

**THE ABOLITION OF THE JANISSARY ARMY
AND ITS REFLECTIONS**

by

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to find, within a descriptive and analytical framework, academically relevant answers to the questions, why and how the main military corps of the Ottoman Empire was destroyed, and what were its effects. Relying mainly on selected archival documents and primary sources, first the historiographic analysis of the term corruption and the transformation of the Janissaries are studied. Analysing briefly the previous reform attempts, the thesis then deals with the planning and the preparatory process of the abolition and the path towards it. Since Mahmud II's attempt at reform was promulgated as the *Eşkinçi* reform, the thesis evaluates the *Eşkinçi* Project. The final rebellion of the Janissaries and subsequently, the course of events during and immediately after the abolition are examined in detail. The abolition of quasi-Janissary groups and the reorganization of loyal units is another theme since the reform movement was not only restricted to the Janissaries. Immediately after the abolition, the complementary reforms were imposed, including "the prohibition of the Bektashi Order", which is covered, as well. Another aspect of this study is a comprehensive analysis of provincial responses to the abolition of the Janissary corps.

Findings in archival documents, and primary sources indicate that the abolition of the Janissary army was the culmination of an extended plan and preparation. It was the first step of a more comprehensive centralization policy, and became a turning point in the history of Ottoman Empire since the government succeeded in substituting a more centralized military force for the decentralized Janissary corps.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma; Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun temel askeri gücü olan Yeniçeri Ocağı'nın niçin ve nasıl kaldırıldığı ve bunun sonuçlarının ne olduğu sorularına, tanımlayıcı ve çözümleyici bir çerçevede, akademik geçerlilik taşıyan yanıtlar bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ağırlıklı olarak seçilmiş Osmanlı arşivi belgelerine ve birincil kaynaklara dayanan çalışmada, öncelikle “Yeniçeriliğin bozulması” kavramı historiyoğrafik açıdan irdelenmekte ve Yeniçerilerde gözlenen değişim incelenmektedir. Daha önceki reform çabalarının kısaca ele alınmasının ardından, tezde Yeniçeriliğin kaldırılmasının planlanma ve hazırlık süreçleri ile izlenen yol konu edilmektedir. II. Mahmud'un reform girişimleri Eşkinci düzenlemesiyle başladığından Eşkinci reformu ayrı bir bölümde tartışılmaktadır. Yeniçerilerin son ayaklanması, Ocağın kaldırılması sırasında ve hemen ardından yaşanan gelişmeler ayrıntılı olarak incelenmektedir. Yeniçeri Ocağı'na bağlı diğer birimlerin ortadan kaldırılması ve yönetime bağlı yeni bir askeri yapılanmaya gidilmesi konusu değerlendirilirken reformun sadece Yeniçerilikle sınırlı kalmamış olduğuna da değinilmektedir. Bu çerçevede tamamlayıcı bir adım olarak tanımlanan, Bektaşî Tarikatı'na yönelik yasaklamalar da ele alınmaktadır. Bu tezin içeriğinde yer alan bir diğer konu ise Yeniçeriliğin kaldırılmasına merkez dışındaki eyaletlerdeki tepkilerin incelenmesidir.

Arşiv belgeleri ve birincil kaynaklardan sağladığımız bulgular, Yeniçeri Ocağının kaldırılmasının geniş bir hazırlığa dayanan kapsamlı bir planın sonucu olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu olayla, Yeniçeriliği, merkezi bir silahlı güç ile ikame etmeyi başaran Osmanlı yönetimi, daha kapsamlı bir merkezileştirme politikasının ilk adımını atmış olduğundan Yeniçeri Ocağının kaldırılması, Osmanlı tarihi için bir dönüm noktası niteliği taşımaktadır.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to study the abolition of Janissaries within a descriptive and analytical framework. I try to find academically relevant answers to the questions; why and how the main military corps of the Ottoman Empire was destroyed, and what were its effects. After a general framework, I ask a series of questions, which required elucidation, have arisen.

The abolition of Janissary corps is represented as a 'turning point' in many works on the late Ottoman history and it will not be an exaggeration to talk about the existence of a broad consensus on this point among researchers. This event is not only important because one of the most influential element, old as the formation of the Empire itself in the traditional Ottoman system was brought to a definite end, but also because this action paved the way for the series of restructuring reforms known as the Tanzimat. Thus, one who considers the effects of the abolition of Janissaries on the following developments may even call it "Tanzimat before the Tanzimat".

Another point of the importance of the destruction of Janissary corps is the width of its consequences. It is not merely a military change; rather it decidedly influenced further economic, social, and administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire. From the perspective of periodization of Ottoman economic policy, the reference time for the shift from restrictive economic policies to a relative free-trade liberalism is accepted as 1826. Executions and exiles following the abolition of Janissaries had substantial impact on Ottoman social structure, as well. As I try to show, since Janissaries had become an integrated element of social life, through engaging commercial activities, marriage and having children long before the

abolition, a part of society was destroyed to some extent. In addition, the ‘cleansing operation’ did not remain restricted to the Janissary corps; instead the *Bektaşî* Order, with whom Janissaries were historically identified, took their share from the rage of the government. Administrative consequences of the abolition of Janissaries are not less decisive; as I discuss in the fifth chapter, the government was aiming to substitute a more centralized military force for the decentralized Janissary corps. One may even argue that it was the first step of a more comprehensive centralization policy, which would mature later during the Tanzimat.

“*Vaka-i Hayriye*” or Auspicious Event, the name given to the abolition of Janissary corps by the authorities and state-centered history writers, is familiar to every secondary school student in Turkey. Hence, at the very beginning of my thesis work, I was afraid of dealing with a subject, which had already been studied in details. However even during my bibliographical survey, I recognized that, not only academic works are restricted in number, but also they lack some important aspects of the topic. Although I should mention at least two fruitful works, namely the ones by Reed and Levy, there are considerable difference with theirs and mine. Reed, who studied the destruction of the Janissaries in his Ph.D. dissertation almost half a century earlier, did not perform an examination in Ottoman archival documents. Levy, in his dissertation fifteen years later, though differs from Reed in this aspect, since his topic, “Military Policies of Mahmud II” is broader, allocates only one-fourth of his study to the abolition of Janissaries. This prevents him from making a detailed analysis of the topic. Both only superficially mention the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* Order and provincial responses. Last, but not the least, Reed nor Levy discuss the term corruption. Instead of seeking the roots of transformation -the term

I prefer in order to express the change in Janissaries- and asking “why and how”, they put the weight on a narration of “what and when”.

The bibliographic infrastructure of this study includes mainly archival documents and primary sources. Even the construction of the framework and the outline of the thesis are designed according to the outcomes of this archival research. I studied the *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, *Cevdet Tasnifi*, and *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler Tasnifi* sections of Prime Ministry Archives. In the section of *Cevdet Tasnifi*, I examined *Cevdet Askeriye*, *Cevdet Dahiliye*, *Cevdet Adliye* and *Cevdet Evkaf*. In that close examination I came across more than five hundred documents out of which I chose approximately one-third.

Beside those archival documents I benefited from selected primary sources; especially Mehmed Esad’s *Üss-i Zafer*, Ahmed Cevdet’s *Tarih-i Cevdet*. The others are Ahmed Cevad’s *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, Ahmed Lutfi’s *Tarih-i Lutfi*, Osman Nuri’s *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*, *Kocasekbanbaşı Risalesi*, *Koçibey Risalesi*, *Kavanin-i Yeniçeriyân*, and *Kitab-i Müstetab*. In addition to those archival documents and primary sources, selected secondary ones are considered as well.

In the first chapter I try to find the relevant answer(s) to the question of “why the Janissaries were abolished”. Since many studies on this theme relate with the idea of “corruption of the Janissaries”, and claim that the Janissaries were abolished since they were corrupted, I first deal with the historiographic analysis of the term corruption. Hence I prefer to use the term “transformation” to show the changes in the structure of the Janissary army. Thus my second concern is to draw a general framework on the transformation of the Janissaries. The last concern of this chapter is previous reform attempts, which are heavily affected the last one.

The second chapter deals with the questions of “when did Mahmud II begin to make definite plans to reform the Janissaries” and “how did he execute it”. In order to answer those questions I try to go back as early as first signs of his reform movement. Thus preparation period before the abolition is closely examined. Since the support of the *ulema* became crucial in the success of reform, another concern is “the participation of the *ulema* into the preparation period”. Hence, since Mahmud II’s attempt at reform was promulgated as the *Eşkinici* reform, then I emphasize on the first drill of the *Eşkinici* corps, based on primary sources and archival documents.

In the third chapter I try to find the answers of the question of “how was his plan turned from the reorganization of the Janissaries to the abolition of it”. Thus the main focus is to analyze the final rebellion of the Janissaries and subsequently, the abolition of it. The abolition of quasi-Janissary groups and the reorganization of loyal units is another theme of this chapter since the reform movement was not only restricted to the Janissaries, immediately after the abolition, the complementary reforms were imposed.

In the fourth chapter I deal with another complementary step following the abolition, namely “the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* Order”. The question of why the *Bektaşî* Order was prohibited finds its clues on the relationship between the Janissaries and *Bektaşîs*. Another theme of this chapter is the persecution of the *Bektaşîs*. Following it, the government concerned with the destruction of *Tekkes* and *Türbes* of the *Bektaşî* Order. I find quite interesting how far goes the scope of socio-religious consequences of the abolition of Janissaries. The chapter is heavily based on archival documents.

The fifth chapter concerns the problem of how the provincial Janissary units and public reactions were brought under control. Thus repercussions throughout the Empire and provincial responses to the abolition of Janissary corps are closely examined, based mainly on archival documents. Another theme of this chapter is to question whether there were any collective opposition in the provinces. Since Bosnia showed the greatest reaction to the abolition, it is separately examined in a case study. The chapter concludes with questioning the efforts of the Janissaries to revive themselves.

2. PRELUDE TO THE ABOLITION OF THE JANISSARY ARMY

*Yıkılıptur bu cihan, sanma ki bizde düzele,
Devleti, çarh-i deni verdi kamu mübtezele,
Şimdi erbab-ı saadette gezen, hep hezele,
İşimiz kaldı heman merhamet-i lemyezel'e*

Sultan Mustafa III

2.1. THE ANALYSIS OF THE TERM CORRUPTION

The study of the abolition of the Janissary army demands a broader analytical framework than a simple interpretation of "corruption brought reform, reform brought abolition". Most of the studies on this theme deal with the reasons of the corruption of the Janissary army¹, but they are not curious about the meaning of the corruption that contains subjectivity in its very origin. The changes in military structure of the Ottoman Empire were closely associated with the changes in social and political structure of it. The acceptance and usage of the term corruption without

¹ For example, Ahmed Cevad uses the title "Yeniçerilerin Vakit Vakit Çıkardıkları İsyanların Esbabı ve Asakir-i Mezkurenin Ne Vakit Bozulmağa Başladığı" in *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, p. 219, Uzunçarşılı uses the title "Yeniçeri Ocak Nizamının Bozulması", in *Kapukulu Ocakları*, I, p. 477, Mustafa Akdağ uses the title "Yeniçeri Ocak Nizamının Bozuluşu", p. 291. Apart from those, there were many others who use the term corruption.

any critical framework hence hinders establishing a close linkage between the changes in other elements of the society.

The term corruption contains a judgment and subjectivity in historical analysis. It also leads to prejudices about the Janissaries and becomes an obstacle in true understanding. As Marc Bloch pointed out "when the passions of the past blend with the prejudices of the present, human reality is reduced to a picture in black and white"². Hence prejudiced history in favour of an individual or a period which for that very reason could not demand universal agreement³. Thus the image of Janissaries as "corrupted, disordered and even anti-order" military units that gradually became a body of "the rabble" acting violently and horrifying the population hinders us from drawing a well-defined picture about the Janissaries.

Although the bias in using the term "corruption" is obvious, the question of why so many, if not all, historians and narrators have described the transformation of the Janissary army and disorganisation of it as corruption still remains unanswered. There are some factors underlying this preference. The first reason is related to the characteristic of history writing of the Ottoman Empire, which stayed always loyal to the central authority, namely the Sultanate. Narrators whose writings constituted the main resource for reading the Ottoman history were not independent from the political power, nor could they care about subjectivity while they recorded the events. Thus narrators who reflected the central authority's point of view

² Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1953), p. 140.

³ Raymond Aron, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, (London, 1961), pp. 9, 277, quoted in Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History*, (Third edition, London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 296.

consciously explained the changes and transformation as corruption. Yet the problem of 'state-centred' approach to history provided by the official documents surrounded the preceding narrators as well as the contemporary historians. On the other hand, due to lack of documents to create 'history from below' -since all the journals and daybooks of the Janissaries were gathered and burned in the stokehole of the Ayasofya bath and thus were destroyed by the order of Mahmud II⁴, any academic discussion is doomed to be based on existing official records and related materials.

Hence the usage of the term corruption gave legality to the Sultans and his officials to make reforms. They mostly asserted that the Janissaries were corrupted, as independent from other units of the government, and they should have made reforms in order to eliminate corruption. Another reason may be the military defeat environment, which not only coincided with the transformation of the Janissary army but also surrounded the historians who narrated the events. In that sense, one may say that the choice of the term corruption in order to define the change and transformation is related rather to the consequences of it and may be seen as a kind of ex-post facto history writing.

Kafadar calls that situation "the purity corruption paradigm" and says "this posits a pure version of Ottoman institutions and practices in a presumed state of original sturdiness versus their later, corrupt versions"⁵. According to that, since the

⁴ BA, Cevdet Askeriye 25937, 26 Safer 1242/28 September 1826.

⁵ Cemal Kafadar, "On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries", **Turkish Studies Association Bulletin**, Vol.XV (1991), p. 274.

institutions are founded at a particular date rather than being constructed through a process, they are corrupted at an accursed moment rather than undergoing transformation. Thus there are various "first corruption" stories about the Janissaries like many other items in the decline and reform literature, but all of them unite in the same fundamental framework: permission to marry, approved entry of the *ecnebi* into the payrolls, entry of the brothers and children of *kuls* so forth⁶.

From the very start it is necessary to recognise the essential fact that the Janissaries as well as other units of society were subject to transformation through the impact of internal forces and that of the external ones. In order to stop territorial losses and to establish the order, the Ottoman Empire was in need of prompt action to improve its armed forces. The internal factors were also leading the authorities to make military reforms⁷.

The structure of Ottoman society had multitudinous entities, such as religious communities (*millets*) and orders (*tarikats*), local guilds and urban and rural parishes. In its zenith period, that was the mid fifteenth century and through most of the sixteenth, the state was able to control these various communities through the means of a centralized bureaucracy, and military organization of *timarlı sipahis* and the Janissary corps. Although the structure of Ottoman society could lead to political fragmentation, mostly a succession of capable and active rulers secured the superiority of the Centre. When dynastic difficulties united with several clusters of

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Avigdor Levy, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century", *Middle Eastern Studies*, XVIII (1982), p. 227.

interrelated factors -economic, demographic, technological, military and so forth, almost during the height of its power, the Ottoman Empire met with serious social dislocations as indicated by Hasan Kafi Bosnevi (Akhisari) (1544-1616) in his *Usulu'l-hikem fi nizami'l-alem* and later, in 1630 by Koçi Bey in his *Risale*⁸. Koçi Bey argued that only the revival of a strong sultanate could stop the decline. Katip Çelebi (1608-1657) and Naima (1655-1716) also proposed to bring into power a dictator, or in their terms 'a man of the sword'. These writers also claimed that military reform had a particular importance to provide the central authority. Thanks to a reformed army the central authority would find a way in coping with centrifugal forces, restabilising law and order and defending empire against its enemies⁹.

The statements of these officials were applied, with some success, by exceptionally strong leaders such as Sultan Murad IV and the Grand Viziers of the Köprülü family. They introduced wide-ranging measures to strengthen central authority. The bureaucracy and the religious hierarchy were tightly reviewed. The financial administration was put in better order. Military units were disciplined and improved. In order to restore order and improve central control, the government took strong measures in the provinces¹⁰.

The aim of all these reform activities was represented as the restoration of the old institutions along with their traditional principles. In fact, to represent reforms as

⁸ Kemal H. Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, V. 3, (1972), p. 243.

⁹ Levy, "Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire", p. 228.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

the resurrection of traditional institutions was a method of the authorities of legitimising their unpopular policies.

Before discussing previous reform attempts until the abolition of the Janissary army it is necessary to outline the basic characteristics of the transformation and related disorganisation among the Janissaries and other units connected to it.

2.2. TRANSFORMATION OF THE JANISSARIES

Ottoman society was divided into two major classes. The first one, named *askeri*, included those to whom the Sultan gave religious and executive power, namely the officers of the court, the army civil servants, and the *ulema*. The second group was the *reaya*, including all Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the empire who did not take part in the first group¹¹. According to Ottoman practices, although there seems to have been drawn a clear-cut distinction between the *askeri* and the *reaya* class, this did not mean that the *askeri* would or should perfectly separate from the sphere of production and exchange. It is known that at the very top, the rulers would, at least symbolically, participate into commercial life by having the produce of the palace garden sold for their food expenses, and in the case of viziers,

¹¹ Halil İnalcık, "The Nature of Traditional Society: Turkey", ed. Robert Ward and Dankwart Rostow, **Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey** (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 44.

such kind of involvement went beyond the symbolic meaning of it¹². Kafadar gives examples to that from the early ages of the Ottoman empire, namely from the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror and Süleyman the Magnificent and says that, "there is no hint of exceptional circumstances in Mehmed the Conqueror's strikingly commerce-minded order to organize a galley "shuttle" between Bursa and Antalya, which names two viziers among other merchants as the beneficiaries"¹³. Also neither of the two grand Viziers of Süleyman, İbrahim and Rüstem Paşas had taken any criticism about their commercial involvements. Hence he claims that in this world of recognised *askeri* entrepreneurialism, the Janissaries were no exception. An early survey of the Ayasofya Foundation, conducted in 1490 shows that some members of the corps had saddle-making shops and were lease-holders of *börek*.¹⁴

It is seen that the penetration of the Janissaries into commercial activities was not a new case. On the other hand, according to the classical sources, the first statements about the disorganisation of the Janissaries were seen later, in the sixteenth century. According to them in the reign of Murad III some Janissaries together with *yayabaşıs*, *solaks* and *acemi oğlans* penetrated into commercial activities. They started to open shops, make business as middlemen and work in farmhand and commercial activities¹⁵.

¹² Cemal Kafadar, "On the Purity and Corruption of the Janissaries", pp. 274-275.

¹³ Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp., 275-276.

¹⁵ Mühimme defteri 55, p., 86, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp., 695-696: The decree says that; Hala bazı yayabaşılar ve solaklar ve yeniçeri taifesi ve acemi oğlanları bey ü şiraya ve ehl-i suka müteallık umura karışıp ve dekakin tutup madrabazlık idüp ve bilcümle

During their commercial activities, they did not care about behaving appropriately either. While they were going to bazaars, ports or ship to buy goods or timber, they were quarrelling and buying goods for less than their officially fixed prices. Although authorities prohibited the Janissaries from trading, due to lack of strict control they continued their engagement in trade.

A decree shows that the penetration of the Janissaries to the commercial activities was not restricted within the bounds of İstanbul. In Sivas, some Janissaries and *bölük* corps compulsorily took the lands from their owners and started to plough. They also got hold of oxen of population by using force in order to carry out their harvests. Because of that reason, the population could not harvest their grains and since the winter came, the harvests perished and they suffered from loss of their products. Some Janissaries who were living in the city centre worked as butchers, sellers of firewood and as such. They sold goods for more than their fixed prices. The authority warned the governor and *Kadı* of Sivas to punish those Janissaries¹⁶.

rençberliğe ve sair ehl-i sanayie mahsus ahvale karışıp iskelelerde ve pazarlarda ve gemilerde meta' ve kereste almağa vardıklarında kavga idüp aldıkları meta' ve keresteler tayin olunan es'ar üzere alınmayup eksüğe alıp kadı ve muhtesib anlara karışmamakla narh-ı cari zabt olunmayup ve bazı odun ve yemiş gemilerine girüp odunu narh-ı cari üzere bey' ettirmeyüp kendüyi himayet idüp diledikleri üzere ziyadece bey' idüp fukaraya külli zulm ve hayf eyledikleri ilam olunmağın... Buyurdum ki vusul buldukta zikr olunan kullarıma bu huhusu iş'ar ve tenbih eylesesin ki rıza-yı şerifim üzere olup fi'ma baad bu makule bey' ve iştiraya karışmayup kendü mühimlerin ve maişetlerinden maada madrabazlık için rençber taifesine karışmakla kesr-i ırz itmeyüp her biri hizmetlerinde yat ve yarakların ve cenk ve cidale lazım olan hususları tahsil etmeğe meşgul ve sa'y üzere olup... (Year, 992/1584)

¹⁶ Unnumbered Mühimme Defteri, 999 Ramazan/June 1591, quoted in Mustafa Akdağ, "Yeniçeri Ocağı Nizamının Bozuluşu", p. 306. The decree says that; ... Eyalet-i Rum'un zuama ve sipah vesair ayarı ve reayadan cem'i gafır sana gelüp nefsi Sivas ve nevahisinde sakin olan dergah-ı

In such a manner, while on one hand the Janissaries were prohibited from commercial activities, on the other hand, the Sultan gave permission to some artisans to penetrate into the Janissary corps. In the circumcision of the prince Mehmed, Murad III wished to reward players and comedians who exhibited their talents. When they requested a post into the Janissary army, their requisition was accepted by the Sultan who ordered their admittance into the Janissary corps as a reward. He did this against the opposition of the Agha of the Janissaries Ferhad Agha¹⁷. Thus during this period it had become practise that the Janissary ranks were infiltrated by civilian elements who were trying to obtain some privileges and immunities conferred on the military. It is obvious that these civilians performed neither worthwhile military service, nor they adapted themselves to new manners. In addition to that, their lack of discipline eventually affected the performance of the professional soldiers. The increase in numbers in return caused the disintegration of the army as a fighting force. In addition, many civilians also became successful in the official inscription of their names to the rolls, so that the inflated muster rolls

muallam yeniçerileri cebren ellerinden alıp kendüler ziraat ettirip ve kendü yerlerin reayaya imeci tarıkıyla cebren öküzlerin alup harmanların taşıyup bu sebep ile reayanın harmanları vaktiyle kalkmayup kışa kalmakla buğday ve arpaları ve sair mahsulleri yağmurdan ihelak olup zuama ve erbabı tımara ve miriye ve evkafa ve reayaya külli noksan müretteb olup ve şehirde sakin olanların kimisi tabbah ve kimisi kassab ve hattab olup şehre gelen zahairi cebren aldıklarından gayrı narhdan ziyade muradları üzere bey idüp ve bazılarının kadimden istimal ve intifa edegeldikleri suların kendülere alıp anlara vermeyüp ve bazı eşkiya yeniçeri ve kapum halkı suretine girüp reayaya envai teaddi ettikleri ecilden....

¹⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapukulu Ocakları I: Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı**, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), p. 483.

became a heavy burden on the treasury¹⁸.

Kafadar, who studied the Janissary-*esnaf* relationships, considers the Janissary corps as a dynamic element, which, "not only degenerating but also giving way to the formation of a social group" became a pushing power¹⁹. Though not openly, he claims that Janissary army would have been a candidate to create an original form of transformation and reformation for the Ottoman Empire. He not only emphasises the infiltration of newly urbanised migrants, who engaged in petty trades or were looking for jobs in the Janissary corps, but also regards the guilds as an instrument of state control in order to conserve the traditional order of society. Within this context he restricts the scope of the relationships between Janissaries and artisans-craftsmen class with only this lower group who emerged in the cities as a result of the breakdown of the traditional order²⁰.

This intrinsic consideration, which takes Janissaries as the leading element of opposition to traditional order is visible through his argument, where he says the main support to Janissaries came from those people, whom he calls "lumpenesnaf", such as porters, boatmen, and grocery peddlers while the guild-*esnaf* were only joining their revolts when they felt their economic interests were jeopardised²¹. Kafadar describes the Janissary-*esnaf* relationships as of a reciprocal character; he

¹⁸ Levy, "Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire", p. 229.

¹⁹ Cemal Kafadar, **Yeniçeri-Esnaf Relations: Solidarity and Conflict**, unpublished M.A. dissertation, (McGill University, 1981), p. 80.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

²¹ Ibid., p. 91.

says Janissaries had been engaging into commercial activities since the end of sixteenth century and he calls this trend as "esnafization" of the Janissaries²².

Historical records include many signs and evidence of smoothing down of the boundaries separating the military class from the rest of the society. It is seen that there was a two-way traffic between the Janissaries and civilian society. While the Janissaries were participating into business life such as commercial activities and harvesting, on the other hand, civilians were aiming at infiltrating through the Janissary army so as to obtain some privileges.

Commercial activities of the Janissaries continued excessively until their destruction. Esad uses a pejorative language to describe their final situation, and thanks to his narrations that represent his prejudices about the Janissaries, at the same time he gives clues about their transformation. He says that the number of the Janissaries increased by about fifty or sixty thousand in İstanbul and the Janissaries interpreted this increase in their number as rectification of them. According to Esad Janissaries were perpetually disturbing the inhabitants of İstanbul. They consisted of greengrocers, porters, cap-makers, boatmen, and swashbucklers who had no aptitude and knowledge of neither arms nor military. Non-Muslim subjects too were suffering from Janissaries' effrontery; they even condescended to beg especially during non-Muslims' holly feasts. The Janissaries were being tattooed on their arms with the insignia of their *ortas* so as to frighten inhabitants by exhibiting their tattoos. Not once in their lifetime they were participating into wars and nor were

²² Ibid., p. 84.

they taking an arm into their hands. In spite of that they were making farming or trade. They were attaching their insignia to the shops of tradesmen and were taking some part of their income by force²³.

The same arguments were repeated in Osman Nuri's "*Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*", with slight differences²⁴. The accounts of mafia-like actions of the Janissaries in chronicles should not be easily interpreted as "state propaganda" and thus should not be easily neglected, since the oft-repeated decrees were also supporting those arguments; they should rather be analysed in a critical framework. It should not be forgotten that the Janissary corps were not constituting a monolithic entity that represented collective social and economic interest. Instead, this was a heterogeneous structure including various units from the upper strata of the military class to the artisans and unskilled labourers. Thus arguments in chronicles should be evaluated on that framework.

²³ Mehmed Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, (İstanbul, 1243), pp. 131-133. He says that, ... İstanbul'u daima ve müstemiren tağrire meşgul bir alay alat-ı harbiye istimalini bilmez manav ve hamal ve börekçi ve kayıkcı makulesinden ve köşebaşı kabadayılarından olup Paskalya ve domuz kırımında zokaklara abalarını firaş birle gelen geçen ehl-i zimmetten birer ikişer para ahzine tenezzül eden bi-arlar ve kangı ortaya mensub ise nişanını koluna nakş idüp güya görenler nişanından havf eder za'mıyla izhar-ı nişanı adetve müddetü'l-ömr destine tüfenk almayup ve vaktini çift ve çubuk ve alış veriş ve esnaflıkla geçirüp..... ceyb ve hemyanlarına hazır ve amade eyledikleri ortaları nişanları resm olunmuş evrakı her bir esnafın dükkanlarına ister istemez bastırıp biçarelerden hisse-i kar ahzine cesaret....

²⁴ Çarşı ve pazarlardaki esnaf ve satıcıların kısm-ı a'zamı yeniçeriler idi. Binaenaleyh narhın tatbik ve muhafazası ve ihtikarın önüne geçilmesi pek müşkildi... Hamal ve börekçi ve manav gibi eşhasın İstanbul'a hemşehrileri geldikte derhal "gel yoldaşım seni yeniçeri yazalım" deyu herifi mensub oldukları ortanın kışlasına götürüp kollarına ortanın nişanını döktürürler ve eline sofa tezkeresi verirlerdi.. Osman Nuri, *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*, Vol. I, (İstanbul, 1922), p. 619.

Although Esad's manner of representation shaped with his biases about the Janissaries, it also gives important clues about the transformation of them and was an important primary source that supplies at the same time the most detailed contemporary information about the destruction of the Janissaries. Esad was aiming to justify the action of the Sultan against the Janissaries. Hence the main theme of his account was to claim that order of the Janissaries was corrupted since vicious and undeserving men penetrated the army²⁵.

Nevertheless we see that the infiltration of the civilian elements into the Janissary army was carried out by the permission of the Sultans. Especially during the reign of Murad III non-janissary elements penetrated the Janissary army and the term *kulkardeşi* was used to describe them. Apart from them some people who did not come from *devşirme* origin were registered for *devşirme* by the registrars who in return of this act received a bribe. Thus contrary to the tradition those people became Janissaries. According to citations of Selanikli Mustafa Efendi who lived in the reign of Murad III the captains of the Janissary regiments who went to Anatolia and Rumeli in order to register *devşirme* haphazardly recorded men as a return of a bribe²⁶.

²⁵ He in many times says that ... millet ve mezheb ve haseb ve nesebi tebeyyün etmedikçe nefer yazılmamak ve pir ve amel mande olmadıkça tekaüd ettirilmemek ve hizmetkar ve esnaf makuleleri asla istishab olunmamak kanun-ı kadimleri iken sonraları birer takrib dairelerine giren mütegalibe-i zabitanın müsamaha ve irtikabıyla nizamları ihtilal-i pezir ve reh-i istikametleri ---- musırr olup yani meyanlarına ecnas-ı muhtelif duhule yol ... fi'l-asl içlerine ecnebi duhulu...

²⁶ Selanikli Mustafa Efendi, *Selaniki Tarihi*, (İstanbul, 1281), p. 263, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 478.

Apart from those, although the duty *koruculuk* was confined to older and disabled soldiers, some young and vigorous Janissaries who gave bribe in return were appointed as *korucu*. Because of that impropriety, even the Janissaries complained to the Sultan that these preferential treatments had to be prohibited. To this request the Sultan sent a decree to the Agha of Janissaries and ordered the prohibition of those kinds of treatments²⁷.

It is seen that the disorganisation among the Janissaries was not out of knowledge of the authorities. Yet, their tolerance went sometimes beyond winking at those transgressions and the authorities that allowed misuses or intentionally neglected controls were themselves responsible for disorder. This constitutes evidence to prove that if one had mentioned about "corruption", it would not have to be limited only with Janissaries because even the central authorities were infected.

It is clear that the Janissaries had not strict, written and unchangeable laws. In fact for the previous periods it was natural due to the characteristic of those ages and also the simplicity of their organisation but as time passed and their number increased, due to lack of strict laws, the solution of their problems became doubtful. Such as, whatever the guidelines provided or implied by the *Kanunname*, the appointments and transfers could be made on the basis of individual merit and imperial need. *Kanun* could pronounce on exceptional situations for which there was

²⁷ Yeniçeri ağasına hüküm ki: Yeniçeri kullarım rikab-ı hümayunuma ruk'a sunup içimizde pir ve malul olmayan yarar ve tüvana ve sefere iktidarı olanlarımıza koruculuk virilmek olgelmeyüp hilaf-ı kanun iken hala iki yüzden ziyade taze ve tüvana yiğitlere koruculuk virilüp ve nice natüvanları ve pir ve malulleri sefere teklif olunduğunu bildirdiler..... Mühimimme, no.19, p. 135, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p., 478.

precedent, and ignore, while allowing those, for which there was none²⁸. As Fleischer pointed out *kamun* was an accretive and, within limits, mutable phenomenon²⁹. When the authorities met with new applications that were contrary to the tradition of the Janissaries, or when they hesitated about what to do in any affair, they informed the Sultans who, as a result sent out the authorities their preferences with the decrees. Thus within this, the Sultans were enacting laws either that were previously known as customs or that were new applications of them³⁰.

It is seen that some important changes about the Janissaries occurred in the sixteenth century, the time when the Ottoman Empire was in its zenith. According to classical documents, until the first decade of the sixteenth century marriages of the Janissaries were prohibited since according to the laws of the Janissaries they had to stay in their barracks. The marriage permission was only given to *Çorbacı*s, and old Janissaries who retired and this permission was also given by the Sultan himself³¹. According to the records, the first married Janissary was the brother of the Grand Vizier Yusuf Pasha. Yusuf Pasha requested the permission of marriage of his brother from Selim I who firstly refused but as the result of the insistence of Yusuf Pasha then gave

²⁸ Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 216.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p., 198.

³⁰ Mustafa Akdağ, "Yeniçeri Ocağı Nizamının Bozuluşu", *A. Ü. D. ve T. C. Dergisi*, (1947), p. 293.

³¹ "Ezelden Yeniçeri evlenmek kanun değildi, ancak Çorbacılar evlenirlerdi ve ihtiyarlardan dahi kat'i amel-i mande olanlar evlenirlerdi ve Padişaha arz olunmadan evlenmezdi. Yeniçerilik ergenlik ile olduğu için odalar bina olunmuştur"... *Kavanin-i Yeniçeriyân*, varak 21.b and 24 b., quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 306.

permission to him³². But that record does not clearly say that, there were not any married-Janissaries before this date, despite we see the traces of restricted allowance to marry.

What is important is that, from then on, restrictions about marriage of the Janissaries were annulled with acceleration. At first the number of the married Janissaries was very few but as time went on their number increased rapidly. The married Janissaries were permitted to stay in their homes at nights, and because of this reason especially after the eighteenth century, the number of Janissaries who lived in barracks was very few. Since salary of the Janissaries was not enough to make a living for the married ones, hence it became inevitable for them to have a substitute work³³.

Moreover the expelled Janissaries namely "*çalık*", could return to their previous ranks although the Janissary laws forbade it. As a result of this application, known as *çalık tashihi* a lot of convicted Janissaries found a way to return to the army. An example of this application is that, in the reign of Murad IV, the Janissaries who did not go to Revan and Bağdad for fighting, were expelled from the army. But when the conflict between Vizier Kara Murad Pasha and Grand Vizier İbşir Pasha lasted with the disposition of the Grand Vizier by the help of the Janissaries; the expelled ones re-attained their posts since the mentioned Vizier promised them to turn back to their previous posts in return of their help³⁴. That kind of applications, with the contribution of other reasons threatened the stability of the

³² *Kavanin-i Yeniçeriyan*, Varak, 36, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 306

³³ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 307.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

Janissary army.

The book "*Kitab-ı Müstetab*" also talks about the changes in military structure of the empire. Its writer is not known but it is clear that it was written before the *Risale* of Koçi Bey. According to that book big changes in military structure of the Ottoman Empire occurred in the time of Murad III. The writer of the book says that until the reign of Murad III, laws of the Janissaries were applied regularly, but from then on, their old laws (*kanun-ı Kadim*) got spoiled since non-Janissaries penetrated the army. Hence, their number and salaries increased much more. He adds that when in ancient times the number of the Janissaries was 8.000, at present, their number increased to 40.000. He says that in ancient times although the number of the Janissaries was not too much, they were in good quality. This was because, since their young ages, they were working under difficulties, so until their maturity period they were learning how to struggle with difficulties but in recent times, any non-Janissary who wished to join the Janissary army could reach this aim easily³⁵.

Another topic that the writer of *Kitab-ı Müstetab* talks about was the increase in the number of *korucu* and *müteakid* Janissaries. He says that while in their early

³⁵ *Kitab-ı Müstetab*, ..Lakin işbu yakın zamandan beru kanun-i kadim bozulup, ...yeniçeri ocağı kadimi sekiz bin nefer iken ...şimdi ise kırk bine karib olmuştur... Feamma gerçi evvelki zamanın askeri az idi lakin öz idi..., zira o makule kullar, küçükten nan ü nemek-i padişahiyle perverde ve terbiye olmağla efendisine hayırhah ve uğuruna baş alup baş vermek sehil imiş; ..mesela bir iç oğlanı on, onbeş yıl saraylarda kötek yiyüp zahmet çekmeğe veyahut bir bostancı beş, on yıl bahçelerde çapa çeküp hizmet itmeğe..., şimdiki hal olur olmaz reaya bir çift öküzünü satup akçe kuvvetiyle kimi sipahi ve kimi yeniçeri olup istedikleri dirliğe ve mansıba geçer olmuşlardır., quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 479-480.

times the number of the Janissaries was about 12.000, at that time, only the number of *korucu* and *müteakid* was far above 7.000. This was because a lot of Janissaries registered themselves as *korucu* and *müteakid* by giving bribe to the charged men as if they were not able to fight and participate into the battles. He adds that in ancient times, while the words *koruculuk* and *müteakidlik* were never mentioned, at that time, the title *oda korucusu* was created and given to thousands of the Janissaries. Although the number of the Janissaries at that time was far above 35.000, in time of wars, only about 20.000 of them were registered as soldiers, the rest was reported to the authorities as *korucu*, *tekaüd*, *köçek*, or sentries in castles. Among these registered soldiers, only approximately 7.000-8.000 were able to go to battle since a lot of Janissaries who in reality did not go to battles were recorded as if they had gone. *Ulufes* of these Janissaries were taken by the aghas of Janissaries, who in return were giving quarter of that *ulufes* to the treasury as a gift. The rest of that money was being divided among the Janissaries. This application was not out of the knowledge of authorities such as the Grand Vizier or *defterdar*³⁶.

In addition, the permission of buying and selling *eşkinici esamesi* -the pay ticket of the janissary soldiers- led to new abuses in the Janissary army. According to the *Eşkinici Layihası*, the first application of it occurred in the reign of Mahmud I, in 1739, after the conquest of Anapoli Castle³⁷. A lot of civilians held these pay certificates that caused a substantial market. Also, the death of Janissaries, named

³⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 480-482.

³⁷ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1270- 1301/ 1854-83), p. 255, Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 23.

mahluls were not being informed to the authorities. Hence their pay certificates also became a tradeable instrument³⁸. It is important that the creation of a substantial market from both *eşkinçi esamesi* and the pay certificates of *mahluls* occurred with the permission and approval of the authorities. The changes in the Ottoman *timar* system had also made great effects on the Janissary Army. As a result of more widespread use of firearms, the cavalry of the *timar*-holders, who had formed the backbone of the Ottoman army in earlier centuries, was being increasingly made obsolete³⁹. Also due to legitimate necessities for money but mostly because of their laxity, the number of military fiefs was decreased and their income used for non-military purposes⁴⁰. Thus when the changes in military structure united with the uprisings of provincial administrators and irregular soldiers, such as the *Celali* Uprisings, the ratio of the *timar* soldiers to the Janissaries was decreased although in preceding periods the ratio was vice versa. The incomes of the *timarlı* cavalry had declined dramatically in the seventeenth century, and along with their incomes, their numbers⁴¹. According to the estimation of Koçi Bey the number of the *timar* soldiers at his time was approximately 7-8.000⁴².

³⁸ For example, BA, Cevdet Askeriye 29546, 2 Muharrem 1204/22 September 1789.

³⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699", ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, **An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire**, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 434.

⁴⁰ Levy, "Military Reform in the Ottoman Empire", p. 229.

⁴¹ Bruce Mc Gowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812", ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, **An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1699-1812**, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 659.

⁴² Koçi Bey, **Koçi Bey Risalesi**, (İstanbul, p. 24.

In contrast, the Janissary corps increased from nearly 8.000 soldiers in 1527, to approximately 53.000 in 1699. The expansion of Janissaries was felt not only in the major cities, but also in the provinces as well. The change in that ratio was the clear representation of the new requisitions. The number of the Janissaries increased to the detriment of other troops, especially as the European wars required more and more firepower. Their increased number and influence empowered them, so they settled, intermarried and hence became an integral part of society⁴³.

Reşad Ekrem Koçu says that; "*hamamdaki dellak, kayıkdaki hamlacı, bostandaki ırgat, yanaşma, çarşı pazar halkı, şekerçi, börekçi, kalaycı, yorgancı, hallaç, yemenici, saraç*", briefly, all craftsmen, artisans and tradesmen who were pretending to be soldiers had been titled as Janissaries, attempts to restructure and reform the central military order of the Ottoman empire became impossible⁴⁴, because those groups did not consider to be Janissary as their essential job and thus they were strongly resisting against new regulations aiming to take them under discipline.

Moreover during the eighteenth century, the Janissaries who were formed by small tradesmen gradually became an almost unpaid militia. Although they were not gaining any income, their judicial and tax immunities, which they were increasingly unable to justify on the battlefield, created a growing tendency of being Janissary⁴⁵.

⁴³ Karen Barkey, **Bandits and Bureaucrats, The Ottoman Route to State Centralization**, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 35, 69-70.

⁴⁴ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, **Yeniçeriler**, (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1964), p. 299.

⁴⁵ Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812", p. 659.

On the other hand the state's need for soldiers became increasingly acute.

As we mentioned previously, while some members of the Janissaries were finding a way in not serving on campaigns, some others, who were sent for fighting, were escaping either from roads or from regions where they went. For example, In 1232, the governor of Aleppo Ahmed Pasha wrote to the authorities that some Janissaries deserted their posts and escaped to the districts of Damascus, namely, Hama, Humus and Mara. He warned that, these Janissaries could plot, so their situation must have been reported to the governor of Damascus⁴⁶. According to another decree, in the year 1236, the master of the bear hounds, (*Saksoncubaşı*) Osman Ağa⁴⁷ and the Commander of İbrail Ebubekir Pasha⁴⁸ reported that most of the Janissaries in Boğdan deserted and because of this reason there occurred a strong necessity to have new soldiers. Also the Commander of Varna Salih Pasha with a letter informed the authorities that the majority of the Janissaries in Varna deserted⁴⁹. There were numerous examples of that situation in the documents and since it is not possible to mention all of them, I only selected a few.

Thus when the Janissaries became increasingly ineffective and irrelevant to the new requisitions of the state, they were supplied and counterbalanced by the local irregular forces variously known as *levend*, *sarıca* and *sekban*. In fact, the use of local forces to supplement and counterbalance the Janissaries was not the new

⁴⁶ BA, H.H. 24320, 1232/1817.

⁴⁷ BA, H.H. 45978, 1236/1820.

⁴⁸ BA, H.H. 45811, 1236/1820.

⁴⁹ BA, H.H. 45963.E, 1236/1820.

case. The checks and balance system had long been existing between the central and local military forces. As the Janissary army was used to establish the central authority's hegemony over the local forces, just the reverse, the Janissaries themselves were checked and balanced by irregular local forces, organised and recruited as early as the sixteenth century⁵⁰. Aksan says that the *levend*, the locally mustered soldier, universal in all societies, had become central to Ottoman war making by 1750⁵¹. Thus when the changes in military structure of the Janissary army contributed with several interrelated factors it became inevitable for the government to substitute local forces for the Janissaries and to make reforms to improve the situation of the Janissaries.

2.3. PREVIOUS MILITARY REFORM ATTEMPTS

As we mentioned earlier, Ottoman military reform was led and driven by a set of both external and internal factors. It is a problematic issue to determine a precise conception date and reference mark for reform attempts, which go back as early as the seventeenth century in the Ottoman Empire. However, somewhat clearer signs about the recognition 'something new must be done' appeared following the Treaty of Passarovitz(1718), which may be seen as an indicator of the inadequacy of

⁵⁰ Virginia H. Aksan, "Whatever Happened to the Janissaries? Mobilization for the 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman War", *War in History*, ed. Hew Strachan, Dennis E. Showalter, (London: Arnold, 1998), p., 27.

the traditional military institutions against Russia, as the representative of modern European military techniques and facilities⁵². It would not be a mistake to talk about a kind of consensus on this topic and this may be considered as an argument that puts the weight more on the external factors as stimulus for the reformation.

The reformism was once restricted to the adoption of material products and implementation of technical amelioration since early reformists still believed in the superiority of the traditional system and its foundations. Thus one may conceptualize those attempts, which were to be considered a continuation of ones that had been proposed by Koçi Bey during Murad IV period in 1630 or Katip Çelebi and Naima later, as 'traditional reformism'. Reforms of Ahmet III, Mahmut I, and Mustafa III periods were typical examples of that kind of policy. Although those periods had a substantial importance to evaluate many points such as the course of future events, the domestic mental climate where reforms would flourish, comparative analysis between the early and late attempts and the break point from traditional to modern, they remain beyond our main frame of discussion, and thus we will consciously focus on later periods.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a power struggle occurred with the West, represented by France and Russia, which then had already become the main military threat to the Ottoman Empire. At this stage, Ottomans' efforts at military restoration were strongly supported by the French government. Encouraged by French diplomacy, Ottoman government was at the same time seeking a way out

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 28.

⁵² Niyazi Berkes, **The Development of Secularism in Turkey**, (Montreal, 1964), p. 30.

in order to calm troubles of conservatives against the reforms, and entered into a long and costly war with Russia (1768-74). The war served for a test of the limited reforms and the result was a total disappointment⁵³. 1774 Kaynarca Treaty, which concluded the war, though its territorial provisions were not desperate, was not only considered as one of the most fateful documents of the Ottoman history but also as a turning point. This is due to the fact that it was with the Kaynarca Treaty, a territory whose majority of population was Muslim was separated from Ottoman sovereignty for the first time; the independence of Crimea was recognized by both Ottomans and Russia, although the later would occupy and annex it in 1783⁵⁴.

Abdülhamit I, who had ascended to the throne only six months before the Kaynarca Treaty was signed, thus directly felt the urgency of need to reform the military. He tried to introduce new military techniques and weapons that were supposed to enable the Ottoman army to cope with European rivals. Although his way of reform should be still considered traditionalistic, it was during his reign that foreign military advisers were invited in substantial numbers and they were obliged neither to be converted to Islam nor to dress in domestic style for the first time⁵⁵.

A Hungarian originated artillery officer in the French service, Baron François de Tott, who had already been to İstanbul since 1755 with an official status, examined the existing Ottoman military establishment and recommended changes as

⁵³ Ibid., p. 55.

⁵⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1995), p. 38.

⁵⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline, 1280-1808*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 251.

being adviser on military reforms to Mustafa III⁵⁶. He established a new rapid-fire artillery corps at Kağıthane, and later built a modern cannon foundry at Hasköy, and next to the artillery corps a new mathematics school *hendesehane* (that would be transformed into a school of naval engineering in 1784) where French instructors gave their lessons in French and Greek and Armenian assistants translated them into Turkish. A Frenchman named Aubert and a Scottish officer named Campbell, converted to Islam in contrast to other specialists and took the name Mustafa, were assisting Baron de Tott. Following his departure to Paris in March 1776 those two people continued to manage rapid-fire corps and the school. Meanwhile more and more French military officers and technical advisers began to arrive in Istanbul. Despite a short interruption due to the Janissary pressure, during the Grand Vizirate of Halil Hamid Paşa, artillery operating under the control of French artillery officers and directed by lieutenant Aubert expanded and corps performed satisfactory progress⁵⁷. Halil Hamid Paşa who had gained most of his administrative experiences in *kalemiye* and especially in the office of *Reisülküttab*, recognised that without the modernisation and reinforcement of the army as a whole, all efforts to restore the military units would inevitably fail. He then tried to unify the old and the new parts of military structure trying to ameliorate the situation of the former. Besides, he dealt with financial problems and revival of the traditional institutions⁵⁸. Grand Vizier Halil Hamit Paşa who had become very unpopular, was first dismissed due to

⁵⁶ Avigdor Levy, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century", p. 235.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

intrigues of the coalition constituted of his political opponents, conservative anti-reformists and parties that had lost some of their interests because of the Paşa's financial measures. They kept on agitating using the annexation of Crimea as a pretext to disgrace him and at the end Halil Hamid Paşa was executed in 1785⁵⁹.

In addition to those mentioned above, Abdülhamid I aimed to restore the Janissary corps and *Sipahi* cavalry, which in spite of the development in artillery remained as the base of the Ottoman army. Although tremendous success was obtained in returning the Janissary corps their pre-war position, the Sultan could not focus on the military reform further because of internal problems. Notables who gained provincial authority at the central government's expense constituted another threat for the central authority, as severe as the external one. Karaosmanoğlu, Nasuhoğlu, Canikli Hacı Ali Paşaoğlu, Çapanoğlu, Şatiroğlu, İlyasoğlu, Gündüzoğlu, Yıllanoğlu, Voyvoda Kocabaşı in Anatolia; Dağdevirenoğlu, Serezli İsmail, Tokatcıklı Süleyman, Tirsiniklioğlu, Buşatlıoğlu, İşkodralı Mahmut Paşa in Rumeli were the most powerful examples of those notables or *ayans*. From the ranks of these local notables, a more special group also misleadingly called *ayans* emerged mainly during the war of 1768-74 and they took the power by force in a way similar to warlords⁶⁰. In addition, due to political weakness, in outer regions such as Syria, Iraq, Arabia and Egypt again local notables were keeping the control. Thus revenues dramatically decreased and the state was deprived of important financial resources at

⁵⁸ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I*, p. 257.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812", p. 662.

a time when they became crucial. In the face of such a dissolution of central authority, the Sultans were trying to establish classical checks-and-balances system, play off parties against each other, and provide conformity and orderliness, sometimes appointing notables to official posts or bribing them, and at last sending military forces against them⁶¹. However, the government was getting more dependent to general levies raised by *ayans* in both Rumeli and Anatolia. While the central government was being benefited from the military help of *ayans* of Rumeli both against the external enemies and to local rebellions, the *ayans* were discovering the discontent and the disregard of the government against the Janissary army. This would accelerate the decentralisation of political power by enabling the feudal rivals to strengthen their position in Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt⁶².

