un ministre. . . . Je vais essayer.

بام دون دوردی که شمسی اداره مشروطیته برهنه
بازر د. غوروه بیلر باتیم دوشه کی ؟

FIGURE 31 Caricature: The (supposed) power of the press
Caricature of a child swatting at the portrait of an Ottoman minister with a newspaper. The caption says: "My father said yesterday that, now, with the Constitutional Regime, a single newspaper can bring down a minister. Let us see whether he will fall." ("Babam dün dedi ki şimdi idare-i meşrutiyette bir gazete ile bir nazır düşürülebilir. Bakayım düşecek mi?").

SOURCE: *KALEM* #16, 4 KANUNIEVEL 1324/17 DECEMBER 1908

Turk revolution, was also an indication of the perceived power of the press, as the boom was partially the result of men lured with the prospect of great wealth, which would be the outcome of political influence.

Arguably, by itself the 1908 press boom also played an important role in defining the status of the new press by enabling it to assert itself and redefine itself as powerful enough to force the hand of the government instead of the traditional other way around. In this book, the boom, which has hereto been referred to in primary and secondary literature without solid evidence, is proven to have taken place through the analysis of publishing permit applications. The analysis revealed that, like a shockwave with its epicentre in Istanbul, an explosion of press activity took place all over the Ottoman Empire and among virtually all of its constituent peoples and their languages. The opening of the floodgates of the press swamped the Ottoman administration, which was caught off guard and did not know how to handle the situation, resulting in the acceptance of the self-declared freedom of the press as a fact. This freedom was further cemented by the abolition of press censorship, again unilaterally decided by journalists, and by the fact that, under these circumstances, the existing press law was only applied nominally, having been relegated to regulating the administrative registration of new publications.

As such the years between the 1908 Revolution and early 1913 were a special time for the Ottoman press, for it enjoyed moderate to great freedoms. Especially in the first year after the revolution, publishers were left virtually unchecked and could print whatever they wished, under the banner of the freedom of the press. However, as the power of the free press became manifest it also became clear that an absolute freedom of the press could have detrimental effects for authority. The free, post-revolution press did not promote unity, but rather created a polarizing political atmosphere with CUP supporters in one camp and opponents in the other, and both sides engaging in fierce polemics, rife with ad hominem attacks. This spiral of violence in the printed pages eventually transgressed into the real world with attacks and assassinations on journalists and the 31 March Incident, causing decrying about the situation as an abuse of freedoms.

In a first government attempt to establish some control over the powerful press, which at that point enjoyed a virtually unlimited and absolute freedom, a new press law was enacted in 1909. This law has often been regarded as a product of the CUP, which, it is said, intended to silence opposition newspapers with it. Yet, a closer look at the legislative process and its application, has revealed the opposite. An initial draft was created by Kamil Paşa's government. It was in the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*), where the CUP at that point held a nominal majority, that the draft law, containing very

strict regulations and penalties, was transformed into a very liberal law. Consequently, not only was the 1909 press law incapable of silencing opposition, but it also offered opportunities for journalists and publishers to circumvent the closure of their publications. This was thoroughly used by the press under martial law, which had been enacted following the 31 March Incident. The 1909 press law gave a plausible excuse to start reapplying some regulations on the press, but at the same time, it was preserving and guaranteeing the freedoms of the journalists.

However, later additions to the 1909 press law resulted in it becoming more and more strict. Of great importance were the additions made in March 1913, almost coinciding with Enver's coup d'état, resulting in the installation of the Enver, Talat, Cemal triumvirate which was to last until the end of the First World War. From this point onward, the press law had lost its liberal nature and it became possible for the Ottoman government to de facto shut down publications.

The press received another blow with the re-introduction of pre-print censorship at the eve of the First World War. During the period of Allied occupation of Istanbul, the Ottoman press was subjected to censorship to, on the one hand government censorship, which was for all intents and purposes under Allied control, and on the other hand censorship from the Ankara based nationalist movement. Through its systematic censorship of positive news about the nationalist movement, the Allied occupational government displayed clearly its desires to keep a check on public opinion.

Ironically, Istanbul's censorship had a beneficial effect on the Anatolian press. Although the 1908 press boom had been an empire-wide phenomenon, both geographically and linguistically, in the period after the First World War, printed media in Anatolia was in an emaciated state and not at all capable of meaningfully sustaining itself. After all, it was unable to reach the circulation numbers of the dailies in Istanbul and in other large Ottoman cities. However, as Allied censorship left the nationalists without a voice of their own and because the nationalist movement understood the power that the media could have over public opinion and in an effort to step up its counter-propaganda, Ankara introduced a series of incentive programs, including subsidies, material support and tax exemptions to local publishers. Furthermore, it ran its own newspaper, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, and established *Anadolu Ajansı*, currently still the official Turkish news agency, with a headquarter based in Ankara.

The idea of subsidies was not alien at all in the post-1908 Ottoman press. Under Abdülhamit II there had existed a carrot-and-stick system, which allowed the palace to keep alive large dailies, even when they were unprofitable, as long as the content was in accordance with the palace's wishes. The constitutional revolution, however, caused this system to collapse like a house of cards. The

Hamidian system of subsidies was halted. Faced with the revolutionary sentiments of the post-revolution boom-era press, large incumbent dailies that had enjoyed these subsidies, felt the need to publicly denounce such practices and to even return some of that money to the palace. The disappearance of Abdülhamit's financial net, which meant that a select few publishers could exist without fear of bankruptcy, was exacerbated with the 1908 press boom. What had once been a closed market that was very difficult to enter, was being overrun with new publications and was subjected to strong competition.

The battle for the hearts (and wallets) of the readership had positive outcomes for the readers. In this new market, where survival was somewhat linked to demand, readers started to play a very central role in the lives of publishers and the old formulaic prayer to God for success found itself replaced with pleas to the public. Under these circumstances, where customers have the advantage over producers, a passive price war was fought out and, for almost ten years after the 1908 Revolution, dailies in Istanbul were sold at a historically low price of 10 para per issue. Furthermore, publishers felt obliged to innovate to appear modern and draw more readers and the face of Ottoman dailies evolved from its decades-old, unimaginative walls of text into the more recognizable modern format, including photographs, illustrations, headlines, usage of different typefaces and sizes and a generally more appealing and better structured *mise en page*.

Conversely, the market was not kind to the publishers and making a large enough profit to sustain operations was not easy at all. The highly competitive, but barely profitable market contained the perfect mixture of circumstances to eliminate the majority of new publications and this most likely accounted for more newspapers disappearing than censorship or legal closure.

Being part of the Ottoman publishing industry could be lucrative, as had been demonstrated by the Hamidian press barons, who, through their connection to the palace, obtained financial wealth and prestige. But for the great majority of the post-revolution entrepreneurs, starting a new publication was an experiment that ended in financial failure. To begin with, becoming a newspaper or periodical owner was very expensive. It required a substantial capital investment in the order of a lifetime worth of wages of a regular labourer. This money was needed in order to pay for printing equipment, consumables, such as ink and paper, office rent and employee wages for both the manual labour force and the editors and journalists. As a result of this, those who applied for a publishing permit during the press boom, were mostly from relatively better-off backgrounds who could muster the required lump sums.

Once set up, the new journal or newspaper would have to compete with numerous other publications in order to create a profit for its owners. The price war to obtain or maintain a share of the general readership, which obviously

benefited the customers, forced publishers to sell with very low profit margins or even at a loss. As inflation flared up due to the First World War, and prices in the market skyrocketed, publishers still resisted raising their prices. But the war had also increased wages for print-workers, as able-bodied men became scarce and global shortages, caused by the conflict, created additional spikes in the price of paper. It was not until mid-1917, when the first of a series of industry-wide price changes took place, that prices per issue were gradually increased to reflect the real cost of printing and production. Furthermore, low circulation numbers further exacerbated the low profit margins. Although it is not possible to establish with great accuracy the circulation numbers for most dailies, what is known is that, even for the most successful dailies, it was very hard to reach and maintain the 10,000 per day mark and that smaller publications had but a fraction of that.

In other words, it was impossible to rely on sales alone to keep a publication running and, as a result of these circumstances, publishers were left financially vulnerable, and thus resorting to practices like blackmail but also accepting bribery and hush money, like they had under Abdülhamit. Although Abdülhamit's system of subsidies had disappeared, those in power continued to support publications of certain political persuasion. This happened in a clandestine fashion to avoid losing credibility with the public. On the other hand, renting out advertising space was, next to profit from sales, the only source of revenue that was directly related to the core business of publishers, too, opened the way for financial influence by third parties. After all, advertising money was something that could be leveraged as a method to support a publisher, as was demonstrated during the occupation of Istanbul, when pro-Allied publications, such as *Peyam-ı Sabah*, were given an obvious preference over their colleagues who had similar circulation numbers but were less supportive of the occupation government.

Adaptation meant survival. Publications that were run as profit-driven businesses, such as *Sabah* and *İkdam*, enjoyed longevity, while ideologically driven publications, like *Volkan* or *Tanin*, disappeared together with the political powers that they relied on. As a result, the most successful publications of this era were those which easily adjusted to the current political climate. *İkdam* and *Sabah*, for example, did not only thrive under Abdülhamit, but they successfully made the transition from being mouthpieces of the palace to becoming defenders of the new constitutional regime. Politically, they were either moderate or showed chameleon-like traits, with, for example, *Sabah* entering a joint venture with Ali Kemal's *Peyam* to form *Peyam-ı Sabah*, which enjoyed British patronage through advertising, because of its political stance. Reminiscent of how *İkdam* had ditched Ali Kemal, its former editor-in-chief after

the 31 March Incident, *Sabah* was quick to denounce this co-operation when it became clear that Ali Kemal, ardent opponent of the CUP and briefly Ottoman Minister of the Interior under Allied occupation, was soon to become a persona non grata in government circles as the nationalists achieved a major victory with the Turkish liberation of Izmir.

In contrast to this, publications that were too radical or unwilling to change could only remain short-lived because they lacked subsidies from a government that shared their views, were relentless in the mission of spreading their message and therefore not to be bribed, and therefore did not have the money to continue their operations or did not feel the need to continue the substantial investments that were required once their payload had been delivered.

But in both types of publications, either driven by profit or ideology, the Ottoman press could act as a successful platform to disseminate information and, more importantly, opinions, which could then have political influence. It was not an ivory tower nor a self-serving cocoon of intellectuals. It reached the public and was therefore capable of forming the Ottoman public opinion that in turn could influence the course of politics. It is because of this that such a desire existed to exert influence or control over the Ottoman press by both government and non-government actors, because controlling the press was a way to controlling public opinion.

Appendix: Permit Applications and Publications

Index

In Chapter 2, several figures are presented that are related to the 1908 press boom. The charts, tables and map in that chapter are all based on the data contained within the index at the end of this appendix.

One of the primary sources of data for the index is Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. Unconventionally, the data was not obtained from BOA documents but rather from its catalogues. A random sampling of documents¹ revealed that the application details that made it into the catalogues were accurate. Barring issues caused by transliteration, not a single discrepancy was found between the catalogue entries and the retrieved documents. The catalogue search was aimed specifically to find permit application records. Applicants, as per the press law of 1864, were required to submit their names, the desired title, publication location, frequency and language. Often, they would also mention their (current or retired) occupation.

The second source for permit application data was the list found in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, which was published in 1909.² This list contains permit application data as published in *Takvim-i Vekayi*, but presents it in French, with all applicant and newspaper names transliterated. However, it should be noted that the BOA and RMM lists do not fully overlap. There are 731 records in the RMM list, while BOA searches yielded data for 865 records. However, only 435 of these could be matched, resulting in a combined total of 1,161 entries. Where matching entries were found, the details for that record were merged.

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- 1 The retrieved documents are: BOA DH.MKT 2619/73, 5 Ramazan 1326 [1 October 1908], DH.MKT 2616/93, 1 Ramazan 1326 [27 September 1908], DH.MKT 2651/22, 14 Şevval 1326 [9 November 1908], DH.MKT 2637/28, 26 Ramazan 1326 [22 October 1908], ZB 328/88, 17 Teşrinisani 1324 [30 November 1908], DH.MKT 2636/35, 25 Ramazan 1326 [21 October 1908], DH.MKT 2636/25, 25 Ramazan 1326 [21 October 1908], DH.MKT 2635/36, 24 Ramazan 1326 [20 October 1908], DH.MKT 2629/66, 16 Ramazan 1326 [12 October 1908], DH.MKT 1292/80, 13 Şaban 1326 [10 September 1908], ZB 25/41, 27 Ağustos 1324 [9 September 1908], DH.MKT 1290/68, 7 Şaban 1326 [04 September 1908], DH.MKT 1281/65, 21 Recep 1326 [19 August 1908], DH.MKT 1278/59, 12 Recep 1326 [10 August 1908], DH.MKT 1278/22, 11 Recep 1326 [9 August 1908], DH.MKT 1274/6, 2 Recep 1326 [31 July 1908], DH.MKT 1273/27, 29 Cemazeyilahir 1326 [29 July 1908], DH.MKT 2778/28, 6Rebilülevvel 1327 [28 March 1909], DH.MKT 2783/21, 10 Rebiülevvel 1327 [1 April 1909], DH.MKT 2824/53, 7 Cemazeyilevvel 1327 [27 May 1909], DH.MKT 2908/86, 7 Şaban 1327 [24 August 1909], DH.MKT 2655/2, 16 Şevval 1326 [11 November 1908], DH.MKT 2666/45, 28 Şevval 1326 [23 November 1908], DH.MKT 2701/11, 14 Zilhicce 1326 [7 January 1909], DH.MKT 2711/30, 25 Zilhicce 1326 [18 January 1909], ZB 328/147, 30 Teşrinisani 1324 [13 December 1908].
 - 2 İsmail Hakkı, "La Presse Musulmane," *Revue Du Monde Musulman* 8, no. 5 (1909): 97–139.

A third source of the index is the periodicals in the HTU collection. While gathering every available first issue of the publications within that collection in order to analyse their *mukaddime* (“introduction”), a new list was created. Because these publications also contained similar information to that found in the permit applications (i.e., title, publishing frequency and location, name of the publisher, language and date of appearance), they were added to the index. When a publication was matched with a permit application, the details were once again merged. The HTU data also added a lot of information for the period before 1908 and after 1909.

Finally, the index also contains some records based on secondary sources. This came about through the effort to create a list of pre-1908 publications, which are used in Chapter 1 (“Emergence and Growth”). In some exceptional cases, secondary source material was used to further augment the records from BOA, RMM or HTU.

The resulting index contains 1,811 entries consisting of permit applications and publications. Similar lists of permit applications have been compiled. Gazel and Ortak have transliterated and published a list which they found in *Ayn Tarihi*.³ By their own account, the list in *Ayn Tarihi* is not complete with the part after the Arabic letter *mim* missing. The list also appears to be limited to periodicals that would appear within the borders of the Turkish Republic.⁴ Furthermore, for the entries of applications made before August 1909, only titles are given. In the later entries, details such as the intended publication location, frequency and applicant occupation are also not available. Ali Birinci’s list, which was published in a series in the journal *Kebikeç*, is based on a series of articles from *Takvim-i Vekayi*.⁵ However, because the list was only available up to the letter *nun* of the Arabic alphabet, Birinci completed his list using RMM, which, as explained above, was incomplete as hundreds of applications with positive outcome have been found in BOA that were not in the list.

1 Charts and Figures Based on the Index

Figure 1 was created by using the entries with a date between July 1908 and October 1909. The publications-line plots the subset of entries that are confirmed to have been

3 Ahmet Ali Gazel and Şaban Ortak, “İkinci Meşrutiyet’ten 1927 Yılına Kadar Yayın İmtiyazı Alan Gazete ve Mecmualar (1908-1927),” *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 7, no. 1 (2006): 223–56.

4 Although Ortak and Gazel suggest in their article that their list is limited to permit applications for Istanbul, the list clearly contains publications intended for other provinces (e.g., *Bursa*, *Dişarbekir*). On the other hand, they seem to have missed the detail that the list in *Ayn Tarihi* was titled “Meşrutiyet’in İlanından Beri Türkiye’de Neşrolunmuş Gazete ve Mecmualar” (“Newspaper and Magazines Published in Turkey since the Declaration of the Constitution”) and that “Türkiye” in this context actually meant the republic.

5 Ali Birinci, “Meşrutiyet Matbuatı (1324-1325) - I,” *Kebikeç*, no. 2 (1995): 143–47.

published. Figure 2 has various sources, as explained in the caption. The applications per *vilayet* column, however, is constructed by using the publishing location found in the index. All locations were mapped to the districts that are found in the table. Figure 3 uses the location of the entries in the index. Figure 4 uses the applicant's occupation from the entries in the index. Figure 5 uses the (intended) publication language from the entries in the index.

2 Index

Every index entry contains a title and a date. Titles are transliterated, unless there was no certainty about the original spelling, in which case they are left as they are found in the original source.

Dates are all converted to the Gregorian calendar and where exact dates were available, these were rounded to months. If no month is known, only the year is given. A *Rumi* year spans two common years, and these are rendered as 1908/1909. In case of doubt, a question mark is placed after the date.

The type of the date is placed in brackets. There are four different types of dates. These are (1) Permit Application, (2) Permit Result, (3) Publication (Approximated) and (4) Publication. If for an entry both a permit application date and a permit result date are known, the entry will display the permit result date, as that is the closest step taken towards publication. Similarly, if aside from application date a publication date is known, that will be given preference.

Some dates are marked as Publication (Approx.). These are entries for which no first issue was found, but where an early enough issue could be used to calculate when the first issue should have appeared, based on the publishing frequency.

If a publishing location is known, it can be found after the date type. Languages are either intended publication languages, or the actual publication language, whenever this could be established.

A.: Applicant(s). O.: Applicant occupation. P.S.: The last known status of a permit application. L.: Language(s). S: Source(s). Sources that start with DH, MF and ZB are BOA references.

- n Temmuz 1324*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Izmir. ^{A:} Mehmet Tevfik ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1280/53, DH.MKT.1275/74, HTU, RMM.
- al-ʿAdl (Asas al-Mulk)*, 1/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Muhammad Safa al-Masri ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- al-ʿAsa*, 6/1909 (Permit result). ^{A:} Ahmet Muhittin ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} satirical, political ^{L:} AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2829/6.
- al-ʿAsima*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Habib Matran ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2788/1.
- al-ʿAsr*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Najib Mushʿalati/Meşalani ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2635/36, RMM.
- al-ʿAsr al-Jadid*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Aleppo. ^{A:} Acabizade Vasil/Basil ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1299/72, RMM.
- al-ʿAsr al-Jadid*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Konstantin Abdebeni ^{P-S:} denied ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2668/1, DH.MKT.2628/90. *Erroneous application.*
- al-ʿAsr al-Jadid*, 3/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Tripolitania. ^{A:} Barudzizade Hacı Mehmet Ali ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2730/71, HTU, RMM.
- al-ʿIraq*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Baghdad. ^{A:} ʿAbd al-Jabbar ^{O:} law ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} political ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2623/81, RMM. *Published in Sidon according to Tauber.*
- Aam*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. ^{A:} Abraham Behfel b. Hersch Grayefski ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} HE, DE ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2699/6, RMM.
- al-ʿAbabil*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Husayn Muhy al-Din al-Hayal ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2749/84, RMM.
- Abu Hashish*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aleppo. ^{A:} Emirizade Baha ^{P-S:} granted ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Açıksöz*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Mehmet Ali b. Mustafa ^{O:} military ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2618/51, RMM.
- Açıksöz*, 1921 (Publication (Approx.)) in Kastamonu. ^{S:} HTU.
- Action*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Cemal ^{O:} press (owner of Bosphore) ^{P-S:} granted ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- l'Actualité*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Faik Gregor ^{O:} law ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} FR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2677/48, RMM.
- Adalet*, 1/1908 (Publication). ^{Audience:} professionals ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Adana Mintikası Maarif Mecmuası*, 3/1928 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Adem*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Nesip ^{O:} government ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR, GR, BU ^{S:} DH.MKT.2616/94, RMM.
- Adl*, 10/1912 (Publication (Approx.)). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Adl ü İhsan*, 4/1911 (Publication). ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Afak*, 10/1882 (Publication). ^{Genre:} non-political ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Afiyet*, 12/1913 (Publication). ^{Genre:} medical ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU. *Used color.*
- Afyon Karahisar'da Nur*, 5/1924 (Publication). ^{Audience:} youth ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.

- Agah Basurcu*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR S: HTU.
- Agon*, 12/1908 (Permit result). A: İstavri Anagostidi P:S: granted L: TR, GR S: DH.MKT.2679/50, ZB.329/29, RMM.
- Ağzipek*, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: Parsih O: librarian P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1289/69, ZB.25/22, RMM.
- Ahali*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ohannes Ferid O: press (owner Manzume-i Efkar) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Ahali*, 10/1906 (Publication) in Plovdiv. S: HTU.
- Ahali*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Leyaho v. Santo Erdini/Liacho Valdesanto Vardini O: press (director La Liberté) P:S: granted L: TR, FR, IT, JES S: DH.MKT.2730/92, DH.MKT.2663/50, RMM. *Possibly separate publication per language.*
- Ahali*, 3/1912 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ahali*, 11/1921 (Publication). S: HTU.
- Ahbab*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Salihzade Hasan Naci P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR S: DH.MKT.2789/33.
- Ahenk*, 4/1897 (Publication) in Izmir. S: HTU.
- Ahkam-ı Şariat*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Emin O: education P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.1294/11.
- Ahter*, 10/1893 (Publication). L: FA S: HTU.
- Ahval-ı Alem*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Fadlallah Hindi Baghdadi P:S: unknown Genre: illustrated L: TR, AR, FR F: W S: DH.MKT.2714/15.
- Aile*, 5/1880 (Publication). A: Mihran L: TR S: HTU.
- Ajans*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Simbat Davityan P:S: unknown L: TR, AM, FR S: DH.MKT.1286/48.
- Akbaba*, 12/1912 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Akçağlayan*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Bursa. A: Mehmet Beha P:S: granted F: W S: RMM.
- Akdeniz*, 8/1928 (Publication) in Izmir. S: HTU.
- al-Akhbar*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Bendeli Han-aghrahi P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2736/57, RMM. *Publication possibly confirmed by Tauber, however, in Jaffa.*
- (Musavver) Akul*, 1/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mevlanzade Rifat O: press (owner Serbesti) L: TR, FR F: TM S: HTU, RMM.
- Aklun Hakimiyeti*, 8/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Akodoryan*, 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Arşan Artin Torkom P:S: unknown L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2749/7.
- Aks-ı Seda (yahut Anadolu Sesleri)*, 8/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Samsun. A: Avnizade Cemil O: printing L: TR F: TW S: HTU, RMM.
- Aksa-ı Şark*, 11/1910 (Publication). S: HTU.
- Akşam*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: İsmail Sıdkı O: law, press (owner Köylü) P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2666/78, RMM.
- Akşam*, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: Esat Muhlis O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.1288/37, ZB.25/10.
- Akşam*, 9/1918 (Publication). S: HTU.

- Akşam Gazetesi*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Kamil O: civil servant P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2626/80.
- (*Musavver*) *Akşam Şimendüferi*, 9/1908 (Publication). L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Akvam*, 9/1919 (Publication). S: HTU.
- Alafranga*, 12/1910 (Publication). Genre: satirical L: TR S: HTU.
- Alefteron Veyan/Alepherton Vian*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Avram Akhozaridi O: merchant P-S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1293/44, RMM.
- Alem*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yakvalzade Arif O: government P-S: granted L: TR, FR F: W S: RMM.
- Alem-i İslam/Alem ül-İslam*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Abdülkadir O: government P-S: granted Genre: religious, political L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2642/36, ZB.328/104, RMM.
- Alithia*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Yanni Kovalisa O: education P-S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Alizas*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Mustafa Salim al-Kalayini P-S: granted L: AR F: W S: RMM.
- Altun Yaprak*, 3/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Altun Yurt*, 5/1923 (Publication) in Adana. Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Amal*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Sayda. A: Sulayman Masbuh O: law P-S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2754/9, DH.MKT.2839/50.
- Amal-ı Millet*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Şakir Beyzade Kazım P-S: unknown Genre: religious, political, scientific, industrial L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2707/110.
- Amalthia*, 1838 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. L: GR S: OK21(39). *Appeared until 1922.*
- Amboriki Apte Oris*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Dimitri Fasilikiri P-S: granted L: TR, GR, FR S: DH.MKT.2753/29.
- Amed-i Sevda*, 1/1909 (Publication) in Diyarbakir. A: Mehmet Şükrü (Diyarbakırlı) P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1278/35, HTU, RMM. *Published in Istanbul, according to RMM. HTU confirms Diyarbakir with title Amed-i Sevda. Applied for D and W, but published TM. Possibly applied for separate permits.*
- Aminon Hamar*, 8/1909 (Permit application) in Harput. A: Johan Ehman O: other P-S: unknown L: AM S: DH.MKT.2914/69.
- Ana Yenisis*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Yorgi Hrisogoni P-S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.1275/36. *Applied for D but published TW.*
- Anadolu*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Anastas Anastasyadi O: education P-S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2685/35. *Applicant asked to submit new name, as a publication with same name already existed.*
- Anadolu*, 8/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Konya. A: Burhanettin L: TR F: TW S: HTU, RMM.
- Anadolu Duygusu*, 2/1921 (Publication). Genre: illustrated Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.

- Anadolu Terbiye Mecmuası*, 1/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ananiyis/Anayenisis*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Vladimir Mirmiroğlu O: law P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/45, ZB.24/80, RMM.
- Anatoli*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Constantin Apostol P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Anatoliki Abiteoris*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Joseph Evamidis O: law P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Anatolikos Tachydromos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Chrysopolis O: press (director Le Moniteur Oriental and Tachydromos) P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Ankara*, 1874 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Ankara. Genre: official L: TR S: OK21(33).
- Ankaryya*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Alagozoğlu Sava P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.1274/52.
- Anliyastiki Anortosis*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Tirigon Tomoyidi P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2792/46. *Probably "Anoreosis".*
- Anoreosis*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Dimitri Thomayidi O: press (director Mikra Asia) P:S: granted L: GR, TRGS F: D S: RMM.
- Antranik*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Sivas. A: Haik Vartanian P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: RMM.
- ha-Arabi*, 2/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Ibrahim b. Yusuf al-Malih/ al-Hajj P:S: granted L: AR, HE, JES F: D S: DH.MKT.2716/84, RMM.
- Arakis*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Artin Haza Rabidian/ Artin Hazardian O: press P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: AM F: W S: DH.MKT.1285/29, RMM.
- Aranitis*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Kiryakoyaniki P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2729/96.
- Arda*, 7/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Aretz ha-Kodesh*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Libosh Kehana P:S: granted L: HE F: D S: DH.MKT.2697/80, RMM.
- Arev*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Kamil O: government P:S: granted L: AM F: D S: RMM.
- Aristofanis*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yani Petropolos P:S: unknown L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2623/61.
- Arkadaş*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Yusuf Şinasi O: merchant P:S: granted Genre: literary, commercial, scientific, illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/76, RMM.
- Arkadaş*, 10/1876 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Arkadaş*, 1/1910 (Publication). Genre: illustrated Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Arkadaş*, 6/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Armağan*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Konya. A: İbrahim Hakkı P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2818/47.
- Arnavutluk*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İlbasanlı Mehmet Tefvik O: merchant P:S: granted L: TR, AB F: D S: DH.MKT.2741/68, RMM.

- Arodon*, 1908/1909 (Permit application). A: Marko Sirkossian O: merchant P:S: granted L: TR, FR, AM F: D S: RMM.
- Arsafano*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Herant Masourian v. Matheos O: press P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: AM F: D S: RMM.
- Artistik Sine*, 11/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Arz*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İhsan O: press (editor Şura-1 Ümmet) P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2743/17, RMM.
- Asad al-Islam*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Tripolitania. A: Sulayman al-Baruni O: religious P:S: granted L: AR, TR S: RMM.
- Asar*, 3/1886 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Aşiret*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Bedrihanzade Ahmet Süreyya P:S: granted L: TR, KU F: W S: DH.MKT.2651/48, RMM.
- Asur*, 1870 (Publication (Secondary source)). S: SNGTG(55).
- Aşyan*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Salih Sırrı O: law P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1279/38, HTU, RMM.
- Asker*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Soman Senai O: military L: TR F: TM S: HTU, RMM. *Applied Wbut published TM.*
- Asker Hocası*, 12/1919 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Askin Cayni*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Misak Severyan P:S: unknown L: AM S: DH.MKT.1276/9.
- al-Asmai (?)*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Jaffa. A: George/Corci P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2772/11.
- Asr-ı Cedit*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Nasif O: law P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.1298/31, RMM.
- Asri Hafta*, 1/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Asri Türkiye Mecmuası*, 3/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Astrigi/Astir*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Nicolas Christomano O: printing P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1280/16, RMM.
- Asuman*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Rauf P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: RMM.
- Asya*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Dimitri Karasavach O: press (owner Mezkur) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TRGRS F: D S: RMM.
- Ateş*, 3/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ati*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Aristaki Kasparian O: law P:S: granted L: AM F: D S: RMM.
- Auri*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Constantin Papadonio O: law, banking P:S: granted L: GR F: TW S: RMM.
- Avanos Romiyos*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İstafanos Molson P:S: unknown L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.1281/74.
- Avarper*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Bedros Adroni O: press (director Fenni Gazete) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: AM F: D S: RMM.
- Avedepar*, 1870 (Publication (Secondary source)). L: TRAMS S: OK21(41).
- Avenire*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Calucciero Garofali P:S: granted L: IT F: W S: DH.MKT.2705/49,

- DH.MKT.2651/21, RMM. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Aya Patrikon Dedliton Konstantinopol**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ekan Idolos Kokolatos P-S: granted L: GR, FR F: W S: RMM.
- Ayastefanos**, 5/1909 (Permit application). A: Osman Kahraman O: librarian P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2804/15.
- Aydede**, 1/1922 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Refik Halit Karay Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Ayдын**, 1874 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. Genre: official L: TR S: OK21(33).
- Aydoğdu**, 9/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Nuri O: civil servant P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MUI9-1/33.
- Ayun Tarihi**, 11/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ayine**, 11/1875 (Publication). Audience: women L: TR S: HTU.
- Ayine**, 8/1921 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Aylık Malumat**, 6/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Bogos Sacidyayn P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2851/14.
- Aylık Mecmua**, 4/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ayna**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Tahsin O: civil servant P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/50, ZB.24/89.
- Ayntab Haberleri**, 12/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ayvallık**, 9/1924 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Ayyam**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Faik Gregor O: law P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2677/48, RMM.
- Az Çok**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Christaki v. Constantin Athansol O: merchant P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1300/35, RMM.
- Azad**, 12/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Azad Amaro**, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ropen Zatoryan P-S: unknown L: AM S: DH.MKT.2768/89.
- Azade**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hajji Muhammad Qasim O: press (owner Haşrat) P-S: granted L: FA F: W S: RMM.
- Azhar-ı Ramazan**, 5/1889 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Azimeris Ton Sokolyan**, 3/1909 (Permit result). A: Dimitri v. Yorgi Karavukiri P-S: granted Genre: scientific L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2769/25.
- Bab-ı Ali**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Mithat O: press P-S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1284/71, DH.MKT.2613/134.
- Baba Himmet**, 9/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Bachkim**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in İstanbul. A: Mikhalchan P-S: granted L: AB F: TW S: DH.MKT.1283/47, ZB.24/95, RMM.
- Bağdat**, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Süleyman Beyzade Murat P-S: granted L: AR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2656/64, RMM.
- Bahar**, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Manisa (Saruhan). A: Mehmet Ali O: civil servant P-S: granted L: TR, GR, FR S: DH.MKT.2759/78.
- Bahçe**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Necip Necati P-S:

- granted **Genre:** illustrated **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** RMM.
- Bahçe**, 10/1880 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Bahçivan**, 6/1918 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Bahr-ı Siyah**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. **A:** Yanko Yovanidi **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2679/17, DH.MKT.1288/86, RMM, Odabaşıoğlu (9, 15).
- Baikler**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Ohanes Eskian **O:** librarian **P-S:** granted **L:** AM **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Balin Benesia**, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. **A:** Alfred **O:** education **P-S:** granted **L:** GR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.1278/59, RMM.
- Balkan**, 7/1906 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Balkanski Pragat**, 4/1909 (Permit application). **A:** Toma Karalopof/Karayof **P-S:** unknown **Genre:** political, literary **L:** BU **S:** DH.MKT.2796/36.
- al-Band al-Sahih**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Aleppo. **A:** Qalawizade Muhammad **P-S:** granted **L:** AR **F:** TW **S:** DH.MKT.1296/31, RMM.
- al-Band/Barid**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Damascus. **A:** Muhammad Shaker, Farsi Khuri **P-S:** granted **L:** AR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2677/20, RMM. *BOA mistakenly mentions "al-Bina al-Sahih" for "Kilorizade Mehmet"*
- Barbaros**, 10/1911 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Barika**, 2/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Konya. **A:** Laz Hüseyin Efendizade Mehmet Pertev **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** HTU, RMM.
- Barika-ı Hakikat**, 8/1908 (Permit result). **A:** Mustafa Fazıl **O:** education **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.1279/41, ZB.24/42.
- Barika-ı İrşat**, 11/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Bursa. **A:** Abdülkerim Fehmi **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.1299/58, HTU, RMM.
- al-Barq**, 2/1909 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. **A:** Bishara 'Abdallah al-Khuri **P-S:** granted **L:** AR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2652/36, DH.MKT.2736/91, RMM, Tauber.
- Basiret**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Ali **O:** government **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Başkumî**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Bitola. **A:** Ferid **O:** law **P-S:** granted **L:** AB **S:** DH.MKT.1298/14, DH.MKT.2637/91, RMM.
- Basurcu Agah**, 9/1908 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Batarya**, 8/1908 (Permit result). **A:** İsak Arditi **P-S:** granted **Genre:** scientific, political, illustrated **L:** JES **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.1280/49, ZB.24/55.
- al-Bayan**, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. **A:** Avni İshaq **O:** law **P-S:** granted **L:** AR, TR, FR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2656/82, RMM.
- Bayram**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Hüseyin Efendi **O:** press (owner of Shams and Cingöz) **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** D **S:** RMM. *Applicant was a Persian citizen.*
- Bebe Ruhi**, 8/1908 (Permit result). **A:** Mehmet Halil **O:** press **P-S:**

- granted **Genre:** satirical **L:** TR **S:**
DH.MKT.1277/35.
- Bedayi/Beddi*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in
Istanbul. **A:** Bashir Medjad **O:** govern-
ment **P-S:** granted **L:** TR, AR **F:** D **S:**
DH.MKT.2684/48, ZB.329/40, RMM.
- Bedreka-ı Selamet*, 1/1897 (Publication).
L: TR **S:** HTU.
- Bekçi*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Is-
tanbul. **A:** Mahmut Nedim **O:** press **P-S:**
unknown **L:** TR **S:** DH.MKT.2657/16.
- Benim Gazetem*, 1908/1909 (Permit appli-
cation) in Istanbul. **A:** Grigor Faik **O:**
press (director Musavver Terakki and
Geveze) **P-S:** granted **Genre:** illustrated
L: TR **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Bergama*, 1908/1909 (Permit application)
in Bergama. **A:** Raslı (Yenişehirli) **P-S:**
granted **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** RMM.
- Berk*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in
Baghdad. **A:** Şerif Necmi **O:** govern-
ment **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** RMM.
- Berk*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in
Istanbul. **A:** Ali Rıza **P-S:** unknown **F:** D
S: DH.MKT.2730/37.
- Berk*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. **A:**
Mithat (Giritli) **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **S:**
DH.MKT.2787/45.
- Berk*, 9/1908 (Permit application). **A:**
Redif Paşazade H. Redif **P-S:** unknown
Genre: political, literary, scientific, il-
lustrated **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.
1293/57.
- Berkeri Sayen*, 3/1909 (Permit ap-
plication). **A:** Dikran Cukazesyan
P-S: unknown **L:** AM, TR **F:** W **S:**
DH.MKT.2778/28.
- Besa*, 12/1908 (Publication (Approx.))
in Istanbul. **A:** Aleksı (Tepedelenli)
- P-S:** granted **L:** TR, AB **F:** TW **S:**
DH.MKT.1286/54, HTU, RMM.
- Beşer ve Tabiat*, 8/1919 (Publication). **L:**
TR **S:** HTU.
- Beyan*, 3/1909 (Permit result). **A:**
Nadri Fevzi **P-S:** granted **F:** D **S:**
DH.MKT.2787/90.
- Beyanülhak*, 10/1908 (Publication) in
Istanbul. **A:** Şehri Hacı Ahmet &
Mehmet Fatin **P-S:** granted **Genre:**
religious **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.1300/7
4, HTU0221, HTU.
- Beyoğlu*, 6/1911 (Publication). **Genre:** il-
lustrated **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Beyoğlu*, 2/1909 (Permit application)
in Istanbul. **A:** Vitali **P-S:** granted **L:**
TR, AR, FR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2733/27,
HTU1209, HTU. *According*
to HTU only published in
June 1911.
- Beyrut*, 1888 (Publication (Secondary
source)) in Beirut. **Genre:** official **L:** TR,
AR **S:** OK21(33).
- Bilgi Yurdu İşığı*, 4/1919 (Publication).
Audience: women **L:** TR **S:**
HTU.
- Biperva*, 11/1908 (Permit application)
in Kastamonu. **A:** Mehmet
Suphi **O:** law **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **S:**
DH.MKT.2666/48.
- Birlik*, 6/1925 (Publication) in
Kastamonu. **Audience:** professionals **L:**
TR **S:** HTU.
- Bitaraf*, 1/1909 (Permit application)
in Aydın. **A:** Fuat **O:** government
P-S: granted **L:** TR, FA **F:** W **S:**
DH.MKT.2714/10, RMM.
- Bitaraf*, 3/1909 (Permit applica-
tion) in Istanbul. **A:** Halil Rifat **O:**

- civil servant ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2773/81.
- Bizantia**, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Pol Simiryoti ^{P:S:} unknown ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} GR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1276/43, RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Bizantis**, 1850 (Publication (Secondary source)). ^{L:} GR ^{S:} OK21(40).
- Bizim Mecmua**, 4/1922 (Publication). ^{Audience:} youth ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Bondikos**, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. ^{A:} Dimitri Starapoulo ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} GR ^{F:} TW ^{S:} DH.MKT.2752/57, RMM.
- Boşboğaz ile Gülabi**, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hüseyin Rahmi ^{O:} press (journalist) ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Bosna**, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Kara Mehmetzade Bosnalı Mehmet Nureddin ^{O:} government ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR, SEK ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1295/43, HTU0570, HTU, RMM.
- Bosna-Hersek**, 8/1908 (Permit application). ^{A:} Ahmet Şerif ^{P:S:} unknown ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR, SEK ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1274/39.
- Bosphore**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Cemali ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} FR ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Bourse Ottomane**, 8/1908 (Permit application). ^{A:} Yusuf Sadık ^{P:S:} unknown ^{Genre:} economic, commercial, political ^{L:} TR, FR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1283/36.
- la Buena Esperanza**, 1874 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. ^{L:} JES ^{S:} OK21(43). *Appeared until 1914.*
- al-Burhan**, 10/1908 (Permit application). ^{A:} Fahurizade Hüseyin Mehmet ^{P:S:} unknown ^{S:} DH.MKT.2632/14.
- al-Burlon**, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Kemal Samuel Motrani ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} JES ^{F:} D ^{S:} ZB.328/28, RMM.
- Bursa Mecmuası**, 12/1917 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Büyük Duygu**, 3/1913 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Büyük Mecmua**, 4/1919 (Publication). ^{Audience:} youth ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çağlayan**, 10/1925 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çan Çan**, 4/1911 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çanakkale Muallimler Birliği**, 5/1925 (Publication) in Çanakkale. ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çankaya**, 5/1928 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çankırı'da İnce Geliş**, 8/1928 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çanta**, 10/1889 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çapkn**, 10/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Aydın. ^{A:} Hancızade Mehmet Sabri ^{O:} merchant ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2831/55, DH.MKT.2666/74, HTU, RMM. *Published in Aydın according to RMM and in GR, but HTU confirms TR and probably W.*
- Cayer Hayir Yenac**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Bervant ^{O:} education ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} AM ^{S:} DH.MKT.2637/78.
- Çaylak**, 1/1887 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.