At that time the Russian threat was getting more and more serious. Agreeing with Austria about expelling the Ottomans from Europe and sharing her territories, Russia developed and introduced the so-called "Greek problem"⁶³. A five years-lasting war was declared against Russia in 1787. However, after Halil Hamid Paşa had been dismissed and executed, the military reform lost acceleration. In addition, since the King of France became relative with the Habsburgs by marriage, the French military mission was withdrawn⁶⁴. Abdülhamid I died during the war and Selim III succeeded him in the midst of desperate battles in 1789. Russian army,

⁶¹ Stanford J. Shaw, **History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I**, p. 253-254.

⁶² Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812", p. 663.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁶⁴ Léonce Pingaud, Choiseul-Gouffier, **La France en Orient Sous Louis XVI**, (Paris, 1887), p. 98.

although its ally Austria could not have any effective result, won a definite victory in the 1787-92 war. Following the war, the Ottoman government faced a series of crises; Kırcağı bandit raids of 1797-1807, Egypt's invasion by Napoleon army in 1798, rebellions of Serbs in 1804. It became clear for the ruling elite that military forces with their existing structure were condemned to defeat permanently against the rivals which were equipped with modern arms, using new techniques and having greater soldiers in number. Another undoubted lesson derived from the course of events was, without bringing into solution such factors as the opposition of traditional institutions, especially Janissary corps and their civilian allies such as *ulema* and impoverished *esnaf*, the conflict of opinion (and interest, as well) among the ruling elite; and economic constraints that were continuously being aggravated, reform attempts were doomed to failure.

Selim III, from his youth, was interesting in European culture and he was examining especially French civilization with admiration. Even before he came to the power he had been corresponding with Louis XIV, then King of France, who was representing the model of enlightened monarch whom Selim aimed to become⁶⁵. On the one hand, he was carrying traces from traditional reform movement, on the other hand he might be considered as the pioneer of Ottoman modernization. Eighteenth century Western-inspired military reform history, which can be divided thus into two phases, came to its culmination during his reign⁶⁶. Although within this

⁶⁵ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), pp. 57-62.

⁶⁶ Avigdor Levy, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century", p. 239.

perspective he is seen as an interim element or passage period personality, yet he was one of the most important figures of the modernization process and the first real reformer⁶⁷, since Selim III was the first Sultan who tried to establish a new way of communication between “enlightened” Europe represented by France and Ottoman elite⁶⁸.

Anti-reformists who were representing real groups of interests, contrary to reformists, thus easily found support in society. The adoption of Western methods and innovations was not viewed only as a disobedience of *şeriat* by those groups, but also a destruction of traditional structure, which would cost them losing their status. However the reformists were at first focusing on the external military threat, namely Russia, and paying less attention if any, to encourage the emergence of a new economic class that would support the innovation, breaking down the traditional network and restructuring society so that the reforms would find a social base to fit. Although they admiringly favored the introduction of new military facilities and techniques, they still intentionally kept away themselves to impose measures requiring institutional changes since not only they thought such a step would disturb the legitimacy of restoration policy⁶⁹, but also the problem solution methodology was formulated in their understanding in that way.

Selim III's era deserves detailed researches and in fact one may find very

⁶⁷ Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812", p. 658.

⁶⁸ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, p. 40.

⁶⁹ Avigdor Levy, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century", p. 230; and Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 63.

fruitful material on this subject studied by both Turkish and Western researchers. In order to remain within the boundaries of my topic, I will try only to mention this period briefly in regard to its characteristics relevant to my subject. On the question whether Selim III reforms were structurally different and of fundamental characteristics, there is not a complete and general agreement. Some historians including Berkes, Karal, Karpat, Lewis, and Uzunçarşılı entitled him with the eminence of being the first true reformist. According to this point of view; traditional reformists had been solely interested in the material products of the modern Europe and since they saw no connection between those outputs and Western civilization foundations, they had not felt any need to reshape the traditional Ottoman institutions according to Western model, put it aside completely substituting them. Selim III, in contrast, realized the necessity of more comprehensive reforms, which naturally required changing the basic traditional institutions themselves. He widened the scope of reformism by pointing out that the problem of rehabilitation was not bounded with only military but instead it was a matter of civil reform as well, and economic recovery should occupy a great deal in the comprehensive reform plan, which should be designed following universal consent. Because he understood without making considerable alterations in those institutions that he saw as the main obstacle to change, if not simply abolishing them, it would be impossible to pursue the policy of innovation⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 71-72; Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hatt-ı Hümayunları*, (Ankara, 1946), pp. 11-21; Kemal H. Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi: Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller*, (İstanbul: Afa Yayıncılık, 1996), p. 32; Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, pp. 56-60.

However, a group of other Ottoman history researchers, including Shaw, and with some reserves Levy and Zürcher, oppose them and categorize the reform concept of Selim III as mainly traditionalistic. Zürcher argues that decrees of Selim III, which insisted on the building and clothing restrictions over non-Muslim *reaya*, and his inability to establish a proper budgetary system, constitute evidence for traditionalistic character of his policy⁷¹. Levy, though he acknowledges Selim III's ability to win considerable support for his policies among the ruling elite, and recognizes the importance of such reforms as the administrative measure aiming to bring all the existing military corps of Janissaries under civilian supervision by appointing separate inspectors called *nazırs*, he still considers him as a ruler which "espoused not only the restoration of a traditional political system, but also conservation of the existing medieval social order"⁷². He sees no significant differences between Selim III and his ancestors Ahmed III, Mahmud I, Mustafa III and yet remarks on his similarities with Abdülhamid I. Levy, emphasizing the conservative aspects of Selim III reforms in all essential aspects attributes the failure of reforms to this ideological weakness. He agrees with Zürcher by saying that Selim III, like his predecessors reinforced the application of laws, which imposed restrictions on dressing of individuals according to their religious, social and professional identity. Thus there is a paradox according to him between the need to dissolve guild-like structure of military, which was indispensable for reforms and the precaution of reformists to conserve the classical society as it was. Furthermore,

⁷¹ Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, p. 40-41.

⁷² Avigdor Levy, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century", p. 242.

he compares and contrasts Selim III with Mahmud II and underlines the fact that the same Ottoman society, which rejected westernizing reforms during Selim III's era, would accept them in a definitive and irreversible manner two decades later, in order to prove the former one's incompetence⁷³. Last but not the least, Shaw represents Selim III's point of view as traditionalistic since he accepted the necessity of new military units only to use effectively modern weapons and techniques, but on condition that they were kept aside from the old body, so that the traditional order of the Ottoman society remained untouched⁷⁴. He argues that Selim III did not understand the integration of European technology with the social, economic, and political revolution, which had been going on since the Reformation and thus his social and economic reforms were not innovative either. His ignorance can be seen from his failure to take proper measure in order to resolve periodic financial chaos. Instead of establishing a budgetary system, he, according to Shaw, tried to make the old system work by reorganizing the scribal service and worst, he resorted to the traditional methods of issuing debased coins and increasing taxes⁷⁵.

France was occupying a very distinguished place in Selim III's reform-minded framework. This influence may be seen from the very beginning of his reforms. The process began even before the peace provided by Jassy Treaty; in the fall of 1791 the Sultan called twenty-two people belonging to high ranks of civilian bureaucracy, military and *ulema* in order to organize a series of councils and

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I*, p. 260.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 264-265.

committees where state affairs were discussed and written proposals about the reforms were supplied. Lewis underlines the resemblance between those councils and the assemblies in France as well as *layiha* reports submitted there and cahiers in France. Yet he argues that even when Selim III was baptizing his reforms as *Nizam-ı Cedid*, he was inspired by the King of France's letters mentioning "the new order" in France⁷⁶.

There existed a unanimous consensus on the urgency and precedence of military reforms in all *layihalar*, while most of them were proposing to first restore the Janissaries and other corps to their original positions and functions, and then give them modern weapons, very few insisted on the inability of older military institutions to use neither those weapons nor their prerequisite modern techniques, and thus since it was impossible to reform them, they had to be abolished and replaced by the new ones⁷⁷. Selim III preferred a mixed solution; on the one hand he renewed the efforts to rehabilitate the old military corps, on the other he launched the plan which is accepted as his main contribution to Turkish modernization and his originality, the organization of new infantry and cavalry units on Western models known as the New Order Army or simply *Nizam-ı Cedid*. Although *Nizam-ı Cedid* was supposed to be a collective name for all reforms, including decrees on tax regulations, central and provincial administration, and many other financial and administrative topics, it is quite significant that this term was merging with the new army and used thereafter solely to refer its corps.

⁷⁶ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, pp. 58-59.

⁷⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 72-73.

As I mentioned earlier, Selim III did not neglect the Janissaries and *sipahis* either. The number of Janissary rolls were subject to a drastic decrease, the entrance criteria was restored and the privileges allowed to the members' sons were restricted, Janissaries were demanded to attend rifle-training, a new rotational system was adopted for *timarlı sipahis* in order to prevent the disbandment problem of Ottoman army. Reforms covered the old *topçu*, *humbaracı*, *lağımçı* and *top arabacı* corps where more satisfactory results obtained. The *Nizam-ı Cedid* army was created as a completely separated military body; was organized, and clothed in the Western manner, equipped with modern weapons and tactics, trained by French, English, Swedish and German advisers. Turkish originated peasant boys from Anatolia recruited soldiers for the *Nizam-ı Cedid* army, whose barracks were situated at *Levend Çiftliks*, overlooking the Bosphorus. Shaw explains the selection of such place as a simple measure of the Sultan who was aiming to avoid annoying the older corps by keeping *Nizam-ı Cedid* soldiers as far as possible from Janissaries⁷⁸. However, in *Koca Sekbanbaşı Risalesi*, this positioning is explained due to a precautionary step taken by a discerning prudence of the Sultan who was alarmed against the plans of the Russian Queen, preparing a plan of disembarkation to Black Sea coasts of İstanbul and to Bosphorus sides in order to destroy water supply system of the city and occupy it easily⁷⁹. Following the invasion of Egypt by France, a second garrison was established in Üsküdar and shortly the last one near the first in Levend. The corps, which were constituted of 2.536 privates and 27

⁷⁸ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I*, p. 262.

⁷⁹ *Koca Sekbanbaşı Risalesi*, (İstanbul: TercümanYayınları 1001 Temel Eser, 1974), pp. 37-41.

officers increased to 22.685 privates and 1.590 officers at the end of 1806, just before their dramatic abolishment.

First signs of failures came from the Balkans, where the most vigorous opposition to military reforms and in fact the intrinsic centralization of power emerged. The centrifugal forces in the provinces, *ayans* of northern and western Balkans who became more powerful and independent in comparison to local Anatolian rulers strongly resisted centralizing policies of the government. The *ulema*, who were touched by the Western influence that the Sultan did not need to or only could not hide, and who recognized the degree of destructiveness of those innovations on the classical Ottoman system rigorously showed their opposition. Last but not the least, Janissaries were the group whose resentment was highest. They were in fact representing the wide opposition due to economic difficulties emerging from the lack of a rational financial policy to support the military reform expenditures, to compulsory military recruitment for *Nizam-ı Cedid*, and some of the ministers of the Sultan. In some chronicles, the discontentment of Janissaries was represented as related with firstly their fear since they forecasted the Sultan's ultimate plan was the abolishment of older corps, and secondly their unwillingness to attend regular training which prevented them to pursue their actual living activities, such as working as porters, grocers, green-grocers, fishermen, boatmen, and bakers⁸⁰. The revolt emerged due to a conflict between Janissary *yamaks* and a *Nizam-ı Cedid* officer because of the formers' refusal to dress in the new uniform. Selim III tried to calm the rebels led by a *yamak* commander Kabakçı Mustafa, by

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 41-42.

disbanding the new army and yet leaving some officers to the fury of crowd, but the climax was soon reached to accusation of him personally to be under the control of the unbeliever Westerners⁸¹. According to a *fetva*, declaring Selim III's reforms a violation of the *şeriat*, he was dethroned and replaced by his cousin Mustafa IV as the candidate of conservatives on May 29th, 1807.

Although most of Selim III's reforms were not completely successful, they served as a guide for his successor, Mahmud II. Selim III constructed channels through which Western knowledge penetrated Ottoman society and thus affected it in different ways and at different levels. In carrying out his military reforms, he did not hesitate to invite many European military and technical advisers and let them appear openly in the streets of Istanbul. Again within the same perspective, permanent embassies were established in the leading European capitals for the first time. Ambassadors were engaged to examine and report military, administrative and civil organization in the countries they were assigned. Establishment of a separate naval medical service with a medical school to train doctors and surgeons and translation of European medical books into Turkish did not only constitute a part of the process of modernization of navy but also provided the Empire with her first regular state medicine service. Selim III tried to restore the *timar* system according to the law which was prepared by the Grand Vizier Halil Hamid in the previous period and thus the practice of allocating fiefs to palace favourites was abandoned, so that the revenues should be collected as directly as possible by the central government. His most influential economic successes were in regulating the

⁸¹ Niyazi Berkes, **The Development of Secularism in Turkey**, p. 82.

provision of grain and other food to the cities which imbalanced the negative effects of overpopulation and shortage due to inflation⁸².

After the uprising of May 1807, and Selim III had retired to virtual imprisonment in the palace, Mustafa IV issued various decrees eliminating not only the *Nizam-ı Cedid* in its narrow sense, but also all the schools, institutions, and reforms associated with it. In fact, the real power was in hands of rebels who were soon divided into rival groups and began to fight with each other. Selim III's supporters who managed to survive were gathering at Rusçuk. Alemdar Mustafa, who had formerly been a Janissary and was promoted by Selim III to a vizierate, was serving as the *ayan* of Rusçuk. He then became leader of the deposed Sultan's supporters and they moved in order to restore Selim III back to the throne in July 1808⁸³.

Alemdar Mustafa Paşa and his friends entered İstanbul with an army of 16.000 men, took control in the city and demanded accession of Selim III to the throne. However he could not break into the palace before spies of Mustafa IV had assassinated the imprisoned Sultan. Instead, Selim III's cousin Mahmud II, who survived thanks to the bravery of *harem* members who hid him on the palace roof, was placed on the throne by Alemdar Mustafa Paşa.

Mahmut II appointed Alemdar to the Grand Vizierate, and ordered the

⁸² Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I*, p. 265.

⁸³ Howard A. Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, Princeton University doctoral dissertation series No: 5163, (Ann Arbor Michigan: University Microfilms, May 1951), p. 7.

execution or exile of murderers of Selim III. During the first period of his reign, which did not endure longer than three months, it was the Grand Vizier Alemdar Mustafa Paşa who had the control of political power. Alemdar tried to restore Selim III's reforms, and he began by assuring support of provincial notables whose opposition had brought an end not only the previous reform attempts but also costed the life of his beloved Sultan Selim. *Ayans* held a series of meetings to discuss Alemdar's proposals, and finally they agreed to sign the Document of Agreement or *Sened-i İttifak* on October 7th, 1808. Although neither the Sultan himself nor none of the notables except four officially signed the document, it was still referred as the Magna Carta of the Ottoman Empire, the first written document which brings limitation on the power of the Sultan regarding taxes and reciprocally establishes responsibilities and obligations of notables against him⁸⁴. The document did not include any open article about the military reforms but its context, rhetoric and spirit imposed the restoration of *Nizam-ı Cedid*.

Alemdar Mustafa attempted to revitalize *Nizam-ı Cedid* but since he feared to be directly targeted by its opponents before he accomplished required preparation, he followed a different path. The destructed *Nizam-ı Cedid* barracks at Levent Çiftlik and Üsküdar were repaired and a new army organized there with 3.000 rapid-fire rifle soldiers, 5.000 volunteers and survivors of *Nizam-ı Cedid* officers. In order to prevent the reaction of Janissaries the new army was baptized as *Sekban-ı Cedid*,

⁸⁴ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, pp. 90-91; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 2-3.

new *sekbans*, and designed as an affiliate of Janissary corps rather than to be a separate force like the unfortunate *Nizam-ı Cedid*⁸⁵. However in fact, there was nothing special and original for *Sekban-ı Cedid*, it was only a poor imitation of the previous model. Alemdar was planning to expand *Sekban-ı Cedid* army to 160.000 men divided into 100 regiments and 3 divisions, but it could never increase above 10.000⁸⁶.

Janissaries revolted within ten days of this vague return of Selim III reforms. After a short fight, Janissaries fired the accommodation of the Grand Vizier where he died with several hundreds of rebels and they drove the attacks towards Mahmud II. However their plan to depose him and restore Mustafa IV to the throne could not be successful, since the Sultan, ordering the execution of his brother, remained as the only living man from the Ottoman dynasty. Janissaries then stopped and compromised with the Sultan who pretended to surrender to them. The *Sekban* army was disbanded and the reform attempts did not appear again for almost twenty years.

Learning a lot from both his uncle's and Alemdar Mustafa's fatalities and failures, Mahmut II recognized the importance of moving very prudently. He pretended to acknowledge the authority of Janissaries and, before stepping forward, decided to prepare a detailed and front-loaded plan, where all possibilities and probabilities were calculated, required measures were taken, and he waited until a sound base of operation been established.

⁸⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, **History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume II**, p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

3. THE REGISTRATION OF THE 'EŞKİNCİ' CORPS

..bu tekellüften murad mukteza-yı vakt-i hale göre işimize yarayacak vechle kesb-i maharet etmeleridir yoksa nişan urmak ve usul ve furuunu bilmeyerek her biri körlemeden atacak iseler hiçbir şey demek olmaz kaldı ki bu kadar adam evvel emirde atub tutmasını ve usul ve furuunu öğrenmedikçe barut ile çat pat tüfenk atmaları sakil bir şey olup bayağı Frenkler istihza ederler...

Mahmud II, BA, H.H. 25635.

3.1. PREPARATION PERIOD

The thought that both the internal security and the maintenance of frontiers required a new form of well-arranged army set in motion Mahmud II, but since he took lessons from the previous attempts of reforming army, he preferred to move with caution. Believing that changing the structure of the army was closely associated with his loyal officers in the corps, the Sultan firstly had located a few trustworthy people in the army and hence planned to charge them with important places in the chain of promotions.

The former aim of the Sultan seemed to (or at least he intentionally represented it as) have been the reorganisation of the Janissary corps in a new way rather than to destroy them. That plan of forming a new corps called *Eşkinçis*, taking 150 men from each mess was the result of at least four years of preparation period

on behalf of the Sultan⁸⁷. Two acts of Mahmud II, in the fall of 1822, had become the start of a series of further progress in reorganising the Janissary corps. The first was the dismissal of Halet Efendi on 25 Safer 1238/13 November 1822 from his post⁸⁸. His second step was the appointment of Hüseyin Ağa to the post of lieutenant general of the Janissary corps.

Halet Efendi had been a real power in the Ottoman Empire for about a dozen years. According to sources, his influence was especially based on his huge income. That income was collected from the rich Greek families of the Fener district of İstanbul in return for help to obtain posts as interpreters to the Porte or in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia⁸⁹.

According to Cevdet, Halet Efendi was very intelligent and very well spoken and convincing his opponents but he was ready to perform illegal acts in order to protect his selfish profit. He used his income wisely to give ample gifts to the important Janissaries and other officials. Because of his close relations with the Janissaries, he spent great effort in delaying the Sultan's reorganisation project that would weaken his influence over the Janissaries. He was able to postpone the reorganisation project either by claiming that it was not the suitable time since there would be a Janissary rebellion or by encouraging any conflicts or wars against the

⁸⁷ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 56.

⁸⁸ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 52. He adds a short biography of him: Halet Mehmed Said Efendi, 1760-1822. He held a number of official posts in the bureaucracy, went to France as Ottoman Minister between the period 1803-1806. After his return, he served in Bağdad and in 1811 he entered in the palace service.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53. Reed also talks about his bribery actions in detail. pp. 53-54.

enemies. Even, in the time of the Derviş Paşa's Vizierate, when an assembly gathered to discuss the dispute with Russia, Halet Efendi strongly proposed to open war. The assembly was dissolved without a final decision but Halet Efendi was able to cause confusion. After the assembly, Derviş Paşa asked Halet Efendi how those poor Janissaries would fight against Russia. He replied that it was possible to abolish the Janissaries and to make a reorganisation, but he did not want to do this⁹⁰.

Halet Efendi claimed that the campaign against Ali Paşa of Yanya would result in a quick victory, but the conclusion became reversed. As a result of this Halet Efendi lost his influence. In order to provide the support of the Janissaries and *ulema* he needed large sums of money, and his income especially came from his homeland, but after the campaign against Ali Paşa of Yanya he also lost this income, as well⁹¹. In addition he was also deprived of the income that he had been receiving in gifts and bribes from Mehmed Ali of Egypt⁹².

When Halet Efendi could not meet the demands of the Janissaries, they began to shift their allegiance. They started frequently to organise meetings in *Ağa Kapısı* or other places in order to discuss Halet Efendi's situation. In those meetings while some were supporting Halet Efendi, others were demanding his dismissal⁹³.

In those days, one Friday when Mahmud II went to Bayezid tomb incognito, the Ağa of Janissaries also came there. Some of the Janissary sergeants were

⁹⁰ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 55.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 56.

gathered around the Janissary Ağa and said that they did not want Halet Efendi. Hearing those requests, the Sultan summoned the Ağa of Janissaries in order to question him on this event. The Ağa of Janissaries informed that the Janissaries did no longer want Halet Efendi. The Sultan became very pleased and told the Ağa of Janissaries that their requests would be performed⁹⁴.

On 27 Receb 1236/1 May 1821, a nominee of Halet Efendi, *Hacı* Salih Paşa had become the Grand Vizier. But as time went on the relation between Halet Efendi and the Grand Vizier was severed and the Grand Vizier requested the permission of the Sultan to banish Halet Efendi. The Sultan was waiting this for a long time. Halet Efendi was exiled to Konya, and on the same day, Salih Paşa was dismissed from his office and exiled to Gelibolu as well⁹⁵.

After Halet Efendi left İstanbul, Hüsni Bey informed the Sultan about his illegal actions. The declaration brought about the execution of Halet Efendi. After Halet Efendi was executed in Konya, his head was brought to İstanbul and exposed outside the Palace with a *Yafta* describing his crimes⁹⁶.

After the removal of Halet Efendi the Sultan got the ease to drive the government. Freely, the next three and a half years he tried to establish a powerful support of the officials who would devotedly work for his aims. Several appointments were made until the *Eşkinici* Project, for the position of high ranking

⁹³ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 56.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

Janissary leaders, the *ulema* and other bureaucrats. One of those appointed people was İsmail Ağa who had become the Ağa of Janissaries in 1821, but since his activities created an enmity among the Janissary corps and he was seen as incapable of disciplining them, after almost a year in the office, he was dismissed from his post. The former lieutenant general Hasan Ağa was appointed to his post⁹⁷. Hasan Ağa spent less time than his predecessor in his new post and almost thirty days later he was dismissed. The former lieutenant general Osman Ağa was appointed as the Ağa of Janissaries but his appointment was very short as well. After his forty-seven days of command, from 23 Safer to 10 Rebiu'l-Ahir 1238/10 November-26 December 1822, the previous lieutenant general Ali filled the post⁹⁸. The series of promotions continued with the dismissal of Osman Ağa in Cumaziye'l-Ahir 1238/February 1823 and the appointment of the former lieutenant general Hüseyin Ağa as the Ağa of Janissaries⁹⁹.

Following and due to the appointment of Hüseyin Ağa as the Ağa of Janissaries, the reform process was accelerated. Hüseyin Ağa too, occupying the post of corp master in his background, had been recognising the importance of this position. The corp masters were managing the corps as they liked. Hence by spoiling the relations between the Janissary masters and *odabaşıs* Hüseyin Ağa succeeded in destroying the oppressive power of the corp masters. He also creating a rift between

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 54. Cevdet gives the date 23 Muharrem 1238/9 October 1822.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

⁹⁹ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. XII, p. 70.

other posts, aimed to untie the hierarchical chains¹⁰⁰.

Another important act of Hüseyin Ağa in suppressing the Janissaries was to exile the leaders who would waylay his future attacks; such as Memiş Efendi who was the deputy teacher was exiled to Salonika, the lieutenant-general Hüseyin Ağa and *Muhzır* Ahmed Ağa were expelled to the provinces. As a part of this policy, some leaders of the Janissaries who tormented the population were sent to prison and some were executed there¹⁰¹.

Three months later from his appointment Hüseyin Ağa managed to extinguish the Janissary leaders with those banishments, imprisonments and executions. The operation of cleansing Janissary inns at Asmaaltı contributed to the establishment of security in İstanbul. This was because many porters and day-labourers, being at the same time members of the Janissaries, were living there and had a bad reputation in the eyes of the citizens. Thus, the first step of the "planned appeasing movement" was brought to a successful conclusion. This was a step of the planned movement since from the beginning of the selection and appointment of Hüseyin Ağa to the end of his cleansing movement it was seen the signs of planning and deliberate thinking. Cevdet narrates that in one of the customary Friday meeting, Mahmud II asked Hüseyin Ağa whether there were any Janissary brigands who were not yet punished and, he, being very pleased to hear the answer "no", promoted Hüseyin Ağa with the title of Ağa Paşa¹⁰². But the fear that, the deep-seated hostility of some Janissaries

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 72-73.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁰² Ibid.

against the policy of him could turn to an assassination, directed Hüseyin Paşa to apply the Sultan for changing his duty with another position¹⁰³. He even behaved impatiently to await the Sultan's decision. The Sultan warned him that those kinds of works were not to be done in a hurry and carelessly¹⁰⁴. After the assembly of *Meclis-i Meşveret* on 20 Safer 1239/25 October 1823, he was charged as the governor of Kocaeli and Bursa *Sancağı*s and the commander of the Bosphorus Castles¹⁰⁵. The new duty of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa was not selected randomly; Mahmud II must have thought to take the aid of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa in a possible suppression movement against the Janissaries. Hence, by charging Ağa Hüseyin Paşa in the closer location to Istanbul, Mahmud II seems to have planned to kill two birds with one stone. The decision proved its wisdom since Ağa Hüseyin Paşa played a crucial role in the breaking up of the final Janissary rebellion.

Mahmud II had carried on struggling for the suppression of Janissaries. Ağa Hüseyin Paşa was replaced by the lieutenant general Ahmed Ağa¹⁰⁶, but after a short period, he was discharged from his office, on grounds that he did not play an active role in carrying reforms in the Janissary army. The appointment and the dismissal of the Ağas had continued and after Ahmed Ağa, Ali Ağa and Süleyman Ağa were

¹⁰³ BA, H.H. 17480.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. In the decree the sultan says that...Vakıa burada da nizamına girmiş usulün her halde halelden hıfz-ı himayesi lazımeden olmakla pek de aceleye gelir maddeden değildir... Sadr-ı sabıkada hayli sitemler görmüş, bu mesnedde olanlara televvün yalkışmaz. Aralıkda söyler idim eski huyu olduğundan yine bildiğine gider idi. ...

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. The decree does not contain the date, but Cevdet mentions it. .Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 84.

respectively charged as the Ağa of Janissaries¹⁰⁷. These promotions brought Mehmed Celaledin who was the principal assistant of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa to the third highest rank in the corps as being *Zağarcıbaşı*¹⁰⁸.

On the day when Ağa Hüseyin Paşa was removed from the command of the Janissaries for his security, Galib Paşa had been ordered to İstanbul. He replaced Silahdar Ali Paşa, who became the Grand Vizier on 25 Cumaziyel Ahir 1238/10 March 1823¹⁰⁹. According to Cevdet, although Silahdar Ali Paşa had close relations with the Sultan, he did not play as important a role as Mahmud II wished. The emergence of necessity to appoint an "experienced and tough" person to Grand Vizirate¹¹⁰ set in motion Mahmud II. Silahdar Ali was replaced by Mehmed Said Galib Paşa who was the former governor of Hüdavendigâr (Bursa) and Kocaeli and the commander of the Bosphorus' Castles. He was selected as the Grand Vizier probably because of his close companionship with the earlier reform programs of Selim III, and Alemdar Mustafa Paşa and his long interest in reform programs. Galib Paşa remained Grand Vizier for almost a year and was replaced by Benderli Selim Paşa who was known for his bold and courageous character. Cevdet mentions that a short time before the dismissal of Galib Paşa, Mahmud II had secretly talked to the Grand Vizier about his plans of reorganising the Janissaries in a new way. Galib

¹⁰⁶ BA, H.H. 17480.

¹⁰⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 529-530.

¹⁰⁸ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 99.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84, Cevdet originally says that ..."germ ü serd rüzgarı görmüş geçirmiş mücerribü'l-etvar bir zatın makam-ı sadarete bulunması lüzumu gereği gibi his olunmuş"...

Paşa replied, that project might be feasible if the reactionary Janissary leaders could be exiled to distant provinces. He added that Ağa Hüseyin Paşa could play a strategic position for this undertaking. He also said that he would not be able to succeed since he was originally a "man of the pen". It was interesting that he recommended Benderli Selim Paşa who was reputed to be brave and prudent¹¹¹.

After that meeting, the Sultan secretly sent off a member of his bodyguard named Ahmed Ağa to Silistre where Selim Paşa was serving as governor. With a decree, Selim Paşa was summoned to İstanbul and after his arrival, he was brought to the Grand Vizierate¹¹². After the replacement of the Grand Vizier, the right moment for the selection of Ağa of Janissaries had come. Süleyman Ağa who was the Ağa of Janissaries, was dismissed and in place of him, the lieutenant-general Hasan Ağa was appointed. Also, in place of Hasan Ağa, Mehmed Celaleddin Ağa who had close relations with Ağa Hüseyin Paşa was charged on 22 Cumaziyel Ahir 1240/11 February 1825. The final step of appointment process came seven months later when Mehmed Celaleddin Ağa became the Ağa of Janissaries on 25 Muharrem 1241/11 September 1825. It was important since Celaleddin Ağa was the last Ağa of Janissaries¹¹³. When the post "the Ağa of Janissaries" was abolished on 17 June 1826, he would be offered the command of the new troops but instead would prefer to be an equerry of the Sultan¹¹⁴.

¹¹¹ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 99.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹¹⁴ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 94.

In the spring of 1826, the reorganisation of bombardiers and sappers had been carried out. Whilst the *kurd* members of those military units were expelled to their homelands, they were replaced by Turkish lads "*Türk uşağı*" who were at the same time guaranteed by the sufficient sureties¹¹⁵. This was a pre-example of the reorganisation of regular army since the authorities were paying attention in recruiting Ottoman regular army from the Turks¹¹⁶. On the other hand, the recruitment of regular army from the Turkish elements was not a new thing, in reality the *Nizam-ı Cedid* of Selim III was enrolled from the Muslim-Turkish peasants of Anatolia and Rumelia and according to Berkes "this was the nearest idea to the establishment of a national army"¹¹⁷. On the 29th of Şaban 1241/7th of April 1826, in the *selamlık* of Mahmud II when artillerymen rose respectfully on the right side of him, and the Janissaries, on the left side to receive his salute, he only gave salute to the artillerymen and this act of the Sultan was to be noticed by the followers¹¹⁸. It was also important that in that *selamlık* he gave lavish presents of large sum of piastres to each company.

It is seen that the leading military class as well as the bureaucrats had been prepared to the great changes after the appointment and dismissal period. This was

¹¹⁵ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 144. He says, "Bu esnada ise topçu ve humbaracı takımı pek ziyade mültefit olduğundan kürdler memleketleri canibine tard ile yerlerine kefillü Türk uşağı pasbanlar ikame olundu."

¹¹⁶ Hakan Erdem, "Recruitment for the "Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad" in the Arab Provinces, 1826-28", mimeo, İstanbul, 1999, pp. 159, 164, ff.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹¹⁸ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, pp. 144-145.

because the success of reforms would largely depend on the support of those officials and most trusted team members of the Sultan. The same strategy was also applied to the *ulema* class. In the next section we will talk about this theme.

3.2. THE PARTICIPATION OF THE *ULEMA* INTO THE PREPARATION PERIOD

Before the abolition of the Janissary army, Mahmud II was clearly aware of the fact that, in order to reach a final conclusion about the Janissaries, he had to win the support of the *ulema*. The power of the *ulema* was not only restricted to their influence on the Janissaries, but also extended to the common people. Only by way of the *ulema* support, he could convince common people to a radical change in the military structure.

This was not the first time that, in order to perform reforms the Ottoman Sultans established an active cooperation with the highest *ulema*. Printing for example could be introduced only after the *Şeyhülislam* at that time had issued a *fetva* permitting the use of this European invention within certain limits. The leading *ulema* had also expressed their gratitude about that development. Like many previous examples, the *Şeyhülislams* of Mahmud II, Kadızade Mehmed Tahir (1825-1828), Abdulvahhab (1821-1822, 1828-1833), and Mekkizade Mustafa Asım (1818-1819, 1823-1825, 1833-1846), the *mollas*, Mehmed Esad, Mustafa Behcet and many other *ulema* had succoured the Sultan in destroying the Janissaries, abolishing the

Bektaşî Order and organising the new type of army¹¹⁹.

As we mentioned earlier, in order to change the structure of the military, the Sultan first selected a few trust-worthy people among the military, the *ulema* as well as the bureaucrats. Thus, the key *ulema* positions were allocated to the persons who were ready to help and would do what was necessary. The Sultan also applied the same strategy to the opposition group among the *ulema*. Those who showed any reaction to the policies of the Sultan were banished or dismissed¹²⁰. In that preparation period, the Sultan appointed Mekkizade Mustafa Asım Efendi as *Şeyhülislam* in 1823. Mustafa Asım Efendi held this office until 1825, a period in which the reform program was not yet formed, but when the reform plan began to take shape rapidly, the Sultan thought that Mustafa Asım Efendi was not strong enough to lead the *ulema* in that very special period. Although there was no other cause for the dismissal of Mekkizade Asım Efendi, because of the need of the Sultan to have someone among the "*fuzala* or *fukahâ*" for that post, he was dismissed and replaced by the chief judge of Anatolia Kadızade Mehmed Tahir Efendi on Thursday, 13 Rebiü'l-ahir 1241/26 November, 1825¹²¹.

¹¹⁹ Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II", *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization, Scripta Hierosolymina*, Vol. IX, (1961), p. 64.

¹²⁰ Avigdor Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II", *The Ulama in Modern History, Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 7, Special Number, (1971), p. 15.

¹²¹ *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 138. Cevdet comments that appointment as such; *Şeyhülislam* Mekkizade Asım Efendinin iffet ve istikametine diyecek olmayup, bu cihetle azlını muceb bir sebep yok ise de tanzimat-ı askeriye hakkında devletce mutasavvir olan tedabirin icrasında fuzala ve fukahadan bir zatın makam-ı meşihatte bulunması icab-ı halden görülmekle Asım Efendi hakkında teveccüh-i padişahi bir karar olduğu halde....

This was the last major appointment of the Sultan in 1825 and one of the most important of all since, the *ulema* would play an active role in trying to persuade the Janissaries for the reforms as well as the common people. Although the Janissaries would never acknowledge the necessity of reforms, the persuasion of common people could not have been possible without the support of the *ulema*. Without such support, the Sultan could not dare to move, since he knew that it was especially the estrangement of the *ulema* to the reform program and the disloyalty of the *Şeyhülislam* that had been a determining factor in the overthrow of his uncle, Selim III in 1807¹²². Mahmud II was aware of the fact that the narrow interpretation of the *Kur'an* was not in conformity with the European kind of changes and reforms. Thus while he worked against the ascetic interpretation of the legists, he took pains to observe all his religious duties and not to displease the *ulema*¹²³.

Apart from the change of *Şeyhülislam*, other key positions; those of the army judges (*kadiasker*), the *Kadı* of İstanbul, the chief physician (*hekimbaşı*), and others, were also given to the Sultan's loyal supporters. Thus by means of this appointment policy in which the main aim was to create an environment that would give way to the Sultan's programs, Mahmud II succeeded to get a high degree of obedience from the *ulema* leadership¹²⁴.

¹²² Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 101.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹²⁴ Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II", p. 15.

Though the Sultan got the support of high ranking *ulema* in such a way, there were numerous lower rank ones who would strongly oppose to the changes and reforms. In order to convince and calm them, he regularly participated into religious ceremonies and public prayers, and frequently visited convents of dervish orders, especially those of the *Mevlevis'* and *Nakşibendis'*. He also repaired and restored a lot of mosques, tombs, and other religious buildings. Two big mosques were built in Istanbul, in the reign of Mahmud II; the Hidayet Mosque, which was built between 1813-1814 years and the Nusretiye Mosque, in 1826, after the abolition of the Janissary army. A chain of orders was also issued by the Sultan in order to urge Muslims to perform their daily prayers together in mosques, houses or other places¹²⁵.

In an effort to win more support from the *ulema* in 1824, the Sultan also issued a decree that forbade Muslims to take out their sons from elementary religious schools (*mekteb*) before they had gained necessary knowledge about the principles of Islam. The control of this order was given to the *imams* of each quarter¹²⁶. Thus, although this order probably did not directly help to move the standard of religious education to a higher level, in a way, the *imams* and other men who were responsible to give religious education, especially the *ulema* of lower ranks had gained the privilege of being more influential and determinant among common people. Due to such regulations, in addition to the high ranking *ulema*, the Sultan also secured the allegiance of the lower ranking ones.

¹²⁵Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II", p. 93.

Another act of the Sultan to get the support of the *ulema* and at the same time to encourage discipline among the Janissaries was to order the distribution of a book written by a student of İmam Abu Hanife, namely İmam Muhammed, to the Janissary corps. That book was about the inevitable conditions of the Holy War and the teachings of Islam. The authorities decided to distribute the copies of that book to the Janissary corps since, hither the Janissary ranks were filled up with ignorant and uneducated persons¹²⁷. The duty of translation of the book was given to *Hoca Münib Efendi*. After he had finished the translation, it was printed and its copies were sent to libraries, to the Janissary corps and to canonical courts of every province as well. However the Janissaries showed reaction to this development and wrote to their accomplices in the provinces warning them not to pay attention to those books¹²⁸.

At the same time the Sultan appointed two *hocas* to the Bab-ı Deferi Mosque for the instruction of Arabic and Persian languages to the chancery clerks. Also hereafter, with the order of the Sultan, the students who did not acquire the necessary proficiency in the Arabic language, namely grammar "*sarf* and *nahiv*"

¹²⁶ Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II", p. 15-16.

¹²⁷ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 138-139. He says that; Yeniçeriler dahi kanun deyu beynlerinde cari olan bozuk düzen adetlerden geçemedikleri cihetle askerce lazım gelen nizamat-ı meşruaya nazar-ı nefret ile bakıyorlardı. Zat-ı şahane talim ve tanzim-i askere niyet eylediğinden evvel emirde mümkün mertebe halkın cehlını izale etmek icab-ı halden görülüp halbuki tilmiz-i hass-ı İmam-ı Azam olan İmam Muhammed aliyye rahmetü's-samd hazretlerinin seyr-i kebiri mesail-i cihad ve seyri cami' bir kitab mu'teber olarak...

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

were not accepted to enter the department "*defter-i şakirdan*"¹²⁹. The aims of these regulations had two sides; while, on one hand the quality of knowledge was raising, on the other hand the Sultan was planning to increase the public standing of the professional men of religion. Just in what degree did these acts affect the *ulema* is not known, but it can be claimed that, they were instrumental in creating an atmosphere of reconciliation between the authorities and the *ulema* from all ranks. Thanks to that reconciliation the *ulema* generally supported the Sultan in his later military reforms.

The Sultan did not also restrict himself within the bounds of passive *ulema* support. In order to assure that the *ulema* class of all ranks would support him in the reform period, he made final important regulations. Shortly before the *eşkinçi* preparation and registration, in Ramazan 1241/April 1826, while some distinguished *ulema* were being promoted, many *ulema* teachers and professors were also given a special promotion in rank by the Sultan. At the same time the Judge of İstanbul Sadık Efendi whose term of office was to come to an end two months later on 6 June 1826, was offered a three month extension of his term of office. The major reason for that was the decision of the authorities to start the reform plan after the Ramazan feast¹³⁰.

While the appointments and dismissals in *ulema* class as well as military and bureaucracy were being made, another important act of Mahmud II was to organise secret discussions among the *Ulema* and the high officials. According to Cevdet,

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 146.

these discussions started after the executions and banishments of the important Janissary leaders and lasted three to five months¹³¹. The aim of the discussions was to take the rightest decision about the Janissaries and come with a final solution. In this meeting traffic, the *ulema* actively shared the responsibility of the planned reforms. Moreover, by joining the leaders of *ulema* into the preparatory stages, the Sultan had the opportunity of preventing any kind of criticism that would be possibly made by them during the subsequent reforms¹³².

Heyd stresses a series of reasons for *ulema* support of reform. Firstly he connects that support with the power of the Sultan. Mahmud II became successful in eliminating the powerful feudal lords -*derebeyi* and local notables -*ayan*. On various occasions he showed that he demanded the support of all his servants, including the *ulema* and as we previously gave examples, he dismissed and even banished *şeyhülislams* and other *mollas* who did not give positive replies to his wishes¹³³.

Moreover, the prestige of the *ulema* had declined greatly during preceding times because of the growing abuses in their ranks. New men -sons of commoners or of the marginally elite sub-hierarchy- entered the *ilmiye* class. The extraordinary financial needs of individual elite members as well as the state itself contributed to the peculiar vulnerability of the *ulema*, by giving way to the virtual sale of *ilmiye* posts to those who were making the highest bid. Sometimes the *şeyhülislams*

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 147.

¹³² Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II", p. 16.

¹³³ Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II", p. 77.

themselves caused these abuses¹³⁴. Zilfi calls that situation '*ulema* degeneration'¹³⁵ and says, "most posts had publicised price tags. The more incumbents were forced to move, the more income the seller amassed". The abuses went beyond that, instead of the *ulema*, doing their duty that was controlling the government from encroachment on the holy law, the Sultan himself issuing innumerable *fermans* warned the judges not to infringe upon the *şeriat*. Thus with the erosion of the *ilmiye* career's posts and resources, the *ulema* class lost some of its traditional respect and this moral decline also further weakened its power of resistance to any pressure of the Sultan¹³⁶.

Another reason of the support of high *ulema* to reforms of the Sultan was their hatred of the Janissaries and their associates. Although many leading *ulema* had supported the revolutions of 1703, 1730 and 1807-1808, these were short-lived cooperations and it should not conceal the basic conflict and hostility that existed between the Janissaries, who were a part of illiterate working class, and leading *ulema* who formed the only aristocracy in Ottoman society.

Heyd says that the *ulema* seem never to have forgotten the tragic end of the famous *Şeyhülislam* Feyzullah Efendi¹³⁷. The detestation of Esad to the Janissaries was strongly displayed in his manner of representation of this event¹³⁸. Hence with

¹³⁴ Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800) Studies in Middle Eastern History*, (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), pp. 96-97.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

¹³⁶ Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the time of Selim III and Mahmud II", pp. 78-79.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹³⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 158. He says that, Müfti-i şehid Seyyid Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendiyi kabil-i ifnada bir mahalde habs ettikleri hengamda zorba yezidlerinden bir sürü gelip mevlana-yı muma ileyhın olduđu mahbese gelip ... biçareyi kat be kat ma'zeb ve tekdir ettiler.

this bitter experience, the *ulema* became aware of the fact that the revenge of rebels against the government could turn towards the rich and powerful *ulema*.

The cooperation of the leading *ulema* with the Mahmud II was not only restricted to these reasons. Also several of these leading *ulema* had maintained strong close ties of personal friendship with the *Saray*. For example, Yasincizade Abdolvahhab who became a strong figure in the reform period was taken into the *Saray* in his early ages and became a companion of young Selim, and continuously supported Mahmud II. Hence, according to the custom of the *Saray* four important court positions were always held by the highest *ulema*; the posts of *hekimbaşı*, *müneccimbaşı*, *hünkar imamı* and *imam-ı Sultani*. It is a fact that, as a result of this situation they established strong relations with other courtiers and the Sultan himself. It also enabled them to have insider's knowledge about the problems of the Empire and made them influential¹³⁹.

As one result of these strong relations, the *ulema* took an active part in the new councils of Selim III and Mahmud II. Since many leading *ulema* held important diplomatic posts, they also became influential on the foreign policy of the Empire. It is not a coincidental situation that the consultative State council, which was formed to discuss important questions, often assembled in the residence of the *Şeyhülislam*¹⁴⁰. Thus because of their positions in the highest government councils and diplomatic service, the *ulema* performed most important governmental

¹³⁹ Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II", pp. 81-83.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

functions. Moreover, this close contact with the Sultan and courtiers brought the leading *ulema* to share responsibility with the Sultan and government. As Abdulhamid I and Selim III reminded them in their decrees, they were all in the same boat (*cümlemiz bir sefine içinde*)¹⁴¹. Therefore the *raison d'état* or *hikmet-i hükümet* preoccupied an important part of their life.

Also, purposeful stress of Mahmud II on the Islamic character of the state¹⁴² and his visible respect and support not only for religion but also for its representatives strengthened the relationship between the leading *ulema* and the Sultan. It is important that, the more Westernising reforms were introduced, the oftener the Islamic character of the state was articulated. Thus as a result of this policy; 'to urge the leading *ulema* to take place in the heart of events', the government had largely succeeded in presenting that, all reforms including the abolition of the Janissaries were made for the sake of religion and State.

3.3. FINAL PREPARATIONS

As we have mentioned earlier, the authorities had been making secret discussions in order to make a decision about the Janissaries and the formation of a new military. The discussion period had come to an end with the final decision that this was the correct time for the formation of a new army. It was decided that this

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 90, ff.

new army had to be formatted following the structure of the Egypt's new army¹⁴³. It is important to note that the reform program of Mahmud II had heavily been affected by Mehmed Ali's army. There might be two possible reasons for that inspiration. The first is the influential successes obtained by Egyptian army in suppressing rebels, such as in Crete, Cyprus and the Morea, where Ottoman military forces remained ineffective. The second is somehow related with the internal policy of Mahmud II, aiming to provide *ulema's* support for reforms. He might have thought that by employing Turkish and Arab trainers instead of "European infidels", the conservative reactions would be prevented. Cevdet cites that this decision was taken by an anonymous conformation of both the *ulema* class and the high officials. Later discussions were based upon the most appropriate carrying out of the final decision. It was seen that in this manner Ağa Hüseyin Paşa had become the most influential person. In an assembly, he classified the Janissaries under three categories, and said that it was possible to convince the high ranking-Janissaries and to subjugate the lower ones, but since members of the medium class were benefiting gains in form of "*Esame Akçesi*", they could provoke others into a rebellion in order to resist this decision. Hence the influence and the activities of this class was exclusively strong in Istanbul, he claimed that the suppression of them was solely possible with the execution of those people. This opinion was not approved by the persons present on the basis of injustice and inequity, rather they proposed the way to convince them. Cevdet adds that, it was decided to show those people the rightest way to reform the army but if they would not accept, it would become inevitable to struggle against

¹⁴³ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, Vol. XII, p. 147.

them¹⁴⁴. This decision was important since we see that in order to stop the opposition, the government had finally preferred the bloody and violent way. Hence the influence of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa on the abolition of the Janissary Army was already known with this final point.

Following this decision, in order to obtain the support of the key Janissaries, by means of Mehmed Celaleddin Ağa who was the Ağa of Janissaries, the lieutenant-general Hasan Ağa, the master of the hounds (*Sekbanbaşı*) İbrahim Ağa, the commander of the 32nd regiment of the *Bölük* division of the corps (*Kethüdayeri*) Mustafa Ağa, *Canbaz Kürd* Yusuf who was a former sergeant and one of the competent authorities among the Janissaries, and also a few influential persons in the corps were invited and informed of the project. Thanks to some gifts and promotions, they promised to support a reorganisation and training program of the army¹⁴⁵.

When those Janissaries promised to give support, through the Grand Vizier, the Ağa of Janissaries informed the Sultan of that development. The Sultan, who had taken assurances of the Janissary leaders, summoned them to a meeting in order to obtain a signed document of their loyalty¹⁴⁶. Therefore, the following day, namely on 18 Şevval 1241/25 May 1826 an assembly was ordered to be held in the residence of the *Şeyhülislam*. The board was including the Grand Vizier Mehmed Selim Paşa, *Şeyhülislam* Kadızade Mehmed Tahir Efendi, the previous Kazasker of Rumelia

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 147.

¹⁴⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 13-14, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 147.

¹⁴⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 14.

Halil Hamid Paşazade Arif Beyefendi, the chief physician Mustafa Behcet Efendi and Cafer Beyefendi who was the former *Kadı* of İstanbul, and was the son of the previous minister of foreign affairs, the *Kadı* of İstanbul *Hacı* Sadık Efendi and the Minister of Interior Ahmed Hulusi Efendi, and the Minister of Treasury Tahir Efendi and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mehmet Seyda Efendi and the superintendent of the imperial mint Esat Efendi, the superintendent of the cannon foundry Sadık Efendi and the Janissary Ağa¹⁴⁷.

Reed makes a comment about the board and says that: "It is significant to note the various branches of the Ottoman state organisation represented by these twelve men."¹⁴⁸ The two of them (the Grand Vizier and the Ağa of Janissaries) were the men of the sword, while the five others were the representatives of the religious hierarchy and the other five ones were the members of the bureaucracy. While the second and third group were balanced with their numbers, Mahmud II preferred to call two persons from among the soldiers.

Discussing in detail the new kind of training for soldiers, it was decided to pronounce a *fetva* with a unanimous opinion of the *ulema*. The Ağa of Janissaries Celaleddin Ağa also affirmed that the Janissary corps undertook the new kind of organisation. The board came to a conclusion that their decision would be declared and spread all over the country. Hence they decided to assemble three days later. The *Kadı* of İstanbul *Hacı* Sadık Efendi charged Esad Efendi, who was the registrar of the court of the judge of İstanbul at that time, as the writer of the contract

¹⁴⁷ Esad. *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 14, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 147.

¹⁴⁸ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, pp. 119-120.

document. Esad mentions that he wrote this document all the night and, on the next day, he passed it on white paper and placed in the secret file¹⁴⁹. Thus a proposed law was written out about the *Eşkincis*.

As was decided, three days later a general meeting was set up in the residence of *Şeyhülislam*. Apart from the persons stated above there were also other attendants at the meeting: The commander of the Bosphorus of the Rumelian side Aga Hüseyin Paşa and of the Anatolian side Mehmed İzzet Paşa, from the retired Kazaskers of the Rumelia Arif Beyefendi and Pirizade Hafidi Yahya Beyefendi, from the heads of the physicians of the palace Behcet Efendi and Abdullah Mollazade Ahmed Reşid Efendi, and from the retired Kazaskers of Anatolia Mehmed Rahmi Beyefendi and Arabzade Sadullah Efendi and Cafer Beyefendi and Çarşambevi Hoca Mehmed Efendi and from the chief judges of the Empire Kütahyalı Halil Rüştü Efendi and Kudüsi Mehmed Efendi, and Yabanabadi Ali Efendi, the head-secretary Fethullah Efendi and from the teachers of the *Saray-ı Cedid* Akşehirli Ömer Efendi and from the teachers of the treasury Ekmekçizade Hafız Ahmed Efendi and Konyalı Hüseyin Efendi, Ekinli İbrahim Efendi, Denizlili Yahya Efendi, Zeyrek İmamzade Esad Efendi, Çerkezi Mehmed Efendi, Karabağlı Ahmed Efendi, Bafıralı Ahmed Efendi, Ahıskalı Ahmed Efendi, Kürd Abdurrahman Efendi, Babakaleli Mustafa Efendi, Çarşambalı Mustafa Efendi, Selanikli Mehmed Emin Efendi, Tireli Abdullah Efendi, Seyyid Ali Efendi, Kasımpaşalı Şeyh Ahmed

¹⁴⁹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 15. He says that: ...fakir hüccet-i matlubayı ol gece tesvid ve ferdası cuma günü beyaz kırtase çeküp te'miri niyazına ruy-i siyahını malide-i dergah-ı rabb-ı meccid ederek bi't-tekmil vaz-ı kise-i ketman u esrar ve zuhur-ı peyam-ı ihzara intizar olundu...

Efendi, the preacher of the Ebulfeth mosque Abdullah Efendi, the preacher of the Nur-i Osmaniye mosque Kazdağlı Osman Efendi, the preacher of the Valide Sultan mosque Şeyh Mehmed Murad Efendi, the high officials Nişancı Abdullah Efendi and Hüseyin Tahsin Efendi, the previous Minister of Foreign Affairs Arif Efendi, the chief secretary Süleyman Faik Efendi and *amedî* Akif Efendi, and from the Janissary corps the retired Ağa of the Janissaries Osman Ağa and Ahmed Ağa and Abbas Ağa and commanders-in-chief of the Janissaries and the Ağas and the *Bölüks* and five *mütevelli*'s from *Orta*'s and also Kürd Yusuf¹⁵⁰. We cited the names of all participants in order to show how a wide compromise was prepared. A total of sixty-six influential people participated into this assembly. Thirty-four of them were among the religious class while the military was represented by twenty-two persons and the bureaucracy by ten. Thus, with such kind of a wide participation that contains all decisive elements, it had to be planned to consolidate a collective decision in order to prevent the formation of an opposition.

At the beginning of the meeting, the Grand Vizier reiterated the early strength of the Ottoman Empire and the fear of her enemies and said that now the situation became reversed. By making a clear distinction between the past and the present position of the Janissaries, he claimed that while formerly the Janissaries were living in their barracks and joining in the battles actively, hither they changed their lifestyle. At first, while their courage and obedience were taken as a model, some miserable people who had an evil intention penetrated the army, and deranged this order. Even the Greeks and enemy spies entered the corps in order to corrupt

¹⁵⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 15-16.

it¹⁵¹. He pointed out that, the main cause of this disastrous situation was the lack of religious spirit. He added that the confusion among the Janissaries could not be endured any longer, and it would be the best to act according to the Islamic laws¹⁵².

Moreover Behcet Efendi had confirmed the speeches of the Grand Vizier and added that it had to be found a means for this chronic disease and proposed to acquaint the rebels and to recognise the disease. Hence he said that he wanted to know the opinions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Mehmed Seyda Efendi explained the proposals and pressures of foreign powers about the Greek revolt. He said that they were using this revolt as a means of their desires and wants, and making unbearable and impossible proposals¹⁵³. Thereupon the *ulema* declared that in order to struggle successfully against the foreign powers, the instruction and training of new war techniques had to be necessary and, proved that it was canonically and rationally legal¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 18. According to Esad, The Grand Vizier said that; ... işte asakir-i merkumenin fi'l-kadim bu vechle yararlıları derkar iken aralık aralık meyanlarına bed asl eşhas-ı mechule duhuliyle nizam-ı kadimleri efradı gibi nayab ve bünyan, harab-ı ender harab olup elan defter-i padişahi yeniçeri esamesiyle lebriz ise de cenk eri arandıkta nadir ve aziz bulunur ve bu hal ile sefere orta ta'yin olundukça zabıt ağaların bir kuru yoldaş adıyla cem ettikleri ecnas-ı muhtelif harb ve darb erbabı olmadıklarından maada rişte-i hüsn-i nizama merbut ve zabıta-i taht-ı inkıyadda mazbut olmamalarıyla içlerine casus bi-namus karışıp....

¹⁵² Ibid., pp. 16-20. The abbreviated version of it is in; Cevdet, **Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII**, pp. 138-139, Ahmed Cevad, **Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani**, (İstanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası, 1297), p. 348 and Uzunçarşılı, **Kapukulu Ocakları I**, pp. 533-534.

¹⁵³ Esad, **Üss-i Zafer**, p. 20, Cevdet, **Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII**, p. 149.

¹⁵⁴ Esad, **Üss-i Zafer**, p. 21, Cevdet, **Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII**, p. 149.

The lieutenant-general Hasan Ağa claimed that due to the lack of attention and respect, some undesirable people penetrated the army, and he continued: "If I had to participate in a war with these disarranged soldiers, I would be in suspense to go, because with such a kind of disorder, the soldiers would probably escape from the battlefield even if every of them had a courageous character. The amelioration of Janissaries must be performed at whatever cost." Other Corp Ağas had also confirmed and approved of the comments of the lieutenant-general Hasan Ağa¹⁵⁵.

Hereafter, the Grand Vizier by expressing his gratitude added that all the persons present demanded the amelioration and reform program of the Janissaries that would remove the abuses in the corps. He ordered that an imperial rescript of the Sultan about the new training methods of the Janissaries, and then a bill namely "*Eşkinici Layihası*" would be recited. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Mehmed Seyda Efendi read the imperial rescript and after him the chief secretary Süleyman Faik Efendi recited the *Layiha*¹⁵⁶.

After Süleyman Faik Efendi finished reading the *Layiha*, the Grand Vizier invited the *Şeyhülislam* Kadizade Tahir Efendi to read the *fetva* which stated that the reform program was a religious obligation. When the reciting had been completed, *Şeyhülislam* told those of the corps that according to these documents, in order to struggle against the enemies, the reform program should be viewed as a religious duty. It was demonstrated by the requirements of the laws of the book (*Kur'an*), the customs of the Prophet (*Sunnet*), the consensus (*icma*) and the agreement of *ulema*.

¹⁵⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 21, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 149.

¹⁵⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 22, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 149.

He asked whether they could undertake to make reforms for the Janissaries. All present Janissary officers promptly answered that they would willingly undertake to do this¹⁵⁷.

The Grand Vizier then asked the *Şeyhülislam* that what would be the punishment of evil people who would make a stand against this decree. *Şeyhülislam* answered that the rebellious men who at the same time were intriguing had to be punished severely and he assigned to the head of the keeper of *fetvas* to write this *fetva*¹⁵⁸. Hereafter in order to ratify the decisions of this assembly, the registrar Esad Efendi was ordered to read the *Hüccet-i Şerriye* which he had previously written out. After he had read, all the present, except one; -the keeper of the *fetvas* whose signet was not in his pocket, sealed it. Also Seyyid Sadık Efendi because of his illness did not participate the assembly, and it was decided to add the names of these two men to the *Hüccet*, and to attach their seals later¹⁵⁹.

As was decided before, the Grand Vizier gave the *fetva* to the keeper of the *fetvas*, the *Hüccet* to Esad Efendi and *Layiha* to the Ağa of Janissaries. He then ordered all the judges, (*mevali*), *müderrisin*, *şeyhs*, the *Kadı* of İstanbul, together with the Janissary officers to go to the *Ağa Kapısı* in order to read the documents and to take the signature of other Janissary officers. All of them went to the *Ağa Kapısı* where a large group of the Janissaries assembled. First the *fetva* was read by the keeper of the *fetvas*, then, the *Hüccet* and *Layiha* were recited by Esad Efendi to

¹⁵⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

the crowd. After the reading of the documents was finished, then the *ulema* made speeches in favour of the new kind of training program¹⁶⁰. Hence the Ağa of Janissaries told the crowd that the new kind of training program was religiously accepted as a necessity according to this *fetva* and unanimous expression of the *ulema* and asked their opinions. He added that by ordering a written contract from their opinions he would submit it to the *Bab-ı Ali*. Some of the company commanders and veterans proclaimed their consents and others followed them¹⁶¹. After *Şeyh* Ahmed Efendi prayed, Esad Efendi was sent to the room of the lieutenant general in order to take the signature of other Janissary officers. Hence, the *Hüccet*, by swearing to seal with their blood, signed by all present officers¹⁶². Esad adds that the number of the signatures reached to 208¹⁶³. An official note was written by the Ağa of Janissaries that the Janissary corps accepted the new kind of training program. The board at *Ağa Kapısı* by taking this, turned to their meeting place and, and then the assembly was dissolved in the same evening¹⁶⁴.

It is important to note that, in the first meeting, among the twelve participants, the *ulema* sent five representatives who were the most active

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁶¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 35-36, *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151. Esad writes that; Ağa canipleri işte fetva-yı garra ve ittifak-ı ulema ile cenk talimi üzerimize vacip olduğu zahir olmakla ne dersiniz, taahhüdünüzü Bab-ı Aliye ba takrir-i arz ve bu vechle tekmil-i namus ve arz etmekliği kendime farz edeceğim diyerek hüzzardan tekrar be-tekrar isticvab ve istihbar eyledikte saff-ı evvel-i cemaatte duran bölük ağaları ve ocak ihtiyarlarından bazıları semi'na ve ata'na manasını ilma ve ima ve bakileri dahi anlara bi'l-iktifa izhar-ı rıza ettiklerine muakib...

¹⁶² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 36, *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151.

¹⁶³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 40, *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151.

participants of the meeting in questioning the *eşkinçi* project from the point of view of Islamic law and presenting their unanimous approval to it¹⁶⁵. In the last decisive meeting, among the sixty-six notables, over half, thirty-four to be exact, were *ulema* leaders. The *ulema* said again several times that it was the duty of every Muslim to take military training and to obey the Sultan. In the *Layiha* of *eşkinçi* it was also stated that the military training was a divine command and the person who did not accept this was subject to the most severe punishment¹⁶⁶. Thus the *ulema* by presenting the new reform of the military as a religious duty, proclaimed that anyone who opposed to this decision was not merely a rebel against the government but also against the Islamic Law.

3.4. THE 'EŞKİNCİ LAYİHASI' AND 'HÜCCET-İ ŞERRİYE':

A CRITICAL EVALUATION

In *Layiha* and its *hüccet*, as well as in the speeches of the attendants of the last two meetings it was declared that to learn from the infidel enemy would not constitute a religiously illicit innovation (*bidat*) but would be an application of the

¹⁶⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 14-15, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, pp. 147-148. Esad says that, *yevm-i merkumda(kişiler) muvacehelerinde ol husus bi-ctrafen söyleşilip ve vech-i şer'isi sual olundukta ittifak-ı ulema ile vücub-ı ta'lim-i cenk emrinde ifta olunup ve ocaklının tahrir-i askere taahhüd eylediklerini yine mecliste bulunan Yeniçeri ağası ba'de'l-enba tekrar umum üzere daru'l-fetvada akd-ı cemiyet ile cümleye ilan ve işaata netice verilip...*

¹⁶⁶ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 150.

verses of the *Kur'an*¹⁶⁷. The *ulema* also passionately rejected the argument of their adversaries: *men teşabbaha bi-kavm fe-huve minhum*, meaning; "Who imitates other people, becomes one of them"¹⁶⁸. While the passage of the *Kur'an* (ch. IX, v.36), '...and fight against the idolaters altogether (*kaffatan*) as they fight against you, 'altogether' was traditionally commented as allowing the Muslims to make war in all months, including the four sacred ones, the *ulema* leaders interpreted it as allowing them to the use of all arms and tactics used by their enemies. They even proclaimed that the term *kaffatan* was used for describing of fighting in a united and compact formation¹⁶⁹. The new drill program was also styled as *talim-i şer'i*; the drill according to the religious law¹⁷⁰. They also used the verses III, v.200 and LXI, v. 4 in order to apply the rule of *mukabele bi'l-misl*, that is fighting the enemies with their own weapons¹⁷¹.

Apart from arguments based on religious law, they also applied to early Islamic history. According to them, Ibn Khaldun had asserted that while the pagan Arabs were using "*ker ü fer*" style that was 'individual attack and retreat' method in

¹⁶⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 37, 42.

¹⁶⁸ Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II", p. 75.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 114. Esad says that, *ve devlet-i aliyyenin ta'lim-i şer'i için ellerine verdiği eslihayı bi-mehaba devlet-i aliyye-i Muhammediye aleyhine i'mal ederek...*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37. He says that; *ya eyyuhellezine amenu'sbiru ve sabiru ve rabitu kavli kerimiyle innellahe yuhibbu'llezine yukatilune fi sebilihı saffen keennehum bünyanun mersus mükerremesinden müstefad olduđu üzere fúnun-ı harbiyeyi bilmek ve a'daya mukabele bi'l-misl ile muamele etmek lazımeden ...*

the combats, the early Muslims abandoned that and preferred to use the higher military technique of their enemies. That was "*tertib-i sufuf*" or the technique of fighting in lines, used by the Persian and Byzantine foes of the early Muslims¹⁷². They also said that while the enemies invented gunpowder, in the 40th year of the Muslim date, -they seemingly referred to the Greek fire or another similar material-¹⁷³ the early Muslims also borrowed the use of *barut* from them¹⁷⁴.

Esad adds that the Caliphs and Sultans of Islam by making an analogy about the use of enemies' techniques by the early Muslims arranged cavalry and infantry soldiers resemble to their enemies¹⁷⁵. Armament with the enemies' armies and learning their usage from them should not cause to have a feeling of being inferior by the Muslims. Thus in this way the *ulema* presented the approval of the reforms and defended it by the arguments either taken from religious law or early Islamic history.

The composition of *Eşkinici Layihası* was very important since it reflects the approaches and views of the officials about the Janissaries and the new kind of training program¹⁷⁶. Every single word of this writing was decided with particular

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁷³ Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II", p. 75. Although Heyd adds that, "but possibly also to gunpowder which the Ottoman adopted many centuries later", the context of the text and the date given in that, do not refer to the Ottoman period.

¹⁷⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 37-38.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁷⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 22-32, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 255-263, Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, pp. 278-285, Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 652-662.

care. The first aspect of *Eşkinici Layihası* was the praise for the past tradition of the Janissary order. The general idea of corruption was represented in the *Layiha* as well; since the existence of *Devlet-i Aliyye*, the Janissary corps coped with every enemy but later on spies and vicious men penetrated into the army and hence their orders and regularity were corrupted. This was attributed to the permission of buying and selling the '*eşkinici esamesi*'; pay ticket or pay certificate of a Janissary soldier which must be shown to the paymasters in order to take the soldier's quarterly salary, or periodic special allowances granted by the new sultans on their accession or on other special occasions¹⁷⁷. With this permission law -*eşkinici esamesi*, which was published after the conquest of Anapoli Castle as a short-sighted attempt to give concessions to the Janissaries who had served effectively in this campaign, the owners obtained the right of buying and selling '*eşkinici esamesi*' for the first time. These pay certificates soon found a substantial market which was widely held by non-Janissaries and non-soldiers. Thus due to these financial abuses of the Janissary pay certificates the structure of the Janissary corps was spoiled.

The *Layiha* continues its claims by saying that hence it became impossible to struggle with the enemies as in the past. In order to save the future position of *Devlet-i Aliyye*, it was an obligatory duty applicable to all believers to recognise and fight the arms of the enemies. Hence, the training of the new kind of science of war is religiously lawful, and the verses of the *Kur'an* and the sayings of the prophet

¹⁷⁷ Howard A. Reed, "Ottoman Reform and the Janissaries", ed. Osman Okyar, Halil İnalcık, *Social and Economic History of Turkey, (1071-1920)*, First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Hacettepe University, Ankara, 1977, (Ankara: Meteksan Ltd. Şirketi, 1980), p. 194.

Muhammed support this idea. Since *Devlet-i Aliyye* takes its power from the canonical law, it was canonically decided to enrol the *eşkinçis* from the Janissary soldiers.

As was seen, the registration of the '*eşkinçi*' soldiers was entirely portrayed as a religious injunction. Nevertheless the aim of the government was originally to find a religious base for whatever it wanted, it was consciously represented as the application of a religious command. The rhetoric of *Layiha* operated tactfully with the same logic. The reasons and confirmations about the inadequacy of the current Janissary army were represented in a religious framework and yet were supported with the verses of the *Kur'an* and the traditions of the prophet.

After the prologue part, the *Layiha* dealt with the problem of how the *Eşkinçi* soldiers were selected. According to the decree, some would be selected from among the *bölüks*, *cemaats* and *solakbaşıs* who were in the service of *kulluk* both from the inner and outer regions of the Country, and among the sergeant-majors and the *imams* of the corps who were in the service of *Bab-ı Ali* and *Ağa Kapısı*, and among the thirty-three '*avcılar ortası*', and in general among the fifty-one *ortas* of the Janissary corps. Every *orta* would register and arrange one hundred and fifty persons among its members whose origins and families were clearly known.

Apart from the determination of each company and of the number of officers and sergeants to be appointed, the expressions about the chain of promotions were divulged. The *Eşkinçi* Project especially dealt with the chain of command in which the obedience and discipline of soldiers were strictly tied to careful selection of officers.

The material needs of the troops was another issue of the document. The problems of payment and pensions and medical care for wounded and sick men were settled. The drill ground at Etmeydanı was to be used again. The exercises with firearms would be carried out at the drill ground at Davutpaşa or Kağıthane. The appointment of *Karakullukçus* was another issue of the document. The types of tents and the number of *kilims* were classified according to the rank of soldiers. The punishments of deserters were also determined. The arms, uniforms and equipment of the soldiers were another important item of the decree. It ended with a prayer in which wishes and beliefs to become superior against the enemies again were recited and the role of reorganised army was emphasised¹⁷⁸.

In return for their active participation in preparing the military reform, the *ulema* were given an important position in the new organisation. According to the *Eşkinici* Law, the *imams* would be appointed for each company by the *Kadı* of İstanbul and they would be selected after an exam. They would stay in the military barracks at nights in order to instruct soldiers in the *Kur'an* and the principles of Islam. In the drill days before the commencement of the exercises, they would also lead the prayer publicly. Their term of office was to be restricted to five years. After finishing their term of office, they would be transferred to other duties that would be given by the office of the *Kadı*¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 22-32, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 255-263, Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, pp. 278-285, Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp: 652-662.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

It is no doubt that, the appointment of military *imams* pleased both the high-ranking *ulema* and the low ranking ones. The high-ranking *ulema* had the opportunity to exercise their power upon the organisation of the new corps through their control over the appointment of the military *imams*. On the other hand the low ranking *ulema*, particularly the *softas*, or the students of religious schools had new career opportunities. This was important for them since, they numbered over several thousands in İstanbul alone and because of that abundance of number they must have been waiting many years for a vacant position¹⁸⁰. Hence it is clear that within this application it was aiming to strength the *Sunni* branch of Islam in the barracks and to weaken the power of the *Bektaşî* order among the Janissaries.

In the *Hüccet-i Şerriye*, the necessity of using new kinds of arms and techniques of war similar to the ones used by the foes was remarkably stressed. The question of whether it was religiously possible to use the new kind of science of war by the *Eşkıncîs* was settled and its legitimacy was declared¹⁸¹.

With a close observation it is seen that the *Eşkıncî* project does not fundamentally differ from early attempts of regulations of the Janissaries, especially that of Selim III's *Nizam-ı Cedid*. But in spite of the similarities on the stress of discipline, religious concepts and military organisation, it is worthy of attention that, the Sultan and the providers of the *Eşkıncî* Project took great care of avoiding any references to the previous attempt of Selim III. This could be because the

¹⁸⁰ Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and the Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II", pp. 19-20.

¹⁸¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p.36-40, *Cevdet Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 263-266, Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani* pp. 285-289, *Uzunçarşılı, Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 662-666.

government did not want to cause the Janissaries to suspect its policy. Yet the suspicion of the Janissaries about any kind of reform was known and if they would resist the Project, it was evident that the government would react against them.

It was seen that both the *Layiha* and *Hüccet-i Şerriye* were prepared before the assembly. It seems that this assembly had played a persuasive and declaratory role, which acquainted the attendants the decision of government with the reform program of the Janissaries.

3.5. THE FIRST DRILL OF THE EŞKİNCİ CORPS

After these four days of meetings, Mahmud II had reached his first aim: The *Eşkinici* Project was sealed by all high ranking officials, the *ulema* and important Janissary officers. With their signatures, each of them accepted the necessity of reform and this negotiation provided the Sultan with a very efficient tool, which would enable him to manipulate public opinion for required support.

After that step of formal agreement, it was the time for the final changes: At first the job of inspector of the *eşkinicis* was given to the general secretary of the Janissaries. But the current Janissary secretary *Katip* Ata Bey was accepted as inefficient for this duty especially by the Ağa of Janissaries Mehmed Celaleddin Ağa, Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and the lieutenant general. Ağa Hüseyin Paşa proposed that the administrative and secretary affairs of the *eşkinicis* had to be unified in order to accelerate the performance. The warning of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa set in motion the government which declared in decrees that the previous customs controller *Hacı*

Saib Efendi was charged with the administrative and secretarial affairs of *eşkıncis* and he became the superintendent of the *eşkınci* corps. However Ata Bey was appointed to the chief accountancy of the capitation tax¹⁸².

Thus the registration of *Eşkınci* corps was started and the question of what kind of arms would be given to them was settled. According to the decision they would be given arms resembling the old ones. Their uniforms too were designed as similar to those of Janissaries¹⁸³, which shows that the government was acting prudently in order to prevent speculations.

The attentive and prudential movement of the Sultan about the training program was seen in the decrees. In a decree Mahmud II asked that in what conditions the training program would be realised. He, by claiming that since people from every corner of İstanbul would come to the drill ground in order to watch the

¹⁸² BA, H.H. 17319, 1241, BA, H.H. 19462, 1241. See also Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 63, *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 150.

¹⁸³ *Cevdet Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151. Reed says that; "The uniform was, by design, to differ radically from the regular Janissary outfit, and to be as attractive as possible in order to entice recruits. In place of baggy trousers, short-sleeved vests and open slippers, the new troops were to receive tight-fitting European style knee-breeches with leggings, a long-sleeved jacket, and colored Laz type cap. Although in his footnote he says that his argument is based on the citations of Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 64, *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151, and Walsh, *Residence*, II 506, the citations of both Esad and Cevdet are radically different from his comment. In p., 64 Esad mentions only a single clause about the uniforms, by saying that "Layiha-i muharrerde de mübin olduğu üzere askere lazım gelen elbise ve esliha edna himmet-i iskenderane ile çend ruz zarfında tertib.." while in p., 151, Cevdet says that "Bunlara defaten süngülü tüfenk verilse kıyl ü kali mucib olmak mütaalasına mebni birer tokmak kundaklı tüfenk ile birer kılınc hazır edildi ve bir kıyafet-i mahsusa lazım gelmekle eski töreden çıkılmayıp ayaklarına sıkı potur ve başlarına yeşil renkli laz kalpağı tahsis buyuruldu. It seems that his comment is based on the citations of Walsh.

training program, said that the shootings had to be performed with the blank shot¹⁸⁴. Another important point recited in the decree was about the Sultan's annoyance because of maladroitness of soldiers in shootings. He says that the Janissaries had to obtain required skills and techniques as soon as possible since the Westerners might ridicule the Janissaries' foolish appearance because of their misses in shooting. This emphasis of the Sultan is significant to understand the importance attributed to the Westerners' views. Mahmud II wanted to westernise his army in order to stop the encroachment of the West, but he wanted to achieve this without large-scale assistance, and the implied interference, by Europe¹⁸⁵. His remark that the problem of how the training program would be made in winters could be solved by the authorities like Hüseyin Ağa is important since it gives the traces that the sultan was aiming to discipline the military and if the Janissaries would accept every request of the Sultan, there possibly would be no problem. On the other hand, it is clear that the Janissaries would not easily accept what the Sultan wanted.

On 6 Zilkade 1241/12 June 1826, the teachers who were charged by the *Şeyhülislam* in order to teach the new kind of art of war, the *şeyhs*, the Ağa of Janissaries Mehmed Celaleddin Ağa, and the superintendent of *eşkıncis* Saib Efendi and other Janissary officers, by making a mutual deliberation, at early times of the morning went to the old drill ground at the Et Meydanı. Following immediately after the noon call to prayer, some three-to five selected soldiers from every fifty-one *orta*

¹⁸⁴ BA, H.H. 25635.

¹⁸⁵ Avigdor Levy, *The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II, 1808-1839*, Ph. D. Dissertation: (Harvard University, 1968). p. 651.

were sent out Etmeydanı and by dressing their clothes they were given their arms with prayer and praise¹⁸⁶. Hence, four drill masters; Davud Ağa who was an Egyptian colonel, İbrahim Ağa who was the veteran of the *Nizam-i Cedid* of Selim III and other two men who knew modern military drill were also dressed and brought forward to instruct the new troops¹⁸⁷. Afterwards, some of the *ulema* talked about the legitimacy of the new kind of training program and attempted to awaken the enthusiasm of the soldiers. Then, Yabanabadi Ali Efendi who was the head keeper of *fetvas*, started the *Eşkinici* Project with the formula '*bismillahirrahmanirrahim*'. He took a rifle and passed it to the Ağa of Janissaries, who himself kissed and passed it to the *sekbanbaşı*, the *sekbanbaşı* gave it to the Ağas of the *katar*. The *eşkinici* soldiers moved just a few steps forward in order to show that they formally pretended to begin the program¹⁸⁸. At the close of the drill session, Ahmed Efendi from the *ulema* class then made a touching prayer aloud and everyone repeated with him. Thus the first training came to an end¹⁸⁹. In spite of the premonitions of the reform leaders, the first *eşkinici* drill was over without incident. There was also no apparent problem in the following next two days¹⁹⁰.

Goodwin in his work "The Janissaries" stresses a remarkable point by saying that it would be interesting to know how many members of the assembly had

¹⁸⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 64, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151.

¹⁸⁷ While Esad gives the number of instructors as four, Cevdet mentions as three. Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 64, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151.

¹⁸⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 65, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 151.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

foreseen the men's reaction to the reforms and also what was the thought of the Sultan. The idea that the ministers and their advisers did not know that they were vexing the Janissaries is inconceivable¹⁹¹. Although the new kind of training program was started without any problem, according to the explanations of both Mehmed Esad Efendi and Cevdet Paşa, the officials were on their toes. This precaution was derived from the idea that the Janissaries especially who were at the same time occupied with trading *esames* could make any agitation. In order to prevent this, the government by sending a decree to the *Kadı* of İstanbul declared that, from this time buying and selling of *esames* was prohibited, but the owners of *esames* could use them throughout their lives. The decree continued with the idea that the necessity of the new kind of training program was canonically approved and since it was consonant with the religious faith, the population should have been satisfied with this training program¹⁹².

Both Mehmed Esad and Cevdet claim that the influential people from the Janissary corps such as *Kethüdayeri* Mustafa and *Kürd* Yusuf who were invited to the meetings in both the residence of *Şeyhülislam* and *Ağa Kapısı* and who undertook their faithfulness, however acted hypocritically. They say that while those people had originally were planning to rebel at the fist drill of the *eşkıncis*, some of the Janissaries postponed this by claiming that it was not appropriate to the laws of *Dudman-ı Bektaşîye* to rebel without having removed their cauldrons into the square.

¹⁹⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 71.

¹⁹¹ Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, (London: Saqi Books, 1994), p. 218.

¹⁹² Esad *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 66-67, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 266.

Some Janissaries had the thought that the most appropriate time for the rebellion was after the distribution of arms to the *eşkıncis*. They claimed that the *eşkınci* comrades would also bring their new arms that would hasten success. On the other hand, others argued that the rebellion had to start before the first drill, because the *eşkıncis* might disapprove the rebellion, since the government would treat them kindly. Neither side succeeded to persuade the other before the announcement of the first drill¹⁹³. Cevdet says that even the Janissary ringleaders were assembling secretly in the *Kerpiç Han* at Big Bazaar, in order to discuss and find the most appropriate time of the rebellion. In those assemblies the former lieutenant of the 31st company named Habib was strongly inciting the Janissaries to rebel. Before the beginning of the *eşkınci* project, although he was exiled to the province because of his dangerous influence among the Janissaries, he suddenly turned to İstanbul for the reason that he was wishing to be transferred to Salonika. Despite all efforts to send him to his post, he did not leave İstanbul¹⁹⁴.

The government was also too conscious of any possible opposition. Six days before the first drill of the *eşkıncis*, on 28 Şevval 1241/4 June 1826 when Saib Efendi was appointed as the superintendent of the *Eşkınci* troops, he went to the residence of the Ağa of Janissaries, in order to talk about the first drill of the *eşkıncis* and any possible reaction against it. Toward the end of the discussion Celaleddin Ağa, who thought that there might be a reaction from some Janissary officers and leaders, sent Saib Efendi to the *katar* Ağas, *Kürd* Yusuf and some of the

¹⁹³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 69-70, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 152.

¹⁹⁴ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 152.

Janissary veterans, and invited them to a meeting. When they assembled, Celaleddin Ağa tried to persuade them that the sole aim of the project was to fight the enemies on equal basis with the tactics and arms similar to theirs. He also reminded that they ratified the document with their signatures and the *ulema* also declared it as a religious duty¹⁹⁵.

The veterans of the Janissaries agreed but said that, the Janissaries were so "thick-skulled" and they were already grumbling that the new program was adopting the tactics of the infidels. The Janissaries were resisting to the new program since it was not in accord with the tradition of the Janissaries¹⁹⁶. It was important that any possible reaction of the Janissaries against the new drill program was connected with their mental capacity. Thus Esad was aiming at representing them as "thick-skulled" persons.

The veterans' responses set in motion the Celaleddin Ağa and Ağa Hüseyin Paşa. The Grand Vizier was also anxious about the malcontent of the Janissaries. After he was informed the responses of the veterans, he hastily summoned Ağa Hüseyin Paşa to his residence at night. Hüseyin Paşa advised that since all preparations were made, they would stand confidently against any reaction and if the Janissaries would revolt, they would be disciplined¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 70, *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 152-153.

¹⁹⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 71, *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 153. They wrote that; neferatımız beyni kalın bir taife-i gayri haifedir. Şayet bu teklif olunan surete haşa gavur talimidir etmeyiz, biz kılınca ile keçe çalar, şişhane atar nişan ururuz diyerek ihdas-ı kıyl ü kal etmeye idiler.

¹⁹⁷ *Cevdet, Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 153.

Cevdet mentions that although the Janissaries declared that they would obey orders, the government, due to "the lack of confidence" took all preventive measures. All the officers of the artillerymen, the bombardiers, the sappers, and the dockyard troops were alarmed. In any possible reaction of the Janissaries, those military units would give support and if needed would punish the Janissaries. In addition, approximately 3000 *Sekban* soldiers from both sides of the Bosphorus, led by Ağa Huseyin Paşa and Mehmed İzzet Paşa were brought to ready. Barges and boats were assembled in order to transport them to İstanbul, if necessary. All *ilmiye* students who had a strong grudge against the Janissaries were alarmed and instructed against a potential rebellion. Other citizens who were feeling a strong aversion to the Janissaries were also attracted to support the government¹⁹⁸. As supported by the citations of Cevdet, the Sultan and high bureaucrats had already alarmed all trustworthy forces and institutions just like a chess player who plans every single step in advance.

According to the *Eşkinici* Project, the *eşkinici* troops would go out sometimes to Kağıthane and sometimes to Davud Paşa for their practices. But as I mentioned earlier, the fist drill took place in the Et Meydanı. The probable reason of this change was to intervene in any possible rebellion since for the government, the intervention was easier within the walls than beyond the walls.

It is seen that both Mehmed Esad and Cevdet Paşa felt the necessity of exclaiming a preparation of a rebellion by the Janissaries, whether it was just before

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

or after the training program.¹⁹⁹ The exclaim of Mehmed Esad or Cevdet Paşa could be true or false but their perception and presentation manner hence represent the vision of the assembly members, since Mehmed Esad was one of them and Cevdet Paşa was the official historian of the government. The course of events supports the feeling that a plan against the Janissaries was carried out by the government which had taken into consideration all possible outcomes and then manipulated parties of this plan to act as foreseen. Thus, one may say that the government which without any doubt did no longer wanted the Janissary army to exist within this structure, had made a plan aiming to exterminate the Janissary order if they would not accept the amelioration program. To think that the government could prepare such a plan may be seen as a conspiracy theory, but the course of events does not allow refusing so easily this theory.

¹⁹⁹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 69, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 152.

4. ABOLITION OF THE JANISSARY ARMY

Tecemmü eyledi meydan-ı lahme

İdüp küfran-ı nimet nice bağı

Koyup kaldırmadan ikide birde

Kazan devrildi söndürdü ocağı

Keçecizade İzzet Molla

4.1. THE FINAL REBELLION OF THE JANISSARIES

On the night of Wednesday Zilkade 9th 1241/June 14th 1826²⁰⁰, the Janissaries arrived in small groups at the Et Meydanı, beyond the great gate of their barracks together with some captains and sergeants they trust. They also called the *Kulkethüdası* Hasan Ağa in order to gain his adherence. Hasan Ağa by sending a reply evaded this attack successfully and told them that it would be best to come

²⁰⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p.71, He gives the date as Thursday evening, 9 Zilkade 1241, and mentions its Christian date of correspondence as 3 June 1828. That is an error since in reality its Christian date of correspondence is 14 June 1826. The discrepancy between 3 and 14 June is removed if one calculates based on the Old Style Julian Calender that would be eleven days earlier than the New Style Gregorian Calender. Since the Muslim days start with the sunset, Esad mentions Wednesday evening as Thursday but he gives the year 1828 instead of 1826, it might be because his account was published in 1828, he might make a mistake by writing 1828 for 1826. On this consult, Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 190, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 154. He repeats Esad Christian date as 3 June.

together with the Janissary company commanders. Yet some Janissaries went to the *Ağa Kapısı* in order to attack and assassinate the Ağa of the Janissaries²⁰¹.

The Janissaries who went to the Ağa of Janissaries reached his residence just after he returned from his routine patrol at *Tahtakale*. In fact when the Janissaries had arrived, the Ağa of Janissaries was in the lavatory preparing to go to bed. The Janissaries looked for everywhere but not finding him, decided that he was still out. Then they started to plunder and smash his residence and set fire to the place. When they left, the Ağa immediately set off from the lavatory and went to *Süleymaniye* in order to hide himself.

The following day, the Janissaries dragged their regimental cauldrons out of the barracks as a sign of revolt. This was an old tradition based upon the belief that their cauldrons were sacred. Connected to this tradition the historians narrate two tales closely associated with each other. According to the first one, the Janissaries had donated a big cauldron to the *dergah* of *Hacı Bektaş* and this cauldron was only used to cook *aşure* on the 10th of every *Muharrem*²⁰². According to the second tale, the cauldron was a souvenir of *Hacı Bektaş* in which he had been cooking soup. That cauldron was named *Kazan-ı Şerif* and according to the Janissary belief if this cauldron was taken away from its place and a bucket of water was poured into this place, the world would be upside down²⁰³. Every '*oda*' in the corps had its cauldrons,

²⁰¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 71; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 154.

²⁰² Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997), p. 233.

²⁰³ Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, p. 212.

two or three, which were made of copper. When there was a problem about their 'oda's, the Janissaries would make their plans and discussions around these cauldrons. The cauldrons of every *ortas* and *bölüks* were also accepted as sacred by the Janissaries and in the time of rebellion they were dragging their cauldrons out of their barracks. The symbolic meaning of the cauldron was exceedingly strong; even in battles, since the cauldrons were accepted as more important than their flags and signs, the Janissaries paid more attention to keep their cauldrons off enemies²⁰⁴.

Apart from their cauldrons the Janissaries also borrowed the cauldrons of the armourers and of the saddlers until a huge heap had been arranged. In order to convince other Janissaries the sergeants were sent off to the city quarters such as Tahtakale, Asmaaltı and Unkapanı where they had assembled. These sergeants tried to rouse the people to participate into the rebellion and spread a rumour that the Grand Vizier, Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, and all other high officials had been either seized or killed. Then, a crowd of porters and labourers gathered in the Et Meydanı where an important number of rebels had been assembling²⁰⁵.

When the rebels reached a great number, they urged a group of "rabble" controlled by a porter named *Nakilci* Mustafa in order to attack the Grand Vizier's residence. Another Mustafa surnamed *Sarhoş* (the Drunkard) was sent to Necib

²⁰⁴ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 258.

²⁰⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 71; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 154. Both accountants do not mention any estimation about the number of the Janissaries and rebels involved, but Deval mentions that there were 20000-25000. Charles Deval, *Deux Années à Constantinople et en Morée 1825-26 ou Esquisses Historiques sur Mahmoud, les Janissaries, les Nouvelles Troupes, Ibrahim-Pacha, Solyman-Bey, etc.*, (Paris and London: 1828), p. 126.

Efendi who had been the steward and agent of Muhammed Ali Paşa of Egypt and a strong supporter of the *eşkinçi* project²⁰⁶.

As it was summertime, a lot of important officials were spending their nights at their summer homes. So that, both the Grand Vizier and Necib Efendi luckily preserved their life since the Grand Vizier was at his royal residence at *Beylerbeyi* and Necib Efendi was at his summer home at Kanlica. The residents of Bab-ı Ali escaped alive by hiding in a cellar in the garden of Harem, but the rebels pillaged the residences and captured some 6.000 purses in cash from the Grand Vizier's treasury and 700-800 purses from the residence of Necib Efendi²⁰⁷. The Janissaries who were organised by *Nakilci* Mustafa were spread through the city in order to declare that they would avenge upon their opponents who were the givers of the *fetvas*, the writers of the judicial acts and all who wore the "*kavuk*". Their cries turned to action when some rebels met Seyda Efendi who was from *ulema* class. They attacked and wounded him and he saved his life from their hands with some difficulty²⁰⁸.

These cries spread beyond the city and reached Mehmed Selim Paşa at *Beylerbeyi*. The Grand Vizier sent his brother to Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and Mehmed İzzet Paşa in order to summon them immediately to the *Yalı* Kiosk with their troops. When the Grand Vizier reached the palace then he sent for Mehmed Emin Ağa –the superintendent of the palace treasury in order to entrust him with the task of informing Sultan who was at the Beşiktaş palace, about the revolt. He also wanted to

²⁰⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 71; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 154.

²⁰⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 72; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 155.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

take the view and the permission of him to bring out the Sacred Banner of the Prophet²⁰⁹.

Hence, he sent messages to other officials and called them to the rendezvous by the palace. A huge group of important officials arrived in the palace including, Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, Mehmed İzzet Paşa, *Şeyhülislam* Kadızade Tahir Efendi, the former chief judge of Rumeli Arif Bey, and the future chief judge of Anadolu Arabzade Hamdullah Efendi, The *Kadı* of İstanbul Sadık Efendi, Kurd Abdurrahman Efendi of the lecturers and, Esad Efendi, Necib Efendi and Saib Efendi²¹⁰. Then, all high ranking officials, the superintendent of the imperial arsenal Said Efendi, the commander of the army transports Hasan Ağa, the chief of the bombardiers Dede Mustafa Ağa and the leader of the sappers Halil Bey were demanded hastily to come with their troops to the palace. These depositions show how seriously the preparations for the defence were being made.

Meanwhile, Hasan Ağa sent the chief scribe of the Janissaries Raşid Efendi to the rebels in order to have information about their purposes. They sent Raşid Efendi back with the news declaring that those kinds of infidel exercises were unacceptable for them and those who were responsible for these exercises would be fined with their lives. After coming back to the “*Ağa Kapısı*” Raşid Efendi then was sent to the *Yalı* Kiosk where he repeated the news to the Grand Vizier and to all the officials named earlier. The Grand Vizier commanded Raşid Efendi to take away the

²⁰⁹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 73; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 156, Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, p. 368.

²¹⁰ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 156; Esad mentions no names.

reply to the rebels declaring that the new military system was religiously permissible and the government would not permit to change the sacred structure of the new system²¹¹.

This reply was unanimously applauded, and the Grand Vizier and others then proceeded from the *Yalı* Kiosk to the rebuilt *Aslanhane*. The leading *ulema*, the judges, professors, theological students and servants of the state soon joined them. The arrival of the commanders of the artillerymen; especially İbrahim Ağa with their soldiers, of the bombardiers and dockyard marines; especially *Yemincioğlu* Ahmed Ağa, army transport services and sappers with their men greatly encouraged the Grand Vizier and all attendants since, these corps had once stained their reputation by supporting the Janissaries when they revolted against Selim III²¹².

Reed in his work "The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826" makes estimation about the number of loyal troops assembled in the Topkapı Palace. He roughly reaches a total estimate of some 13.000 to 22.000 soldiers who were presented in the palace before they moved against the rebels²¹³.

While these preparations were hastily being made, Mahmud II immediately ordered his travel boat that he used while travelling incognito. When he reached *Topkapı* Palace, proceeded to the Chamber of Circumcision and he immediately demanded the presence of the Grand Vizier and the *Şeyhülislam* and then,

²¹¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 75; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 157.

²¹² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 76; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 157.

²¹³ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 203.

summoned other officials and the *ulema*. He, by making a speech, demanded the ideas of the attendants about what was to be done with the Janissaries. The *ulema* unanimously replied that one should fight the rebellious²¹⁴. The speeches even created an emotional atmosphere and everybody began to cry. The audience all entreated the Sultan to take out the Sacred Standard of the Prophet for its invincible support²¹⁵. Hence the Sultan went to the room where the relics of the Prophet were being kept and gave this Holy emblem to the Grand Vizier and the *Şeyhülislam*. Mahmud II personally wanted to join them and fight against the rebels but the audience convinced him not to risk his life against the rebels. He finally decided that he should stay in the palace²¹⁶.

Meanwhile some important *ulema*; Dürrizade Seyyid Abdullah, Mekkizade Mustafa Asım, Yasincizade Seyyid Abdülvehhab and Sıdkızade Ahmed Reşid Efendi who had been to their summer residences along the shore were summoned to the palace. At the same time it was decided to send criers all over the city in order to gather the loyal muslims under the Prophet's Standard and to take their help. Then, the *Kadı* of İstanbul, was entrusted with the task of communication to the prayer leaders²¹⁷. The message was read by the *muezzins* from the minarets of mosques of each quarter of the city saying that "Let every muslim, faithful to religion, take up

²¹⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 78; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 158.

²¹⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 79; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 158.

²¹⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 79; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 158-9.

²¹⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 80; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 159.

his arms and present himself beneath the *Sancak-ı Şerif* at Sultan Ahmed mosque!²¹⁸ While these callings were being made, the rebels were also inviting the population to assemble around the Janissary cauldrons at the Et Meydanı²¹⁹. According to Cevad, since nearly all the population wanted to settle an account with the Janissaries in order to avenge the murder of their relatives or the rape of a daughter etc., the population showed great attention to the invitation of the palace²²⁰.

Within a short time, a lot of students numbered about 3.500, together with their *hocas*, and groups of inhabitants from each quarter of İstanbul with their prayer leaders and others with their magistrates came to the palace²²¹. While students were in the way of the palace met some rebels and fought them in which one student became a "martyr". Another "martyr" was *Hacı Yusuf Efendi* who was the first chamberlain of the former minister of the treasury. A few people were also killed in the Bayezid mosque, but these did not hinder people from assembling under the Prophet's Standard²²².

Sabres, rifles and cartridges were distributed from the palace arsenal to the people who had not any weapon. According to the citations of Reed from Charles Deval, Mahmud II had secretly imported 50.000 rifles from Liege, in Belgium for

²¹⁸ Deval, *Deux Années à Constantinople et en Morée 1825-26*, p. 128, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 209.

²¹⁹ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 159.

²²⁰ Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, p. 371.

²²¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 80; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 159.

²²² Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 159.

this event. Deval adds that the weapons of the new troops of Selim III were cautiously stored by Mahmud II for an emergency²²³. These preparations clearly show that the Janissary insurrection had not caught the Sultan and his supporters by surprise, nor were they powerless to attack.

The loyal citizens went out of the Imperial Gateway and assembled in the square of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque where they set the Prophet's Banner on high at the top of the pulpit with the cries of the affirmation *Allahuekber*²²⁴. At the same time the troops of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and Mehmed İzzet Paşa reached the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and joined other troops. The leaders of the troops, the *ulema* and high officials then started to discuss that according to the Islamic law whether it was justifiable to use force against the Janissaries or not. The *ulema* replied that it was, but it could be more appropriate to send a representative to the rebelled Janissaries in order to remove their doubts about the legacy of reforms. The *ulema* added that if this conciliation effort failed, then the use of force against the Janissaries would become inevitable. They approved Ahiskalı Ahmed Efendi for this duty, but he said that this merely would postpone their punishment since, they would not accept any conciliation. Mehmed İzzet Paşa added that this only would cause to lose time²²⁵.

²²³ Deval, *Deux Années à Constantinople et en Morée 1825-26*, p. 123, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 212. Reed adds that the account of Deval was prepared on the basis of visits and conversations on the spot within four days of the massacre by a young Frenchman who knew Turkish and was attached to the French Embassy in İstanbul as a royal student-interpreter.

²²⁴ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 160.

²²⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 82; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 160-161.

The final decision was to struggle against the Janissaries. The Grand Vizier ordered Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and Mehmed İzzet Paşa for this duty with their troops in which the crowd and the students also had joined. The troops were divided into two columns; in the first column, the artillerymen and dockyard marines were led by Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and in the second column, sappers and bombardiers with a mass of students and loyal citizens were under the control of Mehmed İzzet Paşa²²⁶. While Ağa Hüseyin Paşa followed the *Divan Yolu* street with his troops, Mehmed İzzet Paşa followed the Saraçhane street.

The loyal citizens were continuing to come Sultan Ahmed Mosque in order to join the troops. At this time while the Grand Vizier was sending them to join the two columns, they were intercepted by several Janissary captains. Especially Mustafa Ağa who was the adjutant of the lieutenant general claimed that the Janissaries were unable to apply the new drill. The Grand Vizier replied that, the new drill system had been accepted by the Janissaries and the *ulema* also approved it. The second preacher of the Sultan Zeynel Abidin Efendi then repeated that the Janissaries had signed *Hüccet-i Şerriye* and accepted the new drill. He closed his speech with an appeal that everyone should hastily attack to destroy the rebels²²⁷.

All the loyal citizens demanded a commander who would lead them into battle. Necib Efendi who was the superintendent of the powder factories voluntarily presented himself for this duty. The Grand Vizier then charged four lieutenants, two

²²⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 84; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 162. Cevdet lists only the artillerymen with Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and others with Mehmed İzzet Paşa.

²²⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 85; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 162-163.

Egyptians, Ali and Emin Beys and Emin Ağa and Şerif Ağa to assist Necib Efendi²²⁸.