- Cedide-i Şarkîye*, 1885 (Publication (Secondary source)). L: TRAMS S: OK21(41). *Appeared until 1913.*
- Celali*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Aydın. A: Osman Fikri P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2742/80, RMM.
- (*Musavver*) *Cellat*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR S: HTU.
- Cem*, 12/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Cemîyet*, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: Nuri Ömer P:S: granted Genre: political, literary, scientific L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1291/35, ZB.25/14.
- Ceride*, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mahmut Celalettin O: education L: TR F: D S: HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published W.*
- Ceride-i Baytariye*, 11/1899 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i Emlak ve Arazi*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Refik O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2706/93.
- Ceride-i Felesfiye*, 1912 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i Fünun-ı Şarkîye*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İskender P:S: unknown Genre: illustrated L: FR, TR S: DH.MKT.1293/36.
- Ceridet ül-Hakayık*, 8/1902 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i Havadis*, 7/1840 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i İlmiye*, 5/1914 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i Muhakeme*, 6/1874 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i Resmîye*, 12/1920 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. *Official organ of the Grand National Assembly.*
- Ceride-i Rum*, 12/1908 (Permit application). A: Hristidi Efendi P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2694/46.
- Ceride-i Rüşumiye*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Harun al-Raşit O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: M S: DH.MKT.1277/85, HTU, RMM.
- Ceride-i Şikayet*, 9/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i Sufîye*, 3/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ali Fuat, Hüseyin Kazım O: press (editor Tercüman-ı Hakikat) P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2731/31, DH.MKT.2746/30, HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published W.*
- Ceride-i Ticaret*, 12/1857 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ceride-i Vakfiye*, 12/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Ziyaettin O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2663/32, ZB.328/108, HTU, RMM.
- Ceride-i Zabıta*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Affan Osman O: law P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1279/15.
- Çerkes*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Muhittin P:S: granted F: D S: RMM.
- Cezair-i Bahr-ı Sefid*, 1882 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Rhodos. Genre: official L: TR, GR S: OK21(33).
- Chios*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Soteraki Livanidi O: medical P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: ZB.329/45, RMM. *According to BOA the title was*

- "Sakız" and according to RMM published in Istanbul, however, that seems unlikely.*
- Chiragh**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Vakhan Tekeyou ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Chkirpriya**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Joseph Evamidis ^{O:} law ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AB ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Chtipra/Şetitpare**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Nicolas Psarpia/Besaria/Besarabya v. Constantin ^{O:} education ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} RO ^{F:} TW ^{S:} DH.MKT.1290/35, RMM.
- Çiçek**, 6/1926 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Cici**, 5/1911 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Cidal**, 12/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Ciddi Gazete**, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Mehmet Nadir/Nuri ^{O:} education ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2658/38, ZB.328/24, RMM.
- Ciddiyet (?)**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} George/Yorgaki ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Çiftci**, 4/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ahmet Muhtar ^{O:} education ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, agricultural, economic ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1280/82, ZB.24/46, HTU, RMM.
- Çiftçiler Derneği mecmuası**, 9/1916 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çiftlik**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Giovani ^{O:} education, press (owner Ziraat Gazetesi) ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Cihan**, 10/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Mihran ^{O:} printing ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Cihan**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. ^{A:} Salih Zeki ^{O:} press (owner Osmanlı Ziraat ve Ticaret Gazetesi) ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Cihan**, 7/1908 (Permit application). ^{A:} Akyığıtzade Musa ^{P-S:} unknown ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1273/25.
- Cihan**, 4/1924 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Musavver Cihan**, 8/1891 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Cihat**, 5/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Davud ^{O:} law ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2816/25.
- Çimdik**, 6/1910 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Cinématographe**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. ^{A:} Semakatovalı (?) ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Cingöz**, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hüseyin Efendi ^{O:} press (owner of Shams) ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} satirical, illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} TW ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Çingirak**, 9/1908 (Publication). ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU. *Single issue.*
- Çingiraklı Tatar**, 4/1873 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çırak Mektepleri Mecmuası**, 12/1918 (Publication). ^{Audience:} youth ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çocuk Bahçesi**, 11/1904 (Publication). ^{Audience:} youth ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çocuk Dünyası**, 3/1913 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Çocuk Dünyası**, 1926 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.

- Çocuk Duygusu*, 6/1913 (Publication).
Genre: illustrated Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Çocuklar Alemi*, 12/1913 (Publication).
Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Çocuklara Arkadaş*, 5/1881 (Publication).
Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Çocuklara Kiraat*, 1/1882 (Publication).
Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Cocuklara Mahsus Gazete*, 5/1896 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Çolpan*, 12/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: TM S: HTU.
- Coşkun Kalender*, 4/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- le Courier Ottoman*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Nicolas Psarpia/Besaria/Besarabya v. Constantin P:S: granted L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2736/85, RMM.
- Courrier d'Orient*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ebuziyya Tefik P:S: granted L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- Courrier d'Orient*, 1854 (Publication (Secondary source)). Genre: expat L: FR S: OK21(37).
- Courrier Oriental*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Chrysopolis O: press (director Le Moniteur Oriental and Tachydromos) P:S: granted L: FR, EN F: D S: RMM.
- Courtier veyâ Tellal*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Sadullah P:S: granted L: TR, FR F: W S: DH.MKT.2630/16, RMM.
- al Cuduyi*, 5/1909 (Permit application). A: David Alenkova O: press P:S: unknown L: JES, HE S: DH.MKT.2834/72.
- Çukurova*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Adana. A: Kezzade Mahmut Celalettin (Adanalı) P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Cuma*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Hamdi O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1279/78, RMM.
- Curcuna*, 4/1912 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Grigor Faik O: press (director of Musavver Terakki and Geveze) P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: D S: HTU, RMM. *Mistakenly dated in HTU as 1327R, should be 1327H otherwise the Hicri/Rumi dates do not match.*
- Cüzdan*, 2/1873 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Dal Pregundo*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Caril Ruino/Korbil Rombu O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated F: D S: DH.MKT.2653/84, RMM.
- Dalkavuk*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mahmut Kenan P:S: granted Genre: satirical, illustrated L: TR F: D S: HTU, RMM.
- Danish*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Djalal Unsi O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: FA F: W S: DH.MKT.1273/92, RMM.
- Dar ül-Elhan*, 2/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Dar al-Salam*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Baghdad. A: Ali b. Jawad O: printing P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2630/14, DH.MKT.1299/57, RMM.
- Darbe*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Nesuhiefendizade

- Ömer Hayri ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2698/61, RMM.
- Darülhilafet*, 8/1908 (Permit application). ^{A:} Muhammad Umar ^{P:S:} unknown ^{Genre:} political, literary, scientific ^{L:} AR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1274/55.
- Darıüşşafaka*, 6/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hasan Ferit ^{O:} education ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1286/53, HTU, RMM.
- Datchar*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ekserciyan ^{O:} religious ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1276/5, ZB.24/68, RMM.
- Davul*, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hasan Vasif ^{O:} press (owner İlanat ve Sanayi) ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} TR ^{F:} BW ^{S:} HTU, RMM. *Applied for W but published BW.*
- Débats*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ahmet Kamil ^{O:} government ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} FR ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Deccall*, 1/1919 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Define*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Mehmet Atif/Arif ^{O:} civil servant ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2721/91, RMM.
- Demet*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} İsmail Hakkı ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} women, illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} BW ^{S:} DH.MKT.1282/56, ZB.24/82, HTU, RMM.
- Demiryolları Mecmuası*, 3/1925 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Demokrat*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Memduh ^{O:} press (editor Tercüman-ı Hakikat) ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} GR, TR, AM ^{F:} TM ^{S:} DH.MKT.2626/78, RMM.
- la Dépêche* [?], 3/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Kirkor ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} FR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2774/55.
- Deripon*, 5/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Davud ^{O:} law ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} AM ^{S:} DH.MKT.2816/25.
- Dertli*, 8/1919 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Dertli ile Garip*, 8/1910 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Devair*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Emin Velad ^{O:} government ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} political ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1274/48, RMM.
- (Musavver) Devr-i Cedit*, 5/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU.
- Dicle*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. ^{A:} Şehbenderzade Mahmut Çelebi ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2705/16, DH.MKT.2638/17, RMM.
- Dicle*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Diyarbakir. ^{A:} Attarzade Hakkı ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2843/29.
- Dideban*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} İbrahim Halil ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} BW ^{S:} DH.MKT.1292/9, ZB.25/38, RMM.
- Diken*, 10/1919 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Dikephalos Aionos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Aristobule Christidis ^{O:} printing ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} GR ^{S:} RMM.
- Dikkat*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hüseyin Sami ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, scientific, literary ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2618/37, RMM.

- Dilek*, 3/1923 (Publication) in Balıkesir. L: TR S: HTU.
- Dilek*, 1/1922 (Publication) in Sivas. L: TR S: HTU.
- Dimashq*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Damascus. A: Şebbizade Mehmet Hayri P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- Ditorya*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Doktor Şaban O: military P:S: granted L: AB F: BW S: DH.MKT.1290/35, RMM.
- Diyane*, 3/1920 (Publication). Audience: women L: TR S: HTU.
- Diyarbakir*, 1869 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Diyarbakir. Genre: official L: TR, AM S: OK21(32).
- Dobruca Sedası*, 5/1910 (Publication) in Dobruğa. L: TR S: HTU.
- Doğru Söz*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: George Khronos O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM. *Found in HTU but different publisher and year.*
- Doğru söz*, 7/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Doğru Yol*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in İstanbul. A: Mehmet Asaf O: publisher P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/90, ZB.329/16, RMM.
- Doğu*, 1/1922 (Publication) in Kastamonu. L: TR S: HTU.
- Doğu*, 12/1921 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Dolap*, 1874 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Domachno Oghtichra*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Peraki Keliöf O: education P:S: granted L: BU F: TM S: RMM.
- Drova*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: [unknown] P:S: granted L: FR S: DH.MKT.1282/14.
- al-Duha*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Shaykh Mohammad Shal P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- al-Duhr*, 9/1909 (Permit application) in Baghdad. A: Yusuf Molla P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MUII-1/81.
- Dürbün*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydın. A: Yenişehirizade Muhittin P:S: granted L: TR, GR F: BW S: RMM.
- al-Dustur*, 2/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in İstanbul. A: Zehirzade Ahmet Paşa O: government P:S: granted L: AR, FR F: W S: DH.MKT.1275/59, ZB.24/59, HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published W.*
- al-Dustur al-'Uthmani*, 2/1909 (Permit result). A: Şeyh Selim al-Yakubi P:S: denied L: AR S: DH.MKT.2744/29.
- Düşünce*, 2/1922 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Düşünce*, 8/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Düşünceler*, 9/1922 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Duygu ve Düşünce*, 2/1927 (Publication) in Sivas. L: TR S: HTU. *published in Sivas*
- Echo de l'Orient*, 1838 (Publication (Secondary source)) in İzmir. Genre: expat L: FR S: OK21(37). *Appeared until 1846.*
- Ecnebi Matbuat Hulasası*, 6/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Eczacı*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in İstanbul. A: Ali Süreyya O: medical P:S: granted

- L: TR S: DH.MKT.1277/49. *Found in HTU but different publisher and year.*
- Eczacı**, 8/1911 (Publication). **Audience:** professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Edebi/Edeph**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Theodori Herakli O: printing P:S: granted L: GR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1288/77, RMM.
- Edebiyat**, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Vamek Şükrü O: civil servant P:S: granted **Genre:** illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1289/85, RMM.
- Edeph**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Aydın. A: Yusuf Ziyaettin O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2629/46, RMM.
- (**Musavver**) **Edeph**, 8/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Leon Lütfü O: librarian P:S: granted **Audience:** youth L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1276/4, ZB.24/67, HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published W.*
- Edephya hul**, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Zeytunzade Mehmet Remzi P:S: granted **Genre:** satirical, illustrated, published in Izmir according to RMM, but HTU confirms Istanbul L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published W.*
- Edinstov**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Hristo Çernoyef P:S: granted L: BU F: D S: DH.MKT.2729/83.
- Edirne**, 1868 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Edirne. **Genre:** official L: TR, GR S: OK21(32).
- Edirne Sedası**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Edirne. A: Paragirolu Argeli P:S: granted L: BU F: TW S: RMM.
- Efkar**, 3/1909 (Permit result). A: Yusuf Ziya P:S: denied S: DH.MKT.2775/96, DH.MKT.2775/96. *Application rejected due to applicant being too young.*
- Efkar-ı Millet**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yusuf Ziyaüddin (Fatsalı) O: student P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Eftap**, 7/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Yazıcı Osman Nuri P:S: granted **Genre:** illustrated L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2730/66, HTU, RMM. *Published in Edirne according to RMM*
- Eftap**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Rhodes. A: Süleyman Fuat O: librarian P:S: granted **Genre:** political, scientific F: W S: DH.MKT.2749/36, RMM.
- Ehmed**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Jerusalem. A: Margaret Palmer P:S: granted **Audience:** *Published in Jaffa in AR according to BOA.* L: EN, FR, HE F: W S: DH.MKT.2711/30, RMM. *Applicant was an English citizen.*
- Ejirea**, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Athanase Anastasiadis O: education P:S: granted **Genre:** literary, art, commercial L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2690/38, RMM.
- Ekinci**, 4/1913 (Publication). **Audience:** professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Eklesiasitiki Aliteia**, 1881 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Istanbul. L: GR S: OK21(40). *Appeared until 1922.*
- Ekonomikos Angelyaforos/Angliaphoros**, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Mihalaki/Mikhailaki Manas/Manos P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.1276/56, RMM.
- Eleysha**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Atnas & Vasilaki P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT. 2637/95.

- Embras*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Hemazasp Khaki P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Embrosi/Emizos*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Makridi P:S: granted Genre: political, literary, illustrated L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/45, RMM.
- (*Musavver*) *Emel*, 9/1909 (Publication) in Izmir. A: Mevsilli Baş Alemzade İsmail Hakkı P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM. *Published in Istanbul, according to RMM, but HTU confirms Izmir*
- Emel Mecmuası*, 1930 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. *Published in Romania.*
- Emniyet*, 4/1896 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Emporiki Eptheoris*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Dimitri Phalguiiri P:S: granted L: TR, FR, GR F: M S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Emraz-ı Etfal*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Dr. Viboli P:S: granted L: TR, FR F: W S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Emrolithos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Atnas & Vasilaki P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2637/95, RMM.
- Enbeke*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Mehmet Necip Efendi (Edirneli) P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2629/61.
- Encümen*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mahmut Nedim O: law P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Engin*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Edirneli Mehmet Necip P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Enosis*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Scyros. A: Demosthene Melko P:S: granted L: GR F: TW S: RMM.
- Envar-ı Hakikat*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Yusuf Cemil (Cebecizade torunu) P:S: unknown L: TR, FR S: DH.MKT.1275/34.
- Envar-ı Hürriyet*, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Ali İffet O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1282/72, HTU, RMM. *Published in Kosovo according to RMM, but BOA and HTU confirm Istanbul.*
- Envar-ı Şarkıye*, 1867 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Erzurum. Genre: official L: TR, AM S: OK21(32).
- Envar-ı Ulum*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mustafa Sati O: government P:S: granted Audience: youth L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM. *Printed at Matbaa-i Amire.*
- Envar-ı Zeka*, 1883 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Enzartisina/Enksratlisina*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Christaki/Hristaki Atnason/Anthanas P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2630/89, RMM.
- Ephemeris Don Kıryo*, 5/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Harikalya Malandino O: education P:S: unknown L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2798/49.
- Ephemeris Smyrneen*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Nikolaki O: press (owner of La Reforme) P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1285/54, RMM.
- Ephemeris Ton Yinon*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Theodore Idris O: press (editor Amalthia) P:S:

- granted **Genre:** illustrated **L:** GR **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Ephemirai Hayva**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. **A:** Ph. Kondorioti Kasta **O:** printing **P:S:** granted **L:** GR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2639/95, RMM. *Title in MMR "Ephimeris i Dj..."*
- Epiros**, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Ionnina. **A:** Dimitri Kocko **P:S:** granted **L:** GR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2869/59.
- Epiteorisis/Epris**, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. **A:** Mikhail Nikolaidi **O:** printing **P:S:** granted **L:** GR **F:** TM **S:** DH.MKT.2860/86, RMM.
- la Epoca**, 1875 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Thessaloniki. **L:** JES **S:** OK21(43). *Appeared until 1912.*
- Erantis**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. **A:** Guiriako Paniyi **P:S:** granted **Genre:** illustrated **L:** GR **F:** W **S:** RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Ergadis/Erghanis**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Kavala. **A:** Dimitri/Dimitraki Ef-tonidi **O:** law **P:S:** granted **L:** GR **F:** TW **S:** MF.MKT.1103/21, DH.MKT.2729/31, RMM.
- (Musavver) Erganun**, 10/1911 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Erkekler Dünyası**, 1/1914 (Publication). **Genre:** illustrated **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Esas**, 7/1908 (Permit application). **A:** Ali Fuat **O:** press **P:S:** unknown **Genre:** political, random, illustrated **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.1274/5.
- Eşek**, 11/1910 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Eskaser**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Mihran **O:** printing **P:S:** granted **L:** AM **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Esmar-ı Tekamül**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** b. Nusret Nezmi **P:S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** RMM.
- Esperini**, 2/1909 (Permit application). **A:** Nikola Parici **O:** law **P:S:** unknown **L:** GR **S:** DH.MKT.2746/17.
- Espor**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Abdullah Zühdi **O:** press (owner of Yeni Gazete) **P:S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- (Musavver) Eşref**, 3/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. **A:** Hüseyin Nazmi **O:** press **P:S:** granted **Genre:** satirical **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2765/50, HTU.
- Esve Telosi/Estelos**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. **A:** Yivan/Yoan **O:** education **P:S:** granted **L:** SEK **F:** TW **S:** DH.MKT.1290/35, RMM.
- Etfal**, 1887 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Ethniki Drasis**, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. **A:** Philidi Philios **P:S:** granted **L:** GR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2629/45, DH.MKT.2829/41, RMM, Odabaşıoğlu (12).
- Ethniki Phoni**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Alagözoğlu Sava **P:S:** granted **L:** TR, GR **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Ethnos**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** George/Yorgi Ikonomidi **P:S:** granted **Genre:** illustrated **L:** GR **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Eumonia**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Ionnina. **A:** Müslüm Ağazade Abdülbaki **P:S:** granted **L:** GR **S:** RMM.
- Eumonia/Omonyia**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. **A:** İsmail Hakkı **O:** printing **P:S:** granted **L:** GR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2623/127, RMM.

- Ev Hocası*, 7/1923 (Publication) in Ankara. **Audience:** women **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Express-Publicité*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Jerome Mafioli **P-S:** granted **L:** FR **F:** W **S:** RMM. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Ezan*, 1896 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Ezhar-ı Şebbab*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. **A:** Mehmet Hasip **O:** government **P-S:** granted **Genre:** illustrated **L:** TR, FR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2694/72, ZB.329/54, RMM.
- Ezop*, 9/1908 (Publication). **Genre:** satirical **L:** TR **F:** TW **S:** HTU.
- Eztak*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. **A:** Alexian Misakian **P-S:** granted **L:** AM **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2646/64, ZB.328/44, RMM. *Also mentioned in BOA as "Aztağ".*
- Fağfur*, 8/1918 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Falaka*, 8/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. **Genre:** satirical **L:** TR **F:** TW **S:** HTU.
- Familya*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. **A:** Mehmet İhsan **P-S:** granted **Genre:** illustrated **L:** TR, FR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2693/4, ZB.329/72, RMM.
- Fanus*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Yanko Vala **O:** law **P-S:** unknown **L:** GR **S:** DH.MKT.2797/29.
- Fanus*, 5/1909 (Permit application). **A:** Lonida Solidi **O:** press **P-S:** unknown **L:** GR **S:** DH.MKT.2805/67.
- Fasl al-Khitab*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. **A:** Ramazanzade Bashir **P-S:** granted **L:** AR **F:** TW **S:** DH.MKT.2659/15, DH.MKT.1297/42, RMM.
- Fasl al-Khitab*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Damascus. **A:** Hatipzade Abdulkadir **P-S:** granted **L:** AR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2824/13.
- al-Fawa'id*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Syria. **A:** Shaykh Ahmad Sabuni **O:** law **P-S:** granted **L:** AR **F:** TW **S:** RMM.
- Fazilet*, 9/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. **A:** Reşat **O:** government **P-S:** granted **Genre:** political, scientific, illustrated **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.1274/2, HTU, RMM. *Published D according to BOA but published W.*
- Felsefe-i Musiki*, 2/1910 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Felsefe ve İctimaiyat Mecmuası*, 5/1927 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Fen*, 3/1911 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Fen Kütatı Mecmuası*, 9/1925 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- (Musavver) Fen ve Edeph*, 3/1899 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Fenni Gazete*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. **A:** Bedros **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2679/14, ZB.328/141, RMM. *Published D according to RMM.*
- Ferda*, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)). **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** HTU.
- Fetene*, 12/1908 (Permit result). **A:** Hrisostomoni Ağlarciöğlü **P-S:** granted **L:** GR **S:** ZB.329/43.
- Fevaid*, 11/1887 (Publication). **Audience:** youth **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Fevaid*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Bursa. **A:** İsmail Reşit **O:** press (owner Bursa) **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** TW **S:** RMM.
- Feyz*, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Trabzon. **A:** Silahtarzade Halil **P-S:**

- granted **Genre:** illustrated **L:** TR **F:** TW **S:** DH.MKT.1289/26, HTU, RMM.
- Feyz-i Hürriyet*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Vıcdani **O:** law **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** TW **S:** DH.MKT.1275/33, RMM.
- Fikirler*, 7/1927 (Publication) in Izmir. **Audience:** youth **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Fikr-i Selim*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Mehmet Ali **O:** civil servant **P-S:** unknown **Genre:** political, scientific, literary **L:** TR **S:** DH.MKT.2779/33.
- Fikr-i Zaman*, 10/1908 (Permit application). **A:** Kayseryan Efendi **O:** law **P-S:** unknown **L:** TR **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2629/91.
- Fikret*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. **A:** Şevket (Debreli) **P-S:** granted **F:** W **S:** DH.MKT.2816/8.
- Filend*, 1908/1909 (Permit application). **A:** Ferid **O:** government **P-S:** granted **F:** TW **S:** RMM.
- Filistin*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Jerusalem. **A:** Zuhurzade Yusuf Sidqi **P-S:** granted **L:** AR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.1280/23, RMM.
- Filos Ton Neon*, 1831 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. **L:** GR **S:** OK21(39).
- Filozof*, 8/1909 (Permit application) in Trabzon. **A:** Charles Mirkoviç **P-S:** unknown **L:** TR **S:** DH.MKT.2900. *Applicant was a Austro-Hungarian citizen.*
- Firuze*, 9/1924 (Publication). **Audience:** women **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Firat*, 1869 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Aleppo. **Genre:** official **L:** TR, AR **S:** OK21(32).
- la Fon Turquie*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. **A:** Kirkor Zehrab **O:** law **P-S:** granted **L:** FR **S:** ZB.24/28.
- Fosi*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Sisam. **A:** İlya v. Konstanti Petraki **P-S:** granted **L:** GR **S:** DH.MKT.2872/1.
- Fostariani Fenar*, 5/1909 (Permit application). **A:** Sunluoğlu Nikola **P-S:** unknown **L:** GR **S:** DH.MKT.2822/38.
- Fünun*, 1892 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Füyuzat*, 1/1909 (Publication) in Thessaloniki. **A:** Ali Rıza **O:** banking **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** D **S:** DH.MKT.2708/60, DH.MKT.2676/76, HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published M.*
- Füyuzat*, 12/1906 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Füyuzat-ı Kürdiye*, 5/1909 (Permit result). **A:** Palutzade Mehmet Halil **P-S:** granted **L:** TR, KU **S:** DH.MKT.2820/81.
- Gamlu*, 12/1910 (Publication). **Genre:** illustrated **L:** TR **S:** HTU. *The first issue has a picture of the owner.*
- Gavroche*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Dolayan **O:** printing, press (owner Memcua-ı Ahbar) **P-S:** granted **L:** TRAMS **F:** D **S:** HTU, RMM.
- Gayret*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. **A:** Rıza Paşa (Filibeli) **P-S:** granted **L:** TR **F:** D **S:** RMM.
- Gayret*, 12/1886 (Publication). **L:** TR **S:** HTU.
- Gazete*, 7/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. **L:** TR **F:** D **S:** HTU.
- Gazette Medical d'Orient*, 1857 (Publication (Secondary source)). **Genre:** expat **L:** FR **S:** OK21(37).

- Gece Kuşu*, 1/1912 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç Anadolu*, 12/1921 (Publication) in Trabzon. L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç Kadın*, 10/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç Kalemler*, 7/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç kimyager*, 5/1911 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç Mektepliler*, 4/1924 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç Sanatkar*, 10/1918 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç Tabip*, 5/1911 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Genç Türk*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Remzi (Vodinali) O: press P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2630/96. *Found in HTU but different publisher and year.*
- Genç Yolcular*, 12/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Gencine-i Edep*, 11/1908 (Publication) in Izmir. L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Gençler Derneği*, 3/1914 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Gençler Dünyası*, 10/1920 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Gençlik*, 5/1911 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Gençlik*, 1928 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Gençlik Duygusu*, 4/1914 (Publication). Genre: illustrated Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Gerçek*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Fahreddin Hayri O: civil servant P-S: granted Genre: political L: TR S: ZB.25/40.
- Geveze*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Grigor Faik O: press (owner Musavver Terakki and İnkılap) P-S: granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR F: TW S: HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published TW.*
- Geveze*, 8/1875 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ghadir al-Fırat*, 1867 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Aleppo. Genre: official L: TR, AR S: OK 21(32).
- Giovana Esperanza*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Aaron-Josph Gazan P-S: granted L: LA S: RMM. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Girit*, 1867 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Crete. Genre: official L: TR, GR S: OK21(32).
- Girit*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: [unknown] P-S: granted L: FR S: DH.MKT.1282/14.
- Gol Mecmuası*, 6/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Gölge*, 12/1925 (Publication) in Adana. L: TR S: HTU.
- Gonca*, 6/1909 (Permit result). A: Mehmet Galip P-S: granted Genre: literary, scientific, sociologic F: W S: DH.MKT.2847/85, DH.MKT.2772/11.
- Göryan Geri*, 10/1908 (Permit result). A: Leon Sagobi O: other P-S: granted L: FR F: W S: DH.MKT.2626/42. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Gramafon*, 1/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Diran v. Nikogos Masisyan P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1294/45, HTU.

- Güleryüz*, 5/1921 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Gülistan*, 5/1910 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Gülizar*, 3/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: ? S: HTU.
- Gülşen*, 4/1885 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Gülşen-i Edeb*, 4/1899 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Gümrük Mecmuası*, 10/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Gün*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ali Sacit O: government P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Gündoğuşu*, 4/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Güneş*, 1883 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Güneş*, 10/1927 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Gurbet*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Ahmet Mahmut O: civil servant P-S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2640/3, RMM. *Published in Istanbul, according to BOA.*
- Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu*, 10/1926 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- al Gusto*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Leon Israel Arg-houni P-S: granted L: JES F: W S: DH.MKT.2709/62, RMM.
- Guvaze*, 4/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Güzel Saruhan*, 2/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Habastan*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: Yatofak Armen P-S: unknown Genre: illustrated L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.2754/36.
- Haber*, 11/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Haber*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Sarraf Abdulvahhap O: other P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TD S: DH.MKT.2635/48, RMM.
- Haber Anası*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Çeşmecizade Mehmet Tevfik P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2730/5, RMM. *Publication possibly confirmed in "Nekergu ile Pişkar", issue 8, but referenced as "Trabzon'da Haber Babası".*
- Haberci*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Isaac Cohen O: education P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2655/20, RMM.
- Hacivat*, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Tahir O: press (director Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete) P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published W.*
- Hadika*, 2/1870 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hadika-ı İrfan*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Ahmet Asım O: education P-S: unknown Genre: scientific, literary L: TR S: DH.MKT.1275/44.
- Hadika-ı Malumat*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: İbrahim Halil O: government P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: ZB.329/56, RMM.
- Hadika-ı Meşveret*, 5/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Abdi O: education P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2798/28.
- Hadiqa al-Akhbar*, 1860 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. Genre: official L: TR, AR S: OK21(32).