When the troops of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa reached the Horhor fountain, the Janissaries met them and killed two artillery soldiers. The troops responded with fire and forced the Janissaries to return to the Et Meydanı. They closed the great gate of the Et Meydanı and made a barricade with large stones behind it. The troops of Mehmed İzzet Paşa then surrounded the Et Meydanı where *Kara Cehennem* İbrahim Ağa reached the great gate in order to advice the Janissaries to stop the opposition movement²²⁹. The response was angry shouts from the Janissaries. When the last conciliation attempt became unsuccessful, the two Paşas ordered the artillery to open fire at the gate. While, the first shot broke a portal of the gate, the Janissaries who gathered behind it were killed or wounded. Mehmed İzzet Paşa offered a purse of 2.500 piastres to the soldier who would open the other portal of the gate, and Mustafa who was a soldier of the artillery succeeded this. *Hacı* Hafız Efendi and *Kara Cehennem* İbrahim Ağa immediately penetrated to the Et Meydanı and encouraged other soldiers. While soldiers were penetrating, the shots of Janissaries hit İbrahim Ağa from his heel, but in order not to affect the soldiers psychologically he did not show any sign of pain and continued to command. This hard attack dissolved Janissaries and they began to flee. While they were fleeing, many were cut down, but others who saved their lives went into hiding in their wooden barracks or their *Bektaşî Tekke*, which Esad Efendi cites as “so called evil sanctuary, the house

²²⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 90; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 163.

²²⁹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 85; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 163.

of woe²³⁰. The Janissaries started recriminating and accusing each other. Meanwhile Mustafa who successfully opened the portal of the gate, took a torch and set a light to the butchers' stalls in front of the barracks. Fifteen volleys and oily rags also spread the flames in which a lot of Janissaries died²³¹.

Deval who gives additional information about the actual battle adds that while the tempo of the battle began to increase in fury and violence, the Janissaries started to cry to their friends in the artillery in order to obtain their help. The reply was to send them death. Finally the Janissaries beseeched them to be merciful but the soldiers did not show any reaction. A lot of Janissaries died; the few who survived were pursued and stabbed, and escape was difficult²³².

The first person who informed the Grand Vizier of the defeat of the Janissaries was Veli Paşazade İsmail Bey. The news greatly excited the Grand Vizier and all ministers. While ministers were congratulating each other, the Grand Vizier hastened to inform Mahmud II²³³.

Meanwhile the lieutenant-general Hasan Ağa, the commander of the *Sekbans* İbrahim Ağa and his predecessors Salih and Talih Ağa and the Ağa of the Janissaries Celaleddin Ağa were summoned to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. Before the mid-afternoon all these officers came to the mosque and kissed the edge of the Grand

²³⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 86.

²³¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 87; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 163-164.

²³² Deval, *Deux Années à Constantinople et en Morée 1825-26*, pp. 131-132, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 226.

²³³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 90-91; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 164.

Vizier's robe. A tent was built for these officers in the Courtyard. For the protection of the city, a guard of bombardiers under the command of a chief gate-keeper was sent to each gate in the city walls. The artillerymen were sent to Üsküdar and Bosphorus regions and some marines were posted at maritime arsenal, Kasımpaşa and Galata. The protection of Eyüp region was also given to bombardiers. The chief of artillery, Numan Ağa had been responsible for the protection of the arsenal. Particular attention was given to protect the Standard of the Prophet and some artillerymen and bombardiers were charged with this duty²³⁴. Since the support of artillerymen and bombardiers was devotedly supplied, with the help of them the suppression of the Janissaries and the protection of the city became easier.

The gate near the Dikilitaş was guarded by Velipaşazade Selim Sırrı Bey and his brother İsmail Bey. The protection of the bazaar gate was given to Salih Koç Ağa, while another Salih Ağa who was the agent of Hurşid Paşa became responsible for the *Çınar Ağacı* gate. At the gate of *Kemeraltı*, Yanyalı Hüseyin Bey stood watch. Artillery officers were sent to the Imperial gate. The previous chief of the armourers, Ali Ağa was charged for the guard of the armourer's quarter. The responsibility of other quarters were given to Kara Süleyman Ağa who was the custom tax collector at İzmir and who, for a business, happened to be in İstanbul, and to some chief gate keepers. While Mehmed İzzet Paşa and his soldiers were sent to Üsküdar regions, Ağa Hüseyin Paşa spent the night in the Süleymaniye mosque. The magistrates and prayer leaders were commanded that the inhabitants of each quarter should form local guard units in order to protect their regions. After these

²³⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 93; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 165.

precautions were taken, the Grand Vizier, the chief *ulema* and officials spent the night in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque²³⁵.

As soon as the Janissaries were defeated both Mehmed İzzet and Hüseyin Paşa went to the "old rooms" of the Janissaries in order to catch those who escaped from the Et Meydanı. These arrested Janissaries were sent to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. While they began to arrive on the At Meydanı outside the mosque, the Grand Vizier and high officials placed themselves in a hall situated on the left wing of the mosque. The Grand Vizier then ordered that all arrested Janissaries should enter the presence of the audience and after interrogation they should be obliged to admit their guilt²³⁶. Cevdet compares this evident with the Conquest of İstanbul and says that İstanbul seemed as if it was a newly conquered city²³⁷.

According to Cevdet the next morning, Friday, Zilkade 10th 1241/June 16th 1826, the Grand Vizier placed himself on the left side of the mosque where the prisoners were interrogated and sent to strangulation. After their executions, the bodies of Janissaries were piled up under the plane tree in the At Meydanı. To him, this was retribution of the Janissary revolt of 1066/1648. This plane tree was then known as "*Şecere-i Vakvak*" in which the corpses of ministers were hang. Cevdet interprets that, that tree was just coming to fruition²³⁸. As an allusion to that evident,

²³⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 93-94; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 165-166.

²³⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 94-95; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 165.

²³⁷ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 166.

²³⁸ Ibid. He says that, ...Ferdası Cuma günü sadrazam yine cami-i şerifin sol cenahında oturup taraf taraf ahz u girift ile irsal olunan eşkiyayı istintak ile boğdurur ve laşelerini salifü'z-zıkr çınar altına ilka ettirir idi.Bu defa zorbaların laşeleri anın altına atıldı, şecere-i vakvak sanki şimdi meyve vermiş oldu.

İzzet Molla says that²³⁹;

Bir zaman ehl-i fitne cami-i han-ı Ahmedde

Bi günah asmış idi kullarını helaken

Şimdi erbab-ı şekanın dökülüp kelleleri

Meyve vaktine yetiştik şecere-i vakvakın

Among the leaders of the rebels, who were killed on that day, there were Mustafa the previous commander of the Sekbans, another Mustafa the colonel of the 32nd regiment of Janissaries, Cambaz Kürt Yusuf, Mustafa who was the administrator of the 25th mess and his brother Çörekçi Mehmet, Kürt Bayraktar who was the chief of the guards of the Great Bazaar, the chief cook of the 5th mess of the armorers and his assistants, the sergeants of the same regiment and Kazancı Mustafa and Necip. On that day, approximately 200 Janissary prisoners were killed at the At Meydanı. Close to 120 Janissaries were executed at the residence of Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, as well²⁴⁰.

In the usual noonday worship on Friday on June 16th 1826, Mahmud II went to the Zeynep Sultan Mosque. In his procession to the mosque, his Janissary escort was replaced by artillerymen and bombardiers. That was a preparation of the public

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 97; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p.167.

opinion to a change and also a sign of the next step that would be the abolition of Janissaries²⁴¹.

During Friday night, a secret meeting was held in Sultan Ahmed Mosque where the abolition of the Janissary corps was discussed among the Paşas, important *ulema* and officials. The most important decision was the abolition of the Janissary corps throughout the empire and the prohibition of even the mentioning of the name Janissary. The council also decided that a new troop called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (Triumphant Soldiers of Muhammed) would take the place of Janissary corps²⁴². That was the first time for the formal statement of the abolition of the Janissary army.

The next morning, *Zilkade* 11th 1241/June 17th 1826, a great council containing the officials who had not been invited to the meeting on the previous evening was held. The first speaker was Mehmed Seyda Efendi who claimed that the Janissaries did not keep their word. He repeated the theme that although they signed the *eşkinici* reform, they rebelled against the government in order to annul it. He also urged that it was impossible to stop the brigandage of the Janissaries without having removed their names and insignia all over the world. He closed his exhortation by saying that this was the best chance given by Allah for the destruction and disappearance of the Janissaries, and added that to hinder and delay that "God given opportunity" even one minute, would be a regrettable failure²⁴³.

²⁴¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 101; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 166.

²⁴² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 99-101; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 167.

²⁴³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 103; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 167.

The speech of Mehmed Seyda Efendi was ratified by the entire audience who accepted that a decree had to be prepared about this approval. Pertev Efendi who was the first secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already written a draft *ferman* about the abolition of the Janissary army. According to Esad Efendi this *ferman* was prepared by Pertev Efendi on the previous night before Saturday²⁴⁴. It is seen that the decision of the abolition of the Janissary army was taken before the assemblage of the council. Thus the aim of the council was to declare the final decision and to convince people about that, rather than to reach a definite outcome about the future position of the Janissaries.

Mehmed Seyda Efendi then proceeded to read the prepared rescript and the council approved it. According to both Esad and Cevdet since the decree was so emotionally written and read, many of the audience could not restrain their tears. The decree then was sent to the Sultan for his approval and in a very short time Mahmud II had signed it and ordered that it had to be executed immediately²⁴⁵. He also commanded scribes for making copies of the decree in order to distribute it to every corner of the Empire. On the orders of Grand Vizier, Esad Efendi read that document to the public from the pulpit of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. Hence the copies of the decree were sent to each mosque in order to be read by prayer leaders at noon prayers²⁴⁶.

²⁴⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 103.

²⁴⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 104; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 168.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

The suppression of the Janissaries within a short time astounded everyone. Some poets had written verses in chronogrammatic forms²⁴⁷. The poetry of Keçecizade İzzet Molla is that;

Tecemmü eyledi meydan-ı lahme

İdüp küfran-ı nimet nice bağı

Koyup kaldırmadan ikide birde

Kazan devrildi söndürdü ocağı

İsmet Beyzade Hikmet Bey had written that;

Pür idüp nakş-ı nişan her tarafın

Kışlalar sanki sanemhane idi

Yandı sükkani, o kavm-i bağı

Layık-ı nar değil ya ne idi?

He also added that;

Yandı hizem gibi külliye ocağı

²⁴⁷ Esad, Üss-i Zafer, p. 97.

Müderrişzade Hoca Arif Efendi also composed that;

Ocak yandı ve güruh-ı yeniçeri berbad oldu

The governor of Çirmen, Esad Muhlis Paş had written out two strophes that were presented to the Sultan by the Grand Vizier. Hence the Sultan with gratitude sent a special reward to Esad Paşa. The strophes are those²⁴⁸:

Padişah seyf-i şeriatle kesüb

İrkını ehl-i fesadın yekser

Dedi Muhlis kuluna hatifi gayb

Oldu tarihi (gaza-yı ekber)

The other is that;

Tiğ-i sertiz-i şeriatle şehinşah-ı cihan

Başların kesdi hep ehl-i fitenin sertaser

Şüphe hiç kalmadı şimdengiru ol daver-i din

Oldı her karda teyid-i hudaya mazhar

Padişahım, dedi Muhlis kuluna hatif-i gayb

Tam tarihi anın oldu (gaza-yı ekber)

²⁴⁸ BA, H.H. 17434.A, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 17434.B, 1241/1826.

4.2. THE *FERMAN* ABOLISHING JANISSARY ARMY: A CRITICAL EVALUATION

Like the *Eşkinici Layihası* and its *Hüccet-i Şerriye* the *ferman* abolishing Janissary corps starts with the praise for the past tradition²⁴⁹. It says that thanks to the *cihad* and *gaza* warfare, to the fearless bravery of the Janissaries and their discipline, the Janissaries had won many victories, but since their discipline started to corrupt, evil men have penetrated into their ranks and they had involved in criminal movements.

The *ferman* then refers to three past attempts at military reforms and stresses that although the Janissaries were no longer fighting successfully, they rioted three times for their selfish reasons against the formation of the disciplined troops. That statement was very significant since, it was the first time in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II that the authority, with an official document, was speaking of the past reform efforts of Sultan Hamid I, Selim III and The Grand Vizier Alemdar²⁵⁰. It was a clear evidence that the government now was not planning strictly to revitalize the old traditional institutions, but rather that was a change in the reform policies of the

²⁴⁹ BA, H.H. 48106; BA, Cevdet Askeriye, 25109; Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 111-119; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII; pp. 311-315; Cevad, pp. 297-301; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp.666-672

²⁵⁰ Avigdor Levy, *The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II, 1808-1839*, Ph. D. Dissertation: Harvard University, 1968, pp. 158-159.

government. Thus the new drill system was a further step of the former reform efforts.

The *ferman* then explains the efforts about the *eşkinici* projects. It stresses that, the plan was held in a general council containing all the Viziers, *ulema*, *ricals* and all the officers of the Janissary corps and it was unanimously decided to institute the *eşkinici* corps. Moreover, a *fetva* was issued in order to declare that any person who spoke or acted against to the new law would be severely punished. The *ferman* proceeds to describe the environment that made necessary to initiate the *Eşkinici* reform. The reform project had been received as a religious sanction and was accepted by all. Nevertheless, the Janissaries went to revolt. Since their behaviour was far from the bounds of religion and decency, the Grand Vizier, Mufti, Viziers, *ulema*, *rical* and other high officials assembled at the imperial palace in order to reach a final decision about them. It was accepted that the Janissary corps, far from fulfilling the target function of its establishment, became a useless and insubordinate body that has become the place of unrest and sedition.

The *ferman* maintains its claims by saying that the Grand Vizier, Mufti, all the important officials and *ulema* together with the supporters of the state, assembled in the Sultan Ahmed Mosque beneath the Sacred Banner of the Prophet. It was unanimously agreed and decided that, the name and insignia of the Janissaries should be abolished. In its place would be enrolled and organised a sufficient number of troops named "*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*". These new troops would be useful to Islam and be able to counter the enemy in war.

The *ferman* further announced that the Commander-in-Chief (*Serasker*) of these new troops would become Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, and that his headquarters would

be set up at the *Ağa Kapısı*. The name of *Ağa Kapısı* changed to *Serasker Paşa Kapısı*. All Janissary ranks were abolished and the Ağa of the Janissaries Mehmed Celaleddin Ağa and other loyal Janissary officers were rewarded with appropriate ranks and income in the palace service. People who had Janissary pay tickets were again assured of their incomes for the rest of their lifetimes. The *ferman* ends with a general exhortation about the brethren in faith, obedience and acting to the general desire and welfare.

Supplementary paragraphs were added to the copies of *fermans* that would be sent to provincial governors and authorities. In those paragraphs it was written that the cauldrons, utensils and other equipment which ostensibly were considered as belonging to the messes, but in reality owned by the government, were to be taken out of the hands of the Janissaries. The defence of all forts garrisoned by the Janissaries would be left to provincial governors and subordinate authorities. The name Janissary had no longer to be used.

The analysis of this *ferman* reveals us that like the *Eşkinici Layihası* it is manifested as a religious injunction and is consciously represented as the performance of a religious necessity. It is important that almost two-thirds of the *ferman* recites religious and historic precedent and reasons about abolishing the Janissary Army. Only one-third of it is devoted to the abolition of the Janissaries and the organisation of the new troops.

4.3. REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

After the abolition of the Janissary army, Mahmud II had decided to promote and reward his supporters. Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, in addition to his existing position, that was the governor of Kocaeli and Bursa *Sancaks* and the commander of the Bosphorus Castles, became the governor of İstanbul and *Serasker* of the new "*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*". He then was rewarded with a sable skin coat. After his promotion Ağa Hüseyin Paşa instantly returned to his own tent in *Süleymaniye* in order to start the registration of the new soldiers²⁵¹. Davud Ağa who was an Egyptian officer-instructor charged as the teacher of the *Eşkinici* Corps, became a colonel in the new troops. The other instructors, İbrahim and Osman Ağa were also appointed as colonels²⁵².

The central administration of the Janissaries was being carried out by the "*Ağa Kapısı*" at that time, and apart from that, the Janissaries had also two important barracks. One of them was called "the new rooms" and since, provision of meat to the Janissary corps is issued there, the square was known as the Et Meydanı. The day of the rebellion those barracks were set in fire in order to destroy the name and insignia of the Janissaries everywhere. The name "Et Meydanı" also changed as the *Ahmediye* Square²⁵³. The other barracks, called "the old rooms", were situated at the

²⁵¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 107; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 168.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 168.

opposite side of the *Şehzade* Mosque and the place was known as the "At Meydanı". Those were demolished following the rebellion and the field was allocated to the Sultan Ahmed Foundation for the construction of stores and houses there²⁵⁴.

Ağa Kapısı that had formerly been supposed to be used by the military was to be assigned as the building of the jurisprudence and the old palace was given to high ranking military officers. Concubines, servants and special corps of the Sultan who had been living there moved to the new palace then²⁵⁵.

In addition to the honors mentioned in the decree, Celaleddin Ağa received the degree of the first master of the horse and the rank of chamberlain²⁵⁶. The general officers whose names mentioned in the decree were given gifts of 25 purses, or 12.500 piastres. The lieutenant-general Hasan Ağa was given 50.000 piastres²⁵⁷. Both Mehmed Esad and Cevdet list all promotions in ranks and gifts in details²⁵⁸.

Among the captains commanding messes; the commanders of the 23rd and 7th messes were accused to be disloyal because they got involved in brigandage of the Janissaries. Together with other commanders they were also invited to the tent of Sultan in order to receive a caftan of honour. When all commanders reached the tent, the Grand Vizier summoned the two commanders and executed them in the room of

²⁵⁴ BA, H.H. 17489, 1242/1826-1827.

²⁵⁵ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 168.

²⁵⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 109; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 169.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 109-111; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 169.

execution²⁵⁹. Meanwhile the rebels who had been caught in every corner of the city were also being executed²⁶⁰.

The sergeant Mehmed Ağa, who had been the commander of the Armourers, proved himself disloyal since while everyone was gathering under the Sacred banner of the prophet, he had preferred to stay in his home²⁶¹. Esad also adds that; he did not show any efforts to prevent the rebels from seizing the cauldrons of his own fifth company²⁶². That Saturday, he was condemned to exile in Kütahya and while he was on the way, a messenger of the Sultan overtook him in İnegöl and executed there. On 16 *Zilkade* 1241/22 June 1826, the head of Mehmed Ağa was exposed before the gate of imperial palace so that it might be a warning to others²⁶³.

While two days earlier the Janissaries were in a strong position, the situation had suddenly changed for the Sultan and against the Janissaries. On that day some captured Janissaries were being exiled and some were being executed. Town criers were shouting that, the name and insignia of the Janissaries were abolished and the new troops named "*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*" replaced them. Town criers were also shouting to community to go and open their shops and to pray for Sultan in gratitude²⁶⁴.

²⁵⁹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 122; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 170.

²⁶⁰ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 170.

²⁶¹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 119; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 170.

²⁶² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 119.

²⁶³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 120.

²⁶⁴ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 170-171.

Before the mid-afternoon of that Saturday 11 *Zilkade* 1241/ 17 June 1826, the Grand Vizier, *Şeyhs*, the *ulema* and high officials went to the Sultan Ahmed mosque in order to bring back the Holy Standard of the Prophet. As the group entered the New Palace from the midgate, the Sultan also moved out of the Gate of Felicity. Before reaching the Standard he bowed many times. He took the Sacred Banner of the Prophet from the hands of the Grand Vizier and the Müfti,²⁶⁵ and planted it in its socket before the Gate of Felicity. He then summoned a guard of long-tressed Halberdiers to stand guard. The precious rugs of various colours were spread out on the ground of the Standard and amber and aloes incense burned beside it. Ahiskalı Ahmed Efendi then recited a prayer and verses from the *Kur'an*²⁶⁶.

After the Sacred Banner of the Prophet had moved to its place, Mahmud II then, came to the hall of the Divan where he demanded the presence of high officials. An assembly was organized containing the Grand Vizier, Dürrizade Abdullah Efendi, the Mufti, Mekkizade Efendi, Yasincizade Efendi, Sıdkızade Efendi, and the governor of the Rumeli Arif Beyefendi, Yahya Beyefendi, the chief physician Behçet Efendi, Abdullah Mollazade Ahmed Reşid Efendi, Rahmi Beyefendi, the chief judge of Anatolia Tahir Beyefendi, Murat Mollazade Arif Efendi, Arabzade Sadullah Efendi, Hakimzade Ali Paşa, Hafidi Seyyid Ali Rıza Bey Efendi, Yusufzade Yusuf Efendi, Raşid Efendizade Seyyid Cafer Beyefendi, Melikpaşazade Abdülkadir Beyefendi, Dürrizade Abid Efendi, Arabzade Hamdullah

²⁶⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p.122; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 171. Cevdet does not cite the Müfti.

²⁶⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 122-123; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 171

Efendi, Çarşambevi Hoca Mehmet Efendi, the judge of Istanbul Sadık Efendi, Ahmet Hulusi Efendi, minister of interior Tahir Efendi, the treasurer Mehmet Seyda Efendi, the chancellor of the Divan Ataullah Efendi, the previous one Hamid Bey, minister of ammunition Ali Bey, the minister of mint Esad Efendi, the previous treasurer Yusuf Efendi, the chief archivist Numan Efendi, the previous official of financial transaction Mustafa Efendi, the chief accountant Rauf Paşa and his brother Tahir Selam Bey, the prefect of Istanbul Hayrullah Efendi and the superintendent of the arsenals Necip Efendi²⁶⁷. After Mahmud II let participants have a seat, he began to speak. He thanked Allah for this victory that none of his precedents could have reached, then stressed out how an important position they shared in that event. He needed help of his audience in order to rule justly and to restore the religious foundations.

Mahmud II then mentioned his second great reform namely, the abolition of arbitrary confiscation of the estates of officials who died naturally or were condemned to death²⁶⁸. Until that, arbitrary confiscation of fortunes could be applied to all dignitaries, except the *mollas*. Until the abolition of arbitrary confiscation, the *mollas* were the most privileged class in the State. They could be dismissed and

²⁶⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 123, 124; Cevdet lists only some selected persons, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 171

²⁶⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 125; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 171. Esad says that, ..ez cümle beytü'l-mal-i müslimin ile kat'a münasebet ve ahz ve itası olmayan ve münasib-i divaniyede istihdam olunmayan kesanın muhallelfatları mücerred zümre-i hasire-i mezburenin telefat ve sarfatından dolayı devlet-i aliyyenin mübtela olduğu mesarifatin cebr-i noksanı zımında canib-i miriden zabt olunmakta ise de avatıf-ı aliyye-i şahanemden evvela şu hususu ref' eyledim; min ba'd o makule muhallelfat alınmasun. Cevdet mentions that with a slight difference.

exiled, but unlike other officials were almost never executed. The fortunes of other dignitaries were confiscated by the Sultan after their owner's death, if not earlier; whereas those of the *mollas* were not subject to taxation and could be freely left to their descendants²⁶⁹. Thus with that second reform, Mahmud II generalised the privilege that had been previously offered only to the *mollas*. It is possible that, with that generalisation he might aim to reward other officials and to gain their sympathy.

After that declaration, Mahmud II also demanded the opinions and recommendations of the audience about the next steps. He informed the audience that, they would spend their nights in the palace for a time so as to consider and decide carefully²⁷⁰. Only the older *ulema* were permitted to return to their homes. Others spent the nights in tents in the palace courtyards and gardens. To retire to the palace together with all officials was a careful defensive as well as administrative measure.

Catching and punishments of the rebels were also rapidly continuing. One of the leaders of rebels the *Sarhoş* Mustafa was hiding in the Koca Mustafa region. After a search he was found and brought to the presence. He was executed together with other rebel leaders such as Turnacı Ömer, Kafesci and Babadağlı so as to intimidate others²⁷¹. Suspected people were also searched and inquired by the charged officials and they were banished to their native lands. Thus more than

²⁶⁹ Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization", p. 79.

²⁷⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 125-126; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 171-172

²⁷¹ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 172

twenty thousands people were exiled within forty-fifty days²⁷². In order to escape from that pressure some of the Janissaries were disguising and hiding in houses, stores or baths. The government announced that the ones who attempted to hide or helped them to hide would be severely punished²⁷³.

While the Janissaries were being extinguished in that manner, loyal officials, soldiers and citizens were being rewarded. The Grand Vizier, Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and Mehmet İzzet Paşa were rewarded with magnificent jewelled daggers. The Mufti was offered a reward of a huge diamond set in a ring. His official residence was also moved to the former palace of the Janissary Ağa.²⁷⁴

A sum of 75.000 piastres was given by the Sultan to the Mufti in order to be distributed to the *ulema* and approximately 3.000 students since they were supported the Sultan and fought the rebels. The imams who had urged people against the Janissaries, the scribes who had issued the *fermans*, the town-criers who had called the loyal citizens to come together beneath the Sacred Banner and all others who made efforts for this victory were liberally rewarded by the Sultan²⁷⁵. Also wounded citizens and the soldiers of the regiments of the bombardiers, sappers and artillerymen, all were presented with liberal rewards by Mahmud II²⁷⁶.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 173

²⁷⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 191-192

²⁷⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 187-188

²⁷⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 188

The abolition of the Janissaries was thus presented as unavoidable historic necessity and called as *Vak'a-i Hayriye* (the Auspicious Event). It is important that none of the major events in Ottoman history has been defined by its name at the degree of the *Vak'a-i Hayriye*. This was an auspicious event for the government since it got rid of an obsolete army. Hence describing the destruction of the Janissary army as a blessed event was an effort of the government to create a positive feeling and widespread approval among its citizens. It is seen that the government reached its aim since the term soon gained a wide currency. Many Ottoman historians also used the term without making any critic about it.

4.4. THE ABOLITION OF OTHER UNITS AND THE REORGANISATION OF NEW ONES

After the abolition of the Janissary army, it was to turn to deal with the quasi-Janissary groups. These quasi-Janissary groups could be classified under three categories. In the first category there were *yamaks* or garrisons of the *Bosphorus* Castles. The second was the group of Janissary guards and messengers attached to the foreign embassies and the third group was containing the porters, boatmen, coffee-house assistants and as such²⁷⁷. The government thought that if those groups had kept their position in İstanbul, they would have been a threat for future.

²⁷⁷ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 279.

In the deposition of Selim II, the *yamaks* had played an active role. Because of that reason the government was not relying on them whereas on the day of the revolt they had offered their services to Mehmed İzzet Paşa. After the abolition, together with the *imams*, the *ulema* and students, the *yamaks* were also rewarded, but since they were accepted as a suspect contingent, they were dissolved. The loyal ones were enrolled in the new troops and others were exiled to their homes in *Lazistan* on the Black Sea coast. The Bosphorus Castles were then garrisoned by five "*ortas*" of artillerymen²⁷⁸.

A *tezkere* by *Serasker Paşa* exemplifies that situation. According to that, among the Janissaries in the Bosphorus Castles the loyal ones would be permitted to stay in their homes by a stipulation that their guarantors had to be confirmed. The others who inclined towards brigandage might return to their homelands only if they brought their families together²⁷⁹. Thus, with a decree it was ordered that loyal soldiers in the twelve castles of the Bosphorus region were enrolled in the new troops. The unmarried ones were also permitted to return to their homelands²⁸⁰. According to that decree, we see that some 300-400 soldiers applied to enrol in the

²⁷⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 188-189; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 173. European reports indicate that there were some 2000-4000 Yamaks who had relations with the Janissaries. Some 18 were executed in the castles while their commander was charged as a chamberlain. Another report states that 1200 were killed and others were exiled. From *Journal des Débats*, 26 July, 9 August 1826; *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 183, 7 August, no. 223, 22 September, 1826, quoted in Deval, *Deux Années à Constantinople et en Morée 1825-26*, p. 146, and Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 280.

²⁷⁹ BA, H.H. 17347, 1241/1826.

²⁸⁰ BA, H.H. 17457, 1241/1826.

new troops while another group of 300-400 unmarried soldiers was allowed to return to their homelands.

The Janissaries who were attached to various embassies had not participated into the revolt. They were far from the scene of the struggle since the Foreign embassies were located across the Golden Horn in Pera.²⁸¹ Those Janissaries, sometimes called *Yasakçı*'s were usually older men, however some grew up in Embassy service. On the 22nd of June, the Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the various foreign embassies that since the Janissary army was abolished, their Janissary guard would be shifted and the old guards would be replaced by new troops²⁸². Foreign legations and embassies then sent their men to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the congratulation of the victory²⁸³. The translators of every embassy, one by one, presented their gladness for the abolition of the Janissary army. The *Nemçe* and English ambassadors offered their good will with the help of their translators. After that, the Sultan ordered that the reply had to be given both *Nemçe* and English ambassadors and the others who would come to say their pleasure. Another ambassador who offered the good will of his king about the abolition of the Janissary army was from Sardinia²⁸⁴.

²⁸¹ Reed, **The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826**, p.280.

²⁸² Journal des Débats, July 26, 1826, quoted in Reed, , **The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826**, 281.

²⁸³ BA, H.H. 17349, 1241/1826.

²⁸⁴ BA, H.H: 17454, Zilhicce 1241/August 1826.

After the *Yasakçıs* of every embassy were surrendered, it was arranged that the soldiers of the *Galata voyvoda* would take up their position by turns²⁸⁵. Firstly, the English ambassador did not accept the decision and closed the embassy. In order to prevent any kind of provocation, the government temporarily gave the duty of *Yasakçıs* to the *Kavas* of the Imperial Gate and sent them to the English Embassy²⁸⁶. Thus the problem was solved, but after that the French ambassador objected to that decision and applied to the Sultan. As reply the government proposed to send them *Kavas* like the English Embassy. The French ambassador rejected that proposal and threatened that if the *Yasakçıs* did not return to their duties, he would bring the guards from France. That threat set in motion the government, that informed the commander of the Bosphorus that if he came across any French soldiers in the French ship, he then instantly would arrest them. After that order, the commander of the Bosphorus found nine soldiers from a French ship and arrested them. A decree was sent to the French ambassador that he had to send those soldiers back. Finally the French ambassador accepted the decision²⁸⁷. Connected to that period, in another decree, the government determined that the French ambassador would be convinced and necessary measures would be taken so as to prevent any provocation of him over other embassies²⁸⁸.

²⁸⁵ BA, H.H. 23985.

²⁸⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 564. For further information see also, BA, H.H. 18023.

²⁸⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp.564-565.

²⁸⁸ BA, H.H. 23985.

Lord Stratford Canning who was the British ambassador at that time mentions *Yasakcıs* as follows²⁸⁹:

Not a day passed without my receiving a requisition from the Port calling upon me to send thither immediately the officer and soldiers comprising my official guard. I had no reason to suppose that any of them had been concerned in the revolt, and was pretty sure that they could not repair to the Port without imminent danger of being sacrificed. I ventured therefore to detain them day after day, first on one pretext then on another, until, at the end of a week, the fever at headquarters had so far subsided as to open a door for reflection and mercy. Relying on this abatement of wrath I complied, and the interpreter whom I directed to accompany them, gave every assurance on their behalf which I was entitled to offer. The men were banished from the capital, but their lives were spared, and many years later I was much pleased by a visit from their officer, who displayed his gratitude by coming from a distance on foot to regale me with a bunch of dried grapes and a pitcher of choice water. Let me add that this instance of good feeling on the part of a Turk toward a Christian is only one of many which have come to my knowledge.

The third quasi-Janissary groups were porters, boatmen, coffee-house assistants and as such. Esad mentions them as "the rabbles"²⁹⁰ since these men were putting on airs and stealing or exacting money from people. A decree supports those

²⁸⁹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe*, 2 Vols., Vol. I, (London: 1888), pp. 419-20, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 281.

²⁹⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 185.

claims. According to that; some porters, boatmen and their ilk in *Tahtakale*, *Bahçekapısı* and *Kapan-ı dakik* regions were using pistols and were stealing money from people. At that time, with a decree, the Ağa of Janissaries became responsible for the punishment and admonition of these people²⁹¹. These characters had been generally in league with the Janissaries. It was decided to cleanse İstanbul of these undesirables. Esad stresses that the expelling of those unwanted characters had been long overdue and this delay was only because of the fear of Janissary retaliations²⁹².

The suppression of the quasi-Janissary groups also supported to guarantee the Sultan's victory in İstanbul. There were some other military units that were not formally dissolved, but reorganised. All formal traditional ranks that were generally formed according to kitchen terminology and hierarchy were transferred to the new titles and a more western type of chain of command was created. The title *çorbacı* was transferred to *ortağası*, *ortabaşı* to *mülazım*, *usta* to *aşçıbaşı*, *karakullukçular* to *aşçıyamakları* and *saka* to *sebilci*²⁹³. After the abolition of the Janissary army, within less than a week, the first regiment of the '*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*' was set up²⁹⁴. According to Canning it occurred on Tuesday, June 20th 1826, just three days after the formal abolition of the Janissaries²⁹⁵.

²⁹¹ BA, H.H. 19506, 1230/1815.

²⁹² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 185.

²⁹³ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 173.

²⁹⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 189.

²⁹⁵ Lane-Poole, *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe I*, p. 421, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 290.

This afternoon, when the person to whom I have already alluded was standing near the Reis Efendi's tent, his attention was suddenly caught by the sound of drums and fifes, and on turning round he saw, to his utter astonishment, a body of Turks in various dresses, but armed with muskets and bayonets, arranged in European order, and going through a new form of exercise. He supposes the number to have been about two thousand, but never before having seen troops in line he may have been deceived in this particular... the men acted by word of command, both in marching and in handling their arms. The Sultan, who was at first stationed at the window within sight, descended after a time and passed the men in review. His highness was dressed in the Egyptian fashion, armed with pistols and sabre, and on his head in the place of the Imperial Turban was a sort of Egyptian bonnet.

Lord Stratford Canning also adds that during that transition period all the public offices were shut up, markets closed and all commercial activities were stopped for the first few days after the Janissary rebellion²⁹⁶. Since coffee-houses were known as favourite haunts of the Janissaries it was also decided to shut them for precaution²⁹⁷.

Cevdet stresses that according to the commentary of Bahir Efendi about "*Üss-i Zafer*, Esad Efendi exaggerates the time that the coffee-houses were closed. To him,

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 420, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 293

²⁹⁷ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 177.

the coffee-houses were only shut for about 5 to 10 days, and on bails of tradesmen or inhabitants of the quarter they were reopened,²⁹⁸ while others were destroyed²⁹⁹. The coffee-houses were shut and opened several times in the course of the summer³⁰⁰.

After the organisation of the new infantry, the next concern was the organisation of the *Tulumbacıs* or firemen. It took place on Thursday, June 22, 1826, two days after the first review of the *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*. All the former firemen were dismissed and it was decided that the Armenians would be charged as firemen. Four days later, on June 26th, 1826, the Armenians had been assembled for these services³⁰¹.

After a short period of the abolition of the Janissary army, the *Acemi oğlan* division of that unit was also abolished. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth, they were composed a total of 34 messes. They were originally children of the Christian families or prisoners of war and they were usually assigned manual tasks, especially supplying wood for the palace³⁰². Their barracks near the Şehzade mosque were given to the use of young recruits who

²⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 178.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 177-78.

³⁰⁰ Journal Des Débats, 26 July, 24 August, 11, 27 September, 1826, Lane-Poole, Life, Vol. I, p. 434, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 294.

³⁰¹ Journal des Débats, 15 July 1826, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 296.

³⁰² Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, p. 241; for more information see Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 5-70.

were under fifteen years old³⁰³. After their abolition, the title of their commander "*İstanbul Ağası*"-the Ağa of Istanbul was replaced by the title "*hatab emini*"-the superintendent of the wood fuel supply for the palace for which he continued to be responsible³⁰⁴.

The halberdiers, who were under the leadership of *Muhzır Ağa* had been attached to the special Janissary guard of the Grand Vizier. Their main duties were acting as jailers for criminals, carrying out the sentences imposed on them and watching at the residence of the Ağa of Janissaries³⁰⁵. After the Sacred Banner was moved to its place, the duties of halberdiers were given to bombardiers and a group of *Kırcalı Sekbans* that were promptly produced by the Grand Vizier. It was decided to abolish the halberdiers. Their duties were transferred to a special group of guardsmen known as "*kavas*", since in the provinces and in the office of the viziers the *kavas*, who were carrying a silver wand were used for that duty. Their former commander *Muhzır Ağa*, the captain of the Grand Vizier's guards was given the new title of "*Tomruk Ağa*"-the chief disciplinary officer³⁰⁶.

Like halberdiers, the two special corps that served as the Sultan's bodyguards were abolished. The first was the group of the Janissary archers called *solaks* that were drawn from the 60th, 61st, 62nd and 63rd Janissary messes. They were selected among the Janissaries who were famous for their courage, experience, good looks,

³⁰³ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 173.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 255.

³⁰⁵ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 304.

³⁰⁶ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 176.

sobriety and skill³⁰⁷. Cevdet says that although in the past they were active in the service of the Sultan, later on their ordinances got spoiled and they became of committing sedition³⁰⁸. Because of their disorder they were abolished while their commanders became equerries (*silahşor*) to the Sultan.³⁰⁹ Later new guards were organised in the place of them and they were named “*Rikab-ı Hümayun Hademesi* (The Servants of the Imperial Stirrup)³¹⁰”.

The second special group that also served as the Sultan’s bodyguard was the *Peyks*. In contrast to the *solaks* who were the members of the Janissary corps, the *Peyks* were an entirely separate unit. They were a company of 150 men while their barracks were near the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. They were famous for running non-stop for hours³¹¹. The *Peyks* were also abolished and substituted by new guards³¹².

While the new infantry was being organized, another type of *Kapıkulu* soldiers, the cavalry corps were also dissolved. The regular cavalry, named *sipahis*, the life guards named *silahdars* and their four auxiliary bodies *ulufeciyan* and *yemin* and *yesar* and *gureba-yı yemin* and *yesar* all were decided to be abolished by claiming that many of the abuses which had corrupted the Janissary corps had contaminated the cavalry as well. Their offices, titles, insignia and names were also

³⁰⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 218.

³⁰⁸ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 185.

³⁰⁹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 255, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 187.

³¹⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 226.

³¹¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, (İstanbul, 1945), pp. 439-444.

³¹² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 255; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 187.

abolished. An imperial decree containing information about their abolition was prepared and sent to all provincial authorities³¹³, and following that a new, trained cavalry was gradually built up³¹⁴.

All the journals and daybooks of the cavalry like the Janissaries -as we mentioned in the first chapter, were gathered and transferred to the stokehole of the Ayasofya bath by charged men in order to be burned there. Thus all records of the cavalry were destroyed as well³¹⁵.

Another concern of the government was the troop of the armourers. According to both Esad and Cevdet, the armourers had participated in all previous rebellions of both the Janissaries and cavalry. Also their pay tickets, like those of the

³¹³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 249-250; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 185-186.

³¹⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 255, He only gives a single clause to this new organization.... ve asakir-i mansureye süvari askeri ilave olunarak terakki bulmuş...

³¹⁵ BA, Cevdet Askeriye 25937, 26 Safer 1242/28 September 1826....ocağ-ı umur ve sair maan mahv ve ilga olunan cebehane ve sipah ve silahdar ve bölukat-ı erbaa ocaklarının yevmiyelerine dair olan defatir ve evrakın cümlesi ve canib-i miriden mübayaa olunan yevmiyelerin senedatı defterhane-i amire ittisalinde kain aklamın battalları vaz'ına muhasses olan mahzene vaz' olunup el yevm-i derun mahzende mevcut olduğu malikane halifesi ve baş muhasebe ve mevkufat kisedarlarından tahkik olunmuş ve mülga yeniçeri yevmiyelerine müteallık olup şakirdler halifesi yedinde olan defterlerden başka yeniçeri katib efendilerin konaklarında mahfuz olan defatir ve evrak dahi ocağın mahv ve ilgası esnasında Hacı Saib Efendi bendeleri marifetiyle cümlesi ihrak edilmiş olduğu haber verilmiş olmakla mahzen-i mezkurda mahfuz olan defatir ve evrak-ı saire bi-lüzum olduğuna binaen taraf-ı çakeriden adem tayiniyle hiç birisi terk olunmayarak Ayasofya hamamının külhanına ilka ile ihrak olunarak cümlesinin itlaf ettirilmesi muvafık emr-i samileri ise.

Janissaries had become a speculative commodity that was traded largely by civilians³¹⁶. In the last rebellion of the Janissaries their commander Mehmet Ağa did not join his troops so as to support the Sultan. As we said earlier he preferred to give help to the rebels for seizing the kettles of his own 5th company and he stayed hidden in his home³¹⁷.

Despite disloyalty of their commander in the last rebellion the armourers in general had remained loyal. Because of that reason it was decided not to abolish them entirely but to reorganise in a new way. Their name was changed from armourers (*cebecis*) to armory-men (*cebehaneci*)³¹⁸. Those who supported the Janissaries were punished while others were rewarded³¹⁹.

The government decided that the palace gardeners named *bostancıs* were in the necessity of a re-organisation. Apart from palace service, the gardeners had also the duty of transporting supplies of firewood from İzmit to the palace with boats. Their leaders, the *bostancıbaşı* was also charged with keeping order of İstanbul and was in charge of the palace prison³²⁰.

³¹⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 250-251; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 186.

³¹⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 119-120; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 185.

³¹⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 253.

³¹⁹ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 251; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 186.

³²⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 465-487.

By June 26, 1826, the gardeners corps had been reinforced by at least 300 men and were being moved to the new barracks built at Davud Paşa³²¹. Then a more formal reorganisation was set up and those corps became a special branch of the new army. A commander was appointed and this officer ranked just below the chief of the bombardiers and above the chief of the service of palace's kitchen in the new military hierarchy³²². They had three main Corp centres located in Gelibolu, Edirne and İstanbul and the two of them Edirne and Gelibolu were abolished³²³.

Neither Esad nor Cevdet make reference about what happened to the bombardiers and sappers. Since both the bombardiers and sappers had remained loyal, they were not abolished but organised in a new way. According to the *Journal des Débats*, there is only one change in their uniform and that was a single white vertical band to their long black cylindrical bonnets. Thanks to their loyalty, the coffee-houses in their quarter were reopened very soon and were not closed when others were shut again³²⁴.

Another loyal unit to the Sultan was the artillery. As mentioned earlier, their leaders *Kara Cehennem* İbrahim and Numan Ağa, showed a great courage during the attack on the Et Meydanı. It will also be remembered that, those troops had taken the

³²¹ *Journal des Débats*, 28 July 1826, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 306.

³²² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 254; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 187.

³²³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 465-487.

³²⁴ *Journal des Débats*, 11 September 1826, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 314.

main responsibility for the securing of İstanbul and of Bosphorus Castles. On 26th June 1826, it was declared that, for the adaptation of the new system, their ranks, uniforms and titles were to be changed³²⁵.

The corps of the tent-men called *Çadır-ı Mehter* were also in the necessity of a reorganisation³²⁶. The diseased and over-aged members of that unit were pensioned off. It was also decided to charge a senior member of the bureaucracy as the inspector of tents and this officer ranked between the commander of the gardeners and the chief bombardier. The soldiers of that body were also put in order like that of the *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*³²⁷. The title of superintendent of the tent-men was turned to divisional company commander (*kol bölükbaşısı*)³²⁸.

Thus it is seen how quickly the replacement of the Janissaries with another loyal military formation was achieved. With a precipitate speed, only two days after the destruction of the Janissaries, the first regiment was organised. Ağa Hüseyin

³²⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 255; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 173.

³²⁶ These tent-men should be distinguished from two other groups that share the name "*Mehter*" as well. The first group was a company of 40 *mehters* who were working as servants in the household of the Grand Vizier. Another company was separated as two sections; the first was the company of 30-40 men who were special ceremonial standard bearers who marched in the processions of the promotion of a Paşa to the rank of Vizier. The second group was containing six companies, each comprising 62-63 men who were special military musicians. Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 314, for further information see; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 392, 403, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 450-454.

³²⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 252-253; Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 187.

³²⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 253.

Paşa, his assistants and the Sultan himself showed great personal attention to detail and planning of these troops³²⁹. After the formation of the first unit of the '*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*' it was the time to reward the loyal supporters and to punish the Janissary rebels. The auxiliary corps that supported the Janissaries were abolished as well, while others were reorganised in a new way. Thus one would not be wrong to suppose that such an achievement should be based on at least a certain degree of extended previous planing.

³²⁹ A report from *Journal des Débats*, on 15 July mentions that the recruitment of the new troops was being immediately carried out, the groups of them were continuing in exercising in numerous squares in İstanbul, and their instruction was being made by some officers who yet arrived from Egypt. The Sultan also constantly appears in person at these drills and encourages the troops both by his presence and his gifts. *Journal des Débats*, 15 July 1826, quoted in Reed, **The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826**, p. 290.

5. THE PROHIBITION OF THE *BEKTAŞI* ORDER

..Bu tarik-i Bektaşiyenin hal ve keyfiyetleri bu dereceye gelmişken maazallahu teala halleri üzre bırakılıp tathirine bakılmasa gün be gün çoğalarak ekser nası hüsn-i itikatten dalalete düşürmeye sebep olacakları zahir ve aşikar olmağla bu makule güruh-ı mülahidenin fark ve temyizi derece-i vücube gelmiştir.

BA, H.H. 17351.

5.1. *BEKTAŞI*-JANISSARY RELATIONSHIP

After the abolition of the Janissary army and the quick recruitment of the new troops, it was the time for a far more difficult task: To eradicate the psychological strength of the Janissaries that was especially embodied in the *Bektaşî* Order. Since over the centuries the Janissaries had been identified with the *Bektaşî* Order of the *dervişes* it became equally vital for the Sultan to destroy them, who were known as one of the oldest and most powerful of the Janissary allies. According to annual registers there were approximately 7.370.000 *Bektaşîs* all over the Ottoman Empire just before the destruction of the Janissaries. Seven million of them were scattered in Anatolia, a hundred thousand in Albania and the rest were through Iraq, Crete, Macedonia and the Balkans. The number of *Bektaşîs* in

Istanbul was about 120.000³³⁰. Although these figures represent a rough estimation, the number is high enough to explain the Sultan's stroke against the *Bektaşis* who were strong relations with the Janissaries.

In any attempt to understand the relationship between the Janissaries and the *Bektaşi* Order, one confronts the problem of why and in what circumstances this relationship was set up. There are some traditional stories, which assert the early relation of the Janissaries to the mystic religious order of the *Bektaşis*, and the most famous one claims that it originates from the direct support of Hadji *Bektaşi* Veli to the Janissaries and his prayer for them. However this is proven not to be the case since recent studies have asserted that personal contact between *Hacı Bektaş* and the Janissaries was impossible because of his early death before the formation of the Janissaries³³¹. Among the early historians who refer to *Hacı Bektaş* and his followers, Aşıkpaşazade explains that *Hacı Bektaş* had no personal ties with the family of Osman. He denies the idea that the Janissaries took their headgear from the *Bektaşis*, by asserting that one of the disciples of *Bektaşis*, Abdal Musa, in the reign of Orhan, participated in a war with Janissary soldiers and seeing their headgear he also received a hat from a Janissary³³².

Another fifteenth century historian, Uruc Bey also talks about the formation of the Janissaries and their connection with *Hacı Bektaş*. According to Uruc Bey,

³³⁰ John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, (London:Luzac & Co., 1965), p. 15.

³³¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 149.

³³² Aşıkpaşaoğlu, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, ordered by N. Atsız Çitfçioğlu, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947), pp. 206-207.

the brother of Orhan, Ali Paşa, gave up his political claims and became a *derviş*. Uruc Bey claims that Ali Paşa proposed Orhan Bey to dress his soldiers in white and red headpieces according to their direct or indirect connection with the ruler. Uruc Bey cites that by accepting this, Orhan Bey sent a messenger to *Hacı Bektaş* in Amasya for permission to wear the new headgear³³³. However since *Hacı Bektaş* died in the second half of the thirteenth century, the expression of Uruc Bey cannot be accepted as true. According to these accounts, one cannot clearly claim that whether the headgears of *Bektaşis* were taken and used by the soldiers of Orhan Bey or the *Bektaşis* later used what soldiers wore. This confusing situation also indicates that a shared past between the history of the *Bektaşî* Order and the military order of Janissaries existed in the minds of both groups.

Esad Efendi makes a clear distinction between the ideas of *Hacı Bektaş-i Veli* and his followers' ones. He states that Hadji *Bektaşî Veli* was one of the great *şeyhs* in the time of Orhan (I stated before that this was not possible) and since he was the student of one of the *Nakşibendi şeyhs* named Ahmed el-Besevi, in a way he connected with the *Nakşibendi* doctrines³³⁴. He then recites from Ahmed Taşköprüzade's book "*Sahib-i Şakayık ve Sahib-i Ezyalü'd-Dakayık*" that the recent claims of the *Bektaşis* about the teachings of *Hacı Bektaş* were far from his real ideas. He also recites from the writer of "*Künhü'l-Ahbar*" named Ali that what heretical beliefs shaped the *Bektaşis'* doctrine and how their organisation was

³³³ Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, pp. 46-47.