- Hadisat-ı Hukukiye ve Tarihiye*, 12/1924 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hadım-ı Vatan*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Yusuf Cemil (Cebecizade torunu) P:S: unknown Genre: religious, literary, industrial, commercial, political L: TR S: DH.MKT.1275/34.
- Hafta*, 8/1881 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Haftada Bir Gün*, 9/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Haftalık Mecmua*, 7/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Haftalık Serbest İzmir*, 8/1907 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Haftalık Yeni Gazete*, 5/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Haftalık Resimli Gazetemiz*, 11/1924 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Haftalık Resimli İstanbul*, 6/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Hak*, 11/1909 (Publication) in Thessaloniki. L: TR F: irregular S: HTU.
- Hak Torno Ounistvo*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Yorgui Petroff P:S: granted L: BU F: TW S: RMM.
- Hak yolu*, 9/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hakayık-i Tarihiye ve Siyasiye*, 6/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: TM S: HTU.
- Hakayık ül-Vekayi*, 9/1870 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hakikat/Hakekab ve Perent*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Raşit Halil (Yenisehirli) P:S: granted L: TR, AB F: D S: DH.MKT.2666/52, RMM.
- Hakkaniyet*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: David Dermosisyan P:S: unknown Genre: scientific, political, illustrated F: D S: DH.MKT.1280/50.
- Hal*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Süleyman Sakıp O: printing P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Halab al-Shahba*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Talazzade Mehmet Nafi P:S: granted Genre: political, literary L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.1287/7, RMM.
- Hale*, 12/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Haliç*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Kethüdazade Mehmet Salahaddin P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2783/21.
- Halk Bilgisi Mecmuası*, 1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Halk Gazetesi*, 11/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Halka Doğru*, 4/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Halka Doğru Mecmuası*, 2/1919 (Publication) in İzmir. L: TR S: HTU.
- Hama*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Shaykh Ahmad Sabuni O: religious P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2751/13, RMM.
- Hamiyet*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Halil Edip O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Hamiyet*, 4/1907 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. Possibly renamed from "Burhan-ı Terakkî"
- Hamma al-Sham*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Damascus. A: Gaylanizadeh

- al-Sayyid Wasfi ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2754/11.
- Hande*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Adana. ^{A:} Artin Arslanyan ^{O:} education ^{P-S:} unknown ^{S:} DH.MKT.1288/86.
- Hande*, 7/1916 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU. *Renamed from "Eşref"*.
- Hanin*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Mount Lebanon. ^{A:} İbrahim Name Halef ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR, EN ^{S:} DH.MKT.2832/82.
- Hanım*, 9/1921 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{Audience:} women ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Hanumlara Mahsus Gazete*, 9/1895 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- al-Haqaiq*, 5/1886 (Publication). ^{L:} AR ^{S:} HTU.
- al-Haqiqa*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. ^{A:} Müderriszade Abdülmecid Talat ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2827/39, DH.MKT.2866/73.
- Haqiqa*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Mount Lebanon. ^{A:} Georges Malluf ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} TM ^{S:} RMM.
- al-Haqiqa/al-Haqaiq*, 9/1908 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. ^{A:} Shaykh Ahmad 'Abbas ^{O:} religious ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} TM ^{S:} DH.MKT.1296/23, RMM, Tauber.
- al-Haqq*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Mount Lebanon. ^{A:} Tobbya/Tabie Atçallah/'Atta Allah ^{O:} religious ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2714/9, RMM.
- al-Haramayn*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Madina. ^{A:} Huseyin Berade ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} religious, scientific, literary ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2757/67, DH.MKT.2867/51.
- Harazan*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Kirkor Torosyan ^{O:} printing ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1279/6, RMM.
- Harb Melulları Mecmuası*, 3/1926 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU. *RMM mentions the name "Eskon Papazyan"*.
- Harish/Kharlikh*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. ^{A:} Serasi Dimitri ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2756/91, RMM. *Published in AM according to RMM.*
- Harp Mecmuası*, 8/1915 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- al-Hasab*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Safed. ^{A:} Bevil Berşad ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2857/9.
- Haşerat*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hacı Mehmet Kasım ^{O:} librarian ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated, satirical ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Hasul-ı Kelam*, 1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hayri ^{P-S:} unknown ^{S:} DH.MKT.2721/68.
- Hatıf*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. ^{A:} Ahmet (Kıbrıslı) ^{O:} civil servant ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2777/33.
- Hatip*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Abdurrahman Naci ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1282/14, RMM.
- Haver*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hayri ^{O:} civil servant ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} FA ^{S:} DH.MKT.1286/50.
- Haver*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ahmet ^{O:} press ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2726/37. *Found in HTU but different publisher, year and language (FA).*

- Haver*, 3/1884 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Hawadith*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Lutfallah Khallat O: printing P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2835/57, RMM. *BOA mentions the name "İlyas Lydu Cedun".*
- al-Hawadith*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Tripoli. A: Lütfullah Hallat P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2639/82.
- Hay-ı Aşık/Hay Ask*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: Yatofak Armen P:S: unknown Genre: illustrated L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.2754/36.
- Hay Jogovart*, 9/1908 (Permit application). A: Hrant Nazaryan P:S: unknown Genre: illustrated L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.2618/65.
- al-Haya al-Ijtima'ıya*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Kawkabizadeh Qasim P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2732/58, RMM.
- Hayal*, 10/1873 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hayal-ı Cedit*, 3/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hayal ve Hakikat*, 1908 (Permit application). A: Yunus Nadi P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2723/95.
- Hayat*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Avnizade Süleyman O: press P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2640/93, ZB.328/37.
- Hayat Hazinesi*, 8/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Hayik* (?), 9/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Shaykh Ahmad 'Abbas P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.1296/23.
- Hayr ül-Kelam*, 11/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hayrenik*, 1870 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Istanbul. L: AM S: OK21(41).
- Hazine-i Evrak*, 5/1881 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hazine-i Fünun*, 7/1893 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hekim*, 1/1922 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Hellesbondos*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Kale-i Sultaniye. A: Kalaanti Negri P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2865/32, DH.MKT.2829/10.
- Hemşeri*, 2/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. *Published in the USA.*
- Hermes*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Osman b. Hürşid O: merchant P:S: granted L: TR, GR, FR F: M S: DH.MKT.2700/40, RMM.
- Hermes/Ermisi*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Petri v. Dimitri Yovakim P:S: granted Genre: agricultural, commercial L: GR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1280/63, RMM.
- Hermis/Ermis*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Mikhail Tokos/Mihail Tokosi P:S: granted L: GR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1288/80, RMM.
- Hicaz*, 1908 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Hejaz. Genre: official L: TR, AR S: OK21(33).
- Hicaz Hattı*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Hayfalı İbrahim b. Davut Nablusi P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2735/101, RMM.
- Hikaye ve Roman gazetesi*, 9/1929 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- al-Hikma*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Shaykh/Munif Ramadan P:S: granted L: AR F: M S: DH.MKT.2642/73, RMM.
- al-Hikma*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: 'Abdallah P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2772/119.
- al-Hikma*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Mount Lebanon. A: Selim Tanos Vehbe P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2840/23.
- Hilal*, 4/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mustafa Asım O: law P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1276/36, ZB.24/35, HTU, RMM.
- Hilal-ı Ahzar*, 2/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hizmet-i Umumiye*, 5/1920 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hifz ül-Sıhha*, 5/1908 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hyaban*, 2/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hyaban*, 5/1914 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Hokkabaz*, 9/1908 (Publication) in İstanbul. A: Artin Tanalyan/Tatlıyan O: merchant P:S: granted Genre: satirical, illustrated L: TR, AM, GR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1276/7, ZB.24/69, HTU, RMM.
- Holev*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Hemazasp Khaki P:S: granted L: FR F: W S: RMM.
- Hover Haris*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Şükrü O: education P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2745/87.
- Hubb-ı Vatan*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Zihnizade Seyyit İbrahim Hakki P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2737/87, RMM.
- Hücum*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ali İskender Efendi P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2768/88.
- al-Hudar*, 8/1909 (Permit application). A: İbrahim & Hasib O: civil servant P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2911/8.
- Hüdavendigâr*, 1870 (Publication) in Bursa. Genre: official L: TR, AM S: HTU, OK21(32).
- Hukuk*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Behram O: law P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/48.
- Hukuk*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Albert Trica P:S: granted L: TR, FR F: D S: RMM.
- Hukuk Bilgileri Mecmuası*, 9/1926 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- (Musavver) Hukuk-ı Etfal*, 2/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hukuk Mecmuası*, 9/1915 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Hukuk-ı Osmaniye*, 10/1908 (Permit result). A: Abdülkadir P:S: granted Genre: political, literary, scientific, commercial L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2642/36.
- Hukuk-ı Umumiye*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Esat P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: HTU, RMM.
- Hukuk-ı Umumiye*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Konya. A: Necip Nadir O: other P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1289/88, ZB.25/28, HTU.
- Hukuk ve Adalet*, 7/1908 (Permit application). A: S. De Kuledo P:S: unknown F: W S: DH.MKT.1273/91.
- Hüküm*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Konya. A: Müftüzade Ahmet/Mehmet

- Tevfik P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S:
DH.MKT.2730/79, RMM.
- Hülasa*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hafız Mehmet Ali P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S:
DH.MKT.1278/25, RMM.
- (*Musavver*) *Hülasa-ı Ceraid*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: İsmail Sami P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S:
DH.MKT.1292/80, ZB.25/41, RMM.
- Hülasa-ı Efkar*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ali İskender O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: TR S:
DH.MKT.2763/3.
- Hulasat ül-Efkar*, 6/1873 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Humus*, 3/1909 (Permit result). A: Humus Matrani Atnayos P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2764/28.
- Hür Çocuk*, 5/1918 (Publication). Genre: illustrated Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Hür Türkiye*, 6/1928 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Hürmüz*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Simon Çömlekciyan P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.1276/3.
- al-Hurriya*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Jaffa. A: Muhammad Tawfiq al-Mahori P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT. 2851/64.
- Hürriyet*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Selim Amon & Davud P:S: granted S: DH.MKT.2652/65.
- Hürriyet*, 8/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Mazhar P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/18, HTU.
- Hürriyet*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Raşitfendizade İlmi O: merchant P:S: granted L: TR F: D S:
- DH.MKT.1280/66, DH.MKT.1280/66, RMM.
- Hürriyet*, 2/1909 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Hürriyet*, 6/1868 (Publication). Genre: exile L: TR S: HTU.
- Hürriyet-i Fikriye*, 2/1914 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Hüsn ü Şür*, 6/1909 (Publication) in Thesaloniki. L: TR F: TM S: HTU.
- al-Husna*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: George/Corci Nikolabaz P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2699/80, DH.MKT.2763/30.
- I Smyrna Bikou Skrin/Izmir Nabikovas-karib*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Nichan Berberian O: merchant P:S: granted Genre: commercial, agricultural, literary L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2678/57, RMM. *Published W according to RMM.*
- al-İtisam*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Mustafa Rushdi (Şamlı) P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, literary L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/51, ZB.24/86, RMM. *According to RMM in Istanbul.*
- İbiş*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Ahmet Cemil P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2663/62, RMM.
- İbret*, 6/1872 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İbretnüma-ı Dünya*, 1872 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İçtihat*, 9/1904 (Publication) in Geneva. Genre: exile L: TR S: HTU.
- İçtihat*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Reşit P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2697/74.

- el-İçtihat*, 7/1909 (Permit result). A: Mustafa Hilmi (Maraşlı) P:S: granted L: TR, AR S: DH.MKT.2871/99.
- İctimaat Mecmuası*, 9/1917 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İdare*, 4/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İdman*, 5/1913 (Publication). Audience: sports L: TR S: HTU.
- İdrak*, 4/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İfham*, 3/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İhtiyat Zabıtları Postası*, 12/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Ikadh*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Abu al-Ziya Tawfiq P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- İkbal*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Muhtar O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1289/89, ZB.25/29, RMM. In *Aleppo according to RMM*.
- İkbal*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Mameretülaziz. A: Süleyman Sırrı O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2693/44, RMM.
- İkbal-ı Millet*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Enver Efendi O: printing P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: RMM.
- İkbal-ı Vatan*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Asaf Beyzade Hasan Kemal P:S: unknown Genre: political L: TR S: DH.MKT.2786/35.
- İkdam*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Cevdet O: press (director İkdam) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- al-Ikha*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Azimzadeh Şafiq al-Mu'ayyad P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2619/73, RMM.
- İkramiyeli Ziraat Gazetesi*, 6/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- İktisadiyat Mecmuası*, 2/1916 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İktisat Bülteni*, 4/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İlan*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Boyacıoğlu Karaguin P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR, GR, AM, FR F: W S: RMM.
- İlan*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Loka Kakan P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.1281/75.
- İlan-ı Ticaret ve Sanayi/Ticaret ve Sanayiye Ait İlan Gazetesi*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Hasan Vasıf P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1285/25, ZB.25/1, RMM.
- İlanat*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Luca Galician P:S: granted F: D S: RMM.
- İlanat-ı İktisadiye*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mustafa Remzi P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1275/46, RMM.
- İleri*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Saki O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- İleri*, 1/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İlhan*, 4/1911 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- İlk Terbiye ve Tedrisat Mecmuası*, 10/1924 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- İlm-i Hukuk ve Mukayese-i Kavanin Mecmuası*, 4/1909 (Publication). L: TR F: M S: HTU.
- İlmiye*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Kilisli Abünnafi O: education P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, literary L: TR F: D S: ZB.24/30, RMM.

- İmera*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Yanko Stavrolaki P-S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.1278/17.
- Impartial*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Menahem Khal-kon O: law P-S: granted L: FR, HE S: DH.MKT.1290/35, RMM.
- l'Impartial*, 1841 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. Genre: expat L: FR S: OK21(37). *Appeared until 1915.*
- İmra*, 6/1907 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Aristo Dimo P-S: granted L: GR F: D S: ZB.21/77.
- İmtiyaz*, 3/1909 (Publication) in Izmir. A: Hemazasp Khaki P-S: granted L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- İncili Çavuş*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: İrfan O: librarian P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Indépendance Ottomane*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ağazade Behçet Bey P-S: granted L: FR F: D S: ZB.24/48, RMM.
- Indépendance Ottomane*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: K. Arslan (Avsturya-Macaristan tebeasından) P-S: unknown L: FR S: DH.MKT.2637/88.
- İnkılap-ı Edebi*, 7/1912 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İnkilyanoros*, 10/1908 (Permit application). A: Kasenofrat v. Arastidi İstiratinoblu P-S: unknown L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2630/76.
- İnkılap*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aleppo. A: Henanozade İbrahim P-S: granted L: TR, AR F: D S: RMM.
- İnkılap*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Sadık P-S: granted L: TR, FR S: DH.MKT.2744/60, RMM.
- İnkılap*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Grigor Faik O: press (director Musavver Terakki) P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM. *Found in HTU but different publisher and W.*
- İnkılap*, 7/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mustafa Bahattin, Kadızade Ömer Şevket P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2790/50, HTU, RMM. *In HTU copues, the owber is Mustafa Bahaud-din, which is different to the applicant. Perhaps the permit was sold?*
- İnkılap*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Abdurrahman Adil (Selanikli) O: law P-S: granted L: TR, FR F: D S: RMM.
- İnkılap-ı Osmani*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Nazilli. A: Haşim Enveri P-S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2857/12.
- al-İnsaf*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Elyas al-Mashhur (Nebdeli) P-S: granted L: AR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2670/7, RMM.
- İnsaf*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Selavi P-S: granted L: TR, FR F: TW S: HTU, RMM.
- İnsaniyet*, 1/1882 (Publication). Audience: women L: TR S: HTU.
- İnsaniyet*, 8/1910 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- International*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Tripolitania. A: Nesim v. Emborah P-S: granted L: FR S: DH.MKT.2830/73.
- İntibah*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in İonnina. A: Müslüm Ağazade Abdülbaki P-S: granted L: AR F: W S: RMM.
- İntibah*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Tevfik (Selanikli) O: press P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.

- İntibah*, 6/1882 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- İntikam*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Tatarzade Akif P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR, AR, GR, FR, AM, HE, OT F: D S: DH.MKT.2758/16, RMM.
- İntikam*, 12/1902 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İntizam*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Kamil O: press (owner Vatan) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- İntizam*, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: Esat Muhlis O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.1288/37, ZB.25/10.
- el-İntizar*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Trabzon. A: Hasan Rıza O: law P:S: granted Genre: religious, political, law, scientific L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2741/72, RMM. *Published Istanbul according to RMM.*
- Ipros*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in İonnina. A: [unknown] P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2875/63.
- İrade-i Milliye*, 9/1919 (Publication) in Sivas. L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Irfan*, 1908/1909? (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. A: Hajji 'Ali Zayn P:S: granted L: AR F: M S: RMM, Tauber.
- İrfan*, 1/1909 (Permit application). A: Ziya Bey O: press P:S: unknown F: D S: DH.MKT.2725/68.
- İrgat*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Mehmet Cevdet/Mecdet O: government P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1284/85, RMM.
- İrşad ül-Müslimin*, 7/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İrşalovis*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: [unknown] P:S: granted Genre: political L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.1457/1325 C-33.
- İrşat*, 5/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Hamit P:S: unknown F: D S: DH.MKT.2810/56.
- Irshad*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Husayn Farid O: law P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2656/62, RMM.
- İrtika*, 4/1897 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. *Possibly republished in 1898 and 1899.*
- İşçi*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Stravi Veldaspero Photaidi P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- İşçiler Gazetesi*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Ligor Constantinidi P:S: granted L: TR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2706/124, RMM.
- İşçilik*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Cemil O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2698/56.
- Işık*, 1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Işık*, 2/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İşkodra*, 1868 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Iskodra. Genre: official L: TR S: OK21(32).
- al-Islah*, 2/1909 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. A: Yusuf Ghanam Thabit, O: printing P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: AR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2747/64, DH.MKT.2636/18, RMM. *Tauber mentioned Ahmad Hasan Tabbara (25/N/1326 DH.MKT.2636/18) applicant needs to supply his age (although he already owns a newspaper?)*

- al-Islah*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Djedda. A: Raghیب Mustafa Tawakul P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2688/78, RMM.
- al-Islah al-Uthmani*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Muhammad Misbah al-Hud P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2699/83, DH.MKT.2651/51, RMM.
- Islahat*, 1908 (Permit application). A: İzmirli Mehmet İhsan P:S: unknown Genre: agricultural, scientific, literary S: DH.MKT.2722/83.
- el-İslam*, 4/1909 (Publication (Approx.)). L: TR F: TW S: HTU.
- İslam Dünyası*, 4/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İslam Mecmuası*, 2/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- (*Musavver*) *İslam Salon Mecmuası*, 4/1914 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- İslam ve Ulum*, 11/1908 (Publication) in Manisa. A: Ahmet Kemal (Yenişehirli) P:S: granted Genre: religious L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM. *Applied for D but published W.*
- Ispanoz*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Menlois Kalanta P:S: unknown L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.1282/52.
- İspenciyar*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Hasan Rauf O: medical P:S: granted Genre: medical L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1277/42, RMM.
- İspiritizma*, 1/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İşrak*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Karabet Kechichian O: press (owner Musavver Papağan) P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR, FR F: TM S: RMM.
- İstanbulovskiya Novosti*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İsmail Kemal O: military P:S: unknown L: RU F: W S: DH.MKT.2762/93, DH.MKT2788/62.
- İstanbul*, 9/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İstanbul Belediye Mecmuası*, 9/1924 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İstanbul Emraz-ı Cildiye ve Efrençiyeye Cemiyeti*, 4/1924 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- İstanbul Vilayet Gazetesi*, 12/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İştemeran Bidani Kidelyats*, 1839 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. L: AM S: OK21(41).
- İstikbal*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Crete. A: Kemal Bey O: other P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.1278/3. *Possibly confirmed publication by HTU, based on dates.*
- İstikbal*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Kemal P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR, GR, AM, FR F: D S: RMM.
- İstikbal*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Ahmet Cemil O: education P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1288/22, RMM.
- İstikbal*, 1879 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İstiklal*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: Hasan O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2764/45.
- İstiklal*, 9/1909 (Permit application). A: Rashid Abu Hazira P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2763/6.

- İstiklal-ı Osmani*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ağazade Behçet Bey P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1280/46, ZB.24/48, RMM.
- İştinka*, 4/1909 (Permit application). A: Raif P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2795/76.
- al-İstiqama*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Shaykh Abd al-Kareem Abu al-Nasr P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- al-İstiqama*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Muhammad Rashid Abu Hafra P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2834/95.
- al-İstiqlal*, 11/1909 (Permit application) in Jaffa. A: Muhammad Rashid Abu Hafra P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2668/88.
- İştirak*, 7/1912 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İstişare*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Suat/Seyyit P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/9, HTU, RMM. *Published W according to BOA.*
- Istrapy*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Mithat (Giritli) P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2787/45.
- İtidal*, 2/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Hilmi O: press P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2704/46, HTU, RMM.
- İtidal*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Ali Nizami P:S: unknown Genre: political, financial, literary, commercial, daily F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/58.
- İtidal*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Paçacızade Abdülvahab Rüştü P:S: unknown F: D S: DH.MKT.1278/29.
- İtidal/Hidal*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Adana. A: İhsan Fikri P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1282/78, RMM.
- İtila*, 1887 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İtila-ı Osmani*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: Ertuğrul Şakir O: other P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2637/28, ZB.328/88.
- İtilaf*, 12/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. L: TR F: ? S: HTU.
- İtimat*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Mameretülaziz. A: Hamid Haki O: government P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2728/16, RMM. *Published in Istanbul, according to RMM.*
- İttifak*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Samih O: press P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1271/46, DH.MKT.2915/54, HTU, RMM.
- İttifak*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: Abdülbaki P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2652/55.
- al-İttihad al-’Uthmani*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Djamil Mughamiz P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, literary L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.1274/44, RMM.
- al-İttihad al-’Uthmani*, 1908/1909? (Publication (Secondary source)) in Tripoli. A: Muhammad Shabat, ‘Abd al-Rahman ‘Izz al-Din P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: RMM, Tauber.
- al-İttihad al-’Uthmani*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Tripolitania. A: Ahmad Hamdi O: civil servant P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2698/41, RMM.
- İttihad-ı Anasır*, 5/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- İttihad-ı Ekrad*, 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi P:S: unknown L: KU S: DH.MKT.2730/76.
- İttihad-ı İslam*, 11/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Şehbenderzade Ahmet Hilmi (Filibeli) P:S: granted Genre: religious L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2660/60, ZB.328/34, HTU, RMM.
- İttihad-ı İslam*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. Genre: religious L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- al-İttihad al-Islami*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Şehbenderzade Ahmet Hilmi (filibeli) P:S: granted L: AR, FA F: W S: DH.MKT.2660/60, ZB.328/34, RMM.
- İttihad-ı Muhammedi*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Abdullah Ferid O: education P:S: unknown L: AR, FR, TR S: DH.MKT.2764/66.
- İttihad-ı Osmani*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Shaykh Ahmad Hasan Tayyara/Tabare O: religious P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1299/56, DH.MKT.2658/77, RMM.
- İttihat*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Fuat O: other P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1278/31, RMM.
- İttihat*, 10/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Izmir. A: İsmail Hakkı O: law P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR, GR, AM, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1276/87, HTU, RMM.
- İttihat*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Shkodër. A: Dom Noçnika O: religious P:S: granted L: AB S: DH.MKT.2668/16, DH.MKT.2830/61.
- İttihat*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Van. A: David Papasyan, Vartan P:S: unknown L: TR, KU, AM S: DH.MKT.2622/4.
- İttihat ve Terakki*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Thessaloniki. A: Talat O: education P:S: granted L: TR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1281/60, RMM.
- Iyonia*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Erkirynos Damyanos & Arkirboyos Damyanos (İtalyan tebeasından) P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1290/74, DH.MKT.2704/70, DH.MKT.2654/33, RMM. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Iyotis*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Pantalaki Kosmidi P:S: unknown L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/59.
- İzdivaç*, 6/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İzmür*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Hüseyin Hilmi P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- İzmür*, 1896 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İzmür*, 2/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- İzmür İdman Mecmuası*, 5/1924 (Publication) in Izmir. L: TR S: HTU.
- İzmür'de Hürriyet*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Alfred O: education P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.1280/66.
- Izmir al Kismet*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Alexandrovine Ghabat/Alexander Vin Inaz P:S: granted L: JES F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/8, RMM.
- Izmirinos/Izmirinos*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Koudali/Serkotovali P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2644/32, RMM.

- İzmit*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Izmit. ^{A:} Mavian Mardiros, Krikor Saraydaryan ^{O:} printing ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR, AM ^{F:} TW ^{S:} DH.MKT.1275/75, RMM.
- Jale*, 9/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU.
- Jamanak*, 1863 (Publication (Secondary source)). ^{L:} AM ^{S:} OK21(41).
- Jamanak*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Misak Kotchounian ^{O:} press (editor Sabah) ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1289/87, RMM.
- Jamanaks Nechantire*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Zador Behar ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TRAMS ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2725/34, RMM.
- al-Jami'a*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. ^{A:} Esad Mihail Lahud ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2768/65.
- al-Jami'a*, 1/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Adil ^{O:} military ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} AR, ^{TR S:} DH.MKT.2701/11. *Possibly two separate publications.*
- al-Jami'a al-Uthmaniya*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Mehmet Ali Kabani ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2825/22, DH.MKT.1297/58.
- Jandarma Mecmuasi*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. ^{A:} Hafiz Kadiri ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Jandarma Mecmuasi*, 1/1925 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Jin*, 11/1918 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Jirab al-Kurdi*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Jamil Ramadan ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2732/23, RMM.
- Journal de l'Agence d'Orient*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Joseph Jakip Ail ^{O:} merchant ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} FR ^{F:} TW ^{S:} RMM.
- Journal de Matin*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ahmet Kamil ^{O:} civil servant ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} FR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2626/80, RMM. *Appears in RMM as "Metin".*
- Journal de Salonique*, 1895 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Thessaloniki. ^{L:} FR ^{S:} OK21(37). *Appeared until 1912.*
- Journal de Smyrne*, 1832 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. ^{Genre:} expat ^{L:} FR ^{S:} OK21(37). *Appeared until 1842.*
- Journal de Soir*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ahmet Kamil ^{O:} civil servant ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} FR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2626/80, RMM. *Appears in RMM as "Suvar".*
- Juhayna/Jahina*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Abd al-Basit Fakhuri/Abdülbasit Fahuri ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2734/7, RMM.
- Justice*, 5/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Davud ^{O:} law ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} FR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2816/25.
- Kadköy*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Nebil Ziya ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2771/30.
- Kadın*, 10/1908 (Publication) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Mustafa ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} women ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Kadın*, 8/1911 (Publication). ^{Audience:} women ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kadınlar Alemi*, 6/1914 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{Audience:} women ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kadınlar Dnyası*, 4/1913 (Publication). ^{Audience:} women ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kadınlar Saltanati*, 1920 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.

- Kadınlık**, 3/1914 (Publication). Audience: women L: TR S: HTU.
- Kafkasya**, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Adana. A: Oskanof Beyzade Avni Mirza P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2793/94, DH.MKT.2870/50.
- Kafkasya Mazlumları Gazetesi**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Levhzade Mehmet P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Kahkaha**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Hilmi O: press P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR S: DH.MKT.1281/76, ZB.24/79.
- Kahkaha**, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Nesip O: civil servant P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2616/94, RMM.
- Kahkaha**, 3/1875 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Kahkaha**, 4/1922 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Kaina**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Damascus. A: Hacı Edip Nazmi O: printing P-S: granted L: TR, AR F: W S: RMM.
- Kainat**, 9/1909 (Publication) in Drama. A: Nazif O: law P-S: granted L: TR, GR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2708/38, DH.MKT.2663/1, HTU, RMM. *published in Thessaloniki according to RMM, but BOA and HTU confirm Drama.*
- Kale-i Sultaniye**, 4/1909 (Permit result). A: Giritli Selaattin Bey P-S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2795/7.
- Kalem**, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Salah Cimcoz O: law P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR, FR F: W S: ZB.24/29, HTU, RMM.
- Kalender**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Abdurrahman O: printing P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR S: DH.MKT.1294/30, DH.MKT.2638/100.
- Kalender**, 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Şevki Efendi O: civil servant P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2746/100, DH.MKT.2780/94.
- Kalenderi/Kalender**, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Miralayzade Hifzi P-S: granted L: TR, GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2651/44, RMM.
- Kalima al-Haqq**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: George Harfouch O: government P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- Kalinetseguı Anepidos**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Markos Lifinadis P-S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Kanar**, 8/1908 (Permit result). A: Kırkor v. Ohan P-S: granted Genre: science, literature, political, illustrated L: AM F: W S: DH.MKT.1282/41, ZB.24/84.
- Kanat**, 10/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Kanun**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ebubekir Sıtkı O: law P-S: granted S: DH.MKT.1276/2, ZB.24/66.
- Kanun**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Mustafa O: civil servant P-S: granted S: DH.MKT.1277/53, ZB.24/39.
- Kanun-ı Esasi**, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Diran v. Nikogos Masisyan O: librarian P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1294/45, RMM.
- Kanun-ı Esasi**, 1896 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- Kanun-ı Esasi*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Cemal O: other P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.1275/30.
- Kapadokya*, 9/1909 (Permit application). A: [unknown] P:S: unknown S: DH.MUI5-1/34.
- Kaplan*, 10/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Kapnos/Kanpos*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Mikhail Tokos/Mihail Tokosi P:S: granted L: GR F: TM S: DH.MKT.1288/80, RMM.
- Kara Kuş*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mihran O: librarian P:S: granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR F: TW S: RMM.
- Kara Sinan*, 6/1875 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Kara Sinan*, 6/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Karaca*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Karaoğlu Azarian O: printing P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Karagöz*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ali Fuat O: press (owner Musavver Cihan) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR F: TW S: HTU, RMM.
- Karahisar*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Markar Markarian P:S: granted Genre: political, commercial L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2731/14, RMM.
- Kardeş*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Socrate Salomonidi O: press (director Amalthia) P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Kardeş*, 10/1908 (Permit application). A: Hafız Said P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2626/52.
- Kardeş Sesi*, 2/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul. P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Kardeşlik*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Ahmet Hamdi O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1288/77, RMM.
- Kardeşlik*, 9/1908 (Permit application). A: Karabetoğlu Bedros P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2754/94?.
- Karikatür*, 2/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Karikatür*, 10/1909 (Publication (Approx.)). L: TR F: ? S: HTU.
- al-Karmal*, 6/1909 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Hayfa. A: [unknown] P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2838/75, Tauber.
- Karnaval*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. P:S: granted L: TR S: HTU.
- Karon*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Honak Palakchian O: education P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, illustrated L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/53, RMM.
- Kartal*, 8/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Abdülcelil P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR, FR F: W S: DH.MKT.2875/2, HTU.
- Kashf al-Hijab*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Mouhammad Madani P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2651/22, ZB.328/48, DH.MKT.2897/56, RMM.
- al-Kashshaf*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Tripolitania. A: Muhammad Naib O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR, AR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2679/89.
- Kassa*, 1874 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Kastamonu*, 1872 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Kastamonu. Genre: official L: TR S: OK21(33).

- Kathimerini*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. ^{A:} George Dinki/Verbegi ^{O:} physician ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} political ^{L:} GR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2682/52, RMM.
- Kave/Guave*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. ^{A:} Rifat Efendi ^{O:} law ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2622/81, RMM.
- Kavvas*, 4/1909 (Permit result). ^{A:} Mobris ^{O:} medical ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2793/85.
- Kawkab al-Barriya*, 7/1909 (Permit application) in Mount Lebanon. ^{A:} Yusuf Mansur al-Shidyaq ^{O:} religious ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} AR, FR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2887/82.
- Kayseri*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Kayseri. ^{A:} Muzaffer Efendi ^{P-S:} unknown ^{Genre:} political, literary, scientific ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2682/7.
- Kehkeşan*, 7/1909 (Publication) in Trabzon. ^{L:} TR ^{F:} TM ^{S:} HTU.
- Kelebek*, 7/1923 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kelime-i Tayyibe*, 4/1912 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kelimet ül-Hak*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Corci Harfos ^{O:} other ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} TR, AR, FR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1273/82.
- Kemal*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. ^{A:} Kethudazade Abdurrahmn ^{O:} other ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2695/18, RMM.
- Kemalat*, 1/1914 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{Audience:} youth ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kemba*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Andriko Dimitri ^{P-S:} granted ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Keri*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Proderumos Havopuldi/Prodronos Havlopoulidi ^{O:} press ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2630/10, RMM.
- Keroloniçi/Kradlanos*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Bursa. ^{A:} Theodore v. Panagiot/Penayot ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2624/64, RMM.
- Ketigos*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. ^{A:} Kosti Terzupalu ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR, FR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2754/15.
- Ketroun*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Papas Servie Terch-abouh ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Kevkeb-i Kemalat*, 10/1908 (Permit application). ^{A:} Mehmet Emin ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2629/66.
- Kevkeb-i Osmani*, 4/1889 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kevkeb ül-Ulum*, 1889 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- al-Khatib*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Aleppo. ^{A:} Said Ibrahim al-Muaddin ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2886/33, DH.MKT.2792/11.
- Khatt bi al-Kharj*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Syria. ^{A:} Abdo Kabvat ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2828/14.
- Khirenik*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ohannes Şahnazar ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Khronos*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Alexander Iskenderidi ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} GR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1274/12, RMM. *Also mentioned in BOA as "Harvenos".*
- Kibar*, 12/1910 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Kira Elabo*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Aristovoulos ^{O:}

- printing P^{S:} granted Genre: satirical L[:] GR F[:] D S[:] RMM.
- Kiraki*, 5/1909 (Permit application). A[:] Pervanet Odyan P^{S:} unknown L[:] GR S[:] DH.MKT.2805/98.
- Kırım Mecmuası*, 3/1918 (Publication). L[:] TR S[:] HTU.
- Kirkos/Kirkas*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Kavala. A[:] Yani v. Dimitri Hacı Yani P^{S:} granted L[:] GR F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.2705/90, RMM. *In Istanbul according to BOA.*
- al-Kıtab*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aleppo. A[:] Emirizade Baha & Cabirizade Abd al-Hamid P^{S:} granted L[:] TR, AR F[:] W S[:] DH.MKT.2643/31, RMM.
- Kırbaç*, 2/1909 (Permit application). A[:] Yovanaki P^{S:} unknown L[:] TR, FR S[:] DH.MKT.2730/69.
- Kızılrmak*, 10/1913 (Publication) in Sivas. L[:] TR S[:] HTU.
- Klio*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A[:] George Lazaridi O[:] librarian P^{S:} granted Genre: illustrated L[:] GR F[:] W S[:] RMM.
- Kniphos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A[:] Kasti Trezopalo P^{S:} granted L[:] GR, FR F[:] TW S[:] RMM.
- Kocaeli*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Izmit. A[:] Garakin Aramyan P^{S:} unknown L[:] TR S[:] DH.MKT.2688/89.
- Kohak*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A[:] Pavloli Hemayak Aramian P^{S:} granted L[:] AM F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.2735/80, RMM.
- Kokorikos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A[:] Khembaildi O[:] press (owner Anatoli) P^{S:} granted Genre: satirical L[:] GR F[:] W S[:] RMM.
- Konopi*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A[:] Dimitri Yorgui O[:] merchant P^{S:} granted L[:] GR F[:] W S[:] RMM.
- Konya*, 1869 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Konya. Genre: official L[:] TR, GR S[:] OK21(33).
- Kopanos*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A[:] George Anastiasi O[:] press (editor Imersia) P^{S:} granted Genre: satirical L[:] GR S[:] DH.MKT.1288/22, RMM.
- Köroğlu*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Kastamonu. A[:] Fazlızade Mehmet Besim P^{S:} granted L[:] TR F[:] W S[:] RMM.
- Kortcha/Kurca*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Bitola. A[:] Sami O[:] education P^{S:} granted L[:] TR, AB F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.2675/40, RMM.
- Kos/Novs*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A[:] Ghasstokouli Ektena (Goşoflu) O[:] law P^{S:} granted L[:] GR F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.2705/109, RMM.
- Kosmos*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A[:] George/Yorgi Karaca P^{S:} granted L[:] GR S[:] DH.MKT.1277/47.
- Kosova*, 1877 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Skopje. Genre: official L[:] TR, SEK S[:] OK21(33).
- Kouil Dari/Favil Davi*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A[:] Mihran v. Avadis İdareciyan P^{S:} granted L[:] TR, AM, GR, FR F[:] D S[:] ZB.328/140, RMM.
- Köy*, 4/1926 (Publication). L[:] TR S[:] HTU.
- Köy hocası*, 8/1918 (Publication). L[:] TR S[:] HTU.
- Köylü*, 4/1911 (Publication) in Izmir. A[:] Sıtkı O[:] press (owner İttihat) P^{S:} granted Genre: illustrated L[:] AM, TR, GR, HE F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.1276/19, HTU, RMM.

- Köylü Sözü**, 8/1908 (Permit application).
A: Samih Fethi O: press P-S: unknown
L: TR S: DH.MKT.1286/49.
- (Musavver) Küçük Gazete**, 7/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Küçük İlanat**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mahmut Nedim
P-S: granted S: RMM.
- Küçük Mecmua**, 6/1922 (Publication). L:
TR S: HTU.
- Küçük Mektepli**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Sabri O: press (director Musavver Muhit) P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- (Musavver) Küçük Osmanlı**, 12/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Kudüs**, 1903 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Jerusalem. Genre: official L: TR, AR S: OK21(33).
- Kukuruk**, 8/1908 (Publication) in Izmir. A: Kadızade Hasan Rifat Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR, FR F: D S: HTU, RMM.
- Kürdistan**, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Bedrihanzade Ahmet Süreyya P-S: granted L: TR, KU F: W S: DH.MKT.2651/48, RMM.
- Kürsi-i Milel**, 4/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Kürt**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Sülaymaniyeli Tevfik O: press (owner Resimli Kitap) P-S: granted L: TR, KU F: W S: RMM.
- Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi**, 11/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Reşit Efendi O: other P-S: granted L: TR, KU F: W S: DH.MKT.2640/75, HTU.
- Kurtuluş Yolu**, 4/1926 (Publication).
Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Labos Dilbavla/Labousiril Bovlovo**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Joseph Komako O: education P-S: granted L: LA F: D S: DH.MKT.2623/56, RMM.
- al-Ladhikya**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Mohamad Said P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2632/63, RMM.
- Lagoar Tode Colares/Laguartama Filores**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Yanko Enkarenti/Yankova Nakrati O: press (owner Nova Lista) P-S: granted L: LA F: W S: DH.MKT.2678/58, RMM.
- Laiki**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: George Dirki/Verbegi O: physician P-S: granted Genre: scientific L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2682/52, RMM.
- Lak Lak**, 7/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: HTU. *First appeared in Cairo.*
- Lala**, 12/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Laos**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Alexandre Pantasi P-S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- al-Lataif**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Shahin Makarios P-S: granted L: AR F: TM S: DH.MKT.2677/45, RMM.
- Latife**, 8/1874 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Lazistan**, 1/1909 (Permit application). A: Mehmet Vehbi O: government P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2700/25, RMM.
- Lebberia/Liberya**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Doktor Şaban O:

- military P-S: granted L: AB F: TW S: DH.MKT.1290/35, RMM.
- la Lectura/Lektora* [?], 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Victor v. Joseph P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: JES F: D S: DH.MKT.1284/80, RMM. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Lem'a*, 11/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- la Lenfaay*, 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Boşa P-S: unknown L: HE, TR or TRHES S: DH.MKT.2735/36.
- Lephtria*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Yorgaki v. Apostol Bourinasi P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1290/68, RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- les Débats*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Pantalaki Kosmido O: press (owner Müşavir and Fünun) P-S: granted L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- Letaif-i Asar*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Selaattin O: civil servant P-S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.1276/6, ZB.24/70.
- Letaif-i Asar*, 5/1875 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Levant Herald*, 1856 (Publication (Secondary source)). Genre: expat L: EN, FR S: OK21(37). *Appeared until 1914.*
- Levant Times and Shipping Gazette*, 1868 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Istanbul. Genre: expat L: EN, FR S: OK21(37). *Appeared until 1874. Later became Stamboul and completely FR. After 1923 it became Istanbul and closed in 1964.*
- Leyla ile Mecnun*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Serdarzade Mehmet Ziyaüddin P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR S: DH.MKT.2872/35.
- Liberal*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Manof Sityan O: education P-S: unknown L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2779/80.
- la Libertad*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Moshe Avram Azrael P-S: granted L: JES, HE, FR S: DH.MKT.2697/80, RMM.
- la Liberté*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Pierre Chayan, Batris Teban P-S: granted L: FR S: DH.MKT.2661/1, DH.MKT.1297/57, RMM. *Because the original applicant was rejected due to his age, his father obtained the permit in his place.*
- la Liberté*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Leyaho v. Santo Erdini/Liacho Valdesanto Vardini P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- Libre Turquie*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Bitola. A: Mehmet Hasip O: law P-S: unknown L: FR S: DH.MKT.2681/38.
- Likapoula*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Christaki v. Constantin Athansol O: merchant P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1300/35, RMM.
- Lim*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: İbrahim Bahri Efendi O: military P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2763/45.
- Liman*, 5/1927 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Lisan al-Arab*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: [unknown] P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2776/71.