³³⁴ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 199.

recently built³³⁵. Esad accuses *Bektaşis* of being immoral and making shameful acts. He says that even in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, one of the *Bektaşis* named Kalender had assembled a group of about thirty thousand people and rebelled against the Sultan³³⁶. He wishes to justify the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* Order due to their heretic beliefs rather than their close connection with the Janissaries and in order to represent the *Bektaşis* as a recent innovation, he cites these from comparatively early, sixteenth century sources. According to these sources *Hacı Bektaş* himself did not bless the Janissaries, but their citations about the close ties between the Janissaries and the *Bektaşis* that existed in the sixteenth century confirms the antiquity of this association³³⁷.

Esad mentions that an official representative of *Hacı Bektaş* called *vekil* was staying in the barracks of the ninety forth *Orta*. Furthermore, when the *baba*, who was living in the residence situated within the *Hacı Bektaş*'s shrine, dead, the new head of the *Bektaşî* Order appointed to his post had to come to İstanbul where after a ritual procession, his *tac* was being put on by the *Ağa* or commander in chief of the Janissaries and then he was being dressed a *ferace* by the Grand Vizier. Throughout his journey in İstanbul, the Janissaries would treat with the most obsequious respect to the *vekil*³³⁸. That was a remarkable point in asserting the *Bektaşî*-Janissary ties.

³³⁵ Ibid, p. 200.

³³⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 202, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 180-181.

³³⁷ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 322.

³³⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 203-204, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 180.

Cevad mentions that when a newcomer from province arrived to İstanbul his Janissary fellow countrymen took him to enrol in the Janissary messes. He recites a certificate given to one of these newcomers. That certificate shows how the Janissaries were completely identified with the *Bektāşis*³³⁹:

We are the believers since the beginning of the world. Since that time we have recognised the unity of Allah. We will sacrifice our heads for this belief. Our prophet is Muhammad. We have been the intoxicated ones from all eternity. We are butterflies in the divine light. We are in this world a legion forever in ecstasy before the grandeur of Allah. We are so numerous that we cannot be counted on the fingers. Our spring is inexhaustible. The profane ones can never know our state. We have said, "yes" to the twelve Imams and the twelve Orders. The Three, the Seven, the Forty, the life of the Prophet, the Virtue of Ali, we recognise them. Our patron is the Sultan Saint *Hacı Bektaş*. In 1234, by permission of the Agha of the Soupmaker sergeant and the mess sergeant and all the elders, in accordance with the good law of gazi Süleyman the Lawmaker, whose residence is in Paradise, the named Mehmed Ataullah efendi, son of Abdurrahman bey, has expressed the desire and requested permission to become our companion. To this effect, his name has been inscribed on the register of *Kuls* (slaves) and he has placed his greatcoat upon our divan. In virtue of which we have delivered this certificate to him. Let this certificate be exhibited in case of necessity.

Signed Seyyid Hüseyin Usta

³³⁹ Cevad, *Tarih-i Asker-i Osmani*, p. 53, Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 323; and Birge *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, p. 74-75.

This *Bektaşî*-Janissary relationship actively persevered until the abolition of the Janissary army and yet was not only restricted to the formal attachment, but the theological and mystical ideas of *Bektaşîism* penetrated into the structures and ceremonies of the Janissary Order. Thus it is not a bewildered situation to call the Janissary corps as *Ocağ-ı Bektaşîyan*. They were also known as *Taife-i Bektaşîye*, *Güruh-i Bektaşîye*, *Zümre-i Bektaşîyan* while their hierarchical chain was being named *Silsile-i Tarik-i Bektaşîyan*. Their chiefs were also stated as *Sanadid-i Bektaşîyan* or *Rical-ı Dudman-ı Bektaşîye*³⁴⁰.

Count Marsigli as well, who participated in the siege of Vienna in 1682 with the Ottoman army as a prisoner mentioned that the *Ağa* of Janissaries used to rise up in the *Divan* at the mention of *Hacı Bektaş*'s name³⁴¹.

Mehmed Esad, who naturally opposed to *Bektaşîs*, represents them as the reason and source of all depraved acts of the Janissaries. To him, they penetrated the Janissary army and seduced them. He exemplifies those claims with narrations: During the campaign in 1102/1690-1691 a *Bektaşî* penetrated the army and provoked the soldiers to leave the army by saying that martyrdom is nothing but a deceit used by the Sultan in order to assure his selfish enjoyment. According to Esad the provocation accomplished its target and many Janissaries deserted³⁴².

³⁴⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 150.

³⁴¹ Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, p. 74.

³⁴² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 204.

Esad adds that when Yasincizade Efendi has been charged as an ambassador in Persia in 1226/1811, a *Bektaşî* named Haydar Baba came to see him. He proudly talked about his intimate relations with the Janissaries and claimed to have been one of the leader and adviser of them. He said that even during the deposition of Selim III and Alemdar Mustafa Paşa, he became the forerunner of the Janissaries. When Yasincizade became Mufti and turned to İstanbul in 1236/1822, he told the story to Salih Paşa and other officials in order to warn them of the danger. After an inquiry, he was informed that, that *Bektaşî* also turned to İstanbul and was continuing to his incitement among the Janissaries. Although Haydar Baba was never going to the bazaars without three to five sergeants whom he trusted, finally caught by the Ağa of Janissaries and exiled to Persia. Esad claims that he was sick when he was caught and because of that sickness he died on the way, in Bolu. When the Janissaries heard that Haydar Baba was exiled, they run to the residence of the Ağa of Janissaries in order to learn about his situation. They were stopped with a *fetva* ordering the exile of Haydar Baba³⁴³. Reed adds that nevertheless, the Janissaries forced the government to satisfy their needs about the deposition of many officials³⁴⁴.

³⁴³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 204-205. Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 54-55. Cevdet says that after that *fetva*, the Janissaries were not appeased, whereas they started to show disobedience. Even, after the Greek interregnum when the *mütevellîs* and masters of the each *orta* ritually started to participate in assemblies of the *Mecalis-i Meşveret*, as a reaction to the exile of Haydar Baba, then, they rejected to participate in those assemblies.

³⁴⁴ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 325. According to Reed, this exile occurred on 28 February, 1822, and was probably the final step that forced the Janissaries to violate their policy and brought about the dismissal of Halet Efendi and change of ministry in November, 1822.

A friend of Esad Efendi named Asım Efendi, who was a scribe told him that in the day of the rebellion he and several friends of him were in the way to go to Göksu promenade. As being distant from the city, they heard no news about the Janissary insurrection. When they reached Anadolu Hisar, they heard the first vague rumours about the rebellion. In a while a boat approached and a *Bektaşî* landed. He turned to them and said that the brave comrades rebelled and exterminated the government officials. He warned them to return to their homes and added that he passed to Anatolia in order to inform and warn the soldiers of the Bosphorus' Castles³⁴⁵. Esad mentions that example like others in order to show *Bektaşî* Janissary relations and names the two groups as comrades; while the former was leading astray, the later was perverse³⁴⁶.

5.2. THE PROHIBITION OF THE *BEKTAŞI* ORDER

Those kind of *Bektaşî* activities on behalf of the Janissary outbreak and the extensive and close identity of interests between the two groups made it inevitable for the government that, after the destruction of the Janissary army it was the time for the *Bektaşîs*. Both Esad and according to his citations Cevdet mention that the *Bektaşîs* sank into ignorance and superstition and they debauched the Janissaries.

³⁴⁵ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 205-206. Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 155.

³⁴⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 206.

Thus, according to authorities, since they were "the leavens of the depravity among the Janissaries", the *Bektaşis* had also be stopped³⁴⁷. Conversation traffic started between the leading *ulema*, the leaders of other religious orders and high officials about that close league between the *Bektaşis* and Janissaries. Sultan Mahmud then summoned a formal council in order to discuss the future position of the *Bektaşî* Order. Under the leadership of the Grand Vizier a commission of *Şeyhs* was held on Zilhicce 2nd 1241/July 8th 1826 in the Palace Mosque. The board was including the *Şeyhulislam* in charge at that time and the preceding ones, the *Nakşibendi dervişes* namely Hafız Efendi who was the keeper of the Yahya Efendi *Tekkesi* and Balmumcu Mustafa Efendi who was responsible for the *derviş* lodge in İdris Kiosk, *Mevlevi dervişes* namely Kudretullah Dede who was the *Şeyh* of Galata and Abdulkadir Efendi from Beşiktaş and Ali Efendi from Kasımpaşa, and *Halveti dervişes* namely Zakirbaşı Şikarizade *Şeyh* Ahmed Efendi, and *Şeyh* Ahmed Efendi who was responsible for the lodge of Merkez Efendi, Nasuhizade *Şeyh* Şemsettin Efendi from Üsküdar and *Celveti dervişes* namely Şehap Efendizade Seyyid Efendi, Bandırmalızade Galib Efendi and *Şeyh* Emin Efendi who was a *Sa'diyye derviş*³⁴⁸. Mahmud II was listening to the discussion behind the cage part of the Palace Mosque. Therefore the leaders of the *Mevlevi*, *Nakşibendi*, *Halveti*, *Sa'di*, and *Kadiri* Orders as well as the more orthodox *ulema* of the capital proceeded immediately to air their ideas about the heretical teachings of the *Bektaşis*. Thus the first step was taken by the three-partite coalition against the *Bektaşî* Order.

³⁴⁷ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 205-206, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 181.

³⁴⁸ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 207-208, Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 181.

In the beginning of the meeting, *Şeyhulislam* made a distinction between the spiritual leaders of the *Bektaşî* Order and the popularised form of it. When he cited the former with great respect, on the other hand, he condemned the followers of the popularised form for being ignorant of the true pillars of the religion and even accused them of being infidel. It was remarkably interesting that the same reasoning that had previously applied to the Janissaries was also applied to the *Bektaşîs*. He then asked the attending leaders to voice their opinion about the topic.

The majority of the *Şeyhs* pretended to have no information about the attitude and conduct of the *Bektaşîs*. Some of the *ulema* said that although the *Bektaşîs* in general were ignorant of the true pillars of the religion, this was not enough to punish them as a whole, rather they should be personally interrogated. Those *ulema* then asked the opinion of others. Some members of the commission dropped the names of those *Bektaşî* leaders; namely Kınıcı Baba, İstanbul Ağasızade Ahmed, and Salih Efendi, and soundly argued that those mentioned were supposed to be executed since they consciously left the essential pillars such as fasting and prayer. However, *Şeyhulislam* Yasincizade put the last point on discussion by stating that it was lawful and permissible politically to accept *Bektaşîs* as a whole and to make their interrogation and punishment according to a general decision rather than to apply one by one. It was decided that the leaders of the *Bektaşî* Order should be put to death and others sent to exile³⁴⁹. Just the next

³⁴⁹ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 182.

day a document that contains the application of the punishments of these *Bektaşis* was provided and sent to the charged people³⁵⁰.

Bektaşis who were put in jail saved their life by rejecting that they were the followers of *Bektaşism*. They chose the way of *takiyye* or dissimulation and said that they were followers of orthodox *sunni* Islam. But as we cited, the leaders whom people had a consensus about their *Bektaşî* origin could not escape from death or exile³⁵¹.

The campaign against the *Bektaşis* served those who had resentment against their rivals as a tool to exploit. Accusation went so far that even Melekpaşazade Abdulkadir Bey who had been the fieriest opponent of the *Bektaşî* Order in the commission was accused. One of the famous victims of this injustice was Şanizade Mehmed Atullah Efendi, who was formal historiographer before Esad Efendi, and was the son of former chief physician. As being a skilful physician he was accepted as potential claimant by the chief physician of the Sultan, named Behcet Efendi. According to Cevdet, Behcet Efendi feared the ability of his rival and accused him of being a *Bektaşî* in order to stop him. İsmail Ferruh Efendi was also accused of *Bektaşî* affiliation. Cevdet cites that Abdulkadir Bey was exiled to Manisa, Şanizade to Menemen, and Ferruh Efendi to Bursa whereas they were innocent of the charge of being *Bektaşî*³⁵². Şanizade died there in the following year after his pardon was sent off

³⁵⁰ BA, H.H. 17351, 1241/1826.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 183. It is seen that Esad who reported every detail about the abolition of the Janissaries, and also the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* order, had become deaf in hearing those type of denunciations. It was possibly because he did not want to represent this type of injustice.

from İstanbul, but as he died before, he did not hear. Thus this policy was turned into a kind of 'witch hunting' that caused many innocent people to suffer.

Cevdet mentions that these people Melekpaşazade Abdulkadir Bey, İsmail Ferruh Efendi, and Şanizade Mehmed Ataulлах Efendi together with some others formed a "scientific society" named *Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi* in which all attendants were educated persons. The leader of the group was İsmail Ferruh Efendi and the group was generally to be gathered in the residence of him in Ortaköy in order to discuss philosophy, literature etc. It is understood from the citations of Cevdet that this organisation was a well-established one since even after the members of it had left İstanbul, they were continuing to send money of their subscriptions³⁵³. Cevdet says that they were far from *Bektaşî* affiliation and he explains their exiles only with resentment of some people. But is possible that some authorities might not want this kind organisation where any thought or movement that would threaten their power in the future, might shape. Manneh also comments their exiles as "the suppression of a trend of thought which perhaps a non-conformist one"³⁵⁴.

As we mentioned earlier, Heyd argues that one of the reasons for the *ulema* support of the reform policy was their hatred to the Janissaries and their associates.

³⁵³ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 183-184. He says that, ..Ve bunlar ekseriya Ferruh Efendinin Ortaköy'de vaki sahilhanesinde ictimâ ederlermiş ve cemiyetin masarifi arifane usulunde tesviye olunup hatta aza-yı cemiyetten birisi bir memuriyetle taşra gitse yine hususuna aid olan parayı gönderirmiş.

³⁵⁴ Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century", *The World of Islam, International Journal For the Historical Development of Contemporary Islam*, Vol. XXII, (1982), p. 30.

He calls the *Bektaşî* Order as "proletarian, unintellectual, or even anti-intellectual order in which uneducated men could rise to the highest ranks"³⁵⁵. Although all these claims must require a certain documental base, and without supporting these arguments with the documents, they will be not named as historical reality, it is true that the leading *ulema* strongly criticised the unorthodox behaviour of the *Bektaşîs*. They accused them of drinking wine even in the Ramazan, neglecting public prayers, rejecting the first three Caliphs etc³⁵⁶. It is possible that there was an enmity between the *Bektaşî dervişs* and the sunni ortodox *ulema* and they criticised each other. Levy talks about the *Bektaşî* opposition on the *ulema* leaders and says that "the *Bektaşîs* were especially repugnant to the *ulema* leaders, both because they had put themselves outside the regular judicial system and because they were openly scornful of the *ulema*'s scholarly pretensions"³⁵⁷. On the other hand, Abu Manneh explains the attitude of the *ulema* with the *Naksibendi-Müceddidi* influence upon them. He says, "if the *ulema* supported the measures of reform of Sultan Mahmud II, it was because by this time and among other things they were motivated by orthodox *sunni* ideals propagated by the *sufi* movement"³⁵⁸. He also argues that the expansion of orthodox ideals of the *Halidi* and *Müceddidi* branch among the high officials had affected their attitude towards the reform and the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* order was made within this context³⁵⁹. It was possible

³⁵⁵ Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization", p. 80.

³⁵⁶ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 202-202, ff.

³⁵⁷ Levy, "The Ottoman Ulema and Military Reforms of Sultan Mahmud II", p. 23.

³⁵⁸ Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century", pp. 26-27.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26, ff.

that there existed a tendency to the ortodox sunni branch of Islam among the leading officials, and this could be one of numerous causes of the abolition of the Janissary army and the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* Order, but to explain those events only by that reason could not seem reliable.

After *Bektaşîs* in İstanbul had been arrested on Zilhicce 4th 1241/July 10th 1826, a second council was held on Zilhicce 26th 1241/August 1st 1826. In that council it was decided to expropriate all *Bektaşî* properties in the provinces as well. Following that, officers were sent to Anatolia and Rumeli in order to execute the decree. The Minister of *Tophane-i Amire*, Hacı Ali Bey who was also the former *mirahor* was appointed for the application of that decree in Rumeli and a few officers, Pirlepelî Ahmed Efendi who was from *ulema* class and a writer were attached to the suit of him. For Anatolia, former Cebecibaşı Ali Ağa was chosen for the same duty and Çerkeşli Mehmed Efendi and a writer were sent with him³⁶⁰.

Ali Bey whose name is conspicuous in the selected documents of Prime Ministry archives was secretly charged at the beginning³⁶¹. It could be a preventive measure against the *Bektaşîs* who would escape while hearing that an officer was appointed in order to arrest them. However the news of operation about the *Bektaşî* Order were to spread at top speed all over the country since they were gossiped everywhere. Thus the secrecy of Ali Bey's mission had lost its sense and the government ceased to hide this reality and declared it in its decrees³⁶². Although the

³⁶⁰ BA, H.H. 17411, and Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p.212-213.

³⁶¹ BA, H.H. 17406.

³⁶² Ibid.

government gave Ali Bey another duty about groves³⁶³, it then cancelled this mission by believing that his duty about the *Bektaşis* was more urgent.

It seems that Ali Bey had prepared four account books while he was in Dimetoka and its surroundings³⁶⁴ but it is not known how many account books were prepared by Ali Bey for all of his work in Rumeli. During his mission, after registering all money and belongings of the *Bektaşî Tekkes*, Ali Bey sent these documents to İstanbul and sold the goods which were allowed to be sold by auction. The money formerly was sent to the *Mukataat* Treasury in order to cover the expenses of *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*³⁶⁵ and after the formation of the army's own treasury, the money was transferred to this new Mansure Treasury.

5.3. THE PERSECUTION OF THE BEKTAŞIS

In the Commission of *Şeyhs*, the most severe decision was taken about the *Bektaşî* leaders; Kıncı Baba, İstanbul Ağasızade Ahmed and Salih Efendi. According to this decision, they were accused of not carrying out the essential pillars of Islam, such as fasting and prayer and, of making a presumptuously

³⁶³ BA, H.H. 17438. C.

³⁶⁴ Şamil Mutlu, *Yeniçeri Ocağının Kaldırılışı ve II. Mahmud'un Edirne Seyahati: Mehmed Daniş Bey ve Eserleri*, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1994), p. 5.

³⁶⁵ BA, MMD. 9772, p. 35, h.2. It says that...sair tekyeler derunlarında zuhur idüp mukaddem defteri takdim kılınan emval ve eşyanın değerleri misüllü müzayedede-i furuhtuyla hasıl olan esmanın Mukataat Hazinesine irsali...

criticising about the first four Caliphs. Their executions were religiously accepted as "deserving death" and inevitable since they were leading astray the population with their heretical believes³⁶⁶. The belief of population was harmed about the *Bektaşî* Order. It is possible that by awakening a general enmity in the minds of people, the government could plan to explain these executions with religious concepts like the executions of the Janissaries. It was also decided to execute publicly Kıncı Baba in Üsküdar, by annulling his *Kadı* duty İstanbul Ağasızade Ahmed in Tophane and by cancelling his *hoca* duty Salih Efendi in front of *Bab-ı Hümayun*. Thus, by carrying out these executions publicly, it was planned to create a dreadful image in minds. The execution of another person, Balcı Yokuşluzade Raşid was postponed by claiming that he had no ability of distinguishing the true from false³⁶⁷. But we do not have real information about whether Balcı Yokuşluzade Raşid was not really in possession of his judgement or were there any other reasons such as a powerful relative who could change the conclusion. It is seen that for the Janissaries such kind of protectors who would request forgiveness of the guilty sometimes became successful in postponing the punishment of their relative³⁶⁸.

In this research I came across the mention of five *Bektaşî* execution in which the two were postponed. The fifth person was outside İstanbul, from Manastır, named Esad. A book was found on him in a search. It was confirmed that

³⁶⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 566.

³⁶⁷ BA, H.H. 17351, 1241/1826.

³⁶⁸ see BA, H.H. 24283, BA, H.H. 24728.

in this book some words were added to the verses of the *Kur'an*. Thus Esad was arrested together with his slave and sent to İstanbul. In his interrogation period Esad claimed that he was an ignorant person and unaware of the content of the book. He was not believed and his execution was ordered. Yet, thanks to a letter belonging to Mahmud Bey who was the brother of private secretary of Ömer Paşa - the governor of Salonika, his execution was postponed and he was sent into exile³⁶⁹.

It is very interesting that with a close observation in archival documents, I cited only three *Bektaşî* executions. This number was very few in comparison with the execution of the Janissaries, even if we accept that some decrees could be overlooked. This could be because a lot of people were executed also as being a Janissary or supporting Janissaries. Thus, the government could prefer to accuse people of being or supporting Janissaries, since as was claimed, the Janissaries revolted against the Sultan, to explain the executions of *Bektaşîs* could be more difficult than to explain the executions of the Janissaries.

Another decision of the Commission of *Şeyhs* was about the exile of the *Bektaşîs*. The *Bektaşî Şeyhs* in İstanbul were cross-examined and after their interrogation period, it was thought that they were employing the device of *takiyye* or dissimulation, and apart from one of them, who was put to death, all were exiled to Anatolian cities especially to those where the orthodox *ulema* had a great

³⁶⁹ BA, H.H. 17438, BA, H.H. 17438. C.

influence on people³⁷⁰. Birgi, Tire, Güzelhisar in Aydın and Hadim, Kayseri, Amasya, had become the main destinations for the exiles. Thus, all attendants of the *Bektaşî Tekkes* were exiled to such centres where sunni *ulema* had a competent authority³⁷¹. Within this, the government was supposedly aiming at humiliating *Bektaşîs* by leaving them alone in sunni community and at changing their beliefs by cleansing their mind. Another reason of surrounding the *Bektaşîs* with such kind of communities was to prevent the spreading of the their beliefs and reactions to other regions.

Thus, İbrahim Baba who was the Vekil of *Hacı Bektaş* and the *Şeyh* of *Karaağaç Tekke* with his eight *dervişes* were exiled to Birgi, *Şeyh* Mahmud Baba who was the *Şeyh* of *Şehitlik Tekke* at Rumeli Hisarı with seven of his *dervişes* to Kayseri, Ahmed Baba of *Öküz Limanı* and his two *dervişes* to Hadim, Hüseyin Baba who was the *Şeyh* of *Kazlıçeşme Tekke* at Yedikule with two of his *dervişes* to Hadim, Mustafa Baba who was the *Şeyh* of *Sütlüce Bademli Tekke* to Birgi, another Mustafa Baba who was the *Şeyh* of *Karyağdı Baba Tekke* at Eyüp with his three *dervişes* to Birgi, Mehmed Baba who was the *Şeyh* of *Tahir Baba Tekke* at Büyük Çamlıca to Tire, another Mehmed Baba who was the *Şeyh* of *Nerdibanlıköy Tekke* with four of his *dervişes* to Tire, Mustafa Baba who was the *Şeyh* of *Mürüvvet Baba Tekke* at Kasımağa in Üsküdar to Tire³⁷². Apart from these *Şeyhs*, Yusuf Baba who was staying as a guest in *Karaağaç Tekke* was exiled to Amasya,

³⁷⁰ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 211.

³⁷¹ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 182.

³⁷² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 212.

Antepli Mustafa Baba who was staying in the same *Tekke* to Güzelhisar, and Mehmed Baba who was the brother of the executed Kıncı Baba to Tire³⁷³. Moreover, the *Şeyh* of the central *Tekke* of the *Bektaşî* Order, *Şeyh* Hamdullah Efendi in *Hacı Bektaş Tekke* was exiled to Amasya.³⁷⁴ Aziz who was the treasurer of *Kapan*, and Arif who was also the treasurer of *Haremeyn* were both exiled to Birgi³⁷⁵.

The exile of the *Bektaşîs* was taken seriously by Mahmud II, who warned the Grand Vizier by claiming that, the punishment of *Bektaşîs* was proceeding slowly. Sending a decree to the Grand Vizier, he commanded to treat them more seriously and gave notice of the possible danger of mitigating the punishments of *Bektaşîs*³⁷⁶. Uzunçarşılı claims that, even the Grand Vizier was disturbed by these warnings since, he thought that the *Şeyhulislam* was responsible for this situation as not being diligent against *Bektaşîs*. In order to set in motion the *Şeyhulislam*, the Grand Vizier proposed Sultan to send a direct decree to him³⁷⁷. Thus, sending a decree to *Şeyhulislam*, Mahmud II ordered him to work urgently in order to abolish the *Bektaşîism* entirely³⁷⁸. Lütfî comments that, slow motion of both the Grand Vizier and the *Şeyhulislam* stemmed from their unwillingness to the punishments of

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ BA, H.H. 24588. D.

³⁷⁵ BA, H.H. 17351, 1241/1826.

³⁷⁶ Dolap 2, Sandık 61, H.H. 57, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 573.

³⁷⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 574.

³⁷⁸ Dolap 2, Sandık 61, H.H. 24, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 574. A copy of that decree was in Ahmed Lütfî Efendi, *Tarih-i Lütfî*, (İstanbul, 1292 and 1328), Vol. I, p. 17 as well.

*Bektaşis*³⁷⁹. But it seems to be untrue since both of them were actively participated in the decision period of the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* Order. This slowness could be because of the fear of the possible reaction of all population.

There were innumerable decrees about the exile of the *Bektaşis* from Istanbul and other provinces. Since, to cite all of them is not possible we selected some: Despite being jailed by the time of the Janissary abolition, fourteen *Bektaşis* were also interrogated and while seven of them were being released as being the orthodox followers of Sunni Islam, the others were sent to exile³⁸⁰. Seven or eight guest *Bektaşis* from Karacaahmet *Tekke* in Üsküp were also banished and sent to other regions,³⁸¹ and by being expelled the inhabitants of the *Bektaşî Tekke* behind Kandiye Castle, their properties were confiscated³⁸². Five or six *Bektaşis* in the *Tekke* near Kırçuva were exiled to other regions³⁸³. The same procedure was applied to the *Bektaşis* of Resmo district in Girit³⁸⁴.

The exile of *Bektaşî Şeyhs* and *dervişes* even brought about serious and dramatic consequences for their families. The families suffered from poverty and were pushed to leave their homes. However although all property and real estate of the *Tekkes* were confiscated, the personal possessions of *Şeyhs* were still passed to

³⁷⁹ Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi* I, pp. 169-171.

³⁸⁰ BA, H.H. 19426; BA, H.H. 19475.

³⁸¹ BA, Cevdet Askeriye, 9108.

³⁸² BA, H.H. 17345, 1241/1826.

³⁸³ BA, Cevdet Askeriye, 8714, Muharrem 1242/August 1826.

³⁸⁴ BA, MMD. 9731, p. 409.

their heirs. There were many examples of this application. After Üsküdar Nerdibanlıköy *Tekke's* *Şeyh* had been exiled, his house and garden were left out to his wife³⁸⁵. The house of the banished *Şeyh* of Öküz Limanı was not destroyed but instead was sold by an auction. Afterwards, the *Şeyh's* wife applied to *Kadı* and gave a petition in order to get the house back. Since this *Şeyh* had heirs, the government decided to annul this sale, and returned it to the woman³⁸⁶.

5.4. TEKKES AND TURBES AFTER THE PROHIBITION OF THE *BEKTAŞI* ORDER

According to the decision of the commission, *Bektaşî Tekkes* were classified into two groups as ancient and recently built. *Tekkes* built earlier than sixty years were accepted as ancient and were not targeted; instead they were transformed into sunni and especially *Nakşibendi* Order *Tekkes*³⁸⁷. However others which were called recently built were razed to the ground. Thus the authority was planning to turn *Bektaşî* doctrine into the sunni one by time. As Mélikoff cites the authority

³⁸⁵ BA, MMD. 9731, p. 407.

³⁸⁶ BA, MMD. 9766, p. 393. It says that, ..tekye-i mezkurun emlakı canib-i miriden zabt ile ba-müzayede talibine furuht olunmak üzere mezdad kaimesi verilmiş ve şeyh-i mumailayhin bir nefer valide ve bir nefer zevce ve bir nefer zükur ve bir nefer inas evladları olduğün sunuh eden irade-i şahaneyeye nazaran emlak-ı merkumenin niyazları ve emsali vechile emlak-ı merkumenin mezdad kaydı ref' ve terkin olunarak kendülere terk olduğunu müşir ilmühaberi i'tasını...

³⁸⁷ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p. 182.

became successful in reaching its goals in the long term. In asserting this she mentions a research made by Haluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu and published in Cumhuriyet newspaper³⁸⁸. In this research, Şehsuvaroğlu examines the *Tekkes* of İstanbul before the prohibition of them in 1925. The crucial point of this study is that all closed *Tekkes* such as; Şehitlik and Öküz Limanı in Rumelihisarı, Karaağaç, Yedikule, Sötlüce, Eyüp, Üsküdar, Nerdibanlıköy and Çamlıca *Tekkes* were mentioned as *Nakşibendi Tekkes*. Şehsuvaroğlu recites sixty four *Nakşibendi Tekkes* in İstanbul before 1925, and as Mélikoff mentions, among them, there were at least a dozen *Tekkes* belonged to the *Bektaşî* Order before the year 1826. Mélikoff adds that there were other *Bektaşî Tekkes* as well, similarly transformed into *Nakşibendi* ones, but not mentioned in Şehsuvaroğlu's work. Thus the authority seems to have reached its goal in suppressing the *Bektaşî* Order, since one century later of the beginning of the prohibition policy, many formerly *Bektaşî Tekkes* did no longer exist.

Cornell in his work "The *Bektaşî* Order in Bosnia " says that the effects of the *Bektaşî* Order in Bosnia can be understood within the lights of four factors. First of all, dogmatic side of the Christianity could not affect the Bosnian Church since, because of long drawn-out military occupations, there never formed a powerful Church organisation. Instead of that, religious identity and curiosity became less important for the Bosnians. Secondly, the *Bektaşî* Order in Bosnia was formed efficaciously based on the Janissary existence in that region. Also

³⁸⁸ Irène Mélikoff, *Uyur İdik Uyardılar*, translated by Turan Alptekin, (İstanbul: Cem Yayınları, second ed.,1991), pp. 227-228.

superficial similarities between the Christianity and the *Bektaşî* Order helped people to pass from one to the other. As a fourth he says that when these reasons united with the traditional characteristic of Bosnians of being more tolerant, the *Bektaşî* Order in Bosnia had found an environment that gave way it to become prevalent. Cornell says that on the light of these facts, there had to be a strong and powerful *Bektaşî* tradition in Bosnia but the situation is now vice versa. The *Nakşibendi* branch of the sunni tradition had become a competent authority in the religious life of Bosnians after the abolition of the Janissary army³⁸⁹. This was possibly because the *Bektaşî* Order in Bosnia developed depended on the Janissary existence there. Since the Janissaries were strongly suppressed in Bosnia either by executions or exiles, the *Bektaşî* Order did not find a way to re-construct. Although the same strategy was applied in other provinces, due to the strong reaction in Bosnia, the government took more detrimental measures in order to stop the population as well.

The appointment of *Nakşibendi Şeyhs* to *Bektaşî Tekkes* was carried out. After the exile of the *Bektaşî Şeyh* from the central Tekke of the *Bektaşî* Order in *Hacı Bektaş* village, the *Nakşibendi Şeyh* Mehmed Said Efendi was appointed there, but there was a period of nine to ten years between the exile of old *Şeyh* and the date of document in which there is an information about this appointment³⁹⁰. Another document about the appointment of *Hacı Mehmed Said Efendi* and his

³⁸⁹ Erik Cornell, "Bosna Bektaşiliği Üzerine", *Alevi Kimliği*, ed. T. Olsson, E. Özdalga, C. Raudvere, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 17-18.

³⁹⁰ BA, H.H.27271 and BA, H.H. 27362.

travel allowance also had the date Rebiulahir 25th 1250/August 31st 1834³⁹¹, marking a date eight years later from the prohibition. Thus there could be another *Şeyh* before Mehmed Said Efendi was appointed but the idea that the government preferred to leave the *Tekke* without any *Şeyh* for a certain period of time in order to calm down the situation and then appointed a *Nakşibendi Şeyh* seems more reasonable. There are other examples similar to this³⁹².

The replacement of *Nakşi Şeyhs* was carried out for other places such as; Hüseyin Halife was charged at Ali Baba *Tekke* situated in Uzuncaabat-Hasköy in Çirmen³⁹³ and *Şeyh* Davud Efendi was appointed to Hacı Baba *Tekke* situated in Çöke-Edirne³⁹⁴.

As we mentioned earlier, "recently" built *Tekkes* were decided to raze, but in spite of this decision, some *Bektaşî Tekkes* were not destroyed and with a new decree, it was approved of transferring these buildings to a mosque, small mosque, or *medrese*, or of using them as residence by Sunni *Şeyhs*³⁹⁵. The decrees about this decision were prepared and sent to all governors of Rumeli and Anatolian

³⁹¹ BA, Cevdet Evkaf 10776.

³⁹² e.g. see BA, MMD. 9773, p.193

³⁹³ BA, MMD. 9774, p.101.

³⁹⁴ BA, MMD. 9773, p.277.

³⁹⁵ BA, H.H. 17386, BA, Cevdet Adliye, 1734. According to BA, H.H. 17386, ..Anadolu ve Rumeli taraflarında vaki Bektaşî Tekyelerinin şeyh ve dervişlerinin tahkik-i ahval ve keyfiyetleri ve muhdes olan Bektaşî tekyelerinin hedmi babında emr-i ali ısdarı hususu mukaddema bi'l-müzakere hakipa-yi hümayun-ı şahanelerinden istizan olunmuş olup ancak o misillu muhdes Bektaşî tekyeleri hedm olunmaktan ise buldukları mahallerde lüzum ve iktizasına göre cami ve mescid ve medrese olmak veyahud sair tarik-i aliyye meşayihinden münasib ve müstehak olan zevat iskan olunmak üzere...

provinces. According to a decree, since it was seen that Christian beliefs were spreading among the inhabitants in the villages of Girit and their children were joining in Monastery rites because of the absence of mosques, in order to prevent the Christian effect, the *Bektaşî Tekke* situated outside the Kandiye Castle was turned into a mosque³⁹⁶.

In Dimetoka-Çirmen, Kızıl Deli Sultan *Tekke* which was one of the biggest *Tekkes* of the *Bektaşî* Order and, other *Bektaşî Tekkes* in that region had a lot of disciples. Since it was not feasible to exile all disciples, the government preferred to convert these heretic people into a "healthy belief", and thus, the *Tekkes* were transformed to mosques³⁹⁷.

Apart from using the *Tekkes* as such by the government -according to its needs, many of them were razed to the ground and the ruins of the collapsed *Tekkes* were used for the repair and restoration of mosques, *mekteps*, and *medreses*. The government generally did not make any expense in order to remove the ruins. The inhabitants and notables of the region were defraying the expenses. After the destruction of the *Derviş Ali Tekke* in Naslic-Belazim, the ruins were used for the repair of Hüseyin Çavuş mosque, and even the field and garden of this *Tekke* were given to the *imam* of the mosque³⁹⁸. Likewise, the annual revenue of Kangal Baba *Zaviye* in İpsala was left to the servants of a mosque in the same region³⁹⁹.

³⁹⁶ BA, H.H. 17474.B.

³⁹⁷ BA, H.H. 17411.

³⁹⁸ BA, MMD. 9772, p.108.

³⁹⁹ BA, MMD. 9772, p.143.

Although most of the *Bektaşî Tekkes* were razed, *Bektaşî* masters were accepted as saintly persons, so their tombs continued to receive great respect and they were carefully protected. However it is a remarkable situation that the officers appointed for the protection of *Bektaşî* tombs were selected among sunnis who were at the same time acquainted with their devout sunni beliefs. There were many examples to this; the appointment of the new keeper to the tomb of Selahaddin Baba in Vidin Castle was approved and Hacı Mehmed, towards whom people of this region showed great respect was charged. Moreover, one part of income of seven shops in this Tekke was addressed to him⁴⁰⁰. Likewise, *Rufai Şeyh* Hüseyin bin Ahmed whom region's people hold in high esteem was appointed as the new keeper to the tomb of Bayezid Baba in Yenice-i Vardar⁴⁰¹.

To sum up, *Bektaşî* Order had long been one of the oldest and most powerful groups of the Janissary allies, and in a way it served as its back garden. On the other hand, the close ties with the Janissary Order, which was one of the -if not the most- powerful influence centre of the classical Ottoman system afforded a distinguished position to the *Bektaşîs*, as well. Hence, the prohibition of *Bektaşîism* parallel to the one of the Janissary Order is not surprising at all. During the emergence period of the Ottoman Empire, the relationship between the Janissaries and the *Bektaşî* Order was seen as a perfect tool, which was strengthening the solidarity and unity of the armed force, and providing an ideological base, a unified ethic code of acting, and a firm morality. At that time, the centralisation of both the

⁴⁰⁰ BA, MMD. 9772, p.148.

⁴⁰¹ BA, MMD. 9772, p.144.

political power and the *ulema* was still far away. However, in the early nineteenth century, things had already been enormously changed: Centralised *ulema* and other religious groups which should have been anxious about the power of the *Bektaşis* through their influence on Janissaries seem to have voluntarily participated into the prohibition campaign side by side the government, that aimed to centralise all power under its control. Nevertheless, a suitable reason was found; the three-cornered coalition suddenly remembered the heresy of *Bektaşis* and this unorthodox mystic Order come to an end. That was the beginning of a new period for the *Bektaşî* Order based on the idea of secrecy.

6. PROVINCIAL RESPONSES TO THE ABOLITION OF THE JANISSARIES

Devlet-i aliyyeye cümlemizi kötü anlatırlar ve padişah-ı alempenah efendimiz dahi cümlemizi kötü belleyüp Bosna gibi memleketim yoktur buyurur ise bir tarafımız Nemçelü, bir tarafımız Karadağ ve bir tarafımız Sırpıdır. Üç düşman arasında biz bu kadar çoluk ve çocuk ve nisvan ve sibyan gavur elinde kalırız bizim halimiz nasıl olur...

BA, H.H. 22219.

6.1. REPERCUSSIONS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE

After the abolition of the Janissary army, the next step was to establish the security all over the country and to gather and even destroy all remnants of the Janissaries in order to make sure that the traces in minds about the Janissaries were to be speedily wiped out. The suppression of the Janissaries in the provinces was so important for the government since, Janissary garrisons were stationed in the main strongholds of the provinces. In the period when central authority became weaker, it was the Janissaries who took over the actual control of power especially in distant places of the empire such as North Africa, Baghdad and Belgrade. Also in the large cities they became the main determinant force, such as they occupied the forts, and

did not allow entering anybody, including the governors⁴⁰². On the other hand, the government was now aiming at centralizing its power by establishing a strong control mechanism all over the empire. Thus the abolition of the Janissaries and the recruitment of the new army namely *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* was as prominent in provinces as in İstanbul.

First, the decrees about the abolition of the Janissary army were prepared and sent to all provinces. Apart from warning the interested governors seriously, the Sultan took necessary measures to ensure that no Janissary routs could escape from İstanbul to the provinces by land or by sea. In addition, making sure that all quarters were guarded⁴⁰³, a strict system of travel documents was instituted. All travellers, both Turkish and foreigner had to have these passports for their travels to or from İstanbul, or in the provinces, and during travels their passports were carefully checked at strategically located guard houses and coffee shops and in Üsküdar⁴⁰⁴.

The Janissaries who did not join the rebels were given these passports and were sent to their provinces. The decrees were sent to the provincial authorities informing that situation and warning that those Janissaries had to be controlled as to prevent their return to İstanbul. Thus, the government cautiously followed them and

⁴⁰² İnalçık, "The Nature of Traditional Society: Turkey", p. 46.

⁴⁰³ Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 93.

⁴⁰⁴ Victor Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient Entrepris par Ordre du Gouvernement Français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829 (I) Turquie d'Asie, (II) Constantinople, Grèce, événements Politiques de 1827 à 1928*, (Paris, 1829), Vol. I, pp. 208-210, 311, 323-324, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 254.

quickly dispatched in order to prevent any agitation and disorder⁴⁰⁵. The fugitive Janissary rebels who had not passports yet were arrested during the investigations. The last mentioned decree also says that after such kind of investigations thirty-three of them were found out and executed⁴⁰⁶.

Since the land roads were strictly guarded, rebels could try to escape by the sea. This possibility set in motion the authorities who took preventive measures. The water passage across the Golden Horn or Bosphorus was restricted to only a privileged group⁴⁰⁷. It was also prohibited to sail from the Golden Horn for all Turkish vessels since it was possible that they could spread the news and could help the Janissaries for organising and defending themselves against the Sultan's orders.

Unexpected attacks and following it, the executions and exiles were the most powerful weapons of the Sultan and the authorities. In Edirne, which was the most important Janissary centre among the provinces and a former Ottoman capital, there were some of the Janissary messes which had well-arranged rooms and one *Ağa Kapısı* in the city castle⁴⁰⁸. The governor of Edirne was Esad Muhlis Paşa who served as governor in many provinces and also was a Vizier. A decree was sent to Esad Muhlis Paşa, the *Molla* of Edirne Yazıcızade İbrahim Ethem and other *ulema* to inform them of the abolition of the Janissary army and commanding that all the

⁴⁰⁵ BA, Cevdet Dahiliye 4709, 5 Muharrem 1242/9 August 1826; BA, H.H. 17517.J, 1241/1826.

⁴⁰⁶ BA, H.H. 17517.J, 1241/1826.

⁴⁰⁷ Deval, *Deux Années à Constantinople et en Morée 1825-26*, p. 136, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 254.

⁴⁰⁸ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 559.

names and insignia of the Janissaries had to be destroyed⁴⁰⁹. On that news, Esad Muhlis Paşa ordered a secret meeting including Yazıcızade İbrahim Ethem, Eskicizade Efendi who was the senior member of the *ulema*, Bostancıbaşı Abbas Bey and other notables of Edirne. Eskicizade Efendi proposed to announce the decree to the public and then to apply the orders respectively. All participants, except *Molla Yazıcızade İbrahim Ethem* were agreed with him. Because of the disagreement of Yazıcızade İbrahim Ethem, the assembly was finished without reaching a final decision⁴¹⁰. According to a decree of Esad Muhlis Paşa, the announcement of the abolition of the Janissary army in Edirne was postponed until a new force, formed by the new soldiers⁴¹¹. It is possible that this decree was sent to the government in the meantime since a second meeting was held soon and all the audience accepted to abolish the name and insignia of the Janissaries. As in the first meeting, Yazıcızade İbrahim Efendi did not support that decision, he said nothing but only a few unclear words. Eskicizade Efendi put the final point by convincing all the audience, even the ones who were the members of the Janissary army⁴¹². After that, some duties were shared among certain people and it was decided to gather the insignia of the Janissaries in all districts of the city. The building of *Ağa Kapısı* was also transferred to the canonical court⁴¹³.

⁴⁰⁹ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 174.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ BA, H.H. 17440, 1241/1826.

⁴¹² Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, p. 174

⁴¹³ Ibid.

Due to his abstention from the decision period, Ibrahim Ethem Efendi was exiled to Karahisar and Halil Rüştü Efendi replaced him. On the other hand, Eskicizade Efendi was given a large cash present⁴¹⁴. Esad Muhlis Paşa by sending letters to the Sultan, informed him of the developments and presented his congratulation on the abolition. As mentioned earlier, he also dedicated a poem named '*gaza-yı ekber*', written as a chronogram⁴¹⁵.

Edirne was an important city in supplying soldiers for the army. After the abolition of the Janissaries the decree including the commands of the Sultan that the registration of the new army had to be held, was primarily sent to Edirne⁴¹⁶. According to that decree, the males from 15 to 30 years, who were so strong and whose origins were known would have been selected as soldiers. Thus, in Edirne an army including 1.527 soldiers in two regiments had to be raised. To conduct the teaching and instruction program of those soldiers properly, the Sultan ordered that the construction of the new barracks in Edirne had to be started⁴¹⁷.

In reply, Esad Muhlis Paşa reported to the Sultan that new barracks that had the capacity of two or three thousand soldiers were started to be constructed⁴¹⁸. But the problem of what kind of an answer had to be given to the Janissaries who would wish to participate in the new army still remained unsolved. Esad Paşa asked the

⁴¹⁴ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 174-175.

⁴¹⁵ BA, H.H. 17434.A, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 17434.B, 1241/1826.

⁴¹⁶ BA, Cevdet Askeriye 14490, Zilhicce 1241/July 1826.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ BA, H.H. 17481, 1241/1826.

order of the Sultan on this subject. He also required special teachers for the new drill program⁴¹⁹. A few months later, the construction of new barracks was successfully finished⁴²⁰.

The message traffic between Esad Paşa and the Sultan had continued. After the announcement of the abolition, the persecution was seriously started in Edirne. Everywhere the Janissary headquarters were being seized and fugitives were being followed. Esad Paşa warned the governors of every district under his jurisdiction such as Tekfurdağı or Kırkkilise that the following and persecution of fugitives must have been held solemnly⁴²¹. He then informed the Sultan that the Janissary suspects were being exiled to different regions but the income of Edirne was inadequate for this operation and for the reorganisation of a new army. In reply the Sultan ordered that a sum of 50.000 piastres to be collected half from Tirnova and half from Filibe would be sent to Edirne⁴²².

The exile of the Janissaries and their supporters in Edirne was seriously carried out. The registers including their names were sent to Istanbul and the support of people for the government against any Janissary provocation was assured. The notables of Edirne certified that decision with their signatures⁴²³. Some influential

⁴¹⁹ BA, H.H. 17481, 1241/1826.

⁴²⁰ BA, H.H. 17424.

⁴²¹ BA, H.H. 17346, 1241/1826.

⁴²² BA, H.H. 17321, 1242/1826.

⁴²³ BA, H.H. 17407, 1242/1826; BA, H.H. 17406.A, 1242/1826; BA, H.H. 17407.B, 1242/1826.

people among the Janissaries who were conferred and thus convinced by the rank of armed guard “*silahşorluk*” were then delivered to the viziers’ employ⁴²⁴.

The Janissaries of Edirne were exiled to different regions. Some were exiled to Hırsuva and Yergöğü.⁴²⁵ Eleven of those who were exiled to Yergöğü were executed there⁴²⁶. Some were exiled to Silistre and four of them were executed there⁴²⁷. Some were exiled to İbrail. According to a decree *İpsalalı* Mehmed who was exiled to İbrail was permitted to bring his family together with him⁴²⁸. Some Janissaries were exiled to very far regions. Twenty of them were exiled to Maçin⁴²⁹. Since it is possible that in archival documents we might omit some records, the number of exiles from Edirne is not restricted with the figures that appear in the study.

Despite all preventive measures, the secret communication traffic between the Janissaries of Istanbul and those of Edirne was to continue. Esad Paşa reported to the Sultan that some ringleaders of the Janissaries of İstanbul sent some of their trusted accomplices to Edirne as to form a communication link. These people carried letters between the two sides. He added that they were pursued and their ringleaders were caught and punished according to their crimes⁴³⁰. As a reply, the Sultan

⁴²⁴ BA, H.H. 17418, 1242/1826.

⁴²⁵ BA, H.H. 17381.

⁴²⁶ BA, H.H. 17464.D; BA, H.H. 17464.F.

⁴²⁷ BA, H.H. 17464.J.

⁴²⁸ BA, H.H. 17464.B.

⁴²⁹ BA, H.H. 17407.A, 1243/1827.

⁴³⁰ BA, H.H. 17509.

ordered that the punishment of that kind of people must have been severely inflicted. Another decree exemplifies that situation:

A man from artillery soldiers named Ahmed was arrested in a coffee-house in Zağra-i Atik region. He was endeavouring to persuade people for the Janissaries and against the government. After an interrogation, it was understood that as a messenger he went to Edirne and to the Danubian region and carried some letters between the two sides⁴³¹. People involved in that affair were also seized and punished.

Mehmed Esad narrates a fanciful story about the efforts of the Janissaries to send the news of their defeat. The Janissary ringleaders sent one of their trusted accomplices to Edirne in order to provoke a rebellion parallel with the one in Istanbul. According to him, although that man reached Edirne safely, he suddenly lost his ability of speaking and became dumb. Only after the news of defeat reached Edirne, he got back his power of speech⁴³². One can see clearly Mehmed Esad's manner of representation of those events. He tries to prove that the abolition of the Janissary army was due to a heavenly wish so that in every situation God was helping the government.

The decree of the abolition was also sent to İzmit. But the statement of the sergeant Nuri Ağa asserted that in spite of the abolition, in İzmit, Kocaeli and Hüdavendigâr region the titles of the Janissaries; *bayraktar*, *yoldaş* and *ağa* were

⁴³¹ BA, H.H. 21083.

⁴³² Esad, *Üss-i Zafer*, p. 169.

still being used by the inhabitants. The government, by sending a decree, severely prohibited the usage of those names, and reported that, people who still used them would be punished⁴³³.

The Janissaries were not completely abandoning their hope. Some influential Janissaries who were potentially dangerous for the government managed to escape from Istanbul and started to provoke people in the places where they went. Some of them formerly had close relations with certain *ulema* and it was possible that they would use those relations for their interests. There was a group of them in İzmit who provoked people against the government. Ağa Hüseyin Paşa hesitated to punish them because of their relations with certain *ulema* and reported that situation to the Sultan⁴³⁴. The Sultan ordered that their punishment had to be performed impartially, and added that, those men, numbering eight had to be executed. One of them, named Sofuoğlu Mehmed was executed in front of his coffee-house in the Gazi Baba quarter of İzmit, since he did not remove the insignia of the Janissaries from that coffee-house⁴³⁵. Another man named Mustafa was exiled to Edirne and because of his close relation with Abdurrahman Efendi from *ulema* ranks who begged pardon of Mustafa Efendi, his execution was written to Esad Muhlis Paşa, ordering, "that execution had to be made as if his hour of death has come"⁴³⁶. The way of the Sultan

⁴³³ BA, H.H. 17388.

⁴³⁴ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 562.

⁴³⁵ BA, H.H. 17335; BA, H.H. 17335.D; BA, H.H. 19334, BA, H.H. 19334.A, BA, H.H. 19334.B.

⁴³⁶ BA, H.H. 17496.D, see also BA, H.H. 17335; BA, H.H. 17335.B; BA, H.H. 17335.C.

was very important: While he was insisting on the persecution of the Janissaries, at the same time he was not wishing to take any reaction of his supporters.

Together with those Sofuoğlu Mehmed and Hatab Emîni Mustafa, *Hacı Ahmed Ağa*, *Hacı Ali Ağa*, *Oturakçı Genç Ağa* who ordered secret meeting in the house of Hatab Emîni Mustafa Ağa were executed⁴³⁷. *Havadisci Mustafa*, *Uzun Mustafa* and another *Genç Ağa* were the others of those eight executed people⁴³⁸.

Fontanier who was in İzmit in late September 1826, describes the environment he saw: While he was passing a road he was very surprised. Approximately 100 Janissaries were walking down the street and a group of palace guards were following them. The hands of some Janissaries were tied. They were arrested and pushed roughly to pass across to Üsküdar even without being allowed to bid farewell to their families. All were bound into exile in various parts of Anatolia. Fontanier cites that, that night, another group of approximately 100 Janissaries camped at Sapanca, and the following day near Gebze a third group of about 100 Janissaries were driven away into exile by their guards⁴³⁹. He also narrates a conversation between him and a coffee-house keeper about the news of İstanbul. While Fontanier inquired him about the abolition, he replied:

⁴³⁷ BA, H.H. 17335.B.

⁴³⁸ BA, H.H. 17335.C.

⁴³⁹ Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient Entrepris par Ordre du Gouvernement Français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829 (I) Turquie d'Asie, (II) Constantinople, Grèce, événements Politiques de 1827 à 1928*, Vol. I, pp. 318-319, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 260.

Sultan Mahmud, our master, does not want the Janissaries any longer. What is to become of us when the Paşa's and great ones will be able to eat the country at their ease? We will have to flee and take to the hills. Our reayas are rejoicing today, they will always have to pay harac, ispenc and miri. They [i.e. the government] will probably raise the taxes, but Allah forbid it, they may even tax muslims. Only Allah knows if these changes are good! But the chief of the Muscovit dogs has taken advantage of the occasion to revolt against the son of a slave [i.e. sultan] because he did not want to make him a king... The six other infidel Kings will also revolt; they won't pay tribute anymore, and will force the true believers to chastise them. Sultan Mahmud has become an infidel; he adopts the usages and drill of the 'gavur's; they say he will establish quarantines so though there were no more Kismet. It is that dog, that son of a bitch, Mehmed Ali Paşa who suggested all this. May Allah strike him blind. İnşallah, he said⁴⁴⁰.

The speech of that coffee-house keeper was an expression of discomfort and discontentment about the policy of the Sultan. On the other hand, the sentence between the lines "Our reayas are rejoicing today", reflects a general contentment among the Christian subjects. He portrays Mahmud II as an infidel. The subjects, who were kept in obedience are rejoicing, the Muscovits are taking advantage etc. He accuses Mehmed Ali Paşa of being responsible of all events.

İzmir was a peaceful city where Greek, European and American merchantmen, and Turkish troops and others were making their business in an

⁴⁴⁰ Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient Entrepris par Ordre du Gouvernement Français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829 (I) Turquie d'Asie, (II) Constantinople, Grèce, événements Politiques de 1827 à 1928, Vol. I*, pp. 320-322, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 261.

honestly calm and equal environment. However not so long ago, there occurred two Janissary revolt in İzmir. In 1236/1821 the Janissaries revolted and executed the *Kadı*, the judge and some notables of İzmir⁴⁴¹. Shortly after that, agitations and troubles spread from Izmir to Manisa. The rebelled Janissaries in Manisa executed yet some more notables⁴⁴². Due to those events an assembly was held in the house of *Şeyhulislam* where the strategy was planned so as to stop the uprising. The commander of İzmir, Ağa Hasan Paşa accomplished the task of suppressing the uprising. The rebelled Janissaries were punished and driven away to other regions⁴⁴³. However the chief of the seventy-third regiment of the Janissaries Giritli Mehmed Ağa who was appointed as the military commander of Izmir, permitted those exiled Janissaries to turn back. Hasan Paşa reported that situation to the Sultan. The Sultan replied that, because of that provocative act Giritli Mehmed Ağa must have been stopped; but in order to prevent any gossip and a possible discontentment among the Janissaries, instead of sending a dismissing decree he suggested that Hasan Paşa should have solved the problem by convincing the Janissary masters⁴⁴⁴.

Shortly before the destruction of the Janissaries, in 1838/1822-1823 there was another Janissary rebellion in İzmir. Some Janissaries infringed upon public order, broke in the governor's house and injured some people. With the help of the population they were suppressed and exiled to other regions. The intimidation of the

⁴⁴¹ BA, H.H. 16704.

⁴⁴² BA, H.H. 18138.

⁴⁴³ BA, H.H. 18137.

⁴⁴⁴ BA, H.H. 19505.

Janissaries of İzmir was soon reported to the Sultan by both Ağa Hasan Paşa and *Kadı* of İzmir⁴⁴⁵.

Because of those previous uprisings, the reaction of İzmir's Janissaries to the abolition of the Janissary army was important. Mahmud II had clearly reached his purpose in that area as well. According to the report of Hasan Paşa, the decree of abolition was declared all over the city while the insignia of the Janissaries such as cauldrons was gathered and put in the arsenal of İzmir Castle. The Janissaries put their uniforms off and started to live like ordinary citizens⁴⁴⁶.

To Trabzon, three days after from the abolition the news reached. Although all roads were secured and guarded and water passage across the Golden Horn or Bosphorus was prohibited, the government could not venture to violate the capitulations. There was no restriction for the sailing of foreign vessels from İstanbul. Thus, a very short time later, a craftsman of Dubrovnik brought the news of the abolition and executions to Trabzon⁴⁴⁷. A few days later, the exiled and fugitive Janissaries reached to Trabzon as well⁴⁴⁸.

After the decree of abolition reached Trabzon, the governor Hasan Paşa presented his gratitude to the Sultan with a reply letter. The lieutenant-governors of

⁴⁴⁵ BA, H.H. 33256, see also , BA, H.H. 33259; BA, H.H. 33260.

⁴⁴⁶ BA, H.H. 17329.

⁴⁴⁷ Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient Entrepris par Ordre du Gouvernement Français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829 (I) Turquie d'Asie, (II) Constantinople, Grèce, événements Politiques de 1827 à 1928, Vol. I, p. 25*, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 255.

that region submitted their loyalty to the Sultan with a letter that was sent to him by Hasan Paşa⁴⁴⁹. There was no counter-revolution in Trabzon where the inhabitants were completely submissive to the Sultan. Fontanier, who travelled with caravans and took detailed notes during those travels, was in Trabzon when the news of the abolition reached there. He reported his ideas about the submission of inhabitants of Trabzon:

When I think of the submission shown by the inhabitants of Trabzon; and when I see that this submission was everywhere the same, I am lead to believe that history does not present an example of a more difficult and more rapid revolution so fecund in its results. In examining the organisation of the Janissaries, and the nature of their power, we will recognise that the preetorian guards of the emperors, and the strelitz of Russia, were much more easy to reduce than a national militia attached to the immediate interests of the people⁴⁵⁰.

Shortly after the abolition, the governor of Sivas, Seyyid Mehmed Paşa informed the Sultan that, the name and insignia of the Janissaries were abolished in Sivas and in its nearby regions as well⁴⁵¹. Apart from that general information; the

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 26-27, quoted in Reed, **The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826**, p. 256. He also recites the talks of those Janissaries.

⁴⁴⁹ BA, H.H. 17425.

⁴⁵⁰ Fontanier, **Voyages en Orient Entrepris par Ordre du Gouvernement Français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829 (I) Turquie d'Asie, (II) Constantinople, Grèce, événements Politiques de 1827 à 1928**, Vol. I, pp. 26-27, quoted in Reed, **The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826**, p. 285.

⁴⁵¹ BA, H.H. 17405, 1241/1826.

decrees from every district of that region, signed by the *Kadis*, *ulema*, prayer leaders, head men of quarters, or notables reached the Sultan. Those decrees from Divriği⁴⁵², Tokat⁴⁵³, Niksar⁴⁵⁴, Kazabad⁴⁵⁵, Amasya⁴⁵⁶, Sivas⁴⁵⁷, Turhal⁴⁵⁸ and Zile⁴⁵⁹, confirmed that the names and insignia of the Janissaries were abolished.

Despite those statements, a disaster was raging in Tokat. The *voyvoda* of Tokat Süleyman Ağa informed the Sultan that the Janissaries were being protected by the deputy judge (*naib*) who made secret meetings with those Janissaries and promised to protect them against any imprisonment command of the *voyvoda*. In return he received a sum of 3.000 piastres as bribe. He then secretly interfered with the records that were set down under the leadership of Mehmed Paşa who was the governor of Sivas⁴⁶⁰. Süleyman Ağa added that, the events went beyond the control. In that manner neither he nor a new *voyvoda* could stop the Janissaries and their supporters. Because of that, the government must have interfered to change the result.

⁴⁵² BA, H.H. 17405.A, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 17405.N, 1241/1826.

⁴⁵³ BA, H.H. 17405.B, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 17405.L, 1241/1826.

⁴⁵⁴ BA, H.H. 17405.D, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 17405.F, 1241/1826.

⁴⁵⁵ BA, H.H. 17405.E, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 17405.K, 1241/1826.

⁴⁵⁶ BA, H.H. 17405.H, 1241/1826.

⁴⁵⁷ BA, H.H. 17405.İ, 1241/1826.

⁴⁵⁸ BA, H.H. 17405.M, 1241/1826.

⁴⁵⁹ BA, H.H. 17405.O, 1241/1826.

⁴⁶⁰ BA, H.H. 34933.B, 1242/1826.

Before that decree the *voyvoda* also sent letters to Mehmed Celaleddin Paşa, the governor of Maraş, in order to inform and take help of him against the Janissaries. In those letters he reported that the notables of Tokat were supporting the Janissaries,⁴⁶¹ and even the deputy judge was protecting them⁴⁶². Also a man named Ata who was charged in Tokat in the days following the abolition reported to Mehmed Paşa of Sivas that, the Janissaries of Tokat were still continuing to use their titles, insignia and clothes. Yet, they were organising secret meetings in order to reanimate their traditions⁴⁶³.

Those reports set the government in motion. Mehmed Paşa of Sivas was assigned to establish the order in Tokat. The troubles were remedied by the arrival of Mehmed Paşa, who stayed in a tent outside the city during that period. In Tokat, he promptly executed 27 Janissaries and exiled 5 of them to different regions. Apart from those Mehmed Odabaşı was exiled to Bolu as well.⁴⁶⁴ Among the ringleaders, Ayrancıoğlu, Kahveci Kasım, Kırımlı and Yıldızoğlu succeeded to escape but the government pursued them, caught and executed them⁴⁶⁵. The second step of Mehmed Paşa was to destroy the Janissary coffee-houses in that region. All coffee-houses were investigated, and according to the explanations of the craftsmen or inhabitants,

⁴⁶¹ BA, H.H. 34933.A.

⁴⁶² BA, H.H. 34933.C.

⁴⁶³ BA, H.H. 19361, see also BA, H.H. 17419.

⁴⁶⁴ BA, H.H. 17419, see also BA, H.H. 17414.E; BA, H.H. 17503; BA, H.H. 17513 and; Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, V.1, p.174.

⁴⁶⁵ BA, H.H. 17419; BA, H.H. 17414.E and Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, V.1, p.174.

the innocent ones were preserved while others were destroyed or turned to other shops⁴⁶⁶.

According to the denunciations of Mehmed Paşa and Süleyman Ağa about the *naib*, the government moved cautiously. Since the chief guard of the *naib* of Tokat was in İstanbul in those days, he was summoned and interrogated by the chief of the halberdiers. In the first interrogation he confessed that the *naib* and the *mufti* had approximately received a sum of 50.000 piastres as a bribe, and after a close cross-examination, the amount of that bribe reached a sum of 150.000 piastres. According to these confessions, the government ordered that, the *naib*, the chief guard, and also the *mufti* of Tokat should be sent to Sivas for interrogation. Finally the judge was exiled while his properties were confiscated⁴⁶⁷. There were no clues in that decree about the future of both the chief guard and the *mufti*. However according to another decree, it is understood that, the chief guard was executed as well⁴⁶⁸.

At the same time, the *mufti* and notables of Amasya were summoned and interrogated by the order of Mehmed Paşa, and according to their statements eight rebels were executed while two were exiled to Ankara and two to Çorum and one to Niksar. While the two rebels who succeeded to run away were being searched, the notables of Amasya promised Mehmed Paşa that they would inform him if any rebel

⁴⁶⁶ BA, H.H. 17419; BA, H.H.17503.

⁴⁶⁷ BA, H.H. 17419.

⁴⁶⁸ Dolap 2 Sandık 61, Vesika No:4, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, p.560.

would come to their region⁴⁶⁹. Of the Janissaries Turnacı Mehmed who escaped from Sivas to Tokat, was exiled to Sivas Castle.

Fontanier who visited Sivas in the mid-summer of 1826, benefited the opportunity of an interview with Mehmed Paşa. The Paşa while discussing the destruction of the Janissaries, said that he was glad because they had been eradicated⁴⁷⁰:

Now we will be able to do as we please. Those in authority will have some real power. Not many of these dogs of Janissaries have taken refuge in my Paşalık for they fear me; but, Allah be praised, one did fall into my hands. I had known of his fine deeds at Istanbul from way back so I had him to come to see me. When he arrived, we chatted for a moment... Then I had him incarcerated in a room and had the door walled up. It will please Allah to have him die of hunger. So let it be. Did you see the courage of Sultan Mahmud our master?... And it is an account of the fact that they can no longer enjoy the fruits of license and anarchy that riff-raff and male factors are not pleased.

The quotations of Fontanier from Mehmed Paşa, their truthfulness provided, represent not only the degree of cruelty to Janissaries but also the psychology of the authorities who were regarding those acts something to be proud of.

⁴⁶⁹ BA, H.H. 17419.

⁴⁷⁰ Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient Entrepris par Ordre du Gouvernement Français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829 (I) Turquie d'Asie, (II) Constantinople, Grèce, événements Politiques de 1827 à 1828*, Vol. I, p.54, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 263.

The Kayseri province was filled with many exiled and fugitive Janissaries since its notables and the *ulema* were supporting them. Its governor Hafız Ali Paşa was known as lenient and incompetent and that belief caused to gather a lot of Janissaries in Kayseri as well. In reality Hafız Ali Paşa informed the Sultan that, the supporters of the Janissaries in Kayseri were either from *ulema* or notables' class and if he punished them, they would become foes of him⁴⁷¹. Nevertheless, the Sultan, as being intolerant of that kind of excuses, ordered the governor of the province of Maraş, Cabbarzade Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa to take over the responsibility for Kayseri as well⁴⁷². As a response, Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa asked the Sultan whether it was possible to charge a powerful, shrewd lieutenant governor and to send under his leadership a group of five-hundred selected soldiers for cleansing Kayseri from brigands. In reply, the Sultan annexed Kayseri region to Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa and accepted to charge a lieutenant governor. The Sultan ordered that, in order to prevent any kind of disorders and despair, Hafız Ali Paşa would continue his duty until the lieutenant-governor of Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa arrived. According to the decree, Hafız Ali Paşa was finally aware that, the Sultan grew impatient at his carelessness. Thus he changed his attitude and ordered the registration of a group of approximately a hundred soldiers from his office as 'Triumphant Soldiers', but because of his delay of persecution of the Janissaries, he was dismissed. The Sultan also ordered that, after the arrival of the lieutenant governor, Hafız Ali Paşa would pass the Dardanelles via Gelibolu to Rumeli region

⁴⁷¹ BA, H.H. 17402.L, 1242/1826.

⁴⁷² BA, H.H. 17356, 21 Safer 1242/23 September 1826.

and compulsorily reside in Keşan or Malkara districts until, according to the requirements, a new order would come⁴⁷³.

After the annexation of Kayseri to Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa, he had promptly cleared his distant Southeastern Anatolian province from the Janissaries and soon restored order in Kayseri as well⁴⁷⁴. The rebelled Janissaries who did not give up the name and insignia of the Janissaries were strictly followed and punished in the regions under the command of Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa. According to the report of Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa, a person named Tüysüzoğlu Mehmed and also eight Janissary ringleaders were executed while the fugitive ones who escaped to Birecik were being followed⁴⁷⁵. The information that five fugitive Janissaries went to Aleppo set in motion Celaleddin Mehmed as well. He reported that information to Yusuf Paşa who was the governor of Aleppo and wished to punish them. Four of them were executed and their heads were sent to Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa⁴⁷⁶.

The governor of Erzurum, Mehmed Said Galib Paşa, who was formerly the Grand Vizier, was also commander-in-chief of the entire Eastern frontier of the Empire. Attached to that duty, Galib Paşa had the right to call upon the Paşas of Kars, Ahiska, Bayezid, Van, Muş, Musul and Trabzon. The region was very

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, Vol. I, p. 187; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 560, for the correspondence traffic between the Sultan and Celaleddin Mehmed Paşa see also; BA, H.H. 26346.

⁴⁷⁵ BA, H.H. 17399.

⁴⁷⁶ BA, H.H. 17402.H.

strategic because of the recently ended Persian War and the Russian advances in that region⁴⁷⁷.

When Galib Paşa was secretly informed of the abolition of Janissaries, he quietly took all possible precautions and then declared the decree to the public. In reality he had previously so ingratiated himself with the Janissaries at Erzurum:

Erzurum, unlike Trabzon, which was divided into small fiefs owned by Ağa's, was made up of real corporations whose chiefs are called Bayraktar's; these chiefs are drawn from every class of society and their influence is acquired by wealth, bravery, piety or honesty... These Bayraktars were Janissaries and derived their name from the right they had to carry a little banner named a bayrak (which means flag) and to lead an armed band to war. Some had up to 3000 partisans; two of them were notables by their power and the singularity of their names. The first called himself 'Gate of Hell' and the second, 'Son of the Devil'. When I think of the use to which these men put their authority, I don't know if one should show more indignation or pity toward those who make themselves the apologists of the State of society in Turkey, and who excuse the manner in which the Christians are treated, these Bayraktars, for example, used to send old women informed them of a Christian woman worthy of their favors, the Bayraktars ordered them to come to their residences, on pain of killing their relatives or extorting money from them... This tyranny was exercised to such a point that the apostolic vicar was forced to request an order from the Paşa that Christian Women wear a different costume than the Turkish (Women), and that these horrors might not be committed without a certain amount of difficulty. It was, however, these men... that (Galib) Paşa had to make understand that henceforth they were to be subject to the law and commands of the Sultan.

⁴⁷⁷ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 267.

In order to do this, he assembled them to communicate the firman to them. A cannon was shot off at noon and the session began. After the firman had been read aloud, he (Galib Paşa) made a speech to them, in which he declared that he did not wish to subdue them by force, that he would require at least 10000 men to do this, and that he had but 500!; that if they did not want him to carry out his orders, he was ready to retire; that, poor, infirm, devoted to his master, he did not dread his vengeance, but that he was much more concerned about the fate of a province which he had administered, and which, if it should resist, would have to combat all the forces of the empire at a time when it was already menaced by a war in progress on its frontiers⁴⁷⁸.

A decree of Galib Paşa supports the citations of Fontanier: Galib Paşa reported the Sultan that, the abolition of the Janissary army was declared in Erzurum where the decision was held on without any problem. He sent the copies of imperial rescript to the governors and chief commanders of Çıldır, Kars and Van. In reply, the governor of Kars, Salih Paşa reported that the decree had been declared successfully in his province. Since Galib Paşa heard that a dispute arose in Ahiska about the abolition and shortly after it was removed, in order to inquire about the final condition he sent İsmail Hakkı Paşa of Çıldır there. He wrote letters to the Ağas of Ahiska to stop the gossip about the abolition. The commander in chief of Van informed Galib Paşa that the Janissaries and the corps of 'yemin' and 'yesar' of

⁴⁷⁸ Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient Entrepris par Ordre du Gouvernement Français de l'année 1821 à l'année 1829 (I) Turquie d'Asie, (II) Constantinople, Grèce, événements Politiques de 1827 à 1828*, Vol. I, pp. 76-68, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, pp. 267-268.

Van obeyed the orders of the government. The submission of Ahiska was also secured.⁴⁷⁹

In the mentioned decree, Galib Paşa continued to give information to the Sultan: After the declaration of the abolition, he took the key of the Erzurum Castle from the Janissary commander and discharged the whole Janissary group. The general customs of the Janissaries and their insignia were removed as well. Galib Paşa planned to make a meeting, but the declaration of the abolition coincided with the first day of the feast, so he postponed that meeting to the second day. In that day all the public gathered and the imperial rescript was read aloud. Then, Galib Paşa made an eloquent speech. He talked about the name of the new troop in order to correct the wrong usage of it. Some ignorant people called the new troop 'Muhammedi'. When the Janissaries heard it, they showed great reaction and said that, if this new troop was 'Muhammedi', hence was not the previous one 'Muhammedi'. Galib Paşa commented that the new troop was called 'Asakir-i Muhammediye' to produce an auspicious result and to receive the blessing of the Prophet; otherwise it did not mean that the previous corps were not the followers of the Prophet⁴⁸⁰. The Paşa's eloquence not to offend the Janissaries was completely successful. He calmed the Janissaries and from then on, applied the new regulations.

Galib Paşa reported that all the cauldrons, utensils and other equipment were taken out of the hands of the Janissaries and placed in the Erzurum Castle. The decrees were sent to local authorities of Erzurum in order to surrender the equipment

⁴⁷⁹ BA, H.H. 17354, 21 Receb 1242/18 February 1827.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

of the Janissaries in their regions as well. After all equipment was gathered and a detailed inventory of all this equipment was prepared, Galib Paşa would send them to İstanbul along with the material itself, as soon as possible⁴⁸¹.

A report that was sent to İstanbul a few months after from the above mentioned one shows that the collection of the Janissary equipment was successfully finished and all were kept in the arsenal of the Erzurum Castle for the purpose of sending them to İstanbul. All the insignia of the Janissaries such as *kavuk*, *külâh*, *kalkan*, *kalpak* were also abolished there⁴⁸².

Galib Paşa reported to the Sultan that, the inside of Erzurum Castle was filled with the residences of the Castle's soldiers. The residence of the commander of Castle was also there. On the other hand, Galib Paşa was in the necessity of the new rooms for the new troops, and this problem should be solved before the winter. Since soldiers were living in these residences together with their families, it was not appropriate to build the new rooms there. Therefore, Galib Paşa decided to buy all the residences of the soldiers either with their consent or not and move them outside the Castle⁴⁸³.

In another report Galib Paşa informed the Sultan that since Erzurum was the most important city of the frontier region and it was highly populated, to implement the order was more difficult and important. In addition to that, the Janissaries were very powerful, since contrary to other provinces, Erzurum had its own Ağa of the

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² BA, H.H. 38095.B, 1242/1827.

⁴⁸³ BA, H.H. 17354, 21 Receb 1242/18 February 1827.

Janissaries, and commanders of chiefs. The patrolling duties and the keeping of the Castle's keys were also left to the Castle commanders. Because of those privileged positions, Erzurum was full of Janissary commanders like, *zağarcı*, *saksoncu*, *turnacı*, *serdengeçti* and *bayraktars*⁴⁸⁴. Galib Paşa gave notice of possible danger of delaying new rules' implementation and demanded that the government should send hastily the decrees of all orders and regulations⁴⁸⁵.

Galib Paşa added that a lot of people applied to him for attaining the new ranks of *kapıcıbaşılık*, *silahşorluk* or *gediklilik*, and because of the high demand, a register-book was prepared containing the names of applicants. Thus their confidence had been ensured. Galib Paşa inquired whether it was possible to give them those ranks. As reply the Sultan informed that the *gediklilik* article of regulation could not have been brought into force for the moment, but it was possible to give the ranks of *silahşorluk* or *kapıcıbaşılık* to them. The Sultan also demanded further information about the applicants⁴⁸⁶.

⁴⁸⁴ BA, H.H. 17444.A, 25 Rebiülahir 1242/25 November 1826: ... Erzurum re's-i serhad ve belde cesime ve ahalisi kesire olduğu halde cümleten kavi yeniçeriden ibaret ve memalik-i saireye kıyas olmayarak dersaadet rusumuna takliden yeniçeri ağası ve bazı rüesa zabitanı mevcut ve kol gezme ve ahz ve zabt anlara mahsus ve kale miftahları dahi ser zağari payesinde olan dizdar yedinde ve sair vafir ağaları dahi zağarcı ve saksoncu ve turnacı payelerinde mütehayyiz ve onlardan sonra ekser serdengeçti kabadayı bayraktarı ile memlu olmaktan naşi tiz elden irade-i seniyyenin burada icrası sair etraf dahi mesil ve vesile olmak niyet-i hayriyesiyle emr-i ali vusultüne bakılmaksızın ilan...

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., see also BA, H.H. 17393.

With another decree Galib Paşa expressed his gratitude to the Sultan for his permission to give the ranks of *kapıcıbaşılık* and *silahşorluk* to the loyal Janissary leaders. He also added that, one of the Janissary leaders namely Selman Ağa who applied to them in order to join the new army was mistakenly registered as '*silahşor*'; but since he had formerly been '*serzağarcı*', Galib Paşa requested to replace him with the rank of '*kapıcıbaşılık*'⁴⁸⁷. It is seen that, after the abolition of Janissary army, the authorities paid attention to appoint the loyal Janissary leaders to equal positions corresponding to their former ranks.

The governor of Çıldır İsmail Paşa also informed the Sultan that, after the arrival of the imperial rescript of abolition from Mehmed Said Galib Paşa, it was read aloud to the public and all the leaders and notables of Çıldır accepted it. The cauldrons, utensils and other equipment of the Janissaries were to be gathered as well⁴⁸⁸. The *mufti* of Van Mehmed Tahir Efendi also informed that the abolition was smoothly accepted in Van where *ulema*, *müderrisin* and *meşayih* were encouraging the new regulation⁴⁸⁹.

A report from Erzurum informs that, the drill of the new troop was started. The volunteer soldiers who wished to enroll in the new troops were so numerous, but since their salary was not sufficient for making a living, they were so thoughtful. If their salary increased by a few piastres, they would be eager for success. The *ulema* of Erzurum were also quite willing to support the new troops. Galib Paşa

⁴⁸⁷ BA, H.H. 37904.

⁴⁸⁸ BA, H.H. 32918, 1241/1826.

⁴⁸⁹ BA, H.H. 17354.A, 1241/1826, see also BA, 17354.C, 1241/1826.

requested from the governors of Ahiska, Kars and Van that, if they found the trainers, they would have to start the drill of the new troops⁴⁹⁰.

Galib Paşa's strategy of moving immediately for the application of the new regulation brought him a successful conclusion. In order to prevent any counterplots he kept the chieftains separated from each other. Otherwise, because of the special position of the Janissaries in Erzurum, the abolition would have cost torrents of blood⁴⁹¹.

As mentioned earlier, the decrees of the abolition of the Janissary army were sent to all provinces. The decree was also sent to Rauf Paşa who was the governor of Bolu, Kastamonu and Viranşehir. Rauf Paşa wrote a reply to the Sultan dated Zilhicce 1241, but his manner of expression annoyed the Sultan who immediately warned him with a reply decree: The Sultan said that, after the abolition, all governors of provinces presented their gratitude with special reports whereas Rauf Paşa sent him a simple document which was written on an ordinary paper. The Sultan asked the reason behind that act⁴⁹².

When the Grand Vizier saw that decree, he got flurried because he forgot presenting the former decree of Rauf Paşa which was written on a special paper and in which Rauf Paşa presented his gratitude about the abolition of the Janissary army and informed that the orders of the Sultan were being exactly carried out, and ten

⁴⁹⁰ BA, H.H. 17400.B.

⁴⁹¹ Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, pp. 268-269.

⁴⁹² Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p.561

fugitive Janissaries were caught and executed. The Grand Vizier, informing the Sultan about the developments, corrected his mistake⁴⁹³.

The governor of Ankara and Kangırı provinces Nurullah Paşa sent his congratulation messages to the Grand Vizier, Serasker Paşa and Silahdar Ağa as well⁴⁹⁴. He informed that the abolition of the Janissaries was declared and all equipment of them was to be gathered in his provinces⁴⁹⁵. The lieutenant governor of Kangırı also informed that the abolition was publicly announced in Kangırı where the inhabitants were pleased with the news⁴⁹⁶.

Despite the strong reaction in Bosnia, the government met no trouble in maintaining order in Belgrade, Niğbolu, Vidin, Filibe and Salonika. Abdurahman Paşa of Belgrad presented his gratitude with a decree in which he defined the abolition of the Janissaries as the most honourable act. He prayed Allah to succour the Sultan⁴⁹⁷. Abdurrahim Paşa informed that the people of Belgrade were very pleased with the news and they were willingly supporting the new drill program. He also requested the Sultan to give permission to them for the new drill program. The people of Belgrade signed the letter as well⁴⁹⁸. The former great Janissary centre at Belgrade, where the Janissaries were still formidable, submitted without a

⁴⁹³ Ibid., pp.561-562

⁴⁹⁴ BA, H.H. 17437.B, 1241/1826.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., see also BA, H.H. 17461, 1241/1826.

⁴⁹⁶ BA, H.H. 17437.A, 1241/1826.

⁴⁹⁷ BA, H.H. 17439, 1241/1826.

⁴⁹⁸ BA, H.H. 17922.B, 1242/1826.

struggle⁴⁹⁹. Shortly after, the drills of new soldiers started in Belgrade Castle and its surroundings,⁵⁰⁰ such as Semendire, Morova Bridge, Özice, Böğürtlen and Sokol where the infantry and cavalry soldiers started regularly to drill twice a week⁵⁰¹.

The governor of Niğbolu presented his gratitude about the abolition and informed that the Janissaries of Niğbolu and Kale-i Amik Castles were submitted and their insignia and equipment were gathered. The governor of Niğbolu proposed İbrahim Paşa of Vidin to treat in this way to the Janissaries⁵⁰². The government sent a list of eight suspect Janissaries to İbrahim Paşa who had no problem in keeping order in his area. The suspected Janissaries were Turnacı Mehmed, the lieutenant of the 37th regiment Lofçalı Hafız Mehmed, and of the 82nd one Cideli Mustafa, the sergeant of 60th regiment Azdavaylı Hüseyin, and of the 25th one İnebolulu Mahmud, and of the 8th one Azdavaylı Ahmed, and of the 51st one Tosyalı Mehmed and, of the 98th one Vidinli Sait. They were all the Janissaries of Vidin and the government requested İbrahim Paşa to give more information about them⁵⁰³. In reply İbrahim Paşa reported that although he did not witness any misconduct of them,

⁴⁹⁹ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No.191, 16 August, 1826, quoted in Reed, **The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826**, p. 258.

⁵⁰⁰ BA, H.H. 19311.A, 1242/1826.

⁵⁰¹ BA, H.H. 19363, 1242/1826; The decree was written by Abdullah Şefik who was the *Kadı* of Belgrade.

⁵⁰² BA, H.H. 17415, 1241/1826.

⁵⁰³ Dolap 2, sandık 61, Evrak No:14, quoted in *Uzunçarşılı Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 563-564.

because of their strong Janissary origins, it would be best to exile them outside Vidin⁵⁰⁴.

Due to their incompetent governor İbrahim Paşa, the Janissaries of Salonika were easily cowed. They sent off the Janissary Ağa's of Salonika Abdullah Ağa to the Sultan in order to present their submission⁵⁰⁵. During his İstanbul visit, Abdullah Paşa also begged of Grand Vizier and Serasker Paşa to promote him, due to this submission⁵⁰⁶.

Seditious movements of the Janissaries in Filibe and Sofia completely failed when the Janissaries could not get popular support⁵⁰⁷. The superintendent of Filibe Süleyman Ağa, the *Kadı* Mehmed Refi Efendi as well as the *mufti*, *ulema* and notables informed that, they organized a new troop of 100 soldiers as *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* and sent them off to İstanbul⁵⁰⁸.

The governor of Egypt Mehmed Ali Paşa sent a letter to *Kapı Kethudası* Necib Efendi and informed that, he sent the decrees of abolition to other regions under his control, but since the Janissaries were very strong in Kandiye, Hanya and Resmo, apart from the decrees, he also sent the list of precautions that would be

⁵⁰⁴ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p.563.

⁵⁰⁵ BA, H.H. 39383, 1241/1826, see also, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No.202, 29 August 1826.

⁵⁰⁶ BA, H.H. 39383.A, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 39383.B, 1241/1826.

⁵⁰⁷ *Journal des Débats*, 25 July 1826, quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 258.

⁵⁰⁸ BA, H.H. 17404, 1241/1826. The decree was sent by Süleyman Ağa of Filibe, BA, H.H. 17404.A, 1241/1826, by the *Mufti* of Filibe, *ulema* and notables, and BA, H.H. 17404.B, 1241/1826; BA, H.H. 17404.D, those were sent by the *Kadı* of Filibe, Mehmed Refi Efendi.

carried out by the local governors⁵⁰⁹. Another decree informs that, after the declaration of the abolition of the Janissaries and their commanders in Egypt, -their number was not very high, they were altered and their names and insignia were completely abolished⁵¹⁰. Mehmed Ali Paşa also presented his gratitude about the abolition and prayed Allah for the success of the Sultan⁵¹¹. He said that the people of Egypt are rejoicing over the victory of abolition. The security of the roads was also provided⁵¹². The son of Mehmed Ali, Ibrahim Paşa of Egypt was using Egyptian troops in the Morea, but there were strongly entrenched Janissary groups at Larissa and Euboea island at Negropont. They submitted and the Ottoman commander Mehmed Reşid Paşa reported their successful dissolution to the Sultan⁵¹³.

The decrees of abolition were sent to Arab provinces, as well. The Janissaries in the Arab provinces were so powerful. Gibb argues that almost all of the members of corporations were the Janissaries or from the Janissaries origin in the major Arab cities like Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo⁵¹⁴. In Aleppo, the governor Vahid Paşa reported to the *Kapıkethüdası* that; an assembly was held in Şeyh Bekir district of the province where all the notables, merchants and commanders gathered. After the

⁵⁰⁹ BA, H.H. 17385, 1241/1826.

⁵¹⁰ BA, H.H. 27124, 1242/1826.

⁵¹¹ BA, H.H. 17410, 1241/1826.

⁵¹² BA, H.H. 17484, 1241/1826.

⁵¹³ *Journal des Debats*, 25 July 1826; quoted in Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissaries by Mahmud II in June 1826*, p. 259.

⁵¹⁴ Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West; A study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, Vol. I, London, 1950, pp. 294-295.

decree of abolition was read aloud, all the audience promised that they would become loyal to the Sultan, and signed the report as well⁵¹⁵. Vahid Paşa added that they reached an agreement with the Janissary leaders who accepted a slight imprisonment in the office of *Çavuşlar Emini* whereas other Janissaries were put in chains. In return the Janissary leaders promised that they would give up the claims of the Janissary comradeship⁵¹⁶. It is interesting that although the Janissary leaders promised to give up Janissarian claims, it was decided to imprison them in a special condition and this was asserted as a preferential treatment.

Vahid Paşa informed that the *yasakçı*'s of all consulates in Aleppo were also abolished. Following that, consulates requested new *yasakçıs* who knew the Arabic language. Hence Vahid Paşa decided to appoint the new *yasakçıs* from the *eyalet çavuşları mülazimleri* of the province and reported his decision to İstanbul. Since some people applied Vahid Paşa to request the rank of *silahşorluk*, he also asked about the possibility of this⁵¹⁷.

In Musul, before the decree of the abolition had not yet reached there, some Janissary leaders plotted. After the news of sedition reached Davud Paşa of Bağdad,

⁵¹⁵ BA, H.H. 17414, 1241/1826, see also BA, H.H. 17414.A, 1241/1826, BA, H.H. 17414.B, 1241/1826.

⁵¹⁶ BA, H.H. 22285, 13 Safer 1242/15 September 1826: .. eski yeniçerilerin içlerinde mer'iyü'l-hatır bulunanları farzen hukuk-i şeriyeden dolayı hafifçe habs olmak lazım geldikte erazil-i saire misillü tüfenkçibaşı zincirine bend ettirilmeyip... serdar konağında oturur gibi bundan böyle eyalet çavuşlar emini odasında habs ile kadirlerine riayeti va'd eylediğimizden onlar da yoldaşlık lafını ağızlarına almayacaklarına kavi söz vermeleriyle uslu otururlar zannederiz.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

he sent a rescript to the notables of Musul and ordered that the order must be implemented and they should obey their governor by presenting their submission to him. He added that if they resisted the authority, without waiting for the formal rescript, he would immediately march with his men to Musul⁵¹⁸. In reply, the notables sent a petition to Davud Paşa by reporting that; they did not support the troublemakers. They added that nine days before the decree of the abolition passed to their hands, the sedition was calmed down⁵¹⁹. They also informed that the sedition did not derive from the abolition, since it was before the abolition. The governor of Musul Yahya Paşa also sent a letter in order to present his gratitude about the abolition⁵²⁰.

From Damascus, the lieutenant-governor *Hacı Halil Ağa* reported that, the abolition of Janissaries was declared to the public without any problem and their cauldrons, utensils and other equipment were placed in the arsenal of the Damascus' Castle. The sixteen *bölüks* and twenty-four regiments of Damascus were also dismissed⁵²¹. The register book of all equipment was prepared and sent to İstanbul⁵²².

In Bağdad, the inhabitants continued to use the titles of Janissaries such as "the Janissary Ağa, Muhzır Ağa or Janissary Efendi" until 1247/1831. The decrees

⁵¹⁸ BA, H.H. 47935.İ.

⁵¹⁹ BA, H.H. 47935.J.

⁵²⁰ BA, H.H. 47935.A.

⁵²¹ BA, H.H. 17315; BA, H.H. 17315.C.

⁵²² BA, H.H. 17315.D.

dated from 1247/1831 show that from then on the usage of those titles was abolished and the *Ağa Kapısı* of Bağdad was turned to the Court. The inhabitants of Bağdad presented their gratitude about the abolition as well. It is understood from the decrees that, although the abolition of the Janissaries in Bağdad was delayed until 1831, there was no strong reaction against the abolition. The decrees did not say anything about the reasons of that delay⁵²³.

6.2. THE CASE OF BOSNIA

It is seen that virtually everywhere all over the empire the Sultan's command was heeded without causing any great collective opposition. But among provinces, Bosnia showed the strongest reaction in which the city and its quarters were not pacified until early in 1827.

After the Ottomans conquered Bosnia in 1463, it is evident that the Janissary existence had become a determinant factor in the formation of social life. This was especially due to the fact that Bosnia together with its districts was a prominent province in providing *devşirmes* for the government. After they had retired, the majority of Janissaries were returning to their homelands. Thus the influential Janissaries who were born in Bosnia; such as Ahmed Çelebi in the sixteenth century or Derviş Ağa in the seventeenth, were spending the rest of their life there, where

⁵²³ BA, H.H. 20827.G, 25 Cumaziyelevvel 1247/30 November 1831; BA, H.H. 20827. H, 1247/1831; BA, H.H. 20827.K, 1247/1831.

they had also the opportunity of marriage and having children. Those Janissaries in general had played an important role in Islamization process of that province as well. According an Albanian traveller who lived in the seventeenth century, one of the reasons of extension of Islam in that region was the influence of the Janissaries, who could obtain the chance of occupying high positions thanks to the *devşirme* system, on their relatives⁵²⁴. According to a French traveller in 1803, the majority of men in Bosnia, approximately 78.000, had the title 'Janissary' and he learned that only 16.000 of them were professional soldiers who were participating into battles and receiving quarterly salaries. The rest was not being paid, but they were using this title to benefit from the privileges and immunities conferred on it⁵²⁵.

The Bosnia province was divided into forty fortresses and the commanders of these fortresses, the famous *kapdans* of Bosnia, held virtually full powers over their districts and lived like feudal lords. It is important that both they and their colleagues of the *sipahi* class were mainly depended on means of living that were hereditarily obtained. This fact attributed a cooperative character to Bosnian society and thus explains the tendencies to defend traditional structure. Even the league between the *ayans* and the Janissary-craftsmen forced the Bosnian vizier to move his residence to Tıravnik. However, the yearly assemblies of *kapdans*, *beys* and *ayans* obeyed the vizier when he agreed with them, or when he had special aptitude and capabilities. This traditional independency intrinsic in Bosnian society contributed

⁵²⁴ Eric Cornell, "Bosna Bektaşılığı Üzerine", ed. T. Olsson, E. Özdalga, C. Raudvere, *Alevi Kimliği*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 15-16.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 16.

to the preparation of such a suitable environment to the emergence of a serious resistance⁵²⁶.

Since Bosnia was a frontier region, the Muslim peasants were obliged regularly to participate into battles. Apart from that, they were also required, from about 1720, to support Christian peasants with a newly introduced system of provincial taxation known as *taksit*. That new duty was accepted as too much by Muslim peasants who rebelled against it. That stubborn rebellion was extended for a long time, from 1748 to 1756 and was worsened by the participation of the Janissaries of Sarajevo. Even the introduction of the hated *taksit* into Sarajevo was later protested by closing the *çarşı*. As a result, the authorities conceded that all Bosnia's Muslims were indeed members of the military class⁵²⁷. This privilege gave them judicial and tax immunities and became one of the reasons of strong reaction against the abolition since they interpreted the abolition of the Janissary army as an end to the privileges.

After the abolition, the decree was sent to Bosnia as well with *kapıcıbaşı* Mehmed Ağa⁵²⁸. He first, went to Tırvnik and made an interview with the governor of Bosnia there and gave the decree to him. Hence the decree was declared to the population and the insignia of the Janissaries was gathered, he then passed to Saray district⁵²⁹. When he reached Saray, the Ağa of Janissaries of that province namely

⁵²⁶ Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812" pp. 664-665.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., p. 665.

⁵²⁸ BA, H.H., 43477.A, 8 Muharrem 1242/12 August 1826.

⁵²⁹ BA, H.H. 21894, 27 Muharrem 1242/31 August 1826; BA, Cevdet Askeriye 3332.

Sertunai Ahmed together with some Janissary leaders and supporters such as Tahmisci Mustafa, Ibrahim İlimdar and the lieutenant governor Osman Bey gathered the Janissaries and took the decrees by force from the hands of Mehmed Ağa and officials of his suite, and escaped from there. Later they came to Mehmed Ağa gave the decree to him and ordered that the decree would not be recorded into the *Kadı* rolls. They also wanted a copy of the decree, and recited it to the crowd where they gathered. They made speeches to the crowd and said that if the Janissary army had been abolished in that region, the population would not have remained to possess their properties, and they would not have continued their commercial activities. They added that because of those reasons they would not give up their Janissary claims. They wrote letters and sent their messages to other districts⁵³⁰ where the Janissaries gave the same reaction to the abolition⁵³¹.

On those reactions, the authorities sent messages to Abdurrahim Paşa of Belgrade and asked his opinion about those events, especially the attitude of the governor of Bosnia Mustafa Paşa and of the inhabitants, since he was serving in a region close to Bosnia⁵³². Abdurrahim Paşa replied that after *Kapıcıbaşı* Mehmed Ağa went to Saray, the decree was declared to the population as well. He added also that when those people heard the news of the abolition they immediately closed their shops, gathered in a place and selected a person to send him to Tırvnik to inquire about the attitudes of the inhabitants. When that person went to Tırvnik, the shops

⁵³⁰ BA, H.H. 21815.B; BA, H.H. 43477.A, 8 Muharrem 1242/12 August 1826.

⁵³¹ BA, H.H. 21894, 27 Muharrem 1242/31 August 1826.

⁵³² Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, Vol. I, p. 182.

were closed there as well⁵³³. The report does not directly say that, that person became effective in the closure of shops but it is possible that the news from Saray might set in motion the population of Tıravnik.

The insignia of the Janissaries that was previously confiscated in Tıravnik then replaced by the inhabitants. This attitude was spread to other districts where it was repeated. Even in İzornik, after the decree was read aloud and its *naib* and some other *ulema* carried out the ceremony of "*sem'an* and *taan*" its commander '*kapdan*', and a *bölükbaşı* together with twenty-thirty Janissaries attacked the *naib*. A few days later when the decree about the fugitive Janissaries reached Tıravnik the same reaction was repeated there. The Janissaries beat the *Kadı* and the *defterdar* of Tıravnik, and the wife of *naib* was thrashed. Abdurrahim Paşa added that, he sent a man who was a Bosnian to Bosnia to learn about the events. According to that man, the governor of Bosnia, Mustafa Paşa sent one of his couriers to Saray and demanded their reply to the abolition. As we mentioned previously, every district and province had to send the decrees of gratitude to the Centre, but the inhabitants of Saray required Mustafa Paşa not to write anything about them to the Centre and said that they were previously sending all their petitions to the Janissary Corp which was endeavouring to have the acceptance of their needs by the government⁵³⁴. That statement of the inhabitant of Saray was important since it reflects close relations established between the *Ocak* of İstanbul and them.

⁵³³ BA, H.H. 21894, 27 Muharrem 1242/31 August 1826.

⁵³⁴ Ibid. They said that, ..bu ana kadar gönderdiğimiz mahzarlar ocağa gönderilir idi ocak tarafından hem takdim ve hem kabulüne sa'y olunur idi. Şimdi ocak olmadığından arz ve mahzarları verecek yok ve meramımıza müsaade eder yoktur.

Abdurrahim Paşa reported that he inquired about the ideas of population all over the province from Mustafa Paşa of Bosnia and some other people who came from different districts. They replied that all the population seemed to be in league with the Saray inhabitants about resisting the abolition of the Janissaries. They added that this consensus could be because when Saray inhabitants resisted to the abolition they also called some people from other districts and ordered meetings. In those meetings, the Saray inhabitants told the others that, after the abolition of the Janissaries the government would introduce a new system of taxation and all members of society including non-Muslims would be forced to give certain part of their production to the government. Those citations of Abdurrahim Paşa is important since as we mentioned earlier, after a stubborn campaign between 1748-1756 the authorities conceded that all Bosnia's Muslims were indeed members of the military class⁵³⁵. This meant that, they would not pay tax any longer. Bosnia's inhabitants could possibly interpret the abolition of the Janissary army as a return to the old tax system.

Abdurrahim Paşa of Belgrade informed that some people who opposed to the consensus were treated severely and imprisoned in their houses so as to prevent any agitation of them. Those acts frightened others and because of this reason anybody who might oppose the Janissaries could not publicise his opinion. He added that according to some tradesmen of Bosnia, there were some opponents to the Janissaries.

⁵³⁵ Bruce Mc Gowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699-1812", p. 665.

On the other hand, support for the Janissaries was not only restricted with common people, the majority of high officials and *ulema* such as the lieutenant governor of Yenipazar Osman Paşa, the governor of İzornik Zülfikar Paşa, the *ulema* of Sarajevo as well as the majority of high officials of Bosnia were the strong props of the Janissaries⁵³⁶. Because of that reason, loyalists to the government informed that the authorities had to deliberate what to do and how it might be done⁵³⁷.

Those warnings were taken into consideration by the authorities who decided to send some influential *ulema* to Bosnia in order to persuade people into giving up Janissary claims. Pirlepelî Ahmed Efendi and *esham mukataacısı* Arif Bey were charged for this duty and sent to Bosnia⁵³⁸. Hence, a strict letter traffic had continued between the authorities of İstanbul and the high officials of Bosnia, couriers were sent there to carry out messages and to inquire about developments. One of the couriers namely *Hacı Süleyman*, who went to Bosnia to learn about the situation reported to the government that, he previously went to Yenipazar and walked about its *çarşı* and *bazaar*. In that period the mütesellim of Yenipazar Osman Paşa had not been in Yenipazar since he went to Piriştine to make an interview with *esham mukataacısı* Arif Bey, so he could not see Osman Paşa during his visit, but in his patrolling he heard that a *başeski* from Yenipazar went to Saray and taking letters and messages returned from there. When Osman Paşa returned to Yenipazar the courier made an interview with him and said what he heard in *çarşı*

⁵³⁶ B.A.H.H. 19344, 3 Safer 1242/5 September 1826.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, Vol. I, pp. 181-182.

and *bazaar*. Osman Paşa replied that he also heard that news but he did not do anything if that *başeski* did not publicise those letters, otherwise he would kill him and others who send messages. According the courier that *başeski* publicised those letters. After that development Osman Paşa gathered the inhabitants of Yenipazar and wanted them to give up Janissary claims, as reply the inhabitants promised them to give *arz u mahzar* to the government again but as we will see later they did not give up the Janissary claims, and even Osman Paşa secretly supported them⁵³⁹.