- Lisan al-'Arab*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Salavi O: other P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.1290/47.
- Lisan al-Ittihad*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Filkes Faris P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- Lisan al-Sidq*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Abdülcélil O: education P:S: granted L: AR, TR S: DH.MKT.2821/41.
- Lisan al-'Amm*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Mehmet Kemal Bektaş P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.1299/63.
- Liva-t Osmani*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Muktabis Raşit O: merchant P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1278/60, RMM.
- al-Liwa al-'Uthmani*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Tripolitania. A: 'Abd al-Rahman al-Zakla'i O: religious P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2752/26, RMM.
- Lîwa al-Hurriya*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Tevfik O: press (director Sabah) P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- Lîwa al-Sharq*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: George Kodech O: education P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: D S: RMM.
- Ljuboslowije*, 1842 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Izmir. L: BU S: OK21(42).
- Lloyd Ottoman*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ernst-Moritz Grünwald P:S: granted L: FR S: RMM.
- Lübnan*, 1867 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Mount Lebanon. Genre: official L: AR, FR S: OK21(32).
- Lumina*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Bitola. A: Constantin Cosmicu O: education P:S: granted L: RO F: M S: RMM.
- la Luz*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Benjamin Raphael v. Rabbi Joseph P:S: granted L: JES, HE F: D S: DH.MKT.2732/33, RMM.
- Maarif*, 12/1895 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Maarif-i Umumi Mecmuası*, 12/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Maarif Vekaleti Mecmuası*, 3/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Maç*, 2/1926 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Mahasın*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Muammer Asaf P:S: granted Genre: women, illustrated Audience: women L: TR F: TM S: DH.MKT.1277/44, HTU, RMM.
- (Musavver) Mahasın*, 4/1915 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mahfil*, 7/1920 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mahşer*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Said P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2738/61, RMM.
- Majallat al-Waraq*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Belizade Nikolaki P:S: granted L: AR F: TM S: DH.MKT.2730/28, DH.MKT.2789/9, RMM.
- Makedonya*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İsteryo Polikaritos O:

- press ^{P·S:} unknown ^{Genre:} political, scientific, literary ^{L:} TR, GR, FR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2682/19.
- Makedonya*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Nicolas Naoumoff (Echtebli?) ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} BU ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2624/90, RMM.
- Makes-i Efkar-ı Askeriye*, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU.
- Makes-i Fünun*, 10/1908 (Permit result). ^{A:} Mahmut Suphi Vamik ^{O:} medical ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2621/80.
- Makina*, 12/1908 (Permit result). ^{A:} Mehmet Sırrı ^{O:} military ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{S:} ZB.329/59.
- Maliye*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Sefik ^{O:} civil servant ^{P·S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2709/61.
- Malum*, 12/1910 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Malumat*, 6/1897 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Malumat*, 6/1918 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- (Musavver) Malumat*, 2/1914 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Malumat-ı Mütenevviya*, 1893 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Mameretülaziz*, 1883 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Mameretülaziz. ^{Genre:} official ^{L:} TR ^{S:} OK21(33).
- Mamul*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Abraham Ivazian/Ayvazyan ^{O:} merchant ^{P·S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, literary, national ^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1283/44, ZB.24/98, RMM. *Published in AR according to .*
- Manar al-Adl*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Unsizade/Eneszadi Muhammad Salim ^{O:} press (owned Rawda al-Marif) ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2734/63, RMM.
- Manastur*, 1884 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Bitola. ^{Genre:} official ^{L:} TR ^{S:} OK21(33).
- al-Manhal*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} Muhy al-Din Khayyat ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2714/51, RMM.
- Manisa/Magnezya*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Manisa. ^{A:} Şeyh Mehmet Emin ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2706/100, RMM.
- Manisa Yeni Yurt*, 2/1926 (Publication) in Manisa. ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Manzara*, 3/1887 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Manzume-i Efkar*, 1866 (Publication (Secondary source)). ^{A:} Ohannes Ferid ^{O:} press ^{L:} TRAMS ^{S:} OK21(41). *Appeared until 1896.*
- Marifet*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Ahmet Tevfik ^{O:} government ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2623/96, RMM. *Turkish with both Arabic and Latin script.*
- Marifet*, 2/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Bediüzzaman Said-i Kürdi ^{P·S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2730/76.
- Marifet*, 3/1898 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Marj*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Burj Hudaýda. ^{A:} Asad Rahhal, Daniel Arab ^{P·S:} granted ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Mashhad al-Uthmani*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:} ‘Abd al-Rahman Izz al-Din & Muhammad Shahbal ^{P·S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2682/4,

- DH.MKT.2878/81, DH.MKT.2629/62.
(DH.MKT. 2878/81) *Originally intended to be al-Ittihad al-`Uthmani. However, this name was already registered.*
- Masis**, 1852 (Publication (Secondary source)). L: AM S: OK21(41).
- Maşrek-i Hürriyet**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: İbrahim Ethem P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: RMM.
- Maşrek-i İrfan**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Konya. P:S: denied L: TR S: DH.MKT.2743/74.
- Matbaacılık ve Kitapçılık**, 12/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Matin**, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: Esad Muhlis O: civil servant P:S: granted L: FR S: DH.MKT.1288/37, ZB.25/10.
- Mawarid al-Hikma**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Abd al-Qadir Bedran P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.1280/18, RMM.
- Mearic-i İrfan**, 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Seyyit Mehmet İsmet P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2736/60.
- Mebde-i Feyz**, 8/1909 (Permit result). A: Faida Surzade Fehmi (Vanlı) P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2713/36, DH.MKT.2891/4.
- Mebus**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: İbrahim Edhem & Mustafa Abdi O: military P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2635/47, DH.MKT.2648/74, RMM.
- Meclis-i Mebusan**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Sabuncuzade Levis & Corcizade Nimetullah O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1285/30, ZB.25/45, RMM.
- Mecmua**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Cemil O: military P:S: granted L: TR F: M S: RMM.
- (**Musavver**) **Mecmua**, 3/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: M S: HTU.
- Mecmua**, 9/1908 (Permit application). A: Hikmet Baban P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.1300/19.
- Mecmua-ı Asar**, 1883 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mecmua-ı Ebüzziya**, 8/1880 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mecmua-ı Edebiyye ve Fenniye**, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Yani Martoğlu P:S: unknown L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1278/20.
- Mecmua-ı Fünun**, 1866 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mecmua-ı Fünun-ı Baytariye**, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Ali O: medical P:S: granted Audience: professionals L: TR F: TM S: HTU, RMM.
- Mecmua-ı Fünun-ı Maliye**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Müzakere-i Fünun-i Maliye Cemiyeti P:S: unknown Genre: economic, commercial L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2630/90.
- Mecmua-ı Havadis**, 1864 (Publication (Secondary source)). L: TR, AM S: Çavdar(89), Kabacalı Sansür(27). *Date is an estimate, it was listed in Mecmua-ı Fünun (issue 22), which itself was published in 1864.*
- Mecmua-ı İbretnüma**, 1861 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. *Date is an estimate.*
- Mecmua-ı Kemal**, 1901 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mecmua-ı Maarif**, 6/1874 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- Mecmua-ı Muallim*, 10/1887 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mecmua-ı Nevresdigan*, 1882 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Mecmua-ı Ruhi*, 7/1921 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mecmua-ı Ulum*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Emin O: education P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1280/41, RMM.
- Med Cezir*, 4/1909 (Permit application). A: Süleyman Feyzi O: law P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2783/70.
- Meddah*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Enver O: military P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Meddah*, 1874 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Medeniyet*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Hasan Tahsin O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.1283/45, ZB.24/99. *Found in HTU but different publisher and year.*
- el-Medrese*, 1/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mustafa Sabri (Tokadi) O: education P:S: unknown L: TR F: TM S: DH.MKT.1278/26, HTU. *BOA application appears to be for this publication.*
- Medrese-i Fünun*, 1883 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Medrese-i Hukuk*, 1881 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Medrese İtikatları*, 5/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Medrese-i Osmaniye*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Necati O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1292/21, ZB.25/39, RMM.
- Mekarim ül-Ahlak*, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Tevfik Genre: religious L: TR S: HTU, RMM.
- Mektep-i Sanayi*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Çelebizade Mehmet Esat P:S: granted Genre: scientific, literary, political L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2715/35, RMM.
- Mektep Müzesi*, 5/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mektepli*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Kenan O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2721/67, RMM.
- Mektepli*, 5/1913 (Publication). Genre: illustrated Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Mektup*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Esat O: press (director Uhuvvet) P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Meliklia*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Otonjian O: military P:S: granted L: AM F: W S: RMM.
- Mellah*, 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Hamid Naci P:S: unknown Genre: commercial, industrial, political, scientific S: DH.MKT.2749/88.
- Memalik-i Mahruse*, 1869 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Memur ve İşçi*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: İstavri Futyadi P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2639/60, ZB.328/43.
- Menba ül-İrfan*, 1/1909 (Permit application). A: Muhammad Nur al-Din O: education P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2725/78.
- Menderes*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Hasan O: other P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2825/76.

- Menekşe**, 4/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Merakli Gazete**, 9/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Meram**, 11/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Rifat P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2630/71, HTU, RMM.
- Merciyun [Mereç]**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Daniel Zareb & Esad Rahel P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2896/71, DH.MKT.2677/36.
- Mersum**, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Migirdic Ezgandan P:S: granted L: AM F: W S: DH.MKT.2821/19.
- (Musavver) Meşahir-i Alem**, 1882 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Meşale**, 7/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Meşarik Ramiveya**, 12/1908 (Permit result). A: Apostoloğlu Sava O: law P:S: granted L: TR, GR F: D S: ZB.328/93.
- Mesai**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Halil O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Meşhet ül-Osmani**, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Suphi O: civil servant P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.1300/59.
- Meşhir (Musavver)**, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Hilmi O: government P:S: granted Audience: youth L: TR F: D S: HTU, RMM.
- Meşhir-i Muamelat**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Hıfzı O: law P:S: granted L: TR, FR, AM, GR S: RMM.
- Mesirret**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Rüştü O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1291/12, ZB.25/18, RMM.
- Meslek**, 12/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Meşrutiyet**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İsmail Hakkı O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Meşrutiyet-i İdare**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Bostancıoğlu Erakle O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2690/21, RMM. *Published in İzmir according to RMM.*
- Meta İkmisis**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Nikeforos, Dizan-depos P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Metin**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Akyığıtzade Musa P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Metin**, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Mevsim**, 7/1908 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Mehmet Rifat O: printing P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1272/81, RMM.
- Meziyet**, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Ali O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: ZB.25/21, HTU, RMM. *Application was D but published W.*
- Mezra-ı Maarif**, 1882 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Midilin**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Midilli. A: German Efendi P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT. 2636/35.
- Mihrap**, 11/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mihver ül-Ulum**, 12/1912 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- Mikra Asia*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Dimitraki Thornayidi P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TRGRS F: D S: DH.MKT.1280/54, ZB.24/54, DH.MKT.2661/32, RMM.
- Mikyas-ı Şeriat*, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Remzi O: printing P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Millet*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: İbrahim Hilmi O: librarian P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1273/10, HTU, RMM. *Applied for W but published D.*
- Millet-i Osmaniye*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Sadri O: press (editor Tercüman-ı Hakikat) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/88, RMM. *BOA mentions "Haydar".*
- Milli Gaye*, 2/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Milli Mecmua*, 11/1923 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Milli Mefkure*, 3/1922 (Publication) in Adana. L: TR S: HTU.
- Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası*, 9/1916 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Milli Tettebular Mecmuası*, 3/1915 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Milli Yol*, 1928 (Publication) in Berlin. L: TR S: HTU.
- Milliyet*, 2/1926 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mimos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Karabet Dunkian O: printing P:S: granted L: AM F: D S: RMM.
- Minber*, 11/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mini Mini*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Nakibzade Şehabeddin Şükrü P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1294/87, RMM.
- Mirat*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Avram Naum O: law P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, literary, social L: TR F: TM S: DH.MKT.2691/89, ZB.329/79, RMM.
- Mirat*, 1862 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mirat-ı Alem*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Tevfik P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR S: HTU, RMM.
- Mirat-ı Alem*, 8/1908 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mirat-ı Hakikat*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hüsnü O: education P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1275/32.
- Mirat-ı Maarif*, 1/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mesut Remzi O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: ZB.328/148, HTU, RMM.
- Mirat-ı Ulema*, 9/1908 (Permit application). A: Haydarzade İbrahim P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1293/47.
- Mirkat*, 1878 (Publication (Secondary source)). S: SNGTG(54).
- el-Mirşat*, 2/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Misbah*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Emin Vedat O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: HTU, RMM.
- Misbah*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Misbah*, 8/1909 (Permit application). A: Mehmet Habip P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2895/43.
- Miylinos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid. A:

- Theodoraki Dimitri Theodori ^{P-S:}
granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} GR ^{F:} W
^{S:} RMM.
- Miyotion*, 1908/1909 (Permit application)
in Istanbul. ^{A:} Rokos Sakkayan ^{O:}
printing ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated
^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Mizan*, 7/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul.
^{A:} Murat ^{O:} government ^{P-S:} granted
^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Mizan ül-Hukuk*, 9/1908 (Permit result)
in Izmir. ^{A:} Bekir Behlül ^{O:} law ^{P-S:}
granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2618/82,
HTU, RMM.
- Mızrak*, 1908/1909 (Permit applica-
tion) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Abdullah Zühdi
^{O:} press (owner of Yeni Gazete) ^{P-S:}
granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:}
RMM.
- Moniteur*, 1908/1909 (Permit application)
in Istanbul. ^{A:} Nicolas Mayaridi ^{P-S:}
granted ^{L:} FR, EN ^{S:} RMM.
- al-Mu'azzam al-Suri/al-Muktam al-Suri*,
12/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. ^{A:}
Shahin Makarios ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:}
D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2677/45, RMM. *Accord-*
ing to BOA "al-Muktam al-Suri".
- Muahede*, 10/1910 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:}
HTU.
- Muakkis-i Efkar-ı Askeriye*, 1908/1909
(Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:}
Şemsettin ^{O:} military ^{P-S:} granted
^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Muallim*, 9/1908 (Publication) in
Istanbul. ^{A:} Mehmet Süreyya ^{O:}
religious ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} TW
^{S:} DH.MKT.1289/90, ZB.25/30, HTU,
RMM.
- Muallim*, 10/1910 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:}
HTU.
- Muallim*, 7/1916 (Publication). ^{Audience:}
professionals ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Muallimler Birligi*, 3/1924 (Publication).
^{Audience:} professionals ^{L:} TR ^{S:}
HTU.
- Muallimler Birligi*, 7/1925 (Publication).
^{Audience:} professionals ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Muallimler Mecmuası*, 9/1922 (Publica-
tion). ^{Audience:} professionals ^{L:} TR ^{S:}
HTU.
- al-Muarrid*, 5/1909 (Permit result).
^{A:} Muhammad Misbah al-Hud ^{P-S:}
granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2825/1.
- Muazzip*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in
Istanbul. ^{A:} Munir Süreyya ^{P-S:} grant-
ed ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1299/67, RMM.
- Mubahasat*, 1908/1909 (Permit applica-
tion) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Mehmet Sayim
^{O:} printing ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} M ^{S:}
RMM.
- Mubahis*, 5/1924 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:}
HTU.
- al-Mubahith*, 1908/1909 (Permit
application) in Beirut. ^{A:} Georgi
Peni ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} TW ^{S:}
RMM.
- Müceddid/Teceddüt*, 12/1908 (Permit
result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} İsmail Hakkı
(Milash) ^{O:} medical ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:}
political, scientific, literary ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W
^{S:} DH.MKT.2685/23, ZB.329/31, RMM.
*Appears to use some sort of invented
script.*
- Müdafaa-ı Hukuk-ı Vatan*, 12/1908
(Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul.
^{A:} Şükrü ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illus-
trated ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2624/100,
DH.MKT.2666/50, HTU, RMM.
- Müdafaa*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in
Bursa. ^{A:} İsmail Hakkı ^{O:} other ^{P-S:}

- granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2678/59,
ZB.328/116, DH.MKT.2678/59.
- Müddei-i Umumi**, 5/1909 (Publication) in
Istanbul. L: TR F: TW S: HTU.
- Müdhika**, 12/1924 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- al-Mufid**, 1908/1909? (Publication
(Secondary source)) in Beirut. A: Abd
al-Rahman al-Aris P-S: granted L: AR
F: D S: RMM, Tauber.
- Muğla'da Akyol**, 10/1925 (Publication). L:
TR S: HTU.
- Muhabir**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in
Istanbul. A: Ahmet Saki O: law P-S:
granted Genre: political, commercial,
cultural, international L: DE, TR S:
DH.MKT.1282/58, DH.MKT.24/87. *Two
separate publications according to
BOA.*
- Muhacir**, 1/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul.
L: TR F: TW S: HTU.
- Muhaderat**, 1883 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- Muhamat**, 7/1911 (Publication). Audience:
professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Muharrir**, 1876 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- Muhbir**, 1867 (Publication (Secondary
source)). L: TR S: OK21(49).
- (Musavver) Muhbir**, 9/1908 (Publication)
in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Baki O: military
P-S: granted Genre: political, literary
L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1284/81, HTU,
RMM.
- Mühendis Mektebi Mecmuası**, 6/1926
(Publication). Audience: professionals
L: TR S: HTU.
- Muhibban**, 9/1909 (Publication) in Istan-
bul. A: Ahmet Muhtar O: civil servant
P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F:
M S: DH.MKT.2764/59, HTU.
- Muhip**, 1867 (Publication (Secondary
source)). L: TR S: SNGTG(45).
- Muhit**, 1908 (Publication). A: Hüseyin
Hayrettin P-S: granted Genre: politi-
cal, literary, scientific L: TR F: W S:
DH.MKT.1280/39, ZB.24/49, HTU,
RMM. *Muhit in HTU appears to be the
one in this application, based on dates.*
- Muhit**, 1889 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Muhit**, 11/1928 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- (Musavver) Muhit**, 11/1908 (Publication)
in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Sabri O: civil
servant P-S: granted Genre: satirical
L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2642/13, HTU,
RMM. *Applicant bought "Muhit" and
renamed it "Musavver Muhit".*
- Muhit-i Mesai**, 1/1911 (Publication). L: TR
S: HTU.
- Müjde**, 1/1909 (Publication (Approx.))
in Istanbul. A: Bedri O: publisher P-S:
granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2694/35,
ZB.329/53, HTU, RMM.
- Mukallit ile Münakkat**, 8/1908 (Permit
application) in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin
Hayreddin P-S: unknown L: TR F: D S:
DH.MKT.1286/51.
- Muktebis**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thes-
saloniki. A: İsmail Hakkı P-S: granted
L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1275/83, RMM.
- Muktebis**, 12/1899 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- Muktetifat**, 4/1909 (Permit application).
A: Basra vilayeti muhasebe ketebesini
P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2783/70.
- Mülahakat/Mülhakat**, 11/1908 (Per-
mit application) in Aydin. A:
Ömer Beyzade Ahmet Refik P-S:
granted Genre: political, commer-
cial, agricultural L: TR, GR F: TW S:
DH.MKT.2650/68, RMM.

- Mülkiye*, 2/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ali Reşat P:S: granted L: TR F: M S: HTU, RMM.
- Münebbih*, 11/1881 (Publication) in Paris. L: TR S: HTU.
- Münekkid*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: Abdülkerim Nadiri O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2645/2.
- al-Muqaddama*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Ahmad Libabidi/Tebabidi P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: M S: DH.MKT.2629/51, RMM. *Published D according to BOA.*
- al-Muqayyad*, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: 'Abd al-Rahman al-Aris P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.1288/87.
- al-Muqtabas*, 1908/1909? (Publication (Secondary source)) in Damascus. A: Muhammad Ali Kurd P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM, Tauber. *Muhammad Ali Kurd claims in his memoire that this was the first daily in Damascus (p. 74).*
- al-Muraqib*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Şahin Atiyye P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2702/38.
- al-Muraqib*, 1908/1909? (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2636/25, Tauber.
- Mürşid Arsoryon*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Harput. A: Ashar Yosef P:S: granted S: DH.MKT.2865/44.
- Müsavat*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Pantalaki Kosmidi P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/59.
- Müşaver*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Pantalaki Kosmidi O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- al-Musawa*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: İlyas Nakkaş P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2616/93.
- al-Musawa*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mohammad al-Mahzumi O: education P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/6, RMM.
- Musikdar/Musekar*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Rauf Yekta P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR, FR F: W S: DH.MKT.1288/33, ZB.25/9, RMM.
- Musiki*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in İstanbul. A: Ali Rifat O: civil servant P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TM S: DH.MKT.1277/46, RMM.
- Müslüman Gazetesi*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: Ertuğrul Şakir O: other P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2637/28, ZB.328/88.
- Mustakil*, 5/1909 (Permit application). A: Mehmet Nureddin (Sultani mezunu) P:S: unknown Genre: political, literary F: D S: DH.MKT.2800/86.
- Musul*, 1884 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Mosul. Genre: official L: TR S: OK21(33).
- Mutakassed/Muktasid-i Osmani*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Galip Ata O: medical P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2636/39, RMM.
- Mütalaa*, 3/1911 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Mütalaa*, 7/1896 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Mütalaa-ı Salon*, 1898 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Müteferrika*, 1874 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Muvaffakiyet-i Milliye*, 7/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Muzaffer*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ali Muzaffer O: publisher P:S: granted Genre: political, literary L: TR

- F: D S: DH.MKT.1283/43, ZB.24/94, HTU, RMM.
- Nabi*, 5/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- la Nacion*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Yoda Salomon Aseev/Asco P:S: granted L: FR, JES, HE F: W S: DH.MKT.2636/82, RMM.
- al-Nafais*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Anis 'Abd al-Khuri O: printing P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2652/3, RMM.
- al-Nafir*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Halebi Rizkallah Khawam P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.1292/63, RMM.
- al-Nafir al-'Uthmani*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Hayfa. A: İlya Zega P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2891/71.
- Nahl-ı Emel*, 5/1886 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Nahla*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Sabuncuzade Levis & Corcizade Nimetullah O: law P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.1285/30, ZB.25/45, RMM.
- al-Nahla*, 1877 (Publication). L: AR S: HTU.
- al-Naja*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Ahmad al-Rimadi/al-Rayawi P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2659/85, RMM.
- al-Naja*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: 'Abd al-Wahhab O: civil servant P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2659/98.
- al-Naja*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Esad Halil al-Huri P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2820/67.
- al-Naja*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Sufizade Mehmet Nuri P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: W S: RMM.
- Napradak*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Skopje. A: Giorgiadja/Kürkyace P:S: granted L: AB S: DH.MKT.1276/25, RMM. *Published in BU according to RMM.*
- Napred*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Bitola. A: Theodore v. Stefanoff P:S: granted L: BU F: TW S: DH.MKT.1285/1, RMM.
- al-Naqidi al-Suwari*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Edebizade Edip P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2877/81.
- Nasih*, 9/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nasihah*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Keçekzade Sacit O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- al-Nasir*, 6/1909 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. A: Salim Yaqub al-Riyasi P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2637/63, DH.MKT.2840/23, Tauber.
- Nasrettin Hoca*, 1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ali Fuat P:S: granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Nasrettin Hoca*, 10/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nasrettin Hoca*, 1/1927 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Natija*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Ahmad Libabidi/Tebabidi P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2740/1, DH.MKT.2629/51, RMM. *Published D according to BOA.*

- Nazar*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Hilmi O: press P-S: unknown Genre: political, literary, scientific F: W S: DH.MKT.2691/82. *Applicant cannot obtain permit from Istanbul, as he is not officially a resident of the capital.*
- Nea Alithia*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Athanase Constantin P-S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Neavli*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Izmit. A: Aristidi Harokopo/Harotobo P-S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2668/42.
- (*Musavver*) *Necat-ı Millet*, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Asadour Matosian O: law P-S: granted L: TR, AM F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Necm-i Ati*, 1/1928 (Publication) in Trabzon. Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Necm-i İstikbal*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Hamdi P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2735/66.
- Necm-i Şarki*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mazhar O: civil servant P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2640/88.
- Necm-i Terakki*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Hıfzı O: education P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Neden? Niçin?*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Aydın. A: Haskia Franco P-S: granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2694/61, RMM.
- Nedim*, 1/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nekregu ile Pişekar*, 5/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Mithat Rebiî P-S: granted Genre: satirical, illustrated L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Neolog Roka*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Jean Phelipos P-S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Neologos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Aristodinos Kaloneos P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Neologos*, 1863 (Publication (Secondary source)). L: GR S: OK21(40).
- Neon Syntagma*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Aydın. A: Kostaki/Nikostaki O: press (editor Nea Symrni) P-S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2627/98, RMM.
- Neos Astir Tou Pontu*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Graman Ikopolos Theodore/Grama Dikopolos P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2705/82, RMM, Odabaşoğlu(12).
- Neretva*, 1876 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Hersegovina. Genre: official L: TR, SEK S: OK21(33).
- Neşter*, 4/1909 (Publication) in Izmir. Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Netice*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İsmail Hakkı (Karınabadi) P-S: granted L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2721/17, RMM.
- die Neue Turkei*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Rudolf Lefle/Lefler O: printing P-S: granted L: DE F: D S: DH.MKT.1281/78, ZB.24/91, DH.MKT.1282/46, RMM. *Applicant was a German citizen.*

- Neva (Yahut Seda-ı Ermeniyani)*, 5/1910 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevruz*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Kirkor Zehrab O: law P:S: granted L: AM S: ZB.24/28.
- Nevruz*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Sarkis Orelan/Orbalyan O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1283/34, RMM.
- Nevruz*, 3/1884 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevsal*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Hafiz Mehmet Bahaüddin P:S: unknown F: W S: DH.MKT.1287/31.
- Nevsal-ı Afiyet*, 1899 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevsal-ı Asır*, 1896 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevsal-ı Askeri*, 1897 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevsal-ı Baytari*, 1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevsal-ı Malumat*, 1899 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevsal-ı Osmani*, 1890 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevsal-ı Ragib*, 1908 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nevzad-ı İrfan*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: Hacı Ahmet Hamdi O: religious P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2772/100.
- Nevzad-ı Vatan*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Saad/Siat O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1275/41, RMM.
- Nihal*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ömer Lütfü O: government P:S: granted L: AM F: W S: DH.MKT.1280/47, ZB.24/52, RMM.
- Nilüfer*, 1886 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nizam*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Kamil O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Nokta*, 3/1888 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nomiki Epnoririsis*, 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Mihalaki Toitako P:S: unknown Genre: legal L: GR S: DH.MKT.2736/24.
- Norton*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Hakkak Hurumatikyan P:S: granted L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.2821/71.
- Nou Resouk/Hosank - Ceyran-ı Cedit*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Karaguine Kozikian P:S: granted Genre: political, literary, social, economic L: TR, AM F: D S: DH.MKT.2691/63, ZB.329/62, RMM.
- la Nouvelle Patrie*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Lazaros istemalyadi/Lazare Stemiathadi/Stemathiados O: law, printing P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, literary L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2692/77, RMM.
- Nova Epokha*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Pantcho O: government P:S: granted L: BU F: TW S: RMM.
- Novojpovod*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Anastase Navmoff P:S: granted L: BU F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/47, ZB.24/24, RMM. Also mentioned in BOA as "Nov Ciyved".
- Nuevo Avenir/Zavavenir*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: David-Isaac Florenti(n) P:S: granted Genre:

- political, commercial, literary L: JES, HE S: DH.MKT.2684/93, RMM.
- Nümune-i Terakki*, 4/1887 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Nur*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Ghastokouli Ektena (Goşoflu) O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2705/109, RMM.
- Nur al-Hurriyya*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: [unknown] O: press P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2639/59.
- Nüzhet ül-Efkar*, 8/1909 (Permit application). A: Mehmet Habip P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2895/43.
- O Demas Patriki/Odemas Patriki*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Georges Dirki/Verbegi O: medical P:S: granted Genre: scientific L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2682/52, RMM.
- O Epikros*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Georges Manomo P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: D S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- O Levanti Mürmir*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Nicolas Heraclidis O: press P:S: granted Genre: political, literary L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2669/48, RMM.
- O Logos*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Leonidas Stelianopoulo/Estelyanapolo O: printing P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2705/98, DH.MKT.2618/81, RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen. In Aydin according to RMM.*
- Ocak*, 5/1918 (Publication) in Konya. L: TR S: HTU.
- Öjer*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Şehrikyan Harditon P:S: unknown L: AM S: DH.MKT.2768/95.
- Omihanikos*, 12/1908 (Permit application). A: Apostolos Kokuzopulo P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2688/89.
- Omonya*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: Abdülbaki P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2652/55.
- Onistova*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Tchernovieff P:S: granted L: BU F: D S: RMM.
- Onyan*, 8/1908 (Permit result). A: Halil Salih Bey P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, illustrated L: FR S: DH.MKT.1280/45, ZB.24/53.
- Ordu*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Edirne. A: Kitapçı Mehmet O: printing P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2668/44, DH.MKT.2634/80, RMM. *Applicant was a Persian citizen.*
- Ordu Neşideleri*, 8/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ordu ve Donanma*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İbrahim Hilmi O: librarian P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1273/29, HTU, RMM. *Published much later, in March 1912.*
- Oriental*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: David-Isaac Florenti(n) P:S: granted L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/14, RMM.
- Orizon*, 1/1909 (Permit application). A: Simbat Davityan P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2725/33.
- Osmanischer Lloyd*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ernst-Moritz Grünwald P:S: granted L: DE S: RMM.
- Osmanlı*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İsmail Hakkı O: press P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/22.

- Osmanlı**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Mehmet Kemal O: merchant P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1281/47, RMM.
- Osmanlı**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Konya. A: Cemal P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1295/76.
- Osmanlı**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Giovanni O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1281/57, RMM.
- Osmanlı**, 3/1909 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Osmanlı**, 8/1877 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Osmanlı**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Salih Fazlı b. Ahmet P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Osmanlı Askeri**, 3/1909 (Publication) in Edirne. A: İbrahim Zühdü/Zihni O: military P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2652/31, HTU, RMM.
- Osmanlı İtalyan Terakki Gazetesi**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Zocaro P:S: granted L: IT F: W S: RMM. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Osmanlı Kadınları**, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ağacan Fikri O: other P:S: unknown Genre: political, literary, scientific L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2731/23.
- Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti Mecmuası**, 11/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: M S: HTU.
- Osmanlı Postası**, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İzzettin Reşat O: civil servant P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2709/37, RMM.
- Osmanlı Siyaseti**, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hasan P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2733/21.
- Osmanlı Ticaret Gazetesi**, 7/1908 (Permit application). A: Mahmut Nedim O: law P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.1273/83.
- Osmanlı Ziraat Cemiyeti Mecmuası**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Reşit P:S: granted L: TR F: M S: RMM.
- Osmanlı Ziraat ve Ticaret**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Salih Zeki O: press P:S: granted L: GR F: TW S: RMM.
- Otetchestod/Otacetuv**, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Eftim Ispero Setranof/Sprostranoff (Ohrili) P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2705/99, RMM. *Published in BU according to RMM.*
- Ottomaniki Enekaraisia**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ağazade Behçet Bey P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: ZB.24/48, RMM.
- Oyi**, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Aristidi Harokopo/Harotobo P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2619/24.
- Özdilek**, 7/1923 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Pakradouni**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Agop v. Baghos Paradouni O: education P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: AM F: D S: RMM.
- Pala Pipa**, 11/1908 (Permit application). A: Yani Milanidi P:S: unknown Genre: satirical L: GR S: DH.MKT.2643/73.
- Panorama**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Constantin Marco Polo

- P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1279/20, ZB.24/38, RMM.
- Panyaki/Pankiaki**, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Andrea Maltiyadi Polemidi O: law P-S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2832/49, DH.MKT.2812/33, DH.MKT.1298/18.
- Papa Galos**, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Eksenefon Seryadis P-S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.1282/53.
- (Musavver) Papağan**, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Karabet Kechichian O: printing P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1283/30, HTU, RMM. *Used color.*
- Parasız Dellal - İkramiyeli gazete**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Yusuf P-S: granted Genre: commercial, industrial L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2691/60, ZB.329/60, RMM.
- Paros**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Chelmo b. Raphael Cherizi P-S: granted L: HE, DE F: D S: DH.MKT.2697/80, RMM.
- Parouhi/Paros**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Izmit. A: Grigor Seraydarian, Mayvan P-S: granted L: AM F: W S: DH.MKT.2646/10, DH.MKT.2729/86, RMM.
- Pars**, 4/1921 (Publication). L: FA S: HTU.
- Pasdapen**, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Aristaki Kasparian O: law P-S: unknown L: AM S: DH.MKT.1276/42, DH.MKT.2616/25.
- Pasimogirigis/Pastinos Kirikes**, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Philipontazi/Atnos Teofilos O: religious P-S: granted L: AR, GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2654/97, RMM.
- Patria**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Aroini P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: LA F: D S: RMM.
- la Patrie**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in İstanbul. A: Agop Minas O: printing P-S: granted Genre: political, scientific, literary, illustrated L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1280/40, ZB.24/51, RMM.
- Patris**, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Keşişoğlu Odiyeff O: law P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/57, RMM.
- Patris Monastino**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Bitola. A: Jean Pili O: printing P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: GR F: TW S: RMM.
- Payidar**, 1887 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Pazar Günü Gazetesi**, 6/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Diran Bergenyian P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2830/1.
- Pedikos Filos**, 4/1909 (Permit application). A: Harlambos Yusufidis P-S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2791/1, DH.MKT.2792/83.
- Pêle-Mêle**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Alexandre Payami P-S: granted L: GR, FR F: W S: RMM.
- Pera**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Kamil O: government P-S: granted L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- Perde**, 12/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Pertev-i Adalet**, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Selim O: government P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2662/100, ZB.328/57, RMM.
- Pervin**, 1/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: W S: HTU.

- Petit Journal*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Kamil O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- Peyam*, 11/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Peyman*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Diyarbakir. A: Miri Katipzade Şükrü Efendi P:S: granted S: DH.MKT.2827/44.
- le Phare du Bosphore*, 1868 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Istanbul. L: FR S: OK21(37).
- Pharos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Thomas Deyasta P:S: granted L: GR F: TM S: RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Pharos tis Anatolis*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Dimitraki Serasi P:S: granted L: GR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1283/10, RMM, Odabaşıoğlu(12).
- Phasira*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Edirne. A: Telemaque Kaso O: merchant P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Pheniki/Phthiki*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Mouzenidi Dimitri v. Stephane P:S: granted Genre: satirical, illustrated L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2689/49, RMM.
- Philos Tou Laou*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Edirne. A: Anastase Hiol P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Phitne*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Chrysostomais Ağlarcıoğlu P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Phoni*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Pantalaki Kosmidi O: law P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Phoni Laou*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Krianos Lazari P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2748/73, RMM.
- Pinti*, 8/1898 (Publication) in Cairo. L: TR S: HTU.
- Piyano*, 8/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. *Catalogued in HTU as "Düşünüyoruz".*
- Pizarmos*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Pavlo Photiadi O: press (editor Konstantinopolis) P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.1293/56, RMM.
- Pınar*, 1/1924 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- ha-Poel ha-Tzair*, 1/1909 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Jerusalem. A: Hirsch b. Jehuda Kachenech P:S: granted L: HE F: W S: DH.MKT.2708/56, RMM, Campos, 2006.
- Pogok*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Agop v. Krikor Karabetyan (Tokath) P:S: unknown L: TR, AM S: DH.MKT.2730/80.
- Polis*, 8/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mazhar O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2889/37.
- Polis*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Ahmet (Kıbrıslı) O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2777/33.
- Polis*, 8/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Politiki Andapokiris*, 5/1909 (Permit application). A: Kiros Ispiridi O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2798/21.
- Politiki Ayite Opyalses*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: George/Yorgi Teohardi P:S: unknown L: GR S: DH.MKT.2692/75.
- Politiki Proidos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Prodorornos

- Saropolos ^{O:} press ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR, TR, AM, FR ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Posta*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Alexiadi Somlidi ^{O:} medical ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1295/11.
- Posta*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. ^{A:} Alexiadi Somlidi ^{O:} medical ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR, GR, AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1295/11, RMM.
- Potania/Patanaya*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Izmit. ^{A:} Sarkissian/Serkizyan Simon ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} TW ^{S:} DH.MKT.2742/75, RMM.
- Pounik/Ponik*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Sempad Pourad/Simpad Yorad ^{O:} press (editor Manzum-ı Efkâr) ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, literary, scientific ^{L:} AM ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2741/50, RMM.
- Prado de la España*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Eliyahu Medehay Karişin ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} FR, JES, HE ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2623/75, RMM.
- Pravda*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Toma Karalopof/Karayof ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} BU ^{S:} DH.MKT.2687/7.
- Presse d'Orient*, 1849 (Publication (Secondary source)). ^{Genre:} expat ^{L:} FR ^{S:} OK21(37).
- Prizren*, 1871 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Prizren. ^{Genre:} official ^{L:} TR, SEK ^{S:} OK21(33).
- Progrès*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} Salvador/Salvatore Moratori/Maratori ^{O:} printing ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} FR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2778/69. *Applicant was an Italian citizen.*
- Progrès de Salonique*, 1900 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Thessaloniki. ^{L:} FR ^{S:} OK21(37).
- Propendis*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Yanko Arsupolos ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} GR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1283/35.
- Protesto*, 2/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Mehmet Sefa ^{O:} press (director al-Adl) ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR, TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Pul Mecmuası*, 8/1897 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Püsküllü bela*, 2/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Abdurrahman Sami ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1292/57, HTU, RMM. *First issue mentions a different owner, i.e. Hüsnü.*
- al-Qanun*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Geylânzade/Gullânîzadeh Seyfeddin/Sayf al-Din ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} religious, scientific, commercial, industrial ^{L:} TR, FR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2689/6, ZB.329/96, RMM. *Two separate publications according to BOA.*
- al-Qistas*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Mohammad Said ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, scientific, commercial ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1274/38, RMM.
- al-Quds*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. ^{A:} Georges Djib Hananiah ^{O:} printing ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} scientific, literary ^{L:} AR ^{F:} TW ^{S:} DH.MKT.1283/88, RMM.
- Radd*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. ^{A:} Ali Zarif b. 'Abd al-Hamid ^{P-S:} granted ^{S:} DH.MKT.2851/25.

- al-Rafiq*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: 'Abdallah P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2772/119.
- al-Raghaib*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Şamlı Hikmey Şerif P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: RMM.
- Raghon*, 1908/1909 (Permit application). A: Stani Anagphostidi P:S: granted S: RMM.
- al-Raid al-Uthmani*, 2/1909 (Permit application) in Mount Lebanon. A: İbrahim Yusuf Ebu Hatir P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2727/97.
- Ramazán*, 9/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: İsmail Suphi P:S: granted L: TR F: ? S: DH.MKT.2911/49, HTU. *Only appeared during Ramazan.*
- Ramazán*, 3/1927 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Raqib*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Musa Harun P:S: granted L: TR, AR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2676/46, RMM.
- al-Raqib*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Sinanzadeh 'Abd al-Latif P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2693/62, RMM.
- al-Raqib*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Georges Shahin 'Atiya P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- al-Rashad*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in Hayfa. A: Abdullah Muhlis P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2825/74.
- Ravza-ı Nisvan*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Mehmet Emin O: librarian P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.1286/44.
- Rawda*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Hacı Abdülhüseyin P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2773/36.
- Rawda al-Sihha*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Salih O: medical P:S: granted L: TR, AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2699/23, RMM.
- al-Rawi*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Tanyusmezi/Tanios Mitro 'Abdallah P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2699/32, DH.MKT.2630/20, RMM.
- al-Ray al-'Amm*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Mount Lebanon. A: Yusuf Ebu Hatir P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2784/61.
- Réclame/Reklama*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Nikolaki Vamvakidi P:S: granted Genre: financial, commercial L: GR, FR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2684/52, RMM.
- la Reforme*, 1868 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Istanbul. L: FR S: OK21(37). *Appeared until 1922.*
- Rehber*, 5/1909 (Permit application). A: Ahmet Sabri O: civil servant P:S: unknown F: D S: DH.MKT.2804/75.
- Rehber-i Hukuk*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Menahem Khalkon, Hasan Akif O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1282/14, RMM. *According to BOA, the applicant's name was "Abdurrahman".*
- Rehber-i İtidal*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Adana. A: Ali Efendi O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2632/79, RMM.
- Rehber-i Konya*, 6/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Rehber-i Saadet*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Celal O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1277/34, HTU, RMM.

- Rehber-i Ticaret*, 1/1914 (Publication). L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Rehber-i Ticaret ve Sanayi*, 7/1908 (Permit application). A:² İsmail Hakki P:S:² unknown L:² TR F:² W S:² DH.MKT.1274/3.
- Rehber-i Vatan*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A:² Mehmet Muhlis O:² government P:S:² granted L:² TR F:² TW S:² DH.MKT.1273/27, RMM.
- la Renaissance*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A:² Panagiot Georgiades O:² law P:S:² granted L:² FR F:² D S:² RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Renaissance*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A:² Alfred O:² education P:S:² unknown L:² FR S:² DH.MKT. 1278/59.
- Resimli Dünya*, 12/1924 (Publication). Genre:² illustrated Audience:² youth L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Dünya*, 4/1925 (Publication). Genre:² illustrated L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Gazete*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A:² Karabet O:² printing P:S:² granted L:² TR F:² D S:² RMM.
- Resimli Gazete*, 3/1891 (Publication). L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Gazete*, 9/1923 (Publication). Genre:² illustrated L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Hafta*, 9/1924 (Publication). L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Hikaye*, 9/1927 (Publication). L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli İstanbul*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A:² Mustafa Refik O:² other P:S:² unknown L:² TR S:² DH.MKT.2795/75.
- Resimli Kitap*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A:² Tevfik (Süleymaniyeli) P:S:² granted L:² TR F:² M S:² HTU, RMM.
- Resimli Mecmua*, 3/1925 (Publication). Audience:² youth L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Mektep Alemi*, 7/1913 (Publication). Audience:² youth L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Roman Mecmuası*, 3/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A:² Hüseyin Sabri O:² press (director Musavver Muhit) P:S:² granted L:² TR F:² M S:² HTU, RMM. *Printed with a color cover.*
- Resimli Yıl*, 1925 (Publication). L:² TR S:² HTU.
- Resimli Yurt*, 9/1924 (Publication). Genre:² illustrated L:² TR S:² HTU.
- le Réveil*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A:² Iskender Havzi/Huri O:² printing P:S:² granted L:² FR F:² D S:² DH.MKT.2636/89, DH.MKT.1296/27, RMM.
- le Réveil*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A:² Mesrop Nobili/Mesrub Nabli P:S:² granted L:² FR F:² D S:² DH.MKT.2636/16, RMM.
- Revista Ottomane*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A:² Menahem Khalkon O:² law P:S:² granted L:² LA F:² W S:² RMM.
- la Revue*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A:² Maryo Kriker P:S:² granted L:² FR S:² DH.MKT.1289/83, ZB.25/27.
- Revue Balkanique*, 4/1909 (Permit application). A:² Toma Karalopof/Karayof P:S:² unknown Genre:² political, literary L:² FR S:² DH.MKT.2796/36.
- Revue d'Orient*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Aydin. A:² Charles Davroti O:² printing P:S:² denied L:² FR S:² DH.MKT.2852/46.

- Applicant has bought the newspaper from the owner, but is too young to get a publishing permission.*
- Revue d'Orient**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Raphael Amado O: printing P:S: granted L: FR, HE F: TM S: RMM.
- Revue d'Orient**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Leonidi v. Demosthene Georgiadis O: government P:S: granted L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1289/91, ZB.25/24, RMM.
- Revue Ottomane**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Menahem Khalkon O: law P:S: granted L: FR F: W S: RMM.
- Rey-Ghartchik**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Vahram Dernersisyan O: printing P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR, AM F: D S: RMM.
- Rhodop/Rodopi**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Edirne. A: Yorghaki Theophilidi/Yorgaki Teofilidi O: law P:S: granted L: GR F: TW S: DH.MKT.2678/82, RMM.
- Risale-i Askeriye**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: İsmail Efendi O: military P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Risale-i Haft**, 12/1887 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Risale-i Mevkute-i Bahriye**, 12/1914 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Risale-i Osmaniye**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Menahem Khalkon O: law P:S: granted L: TR, FR, JES F: W S: DH.MKT.1285/62, RMM.
- al-Riyad**, 8/1909 (Permit application) in Baghdad. A: Carullah P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MUI1-1/47.
- Riyaziyat**, 1/1929 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Rodos**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Rhodes. A: Strego Eptimo/Estergova Fetiho P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2752/89, RMM.
- Romanul de l'Epir/Romanol de Lopiter**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Nicolas Psarpia/Besaria/Besarabya v. Constantin O: education P:S: granted L: RO F: TM S: DH.MKT.2632/16, RMM.
- Romep**, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: Aram Arandonyan O: press P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: AM S: DH.MKT.1289/85.
- Romyos**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Nikolaki Dajnni P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1284/70, RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Rubab**, 2/1912 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Rucihan**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Ağazade Behçet Bey O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: ZB.24/65, DH.MKT.2621/89, RMM.
- Ruj-i Kürt**, 6/1913 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Rumeli**, 3/1870 (Publication) in Bitola. Genre: official L: TR S: HTU, OK21(33).
- Rumeli**, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Hasan O: other P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2690/80.
- Ruşen**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Hacı Süleyman (Bosnalı) P:S: granted S: DH.MKT.2691/8, ZB.329/68.
- Saadet**, 1/1885 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- Sabah**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Tripoli. A: Musa Mikhail Sarraf P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- Sabah**, 3/1876 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Sabah**, 7/1909 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Sada al-Ittihad**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Muhammad Said Tayyara/Tabbara P-S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2638/90, RMM.
- Sadakat**, 1875 (Publication (Secondary source)). S: SNGTG(69).
- Sadd-ı Lübnan**, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Mount Lebanon. A: Secan Arac P-S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2872/66.
- Safa**, 8/1888 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Safa al-Hijaz Makka**, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Jeddah. A: Ahmad Raf'at al-Iskandarani O: merchant P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2642/60, RMM.
- Şafak**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Ali Beyzade Mehmet Galip O: law P-S: granted Genre: scientific L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2731/18.
- Şafak**, 8/1908 (Permit result). A: Şekib O: law P-S: granted S: DH.MKT.1276/10.
- Şafak**, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Yorgi Aykonomidi P-S: unknown Genre: everything L: GR S: DH.MKT.1275/43.
- Saha**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Saib O: printing P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Sahih**, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Margret Palmer & willamson Frederick P-S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2756/59. *Applicant was an English citizen.*
- (Musavver) Şahika**, 12/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Sahmanatraghan, Yeni Ceride-i Meşrutîyet**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Pir Silisian O: law P-S: granted Genre: political, scientific, commercial, illustrated L: TRAMS F: D S: DH.MKT.1280/13, RMM.
- Sahne**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Asaf Muammer O: press (owner Mahasin) P-S: granted L: TR F: TM S: RMM.
- Saib**, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Mehmet Arif O: civil servant P-S: granted Genre: political, literary, scientific L: TR, AR S: DH.MKT.2852/55.
- Saika**, 2/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Naci P-S: granted L: TR F: TW S: ZB.328/133, HTU, RMM.
- Şakacı**, 11/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Kamil (Tepedelenli) P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Şaklaban**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Mehmet Kadri P-S: granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Şakrak**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Hilmi O: press (editor Tercüman-ı Hakikat) P-S: granted L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- al-Saksa (?) al-Majaziyya**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Damascus. A: Mawalawi Muhammad Arif al-Suhayl P-S: unknown L: AR, TR S: DH.MKT.2626/79.
- al-Salah**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Salahzade Beşir P-S: granted L: TR, AR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1300/4, RMM.
- Salinix**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Metelin. A: Miltiade Nikolaidi O:

- printing P^S: granted L[:] GR F[:] D S[:]
RMM.
- Salon*, 9/1919 (Publication). L[:] TR S[:] HTU.
- le Salon Ottoman* [?], 3/1909 (Permit application). A[:] Hasan O[:] civil servant P^S: unknown L[:] FR S[:] DH.MKT.2764/45.
- Sanaa*, 1877 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Sana'a. Genre: official L[:] TR, AR S[:] OK21(33).
- Sanayi-i Güzide*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A[:] Mustafa Asım O[:] law P^S: granted Genre: illustrated L[:] TR F[:] W S[:] DH.MKT.1277/48, ZB.24/35, RMM.
- Sanayi-i Nefise Mecmuası*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A[:] Hasan Vasıf O[:] merchant, press (owner of Sanayi) P^S: granted L[:] TR F[:] TW S[:] RMM.
- Sanayi Rehberi*, 10/1925 (Publication). Audience: professionals L[:] TR S[:] HTU.
- Sancak*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A[:] Ahmet Reşid O[:] other P^S: unknown Genre: political, scientific, illustrated L[:] TR F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.1282/57.
- Sanihat*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Denizli. A[:] Küçükagazade Mustafa Nail P^S: denied S[:] DH.MKT.2785/29. *Applicant was too young.*
- Sanihat*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Denizli. A[:] Şeyh Osmanzade Mehmet Gıyasi P^S: granted S[:] DH.MKT.2786/95.
- Sanihat*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Manisa (Saruhan). A[:] Mehmet Ali O[:] civil servant P^S: unknown Genre: illustrated L[:] TR F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.2779/57.
- Şark*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A[:] Atıf Efendi O[:] merchant P^S: granted L[:] TR F[:] D S[:] DH.MKT.1282/14, RMM.
- Şark*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Trabzon. A[:] Eyüpzade Osman O[:] librarian P^S: granted L[:] FR F[:] M S[:] RMM.
- Şark ve Kürdistan*, 12/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. L[:] TR F[:] TW S[:] HTU.
- Saruhan*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Izmir. A[:] Atnas & Vasilaki P^S: granted L[:] TR S[:] RMM.
- Sasouna*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A[:] Grigor v. Vahan P^S: granted Genre: illustrated L[:] AM F[:] W S[:] RMM.
- Satana*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A[:] Demosthene Rhodokonaki P^S: granted L[:] GR F[:] W S[:] DH.MKT.2621/78, RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Sathat*, 10/1909 (Permit result) in Denizli. A[:] Mehmet Kiyaki & Mustafa Naili P^S: denied S[:] DH.MKT. 2750/96. *Applicant was too young.*
- Satira*, 1/1909 (Permit result). A[:] Khrelambo Kulburcu P^S: granted Genre: illustrated L[:] GR F[:] D S[:] ZB.329/95, RMM.
- Satiros*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A[:] Yani Vangel Zinopolos P^S: unknown L[:] GR F[:] W S[:] DH.MKT.2621/78.
- Satur*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A[:] Enver O[:] civil servant P^S: unknown S[:] DH.MKT.1276/45.
- Satvet*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A[:] Hasan Basri P^S: granted L[:] TR F[:] D S[:] RMM.
- Say*, 10/1887 (Publication). L[:] TR S[:] HTU.

- Say-ü Emel*, 12/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Sebat*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Yusuf Ali Turabi O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1289/80, ZB.25/20, RMM.
- Sebat*, 3/1886 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- (Musavver) Şebbab*, 1/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul. Audience: youth L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Sebilürreşad*, 3/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Tahir ül-Mevlevi Efendi P:S: granted Genre: religious, scientific, literary L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2764/38, HTU.
- Seda*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Victor v. Joseph P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR, JES F: D S: DH.MKT.1284/80, RMM. Applicant was an Italian citizen.
- Seda*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Hafız İsmail P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2692/56, RMM.
- Seda-ı Babil*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: David Silva P:S: granted L: TR, AR, HE S: DH.MKT.2866/7.
- Seda-ı Hak*, 9/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Naib Sami P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific L: TR F: D/W S: DH.MKT.1282/89, ZB.24/93, HTU, RMM.
- Seda-ı Hürriyet*, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Manisa. A: Hasan Fehmi O: printing, law P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2784/83.
- Seda-ı Mazlum*, 12/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: İhsan Adil O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D/W S: HTU, RMM.
- Seda-ı Millet*, 11/1909 (Publication (Approx.)). L: TR F: TW S: HTU.
- Seda-ı Şark*, 12/1908 (Permit application). A: Hüseyin P:S: unknown Genre: political, literary, scientific L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2681/99.
- Seda-ı Şehba*, 1/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Aleppo. A: Hikmet Nazım P:S: granted Genre: political, literary L: TR, AR F: D S: DH.MKT.1287/4, HTU, RMM.
- Seda ül-Hak*, 8/1908 (Permit result). A: Naib Sami P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.1282/89, ZB.24/93.
- Seda-ı Vicdan*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Halil Rüştü O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.1285/24.
- Seda/Sad üş-Şub*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Nasib George Tabara/Sabara O: printing P:S: granted L: TR, AR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2658/55, RMM.
- Sedat*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Kağıtçı Hasan Rıfat O: law P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1278/56, RMM.
- Şehbal*, 3/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Saadettin O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TM S: DH.MKT.1279/3, ZB.24/40, HTU, RMM.
- Sekico*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: Dimitriyadis P:S: granted L: GR S: ZB.328/29.
- Selamet-i Umumiye*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ali Haydar O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/14, RMM.

- Selamet-i Umumiye*, 6/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Selanik*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Mahmut Nedim (Uçukdrahi) P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Selanik*, 1869 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Thessaloniki. Genre: official L: TR, GR, BU, HE S: OK21(33).
- Selaniki*, 2/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Melinadi Nikolayidi P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2636/35, DH.MKT.2716/4.
- Semos/Simos*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Aydin. A: Bostancıoğlu Erakle O: law P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2690/21, RMM. *Published in İzmir according to BOA.*
- Şems-i Adalet*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Madina. A: Veli Fehmi O: other P:S: unknown L: TR, AR S: DH.MKT.2643/2.
- Serbaz*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Kastamonu. A: Hayrettin O: government P:S: granted Genre: political, literary, scientific, industrial, satirical L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2731/100, RMM.
- Serbest Fikir*, 8/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Serbest İzmir*, 11/1908 (Publication) in Izmir. L: TR F: W S: HTU.
- Serbest Söz*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Adana. A: Artin Arslan-yan O: education P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.1288/86.
- Serbesti*, 11/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Mevlanzade Rifat P:S: granted Genre: political L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2655/77, HTU, RMM.
- Servet*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Nicolaidi O: press (owner of Servet and Constantinopolis) P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Servet*, 6/1898 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Servet-i Fünun*, 7/1908 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Set/Sıyyit-i Hilafet*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Hamit O: law P:S: granted Genre: political, scientific, literary L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2696/26, ZB.329/71, RMM. *In FR according to BOA.*
- Sevimli Mecmua*, 1/1925 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Şevka*, 12/1908 (Permit result). A: Mazhar (Mülkiye mezunu) P:S: granted L: TR S: ZB.328/145.
- (Musavver) Seyf ve Kalem*, 10/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Refik O: military P:S: granted Genre: illustrated Audience: professionals L: TR F: W S: HTU, RMM.
- Seyhan*, 1872 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Adana. Genre: official L: TR, GR S: OK21(33).
- Seyyare*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İbrahim Nazif O: printing P:S: unknown F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/66.
- al-Shaab*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Fethullah Kaston P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2882/11.
- Shab*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Selim Amon & Davud P:S: granted S: DH.MKT.2652/65.
- al-Shahab al-Sadiq*, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Tripoli. A: Abdullah Müezzın P:S: granted L: AR S: DH.MKT.2863/17.

- al-Shams*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. ^{A:} Shaykh Mohammad Shahal ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Shams*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Hasan ^{O:} librarian ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{L:} TR, FA ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1281/38, HTU, RMM. *Applicant was a Persian citizen.*
- Shams*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{L:} FA ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU.
- Shams*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Konya. ^{A:} Hacı Abbas (Yozgadi) ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2708/6, DH.MKT.2740/94, RMM. *Published W according to BOA.*
- Shams al-Haqaiq*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Menkarezade Mehmet Tevfik ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR, TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} ZB.329/73, HTU0556, HTU, RMM.
- Shams al-Haqaiq*, 10/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in Mecca. ^{L:} AR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU.
- Shams al-Haqiqa*, 4/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Mecca. ^{A:} Tevfik Efendi ^{O:} merchant ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR, TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2708/83, HTU, RMM.
- al-Sharq*, 6/1909 (Permit result). ^{A:} Uzre Denkor ^{O:} printing ^{P-S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, scientific, literary, commercial ^{L:} AR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2839/46.
- Sharqa*, 8/1909 (Permit application) in Mosul. ^{A:} Muhammad Rif'a ^{O:} civil servant ^{P-S:} unknown ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2903/86.
- al-Shu'ba*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Aleppo. ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2838/17.
- Şür ve Tefekkür*, 9/1909 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU.
- Şiirli Gazete*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in İstanbul. ^{A:} İbrahim Necati ^{O:} government ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1281/41, RMM.
- Şikayet*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Artin Bogosyan ^{P-S:} unknown ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2667/101.
- al-Sikka al-Hijaziya*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Mecca. ^{A:} Mohammad 'Arif al-Sahil ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} D ^{S:} RMM.
- Silah*, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Kastamonu. ^{A:} Dursunefendizade Mehmet Hilmi ^{P-S:} denied ^{Genre:} military ^{S:} DH.MKT.2744/46. *Applicant was too young.*
- Silah*, 7/1909 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{F:} TM ^{S:} HTU.
- Simea*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Aydin. ^{A:} George Smyrioti ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2712/33, RMM.
- Simea*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Aristekos Evramidi ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2622/14, RMM.
- Sinamatograf*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. ^{A:} Serkotovali ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} GR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2644/32.
- Sinema Mihveri*, 3/1926 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Siper-i Saika-ı Hürriyet*, 2/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Ahmet Cevat ^{O:} press (editor Şura-ı Ümmet) ^{P-S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2730/89, HTU, RMM.
- Sirac*, 3/1873 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Şirket*, 1/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Mahmut Faik ^{O:} law ^{P-S:} unknown ^{S:} DH.MKT.2709/19.

- Şirket*, 1/1909 (Permit application).
A: Mehmet Ramiz O: civil servant
P-S: unknown Genre: commercial S:
DH.MKT.2725/79.
- Sisigos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in
Istanbul. A: Yani İkonomo P-S: granted
Genre: illustrated, satirical L: GR F: W
S: RMM.
- Sivas*, 1878 (Publication (Secondary
source)) in Sivas. Genre: official L: TR
S: OK21(33).
- Sivrisinek*, 1908/1909 (Permit applica-
tion) in Istanbul. A: Kemal Saadettin
P-S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Siyah Gül*, 12/1927 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- Sırat-ı Mustakim*, 8/1908 (Publication)
in Istanbul. A: Ebulala Ali Zeynelabi-
din O: law P-S: granted L: TR F: W S:
DH.MKT.1273/84, HTU, RMM.
- Sokak Maarifesi*, 12/1919 (Publication). L:
TR S: HTU.
- Söke*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Söke. A:
Muharrembeyzade Niyazi O: other P-S:
granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2828/45.
- Solonski Glasnik*, 1908/1909 (Permit ap-
plication) in Thessaloniki. A: George
Voukovitch P-S: granted L: SEK F: D S:
RMM.
- Son Haber*, 3/1923 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- Son Havadis Gazetesi*, 8/1909 (Publica-
tion (Approx.)) in Istanbul. L: TR F: D
S: HTU.
- Son Saat*, 3/1925 (Publication). Genre:
illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Son Telgraf*, 1908/1909 (Permit applica-
tion) in Istanbul. A: Fanuki O: press
(owner Meşkat) P-S: granted L: TR, FR
F: D S: RMM.
- Sosyalist*, 4/1910 (Publication). Genre: il-
lustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Sotia Kosmou*, 1908/1909 (Permit applica-
tion) in Izmir. A: Vasilaki P-S: granted
L: GR S: RMM.
- al Sotiari*, 1908/1909 (Permit application)
in Aydin. A: Alexandre Ma'niyad P-S:
granted L: LA F: D S: RMM.
- Souvenir*, 9/1908 (Permit result). A:
Esad Muhlis O: civil servant P-S:
granted L: FR S: DH.MKT.1288/37,
ZB.25/10.
- Spanos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application)
in Istanbul. A: Menelaos Phelevata P-S:
granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L:
GR F: D S: RMM.
- Sphairi*, 1908/1909 (Permit application)
in Izmir. A: Haji Petro P-S: granted L:
GR F: W S: RMM.
- Spor Alemi*, 1/1919 (Publication). L: TR S:
HTU.
- al-Subh*, 5/1909 (Permit result) in
Beirut. A: Melham Necip Halef O:
law P-S: granted L: AR, FR, EN S:
DH.MKT.2682/65, DH.MKT.2824/53,
DH.MKT.2629/43.
- Sudi*, 11/1920 (Publication). Genre: illus-
trated L: TR S: HTU.
- Suinat*, 3/1909 (Permit application).
A: Ali Bey O: press P-S: unknown S:
DH.MKT.2774/72.
- Şükran*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in
Istanbul. A: Hulusi Havri P-S: granted
L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1278/23, RMM.
- Şura-ı Millet*, 1908/1909 (Permit applica-
tion) in Istanbul. A: Vicdani O: press
(director Feyz-i Hürriyet) P-S: granted
Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Şura-ı Ümmet*, 4/1909 (Publication) in Is-
tambul. A: Bahaattin P-S: granted L: TR

- F: D S: DH.MKT.1275/40, HTU, RMM.
First published in 1902.
- Suriye**, 1865 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Damascus. Genre: official L: TR, AR S: OK21(32).
- Süs**, 1892 (Publication). Audience: women L: TR S: HTU.
- Şuun-ı Hukukiye**, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ebubekir Sıtkı O: government P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: HTU, RMM.
- Şuun-ı Mesai**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Abdurrahman Adil (Selanikli) O: law P:S: granted Genre: political L: TR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2660/71, ZB.328/147, RMM.
- Syntagma**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Aydın. A: Kostaki Maruni/Modeni v. Dimitri O: other P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1276/78, RMM. *Printed in Istanbul according to RMM.*
- Syntagma**, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yorgui Zinos Christodoulo/Yorgi Rifiyas v. Hristodolo P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.1273/19, RMM.
- Syntagma**, 7/1909 (Permit result) in Samsun. A: Lamiros/Jambros P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2886/18, DH.MKT.2825/15.
- Syntagma**, 7/1908 (Permit application). A: Aristo Dimos Kalvetnios P:S: unknown L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/7.
- Tabiyat**, 7/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tabiyat Alemi**, 12/1925 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Tachnik**, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Herant Masourian v. Matheos O: printing P:S: granted L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.2692/62, RMM.
- Tachydromos**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Nicolas Margaridi P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Tacir**, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Faruki O: merchant P:S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1271/11.
- Tahsil**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: İsmail Hakkı O: printing P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2623/127, RMM.
- Takib-i İstikbal**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Abdulkерim Hadi O: government P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1288/40, ZB.25/12, RMM.
- Takip ve Tenkit**, 3/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Takvim-i Vekayi**, 1830 (Publication). Genre: official L: TR, FR S: HTU.
- Talebe**, 3/1912 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Tamim-i Hürriyet**, 3/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Tripolitania. A: Muhammad Qadri O: law P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: AR, TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2744/44, HTU, RMM.
- Tan**, 1/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tanca**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Evangelos Pandelidis P:S: granted Genre: political F: W S: DH.MKT.2629/8.
- Tanin**, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Hüseyin Cahit P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/28, HTU, RMM.
- Taperhed**, 9/1908 (Permit result). A: Todor (Manastırlı) P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.1288/80.

- al-Taqaddum*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aleppo. A: Rizqallah Kender P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- al-Taqaddum*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Şehbenderzade Mahmut Çelebi P:S: granted L: AR, TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2705/16, RMM.
- al-Taqaddum al-Uthmani*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Tripoli. A: Abd al-Sattar Mikati & Ramzi Sharif P:S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2632/30.
- al-Taraqqi*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Jaffa. A: Emil Lovenşo/Lonso P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: DH.MKT.2689/84, RMM.
- Tarif-i Muslimin*, 4/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tarih ve Edebiyat*, 8/1922 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tarik*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Ali Rıza O: law P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2666/45, RMM.
- Tarik*, 7/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Tariq*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Ali Rıza O: law P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2666/45, RMM.
- Tarik-i Muhabbet*, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Kirkor Keseciyan P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.1275/37.
- Tarla ve Bahçe*, 3/1924 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Taros*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: İkonomidis, Antuvan v. Dimitri P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2652/84, ZB.328/47, RMM. *Published in GR according to BOA.*
- Tasavvuf*, 3/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tashih-i Efkar*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Osman Sırrı O: govern- ment P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2660/3, ZB.328/49, RMM.
- Tashih ül-Efkar*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Şükrü Efendi P:S: unknown Genre: scientific, literary L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2645/34.
- Tasvir-i Efkar*, 6/1862 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- (Yeni) Tasvir-i Efkar*, 5/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Ebuziyya Tefvik P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: HTU, RMM.
- Tasvir-i Hakikat*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Cemalpaşazade Ömer Şerif P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1278/22, RMM.
- Tasvir-i Hayal*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Sadık O: civil servant P:S: unknown L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1278/27.
- Tasvir-i Hayal*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yani O: librarian P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR F: TW S: RMM.
- Tatbikat*, 1/1909 (Permit result) in Chios. A: Şemsettin O: printing P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2636/35, DH.MKT.2716/4, RMM.
- Tavus*, 1908/1909 (Permit application). A: Ferid Hac P:S: granted L: TR, AR, FR F: D S: RMM.
- Tavus*, 4/1925 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Tayakkuz*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Yakup Nimetullah O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2636/29.
- Tchain Khairinatch*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yervant O:

- education P^S: granted L: AM F: D S: RMM.
- Tchoghatol**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İlia Karmena P^S: granted F: TW S: RMM.
- Teaviin**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Mehmet Reşit O: education P^S: granted L: TR, FA F: D S: DH.MKT.2744/52, RMM.
- Teaviin**, 4/1909 (Permit result) in Bursa. A: Sergiz Kalemciyan O: education P^S: granted S: DH.MKT.2783/42.
- Teaviin-i Aklam**, 7/1887 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tebabet Alemi**, 12/1925 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Tebabet-ı Hazıra**, 3/1909 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Şükrü Kamil O: medical, press (owner Yeni Gazete) P^S: granted L: TR F: ? S: RMM.
- Tebliğ**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Mustafa Asım O: education P^S: granted Genre: religious, scientific, political L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1275/45, ZB.24/26, RMM.
- Teceddüt**, 12/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tecelli**, 12/1910 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Tecrübe**, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Osman Nuri Efendi P^S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2783/17.
- Tedrisat Mecmuası**, 2/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR F: M S: HTU.
- Tekamül**, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Mehmet Raif P^S: unknown F: W S: DH.MKT.1274/46.
- Tekemmül**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Damascus. A: Hayri P^S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1298/31, RMM.
- Telefon**, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Fahri O: government P^S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2701/43, RMM.
- Telegraf**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Saffet O: medical P^S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1283/46, ZB.24/97, RMM.
- al Telegrafo**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İshak Ghabay P^S: granted L: LA S: RMM.
- Telegraphos**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Chrysopolis O: press (director Le Moniteur Oriental and Tachydromos) P^S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM. Applicant was a Greek citizen.
- Telegraphos**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Nikolaki P^S: granted L: GR S: ZB.24/27. Applicant was a Greek citizen.
- Telsiz**, 6/1927 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Temaşa**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Vahan P^S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1280/44, ZB.24/50, RMM.
- Temkin**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Tabipefendizade Hafız Efendi Zühtü O: religious P^S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2742/46, RMM.
- Tenkit**, 4/1910 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Tenvir-i Efkar**, 2/1909 (Permit result) in Kastamonu. A: Dursunefendizade Mehmet Hilmi O: education P^S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2744/48, RMM.
- (Musavver) Terakki**, 3/1902 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- Terakki*, 5/1870 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Terakki*, 1887 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Terakki*, 6/1864 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Terakki-i Muhadderat*, 1869 (Publication). Audience: women L: TR S: HTU.
- Terakki-i Ticaret*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Midilli. A: Fahribeyzade Ali Kamuran P:S: granted Genre: agricultural, art, commercial L: TR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1280/43, ZB.24/47.
- Terakki/Taraki*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Edirne. A: Vasilaki Vafiyadis/Vaphiodis O: printing P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.1286/85, RMM.
- Terbiye ve Oyun*, 8/1911 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Tercüman-ı Efkâr*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: İstevan Bogosyan P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2853/2, DH.MKT.2681/56, DH.MKT.1296/29.
- Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mehmet Nüzhet P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Teshilat*, 2/1909 (Permit result). A: Mehmet Kadri P:S: granted S: DH.MKT.2734/36.
- Tetebbu*, 2/1911 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Thabt/al-Thabat*, 10/1908 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Beirut. A: Iskender Havzi/Huri O: printing P:S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2636/89, DH.MKT.1296/27, RMM, Tauber.
- al-Thawra*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Asyuzade Muhammad P:S: granted L: AR F: W S: RMM.
- Theos ... Steber (?)*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yanko Stavrolaki P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Thermaiki Himerai*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Christo Yorgui P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: RMM.
- Ticaret ve Sanayi*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İsmail Hakki P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası*, 6/1909 (Permit application) in Samsun. P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2830/91.
- Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezareti - Halkalı Ziraat Mektebi Aliyesi Mecmuası*, 4/1917 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tidak*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: Karabet Tüccaryan (Çorlulu) P:S: unknown L: AM S: DH.MKT.2754/79.
- el Tiempo*, 1871 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Istanbul. L: HE S: OK21(43).
- le Timbre*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: [unknown] P:S: unknown L: FR F: B S: DH.MKT.2760/8.
- Tirahat*, 3/1909 (Permit application). A: Kenemes Dadaryan O: education P:S: unknown L: AM S: DH.MKT.2768/7.
- Tiraj*, 2/1910 (Publication) in Istanbul. L: TR S: HTU.
- Tiraje*, 3/1911 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Tiyatro*, 12/1908 (Permit application). A: Sampod Davudyan P:S: unknown Genre: illustrated S: DH.MKT.2681/36.
- Tiyatro*, 1874 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tiyatro ve Musiki*, 1/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- To Taros/Totaros**, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Socrate Salomonidi O: press (owner Amalthia) P:S: granted L: GR F: D S: DH.MKT.2628/65, RMM. *Published Weekly according to RMM, in color.*
- To Velos**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydin. A: Nicolas Siphaki O: press (editor Nea Smyrni) P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: RMM.
- Tok Sözü**, 12/1924 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tonguç**, 2/1909 (Publication (Approx.)) in Istanbul. A: Mirza Mehmet Said P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2721/18, HTU, RMM.
- Torak Zion**, 1862 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Jerusalem. L: HE S: OK21(43).
- Tosya'da Dilek**, 3/1927 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Tourkianak**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ohannes Ferid O: press (owner Manzume-i Efkar) P:S: granted L: AM F: W S: RMM.
- Tourko-Hellinika**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Seraphin Rizos O: government P:S: granted L: GR, TR F: D S: RMM.
- Trablus Sedasi**, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Tripolitania. A: Ahmet Efendi O: civil servant P:S: granted L: TR, AR, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.2778/67.
- Trablusgarp**, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Tripolitania. A: Livici Zamari P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2682/74. (20/Za/1326 DH.MKT. 2682/74) *Applicant was an Italian citizen. Incomplete application.*
- Trablusgarp**, 1866 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Tripolitania. Genre: official L: TR, AR S: OK21(32).
- Trabzon**, 1869 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Trabzon. Genre: official L: TR, GR S: OK21(33).
- Trabzon'da Meşveret**, 9/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: Salihzade Hasan Naci P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: DH.MKT.1299/65, RMM.
- Travail**, 10/1908 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Lucien Chateau P:S: granted L: FR F: W S: DH.MKT.2623/60, RMM.
- Tribune de Smyrne**, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Wallace Tözhel P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: EN, FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1286/16, RMM. *Applicant was an English citizen.*
- Tsarigradski Glasnik**, 8/1908 (Permit result). A: Stefan Popviç P:S: granted L: SEK S: ZB.24/72.
- Tsarigradski Glasnik**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Nemko v. Stephane Popovitch P:S: granted L: SEK S: RMM.
- Tsarigradski Vestnik**, 1848 (Publication (Secondary source)). L: BU S: OK21(42).
- Tulu**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Kemal Emin P:S: granted L: TR F: W S: RMM.
- Tulu**, 8/1884 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Tuna**, 6/1868 (Publication) in Ruse. Genre: official L: TR, BU S: HTU, OK21(32).
- la Turchia - la Turquie**, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Boudini P:S: granted L: IT, FR S: RMM.
- Türk Düyugusu**, 5/1913 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

- Türk Sözü*, 4/1914 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Türk Ticaret-i Hariciye Gazetesi*, 1/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Türk Yavrusu*, 10/1913 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Türk Yurdu*, 8/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Turki*, 8/1909 (Permit application). A: Hacı Davudzade Hacı Süleyman P-S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2909/32.
- (Musavver) Türkistan*, 2/1882 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Türkistan*, 1865 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Türkiye*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Mahmut Tahir P-S: granted Genre: political, literary L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1274/37, RMM.
- Türkiye*, 6/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Türkiye Bilgi Demeti*, 4/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Türkiye Rehber-i Ticariyesi*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aydın. A: Nicolas Vambakidi P-S: granted L: GR S: RMM.
- la Turquie*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Boudini P-S: granted L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- Ufk-ı Atı*, 8/1911 (Publication). Audience: youth L: TR S: HTU.
- el-Üfuruk*, 8/1908 (Publication (Approx.)) in İstanbul. A: Mehmet İzzet P-S: granted Genre: satirical L: TR, AR S: HTU, RMM. *Single issue.*
- Uhuvvet*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Mehmet Esat O: printing P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1278/18, RMM.
- Uhuvvet-i İslam*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Tevfik O: press P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT. 2784/17.
- Uhuvvet-i Osmaniye*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Azimzadeh Shafiq al-Mu'ayyad P-S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2619/73.
- Ulum-ı İktisadiye*, 12/1908 (Publication) in İstanbul. L: TR F: M S: HTU.
- Ulum-ı İktisadiye ve İctimaiye Mecmuası*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Mehmet Cavit P-S: granted L: TR F: M S: HTU, RMM.
- Ümit*, 12/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Umma*, 11/1909 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Damascus. A: Ahmad Kurd 'Ali P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MUI30-1/15, Tauber.
- Umman*, 12/1908 (Publication) in İstanbul. A: Süleyman Nutki O: military, press (editor Ceride-i Bahriye) P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D/TW S: ZB.329/7, HTU, RMM.
- Umman*, 12/1910 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Ümmet*, 12/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Umrân*, 10/1887 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Un Peu de Tout*, 9/1908 (Permit result) in İzmir. A: Christaki v. Constantin Athansol O: merchant P-S: granted L: FR F: D S: DH.MKT.1300/35, RMM.
- Union*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Mustafa Naiti Paşa, Habidi Khalil Salih P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: FR F: D S: RMM.