The courier *Hacı Süleyman* added that, the Janissaries in Sarajevo were continuing their Janissary claims. They gathered under the leadership of Ali Molla, and some of his comrades such as Tahmisci, Bayrakdar, and Hasan Bey. A group of hundred or hundred and fifty Janissaries were patrolling his residence at nights. In Tıravnik, the events went beyond the control when a group of Janissaries attacked and occupied the court. Before their attack, they prepared a document to send to the Capital declaring that they would not leave their Janissary claims and during their occupation they required from *Kadı* to add his signature to it, but the *Kadı* did not accept their demand. Due to the resistance of *Kadı*, they sealed the document with the seal of chief scribe. A few days later, they killed *arabacıbaşı* and imprisoned his son to the castle, claiming that they were supporting the government⁵⁴⁰.

The Saray inhabitants also demanded from some high officials and notables to leave the city and retreat to their *çiftlik*s since they were servants of the government. At first, those people, numbered about five hundred, insisted on that

⁵³⁹ BA, H.H. 22219, 12 Rebiülevvel 1242/14 October 1826.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

demand but later forced to accept it. On the other hand, the leader of the Janissaries Ali Molla was secretly sending men to İstanbul and inquiring the situation there⁵⁴¹.

After those inquiries in Tırvanik, the courier *Hacı Süleyman* went to Tuzla-i Zir and Tuzla-i Bala near Belgrade. Those districts were being governed by *kapdans* and according to *Hacı Süleyman* there were no disorder. His next destination was the Belene district. He visited Osman Ağa from *ayan* and stayed in his residence. While he was preparing for sleeping, a group of four people came to see him and complained about the attitude of central government to see all the inhabitants of Bosnia as supporters of the Janissaries. They added that all Bosnians were not "evil" men, but the Janissaries got hold of control and authority and silenced them. They added that they were afraid, if the Sultan refused to make effort to re-establish the state control all over the Bosnia, they would stay under siege of three enemies namely, Nemçe, Karadağ and Serbia⁵⁴². Those explanations were very important to understand the psychology of at least a group of people from Bosnia.

On those explanations the courier *Hacı Süleyman* asked their proposal. They replied that if a vizier was appointed as the governor and a group of abundant soldiers was attached to him, the loyal citizens would take part of his side, and the suppression of others would be easily taken. They added that, the Bosnians were earning their life from trade, so if the roads were blocked and people would not be permitted to leave the city and enter as well, all hopes of the Janissaries and their supporters would be cut off and their uprising would be brought down. Their

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

proposal was important since the government finally preferred to act upon that. Hence according to them, Bosnia's population was divided into four major classes namely, *sipahi*, *tüccar*, *kapdan* and the Janissaries. The *sipahis* were loyal to the government and, the *kapdans* were opposite to the Janissaries. On the other hand, the *tüccar* could not have been publicising their ideas because of their fear of the Janissaries⁵⁴³. These explanations show that some people were anxious about their future, but we could not get a clear picture about its degree and extension because of the restrictions in documents.

The governor of Bosnia, Mustafa Paşa also reported to the Sultan that, although the decree of abolition was declared to the public all over the province, the high *ulema*, and the *müteselim* together with the Janissary leaders in Sarajevo were resisting the decision of the government. Their allies in Tıravnik especially, *defter kethüdası* Ahmed Bey and the *müfti* of Tıravnik were provoking them into revolting and arming the population as well. Because of those reasons, although there passed approximately five months from the declaration of abolition, he could not succeed to apply it⁵⁴⁴.

The governor of Belgrade Abdurrahim Paşa reported that he wrote letters to the high officials and *kapdans* of İzornik to require their submission. The charged Arif Bey took those letters and went to İzornik. On those letters the *müfti*, *kapdan*, cavalry and some infantry officials accepted to abolish the Janissary insignia from İzornik. The governor of İzornik Zülfikar Paşa replied obscurely but since anybody

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ BA, H.H. 22219. İ, 17 Rebiülevvel 1242/19 October 1826.

did not show any opposition to the orders of Abdurrahim Paşa, he as well accepted to write that the Janissary insignia would be gathered. Arif Bey took those letters and sent them to Abdurrahim Paşa and said that, the İzornik inhabitants, except a few, were not supporting the Janissaries any longer, including the *kapdans*, as well. There were five to six hundred Janissaries who were continuing their Janissary claims. Also Zülfikar Paşa seemed to be in league with Saray⁵⁴⁵. On the other hand, the Janissaries of Saray were continuing to arm and to hold secret meetings, yet they were preparing petitions to send to the government and to require the cancellation of the abolition⁵⁴⁶.

The events in Bosnia were somehow not calming down. The government decided that the governor of Bosnia Mustafa Paşa was not able to break up the Janissary organisation. Because of that reason he was replaced by Abdurrahim Paşa of Belgrade. It was also decided to attach him a great number of soldiers. The governor of Üsküb Piriştineli Yaşar Paşa and the governor of Pirezrin Mahmud Paşa supported him with five hundred soldiers, the governor of Alacahisar Şehsuvar Paşazade Abdi Bey with a thousand soldiers and Hüseyin Paşa of Uyuranya with two thousand soldiers⁵⁴⁷.

Also, when Arif bey and Ahmed Efendi were sent to Bosnia, they first went to Yenipazar, but because of the disorder they could not succeed to reach Bosnia. When they reported the situation to İstanbul, the authorities decided to charge a man

⁵⁴⁵ BA, H.H. 21862.A, 15 Rebiülahir 1242/15 November 1826.

⁵⁴⁶ BA, H.H. 21813, 16 Rebiülahir 1242/16 November 1826.

⁵⁴⁷ Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, Vol. I, p. 183.

who would help to cease disorder. Thus *humbaracıbaşı* Mesud Ağa was selected and sent to Bosnia. He supplied strong help to Abdurrahim Paşa in establishing the order in Bosnia⁵⁴⁸. Abdurrahim Paşa together with Mesud Ağa firstly went to İzornik. When the news of their move reached İzornik, the loyalists took courage and a group of approximately two hundred, including *ulema* and loyal citizens became successful in penetrating the inner side of the Castle. They also sent criers to all districts to summon loyal citizens to gather into the Castle. A lot of people answered their requisition and came to the Castle. Then they read the rescript of the new governor. On those developments, the Janissaries and their supporters were gathered and send some of their comrades to the Castle in order to learn about the news. As reply the officials of Abdurrahim Paşa said that, if they accepted the decision of government, their forgiving would be held, otherwise they would be punished severely. That reply broke down the Janissaries' resistance and they submitted to Abdurrahim Paşa's forces. One month later Abdurrahim Paşa and Mesud Ağa went to Sarajevo and took there under control, too⁵⁴⁹. Thus Bosnia was calmed down without any military operation⁵⁵⁰.

Abdurrahim Paşa reported to the Sultan that, he became successful in Bosnia, but the establishment of the order was not yet totally finished, so that, he was still staying in Saray. Abdurrahim Paşa reminded that since he got the help of both some high officials such as Piriştineli Yaşar Paşa, Mahmud Paşa, Şehsuvar Paşazade Abdi

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 182.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 185-186.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 183, BA, H.H. 21847, 18 Cumaziyelevvel 1242/18 December 1826.

Bey, Hüseyin Paşa and lower ones attached to his suite, as return for their help, those loyal supporters should be rewarded. He demanded to promote of his *iç çukadar* Osman Bey to *kapıcıbaşı* and the son of Osman Bey namely Mehmed Bey to *hassa hasekisi*. He added that all promotions would be carried out after the Bosnia inhabitants would send their *arz u mahzar* or their congratulations about the abolition of the Janissary army⁵⁵¹.

As reply to his report the Grand Vizier said that, because of his great efforts, Abdurrahim Paşa would be gratified with a gift of *mücevher hançer*, and his *iç çukadar* Osman Bey and his son would be promoted as he wished. The Grand Vizier added that although Abdurrahim Paşa did not say anything about the promotion of his four son, he inquired about *humbaracıbaşı* Mesud Ağa who was formerly sent to Bosnia for giving help to establish the order and Mesud Ağa said that Abdurrahim Paşa was wishing the promotion of three of his sons as *kapıcıbaşı* and one as *müderri*s. The Grand Vizier said that since promotions of his sons would grow his merry and pride, their promotions would be held⁵⁵². Also the Grand Vizier ordered the construction of the palace of governor of Bosnia in Saray district, since from then on, the governor of Bosnia would stay in Saray. The Grand Vizier added that promotions would be restricted with the persons who gave direct help, since it was

⁵⁵¹ BA, H.H. 21804, 23 Rebiülahir 1242/23 November 1826.

⁵⁵² Ibid., The Grand Vizier said that, .. müşarun ileyhın oğullarının ol vechle iltaf-ı celile-i şahanelerine nailiyetleri kendüsüne başkaca bir şevk-i cedid ve mefhareti mucib olacağından muma ileyhın kullarının kapucubaşılık ve muma ileyh Şerif Ahmed Bey kullarının müderrişlik ile becam buyurulmaları hususları muvafık..

possible that, to promotion of all *kapdans*, *ağavat* and *sergerdes* could cause impertinences of them⁵⁵³.

A decree from Sarajevo reported that, all inhabitants of Sarajevo obeyed, and all cauldrons, ladles and such kind of equipment of the Janissaries were gathered and put into the Castle while their *çaprasts* were sent to Abdurrahim Paşa of Bosnia⁵⁵⁴. The officials of Sarajevo sent their congratulation messages to the government. The government reminded that the punishment of the Janissaries who did not accept the decision of the government had to be carried out⁵⁵⁵. On that warning Abdurrahim Paşa of Bosnia reported to the Sultan that the catching and punishment operation of the Janissaries was seriously continuing. He added that until then, totally forty-nine Janissaries were caught in Bosnia and its districts, and they were exiled to other provinces. A list including information about their names, their residences and exile places was prepared and sent to İstanbul. Hence forty people were executed and their severed-heads were sent to the Capital. In reply the Sultan expressed his gratitude and added that severed-heads of the Janissaries were displayed in front of the Bab-ı Ali and the courier was rewarded as well. Thus due to the strict control and bloody cleansing operation of Abdurrahim Paşa, the strong reaction in Bosnia was pacified early in 1827.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ BA, H.H. 22062.N, 15 Receb 1242/12 February 1827, BA, H.H. 22097, 1242/1827.

⁵⁵⁵ BA, H.H. 22097, 1242/1827.

6.3. EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE JANISSARIES

Despite all efforts of the government to suppress the claims and activities of the Janissaries, revival efforts in İstanbul as well as in other provinces of the empire were being carried out in a secret manner. Some former Ağas, captains and sergeants of the Janissaries who were exiled to other provinces, were not abandoning their Janissarian claims and beliefs. The Janissary leaders were taking pains to send their trusted accomplices to other regions to organise their fellows there. The authorities decided that the short cut precaution to stop the Janissary activities was to execute the Janissary leaders who were secretly struggling for reviving of the Janissaries⁵⁵⁶.

Apart from these struggles, due to lack of strict inquiries about the new soldiers, some Janissaries became successful in penetrating the new army as well. They were aiming at raising a rebellion in *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* and reviving the Janissaries in a new way. As we said earlier, when Esad Paşa of Edirne reported to the Sultan that there was a secret letter traffic between the Janissaries of İstanbul and those of Edirne, the Sultan decided to take severe precautions⁵⁵⁷.

⁵⁵⁶ Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, Vol. I, p.172.

⁵⁵⁷ According to the reports of Esad Paşa an official note was sent to the Sultan, saying that; Derssadette ocağ-ı sabık mensubatından bazı havenenin Rumelide bazı mahallere tahrik ve ifsadı müştemil yazdıkları mektubları götürüp Tırnava kazasında ahz ve girift olunarak müşarun ileyh tarafından Dersaadete gönderilen Sai Hacı Ahmedin hin-i istintakında vaki olan takririnde Edirne'de bazı eşhasın mefsedetleri ve muahharan memuren Belgrada gitmiş olan Topçu Çorbacısı Alinin fesat başı olduğu... işbu mektub kaziyyesi bu tarafta ucu bulunan lüleci Bektaş ve sair padaşlarının kurdukları fesadın tetimmesinden olduğu bilinmek hasebiyle bu vechle yeni

Therefore, in order to reach a general conclusion, a meeting was held in the residence of the *Şeyhülislam*. The board was including the Grand Vizier, the retired *Şeyhülislams*, the chief judges, *nakibüleşraf*, Ağa Hüseyin Paşa, Mehmed İzzet Paşa, and the superintendent of the Asakir-i Mansure corps. The audience decided that, the punishment of the Janissaries who penetrated the Mansure corps had to be quickly carried out. Another decision was to execute approximately 80 of the exiled Janissaries who were continuing to plot actions in their exiled places⁵⁵⁸.

According to the decision of the assembly, 400 Janissaries who penetrated the *Mansure* army in Üsküdar were exiled to Sakız island, 400 to Midilli, and others to Bozcaada. Since the former captains who were given the title of *silahşorluk* during the abolition continued to make secret plans against the government, they were exiled under the control of the *Mirahur Ağa*. Lüleci Bektaş and his comrades, who were arrested due to the same reason, were decided to be executed. Thus a large scale cleansing movement was started. The decisions of the assembly were reported to the Sultan⁵⁵⁹.

baştan ikaz-ı fesada cesaret maddesi yalnız haber alınan eşhasın işi olmayup bu habasette behemehal ocak-ı sabık takımından çorbacı ve usta bozuntularının medhalleri olmak şüphesi bir türlü zihn-i acizanemden çıkmadığından... bu gibilerin katilleri ve bunlardan başka elyevm Dersaadette olan sabık Yeniçeri ağaları ve Zağarcı ve Saksoncu başının her ne kadar bu fesatta medhalleri yoğ ise de bunların cümlesinin Dersaadette bulunması münasib görülmeyüp Serasker Kapsusunda Tomruk ağası olan Sabık Sekbanbaşının dahi defi lazımeden olduğundan birer mahalle nefiyleri: Dolap 2, sandık 61, Hatt-ı Hümayun No:23, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, **Kapukulu Ocakları I**, pp. 576-578.

⁵⁵⁸Ibid., p. 578.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 579.

In reply to the report, the Sultan strongly criticised the superintendent of the *Mansure* corps Saib Efendi and the chief commander Osman Ağa for not being diligent in controlling the new corps and cleansing them from the Janissaries. He added that, in the beginning, since the government was in strong need of registration of new soldiers, the inquiries about their origin could be omitted; but after the regulation was set up, the inquiry and cleansing operations had to be dealt with carefully. He ordered Saib Efendi to be attentive in order to prevent the Janissaries from plotting in the new army. He also ordered to cleanse other military units and Palace Gardeners from the Janissaries⁵⁶⁰.

The Grand Vizier answered the Sultan that; the cleansing of the Janissaries from the *Mansure* corps would then be strictly carried out. He informed that, both Ağa Hüseyin Paşa and Mehmed İzzet Paşa were personally participating into the cleansing operations. After the Janissaries among the *Mansure* corps were being investigated and gathered in groups of ten or fifteen each, they were immediately being sent across the Bosphorus to Anatolia⁵⁶¹. The Sultan warned the Grand Vizier that, the execution of the caught Janissaries had not to be made in a hurry and therefore carelessly. Before their execution, they had to be interrogated and their comrades had to be learned⁵⁶².

⁵⁶⁰ Dolap 2, Sandık 68, BA, H.H. No:47, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 579-580, also Lutfi, *Tarih-i Lutfi*, Vol. I, p. 171.

⁵⁶¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 580-581.

⁵⁶² The Sultan says that; ... elde olanları tiz berü idam etmeyüp gereği gibi söyledüp kimlerin medhalleri olduğunu zahire çıkarmak ve badehu iktiza eden siyaset ve tediplerine bakılmalıdır...., Dolap 2, Sandık 61, BA, H.H. 62, quoted in Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p. 581.

The warnings of the Sultan were taken into consideration seriously. The Grand Vizier personally interrogated the caught Janissaries among the 'Mansure' corps. After their interrogation it was understood that, they were planning a rebellion in Rebiülevvel 1242. The decision of rebellion was taken by some previous Janissaries who penetrated the new army. Their supporters multiplied rapidly when some *Bektaşî* leaders and *şeyhs* who, in a way, succeeded to escape from previous punishments of the government, provoked their accomplices against the government⁵⁶³.

In reality before that rebellion preparations, the Janissaries who penetrated the new army decided to plot in the Old Palace, which was known as '*Serasker Kapısı*'. They were planning to kill Serasker Paşa and the chief commander Osman Ağa and to revive the Janissaries. For rebellion, they gathered under the fire tower, which was situated in *Bab-ı Seraskeri*, and started a fire there. By firing the tower, they were aiming to assemble Serasker Paşa, Osman Ağa and other leaders of 'Mansure Corps' there and then to kill them. But when the soldiers of Serasker Paşa saw the fire, they informed him and he instantly sent a message to the Grand Vizier. The gates of '*Serasker Kapısı*' were immediately held out by the *Sekban* soldiers. The rebels were caught, sent across the Bosphorus and landed in Üsküdar. Their leaders were chosen and executed there. Other rebelled soldiers were sent to the Dardanelles and then by the order of Kapdan Paşa they were distributed to different regions⁵⁶⁴.

⁵⁶³ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, pp. 593-594.

⁵⁶⁴ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet Vol. XII*, pp. 187-188.

The second attempt of rebellion showed that the Janissaries would not easily give up their Janissarian claims. When the interrogation of 29 persons had finished, 17 of them were executed: While the members of the new army were executed by shooting in front of the soldiers, others were hanged in Üsküdar. One of the 29 committed suicide by poisoning himself and another one died because of his corporal punishment. Of the others, ten were exiled while some of them who were found innocent were released⁵⁶⁵.

After these rebellion attempts, the authorities decided to act more cautiously than before. The Janissaries who were exiled to other provinces were strictly followed. After these rebellion activities were divulged, the ones who remained true to their Janissarian claims in their exile provinces were executed as well. There were various examples of these executions: After the abolition, a Janissary named Arif was exiled to Konya. He was also given the title of '*hassa silahşorluğu*', but since he did not give up the Janissarian claims, his execution was ordered. A courier was sent in order to carry out the execution. The courier executed him and brought back his severed-head together with a register-book that was containing the record of his properties⁵⁶⁶.

The *Çorbacı* of the 41st *Bölük* regiment named Mehmed and of the 11th *Bölük*, a certain Ahmed were previously exiled to Adana. The government also gave them the title of '*hassa silahşorluğu*', to assure their contentment, but they did not give up the Janissarian claims. According to the decree they continued their

⁵⁶⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları I*, p.593-594.

⁵⁶⁶ BA, Cevdet Askeriye 6712, 23 Cumaziyevvel 1242/23 December 1826.

conspiracy, so the authorities decided to execute them. Their severed-heads were presented to the Sultan by a courier named Abdülvahhab⁵⁶⁷.

Also, the sergeant Ali Ağa and the *çorbacı* of the 13th *Bölük* regiment Mehmed were previously exiled to another province and were given the title of *hassa silahşorluğu*, but because of their activities for reviving the Janissaries, they were also executed and their severed heads were sent to İstanbul⁵⁶⁸. The previous scribe of the 64th Regiment named Ata was exiled to Konya as well. After a probationary period, the authorities decided to execute him. His execution was carried out and his severed head was brought to İstanbul by a courier. The register-book of his properties was also presented to the authorities⁵⁶⁹.

The punishment of the Janissaries was not always executed following the formal and unchanged legal procedures; sometimes request of the relatives for special favours to the accused Janissaries might change the decision and save their life. The effectiveness of those requests was strongly depended on the influence and respectability of the petitioners. In fact, to beg pardon of the Janissaries for their influential relatives was not a new thing, there were a lot of examples of this in the

⁵⁶⁷ BA, Cevdet Askeriye 21246, 21 Cumaziyelevvel 1242/21 December 1826.

⁵⁶⁸ BA, Cevdet Askeriye 44583, 19 Rebiülevvel 1242/21 October 1826, the name of their exile place was not mentioned in the decree.

⁵⁶⁹ BA, Cevdet Askeriye 44584, 3 Şaban 1242/1 March 1827; BA, Cevdet Dahiliye 10903, 1242/1827: According to Cevdet Dahiliye10903, the previous chief scribe İshak who was exiled to Kütahya, executed there and his cut head was sent to İstanbul as well.

preceding times.⁵⁷⁰ In general, after the abolition of the Janissary army the Sultan did not accept this kind of excuses and ordered that the punishment of these Janissaries had to be carried out despite all excuses⁵⁷¹.

The Sultan changed his idea about the strict punishment of the Janissaries only in some exceptional cases. One example of that situation is that: Twenty-three people of Dırama were exiled to Danubian regions since they supported the Janissaries. One of them named Halid Bey who was the brother of registrar of Egypt Mehmed Bey, at that time was in Salonika, so he could not be exiled. The governor of Salonika Ömer Paşa begged the Sultan not to punish him. He added that Halid Bey was innocent of supporting Janissaries. The Sultan permitted Halid Bey to go to Egypt together with his family⁵⁷². On that development the governor of Egypt reported to the Sultan that these exiled people were inoffensive and harmless ones who did not support the Janissaries, and supporting the Janissaries was contrary to their beliefs. Hence one of these exiled people was Osman Bey who was the brother of Mahmud Paşa, and he was also innocent of supporting the Janissaries. The

⁵⁷⁰ For the examples see BA, H.H. 16428, 1235/1819-1820; BA, H.H. 24558, 1233/1818; BA, H.H. 24728, 1224/1809; while some requests of pardons were being accepted, some were being refused.

⁵⁷¹ As we mentioned earlier, when Ağa Hüseyin Paşa hesitated to punish some Janissaries because of their relation with certain ulema, he warned him and said that; *sekiz neferin idama müstahik oldukları tebeyyün etmişken filana müteallik imiş diyerek bırakmak caiz değildir... ancak muma ileyh Abdurrahman Efendi vak'a-i hayriyede halince hizmette bulunmuş olduğundan bu hususta sözüm müsmir olmadı diye mahzun olması derkar ve aşikar olmakla buraları Çirmen Mutasarrafı Esad Paşaya mahremane yazılıp biraz ara vererek güya ecel-i mev'udiyle vefat etmiş suretine koyarak icrasına baksun tamam. Uzunçarşılı, **Kapukulu Ocakları I**, pp. 562-563.*

⁵⁷² BA, H.H. 24283, 4 Rebiülevvel 1242/6 October 1826.

governor of Egypt also begged the Sultan not to punish him, and requested that if the authorities did not permit him to come back to Dirama, could he go to Egypt? He added that whether it was possible to set free all of them, since they were far from the Janissarian claims. As reply, the Sultan ordered to set free all these twenty-three people⁵⁷³.

It is seen that after the abolition of the Janissary army the government strictly controlled the provinces in order to secure the order and more important, to centralise its power with a new army "*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*". The decrees were sent to all provinces in order to secure their loyalty. The recruitment of the new army in the provinces was started as well. Apart from establishing the security in the provinces, the Janissaries and their supporters were severely punished. The Janissaries who penetrated the new army were persecuted as well. According to Cevdet, during and after the abolition, the number of the executed Janissaries was approximately 6.000⁵⁷⁴; while of the exiled ones was more than 20.000⁵⁷⁵.

The persecution of the Janissaries in the provinces was also strictly carried out. The authorities succeeded this with vigour and relentless severity. The hatred of government for Janissaries went even further to condemning the dead ones; Ortaylı describes this attitude as "anti-Janissary ideology" and recites an example of news

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* Vol. XII, p.179.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., p.172.

appeared in *Takvim-i Vekayi* in 1833⁵⁷⁶. According to that daily newspaper two Janissaries rose from their graves and horrified inhabitants with their attacks in Tırnova⁵⁷⁷. The fact that the official publication of state could give false news even after seven years later from the abolition of the Janissary army in order to slander the Janissaries is clear evidence to this ideology.

⁵⁷⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1983), p. 31.

⁵⁷⁷ Reha Çamuroğlu cites that event from Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Tarihimizde Garip Vakalar*, (İstanbul: 1958), pp. 7-8, (Takvim-i Vakayi, 19 Rebiülevvel 1249/5 August 1833), Tırnava'da cadı türedi. Gün battıktan sonra evlere musallat olmaya başladı. İnsanların üzerine taş, toprak, çanak, çömlek atar. Birkaç erkek ve kadının da üzerine saldırmış. Kasaba halkı bunların cadı denilen habis ruhların eseri olduğuna ittifak etti. İslimye kasabasında cadıcılık ile tanınmış Nikola isimindeki adam Tırnava'ya getirildi ve sekizyüz kuruşa pazarlık edildi. Bu adamın elinde resimli bir tahta vardı, mezarlığa gider, tahtayı parmağının üstünde çevirir, resmi hangi mezara bakarsa cadı o mezardaki ruh-ı habis imiş. Büyük bir kalabalık ile mezara gidildi. Resimli tahtayı parmağında çevirmeye başlayınca resim, sağlıklarında yeniçeri ocağının kanlı zorbalarından olan Tetikoğlu Ali Alemdar ile Apti Alemdar denilen iki şakinin mezarlarına karşı durdu. Mezarlar açıldı. Cesetleri yarım misli büyümüş, kılları ve tırnakları da üçer dörder parmak uzamış bulundu. Gözlerini kan bürümüş, gayet korkunç idi. Bu adamlar sağlıklarında her türlü fesadı irtikab etmiş, ırza, namusa, mala tecavüz etmiş, adam öldürmüş, ocakları lağvedildiği zaman her nasılsa yaşlarına riayet olunarak cellada verilmemiş eceliyle ölmüşlerdi. Sağlıklarında yaptıkları yetimemiş gibi, şimdi de halka ruh-i habis olarak musallat olmuşlardı. Ali Alemdarla Apti Alemdarın cesetleri mezarlarından çıkarıldı. Göbeklerine birer ağaç kazık çakıldı ve yürekleri bir kazan kaynar su ile haşlandı, fakat hiç tesir etmedi. Cadıcı bu cesetleri yakmak lazım dedi. Bu hususta şer'an da izin verilebileceğinden ruhsat verildi. Quoted in Reha Çamuroğlu, *Yeniçerilerin Bektaşiliği ve Vak'a-i Şerriye*, (İstanbul: Ant Yayınları, 1991), pp., 102-103.

7. CONCLUSION

Very few events have had the privilege to be considered as deeply effective as the abolition of the Janissary army in the whole Ottoman history. There exists a broad consensus to recognize this event as a turning point for the Turkish modernization among researchers. Hence it was baptized as “the auspicious event”, *Vaka-yı Hayriye* by the majority of people who directly witnessed it and may be because of this consensus, the explanatory framework is shaped with a quite reductionist approach, and ex-post facto history writing which accepts the interpretation of “corruption brought reform, reform brought abolition”.

It is seen that many narrators and historians accepted and used the term corruption without any critical framework. They ventured to neglect the fact that changes in military structure of the Ottoman Empire were closely associated with the changes in social and political structure of it. Hence the usage of the term corruption led to prejudices about the Janissaries and became an obstacle in true understanding. Thus the image of Janissaries as "corrupted, disordered and even anti-order" military units that gradually became a body of "the rabble acting violently and horrifying population" hindered drawing a well-defined picture about the Janissaries.

On the other hand, in front of the huge heap of historical records and realities, denying the very existence of a “change” -call it corruption or transformation-, and its negative effects on the Ottoman Empire would be another reductionism in the name of opposing the official history-writing. In fact,

although it sounds too ordinary, the reality lies somewhere between these two extremes.

The transformation of the Janissaries cannot be considered in isolation from the whole social and political Ottoman structure. Historical records include many signs and evidence of smoothing down of the boundaries separating the military class from the rest of society. It is seen that there was a two-way traffic between the Janissaries and civilian society. While the Janissaries were participating into business life, on the other hand, civilians were aiming at infiltrating the Janissary army so as to obtain some privileges. What is important is that, this was not out of knowledge of the authorities. Their tolerance went sometimes beyond winking at those transgressions and because of this reason the authorities that allowed misuses or intentionally neglected controls, were themselves responsible for disorder. This constitutes evidence to prove that if one mentions "corruption", it would not have to be limited only with Janissaries because even the central authorities were infected. However since the unit which was transformed faster or beyond the control of the government was the armed power, that was responsible for both the internal and external security of state, the ruling elite faced with a problematic issue. On the other hand, the effects of sky-rocketing developments experienced in rival Western world should not be kept out of consideration. Thus within such a context it is not surprising to observe a tragic, long and bloody struggle like the one happened in the early nineteenth century Ottoman example.

Mahmud II, who took lessons from the previous attempts of reforming army, preferred to move with caution. He waited until 1822 before starting the process of reformation, which would end with the abolition, because on the one

hand he had to consider the chaotic circumstances of the Ottoman Empire and act prudently within a climate where both internal and external problems were seriously threatening the state, and on the other hand he wanted to prepare a convenient environment to realize his aims. Two acts of Mahmud II, in the fall of 1822, had become the start of a series of further progress in reorganising the Janissary corps; the dismissal of Halet Efendi from his post and the appointment of Hüseyin Ağa to the post of lieutenant general of the Janissary corps. Believing that changing the structure of the army was closely associated with his loyal officers in the corps, and in the bureaucracy the Sultan first assured their support and then planned to charge them important posts with the chain of promotions. Mahmud II was clearly aware of the fact that, in order to reach a final conclusion about the Janissaries, he had to win the support of the *ulema* too, since the power of the *ulema* was not only restricted to their influence on the Janissaries, but also extended to common people. Only by way of the *ulema* support, he could convince common people to a radical change in military structure. In addition, he would prevent any kind of criticism that would be possibly made by them during the subsequent reforms. It is important that, the more Westernising reforms were introduced, the oftener the Islamic character of the state was articulated. Thus as a result of this policy; 'urging the leading *ulema* to take place in the heart of events', the government had largely succeeded in presenting that, all reforms including the abolition of the Janissaries were made for the sake of religion and State.

It is important to note that the reform program of the Mahmud II had heavily been affected by Mehmed Ali's army. There might be two possible reasons for that inspiration. The first is the influential successes obtained by Egyptian

army in suppressing rebels, such as in Crete, Cyprus and the Morea, where Ottoman military forces remained relatively ineffective. The second is somehow related with the internal policy of Mahmud II, aiming to provide *ulema's* support for reforms. He might have thought that by employing Turkish and Arab trainers instead of "European infidels", the conservative reactions would be prevented.

Mahmud II's first attempt was manifested in the *Eşkinçi* project, which was crystallized during a series of meetings attended by distinguished high-ranking members of military, bureaucracy and *ulema*. Thus, with such kind of a wide participation that contains all decisive elements, it had to be planned to consolidate a collective decision in order to prevent the formation of an opposition.

Eşkinçi soldiers were selected from among the Janissary members whose origins and families were well known. *Eşkinçi Layihası* included a great detail of regarding the formation, training and needs of the new army. In spite of the similarities with the *Nizam-ı Cedid* of Selim III, the Sultan and the providers of the *eşkinçi* project took great care of avoiding any references to the previous attempts in order to prevent the Janissaries' reaction. On the other hand, the reformists who were worrying about a possible Janissary revolt took every required measure. However the first *eşkinçi* drill passed without any incident, and there was also no apparent problem in the following next two days.

Nevertheless, the Janissaries who showed first signs of revolt on the night of 14th June 1826, overturned their cauldrons the following day in their main barracks at the Et Meydanı. However, Mahmud II and his loyalists, including artillery and some other troops, which he had carefully selected and prepared for four years, and the *ulema* whose support had enabled the Sultan to break the

sympathy of İstanbul citizens towards the Janissaries, were ready. The Prophet's Standard was brought to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and criers invited all Muslims to gather under the Holly Emblem. Consequently supporters of the Sultan, including young *softas*, and ordinary people formed a substantial power in the At Meydanı. The resistance of Janissaries who were trying to defend their barracks in the Et Meydanı could not continue under the cannon fire of the artillery. They were dissolved and began to flee within a few hours on 15 June 1826. It is important that, with a precipitate speed, only two days after the destruction of the Janissaries, Mahmud II declared the abolition of the Janissary corps and the formation of a new army called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*. The auxiliary corps that supported the Janissaries were abolished as well, while others were organised in a new way. The Sultan did not delay to reward his supporters nor to punish the rebelled Janissaries. Arrested Janissaries were either executed or exiled while the loyalists were rewarded; loyal military leaders among former Janissaries were retained, and the *ulema* were given a prominent role in the establishment of the new army. Thus one would not be wrong to suppose that such an achievement should be based on a certain degree of extended previous planing.

After the abolition of the Janissary army Mahmud II accomplished the complementary phase of eradicating the social and spiritual strength of the Janissaries that was especially embodied in the *Bektaşî* Order. Since over the centuries the Janissaries had been identified with the *dervişes* of the *Bektaşî* Order, it became equally vital for the Sultan to destroy them. The *Bektaşî* Order had long been one of the oldest and most powerful of the Janissary allies, and in a way it served as its back garden. On the other hand, the close ties with the Janissary

Order, which was one of the -if not the most- powerful influence centre of the classical Ottoman system afforded a distinguished position to the *Bektaşis*, as well. During the emergence period of the Ottoman Empire, the relationship between the Janissaries and the *Bektaşî* Order was seen as a perfect tool, which strengthened the solidarity and unity of the armed force, and provided an ideological base, a unified ethic code of acting, and a firm morality. Thus after the abolition of the Janissary army, that was the time for the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* Order. Centralised *ulema* and other religious groups which should have been anxious about the power of the *Bektaşis* through their influence on Janissaries seem to be voluntarily participated to the prohibition campaign side by side the government, that aimed to centralise all power under its control.

Mahmud II loaded the burden of resolving the problem emerging from the close league between the *Bektaşis* and Janissaries on the leading *ulema*, the leaders of other religious orders and high officials. It is seen that in the council of 8 July 1826, the leaders of the *Mevlevi*, *Nakşibendi*, *Halveti*, *Sa'di*, and *Kadiri* Orders as well as the orthodox *ulema* supported the prohibition of the *Bektaşî* Order. Thus the first step was taken by the three-partite coalition against the *Bektaşî* Order. It was decided that, the leaders of the *Bektaşî* Order should be put to death and others sent to exile. Just the next day a document that contains the application of the punishments of these *Bektaşis* was provided and sent to the charged people. The exile of *Bektaşî Şeyhs* and *dervişes* even brought about serious and dramatic consequences for their families. The families suffered from poverty and were pushed to leave their homes. The campaign against the *Bektaşis* served those who

had resentment against their rivals as a tool to exploit. Hence, this policy was turned into a kind of 'witch hunting' that caused many innocent people to suffer.

In a second council, which was held on August 1, 1826, it was decided to expropriate all *Bektaşî Tekkes'* properties in the provinces as well. *Bektaşî Tekkes* were classified into two groups, as ancient and recently built. *Tekkes* built earlier than sixty years were accepted as ancient and were not targeted; instead they were transformed into sunni and especially *Nakşibendi Order Tekkes*. However others which were called recently built were razed to the ground. Thus the authority was planning to turn *Bektaşî* doctrine into the sunni one by time.

After the abolition of the Janissary army another concern of the government was the provincial repercussions of it. The government strictly controlled the provinces in order to secure the order and more important to centralise its power with a new army "*Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*". The suppression of the Janissaries in the provinces was so important for the government since, in the period when central authority became weaker, it was the Janissaries who took over the actual control of power, especially in distant places of the empire, and who became the main determinant force in the large cities. On the other hand, the government was now aiming at centralizing its power by establishing a strong control mechanism all over the empire. Thus the abolition of the Janissaries and the recruitment of the new army namely *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* was as prominent in provinces as in İstanbul.

The decrees were sent to all provinces in order to assure their loyalty. The recruitment of the new army in the provinces was started as well. Apart from establishing the security in the provinces, the Janissaries and their supporters were

severely punished. Unexpected attacks and the executions and exiles were the most powerful weapons of the government nearly everywhere. Almost all over the empire the abolition of the Janissary army was carried out without causing any great collective opposition. But among provinces, Bosnia showed the strongest reaction in which the city and its quarters were not pacified until early in 1827. Two main reasons had underlain behind that reaction. Firstly, because of the *devşirme* system, the Janissary existence in Bosnia had become a determinant factor in the formation of social life, since Bosnia together with its districts was a prominent province in providing *devşirmes* for the government. Secondly, after a stubborn rebellion between 1748-1756, the authorities conceded that all Bosnia's Muslims were indeed members of the military class. This privilege gave them judicial and tax immunities, and became one of the reasons of strong reaction against the abolition since they interpreted the abolition of the Janissary army as an end to the privileges. When the reaction was not calmed down, the government changed the governor and gave the duty to Abdurrahim Paşa of Belgrade. Thus, due to the strict control and bloody cleansing operation of Abdurrahim Paşa, the strong reaction in Bosnia was pacified early in 1827.

The Janissaries who penetrated the new army were persecuted as well. The number of the executed Janissaries, during and after the abolition was at least 6.000, while of the exiled ones was more than 20.000. The hatred of government for Janissaries went even further to condemning the dead ones; and as we mentioned in the fifth chapter, turned to an "anti-Janissary ideology".

The Janissary corps dated back nearly as early as the formation of the Ottoman State. They constituted the centre of power, which fuelled the stupendous

growth of the Ottomans, the base of firmness and discipline for the Ottoman social structure, the resource where grown not only brilliant military and administrative leaders, but also geniuses and masters such as the Architect Sinan. Janissaries became an integrated element of 'the people' and hence were playing a major role in the classical checks-and-balances system of the traditional society. Within this context, inevitably they formed the most obstructive factor against both modernization and its *sine quo non* adjunct, centralization. Janissary corps were transforming parallel to the authentic change of Ottoman society driven by its internal dynamics and therefore they were increasingly lacking military professionalism. Thus they lost their effectiveness against both Western powers and local provincial forces; instead they rather became subject of domestic politics.

The abolition of Janissaries was not a sudden and coincidental occurrence, but a consequence of a series of internal and external developments, which had been maturing for almost one and a half-century. It would be a reductionism to represent it as a merely military incident as both the magnitude of its scale and the width of scope of its effects over following developments are much more greater than a simple military reform.

APPENDIX

CEVDET ASKERİYE 113

Der devlet-i mekine arz-ı dai-i keminelere ki;

İznikmid ahalisinden Havadisci Mustafa ve Karakullukçu Mehmed nam şahıslar mukteza-yı şeriat-ı mutahhar üzere nam ve nişanları sahife-i alemde ref-i ebedi ile ref ve ilga olunan yeniçeri ocağı gayretkeşanlığı daiye-i fasidesinde oldukları haber alınarak merkulmar dersaadete celb ve izhar ile hal ve keyfiyetleri erbab-ı vukuftan lede't-taharri fi'n-nefsi'l-ahar merkulmar uygunsuz ve müfsid adamlar oldukları tahkik olunmaktan naşi mehabetriz südur olan hatt-ı hümayun-ı celadet makrun-ı mülukane mucibince merkulmarın kavas mübaşeretiyle Hırsova'ya nefy ve icla olunmalarına irade-i seniyye-i şahane taalluk buyurulmağın ol babda şerefriz sadır olan ferman-ı celilüşşan mucibince merkulmar dersaadetten mübaşir tayin olunan bab-ı sadr-ı ali kavaslarından kudvetül emasil velakran Ahmed kavas-ı mübaşir terfikan Hırsova'ya nefy ve irsal olunmalarıyla vusullerinde merkulmarı Hırsova'da müneffiyen meks ve ikamet ettirip bila ferman mahall-i ahire salıverilmeyüp menfasında muhafazasıyla meks ve tevkiflerine tekayyüd ve vakt-i vusullerin, merkulmarın mübaşiri muavenetiyle dersaadete ilama mübaderet eylemek babında sahife-i efza-yı şeriften südur-ı mürur olan bir kıta ferman-ı celilüşşan Hırsova kazası mahkemesine lede'd-devr ve't-tescil merkulmar mübaşir tayin buyurulan Ahmed kavas terfikiyle Hırsova'ya dahil ve vasil olup Hırsova'da ber muceb-i emr-i

ali müneffiyen meks ve ikamet olunduğu ol ki vakiü'l-haldir paye-i serir-i saltanat
a'laya arz ve ilam olundu. Baki-ül emr hazret-i men lehul-emrindir. Harrere fi
yevmissalis min şehri Muharremu'l-ihram sene semene ve erbain ve mieteyn ve elf.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 337

Der devlet-i mekine arz-ı dai-i keminelidir ki;

Anadolu caniplerinden Rumeline müretteb olan asakirin ekseri yollardan ve bazı gidenler dahi ifa-yı memuriyet etmeksizin mahallerinden peyderpey firar etmekte oldukları tahkik birle bilcümle tarik ve maabirin sedd ü bendiyle o makule firarlarının salıverilmemesi babında emr-i celilüşşan isdar ve tisyar kılınmış ise de yine bir takım bi-din ve bi-hamiyyet eşhas birer takrib firara rahbab olmaları mülahazadan gayri baid ve o makulelerin firarları firar-ı aniz-zahf kabilinden olarak siyaseten tedipleri meşru olmaktan naşi fima ba'd müretteb olan asakirden her kangısı mahall-i memuriyetinden kaçıp vilayetine gelür ise sairlerine ibret olmak üzere tedib-i şedid ile tedib kılınmaları babında bu dailerine ve sancağ-ı mezkurun havi olduğu kazaların kuzzat ve nevvabı ve sairlerine hitaben şerefbahşa-i sahife-i sudur eden bir kıta emr-i celilüşşan sadr-ı ali tatarlarından Said zide kadruhu ile reis-i sancak olan Medine-i Çorum mahkemesine lede'l-reside sicillü mahfuza bade'l-kayd lazımul-huzur olanları meclis-i şer'e celb ve muvacehelerinde feth ü kiraat ve mefhum-ı münifi cümleye ilan ve işaat olundukta her birileri seman ve taatan merasimini bade'l-eda cevaplarında asakir-i mürettebenin memuriyetlerine ihrac ve azimetlerinden ila hinde'l an bir ferdi geriye gelmemeleri hususunda kemal-i mertebe dikkat ve sa'y ve gayret üzere olduklarımızı ve şimdiye kadar bir ferdi geriye gelmedikleri elhaletü'l-hazihi bundan sonra o makule bi-din ve bi-cemiyet olan firariler geriye avdet ve mahallerine gelmeleri olur ise imtisalen lil'emri'l-ali ibret-i li's-sairin tedib-i şedid ile tedib olunmaları hususuna ağmaz ve rehavetten ve

cüz-i taksir etmezden begayet hazer ve ictinab üzere olduklarımızı der-i devlet medara ilam ediver deyu ilhac etmeleriyle ol ki vakiü'l-haldir. Bi'l-iltimas paye-i serir-i a'laya arz ve ilam olundu. Baki emr hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir. Harrerehu fi'l-yevmi'l-hadi aşar min şehri Muharremü'l-haram sene seb'a ve isneyn ve mieteyn ve elf.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 1417

Süvari asker defterinde muharrer memurlara yazılan ferman suretidir.

Dergah-ı muallam kapucu başlarından ber vech-i sadıkane Bozok ve Kangırı sancakları mutasarrıfı Cabbarzade mir Süleyman dame mecduhuya ve Bozok ve Kangırı sancaklarında vaki mecmu kaza ve kasabat ve nevahiyenin kuznat ve nevvabına ve şehir kethüdarları ve vücuh-ı memleket ve iş erlerine hüküm ki;

Behikmet olundukta bir iki senedir askeri zümresinin vaki olan gayretsizliklerinden ve küffar ile cenk ve cidal esnasında sabit-i kudum olamayıp düşmanın yüzünü görmeden firar-ı arini irtikab ile bozgunluğa sebep ve illet olduklarından dinimizin ve mülk ve milletimizin düşmanı olan Mosko ve Nemçe kefereleri gittikçe fırceyap olarak memalik-i islamiyeye bir tarafta istila ve asker-i islamin mukabele-i küffarda bu derecelerde zuhur eden rehavetlerinden naşi a'da-yı din ber canibinden arz-ı fasidlerini bila meşakkatin kemal-i suhuletle icra etmekte oldukları malum olan halattan olup ba'de'l-yevm darb ve harbe kudreti olan ve müslümanın diyenlerin üzerlerine malen ve bedenen gaza ve cihad farz-ı ayn olduğuna kat'en şüphe kalmamakla bu sene meyanında darb ve harbe kudreti olanlardan sefere gitmeyüp vatanlarında her kim olur ise o misillüler haklarında lazım olan ukubat bila ihmal icra ve saire ibret kılınacağından başka üzerlerine farz-ı ayn olan cihadı terk ve bu kadar din karındaşlarının ve islam memleketlerinin küffar ayakları altında kalmasını tecviz edenler yarın ruz-i cezada huzur-ı manevi-hakta bervechle cevaba kadir olamayıp Peygamberimiz Efendimiz Muhammedül Mustafa sallallahu aleyhi

vesellem hazretlerinin şefaatlerinden dahi mahrum olarak yüz karalığıyla azab-ı cahime giriftar olacakları müstağni-i tarif ve beyandır. İmdi işbu emr-i şerifim (aslı boştur) ile ledelvusul sen ki Bozok ve Kangırı sancağı mutasarrıfı kapucubaşı-i muma ileyhsin. Bozok ve Kangırı sancaklarında olan mecmu kaza ve kasabat ve nevahi ve kazanın piyade yeniçeri bayraklarından maada süvari darp ve harp erbabını kazaların ashab-ı nüfuz ve iktidarı maiyyetleriyle tahrik ve ihrac ve kendin dahi malik olduğun süvari askerlerinle ---- teala binnefs azimet ve nevrüz-ı sultanide liva-i şerif altında mevcut bulunasın ve add olunan vakitte liva-i saadet payesine erişmemek lazım gelir ise sonra nadim olursun zira geçen sene ve evvelki sene asker cenk mevsimi gelip erişemediklerinden vaktiyle cenge duruşamayıp kışa yakın cenge mübaşeretin kaidesi olamadı bunu dahi bilip ona göre hareket ve mugayir-i diyanet ve ----- münacebet ve siz ki memurat ve sair muma ileyhimsiz. Siz dahi mazmun-ı emr-i şerifimi mütalaa ve mukteza-yı vakt ve hali gereği gibi mülahaza ederek ana göre bu babda din-i mübine hizmet ve devlet-i aliyyeme ibraz-ı sadakat eylemeniz babında.