Union Pharmaceutique Ottomane,

1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hasan Rauf O: press (owner İspenciyyar) P:S: granted L: FR F: D S: RMM.

Üsküdar, 1/1909 (Permit application) in İstanbul. A: Süleyman Faik P:S: granted S: DH.MKT.2705/14, RMM.

Utarid, 5/1868 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

Utarid, 12/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

Üversa, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Rhodes. A: Andriko Papadopulo P:S: granted L: GR F: W S: DH.MKT.2675/27, RMM.

Uyuşmaz, 8/1908 (Permit application). A: Ahmet Rifki P:S: unknown Genre: political, literary, illustrated L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1274/42.

Vahdet, 12/1908 (Permit application). A: Hüseyin P:S: unknown Genre: religious, political, scientific F: D S: DH.MKT.2681/99.

Vahdet, 2/1921 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

Vakit, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Mazhar O: government P:S: granted Genre: satirical L: GR F: D S: RMM.

Vakit, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Ahmet Mithat O: education P:S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1281/54, MF.MKT.1070/43, RMM.

Vakit, 5/1875 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

Vakit, 12/1917 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

Vakit yahut Murebbe-i Muhadderat, 9/1875 (Publication). Audience: women L: TR S: HTU.

Vardar, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Skopje. A: Lübnanlı David Dimitridik P:S: granted L: SEK F: W S: DH.MKT.1275/84, RMM. *In AB according to BOA.*

Vatan, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Bitola. A: Mehmet Hasip O: law P:S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2681/38.

Vatan, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ahmet Kamil O: government P:S: granted L: TRGRS F: D S: DH.MKT.1274/8, RMM.

Vatan, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Pantalaki Kosmidi O: press (owner Müşavir, Phoni, Les Débats) P:S: granted Genre: illustrated L: TR F: D S: RMM.

Vatan, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Bekir Behlül O: law P:S: granted L: TRGRS F: D S: DH.MKT.2625/1, RMM.

Vatan, 6/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

Vatan ve Millet, 8/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: İşresinto Nambaz P:S: granted L: TR, FR, HE F: D S: DH.MKT.2891/59.

Vazife, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Abdurrahman O: printing P:S: granted L: TR F: TW S: RMM.

Vazife, 12/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.

la Vedana, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Salvador/Salvatore Moratori/Maratori O: printing P:S: granted Genre: commercial, literary, political L: IT F: D S: DH.MKT.2678/56, RMM. *Applicant was an italian citizen.*

Vefak, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aleppo. A: Cenanzade Ali P:S: granted L: TRGRS F: D S: RMM.

- Velos*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Kostanti v. Yanni Veliops O: librarian P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: RMM.
- Verem Mecmuası*, 1/1928 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Vergi ve Arazi Mecmuası*, 6/1885 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- la Veridad* [?], 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İsak Şaki Haham O: religious P-S: unknown L: JES, HE S: DH.MKT.2733/52.
- Vesile*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Hacı Mehmet Emin O: government P-S: granted L: TRGRS F: D S: DH.MKT.1273/85, RMM.
- Vicdan*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ali İrfan O: education P-S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2701/34, RMM.
- Vicdan*, 1/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yusuf Ziyaeddin P-S: unknown F: W S: DH.MKT.2707/37.
- Vicdan*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Sivas. A: Halid Cevdet O: civil servant P-S: granted Genre: literary, political, agricultural, commercial L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.2803/87, DH.MKT.2846/56.
- Vifak*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Antep. A: Cenanzade Ali P-S: granted F: D S: DH.MKT.2635/91.
- Vifak*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ziver Paşazade P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2768/2.
- Vizandine İdis*, 5/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Manuel Bedeven P-S: unknown L: GR, FR F: W S: DH.MKT.2812/4.
- la Voix du Peuple*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. A: Emilio Acroni P-S: granted L: FR, IT F: D S: RMM.
- Volkan*, 12/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Derviş Vahdet O: government P-S: granted Genre: religious, political L: TR F: D S: ZB.328/123, HTU, RMM.
- Volkan*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Agop Artinyan P-S: granted Genre: political, literary L: TRGRS F: D S: DH.MKT.2628/85, RMM.
- la Vraie Parole*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: George Harfouch O: government P-S: granted L: FR F: D S: RMM.
- al-Watan*, 1908? (Permit application) in Beirut. A: Necib Şuşani P-S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2716/99.
- al-Watan*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Şili Malat P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2775/72.
- al-Watan*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Hama. A: Sultanizade Abdülhamid b. Ahmet P-S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.1278/69.
- al-Watan*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Jerusalem. A: Djadd Feroumekin P-S: granted L: AR, HE, JES F: D S: DH.MKT.2688/75, DH.MKT.2655/2, RMM.
- al-Watan*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Syria?. A: Umarizadeh Muhammad Sa'di P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: RMM.
- Yadigar*, 10/1879 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yalçınkaya*, 11/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İbrahim Ethem (Üneyli) P-S: unknown L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.2651/17.

- Yanya*, 1868 (Publication (Secondary source)) in Yanya. **Genre:** official L: TR, GR S: OK21(32).
- Yaprak*, 5/1911 (Publication). **Audience:** youth L: TR S: HTU.
- al-Yaqaza*, 3/1909 (Permit application) in Mount Lebanon. A: Esad Mihail Lahud P-S: unknown L: AR S: DH.MKT.2768/66.
- Yaşasın Ordu*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Adana. A: Emin Lütü O: military P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.281/65, RMM.
- Yaylak/Paylak*, 10/1908 (Permit result) in Trabzon. A: İsmail Hakkı O: printing P-S: granted L: AM F: D S: DH.MKT.2623/127, RMM.
- Yemen*, 1/1873 (Publication) in Yemen. **Genre:** official L: TR, AR S: HTU, OK21(33).
- Yeni Akbaba*, 10/1908 (Permit application) in Izmir. A: Rifat Bahir P-S: unknown L: TR S: DH.MKT.2624/33.
- Yeni Avrupa*, 2/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Dünya*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Ankara. A: Karabet Halis O: civil servant P-S: unknown **Genre:** scientific, political, commercial L: TR, AM S: DH.MKT.1274/43.
- Yeni Dünya*, 5/1924 (Publication). **Genre:** illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Edirne*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Edirne. A: Şevket P-S: granted L: TR F: TW S: RMM.
- Yeni Fikir*, 12/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Fikir*, 1/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Gazete*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Abdullah Zühdi O: press P-S: granted **Genre:** illustrated L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1276/35, ZB.24/73, RMM.
- Yeni Gazete*, 12/1918 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Kafkasya*, 9/1923 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Kalem*, 10/1927 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Kitap*, 5/1927 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Lomina*, 5/1909 (Permit application) in Bitola. A: Yorgi P-S: unknown L: SEK S: DH.MKT.2792/63, DH.MKT.2360/58.
- Yeni Mektep*, 4/1911 (Publication) in Skopje. L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Muhit ül-Maarif gazetesi*, 4/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Müjde*, 5/1909 (Publication (Approx.)). L: TR F: ? S: HTU.
- Yeni Nesil*, 3/1921 (Publication). **Audience:** youth L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Osmanlı*, 11/1908 (Permit result). A: Ertuğrul Şakir O: other P-S: granted L: TR S: DH.MKT.2637/28, ZB.328/88.
- Yeni Sene*, 8/1928 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Ses*, 10/1910 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Türk*, 4/1925 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Türkiye*, 2/1917 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Vakit*, 8/1925 (Publication) in Skopje. L: TR S: HTU.
- Yeni Vatan*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in Aydın. A: Lazaros istemalyadi/Lazare

- Stemiathadi/Stemathiados ^{O:} law, printing ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} political, scientific, literary ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2692/77, RMM.
- Yeni Zaman*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} İsmail Hakkı ^{O:} government ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} TW ^{S:} RMM.
- Yeni Ziraat Gazetesi*, 5/1920 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Yeniasır*, 2/1909 (Permit application). ^{A:} Nikola Parici ^{P:S:} unknown ^{Genre:} political ^{L:} GR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.2741/98.
- Yeprad*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Mameretülaziz. ^{A:} Karabet Soğukyan ^{O:} education ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} AM ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.2753/46, RMM.
- Yertet*, 11/1908 (Permit result) in Izmir. ^{A:} Raşit Halil (Yenişehirli) ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} AB ^{S:} DH.MKT.2666/52.
- Yıldırım*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Pavlaki/Parlaki ^{O:} education ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR, GR ^{F:} W ^{S:} DH.MKT.1293/41, RMM.
- Yıldız*, 12/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Osman Kamil ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} TR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2698/9.
- Yıldız*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Kosovo. ^{A:} Said ^{O:} government ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR, SEK ^{F:} W ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Yıldız*, 2/1909 (Publication). ^{L:} TR, RU ^{F:} TW ^{S:} HTU.
- Yuha*, 12/1910 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Yurt*, 6/1923 (Publication) in Bursa. ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Zafer*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Kirkor Zehrab ^{O:} law ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{S:} ZB.24/28.
- Zahla al-Fatat*, 1908/1909? (Publication (Secondary source)) in Mount Lebanon. ^{A:} Zahla ^{P:S:} granted ^{S:} RMM, Tauber.
- Zahra*, 1908/1909 (Permit application) in Aleppo. ^{A:} Emirizade Baha ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR, AR ^{F:} W ^{S:} RMM.
- Zahrük Baluk*, 4/1909 (Permit application) in Syria. ^{A:} Muhammad Tawfiq Darwish ^{P:S:} unknown ^{L:} AR ^{S:} DH.MKT.2795/7.
- Zaman*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Rifat ^{O:} law ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1273/20, RMM.
- Zaman*, 11/1908 (Publication) in Thessaloniki. ^{A:} İbrahim Hikmet ^{O:} chamber of commerce ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} TR ^{F:} ? ^{S:} DH.MKT.1294/58, HTU, RMM.
- Zaman*, 4/1918 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Zamir*, 6/1909 (Permit result) in Tripoli. ^{A:} Nasif Taberiye ^{P:S:} granted ^{S:} DH.MKT.2836/21.
- Zear/Zora*, 7/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Andon Davidoff ^{P:S:} granted ^{L:} BU ^{F:} D ^{S:} DH.MKT.1273/16, RMM.
- Zeka*, 3/1912 (Publication). ^{Genre:} illustrated ^{Audience:} youth ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Zerrat*, 1888 (Publication). ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.
- Zevra*, 6/1869 (Publication) in Baghdad. ^{Genre:} official ^{L:} TR, AR ^{S:} HTU, OK21(33).
- Zevzek*, 9/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. ^{A:} Memduh ^{O:} government ^{P:S:} granted ^{Genre:} satirical ^{L:} TR ^{F:} TW ^{S:} HTU, RMM.
- Zeybek*, 11/1918 (Publication) in Izmir. ^{L:} TR ^{S:} HTU.

- Zikzak/Ziktrak*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Vaban Papasyan P-S: granted Genre: political, industrial, scientific L: AM F: W S: DH.MKT.1274/56, RMM.
- Ziraat*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Giovanni O: medical P-S: granted L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1281/57, RMM.
- Ziraat Gazetesi*, 7/1881 (Publication). Audience: professionals L: TR S: HTU.
- Ziraat ve Sanat Tercüme-i Fünun Odalari*, 3/1885 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ziya*, 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Haçik Kigorkyan O: printing P-S: unknown Genre: political F: D S: DH.MKT.1275/31.
- Ziya*, 3/1911 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Ziyazanyani Kaus Kazah*, 6/1909 (Permit application). A: Surinan Avadis O: law P-S: unknown Genre: political, literary, illustrated L: AM F: W S: DH.MKT.2839/19.
- Zıvr (Bahçe'nin Mizahi İlavesi)*, 9/1908 (Publication). Genre: satirical L: TR S: HTU.
- Zoi/Zui*, 8/1908 (Permit result) in Istanbul. A: Apostol Melakhmios P-S: granted Genre: illustrated L: GR F: D S: ZB.24/27, RMM. *Applicant was a Greek citizen.*
- Zübde-i Havadis*, 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: İbrahim Şinasi P-S: granted L: TR F: D S: DH.MKT.1293/46, RMM.
- Zübde-i Matbuat*, 12/1908 (Permit result) in İstanbul. A: Yusuf Kenan O: government P-S: granted L: TR F: W S: ZB.328/146, RMM.
- al-Zuhra fi Sama al-Shahba*, 3/1909 (Permit result) in Aleppo. A: Halil Züheyrzade P-S: granted L: AR F: D S: DH.MKT.2775/75.
- Zuhur*, 1890 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU.
- Zuhur gazetesi*, 1/1919 (Publication). L: TR S: HTU. *Also contains EN.*
- Zuhuri*, 8/1908 (Publication) in Istanbul. A: Hasan Ferit O: printing P-S: granted Genre: illustrated, satirical L: TR F: TW S: HTU, RMM.
- Zümriit Anka*, 1/1923 (Publication). Genre: illustrated L: TR S: HTU.
- [*unknown*], 11/1908 (Permit result) in Baghdad. A: Sa'dizadeh Muhammad Rashid P-S: denied S: DH.MKT.2644/48. (7/L/1326 DH.MKT. 2644/48) *Applicant background check revealed he was a wanted criminal.*
- [*unknown*], 7/1909 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Kamil Ali Selam P-S: granted Genre: political, literary L: AR S: DH.MKT.2869/85.
- [*unknown*], 12/1908 (Permit result) in Beirut. A: Patrisyan P-S: granted S: DH.MKT.2675/64.
- [*unknown*], 7/1909 (Permit result) in Erzurum. A: Aram Efendi P-S: granted S: DH.MKT.2864/99.
- [*unknown*], 2/1909 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Adem Şahin P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2735/42.
- [*unknown*], 8/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Ali Nizami O: other P-S: unknown Genre: commercial L: TR F: W S: DH.MKT.1274/54.
- [*unknown*], 9/1908 (Permit application) in Istanbul. A: Yusuf Kenan O: civil servant P-S: unknown S: DH.MKT.1297/64.

[*unknown*], 6/1909 (Permit result) in Izmir. A: Dimetokali v. Yani Manos P:S: granted L: GR S: DH.MKT.2859/3.

Applicant was a Greek citizen.

[*unknown*], 1/1909 (Permit application) in Jaffa. A: Harun Atin P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2711/30.

[*unknown*], 6/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Davi Baroberez P:S: granted L: FR S: DH.MKT.2828/79.

[*unknown*], 6/1909 (Permit result) in Thessaloniki. A: Davi Baroberez P:S: granted L: HE, TR S: DH.MKT.2828/79.

[*unknown*], 2/1909 (Permit application). A: Ahmet Reşat P:S: unknown S: DH.MKT.2738/41.

[*unknown*], 8/1908 (Permit application). A: David Rosu O: law P:S: unknown Genre: political, literary, commercial L: FR, TR, HE F: D S: DH.MKT.1283/42.
Application for three separate publications in three languages.

Appendix: Ottoman Press Laws

Because both the 1864 and 1909 Ottoman press laws are referenced extensively, especially in the chapter “Legislating the Press”, the full text of the laws have been provided here in transcription. However, the 1909 law is not given in the original form in which it is found in *Düstur*, but rather as a compilation which includes additions and changes to the law that are found in *Düstur*. In such cases the amendments are marked in a different colour background and contain references to their exact source and their publication dates. Law texts found in other official sources, such as in the documents of legislators or the government, were not used, as they did not guarantee a correct rendering of the text.

1 The 1864 Press Law

Source: *Düstur*, tertip 1, cilt 2, pp. 220–227, “Dersaadet’de ve Memalik-i Şahane’de tab ve neşrolunan her nev-i gazete ve evrak-ı havadis-i mülkiye ve politikiyetab ve neşri hakkında bu kere tanzim olunan nizamnamedir.”

1.1 *Birinci fasıl – Mevadd-ı umumiye*

1. madde: Her hangi lisanda olursa olsun, mevadd-ı politikiye ve mülkiyeyi şamil olmak üzere gerek suret-ı muntazama ve evkat-ı muayyene’de ve gerek cüz cüz ve evkat-ı gayrı muayyene’de gazete ve saire evrak-ı mürettebe istihsal-ı ruhsat olunmaksızın ihdas ve neşr olunmayacaktır. Bu misallı gazete ve evrakın neşrine talib olanlar evvel-i emr’de tanzim edeceği istidanamelerini tebea-ı devlet-i aliyyeden oldukları halde Maarif Nezaret-i Celile’sine takdim edeceklerdir ve tebea-ı ecnebiyeden buldukları surette Hariciye Nezaret-i Celile’sine takdim edeceklerdir. Nezareteyn-i müşarun il-eyhuma taraflarından dahi 3. madde’de mundereç olan şeraitin tamamıyla mevcut olduğu badeltahkik iktiza eden ruhsat ita buyurulacak ve ruhsat senedleri matbuat kaleminden verilecek.

2. madde: Eyalat-ı Şahane’de bu misallı gazete ve evrak neşrini arzu edenler evvel-i emr’de vali-i eyalata istidaname takdim edip vali tarafından dahi o şahıs tebea-ı devlet-i aliyyeden ise Maarif Nezaretine ve tebea-ı ecnebiyeden olduğu halde makam-ı Nezaret-i Celile-i Hariciye’ye arz ve inha olunarak 3. madde’de beyan olunan şeraitin mevcut olduğu sabit oldukça icab eden ruhsat senedi vali-i eyalata irsal kılınacaktır.

3. madde: Gazete ihdas edecek adam tebea-ı devlet-i aliye’den olur ise la-akall otuz yaşını tekmi etmiş ve ceza kanunname-i hümayunun tayin ettiği cinayet ve cenahlardan

dolayı aleyhine hüküm tertip etmemiş olduğu ve kaaffe-i hukuk şahsiyesine tamamen ve bilfiil mutasarrıf bulunduğu halde ruhsata ruhsata nail olacak ve tebea-ı ecnebiyeden bulunur ise işbu nizamname ahkamından vazaif ve teklifata tebea-ı devlet-i aliye misallı tabi olmak ve matbuatca bir güne-i kabahat ve cünhası vukuunda hakkında gerek hükümetce ve gerek mahkemece icra olunacak muamele Saltanat-ı Seniyyetebeası hakkında cari olan usula tatbikan icra olunmak şartıyla kezalik nail-i ruhsat olacaktır.

4. madde: 1. madde'de beyan olunduğu vechile ruhsat istihsal zimninde ita olunacak istidanameler ile beraber gazetenin ne ism ile ve kaç günde bir kere çıkarılacağı ve hangi matbaada basılacağı mubin ve gazetenin mesuliyetini deruhde eden sahibi veyahut müdürü mumezzi veya memhir olarak bir kıta-ı sened takdim olunacaktır. Ve gazete sahibi veya müdürü tab ettiği gazetenin her defasında bir nüshasını kalemiyle vaz-ı imza ettikten sonra o nüshayı Matbuat Müdürlüğü canibine irsal edip bade sair nüshalarını zirinde imzası beraber olarak tab ile öylece neşredek ve taşralarda dahi vali imzalı nüshayı vali-i memlekete takdim edecektir.

5. madde: Gazete vesair evrak-ı mürettebe'nin müdür veya sahipleri istihsal eylediği ruhsat-ı resmîye'yi muahharan başka kimseye terk ve feragat edecek olduğu halde merceine beyan-ı keyfiyet edecek ve o gazeteyi deruhd eyleyecek. Kimse dahi 1., 2., 3. maddeler ahkamına tatbikan istihsal-ı ruhsat-ı resmîye'ye mecbur olacaktır. Bir gazetenin ismi veya neşrolunacak günleri veya matbaası tebdil ve tagyir olunacak olur ise sahibi veya müdürü tarafından merceine beyan-ı hal ü keyfiyet kılınacaktır.

6. madde: Elyvem Dersaadet'de ve sair memalik-i mahruse-i şahane'de neşrolunmakta evrak-ı mevkute-i politikiye işbu nizamname iktizasınca istihsalı lazım gelen ruhsat-ı resmîye'den muaf olacakları misallı evrak-ı mezkure'ye şimdîye kadar icra kılınmış olan advertismanlar yani tenbihat ve ihzarat keinne lem yekun hükmünde tutulup, fakat bundan böyle cümlesi işbu nizamname ahkam ü şerait münderecesine tamamen tabiata mecbur olacaktır.

7. madde: Bir gazeteye ahar bir zat tarafından olmak üzere derc olunan bendin zirinde o zatın imzası bulunduğu halde böyle yazılan bendden tertip edecek mesuliyet o nüshayı imza eden gazeteciye ait olacak ve bend-i mezkur imzalı olsa bile hilaf-ı nizam ve kanun olduğu surette gazeteci dahi müşteriken mesul tutulacaktır.

8. madde: Dersaadet'de Matbuat Müdürlüğü tarafından ve taşralarda hükümet-i melise canibinden gazetelere irsal olunan muharrerat-ı resmîye'yi gazeteci ilk veya ikinci defa çıkaracağı nüshada bilaücret derc etmeğe mecbur olacaktır. Biz gazetede bir zatın ismi tasrihle veya ima tarikiyle bir fıkrâ dercolunp da o zat tarafından gazeteciye cevap gönderildikte gazeteci bu cevabı ilk veya ikinci neşrolunacak nüshaya

dercedecektir. Verilen cevap bilaücret tabolunup ait olduğu bendin iki mislinden ziyade olmayacaktır.

9. madde: Mevadd-ı politikiye'ye ve mülkiye'ye şamil olmak üzere Devlet-i Aliye'ye taarruz ve husumat-ı efkar ile memalik-i ecnebiyede tabettirilen gazete ve evrak-ı mürettebe-i sairenin memalik-i şahaneye ithal ve neşri memnudur.

1.2 *İkinci fasıl – Mevadd-ı cezaiyye*

10. madde: Her kim Devlet-i Aliye'nin olmaksızın yani hilaf-ı nizam gazete veya bir veraka-ı mürettebe ihdas ve neşrederse etmiş olduğu nüsha veya cüzlerin here biri için 10 aded yüzlük altın ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunacak ve bu surette neşrolunan gazete tatil ettirilecektir.

11. madde: Nizamnamenin 4. maddesi ahkamına mugayır olarak her kim gazetesinin imzalı bir nüshasını murceine irsal etmez ve imzasız gazete neşrederse kezalik 10 adet yüzlük altın ceza-ı nakdi alınacaktır.

12. madde: Bir gazeteci 8. madde mucibince canib-i hükümetten irsal olunan muharrerat-ı resmiyenin derc ü neşrinden imtina ederse iki yüzlük altından 25 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi alınır ve efrad tarafından gönderilen cevabı derc etmediği halde kezalik 2 altından 25'e kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunup mucip-i teşki olan bendin neşrinden dolayı tertip edecek mecazat ve tazminat dahi başkaca hükmolunur.

13. madde: Ceza kanunname-i hümayunun ikinci faslında beyan oldundğu vechile Devlet- Aliye'nin emniyet-i dahiliyesini ve Memalik-i Mahruse'nim asayişini ihlal edecek cinayet veya cünehlerden birinin icrasına her kim bir gazete vasıtasıyla bazı eşhası tahrik ve ağverderse müşterek cinayet addolunarak eşhas-ı merkumenin derece-i cünah ü cinayetlerine göre haklarında tertip edecek mecazata o kimse ve gazeteci beraber müstehak olacaktır. Ve o gazete dahi hükümet marifetiyle muvakkaten veya katiyen tatil ettirilecektir.

14. madde: Her hangi gazeteci adab-ı umumiye ve mehasin-i ahlak-ı milliye'ye mugayır bir şey yazar veya edyan ve mezahib-i cariyeden birini gazete vasıtasıyla hakaret eder ise 1 yüzlük altından yirmi beş yüzlük altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi alınır veyahut bir haftadan üç maha kadar habs olunur.

15. madde: Bir gazeteci saltanat-ı senniye ve hanedan-ı şevket nişan hazret-i padişah haklarında ilfaz ü tabirat gayr-ı layıka istimal eder veya hükümet-i senniye-i hazret-i padişah aleyhinde taarruz eyler ise 6 aydan 3 seneye kadar hapis veyahut 25 altından 150 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz kılınır.

16. madde: Vükela-ı saltanat-ı senniye'ye veyahut memalik-i mumtaze reislerine dokunacak sözler yazan olur ise 1 aydan 1 seneye kadar hapis veyahut 5 altından 50 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur.

17. madde: Devlet-i Aliye'nin dost ve müttefiği bulunan hükümdaran'a dokunur ilfaz ve tabirat istimal olunur ise 3 mahdan 3 seneye kadar hapis veya 15 altından 10 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur.

18. madde: Bir zat veyahut bir heyetin efal-ı mahsusa beyanıyla heng-i namusunu veya kesr-i itibarını mucib olacak azviyata zem ü efal-ı mahsusa beyan olunmayarak yalnız tahkir ü tezyif ve şetm yolunda izad olunan tabirata kadh-ı itlak olunur.

19. madde: Bir meclis ve mahkeme veya devletce teşkil olunmuş olan sair bir heyet hakkında zem veya kadh vukuunda mütecasiri 15 günden 1 seneye kadar haps olunur veyahut 2 yüzlük altından 50 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi alınır.

20. madde: Memurin ve hedeme-ı Devlet-i Aliye aleyhinde zem vukuunda 10 günden 10 aya kadar hapis ile veyahut bir altından 40 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahzile hükm olunur.

21. madde: Düvel-i ecnebiyenin nezd-i saltanat-ı senniye'de mukim büyükelçi ve murahhası ve ortaelçi ve maslahatgüzarları ve sair memurları aleyhinde gazeteler vasıtasıyla zem vuku buldğu takdirde mütecasiri 8 günden 8 maha kadar hapis veyahut 1 altından 30 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur.

22. madde: Efrad-ı ahali hakkında gazeteler vasıtasıyla zem vuku buldğu halde 50 kuruşdan 15 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz veya 5 günden 5 aya kadar hapis cezası icra olunur.

23. madde: Memurin-i Devlet-i Aliye'den birinin ve her kim olur ise olsun sair kimsenin mücerred zatına aid olmak üzere zem vukuunda zem eden kimse hakkında muayyen olan ceza tamamen icra olunur. Fakat memurin-i devletin bir memuriyet sıfatıyla hareket etmiş olan zevatın umur-ı memurelerine mutaallak zemedden olursa muhakemesi ledelicra isnad ettiği maddeyi isbat edebildiği halde hakkında bir güne-i mecazat lazım gelmeyecektir ve bu sırada o memurun zatı hakkında kadh vukuubulmuş ise yalnız bunun cezası hükm olunur.

24. madde: 20. ve 21. maddelerde beyan olunan Devlet-i Aliye ve Düvel-i Fahime-i Mütehabbe memurları haklarında kadh vuku takdirinde mütecasiri 5 günden 5 maha kadar hapis ve 50 kuruşdan 15 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahzile mecazat olunur.

25. madde: Efrad-ı nas hakkında kadh vukuubulur ise mütecasiri 2 günden 2 aya kadar hapis veyahut 30 kuruşdan 5 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur.

26. madde: Bir gazeteci taammüden ve bir su-ı niyete mebnî kasten havadis-i kazibe veyahut evrak ü senedat musnie tabederse veya bu makule-i havadis ve evrakı diğer bir gazeteden naklen derçeylerse bir aydan bir seneye kadar hapis veyahut 10 altından 50 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahzile mecazat olunur.

27. madde: 15., 16., 17., 21. maddelerde beyan olunan cünahlarla müttehim olan gazeteciler hakkında muayyen olan cezaların indelicab terkiyle canib-i hükümetden gazeteleri nihayet bir ay müddet tatil ettirilebilir.

28. madde: Gazeteciler gazeteleri aleyhine mahkemece ita olunan hükm ü kararı itası tarihinden bir mah müruruna kadar çıkaracakları nüshalardan birine aynen dercetmeğe mecbur olacaklardır ve bir gazete aleyhine ita olunacak hükm ü kararın masarif-i tabiyesi mahkum aleyhi tarafından tasviye olunmak üzere sair bir veya birkaç gazeteye derci hükmolunabilecektir.

29. madde: İki sene zarfında işbu nizamname mucibince mahkemece aleyhine üç kere hüküm tertip eden gazete veya evrak- mürettebe'nin hükümet marifetiyle muvakkaten veya katiyen tatil ettirilmesi caiz olacaktır.

30. madde: Bir gazete veya evrak-ı mürettebenin mesuliyetini haiz olan müdür veya sahibi bir kabahat ve cünha veya cinayetden dolayı hapsolunduğu halde müddet-i hapsi esnasında gazetesiz diğer bir müdür-i muvakkat marifetiyle kemafissabık tab ü neşr olunabilecek ise de müdür-i merkum işbu nizamnamede mündereç olan şerait ü vezaife tamamen tabi olacaktır.

31. madde: Gazetelerce bir cünha vukuunda kendilerini mutazarrar iddaa edenler istida etmedikçe muhakemeye ibtidar olunmayacaktır. Fakat saltanat-ı senniye ile hanedan-ı şevkat ünvan hazret-i padişahi'ye ve hükümet-i senniye ve vükela-ı devlet-i Aliye'ye dokunur ve adab-ı umumiye'ye ve mehasin-i ahlaka mugayir sözler istimal olduğunda takdirde canib-i hükümetden olduğunda bu makule hakaretin aid olduğu din ve mezheb memurları tarafından vuku gelecek istida üzerine ledelicab hükümet canibinden ruyet-ı dava ettirilecektir.

32. madde: Gazetelerce vukubulan cünahlar tarih-i vukuundan itibaren altı ay mürur edipte hükümetce veya efrad-ı nas tarafından dava olunmamış olursa müddet-i mezkure inkızasından sonra bu misallı dava istimaa'ya caiz olmayacaktır.

33. madde: Gazetelerce vuku bulacak cünha ü cinayetlerin mükerrürleri hakkında gerek hükümet tarafından bilamuhakeme icrakılınacak ve gerek mahkemece hükmolunacak mecazat ceza-ı muayyenin nihayet iki misline iblağ olunabilecektir.

34. madde: İşbu nizamnamenin 15., 16., 17., 19., 20., 21., 24. maddelerinde beyanolunan cinayet ve cünhaların hin-ı vukuunda Bab-ı Ali'de beş zatdan merkeb tayin olunacak komisyonda tahkikat-ı lazıma bilicra tanzim ü ita kılınacak. Mazbata üzerine meclis ahkam-ı adliyede cezası hükmolunacak ve sair maddelerinde beyan kılınan cünha ve kabahatler dahi zaptiye mahkemelerinde ruyet-i hüküm kılınacaktır.

35. madde: İşbu nizamname zirde muharrer tarihten itibaren desturülamel tutulacaktır.

madde-i mahsusa: Elsine mütenevve'de çıkarılan gazete sahib-i imtiyazlarının ruhsatnamelerinde mündereç evkat-ı mueyyenede çıkaracakları gazetelerden başka ilave namıyla neşrecekleri evrak-ı matbua icra ü ilan buyurlmuş olan tevcihat ve tebligat-ı resmîyeye ve mevadd-ı mühimmeye dair resmi telgrafnamelere munhasır olacaktır. Bunun hilafında ve tehdîş-i ezhanı mucib yolda makalat ve ekazib dercedenlerin çıkaracakları varakanın münderecatından matbuat nizamnamesi ahkamınca sahib-i imtiyaz ve gazete hakkında tertib edecek sair-i ahkam-ı nizamiyeye hâlel gelmemek üzere gazeteleri bir aydan üç aya kadar tatil edilir.

10 Şaban 1292 /29 Ağustos 1291 [10 September 1875]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 1, cilt 3, p. 443, "Matbuat nizamnamesine tezyil olunan madde-i mahsusa")

2 Şaban 1281/19 Kanunievvel 1280 [31 December 1864]

2 The 1909 Press Law

Source: *Düstur*, tertip 11, cilt 1, No. 108, pp. 395–403, "Matbuat Kanunu."

2.1 Birinci fasıl: Suret-i Neşr

1. madde: Her gazete ve risale-i yevmiye ve mevketenin bir müdür-i mesulu olmak icap eder.

2. madde: Tebaa-ı Osmaniye'den 21 yaşını ikmal edip mahcur veya hukuk-ı medeniyyeden sakıt olmayan ve sahtekarlık ve dolandırıcılık ve emniyeti suistimal gibi

su-ı ahlaka delalet eden efalden bir yıla mahkum olmamış bulunan her şahıs bu kanun ahkâmına tevfik hareket etmek şartıyla her nev-i gazete ve resail-i yevmiye ve mevkutenin müdür-i mesulu olabilir. Müdür-i mesulun gazete veya risale-i mevkute ne lisanla neşrediliyorsa o lisanda kitabet edecek derecede behresi olmakda şartdır.

2. madde-i muaddele: Dersaadet yahut vilayetde neşrolunacak yevmi ya mevkut her gazete ve risale müdür-i mesulun tebea-ı Osmaniye'den olması ve yirmi bir yaşını ikmal etmesi ve mecbur ya hukuk-ı medeniyeden sakıt yahut sahtekarlık ve dolandırıcılık ve emniyeti suistimal gibi su-ı ahlake delalet eden efalden biriyle mahkum olmaması ve mekatib-i aliyyeden mezun yahut dersden mecaz ya müddet-i tahsilîyesi yedi sene olan mekatib idadiyyeden şehadetnameyi haiz bulunması yahut mekatib-i saireden bu derece tahsil görmesi şart olduğu gibi işbu gazete ve resailin sahib-i imtiyazları dahi gazete ve risale-i siyasiye için Dersaadet'de 500 ve vilayetde 100 ve siyasi matbuat-ı mevkute için Dersaadet'de 200 ve vilayetde 50 *lira* teminat akçesi ita etmek mecburdurlar. Ancak işbu şeraitden elyevm neşredilmekte olan gazeteler ile siyasi matbuat-ı mevkuta müstesnadır.

26 Rebiülevvel 1330/3 Mart 1328 [16 March 1912]

(Source: *Düstur tertip II*, cilt 4, No. 132, pp. 365–366, “Matbuat Kanunu'nun ikinci madde-i muadelesi”)

2. madde-i muaddele II: Dersaadet yahut vilayetde neşrolunacak yevmi veya mevkut her gazete ve risale müdür-i mesulun tebea-i osmaniyeden olması ve 21 yaşını ikmal etmesi ve mehcur ya hukuk-ı medeniyeden sakıt yahut sahtekarlık ve dolandırıcılık ve emniyet-i suistimal gibi su-i ahlak delalet eden efalden biriyle mahkum olmaması ve mekatip-i aliyyeden mezun yahut dersten mecaz ya müddei tahsilîyesi yedi sene olan mekatip-i idadiyyeden şehadetnameye haiz bulunması yahut mekatip-i saire'de bu derece tahsil görmesi şart olduğu gibi işbu gazete ve resailin sahib-i imtiyazları dahi gazete ve risale-i siyasiye için Dersaadet'de 500 ve vilayetde 100 ve siyasi matbuat-ı mevkute için Dersaadet'de 200 ve vilayetde 50 *lira* teminat akçesi ita etmeğe mecburlardır. Ancak işbu şeraitin elyevm neşredilmekte olan gazeteler ile siyasi matbuat-ı mevkute müstesnadır. Şu kadar ki evvelce hükümet beyanname verildiği halde intişar etmemiş veyahut bilahere tatil-i neşriyat etmiş veya hükümetce tatil edilmiş olan gazeteler ile siyasi matbuat-ı mevkute müdür-i mesullerinin gazete ve risalelerini tekrar neşredebilmeleri için balada beyan olunan şeraiti tamamen ifa etmeleri lazımdır.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur tertip II*, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181–185, “Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat”)

3. madde: Gazete yahut resail yevmiye veya mevkute neşretmek isteyen kimse Dersaadet'de Dahiliye Nezareti'ne ve taşrada vali veya mutasarrıflara beyanat-ı atiyeyi havi kendisiyle müdür-i mesulun imzalarıyla memzi bir beyanname verir:

- (1) Gazete veya risalenin ünvanı
- (2) Nerede neşrolunacağı
- (3) Bahsedilecek mevad
- (4) Evkat-ı neşri
- (5) Müstadinin isim ve şöhret ve sinn ve mahall-i ikameti ve tabiyeti
- (6) Müdür-i mesulun isim ve şöhret ve sinn ve mahall-i ikameti ve tabiyeti
- (7) Ne lisanda neşrolunacağı

Beyanname mukabilinde ilm-i haber alınır.

3. madde-i muaddele: Ayan ve Mebusan ve memurin-i devlet siyasi gazete müdür-i mesulu olamaz.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181–185, “Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat”)

4. madde: Madde-i sabıkada muharrir muharrer beyanname ita olunmadan neşrolunan gazete veya risale derhal tatil olunur ve mahkemece 5 liradan 50 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdi alınır ve tekrari halinde 10 liradan 100 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdiye mahkum edilir veyahut 24 saatten bir aya kadar haps olunur ve mezkur gazete ve risalenin mündereçatı kanunen daha ağır bir cezaya mustelzem olduğu takdirde onun hükmü icra edilir. Beyanname muheteveyatı hilaf-ı hakikat ise yahut beyanname hilafına harket vakiolursa şu hal hiç beyanname ita olunmamış hükmünde telakki edilerek ona göre muamele olunur.

5. madde: Neşrolunan her gazete veya risale-i yevmiye veya mevkute sahibinin mülküdür ahara temlikî caizdir. Sahibinin vetaftında emlak sarfı hakkında cari olan ahkam-ı feraiz dairesinde veresesine intikal eder ve müdür-i mesulun taht-ı mesuliyetinde neşrine devam olunur.

5. madde-i muaddele: Neşrolunan her gazete veya risale-i yevmiye ve mevkute sahibinin mülküdür. Ahara temlikî caizdir. Sahibinin vefatında emlak sarfı hakkında cari olan ahkam-ı feraiz dairesinde veresesine intikaleder.

Gazetenin vefat eden sahibi müdür-i mesul vazifesini de bizzat deruhde etmişdiyse verese taraından evsaf-u kanuniye'ye haiz bir müdür-i mesul irae edilerek neşrine devam olunur.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181–185, “Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat”)

6. madde: Bir gazete yahut risale-i mevkutenin ünvanı aynen veyahut iltibasa mahal verecek vech ile tebdil olunarak ahar tarafından istimal olunamaz. Mahaza 15 sene neşrolunmayan bir gazete yahut risale-i mevkutenin ünvanı bu müddetden sonra ahar istimal edebilir.

6. madde-i muaddele: Bir gazete veya risale-i mevkutenin ünvanı aynen veya iltibase mehall verecek vechile tebdil edilerek ahar tarafından istimal olunamaz. Mahaza teessüs ve intişar etmişken dışar tatil olan bir gazete ünvanı 15 sene geçdikten sonra ve yalnız beyanname verilerek hiç intişar etmemiş bir gazete ve risale-i mevkute ünvanı da bir sene mürurile uhra aharı tarafından istimal olunabilir.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181–185, “Matbuat Kanunu’nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat”)

7. madde: Müdür-i mesulun istifası veya vefatı veyahut mahkumen müdür-i mesuluktan sukutu halinde ve kezalik 3. madde ahkâmınca itası muktezi beyanname muherrer mevadde sair tebdilat vuku’unda keyfiyet nihayet beş gün zarfında merceine bildirilmek lazım gelir. Bu şart icra olunmadan neşriyat devam ederse 4. madde ahkâmı icra olunur.

2.2 *İkinci Fasıl: Ahkam-ı Cezaiye*

8. madde: Gazetelerle resail yevmiye ve mevkutenin her nüshasından günü gününe mahallinin en büyük dahiliye memuruyla mudde’i-i umumi’ye müdür-i mesulların imzalarıyla memzi işker nusha irsal edilecektir. Bu suretle irsal olunmayan gazetelerle resailin müdür-i mesullarından gönderilmeyen her numara için yarım osmanlı altını ahz olunur.

9. madde: Gazete ve resail mevkutelerin zirinde veya balasında müdür-i mesulun ismi olmaksızın neşri halinde bir lira ceza-ı nakdi alınır ve bunların böyle isimsiz çıkması müdür-i mesulu münderecatından dolayı ayrıca mesuliyet kanunundan kurtaramaz.

10. madde: Sokaklarda veyahut umumi mahallelerde gazete ve resail mevkute vesair evrak-ı mektube veya matbue biy ve tevzi edenler bunların yalnız ünvanlarını ve müellif veya muharrirlerinin isimlerini ve fiatlarını yüksek savt ile söyleyebilirler. Adab-ı umumiye’ye münafi isim ve ünvanlar kullanmak ve bir şahsın veya heyetin ihlal-i namusunu ya kesr-i itibarını veya alelilak heyecana mucib olacak beyanat ve evsat ile evrak-ı mezkure için rağbet celbetmek memnudur. Hilafında hareket edenler 25 kuruşdan 1 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdiye’ye mahkum olurlar yahut 24 saatden bir haftaya kadar habs olunurlar.

10. madde-i muaddele: Çarşılarda, sokaklarda gazete, kitap, risale, resim ve saire asar-ı matbue ve mektube bey ve fûruht etmek isteyen kimseler polis idaresine müracaatla ikametgahını defter-i mahsusuna kaydettirerek beyanat vakiası mukabilinde bila ücret ilm ü haber ahzeder. Bunlar sattıkları evrakın yalnız ünvanlarını ve muharirlerin isimlerini ve fiyatlarını yüksek savt ile söyleyebilirler. Adab-ı umumiye münafi isim ve ünvanlar kullanmak ve bir şahsın veya heyetin ihlal-ı namusunu veya kesri itibarını veya alalitlek heyecanı mucib olacak beyanat ve evsat ile evrak-ı mezkure için rağbet celbetmek memnudur. İşbu şerait kanuniye hilafında hareket edenler 25 kuruşdan 1 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdiyeye veyahut 24 saatten 1 haftaya kadar hapse mahkum olurlar.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181-185, "Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat")

11. madde: Gazetelerle resail-i yevmiye ve mevkutenin münderecatından dolayı tertib edecek mecazat-ı kanuniye evvela müdür-i mesul veya mümessile, saniyen makale zirinde imzası bulunan sahib-i makaleye, salisen matbaacıya, Rebien bayi ve mevzi'lere aittir. Ancak bu muhtelif derecatdaki eşhastan her derecedekiler hakkında takib-i dava imkansız kalmadıkça ondan sonraki derecedekiler hakkında ikame-i da'vi edilemez. Yalnız sahib-i makale ve bir de «müdür-i mesuldan gayri bir şahıs olduğu halde» mümessil haklarında daima fail-i müşterik muamelesi ifa olur. Zarar ve ziyan mahkumiyetlerinden gazete ve risale sahibide mesuldur.

12. madde: Gazeteler ve resail-i yevmiye ve mevkute ile vaki olan neşriyatdan bir şahıs kendisini maddeten ya manen mutazarrar addettiği halde mahkemeye muracatla on birinci madde mucibince mesul olan eşhas hakkında ikame-i dava ve evvel-i emr'de bir protestoname tebliğine mecbur olmaksızın zarar ve ziyan iddaa edebilir. Mahkemeye badelmuhakeme neşriyat-ı vakiadan müddei-i şahsiye'ye tertib eden zarar-ı maddi ya manevi ile mutanasıb tazminat-ı nakdiye ile beraber bu kanunnamenin tayinettiği hapis veya ceza-ı nakdi ayrıca hükmolunur. Bundan maeda mahkemenin ilamı o gazete yahut risalenin ilk ve nihayet ikinci nushasına aynen dercedilir ve adem-i derci halinde elli Osmanlı altını alınır. İlam-ı mezkurun masarif-i tabiyesi mahkum aleyh tarafından tadiye olunmak üzere diğer bir veyahut birkaç gazeteye dahi dercine hükmolunabilir.

13. madde: Gazeteler ve resail-ı yevmiye ve mevkute her ner nev-i muhakematı ve bilcümle mecalis-i resmiye mukarraratını neşredebilirler. Ancak hiç bir hususta

mahkemenin ve usul-ı nizami dairesinde suret-i hafiyede içtima etmiş olan bir heyet-i resmîyenin muzakeratı neşredilemez. Neşrolunan muhakemat neticesinde verilecek hükümlerin dahi derci lazımgelir. Bu madde ahkâmına mugayır hareket edenlerden 5 altından 25 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur.

14. madde: Muhakemat-ı aleniyyede adab-ı umumiyye'ye mehall addolunan tefsilatın neşrini muhakem menettirebilir. Menolunan mevad-ı neşredenler 2 liradan 10 kadar ceza-ı nakdi itasına yahut 24 saatten bir haftaya kadar hapis mahkum edilebilir.

15. madde: Kavanin-i nizamatin resmen ilanından evvel neşri memnudur. Hilafında hareket edenler hakkında 2 Osmanlı altınından 10 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi hükmolunur ve lüzum görülürse tab ve neşrettikleri evrak zabt ve musadere kılınır.

16. madde: Memalik-i Osmaniyye'de tanınmış olam edyan ve mezahibden ve anasırdan birini tezyif ve tahkir yolunda neşriyat vaki olursa onbirinci mucibince mesul olan kimse bir aydan bir seneye kadar hapis ve 20 Osmanlı altınından 100 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur veyahut bu iki cezadan yalnız biriyle düçar-ı mecazat edilir. Eryan ve mezahib hakkında delaile müstened mebahisat-ı ilmiyye felsefiyye tahkir addolunmaz.

17. madde: Kanun-ı cezanın ikinci faslında beyan olunan cinayetleri işlemeye doğrudan doğruya tahriki havi neşriyat vuku'unda 11. madde ahkâmına tevfikân mesul olacak şahıs o cinayetlerin filen mürtekibi gibi mecazat olunur fakat zikrolunan tahrikatin bir güne-i eser-i filiyesi etmez ise nefy-i ebeb cezasıyla mecazat kılınır.

18. madde: Bir kimsenin ihlal-ı namusunu ya kesr-i itibarını mucip bir maddeyi matbuat vasıtasıyla ifşa eylemek veyahut bu yolda azz ve bande (باندہ) bulunmak tehdidiyle kendisinden para alanlar veyahut başka türlü münafaa istihsal edenler yahut münafaa tasaddi eyleyenler 3 aydan 3 seneye kadar hapis ve 10 liradan 100 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdiye ile mecazat edilirler.

19. madde: Aslı olmayan havadis veya musanna veya muharref veyahut aslı olmaksızın bir kimseye isnad olunmuş evrak neşr ve nakledenler neşriyat ve nakliyat vakiaları asayiş-i aliyye'ye ihlal bais olmuş ve bu da su-ı maksadla vukua gelmiş ise 6 aydan 2 seneye kadar hapis olunurlar ve 5 liradan 100 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdiyye'ye mahkum olurlar veyahut bu iki cezadan yalnız biriyle düçar-ı mecazat edilirler.

19. madde-i muaddele: Aslı olmayan havadis veya musna veya muharraf veya aslı olmaksızın bir kimseye isnad olunmuş evrak neşr ü nakledenler ve evrak-ı resmîye'yi ve resmi nutukları tagyir ve tahrif ile neşreleyenler, neşriyat ve nakliyat vakia-i su-ı niyet vaki olduğu anlaşılır. Ve bu da efkar-ı umumiye'yi tehyc ve tesvil edecek mahiyette bulunur ise 1 aydan 6 aya kadar hapis ve 5 liradan 25 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdi hükmolunur. Neşriyat-ı vakia asayiş-i ammeye ihlal bais olmuş ise 6 aydan 2 seneye kadar hapis ve 25 liradan 100 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdiye'ye mahkum olur. Veyahut bu iki cezadan yalnız biriyle düçar mecazat edilir. Bu kanunun cürüm addettiği neşriyatı nakleylemek mustakil bir cürüm olup mütecasiri aynı cezaya düçar olur ve naklolan bu kabil-i neşriyatın muhteveyatı tasdik olunmadığı veya ihtiyatla nakledildiğine veyahut mesuliyet-i ahar bir şahsın tatamıyla deruhd eğlediğine dair bir kayıt ilavesi mesuliyetten kurtulmaya medar olamaz.

Bir gazete mahkum olduğu ceza-ı nakdi ve masarif-i mehakeme ve zarar ü ziyanları tazmin maksadıyla iane defteri açmak veya bunu ilan eylemek memnudur. Hilafında hareket edenler bir haftadan altı aya kadar hapis ve beş liradan 25 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdi ile mahkum olunur.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181–185, “Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat”)

20. madde: Adab-ı umumiye'ye mugayır ve muhall-ı ahlak makalat ve tasavir neşrolunduğu takdirde 11. madde ahkamına tevfikan mesul olacak kimseden 2 Osmanlı altınından 10 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi alınır.

20. madde-i muaddele: Adab-ı umumiye'ye mugayır mahell-ı ahlak kütüp ve resail ve makalat ve tasavir neşri memnudur. Hilaf-ı memnuiyet neşredilen asar ve resail ve tasavir zabıta tarafından derhal toplattırılır ve §11 maddeye tevfikan mesuliyeti iktiza eden kimseler ile zabıtaca toplattırılan azar-ı mezkure'ye bey ve tevzi'de devam edenler 2 liradan 10 liraya ceza-ı nakdi ile mecazat olunur.

22 Rebiülevvel 1331/16 Şubat 1328 [1 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 78, p. 111, “11 Recep 1327 tarihli matbuat kanunu'nun 20. maddesini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat”)

21. madde: Bir şahıs aleyhinde gazetelerde ve resail-i yevmiye ve mevkutede vuku bulacak neşriyat o şahıs tarafından aleyhindeki makalenin iki mislini tecavüz etmemek şartıyla yazılacak cevabı ve kezalik hükümet'in hilaf-ı hakikat gördüğü neşriyat hakkındaki tezkibnameleri gazeteler ve resail-i mezkure ilk çıkacak nüshanın aynı

sütununu derce mecburdurlar aksi halinde 5 altından 50 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdiye ahz olunur.

21. madde-i muaddele: Bir şahıs aleyhinde gazetelerde veya resail-i yevmiye ve mev-kutede vukubulacak neşriyata o şahıs tarafından veya vefat etmiş bir zata ait ise ev-lad ve ihfadi canibinden aleyhindeki makalenin iki mislini tecavüz etmemek şartıyla yazılacak cevabı ve keza hükümetin hilaf-ı hakikat gördüğü neşriyat hakkındaki tekzipnameleri gazete ve resail-i mezkure ilk çıkacak nüshasının aynı sütununa ve aynı huruf ile derce mecburdurlar. Aksi halde 5 altından 50 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181-185, "Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı mad-delerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat")

22. madde: Mevad-ı sabıkada muharrer ceraimin tekerrürü esbab-ı muşdedden addolunur.

23. madde: 17. maddede muharrer ceraime tahrike havi neşriyatda bulunan gazete veya risale hakkında alelusul ikame-ı dava olunmakla beraber hükümetce muhafaza-ı asayiş için lüzum görüldüğü halde mezkur gazete ya risale netice-i muhakemeye kadar tatil edilebilir. Ancak muhakemeden müdür-i mesulun beratine karar verildiği halde gazete yahut risalenin tetilinden dolayı müdür-i mesulun tazminat talebine hakkı vardır.

23. maddeye ilave: Hükümet tarafından tatil ve mahkemeye sevkolunan gazetelerin sahib-i imtiyaz ve müdür-i mesulları evvelce ita ettikleri teminat akçesini hitam-ı me-hakemeye kadar başka bir gazete için teminat olarak istimal edemezler.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181-185, "Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı mad-delerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat")

23. madde-i muaddele: Devletin emniyet-i dahiliye veya hariciyesini ihlal edebilecek surette neşriyatda bulunan gazete ya risaleler muhafaza-ı sükun ve emniyet için mu-vakkaten Meclis-i Vükela kararıyla tatil olunabilirler.

22 Zilhicce 1331/9 Teşrinisani 1329 [22 November 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 6, No. 12, p. 49, "11 Recep 1327 tarihli Matbuat Kanunu'nun 23. maddesini muaddel kanun-ı muvakkat")

24. madde: Ceraim-i matbuat hakkında işbu kanunda munderec ahkam-ı cezaiyenin kafesi gazete, resail-i yevmiye ve mevkuteyle neşrolunan tasavire ve gerek umumi mahal ve içtimalarda biy ve fıruht ve tevzi edilen evrak-ı mektube ve matbue'ye ve ilavelere gerek inzar-ı aamme'ye vaz' olunmuş elvah ve ilannamelere dahi şamildir.

2.3 *Üçüncü Fası: Zem ve Kadh*

25. madde: Bir zat yahut bir heyet madde-i mahsusa beyaniyla ihlal-ı namusunu ya kesr-i itibarını mucip azviate (zem) ve madde-i mahsusa beyan olunmaksızın vuku bulan azviate ise (kadh) itlakolunur. Adab-ı munazıra dairesinde tenkid hiç bir vakit cerim teşkil edemez.

26. madde: Zat-ı hazret padişah hakkında kadh veya zimmi mutzammin makalat ve ilfaz ve tabirat neşrolunduğu halde on birinci madde ahkamına tevfiikan mesul olan kimse 3 aydan 3 seneye kadar hapsolunur.

27. madde: Düvel-i mütehabbe hükümdarları yahut reis-i hükümetleri hakkında zimm ve kadh vuku'unda 1 aydan 1 seneye kadar hapis cesası hükmolunur.

28. madde: Hanedan-ı saltanat ve Meclis-i Ayan ve Mebusan ve muhakim vesair devair ve heyat-ı resmiyeye ordu ve donanma-ı Osmaniye ve memalik-i Osmaniye'de mukim düvel-i mütehab memurin-i siyasiyesi ve konsolosları aleyhinde zimm vuku'unda 11. madde ahkamına tevfiiken mesul olan kimse 15 günden 6 aya kadar hapis veya kendisinden beş altından elli altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahzedilir veyahut bu cezaların ikisi birden icra olunur.

Kadh vuku'unda ise 1 haftadan 3 aya kadar hapis edilmekle beraber 1 altından 25 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi istifa olunur yahut bu cezalardan yalnız biri icra edilir. Zimm yahut kadhı tazammun eden makale-i mud'ice zarar ve ziyanı mustelzem olursa o dahi baskaca tazmin ettirilir.

29. madde: Efrad-ı ahalden biri hakkında zimm vuku'unda 11. madde ahkamına tevfiiken mesul olan kimse 1 haftadan 3 aya kadar hapsolunmakla beraber kendisinden 2 altından 25 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahzedilir. Yahut bu cezalardan yalnız biri icra olunur.

Kadh vuku'unda bir haftadan iki aya kadar hapsedilmekle beraber bir altından on beş altına kadar ceza-ı nakdi istifa olunur yahut bu cezalardan yalnız biri icra edilir. Zimm yahut kadhı tazammun eden makale-i med'ice zarar veya ziyanı müstelzem olursa o dahi baskaca tazmin ettirilir.

30. madde: Vükela-ı Devlet ve Ayan ve Mebusan ve memurin-i hükümet hakkında şahsiyata mutaallak zimm veya kadh vuku'unda 29. madde ahkamı her halde icra olunur. Vakiolan zimm ve kadh vazaiif-i memuriyetlerine mutaallak umura aitse bu babda 28. madde mucibince amel edilir. Ancak bunların ve hisse-i senedatların çıkarmak suretiyle tesis etmiş olan müessesat-ı maliye ve ticariye müdür ve idare memurlarının munhasıran vazaiif-i memuriyetlerine ait filleri hakkında ta'yin maddeyle zimm vuku'unda indelmuhakeme efal-ı mezkure sabit olduğu halde neşriyat-ı vakia'dan dolayı bir güne-i mecazat tertip etmez.

2.4 *Dördüncü Fasl: Mevadd-ı Mütefferika*

31. madde: Ceraim-i matbuata mutaallık davalar mahakem-i umumiye'de ruyet olunur. 16., 17., 19., 20., 26. maddelerde mevzu-ı bahs olan ceraimle hanedan-ı saltanat aleyhinde vaki olan zimm ve kadhın takibi doğrudan doğruya mudde'i-i umumi tarafından düvel-i mütehabbe hükümdarlarıyla memurin-i siyasiye hakkında zimm ve kadh cürümlerinin takibi sefaretlerin Hariciye Nezaretine vaki olacak muracatı üzerine kezalik mudde'i-i umumiler tarafından, Ayan ve Mebusan heyetleriyle devair-i hükümet ve heyat-ı resmiye ve ordu ve donanma-ı Osmaniye hakkındaki zimm ve kadhın takibi ruasaa ve kumandanlar tarafından cihet-i adliye'ye yazılacak tezkere üzerine yine mudde'i-i umumiler tarafından icra olunur. İşbu kanunda munderec olan diğer zimm ve kadhler hakkındaki davalar ise munhasıran mudde'i-i şahsiler canibinden ikamet edilir.

31. madde-i muaddele: Ceraim-i matbuata mutaallık davalar mehakim-i umumiye'de usul-ı muhakemat-ı cezaiye kanununa muzil 12 Şevval 1330 ve 11 Eylül 1328 tarihli mevadd-ı kanuniye'ye tevfiken ruyet olunur. 16., 17., 19., 20., 26. maddelerde mevzubahis olan ceraimle hanedan-ı saltanat ve düvel-i mütehabbe hükümdaranı aleyhinde vaki olan zem ve kadhın takibi doğrudan doğruya mudi-i umumi tarafından ve düvel-i mütehabbenin nezd-i saltanat-ı senniyedeki memurin-i siyasiyesi hakkında zem ü kadh cürümlerinin takibi sefaretlerin Hariciye Nezaretine vaki olacak müracatı üzerine kezalik müdde-i umumiler tarafından ve Ayan ve Mebusan heyetleriyle devair-i hükümet ve heyat-ı resmiye ve ordu ve donanma-ı Osmani hakkındaki zem ü kadhın takibi ruasa ve kumandanları tarafından cihet-i adliye'ye yazılacak tezkere üzerine yine müdde-i umumiler tarafından icra olunur.

13 Rebiülahir 1331/9 Mart 1329 [22 March 1913]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 5, No. 117, pp. 181–185, “Matbuat Kanunu'nun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat”)

32. madde: Ceraim-i matbuat aleyhinde tarih-i neşirden itibaren 3 ay zarfında ikame olunmayan davalar istima edilemez.

33. madde: Vakt-i seferde ve harb tehlikesi bulunduğu zamanda kuva-ı birriye ve bahriyenin icra edeceği harekate ve devletin esbab ve vasait-i tedafîisine dair gazetelerin neşriyatı ledelicab makam-ı sadaretten vaki olacak emr ve ilan üzerine menolunur. Hilaf-ı memnu'iyet-ı neşriyatda bulunanlar 50 liradan 200 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdiye yahut 6 aydan 2 seneye kadar hapis ile yahut bu iki cezadan her ikisini ile mecazat olunur.

33. madde-i muaddele: Vakt-ı hazır ve seferde Harbiye ve Bahriye Nezaretlerinden neşrettirilecek tebliğat ve tamimatdan ve hükümet-i askeriye'ye sansür memurları tarafından neşrine müsaade olunan havadisden maeda kuva-ı birriye ve bahriyenin icra edecekleri harekate ve devletin esbab ve vesait-i tedafiiyesine dair makalat veya fıkrat veyahut havadis-i askeriye neşreden gazete veya mecmua sahib-i imtiyaz veya müdür-i mesuldan 100 yüzlük Osmanlı altınından 500 yüzlük Osmanlı altınına kadar ceza-ı nakdi ahz olunur. Hususat-ı mezkure hilafına hareket eden gazete veya mecmua sahib-i imtiyaz veya müdür-i mesulu neşrolunan havadisin menşi ü muhbirini irae ve beyana mecbur olup bundan imtina eden sahib-i imtiyaz veya müdür-i mesuldan ceza-ı nakdiyenin hadd-ı azamı alındıktan başka bir aydan 3 aya kadar hapis cezasıyla dahi mecazat edilir.

16 Şevval 1332/25 Ağustos 1330 [7 September 1914]

(Source: *Düstur* tertip 11, cilt 6, No. 522, p. 1259, "11 Recep 1327 tarihli Matbuat Kanunu'nun 33. maddesine muaddil kanun-ı muvakkat")

34. madde: Siyasiyata mutaallık olmayan ve sırf fenni ve edebi olan resail mevkute kitap hükmünde olup bu kanunnamenin suret-i neşr hakkındaki ahkâmına tabi değildir.

35. madde: Memalik-i ecnebiye'den ve eyalat-ı mümtazede matbu gazete veya resail mevkutenin memalik-i Osmaniye'de men-i neşr ve tevzi'i Meclis-i Vükelada ittihaz olan bir karar-ı mahsusla vaki olur ve yalnız bir numarası Dahiliye Nezareti tarafından verilen emir üzerine men edilebilir. Bu suretle memnu gazete ve risaleye bilerek biy ve tevzi edenler hakkında 2 liradan 15 liraya kadar ceza-ı nakdi hükmolunur.

36. madde: Fi 2 Şaban sene 1281 tarihli Matbuat nizamnamesinin ahkâmı mefsuhtur.

37. madde: Dahiliye ve Adliye Nazırları işbu kanunun icrasına memurdurlar.

38. madde: (Madde-i Muvakkate) Elyevm mevcut olan gazetelerin ashabı ve müdür-i mesulları bu kanunda münderiç şerait-i kanuniye'ye tarih-i ilandan itibaren nihayet bir ay zarfında ikmale mucburdurlar. Aksi halde haklarında 4. madde mucibince muamele edilir.

1. madde-i müzeyyil: Bilfiil hizmet-i askeriyede mustahdem ya sınıf-ı ihtiyata naklolunmak üzere mutekaid ve muste'fi biri ve bahri erkan ve ümera ve zabitan ile memurin-ı sıhhiyenin ve mensubin-i saire-i askeriyenin dahili ve harici mesail-i siyasiye hakkında mutaleatı veya hükümet-i askeriye aleyhinde menafi-i inzibat ve itaat-ı tenkidatı mutezemmin gönderdikleri evrak ve makalatın derc ü neşri katiyen memnudur. Gazetelere bu gibi makalat gönderen zabitanın isim ve hüviyetini ketmeden gazetenin müdür-i mesulu bir haftadan bir aya kadar hapis ve 5 altından 25 altına kadar ceza-ı nakdiye mahkum edilir.

26 Rebiülevvel 1330/3 Mart 1328 [16 March 1912]

(Source: *Düstur tertip* II, cilt 4, No. 132, pp. 365–366, “Matbuat Kanunu'nun ikinci madde-i muadelesi”)

[...] 11 Recep sene 1327 ve 16 Temmuz sene 1325 (29 Temmuz 1909)

Appendix: Quantifying Censorship

Measuring the levels of censorship in Ottoman dailies is not an easy task, especially if it has to be done over an extended period of time. This is mainly due to time constraints: with on average four pages per issue, for every month this would translate into over 120 pages, bringing up the yearly total to over 1,200 for a single newspaper. For the chapter on controlling the press, an analysis of over four years, spanning from November 1918 until June 1923, is shown for three separate newspapers. In the worst case, this would require almost 5,000 pages per newspaper, or around 15,000 pages in total to be examined. Obviously, this task would not be possible to complete within the time allotted for this research.

Therefore, a different methodology was designed for this specific purpose, which, despite its shortcomings, should still result in reasonably accurate figures. First of all, in order to cut back on the huge amount of pages, the survey was kept limited to front pages. This decision was made based on the fact that the front page contained the most important news and editorials, i.e. direct commentaries of the journalists on recent events. Of course, censorship was not limited to the front page. However, subsequent pages usually contained serialized stories, advertisements, *fait-divers*, encyclopaedic articles, letters from readers, announcements, etc. In short, material that was less prone to political censorship.

Secondly, the survey was limited to visible signs of censorship. These are white spaces in the columns where there should have been text, but where the type obviously had been removed. In the period under scrutiny, preventive censorship was performed shortly before it was time to run the print, which meant that soon after passing through censorship, the clichés had to go to the printer. There probably would have been no time to edit the articles and have them checked again (if that was even possible), lest the daily lose its edge to the competition due to publishing too late. Perhaps some publishers even enjoyed having the visible gaps as a sign of silent protest, as battle scars of their relentless battle against the censors – for, after all, these white spaces themselves were a message: “here is something that you are not allowed to read”.

In other words, subtler forms of censorship, most importantly self-censorship or threats of violence, caused by falling in line with the dictates of the censor, are not captured by the survey. That task would require a separate effort, whereby the reader, in order to be able to detect the slight variations in tone and content, should first become familiar with the writing style and political views of every contributor to the daily before, during and after the period under survey. And this for several publications. Needless to say, this was not feasible within the time allotted for this work.

This does not mean, however, that the methodology used in this survey has no merit. On the contrary. Throughout 1918 until 1923, the white gaps were almost a constant presence on the front page of the surveyed dailies. Even if subtler forms of (self-) censorship took place, publishers (some more stubbornly than others) continued to either defy the system or try to test its limit. Then, it also seems plausible that those publishers who were constantly having parts of their texts removed, despite having the experience to know what would or would not pass the filter, were also less likely to curb their enthusiasm due to subtler forms of censorship. In other words, although the absence of white gaps in a text is not a guarantee for the absence of self-censorship, their existence almost certainly is.

White gaps also have the advantage of being objectively detectable. For example, one could argue that, in a certain article, a columnist left out something or expressed his ideas in a veiled way. However, this is far more difficult to prove than a missing chunk of text. Another advantage is that white gaps can be conveniently counted and compared. Again, there is no room left for interpretation. This is not to say that textual interpretation in order to find hidden types of censorship is an inferior method. Rather, both methods have their own advantages. And in the case of this study, the advantage is that it feasibly allows for the sketching of an image of the censorship situation over a relatively long period and over various publications and also for comparisons.

In the visual appraisal of the amount of censorship, a weighted system was used, that considers both frequency and the volume of the censoring done. An encoding scheme was used, whereby every page received a score, depending on the number of Small (S), Medium (M) or Large (L) occurrences of white gaps. Where one to five lines were removed, this was marked as one Small point. Over five lines to half a column of removed text was marked as Medium, and anything over half a column (including removal of whole articles or suspension of issues due to censorship) received a Large point. Furthermore, every two Small points were converted to a Medium point and every two Medium points were converted to a Large point. In the end, a tally of these points was created. In practice, this means that, for example, if a page scored (1S/0M/2L), this originally could have either been (1S/0M/2L), or (1S/2M/1L), or (3S/1M/1L) or any other permutation.

This matters because of the weighted system which allows the triple scoring system of (S/M/L) to be translated into one figure. Small points are multiplied by 1, Medium points are multiplied by 2 and Large points are multiplied by 4, where after the sum of these results in the final censorship score (C) for that certain page. For example, (1S/1M/1L) would result in (C=7) because $(1S * 1 + 1M * 2 + 1L * 4)$ equals 7. Another example, (1S/0M/3L) would result in (C=49). Therefore, the weighted scoring system would result in high values for (C) both if there were many occurrences of smaller gaps, or the removal of one large chunk.

Why should smaller chunks get a lower score? Could the removal of one key sentence not be more destructive to the message than the removal of two paragraphs? It certainly could. For example, in theory, the removal of a single line could have a more significant impact on the dissemination of news, than the complete removal of an article. However, on the one hand, as the removed bits of text are not available, there is no way to examine this and on the other, this would lead straight into textual analysis which is not feasible for the number of pages that were surveyed. Therefore, a higher value for (C) does not necessarily mean that a more important bit of information was removed, but that the likelihood of the removal of important information is higher.

Using this scheme, the front pages of three different Istanbul-based political dailies were analysed. The selected dailies are *Vakit*, *İkdam* and *Peyam-ı Sabah*. They were picked because they represented a large political spectrum, as is extensively discussed in the chapter "Censoring the Press". For the period between November 1918 and June 1923, a combined total of 3,529 front pages were examined. There was no sampling done, and every available issue was encoded with the S/M/L system.

The resulting figures were first tallied per month of the common calendar. These monthly tallies of (S/M/L) and their resulting (C) were further normalized to adjust for sample rates. If for example 20 issues were available for a certain newspaper in one month due to missing copies, and if all of these issues were censored as (1S/oM/oL), the result would be (C=20). However, if 30 issues were available in a different month, and again 20 issues were each censored (1S/oM/oL) and the other 10 issues showed no sign of censorship, the result would again be (C=20). However, the month where only 20 issues were available of the newspaper, 100% of the samples were censored, whereas in the latter case only 66% were censored. In order to prevent this, a normalization was applied to every monthly (C), where it was divided by the available number of issues (Of) and then multiplied by 30 (the average month), resulting in a Corrected (C), or (Cc). The resulting data is presented in the table below.

Mar-22	2	3	5	19	30	63.3					2	12	7	39	31	125.8
Apr-22	1	7	6	24	30	80.0					1	12	3	31	30	103.3
May-22	5	4	7	35	25	140.0					11	15	2	76	29	262.1
Jun-22	4	7	8	38	30	126.7					8	9	6	56	30	186.7
Jul-22	2	9	6	32	30	106.7					4	13	4	46	30	153.3
Aug-22	4	5	2	28	27	103.7	0	2	2	6	14	42.9	4	37	27	137.0
Sep-22	2	2	3	15	30	50.0	1	2	2	10	24	41.7	1	30	30	100.0
Oct-22	7	6	8	48	30	160.0	1	1	1	7	12	58.3	9	61	31	196.8
Nov-22	2	3	1	15	10	150.0					2	5	7	25	29	86.2
Dec-22											0	1	4	6	30	20.0
Jan-23											0	1	1	3	30	10.0
Feb-23											0	0	1	1	28	3.6
Mar-23											2	0	0	8	30	26.7
Apr-23											0	0	0	0	24	0.0
May-23											0	0	0	0	28	0.0
Jun-23											0	1	2	4	30	13.3

Appendix: Pricing

The chapter on financing the press contains several charts that contain information about the prices of Turkish language dailies in Istanbul between 1861 and 1923. These charts are based on data acquired by examining various publications from the digitized newspaper, mostly from collections obtained at the Turkish National Library and the online Periodicals of the Hakkı Tarık Us Collection.

The survey covers the period between the creation of the Turkish language Ottoman private press (1861) and the end of the use of the Arabic alphabet for written Turkish in the Republic through the alphabet reform (1928). Although this range lies beyond the scope of the period that is covered by the book, these dates were chosen in order to be able to contextualize the findings for the period which is the focus of the book. At the same time, the years between 1908 and 1923 are examined in more detail than those before or after these years. During the survey, one random sample per year of the common calendar was taken from publications before 1908 and after 1923. For the period between 1908 and 1923, the sample rate was increased to four samples for every year of the common calendar, i.e. one per quarter. This was done to increase the accuracy for the period that is the actual focus of this book.

Sampling was limited to Turkish language dailies which appeared in Istanbul. By “dailies” are meant here publications appearing more than once a week, or in other words, had a publishing frequency of more than twice per week. This frequency could range from three days per week to seven days per week. Four variables were recorded per sample. This data can be found at the end of this appendix.

The recorded data are price (pr), number of pages (p), number of columns per page (c) and the amount of advertisement, expressed in columns (a).¹ With these numbers, it is possible to derive two additional meaningful metrics. These are size (s), expressed in total number of columns and price per column of a newspaper (ppc).

For the price (pr), the survey only considers the retail price for Istanbul (usually expressed as “Dersaadet’te fiyatı”), while the prices for the provinces (*taşra*) and abroad were discarded, as these were in function of the price for Istanbul, meaning that an increase in Istanbul’s prices resulted in an increase in *taşra* and foreign prices. The price-data is recorded in *para*-units and where *kuruş*-units were used, these

¹ Advertising prices were initially recorded as a fifth variable. However, shortly after the Constitutional Revolution in 1908, mastheads stopped showing the price for advertisements, most likely due to increased competition in the market and the increasing importance of advertising revenue. Consequently, this data was discarded.

were converted to *para* at 40 *para* to 1 *kuruş*. Therefore, the data in the tables may be given in a different unit than the price that was actually printed on the newspapers.

The number of pages (p) were recorded by counting the pages. A single sheet of paper, having two sides, was recorded as two pages. A single sheet folded in half was recorded as four pages, etc. Similarly, the number of columns per page (c) was obtained by simply counting columns. The amount of advertisement in a newspaper, expressed in number of columns (a), was recorded with increments of half columns. With some samples, it was not possible to determine the total number of pages or amount of advertisement. In these instances, the data was left blank.

The chart displaying the yearly overview of daily newspaper prices in Istanbul between 1861 and 1923 (Figure 17) is built on the price (pr) values. This chart shows the average annual price and, where applicable, the minimum and maximum price per year. To achieve this, first mean prices per year ($pr\bar{x}$) were calculated for every available year. For the 1908–1923 period, where four samples per year were taken, the quarterly means were used to calculate the annual mean. Minimum and maximum prices were determined by the bottom and ceiling prices.

For example, for the year 1876, four dailies were available for sampling: *Basiret* at 30 *para*, *Ceride-i Vukuat* at 10 *para*, *Vakit* at 20 *para* and *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis* at 20 *para*. As a result, for the year 1876 the mean annual price ($pr\bar{x}$) is 20 *para*, the minimum price is 10 *para* and the maximum price is 30 *para*.

Because over time newspaper sizes also changed, it was considered useful to look at real prices. The real price of a newspaper is here considered the volume of content that one would receive for one's money. To measure this, the price per column was calculated (ppc), based on the size (s) and price (pr) of the newspapers. The size (s) of the newspapers was determined as the product of the number of columns (c) and the number of pages (p), which gives the total number of columns in a newspaper. Means for price ($p\bar{x}$) and number of columns per page ($c\bar{x}$) were first calculated for each year. These were then multiplied to obtain the mean size ($s\bar{x}$). Now the mean annual price in *para* per column ($ppc\bar{x}$) can be calculated as $pr\bar{x}/s\bar{x}$.²

2 Initially a different formula was considered ($pr\bar{x}/((p\bar{x}*c\bar{x})-a\bar{x})$), which subtracted the amount of columns dedicated to advertising (a) from the total number of columns ($p*c$). The rationale for this was that advertising space does not equal real content. However, because it is not known what the attitude of the Ottoman readership was towards advertisements and whether they did indeed consider advertisements as redundant as we do today or rather as an added value, the current formula was chosen.

For example, for the year 1889, four samples were available: *Saadet* (5 columns, 4 pages), *Müruvvet* (3 columns, 4 pages), *Tarık* (6 columns, 4 pages), *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (5 columns, 8 pages). Therefore, for 1889, the mean number of columns (\bar{c}_x) was $((5+3+6+5)/4)$ or 4.75 columns, the annual average number of pages (\bar{p}_x) was $((4+4+4+8)/4)$ or 5 pages. As a result, the average size (\bar{s}_x) was (4.75 columns * 5 pages) or 23.75 columns. Finally, the mean annual price (\bar{p}_x) for that year (32.5 *para*) was divided by the number of columns (32.5/23.75) thus resulting in a rounded 1.4 *para* per column (\bar{p}_{pcx}) in 1889.

In the chart comparing the nominal price of newspapers (\bar{p}_x) to the real price of newspapers (\bar{p}_{pcx}) and the prices in the market (Figure 19), the market prices are based on Eldem's figures, which are based on *Düyun-ı Umumiye* (Public Debt Administration) indexes.³ Both the real quarterly prices and the market prices were normalized to start in the third quarter of 1914 at a value of 10, the price of dailies at that point. This was done in order to make comparisons easier. By doing this, the behaviour of nominal and real prices can be seen in relation to market prices. The normalized market-prices reflect what newspaper prices should have been, in order to adjust to the war-time inflation. On the other hand, the normalized real prices, show that, despite seemingly inflexible pricing policy, publishers were adjusting real prices by offering less content for the same price.

The final chart (Figure 21) compares the mean size of newspapers (\bar{s}_x) to the mean amount of columns dedicated to advertising (\bar{a}_x).

The collected data has some shortcomings. First of all, there are several years for which no samples could be obtained at all. Secondly, a more accurate picture could have been painted with a higher sampling rate. Unfortunately, without access to more complete collections, there is no way of improving the number of samples. Finally, and connected with this last point, there is a risk of survivorship bias in the data. It could be that there were many publications which could have severely altered the outcome of the research, but that these publications were so unpopular that nobody bothered to collect them in archives. These are all issues that can hopefully be addressed by future researchers who will have access to much larger collections than are currently available.

3 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi*, 49.

Price Data

1861

TlA #26 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5*RCiH* #112 p: 2 c: 2 a: 0,0

1862

TlA #199 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5*TiE* #36 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,0*RCiH* #524 p: 4 c: 2 a: 2,0

1863

TlA #348 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 1,5*TiE* #153 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5*RCiH* #676 p: 4 c: 2 a: 2,0

1864

TlA #497 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 1,5*TiE* #205 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,0*RCiH* #827 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5

1865

TlA #646 pr: 40 p: 4*TiE* #301 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5*RCiH* #150 pr: 60 p: 4 c: 3 a: 3,0

1866

TiE #431 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5*RCiH* #460 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 3 a: 1,5

1867

TiE #557 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5*RCiH* #753 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 3 a: 0,5

1868

Terakki #25 pr: 20 p: 8 c: 2 a: 1,0*TiE* #864 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,0*İstanbul* #362 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 2 a: 1,0

1869

Terakki #116 pr: 20 p: 8 c: 2 a: 2,0*Mümeyyiz* #31 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,0

1870

Asır #33 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,0*Mümeyyiz* #167 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5*Memalik-i Mahruse* #46 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,0*RCiH* #1386 pr: 40

1871

Basiret #281 pr: 30 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,0*Hakayık ül-Vekayi* #207 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 3 a: 2,5*RCiH* #1583 pr: 40

1872

Basiret #596 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 3 a: 2,5*Bedir* #1 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 3 a: 1,5*Hakayık ül-Vekayi* #584 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 3 a: 3,0*RCiH* #1859 pr: 20

1873

Basiret #908 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 3 a: 2,5*Sıraç* #14 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 3 a: 3,0*Hakayık ül-Vekayi* #1006 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 3 a: 1,5

1874

Basiret #1221 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 4 a: 4,0*Hülasat ül-Efkar* #78 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 2 a: 0,5

1875

Basiret #1612 pr: 30 p: 4 c: 5 a: 6,0*Vakit* #53 pr: 20 p: 2 c: 4 a: 1,0

1876

Basiret #1748 pr: 30 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*Ceride-i Vukuat* #8 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 3 a: 1,5*Vakit* #301 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 4 a: 2,0*RCiH* #3157 pr: 20

1877

Sabah #303 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 3 a: 1,0*Vakit* #595 pr: 30 p: 2 c: 4 a: 1,5

1878

Vakit #900 pr: 50 p: 4 c: 4 a: 2,0*TiH* #22 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 0,0

1879

Vakit #1226 pr: 80 p: 4 c: 4 a: 3,0*TiH* #302 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 2,5

1880

Vakit #1532 pr: 30 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,0*TiH* #650 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 2,5

1881

Vakit #1949 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 4 a: 2,0*TiH* #951 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,0

1882

Vakit #2225 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 4 a: 4,0*TiH* #1254 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5

1883

Vakit #2509 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 4 a: 2,5*TiH* #1559 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 6 a: 6,0

1884

Tarik #88 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 3,0*RCiH* #5769 pr: 40*TiH* #1839 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 7 a: 4,0

1885

Saadet #39 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*Tarik* #308 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 2,0*TiH* #2130 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 7 a: 5,5

1886

Saadet #375 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*Tarik* #733 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*TiH* #2427 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 7 a: 5,5

1887

Saadet #702 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*Tarik* #1051 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 3,5*TiH* #2755 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 7 a: 7,0

1888

Saadet #1053 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*Mürüvvet* #52 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 3 a: 1,0*Tarik* #1439 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,0*TiH* #3071 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 5 a: 5,0

1889

Saadet #1351 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*Mürüvvet* #236 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 3 a: 3,5*Tarik* #1811 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,0*TiH* #3304 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 5 a: 5,0

1890

Zühür #63 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,0*Mürüvvet* #484 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 5 a: 5,0*TiH* #3645 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 5 a: 5,0

1891

Mürüvvet #130 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 3,5*TiH* #3872 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 5 a: 5,0

1892

Ceride #161 pr: 20 p: 8 c: 3 a: 4,5*TiH* #4179 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 5 a: 5,5

1893

TiH #4483 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 5 a: 5,5

1894

Zaman #129 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 0,5*TiH* #4787 pr: 40 p: 8 c: 5 a: 5,0

1895

Zaman #140 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 5 a: 0,5

1896

İkdam #4973 pr: 10*Sabah* #6666 pr: 10

1897

Malumat #10 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0

1908/3

İttihat ve Terakki #17 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 5 a: 1,0

1898

Malumat #401 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0*Tanin* #14 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 0,0*Servet* #6 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0*İkdam* #5093 pr: 10*Sabah* #6803 pr: 10

1899

Malumat #595 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0

1908/4

Volkan #7 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 3 a: 1,0*Servet* #420 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0*Zaman* #2 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,5

1900

Malumat #1183 pr: 20 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0*İttihat ve Terakki* #84 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 5 a: 1,0*Servet* #575 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0*Tanin* #92 pr: 10 p: 8 c: 6 a: 1,5*İkdam* #5138 pr: 10*Sabah* #6874 pr: 10

1901

Malumat #1408 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0

1909/1

Volkan #48 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 3 a: 0,0

1902

Zaman #57 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 3,0*Yeni Gazete* #142 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 0,5

1903

Servet #1959 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 5 a: 0,5*Tanin* #227 pr: 10 c: 6 a: 1,0*İkdam* #5251 pr: 10*Sabah* #6936 pr: 10

1904

Servet #1993 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,0

1909/2

Volkan #109 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 3 a: 0,5

1905

Zaman #166 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 5 a: 4,5*Yeni Gazete* #249 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6

a: 6,0

1906

Tanin #295 pr: 10 c: 6 a: 2,5*YTiE* #11 pr: 20 p: 8 c: 3 a: 0,5

1907

İkdam #5362 pr: 10*Sabah* #7012 pr: 10

1908/1

TiH #9612 pr: 10 c: 6

1909/3

Yeni Gazete #346 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,0*İkdam* #4897 pr: 10*Tanin* #325 pr: 10 c: 6 a: 5,0*Sabah* #6558 pr: 10*YTiE* #77 pr: 20 p: 8 c: 3 a: 2,5

1908/2

İkdam #5382 pr: 10*TiH* #9748 pr: 10 c: 6*Sabah* #7150 pr: 10

1909/4*Yeni Gazete* #475 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 5,0*Tanin* #398 pr: 10 c: 6 a: 3,5*YTiE* #137 pr: 20 p: 10 c: 3 a: 2,5*İkdam* #5461 pr: 10*Sabah* #7240 pr: 10**1910/1***Yeni Gazete* #533 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,0*Tanin* #491 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 5,0*YTiE* #224 pr: 20 p: 8 c: 3 a: 0,5*İkdam* #5541 pr: 10*Sabah* #7317 pr: 10**1910/2***Yeni Gazete* #589 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,0*Tanin* #581 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 2,5*YTiE* #301 pr: 20 p: 8 c: 3 a: 2,0*İkdam* #20 pr: 10*Sabah* #7395 pr: 10**1910/3***Yeni Gazete* #673 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 2,5*Tanin* #687 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5*YTiE* #351 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,5*İkdam* #182 pr: 10*Sabah* #7500 pr: 10**1910/4***Yeni Gazete* #778 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5*Tanin* #795 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 9,0*YTiE* #430 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,5*İkdam* #249 pr: 10*Sabah* #7610 pr: 10**1911/1***Tanin* #894 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5*YTiE* #529 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 2,5*İkdam* #344 pr: 10**1911/2***Tanin* #968 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 8,5*YTiE* #553 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,0*İkdam* #405 pr: 10**1911/3***Tanin* #1064 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 8,5*İkdam* #500 pr: 10*Alemdar* #93 pr: 10**1911/4***Yeni Ses* #7 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,5*Yeni Avrupa* #2 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,5*Tanin* #1176 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 5,0*İkdam* #605 pr: 10*Alemdar* #191 pr: 10**1912/1***Vatan* #112 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 2,0*Tanin* #1267 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 9,5*İkdam* #686 pr: 10**1912/2***Vatan* #119 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 2,0*Hak* #68 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5*Tanin* #1344 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 11,5*İkdam* #69 pr: 10**1912/3***Tanin* #1401 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 10,5*İkdam* #144 pr: 10*Alemdar* #121 pr: 10**1912/4***Tanin* #1471 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 6,0*YTiE* #566 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 0,0*İkdam* #5654 pr: 10*Alemdar* #156 pr: 10

1913/1

Yeni Yol #18 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 0,0
Tanin #1533 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 2,5
YTiE #667 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 0,0
İkdam #5722 pr: 10
Alemdar #280 pr: 10

1913/2

Tanin #1603 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 5,0
YTiE #726 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 2,5
İkdam #5799 pr: 10
Alemdar #340 pr: 10

1913/3

Tanin #1707 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 6,5
YTiE #867 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 6,0
İkdam #5907 pr: 10

1913/4

Peyam #3 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 6 a: 2,5
Tanin #1775 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 9,5
YTiE #951 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 13,0
İkdam #6014 pr: 10

1914/1

Tanin #1820 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 7,0
YTiE #1009 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 12,0
İkdam #6085 pr: 10

1914/2

Peyam #178 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,0
Tanin #1881 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 10,5
YTiE #1080 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 12,0
İkdam #6166 pr: 10

1914/3

Tanin #2006 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 12,0
YTiE #1138 pr: 10 p: 6 c: 6 a: 10,0
İkdam #6280 pr: 10
Sabah #8965 pr: 10

1914/4

Tanin #2133 pr: 10
YTiE #1270 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,0
İkdam #6407 pr: 10
Sabah #9050 pr: 10

1915/1

Tanin #2204 pr: 10
YTiE #1360 pr: 10 p: 4 c: 4 a: 0,0
İkdam #6446 pr: 10
Sabah #9101 pr: 10

1915/2

Tanin #2301 pr: 10
YTiE #1440 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,0
İkdam #6526 pr: 10
Sabah #9185 pr: 10

1915/3

Tanin #2358 pr: 10
YTiE #1505 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5
İkdam #6630 pr: 10
Sabah #9306 pr: 10

1915/4

Tanin #2459 pr: 10
YTiE #1629 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 4 a: 0,5
İkdam #6745 pr: 10
Sabah #9411 pr: 10

1916/1

Tanin #2542 pr: 10
YTiE #1686 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5
İkdam #6799 pr: 10
Sabah #9458 pr: 10

1916/2

Tanin #2630 pr: 10
YTiE #1772 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,0
Sabah #9577 pr: 10

1916/3

Tanin #2750 pr: 10
YTiE #1823 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
Sabah #9653 pr: 10

1916/4

Tanin #2849 pr: 10
YTiE #1950 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5
İkdam #7097 pr: 10
Sabah #9720 pr: 10

1917/1

Tanin #2929 pr: 10
YTiE #2016 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
İkdam #7168 pr: 10
Sabah #9755 pr: 10

1917/2

Tanin #2997 pr: 10
YTiE #2103 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,0
İkdam #7247 pr: 10
Sabah #9881 pr: 10

1917/3

Tanin #3133 pr: 10
YTiE #2188 pr: 10 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
İkdam #7327 pr: 10
Sabah #9933 pr: 10

1917/4

Vakit #2 pr: 20 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,5
Tanin #3225 pr: 20
YTiE #2280 pr: 20 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
İkdam #7422 pr: 20
Sabah #1022 pr: 20

1918/1

Vakit #115 pr: 20 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,0
Tanin #3274 pr: 20
YTiE #2395 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5

İkdam #7528 pr: 20

Sabah #10165 pr: 20

1918/2

Zaman #4 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 3 a: 0,5
Vakit #245 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,0
YTiE #2440 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,5
İkdam #7610 pr: 40
Sabah #10246 pr: 40

1918/3

Zaman #122 pr: 40 p: 4 c: 4 a: 1,5
Vakit #297 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,0
Yeni Gazete #1569 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5
YTiE #2521 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5
İkdam #7694 pr: 40
Sabah #10307 pr: 40

1918/4

Serbesti #169 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 0,0/6
a: 0,0
Zaman #189 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
Vakit #392 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,5
Yeni Gazete #1658 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6
a: 0,5
YTiE #2601 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5
İkdam #7833 pr: 40
Sabah #10419 pr: 40

1919/1

Serbesti #239 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 1,5/5 a: 1,5
Zaman #320 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,5
Vakit #470 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 0,5
Yeni Gazete #1715 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
YTiE #2640 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,5
İkdam #7925 pr: 80
Sabah #10764 pr: 80

1919/2

Serbesti #496 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 0,5/5 a: 0,5

Zaman #375 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
Vakit #590 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,0
Yeni Gazete #[1802] pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6
 a: 0,5
YTiE #2748 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
İkdam #7977 pr: 80
Sabah #10566 pr: 80

1919/3

Peyam #242 p: 2 c: 1,0/6 a: 1,0
Zaman #472 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 1,0
Vakit #642 pr: 40 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,0
YTiE #2838 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,0
İkdam #8061 pr: 80
Alemdar #168 pr: 80

1919/4

Peyam #311 p: 4 c: 4,0/6 a: 4,0
Vakit #750 pr: 80 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,5
YTiE #2917 pr: 80 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,0
İkdam #8176 pr: 80
Sabah #304 pr: 80
Alemdar #373 pr: 80

1920/1

Vakit #803 pr: 80 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5
YTiE #2991 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,0
İkdam #8263 pr: 80
Sabah #10871 pr: 80
Alemdar #422 pr: 80

1920/2

Vakit #910 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,0
YTiE #3026 pr: 80 p: 2 c: 6 a: 2,5
İkdam #8327 pr: 100
Sabah #10936 pr: 100
Alemdar #489 pr: 100

1920/3

Vakit #985 pr: 100 p: 2 c: 6 a: 3,0

İkdam #8398 pr: 100
Alemdar #645 pr: 100

1920/4

Vakit #1054 pr: 100 p: 2 c: 7 a: 2,0
İkdam #8498 pr: 100
Alemdar #684 pr: 100

1921/1

Vahdet #16 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 1,0/6 a: 1,0
Vakit #1124 pr: 100 p: 2 c: 7 a: 3,0
İkdam #8562 pr: 100
Sabah #11179 pr: 100
Alemdar #870 pr: 100

1921/2

Vahdet #45 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 2,0/4 a: 2,0
Vakit #1225 pr: 100 p: 2 c: 7 a: 2,5
YTiE #3029 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5
İkdam #8643 pr: 100
Sabah #11267 pr: 100
Alemdar #22 pr: 100

1921/3

Vakit #[1300] pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 4,0
YTiE #3084 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,0
İkdam #8734 pr: 100
Sabah #11393 pr: 100
Alemdar #7 pr: 100

1921/4

Yeni Şark #4 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,5
Vakit #1278 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 4,0
YTiE #3159 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,0
İkdam #8896 pr: 100
Sabah #11476 pr: 100

1922/1

Yeni Şark #151 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 2,0
Vakit #1456 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 6,0

YTiE #3285 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,0
İkdam #8916 pr: 100

1922/2

Yeni Şark #231 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 2,5
Vakit #1590 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 6,0
YTiE #3361 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 5,0
İkdam #9010 pr: 100

1922/3

Yeni Şark #326 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 4,5
Vakit #1661 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 5,0
YTiE #3436 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 5,5
İkdam #9108 pr: 100
Sabah #11781 pr: 100

1922/4

Yeni Şark #388 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,5
Vakit #1707 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 7,0
YTiE #3513 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 5,5
İkdam #9185 pr: 100
Sabah #11805 pr: 100

1923/1

Yeni Şark #480 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 3,0
Vakit #1807 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 5,0
YTiE #3627 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 5,0
İkdam #9297 pr: 100

1923/2

Vakit #1930 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 4,0

YTiE #3713 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 6,0

1923/3

Vakit #2018 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 7 a: 5,0
YTiE #3774 pr: 100 p: 4 c: 6 a: 6,0

1923/4

Vakit #2083 pr: 120 p: 4 c: 7 a: 7,0
YTiE #3888 pr: 120 p: 4 c: 6 a: 6,0

1924

Yeni Alem #5 pr: 120 p: 4 c: 2,0/7 a: 2,0
Toksöz #88 pr: 120 p: 4 c: 6 a: 2,0
Vakit #2202 pr: 120 p: 4 c: 7 a: 5,0
YTiE #4013 pr: 120 p: 6 c: 6 a: 9,0

1925

Vakit #2631 pr: 120 p: 6 c: 6 a: 14,0
YTiE #4346 pr: 120 p: 4 c: 6 a: 7,0

1926

Vakit #2947 pr: 120 p: 8 c: 7 a: 16,0

1927

Vakit #3441 pr: 200 p: 4 c: 7 a: 10,0

1928

Vakit #3753 pr: 200 p: 8 c: 7 a: 15,0

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İtidal (1325R [1909])
İtila ([1302H] [1887])
İttifak (1326H/1324R/1908)
İttihad (1326H/1324R [1908]–1327H/1324R
 [1909])
İttihad ve Terakki (1326H/1324R/1908)
İttihad-ı Anasır (1328H/1326R/1910)
İttihad-ı İslam (1326H/1324R/1908)
İzdivaç (1334R/1918)
İzhar-ı Ramazan (1306H/1305R [1889])

İzmir (1313H [1896])
İzmir (1294H [1877])
İzmir İdman Mecmuası ([1340R] [1924])

J

Jale (1325R [1909])
Jandarma Mecmuası (1341R [1925])
Jin (1334R [1918])

K

Kadın (1324R [1908])
Kadın (1327R [1911])
Kadınlar Alemi ([1331H/1330R] [1914])
Kadınlar Dünyası (1329R [1913])
Kadınlar Saltanatı (1336R [1920])
Kadınlık (1331H/1330R [1914])
Kahkaha (1291R [1875])
Kahkaha (1328R/1922)
Kainat (1325R/1327H [1909])
Kalem (1324R/1908–1327R/1911)
Kanat (1326R [1910])
Kanun-ı Esasi (1314H/1896)
Kaplan (1335R [1919])
Kara Sinan (1292H/1291R [1875])
Kara Sinan (1329H/1327R [1911])
Karagöz (1326H/1324R/1908)
Kardeş Sesi (1325R [1910])
Karikatür (1329R [1914])
Kartal (1325R [1909])
Kehkeşan (1325R [1909])
Kelebek ([1339]R [1923])
Kelime-i Tayyibe (1330H/1328R [1912])
Kemalat (1331H/1329R [1914])
Kevkeb ül-İlim (1302H [1889])
Kevkeb-i Osmani (1315H/1314R [1889])
Kurum Mecmuası (1334R/1918)
Kızılmak (1331H/1329R [1913])
Kıbar (1328H/1326R [1910])
Köy (1926)

Köy Hocası (1337H/1334R [1918])
Köylü ([1329]H/1327R [1911])
Kukuruk (1324R [1908])
Kurtuluş Yolu (1926)
Küçük Mecmua (1338R [1922])
Kürsi-i Milel (1328H/1326R [1910])

L

Lala (1328H/1326R [1910])
Lale (1921)
Latife (1290H/1874)
Lema (1332H/1329R [1913])
Letaif-i Asar (1292H/1291R [1876])
Leylak (1330R [1914])
Liman (1927)

M

Maarif (1309H [1895])
Maarif Vekaleti Mecmuası (1341R [1925])
Maarif-i Umumiye Mecmuası (1339R [1923])
Maç (1926)
Mahfil (1338H [1920])
Malum (1328H/1326R [1910])
Malumat (1315H/1313R/1897)
Malumat (1326H/1324R/1918)
Malumat-ı Mütenevviya (1309H/1307R [1893])
Manisa Yeni Yurt (1926)
Manzara (1303R [1887])
Marifet (1315H/1313R [1898])
Matbaacılık ve Kitapçılık (1330R [1914])
Mebahis (1340R/1924)
Mecmua-ı Asar (1299H [1883])
Mecmua-ı Ebüzziya (1298H [1882])
Mecmua-ı Fünun (1279H [1866])
Mecmua-ı Fünun-ı Baytariye (1324R [1908])
Mecmua-ı İbretnüma (1279H [1861])

- Mecmua-ı Kemal* (1316R [1901])
Mecmua-ı Maarif (1293H/[1292]R [1874])
Mecmua-ı Muallim (1305H/1303R [1887])
Mecmua-ı Nevresdigan (1298R [1882])
Mecmua-ı Ruhi (1337R [1921])
Meddah (1292H [1874])
Medrese İtikatları (1331H/1329R [1913])
Medrese-i Fünun (1300H [1883])
Medrese-i Hukuk (1298H/1296R [1881])
Mehasin ([1326H/1324R] [1908])
Mekarim ül-Ahlak (1326H/1324R [1908])
Mektep Müzesi (1329R [1913])
Mektepli (1331H/1329R [1913])
Memalik-i Mahruse (1287H/1286R [1869])
Menekşe (1327R [1911])
Meraklı Gazete (1926)
Meslek (1925)
Meşale (1928)
Metin ([1326H/1324R/1908])
Mezra-ı Maarif (1300H [1882])
Mihrab (1339R [1923])
Mihver ül-Ulum (1330H/1327R [1912])
Mikyas-ı Şeriat (1326H/1324R [1908])
Milli Gaye (1338R [1922])
Milli Mecmua (1339R [1923])
Milli Mefkure (1338R [1922])
Milli Talim ve Terbiye Mecmuası (1336R [1916])
Milli Tettebbular Mecmuası (1331R [1915])
Milli Yol (1928)
Milliyet (1344H/1926)
Minber (1337H/1334R/1918)
Miraat (1279H [1862])
Miraat-ı Alem (1326H/1324R [1908])
Mirat-ı Maarif ([1324H/1909])
Mirsad (1308H [1892])
el-Mirsad (1332H/1329R [1913])
Muahede (1326R [1910])
Muallim (1326H/1324R [1908])
Muallim (1328H/1910)
Muallim (1332R [1916])
Muallimler Birliği (1341R [1924])
Muallimler Birliği (1343H/1340R [1925])
Muallimler Mecmuası (1922)
Müddei-i Umumi (1327H/1325R [1909])
Mudhike (1340R [1924])
Muğla'da Akyol (1343H/1341R [1925])
Muhamat (1329H/1327R [1911])
Muharrir (1293H [1876])
Muhit ([1305H/1889])
Muhit (1324R [1908])
Muhit (1928)
Muhit-i Mesai (1326R [1911])
Muktebes (1317H/1315R [1899])
Musavver Akul ([1324]R [1909])
Musavver Cihan (1309H/1307R [1891])
Musavver Devr-i Cedit (1327H/1325R [1909])
Musavver Edep (1327H/1325R [1909])
Musavver Emel (1327H/1325R [1909])
Musavver Erganun (1327R [1911])
Musavver Fen ve Edeb (1317H/1315R [1899])
Musavver Fen ve Edeb (1315R [1899])
Musavver Hukuk-ı Etfal (1329R [1914])
Musavver İslam Salon Mecmuası ([1330]R [1914])
Musavver Küçük Gazete (1325R [1919])
Musavver Mahasin (1330R [1915])
Musavver Malumat-ı Nafiye (1329R [1914])
Musavver Mecmua (1909)
Musavver Meşahir-i Alem (1299H/1297R [1882])
Musavver Meşher (1324R [1908])
Musavver Muhibir (1326H/1324R [1908])
Musavver Muhit (1324-1325R [1908-1909])
Musavver Necat-ı Millet (1324R [1908])
Musavver Nevsal-i Osmani (1325R [1909])

Musavver Papağan

(1326H/1324R/1908-1327H/1325R/1909)

Musavver Seyf ve Kalem (1324R [1908])*Musavver Şahika* (1326R [1910])*Musavver Şebap* (1325R [1910])*Musavver Terakki* (1319H/1317H [1902])*Musavver Türkistan* (1299H/1297R [1882])*Mühendis Mektebi Mecmuası* (1926)*Mülkiye* (1324R [1909])*Münebbih* (1881)*Mütalaa* (1326R [1911])*Mütalaa* (1314H/1312R [1896])*Mütaala Salonu* (1315H/1313R [1898])*Müteferrika* ([1290]H [1874])*Muvaffakiyet-i Milliye* (1341H/1339R [1923])**N***Nabi* (1327H/1325R [1909])*al-Nahla* (1877)*Nahl-ı Emel* (1303R [1886])*Nasih* (1339R [1923])*Nasreddin Hoca* (1324R [1908])*Nasreddin Hoca* (1330R [1914])*Nasreddin Hoca* (1927)*Necm-i Ati* (1928)*Nedim* (1919)*Nekergü ile Pişkar* (1325R [1909])*Neşter* (1325R [1909])*Neva (Yahut Seda-ı Ermeniyani)*

(1328H/1326R [1910])

Nevruz (1300R [1884])*Nevsal-ı Afiyet* (1315R [1899])*Nevsal-ı Asır* (1314H [1896])*Nevsal-ı Askeri* (1316H [1898])*Nevsal-ı Baytari* (1334R [1918])*Nevsal-ı Malumat* (1317H [1899])*Nevsal-ı Osmani* (1308H [1890])*Nevsal-ı Ragip* (1324R [1908])*Nilüfer* ([1304H/1886])*Nokta* (1305H [1888])*Nümune-i Terakki* (1303R [1887])**O/Ö***Ocak* (1333R [1918])*Ordu Neşideleri* (1341R [1925])*Özdilek* (1339R [1923])**P***Pars* (1339H [1921])*Payidar* (1305H [1887])*Perde* (1329H/1327R [1911])*Pervin* (1327H/1325R [1910])*Peyam* (1331H/1329R/1913,

1338H/1335R/1919)

Peyam-ı Sabah

(1338H/1336R/1920-1341H/1338R/1922)

Pınar (1924)*Pinti* (1316H/1898)*Piyano* ([1327H/1325R] [1910])*Polis* (1329H/1327R/1911)*Progrès de Salonique* (1326H/1908)*Pul Mecmuası* ([1313R/1897])**R***Ramazan* (1327H [1909])*Ramazan* (1345H/1927)*Rehber-i Konya* (1331H/1329R [1913])*Rehber-i Saadet* (1324R [1908])*Rehber-i Ticaret* (1914)*Resimli Dünya* (1340R/924)*Resimli Dünya* (1341R/1925)*Resimli Gazete* (1314H/[1312]R [1891])*Resimli Gazete* (1339R [1923])*Resimli Hafta* ([1340R/1924])*Resimli Hikaye* (1927)*Resimli Kitap* (1324R [1908])*Resimli Mecmua* (1341R [1925])*Resimli Mektep Alemleri* (1331H/1329R [1913])*Resimli Yıl* (1341R/1925)*Resimli Yurt* (1340R [1924])*Resmi Gazete* (1931)

Risale-i Hafî (1305H/1303R [1887])
Risale-i Mevkute-i Bahriye (1330R [1914])
Rüyaziyat ([1929])
Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis (1281H
 [1864]–1289H [1872])
Rûbab (1330H/1327R [1912])
Ruj-i Kürt (1331H/1329R [1913])

S/Ş

Saadet (1302R [1885])
Sabah (1293H [1876], 1325H/1323R/1908–
 1337H/1335R/1919, 1341H/1338R/1922)
Safa ([1304R/1888])
Saika (1327H/1324R/1909)
Salon ([1335R/1919])
Sanayi Rehberi ([1341R/1925])
Say (1305H/1303R [1887])
Say ve Emel (1326R [1910])
Sebat (1302R [1886])
Seda-ı Şehba (1325R/1909)
Selamet-i Umumiye (1326R [1910])
Serbest Fikir (1918)
Servet (1316H/1314R/1898)
Servet-i Fünun (1324R [1908])
Sevimli Mecmua (1341H/1925)
Sinama Mihveri (1926)
Sirac (1290H [1873])
Siyah Gül (1927)
Sokak Maarifesi (1338H/1335R [1919])
[Son] Haber (1341H/1329R [1923])
Son Saat (1343H/1341R/1925)
Sosyalist (1326R [1910])
Spor Alemi ([1335R/1919])
Sudi (1336R [1920])
Süs ([1339R/1923])
Şems-i Hakikat (1327H/1325R [1909])

T

Tabiyat (1327R [1911])
Tabiyat Alemi (1925)
Takip ve Tenkit (1330R [1914])

Takvim-i Vakayi (1247H [1831],
 1326H/1324R [1908]–1337H/1335R
 [1919])
Talebe (1327R [1912])
Tan ([1338R/1922])
Tanin (1326H/1324R/1908–
 1337H/1334R/1918,
 1341H/1338R/1922–1342H/1339R/1923)
Tanzimat
 (1329H/1327R/1911–1330H/1327R/1912)
Tarih ve Edebiyat (1338R [1922])
Tarik (1337H/1335R/1919)
Tarla ve Bahçe (1342H/1340R [1924])
Tasavvuf (1329H/1327R [1911])
Tasvir-i Efkâr (1278H [1862])
Tavus (1341R [1925])
Taarif-i Müslimin (1328H/1326R [1910])
Teavun-ı Aklam (1303R [1887])
Tebabet Alemi (1925)
Teceddüd (1334R [1918])
Tecelli (1326R/1911)
Tefrika-ı Haver ([1331]H [1884])
Telsiz (1927)
Tenkit (1326H/1324R [1910])
Terakki (1286H/1285R [1864])
Terakki (1285H/1868)
Terakki (1287H [1870])
Terakki (1303H [1887])
Terbiye ve Oyun (1327R [1911])
Tercüman-ı Hakikat (1311H [1894],
 1325H/1323R/1908–1339H/1327R/
 1921)
Tetebbu (1329H/1327R [1911])
*Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezareti – Halkalı
 Ziraat Mektebi Aliyesi Mecmuası*
 (1335H/1333R [1917])
Tiraje (1325R [1910])
Tiyatro (1290R/1874)
Tiyatro ve Musiki ([1928])
Tok Söz ([1340R/1924])
Tonguç (1327H/1324R [1909])

Tosya'da Dilek (1927)
Tulu (1300R [1884])
Türk Duygusu (1331H/1329R [1913])
Türk Sözü (1330R [1914])
Türk Ticaret-i Hariciye Gazetesi ([1928])
Türk Yavrusu (1329R [1913])
Türk Yurdu ([1327R/1911])
Türkistan (1281R [1865])
Türkiye (1326R [1910])
Türkiye Bilgi Demeti (1923)

U/Ü

Ufk-ı Atı (1327R [1911])
Umman (1326H/1324R/1908)
Umman (1328H/1326R [1910])
Ümmet (1328H/1326R [1910])
Utarit (1284H [1868])
Utarit (1337H/1335R [1919])
el-Üfürük (1324R [1908])
Ümit (1327H/1325R [1919])
Ümran (1305H [1887])

V

Vahdet (1339H/1337R/1921)
Vakit (1292H/1291R/1875)
Vakit
 (1336H/1333R/1918–1341H/1339R/1923)
Vatan (1327R [1911])
Vazife (1329H/1327R/1911)
Verem Mecmuası (1928)
Vergi ve Arazi Mecmuası (1301H [1885])
Volkan (1324R [1908]–1327H/1325R/1909)

Y

Yadigar (1295R [1879])
Yadigar-ı Harp (1332R/1879)
Yaprak (1327R [1911])
Yemen (1289H/1288R [1873])
Yeni Avrupa (1329H/1327R [1911])

Yeni Dünya (1335R [1919])
Yeni Fikir (1327R [1911])
Yeni Fikir (1341R [1925])
Yeni Gazete (1337H/[1336]R/1918)
Yeni Kafkasya (1341H/1339R [1923])
Yeni Kalem (1927)
Yeni Kitap (1927)
Yeni Mektep (1326R [1911])
Yeni Muhit ül-Maarif Gazetesi
 ([1327R/1911])
Yeni Nesil (1327R [1921])
Yeni Sene (1928)
Yeni Ses (1326R [1910])
Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr
 (1327H/1909–1328H/1910)
Yeni Türk (1343H/1341R [1925])
Yeni Türkiye (1332R [1917])
Yeni Vakit (1343R/1925)
Yeni Ziraat Gazetesi (1920)
Yuha ([1326R/1910])
Yurt (1339R [1923])

Z

Zaman ([1326H/1324R/1908])
Zaman (1336H/1334R/1918)
Zeka (1330H/1328R [1912])
Zerrat ([1304H/1888])
Zevra (1286H/1285R [1869])
Zevzek ([1324R/1908])
Zeybek (1334R [1918])
Zıpır (1324R [1908])
Ziraat Gazetesi (1298H/1297R [1881])
Ziraat ve Sanat Tercüme-i Funun Odaları
 (1302H [1885])
Ziya (1328H/[1326]R/1911)
Zuhr Gazetesi (13127H/1919)
Zühur (1307H/[1305]R [1890])
Zühuri (1326H/[1324]R [1908])
Zümrüt Anka (1341H/1339R [1923])

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