Fi evail-i Receb sene 1204.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 3332

Saraybosna kadısına ve husus-ı -----erbabına canib-i şeriat-ı garradan memur kılınan Pirlepelî Ahmed eyalet-i Bosnada vaki kazaların kuzat ve nevvab zide fazluhuma ve mu'teberan-ı hademe-i saltanat-ı seniyyemden hala isham mukataacısı olup bu defa canib-i seniyyü'l-menakıb-i padişahanemden mahsus tayin ve izam olunan mir Mehmed Arif zide mecduhuya ve müfti ve müderrisin ve eimme ve huteba ve sair ulema ve süleha zide ilmuhuma ve eyalet-i merkumede kain kıla' kapudananı ve vücuh-ı ehli ve bi'l-cümle efrad-ı müminini zide kadruhuma hüküm ki;

Kaffe-i ehl-i imana malum olduğu üzere bu devlet-i aliyye-i Muhammediye ve millet-i semha-yı Ahmediyenin kıyamü's-saa seyfi-i cihad ile memur olarak cemi zamanda a'da-yı diniye mukabil asakir-i müslimin ve gazavat-ı muvahhidinin vücudundan alır olduğundan mücedded bu maksuda mebni ecdad-ı izamım anar olundukta bi-rahinihim zamanlarında yeniçeri ocağı tanzim ve ihya olunup egerçe ezman-ı sabıkada geçenler mukabele-i a'dada sebat ve metanet ve nesteizubillah etiu'llah ve etiu'r-rasul ve evliyau'l-emri münekkım ayet-i kerimesi mukteza-yı münifi üzere emr-i ulu'l-emre inkiyad ve itaat ederek yüzlerinden futuhatlar zuhura gelmiş ve anların yararlıkları görülerekce haklarında nice türlü ihsan ve atabetler erzan kılınmış ise de sonraları bunların içlerine bedhah ve havain makuleleri ve keferre casusları hulul ile vaki olan tahrik ve efsadlarına mebni günden güne edepsizlik ve şekavet yolunu tutup eski itaatları itaatsızlıkla mübeddel olarak yüz seneden beru din ve devlet-i aliyyeye etmedikleri hiyanet ve melanet kalmamış ve

ezcümle kaç defadır vaki olan seferlerde türlü türlü fesadlar çıkarıp bila muharebe dağılarak bunca kıla ve memalikin eyadi-i küffarda kalmasına ancak bu taife-i mahzule sebeb-i müstakar olmuş oldukları cihetle ba'de'zin dahi bunlar böyle durur ve hal böyle kalur ise maaza'llahu teala a'da-yı dinin azgınlığı artıp fena netice vereceği aşikar olduğundan evvel emirde aher türlü birşey denilmeyerek fakat dinimiz düşmanlarınınin zayi-i harbiye ile ve kolaylıkla nakes oldukları gayeye mukabil-i bil misl suretini istihsal zımında va'dü ---(kısa bir ayet mevcuttur) kerimine imtisalen ocağ-ı mezkurdan biraz tüfenkçi neferatı tahririyle talim ve taallüm ettirilmesi hususuna bab-ı fetva penahide ma'kud-ı meclis-i şurada ittifak-ı umum-ı ulema ve icma-ı ümmet ile karar verilip kendileri dahi bu surete tav'an razı olarak ocakça taraf-ı devlet-i aliyyeme mehabb-ı şeriyye ve senedd-i a'ta ile hilafına hareket etmeyeceklerine ve herhalde din ve devlet-i aliyyeme itaat ve inkıyad eyleyeceklerine ahd ü peyman eyledikten sonra yine mecbul oldukları şekavet ve habaset muktezası üzere defaten lafz-ı ahd ü peyman ve bağteten izhar-ı bagy ve tuğyan ile huruc-ı ale's-sultanı ----- ictisar ve nehb-i emval uğratılmış olduklarına binaen zaten hilafethan-ı mülukanem dahi avn ü inayetbari ve imrar-ı ruhaniyet hazret-i risaletpenahiye ittika ve istinad ederek üzerlerine memurlar sevkiyle ekseri ahz ve girift olunarak her biri şeriat kılıcına uğrayıp su-i i'mallerinin mücazatını görmüş ve bundan böyle bunlar beka-yı namlarıyla beraber her ne vechle tedbir olunsa müsemmir ve müessir olunamayıp yani bir müddetten beru cehele-i ehl-i islam içinde güya yeniçerilik dedikleri din ve devlete itaat etmez ve emru'llahi'l-emre karşı durur bir serbest-i milletin hükmüne girip bu keyfiyet ise hıfz olundukta millet-i islamiye arasında dünya ve ahirete mazrir fitne-i azime kabilinden olarak tecarib-i sabıkaya nazaran ba'de'zin dahi her ne türlü ıslah ve terbiyeye çalışsa

mümkün olamayacağı cümle indinde tebeyyün etmiş olduğu ecilden cedd-i emcedim Sultan Süleyman Han Gazi aliyye rahmetu'llahi bari hazretleri kendi zamanlarında bu ocağın tanzimini ol vaktin hükmünce ümmet-i Muhammede hayırlı görüp ihya etmiş olduğu misillü şimdi dahi defan li'l-fesad bunların külliye mahv ve ilgasıyla anların yerine Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye ünvanıyla din ve devlete yarayacak asakir-i cedide tertib ve tahrir olunması mutlaka yine ümmet-i Muhammedin selah-ı hal ve selamet-i ahvalleri için lazım gelmiş olduğu icma-yı ulema-yı din ve ittifak-ı amme-i müslimin ile karargir olmak mülabesesiyle ol vechle ber-mukteza-yı şer-i mutahhar Yeniçeri ocağı külliye ref ve imha ve nam ve nişanları sahife-i alemde mahv ve ilga kılınarak fima bad memalik-i mahrusa-i İslamiyede Yeniçerilik lafzı ile'l-ebed lisana alınmamak ve bilad-ı İslamiyenin hiç birinde ba'de'zin Yeniçeri zabıtlığı ve serdarlık ve zağarcılık ve çorbacılık payesi ve nişan davası kalmayarak mukaddemden Yeniçeriliğe mensub olunanlar bundan sonra sair efrad-ı müminin misillü canib-i şeriat-ı garradan ve taraf-ı eşref-i padişahanemden mensub-ı vüzera ve mir miran ve hükkam-ı şer ve sair memleket zabıtlarına her halde itaat ve inkıyad edip zinhar içlerinde kitabü'l-Kuran ve ittifak-ı ümmet-i İslamiyeye muhalif söz söylemeye kimesne cesaret etmemek ve eden olursa haklarında lazım gelen muamele-i te'dip birle imhal icra kılınmak ve yedlerinde ocağa müteallık olan orta malı ve kazgan ve çapraz ve sair eşya ahz ile kazgan ve eşya-yı saire kıla-i hakaniyem cebhanelerine vaz olunup aynen çaprazlar beytül mal için dersaadetime irsal olunmak babında bundan akdem bil cümle memalik-i mahrusama evamir-i aliyyem neşriyle ilan ve işaat olunmak ve bu mazmunda eyalet-i Bosna için dahi hala Bosna valisi vezirim el hac Mustafa Paşa ecille lehuya ve sen ki Saraybosna kadısı mevlana-yı muma ileyhsin sana ve sair

iktiza edenlere hitaben mahsusen ve tafsilen bir kıta emr-i şerifim ısdar ve mahsus kapıcıbaşı tayiniyle tisyar kılınmış olmakla Rumeli ve Anadolu'da vaki şarken ve garben mecmu' memalik-i mahrusa ve serhadat-ı hakaniyem ahalileri gayret-i diniyye ve besalet-i İslamiyeleri muktezası üzere şer-i şerife ve emr ü ferman-ı padişahaneme sürat-i imtisal ile ibraz-ı kemal inkıyad ve itaat ve bel ki bu keyfiyeti haklarında mehass-ı lütf ve tevfikü'l-hay bilerek cümlesini derhal yoldaşlık ve nişan davasından külliyen ----- ve feragat birle her nerede ocağ-ı mülğaya müteallik eşya var ise kıla cebehahelerine vaz ve çaprazlar dahi taraf-ı şer-i şeriften ilam ve vücuh ve a'vat caniplerinden teşekkürü mutazammın mazhar u arzuhal ile der bar-ı şevket-kararıma takdime müsaraat olunmak ve içlerinde ashab-ı tahayyüz ve i'tibarun olup din-i mübin ve devlet-i aliyye ebed rıhnem uğrunda emek ve hizmetleri sebkate ederek avatıf-ı aliyye-i mülukaneme müstehak olanların bi't-tahkik hal ve şanlarına göre kimisine kapıcıbaşılık ve kimine dahi silahdarlık rütbeleri ve payeleri itabet ve ihsan kılınmış olup Bosna memleketi dahi memalik-i mahrusa-i padişahanemden ve ahalisi dahi ehl-i İslam ve eshab-ı diyanetten olmaları hasebiyle anlar dahi bu hususta şer-i şerifin hükmüne mütabaat ve her halde itaati cümleye vacib olan emr ü ferman cihan-metaima inkıyad ve mutavaat ederek ve bel ki şu ocağ-ı mülğa ---- cümle ümmet-i Muhammed üzerinden kalkmasını mümin ve muvahhid olanlar haklarında mehass-ı inayet ve lütfbari bilerek ez dil ü can ifa-yı şükr ve mahmedet ve her halde i'zaz-ı din-i mübin ve makhuriyet-i kefare-i müşrikin ve avane-i an samimi'l-kalb iştilal ve mudarebet eylemeleri lazımeden iken zikr olunan emr-i şerifimle mübaşir-i muma ileyh işbu doğru Tıravnik'e canib müşarun ileyhe varıp emr-i şerif-i mezkur Tıravnik mahkemesinde cümle vücuh ve ahali muvacehesinde lede'l-kıraa bazısı izhar-ı

muvataat ve birazı dahi tereddüd ile nihayet Saray kasabası ahalisi ne derler ise anlar dahi öylece hareket ve muvafakat edeceklerini beyan etmelerine mebni mübaşir muma ileyh Tiravnik'den Saray kasabasına gelip emr-i şerif-i mezkur ol tarafta dahi feraset ve a'dat olundukta ocağ-ı mülğaya mensub olanların içlerinde bazı müfsid ve bedhah makuleleri adem-i diyanet ve kemal-i hamakatlarından naşi gayret-i cahiliyeye düşerek izhar-ı tereddüt ve muhalefet vadisinde tavır alıp derun-ı memlekette ihtilal çıkarmış olduklarından başka etrafta kendileri gibi bazı kendini bilmez ve hayır ve şerri fark ve temyiz etmez esafil ve hazale takımını dahi meram-ı fasidlerine teşvik ve sair sadedil ahali eyaleti dahi tevhiş zaimiyle aslı yoktan bir takım eracif çıkarıp güya ba'de'l-yevm müslim ve reayanın beher olanlarından ayda iki defa yirmişer kuruş miri ve bağ ve bağçe ve tarlaları hasadatından evlerine götürecekleri azıcık mekulatlarından kıymetine göre gümrük alacak ve tımar ve zeamet ve ----- reaya elinde olan tarla ve arazi cümleten miriye zabt olunacak ve reaya her kim olur ise olsun eğer ki ekinden bağ ve bağçesi mahsulatından kuvvet için dibacesi verildikten sonra fazlasını miriye zabt kılınacak ve evlatları asker yazılmak için alınıp aher diyarlara gönderilecek imiş diyerek bi-esb ve bi-esas ihtira' etmekte oldukları eracif ve ekazibe sair bir takım sadedil kimesneler dahi inanıp derun-ı memlekette bir takım güftegu ve kıyl ü kal peydasıyla emr ü ferman-ı şahanemin tenfiz ve icrasında tereddüt ve bataet ile yeniçerilik davası henüz ortadan kaldırılmadığı bu defa bi'l-istihbar-ı tahkik-kerde-i şahanem olarak vali-i müşar ve mübaşir-i muma ileyhuma taraflarından buna dair henüz bir güne tahrirat vürud etmemiş ise de bu suret dahi ihtidalden naşi keyfiyet-i hali inha ve tahrire zaferyab olamamalarından neşet eylemiş idüğü rivayet olmakta olup be-tevfika-i team şu ocağ-ı mülga hakkında Rumeli ve Anadolunun şarken ve garben havi olduğu

memalik-i İslamiyeden hiç bir beldede bir güne kıyl ü kal vuku bulmayıp kaffe-i ehl-i iman ez mal ü can memnun ve müteşekkir olup da Bosna gibi makarr-ı ulema ve süleha olan mahalde maaz olundukta şer-i şerife ve icma-i ümmet-i İslamiyeye münafi olarak böyle bazı ----- ve fesede güruhunun bir vakitte devlet-i aliyyemin hayal ve hatırına gelmeyen o makule ----- ve hezeyanından ibaret olacak ve güftegularına mümaşat ve muvafakat suretiyle emr ve irade-i seniyyemin infaz ve icrası hususunda tereddüt ve bataet olunması mucib-i istiğrab olur bir keyfiyyet eddüğü cümle indinde zahir ve hayli ve halbu ki lillahi'l-hamd ve'l-minne zaman-ı madelet iktiran-ı şahanemde bunca sinnin ve a'lamdan beru din ve devlete ve kaffe-i ümmet-i Muhammede güne gün hiyanetleri cümle indinde güneş gibi zahir olan şu yeniçeri ocağının ber vech-i suhulet ref ve ilgası mehass-ı tevfiğ ve inayet-i ribayet ve mevhibe-i hamdaniye bilerek hayli metin-i şeriat-i mutahharaya evvelkinden birkaç kat ziyade tevessül ve ikdam birle her bir umur ve hususun mukteza-yı şeriat-i mutahharaya tevfiğ-i ruiyyet ve icraet ve bu ana kadar anların yüzünden devlet-i aliyyemin düçar olduğu telefattan devlet-i bi'z-zarur ihtiyar olunan bazı tekalifin dahi tahfifine dikkat olunmakta ve ocağ-ı mülğanın yerine be-tevfiku'llahi teala tertib ve ihya olunan Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye için gerek Anadolu ve gerek Rumeli taraflarında imdiye kadar hiçbir kimesneye cebr ve ----- olunmayıp herkes kendi hahiş ve rızasıyla fevc fevc gelip yazılmakta olup bu suretlerde tekevvün eden eracif bir takım kefere casuslarının ve gerek şurut-ı imane ettiğini fark ve temyiz etmez ve hayır ve şerrini bilmez bir takım echel ve ebter ve hazele makulesinin başları altından neşet eylediği ve anlara muvafakat maaza'llahi teala selb-i esasi ahali-i memleket ve fukara-yı ra'bet-i müstelzim olarak sebep olanlar hakkında dünya ve ahirette müeddi-i ----- ve hüsrân olacağı tariften müstağni ve'l-

hasıl cemi zevnde maksud-i padişahanem her tarafın kemal-i asayişle zat-ı şevket simat-ı cihandaraneme vedia-i canib-i rabb-ı izzet olan fukara ve zuafa ve üceza-i berayanın saye-i merahim-vaye-i şehri yaranemde gunude pester emn ve istirahat olmaları ve her halde a'da-yı kelimete ----- ül-ulya ve mudafaa-i sürur-i a'la ve sailinin istihsali ve cüzi ve külli her bir hususta mukteza-yı şer-i şerifin icra ve ikmali hususlarına masruf ve muhassar ettiği bedihi ve hatta ocağ-ı mülga havanesinin ser rüşte-i kıyl ü kal ittihaz eder ----- ta'lim ve taallüm maddesinin meşruyyeti keyfiyeti bi'l-fi'l şeyhulislam ve müftiyü'l-enam olan Kadızade Mevlana Mehmed Tahir edamellahu teala fazale-i din istifta olundukta a'da-yı din ile muharebe vukuunda asakir-i İslam olan harbiyenin isti'malini ve keferenin fünün-ı harbiyede ----- bilmeyip kefer-i müşrikine galebe edemediklerinden esteizu bi'llah va'du ileyhim ma esteta'tum min kuvvete nazm-ı kerimine imtisalen vakt-i cihatta kefer-i ----- üzerlerine galebe için asakir-i İslamın alat-ı harbiye ittihazi lazım olur mu el cevab olur ve bu surette alat-ı harbiyeyi isti'mal umur-ı sanaiyeden olup keyfiyyet-i isti'malini bilmek talim ve taallüm ile olacağı bedihi olmakla emirü'l-müminin padişah-ı İslam haldu'llahi teala hilafeti ila yevmi'l-kıyame hazretlerinin asakir-i İslama hinin talim eylemelerini emr ü tenbih buyurmaları emri meşru' olur mu el cevab olur deyu müteaddid fetva-yı şerife verilmiş olarak elhaletü hazihi dersaadetimde ve Rumeli ve Anadolu'nun müteaddid mahallerinde bi't-tensib tertib olunan Asakir-i Mansureden başka her memlekette mecmu ehl-i iman dahi kendi hahişleriyle hod be hod talim ve taallüme sa'y ve verziş üzere oldukları li'lahi'l-hamd saltanatü's-seniyye-i ebediyyü'd-devamım hakkında ----- ileyhden ma'dur iken bu sene ahalinin bu vechle din ve devlete adem-i itaat ve bütün aleme muhalefet vadisinde mesmu' olan su-i hareketleri vaki' midir ve elan

anın üzerinde ısrar ve taannüd üzere midirler yoksa içlerinde insaf ve diyanet ashabı diğerlerine galebe edip de şimdiye kadar cümlesinin akılları başlarına gelerek tenfiz-i emr ve irade-i seniyye-i şahaneme mübaderet etmişler midir ol tarafa varıp re'yü'l-ayn ekleyerek henüz akılları başlarına gelmemiş ise vaki-i hal ve tenbihat-ı şahanemi her birinin mesami-i intibahlarına etrafiyla takyin ve tefhim ve kendilerini gaflet ve cehaletten ikaz ve tahzir zımında evvel emirde canib-i şeriat-ı garradan ve taraf-ı devlet-i aliyyemden memurlar ta'vin ve i'zam olunmasına dahi irade-i ma'delet ifade-i mülukanem suduruyla muma ileyhuma mahsus memur ve ta'vin kılınmış olmaktan siz ki mevlana ve kuzzat ve nevvab ve müfti ve ulema ve sair muma ileyhimsiz. Ma'rifetiniz ve memur muma ileyh ma'rifetiyle mukaddemce şerefriz sudur olan emr-i celilü'l-kararımda tafsil ve beyan kılındığı vechle bundan böyle yeniçeri ocağı ve yeniçerilik namı ve yoldaşlık tabiri ve nişan da'vası ve yeniçeri zabıtlığı ve serdarlık lafzı ve turnacılık ve zağarcılık payeleri ber mucceb-i fetva-yı şerife külliyyen bi'l-cümle memalik-i mahrusa-i şahanemden ref-i ebedi ile ref ve ilga kılınmış olduğunu ve mukaddem yeniçeri inadında bulunanlar bundan böyle sair efrad-ı müminin gibi canib-i şeriat-ı garradan ve taraf-ı saltanat-ı seniyyemden mansub vülat ve hükam-ı şer'i ve sair zabıtana itaat ve inkiyad ile herkesi ırz ve edebiyetle mukayyed ve kar ve kesb ve hiraset ve ticaret vaziyetleriyle meşgul olarak her halde şeriat-ı mutahhara muktezasınca amel ve hareket eylemeleri ve yeniçeriliğe müteallık olan orta malı çapraz ve kazgan ve sair eşya her ne bulunur ise devşirilüp kazgan ve sair eşya kıla-ı hakaniyem cebehanelerine va'z ve çaprazların aynen dersaadetime irsali hususuna ihtimam ve dikkat kılınması ve bundan böyle dahi zinhar ve zinhar tereddüt ve muhalefet suretlerine ısdar olunmak lazım gelir ise evvela sebep olanlar hakkında acilen ve ecelen ve himmet-i azimeyi

muceb ve saniyen bunların efradıyla sair ehl-i ümmet-i Muhammede dahi mazarrat-ı
----- yi müteveccib olacağını sagir ve kebir cümlesinin guş-ı huşlarına gereği gibi
telkin ve tenbihe mübaderet eylemeniz fermanım olmağın sahife-i pira-yı sudur olan
hatt-ı hümayun-ı şevket-makrun -ı mülukanem mucibince tenbihen ve te'kiden
mahsusen işbu emr-i celilü'l-kadrim isdar ve memur muma ileyhuma ile irsal ve
tisyar olunmuştur. İmdi mazmun-ı emr ve irade-i şahanemi cümleye gizlice ifade ve
beyan ile sair memalik-i mahrusa-i İslamiye misillu ol tarafta dahi ba'del-yevm
yeniçerilik lafzını hiç ferd ağzına almayarak kaffe-i efrad-ı müminin canib-i şer-i
şeriften ve taraf-ı saltanat-ı seniyyemden mansub vülat ve hükkam ve zabitlerine
itaat ve inkiyad eylemeleri esbabını istihsale sarf-ı ruyet ve kazgan ve çapraz
misillü orta malı olarak her ne var ise cümlesi toplanıp kazgan ve sair eşya ol tarafta
kain kıla' cebhanelerine va'z ve teslim ve çaprazlar aynen dersaadetime tesyir birle
miktar ve kemiyetini mübeyyin mahza defterlerinin irsali ve takdimine müsaraat
eylemeniz kati matlub-ı şahanem idüğün ve bundan böyle işbu icma-ı ümmet ve
ittifak-ı umuma mugayir söz söyleyen ve karşı duranların ber mukteza-yı şeriat-ı
mutahhara haklarında lazım gelen tedibat-ı meşruanın bila imhal icrası suretine
teşebbüs kılınacağından başka tezekkür-i hissi haklarında muceb ve himmet olacağı
malumunuz oldukta ber vech-i meşruh amel ve hareketle infaz-ı emr ve iradesi
kat'an cihandaraneme mezid-i sa'y ve gayret ve hilafından begayet ittika ve
mübaadet eylesesiz ve siz ki memur muma ileyhimsiz mazmun-ı emr ve irade-i
seniyyem ----

CEVDET ASKERİYE 6712

Mazmun-ı kaydı başa şerh verildi.

Devletlü, inayetlü, mehabbetlü, atıfetlü, refetlü, finni'mi cezilüllütfül ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretleri

Ocak halkından bundan akdem kendüye hassa silahşorluğu itasıyla müebbeden mertebel Konya'da ikamete memur buyurulmuş olan Arif nam kimesnenin bu defa hakkında ferman-ı kaza cereyan edüp ol babda idam ve izalesiçün celadetriz sudur olan emr-i ali ve mazmununca emirname-i samileri vurudunda tıbkı ferman-ı ali üzere merkum derhal idam olunup heman dersaadete çıkarılacak tatarımız kullarıyla ser-i bediresi irsal ve galtide-i hakpay-i alileri kılınıp keyfiyeti natık bir kıta ilamı ve maktul-i merkumun yanında mevcut eşya ve nukudu her ne ise iktiza eden mahza defteri derun-ı arziye-i çakeri leffen takdim kılınmış olduğu ifadesi zeria-i izhar-ı uburetimiz olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala ledissa'delvüsul mehatt-ı ilm mekhar-ı meşmul fi ---- buyuruldukta ol babda emr-i ferman devletlü inayetlü mehabbetlü atıfetlü refetlü finni'mi cezilüllütfül ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretlerindir.

Fi 23 C 1242 Seyyid Ali

CEVDET ASKERİYE 8593

Yeniçeri ağasına hüküm ki;

Dergah-ı muallam Yeniçerileri ----- aslen zümere-i vahide iken devlet-i aliyyemin güzide ve mümtaz askeri olmalarıyla tevfir ve teksir ve cengaverlik ve şecaatperverlik resmini tefhim ve zabt ü hiss-i terbiye ve merasim-i eda-yı talim ve hin-i iktizada imal ve istihdam ile a'da-yı ----- ahd ----- olmak için cemaat ve bölük ve sekban itibarıyla başka başka malumu'l- aded ortalara tevzi ve taksim olunmalarıyla neferat-ı mezkure ortalarıyla memur oldukları sefer ve muhafaza ve sair hizmet-i din ve devlet-i aliyyede kemal-i adap ve merdane ve dilirane hareket ile hüner ve şecaatleri zahir olup ortasında ----- hizmet ile terbiye görmeyip ocağın kanun ve kaidesine vakıf olmayıp ve hiss-i adap ile müeddip olmayanlar yamaklık ile serhada gitmeleri hilaf-ı kanun iken mürur-ı eyyam ile bu kaide-i kadime-i müstahseneye rağbet ve ocağın hiss-i nizamını siyanette ihtimam olunmamağla neferattan bazı hevalarına tabi olanlar ortası hizmetinden nükul ve ----- ve güzar ile heva-i nefsinin eda için ber takrib ile esamını serhadlardan birine yamak ettirip ve aslında ortasında hizmetini sebkat etmeyip ve tertip görüldüğünden vardığı mahalde kendi halinde durmayıp ve arzı ile muteber olmayıp hevasında olan erazil ve eşhas ile ----- ve hilaf-ı şer-i şerif güne gün fisk ve fücra mübaderet ve ihtilale bais envai kusurattan hali olmamakla bazı serhadlarda vuku bulan ihtilal daima bu makule yamak neferatının su-i hareketlerinden neşet eylemeğın bu güne ocağın kanun ve kaide-i müstahsene mugayir ihtilale müeddibi olan emr-i müstenkerin def ve refi ve hüsn-i nizamı kadimin müraatı ehemmi-i meham lazımül ihtimam-ı devlet-

i aliyemden olmakla fima bad bir serhadden be ferman-ı ali aher mahalle naklolunan ortanın neferatından birisi yamak olur ümidiyle ortasından geriye olmayıp velyevm serhadlarda bulunan yamaklardan maada gerek asitane-i saadette ve gerek garbi mahallerde olan ortaların neferatından bir ferдин esamını ortasından ref ve yamaklık ile bir serhada kapatmayıp bundan sonra bila ferman-ı müceddiden yamak olmamak üzere muhkem tenbih ve bu emr-i şerifimin şurutu desturu'l-amel kılınmak için yeniçeri kaleminde bir suret-i sebt ve daima mucebiyle amel olunup -- ---- hilafetten begayet ittika ve ihtiraz olunmak babında ferman-ı alişanım sadır olmuştur. Buyurdum ki;

Fi evasıt-ı Muharrem sene 1140

CEVDET ASKERİYE 8714

Der devlet mekine arz-ı dai-i kemineleridir ki

Kırçuva kazasının ulema ve suleha ve eimme ve hattab ve bilumum ehl-i islam kulları mahfil-i kazada şöyle takrir-i kelam eylediler ki küfran-ı nimet-i celile-i cenab- ı padişah-i olan yeniçeri hunesi ba-yemin himem-i ----- hazret-i tacdar-ı karin-i izmihlal ve mukarrer ve meskenleri tavtil ve ibtal ve biavn-i inayet-i rabb-i muin Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye tahrir ve talim ve taallümde olup bilumum ahali-i memalik-i mahrusa-ül malik-i şahane devam-ı eyyam ömr-i devlet-i padişahi ve ezviya ve fevz ü hazret ve şevket tacdari ve davet-i hayriyesine muvazabat olunmakta olup taife-i mülahededden Bektaşî namıyle aleme ----- olan güruh-ı mekruhun şer'an cezası lazım gelenlerinin tediplerinin icrası ve sairleri tard ve tebid ve nefy ve icla ve tekye ve zaviyeleri kıla' ve hedm olunmak hususuna rave-i aliyye-i katia-i mulukane taalluk buyurulmuş ittüğü kazamız ayarı Veliddin bey kullarının malumu oldukça mir muma ileyh kulları devlet-i aliyye-i ebediyyet karinin bende ve bendezade hayırhah ve ferma ----- ve infaz-ı irade-i aliyye-i mülukaneye sürat-i imtisal ider abd-i sadık ettüğünden derun-ı kazamızda Kırçuvaya beş saat mesafe olan tekye-i harabede bulunan beş altı nefer bektaşilerin mahiyetleri mestur olunmağın hazele-i merkumeyi derhal tekye-i harabe-i mezkureden ihrac ve derun-ı kazadan tard ve tebid ve nefy ve icla birle tekye-i mezkure filasl harab bir mahal olmakla hazele-i menfiyenin mahalli ikametleri hedm ve tahrib olunduktan sonra infaz-ı irade-i aliyye-i cihandariye sürat ve imtisal olunduğu derbar-ı şevketkarara ilam ediyor deyu bu dailerine ihac etmelerine keyfiyyet-i hal ----- minval idüğüne

ilm-i daileri dahi mahit olmağın hakikatü'l-hal bi'l-iltimas der devletmedara arz ve ilam olundu. Ol babda ve herhalde emr ü ferman derbad-ı şevket kararındır.

Filyevm (boş) minşehri Muharremül harem sene isneyni ve erbain ve mieteyn ve elf.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 14990

Edirne'de ikamet etmek üzere halen Çirmen sancağı mutasarrıfı vezirim Esad Mehmed Paşa ecille lehuya ve Edirne kadısına dergah-ı muallam kapucubaşlarından Edirne bostancıbaşı elhac Abbas bey dame mecduhuya ve Çirmen sancağı mutasarrıflarının zir-idarelerinde olan kazaların kuzzat ve nevvabına ve ayan ve sair zabitan ve bil cümle iş erleri zey-i kararhum'a hüküm ki,

Cümleye malum olduğu üzere yeniçeri ocağının ref ü ilgasıyla yerine tevfikullahu teala din-i mübin ve devlet-i aliyye-i ebedretnem hizmetine yarayacak vechle Anadolu ve Rumeli taraflarından mikdar-ı kifaye muallam Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye tertip ve tanzimi icma-ı ulema ve ittifak-ı reaya karargir olduğuna binaen halen Kocaeli ve Hüdavendigar sancakları mutasarrıfı ve Bahr-i siyah boğazının Rumeli canibi muhafızı İstavrozlu Hüseyin Paşa ecille lehu bi'l-istiklal Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye seraskeri nasb olunarak tiz elden dersaadetimde bir ordu tertip olmak üzere güzide ve tüvana yiğitlerden on iki bin nefer asker tahririne şuru' ve mübaşeret olunup elhaletü hazihi peyder pey tahrir ile talim ve taallüm ettirilmekte ise de hin-i iktizada bu kadarcık asker ile iş bitmeyip avf u inayet-i rabbaniye ile beherhal Anadolu ve Rumeli taraflarından külliyetli Asakir-i Mansure tahrir ve tanzimi lazımeden olduğu zahir ve nümudar ve ber mukteza-yı şer-i şerif iş bu muallam asker tertibine teşebbüsten makasud-ı aslı mücerred a'da-yı din ile mukabele bil misl usuleti letafetiyle tahsil ve talim ve taallüm ile levazım-ı funun-ı harbiyeyi kema yenbagi irad ve teknil ederek ledel-hacet dinimiz düşmanlarına galebe suretinin istihsaliyle a'da-yı kelimetullahil aliyye niyet-i

halisesinden ibaret ve yeniçeri namında olan havane-i eşkiyanın dahi şimdiye kadar bu sureti istemeyerek türlü türlü fesad ve melanete teşebbüsleri mutlaka kar ü menfaat ve ----- ve rahat-ı gaziyle dinlerini dinlerine deęişir düşman dini mübinle bir nev lanet kabilinden olarak esfar-ı vakıada yüzlerinden çekilen uygunsuzluklar müstağni-i tarif ve işaret olup her ne ise bi hamdihi teala zaten melikü's-saffat-ı cihandaranım bu kerre avf ü inayet-i hazret-i müntakim kahhar ve imrar-ı ruhhaniyyet cenab-ı sırrül ebrar ile yeniçeri eşkiyasının nam ve nişanlarını ruy-i arzdan külliye ref ve imha ve kuvva-i din ve devleti müceddeden teşyid ve ihyaya muvaffak olarak bundan böyle dahi himmet-i ----- hadivanem iş bu Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyenin her tarafta teksir ve tevfir ve talim ve taallümleriyle dinimiz düşmanlarına galebe suretlerinin istihsali emrine masruf olduęu zahir ve aşikar ve Edirne havalisi asker yataęı mahaller olduęundan mahrusa-i Edirne'de dahi Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyeye mahsus olmak üzere bir adet kışla inşasıyla mikdarı vafi asker tahriri icab-ı halden ettięi bedihi ve beridar olduęuna binaen sen ki vezir-i gayri tesmir müşarün ileyhsin marifetinle zir idarende olan kazalardan beher tertibi maa zabitan bin beş yüz yirmi yedi nefer olmak üzere şimdilik iki tertib asakir-i mansure tahririyle Edirne'de talim ve taallüm ettirilmesi hususuna irade-i seniyye-i mülukanem taalluk edüp ol babda hatt-ı hümayun ubuhet makrun-ı cihandaranem sahife-i piraye südur olmuş ve tiz elden biraz tüfenk ve yazılacak neferat ve zabitanın kisveleriçün numune olmak suretiyle bir kat elbise ve hin-i tahrirde yazılacak neferatın dersaadetimde olduęu misillü bekar ve tamü'l-aza ve güzide ve mutena olmasına dikkat etmek ve badehu talim ve taallüm ettirmek üzere iki binbaşı ve ikişer nefer sağ ve sol kol ağaları ve iki nefer katip ve bir topçubaşı ve tranbetesiyle beraber bir nefer tranbetçi ve yazılacak neferatın iktiza

eden melbusat ve mekulatlarını marifetinle tanzim için rical-i devlet-i aliyyemden hala asakir-i mansure nazırı iftiharül-hac İbrahim Saib dame mecduhu tarafından bir nefer adam bais ve tisyar olunmuş ve neferat-ı merkumenin elbise ve tayinat-ı lazımlerine sarf olunmak üzere şimdilik tertib başına alel-hesab ikişer yüz kese akçe gönderilmiş ve be tevfikân teala bu defa asitane-i saadetimde tiz elden sekiz tertib ve on iki bin neferden ibaret bir ordu itibarıyla tahrir ve tertibi icra olunan Asakir-i Mansure hakkında tanzim olunan kanunname-i humayunumun fakat beher tertibe lazım gelecek neferat ve zabitanın mikdar ve kemiyeti ve nizam ve silsile ve maaş ve mahiye ve sairelerinin suret ve keyfiyeti mütalaasından malumun olarak ol tarafda memur-ı tahriri olduğun iki tertib asakir-i mezkurenin tahrir ve tanzimini ek tatbik ve ikmal için şimdilik bir kıta suret-i tarafına bais ve irsal kılınmış olmakdan naşı vüsul-i emr-i şerifimde mecbur olduğun asar-ı hayr-i hahi ve sadakat ve muktezayı mehamm-şinasi ve ruyetin üzere ol mikdar asakir-i mansureyi gönderilen harun-nekir kanunname-i hümayunum suretine tatbikan inzımam-ı rey ve marifetin ve gönderilen binbaşı marifetiyle aslı ve nesli malum ve seneleri dahi on beşinden ----- otuz yaşına kadar genç ve tûvana bekar yiğitlerden bildiümayene tahrir ve iktiza eden melbusat ve mekulatları bu tarafdan tayin ve irsal olunan memurlar marifetleriyle tanzimine ve bir tarafda yazılanlara zabitan nasbı ve elbise ve esliha i'tasıyla ale'd-devam talim ve taallümlerine ihtimam ve dikkat eylemek fermanım olmağın tenbihan ve ikraren mahsusen işbu emr-i celül kadrim isdar (metinde boştur) ile irsal olunmuşdur. İmdi bu halde miad-ı ihyaya bervechle makis olmayup din-i mübin hizmeti olduğuna binaen bu emri vacibü'l-itinaya ikram ve gayret edenler ----- mazhar-ı fevz ü saadet olacakları vareste-i kayd-ı işaret olmakla, göreyim seni meftur olduğun gayret-i diniyye ve besalet-i İslamiyye

muktezası üzere şu Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyeye aslı ve nesli malum güzide ve mu'tena ve genc ve tüvana yiğitlerden olmak üzere inzimam-ı rey ve marifetin ve gönderilen binbaşı marifetiyle heman tahrire mübaşeretle müddet-i kalile zarfında teknil ve temmim ve iktiza eden melbusat ve mekulatlarını bu taraftan tayin ve irsal olunan memurlar marifetleriyle tanzim ederek ve bir taraftan yazılanlara zabıtlar nasb ve elbise ve esliha ita eyleyerek talim ve taallümlerine ve bu babda iğmaz ve rehavetle aslı ve nesli malum olmayanlardan ve mest ve ihtiyar ve amel-i mande güruhundan olmamasına kemaliyle ikram ve sa'y-ı azim eylemek matlub-ı mülkanem eddüğü malum-ı gayret-i melzumun oldukda ber vechi meşruh amel ve harekete ve icra-yı emr ve irade-i şahanemle ifayı levazım-ı kar-ı aşınayı der-diniyye sarf ve sa'y ve makderet ve hilafında tevakkı ve mübaadet eylesin ve siz ki mevlana ve bostancıbaşı ve kuznat ve nevvab ve sair muma ileyhimsiz. Mazmun-ı emr ve ferman-ı padişahanem sizin dahi mahdumunuz olarak müşarün ileyhın emr ve iradesi vechiyle neferan-ı merkumenin ba avn ve gayret-i hazretbari müddet-i kalile zarfında tahrir ve tekmilleri hususuna bi'l-ittifak sarf ve sa'y ve makderet ve kusur ve tekasül vukuunu tecviz ile mesul ve muatıb olmakda begayet tevakkı ve mübaadet eylemeniz babında.

Fi evahir-i Z 1241

Bir sureti Niğbolu ve Vodin sancakları mutasarrıfı ve Vodin muhafızı Vezir İbrahim Paşa ecille lehuya ve Tırnavi ve Ruscuk kazalarından maada Vodin ve Niğbolu sancaklarında vaki kazaların hükkamına ve saire zikr olunan kazalardan bir tertib asker tahririyle ve dinde talim ve taallümlerine mübaderet eylemesiçün kışla

maddesinden sarf-ı nazar ve binbaşı ve sair memurlar ve alel hesab iki yüz kese akçe gönderildiği beyan kılınarak asla tatbiken.

Bir sureti Silistre Valisi Vezir Esseyid el-Hac Ahmed Paşa ecille lehuya ve Silistre sancağında vaki kazaların hükkamına ve saire liva-i mezburda vaki kazalardan bir tertib asker tahririyle Silistre'de talim ve taallümlerine dikkat eylemesiçün Vodin'e yazıldığı gibi.

Bir sureti Selanik ve Kavala sancakları Mutasarrıfı Vezir Ömer Paşa ecille lehuya ve Selanik sancağında vaki kazaların hükkamına ve saire evlad-ı fatihandan başka Selanik sancağı kazalarında bir tertib asker tahririyle Selanik'de talim ve taallüme mübaderet eylemesiçün -----.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 16171

Der devlet-mekine arz-ı dai-i keminelidir ki

Devlet-i aliyyenin kadim ocakları bunca seferlerde yararlık ve hamiyet ibraz edüp nice nice fütihat-ı celileye mazhar olmuşlar iken nizam-ı cedit namıyla muhaddis olarak icad olunan asker sene-i sabıkada ref olunmuş iken sonradan yine bir takrib meydana çıkup bu keyfiyyet-i nizam-ı mülkiyeye mugayir olunmağın fima bad itibar-ı hazret-i şahane kadim ocaklara olup nizam-ı cedit askeri dersaadetten külliyyen kaldırılıp ve badelyevm olmaması matlub-ı hazret-i şehirpayi olunmakla nizam-ı cedit askeri olan mahallerden bi'l-ittifak kaldırılması hususuna müsaraat olunmak babında Anadolunun sağ kolunda vaki vüzera-yı izam ve mevali-i fiham ve kuzzat ve nevvab ve seyairlerine hitaben şerefriz südur olan emr-i celilüşşan mucibince mektub-ı ağa-yı yeniçeriyân dergah-ı ali canib-i ocağ-ı amirede mübaşir tayin buyurulan Sertunalı umdetül emacid velayan kethüda cay-ı esbak Yusuf ağa kulları yediyle Şihlu kazası mahkemesine ledel vürud bilcümle lazımul huzur muvacehelerinde feth ü kıraat ve sicill-i mahfuza kayd ve sebt birle mazmun-ı itaat makrunı ilan ve işaat olundukta seman ve taan merasimini badel eda ber tıbk irade-i hazret-i cihandari amel ve harekete mübaderet ve füzununa eyyam-ı ömr ü devlet-i hazret-i zillullah davat-ı hayriyesine muvazibet ve müsaberet olunduğu ol ki vaki-i haldir. Bilitimas paye-i serir-i alaya arz u ilam olundu baki emr hazret-i men lehul emrindir. Harrere fi evaili min şehri Muharremul harem sene erbaa ve işrin ve mieteyn ve elf.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 21234

Devletlü, utufetlü, mürüvvetlü, refetlü, veliyyü'n-niam, Sultanım hazretleri

Ocağ-ı mülga mensubanından der aliyye sakinlerinden altmış dört cemaatin bayrak ağası olup orta yazıcısı Tosya'lı Mustafa ve Sarıkız semtinde yirmi sekizin orta yazıcısı Halil ve Laleli kurbunda sabık tüfekçibaşı beraber pes vech-i hanede on yedinin oda başısı Ali nam şahısların bazı ifsada dair uygunsuz hareketleri tahakkuk ettiğine mebni der saadetten tard ve tebidleri lazım gelmekten naşi fima bad ıtlak olunmamak ve iyal ü evladlarını yanlarına celb ile iskan ve ikamet eylemek şartıyla seddülbahr kalesine nefy ve iskan ettirilmesi babında savb-ı şakariye hitaben şerefaray sünuh eden emr-i ali ile merkumlar kavvasane hazret-i sedaretpenahiden mübaşiri Osman kavas bendelerine terfikan boğaza ledel vüsul ber mantuk-ı emr-i şerif matrud merkumlar mübaşir-i merkum bendeleriyle mahall-i menfaları olan seddülbahir kalesine irsal ve iyal ve evladlarıyla kale-i mezburede müebbeden meks ve iskan ettirilerek bila emr-i ali hatve-i vahide aher mahalle salıverilmemek emrine dikkat olunacağı ifadesi vesile-i arz-ı ----- hulus senaveri olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala karin-i i ilm-i meali-i rehnileri buyuruldukta canib-i rabba meccanilerin tevcihat-ı mehasin ayatlarıyla şerefrehin buyurulmak ----- şakaranemdir.

Fi 11 Receb 242

CEVDET ASKERİYE 21246

Mazmun-ı kaydı balasına şerh kılındı

Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, refetlü, ubbehettü, veliyyünni'am kesiru'l-cud ve'l-ekrem efendim, Sultanım hazretleri

Ocağ-ı mülga çorbacılarından olup mukaddema kendülerine hassa silahşorluğu ihsan olunan sabıkan kırk bir bölüğün çorbacısı Mehmed ve on bir çorbacısı Ahmed nam kimesneler derkar olan uygunsuzluklarına mebni Adana'ya akdemce nefy ve icla kılınmışlar ise de merkumlar evvel ve ahir alet-i fesad-ı adem olduklarından her ne kadar dersaadetten tebid ve takrib olunsalar dahi yine terbiye ve ıslah kabul etmeyerek habaset ve melanet icrasında ısrar ve inhimak üzere olacakları aşikar olmaktan naşi merkumların idam ve izaleleri hususuna irade-i celladan ifade-i hazret-i taccari taalluk ederek ol babda mehabetriz sudur olan ferman-ı ali ve kaime-i veliyyü'n-niamleri vürudu anda icra-yı irade-i seniyye kılınarak ber muceb-i fermude-i aliyye ser maktuları tatar çakeri Abdülvehhab kullarına tevdian takdim-i atabe-i ulya kılındığı inşaallahu teala mehatt-ı ilm-i kainat şumul asfaneleri buyuruldukta ol babda emr-i ferman devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, refetlü, ubbehettü, veliyyü'n-niam vüfuru'l-cud ve'l-ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretlerininindir.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 21923

Der devlet mekine arz-ı dai-i kemineleridir ki

Bu defa ref ve ilga olunan Yeniçeri ortalarından elli ikinin mütevellisi Ahmed nam şahıs kendi halinde olmayup vazifesün hariç kelam tefevvuhuna ve fesadı mucib eracif neşrine cesaret eylediğine mebni merkumun te'vile-i emsalinin ter'ib ve terhibi lazımeden olmaktan naşi çavuş mübaşeretiyle li-eclitte'dib Hırsova'ya nefy ve ta'zib, merkumu tayin olunan divan-ı hümayun çavuşlarından kıdvetü'l-emasil ve'l-akran Celil çavuş zide kadruhuya terfikan Hırsovaya nefy ve irsale müsaraat, vusulünde merkumca ol tarafta müneffiyen meks ve ikamet ve hatve-i vahide mahall-i ahire salıverilmeyüp muhafazası esbabı istihsale tekayyüd ve dikkat ve vusulünü mübaşir-i çavuş-ı akdem ile dersaadete ilama mübaderet olunmak babında şerefriz südur ve vürud olan ferman-ı cihanmeta' tayin buyurulan çavuş mübaşeretiyle Hırsova kazası mahkemesine ledel vürud vel kayd ve ism-i mutavaatını bade'l-eda seman ve taaten olmakule hilaf-ı rıza harekete mütecasir mütevellî Ahmed nam şahıs ber mantuk-ı emr-i ali Hırsova'da müneffiyen meks ve ikamet ve hatve-i vahide mahall-i ahire salıverilmeyüp merkumun muhafazası esbabına takayyüd ve dikkat olunduğu ol ki vakiü'l-haldir. Bi'l-iltimas paye-i serir-i saltanat a'laya arz-ı ilam olundu. Bakiü'l-emr hazret-i men lehul emrindir. Harrerehu fil yevmi's-sabi min şehri Saferü'l-hayr sene isna ve erbain ve mieteyn ve elf.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 22402

Divan-ı hümayunumda Çavuşbaşı Vekili Ali Necib Bey dame vecduhuya ve Burusa naibi bu defa ber muktezayı şeriat-ı mutahhara icma-ı ümmet ve ittifak-ı umume ile ref' ve ilga olunan yeniçeri ortası mütevellilerinden Hocapaşalı Murabbahacı Hafız hilaf-ı şeriat-ı garra ve mugayir-i emr ü rıza hareket ictira eder erbabından olduğu tahkik olunarak te'dibi lazım gelmekten naşi merkumun çavuş mübaşeretiyle li'lhabs-i te'dib Burusaya nefy ve ta'zib olunması ferman olmağın imdi sen ki Çavuşbaşı Vekili muma ileyhsin merkumu tayin olunan divan-ı hümayun çavuşlarından (aslında boştur) çavuş zide kadruhuya terfikan Burusaya nefy ve irsale müraat eyleyesin ve sen ki naib muma ileyhsin vusulünde merkumu ol tarafda müneffiyen meks ve ikamet iddirüp bila ferman itlakından mücanebet ve hatve-i vahide mahall-i ahere harekete ----- ruhsat olunmak lazım gelir ise mesul ve muatib olacağını bilüp ana göre muhafazası esbabını istihsal oluna ve vusulünü mübaşir-i çavuş-ı merkum ile dersaadetime tahrir ve ilama mübaşeret eylediği babında

Fi evasıtı Za 1241

CEVDET ASKERİYE 22403

Hala Silistre valisi vezirim elhac Ahmed Paşa ecillelehuya ve divan-ı hümayunumda Çavuşbaşı vekili Ali Necip Bey dame mecduhuya

Bu defa mukteza-yı şer-i mutahhar üzere ittifak-ı umume ve icma-ı ümmet ile ref ve ilga olunan yeniçeri ocağı ortalarından altmış solakların ustası Seyyid Mehmed hilaf-ı şeriat-ı garra ve mugayir-i emr ü rıza hareket ictira eder erbab olduğuna mebni takhik olunarak tedibi lazım gelmekten naşi fimabad merkumun ıtlak olunmamak şartıyla lilhabs-i tedip Çavuş mübaşeretiyle Silistreye nefy ve tazib olunması fermanım olmağın imdi sen ki Çavuşbaşı vekili muma ileyhsin. Merkumu tayin olunan divan-ı hümayunum çavuşlarından (aslı boştur) Çavuş zide kadruhuya terfikan Silistreye nefy ve irsale müraat eyleyesin ve sen ki vezir müşarün ileyhsin vusulünde merkumu müneffiyen meks ve ikamet ettirip bila ferman ıtlakından münacebet ve hatve-i vahide mahall-i ahere harekete salıverilmemesi hususuna kemaliyle itina ve dikkat ve vusulünü mübaşiri çavuş-ı merkum ile dersaadetime tahrir ve işaret eylemek babında.

Fi evasıt-ı Za 1241

Bir sureti

Yine çavuşbaşı vekili mir muma ileyh Niğde kazası naibi (aslı boş) ikinci karakollukçu Ahmedin canib-i mezkura mebni şart-ı mezbur elinde çavuş mübaşeretiyle Niğde kazasına tabi Everek karyesine icrası için;

Aslı gibi.

Bir sureti,

Yine çavuşbaşı vekili mir muma ileyh Tolcu naibine ve Kasımpaşa Çörekçiler kethüdası Kel Ömer nam şahsın dahi canib-i mezkura mebni şart-ı mezbur elinde çavuş mübaşeretiyle Tolcuya icrası için

Bir sureti,

Yine çavuşbaşı vekili mir muma ileyh ve İsakçı naibine çavuşlarından ocaktan mahrac Habib ustanın canib-i mezkura mebni şart-ı mezbur elinde çavuş mübaşeretiyle İsakçıya iclası için.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 23023

Velinimet-i mübinim, merhametlü, ubbehettlü, efendim Sultanım hazretleri

Yeniçeri tayifesi yine hiyanet-i sabıkaların izhara mütecasir olduklarından ittifak-ı amm ve icma-i ehl-i islam ile nam ve nişanları ruy-i zeminden bütün bütün ref ve imha buyurularak yerlerine muallem Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye ünvanıyla din ve devlete yarayacak ve gaza ve cihadda düşmana cevap verecek asker-i zaferpeyker tahrir ve tertib buyurulduğu ve bu asker-i mansure Hüdavendigâr sancağı mutasarrıfı devletlü veliyyü'n-niam Hüseyin Paşa Hazretleri serasker nasb buyurulmuş olduğuna fima bad mecmu-ı ehl-i islam ve küçük ve büyük ----- ümmet-i seyyidü'l-enam ve ulema ve sair ocaklar halkı ve umum nas bir vücud gibi olarak birbirlerine din karındaşı nazarıyla bakarak ortada ayrılık ve gayrılık olmamak ve maksud-ı aslı ve cümleye farz-ı şer'i olan ----- el muin ----- din-i mübin ve icra-yı şeriat-ı seyyidül mürselin emrinde ittifak-ı amme-i ihtiyar ve teşebbüs olunan maslahat-ı hayriyyede kaffe-i ehl-i iman müttefik ve müttehid olup hilaf-ı hareketten münacebet olunmak ----- ve vukuatın beyan ve tafsilatını mutazammın Rumeli ve Anadolunun uç kollarına ve cümle memalik-i mahrusaya evamir-i aliyye neşriyle ilan buyurulmuş olduğu mazmununda abd-i acizlerine ----- (metnin çürüklüğü sebebiyle okunmamaktadır) ibaresini ruh-i alem olan şevketlü, mehabettlü, kerametlü efendimize ve vükela-yı saltanat ----- ve mübarek ----- duasına muvazibat ve irade-i seniyyenin dahi biharfin icrasına dikkat ve sarf-ı mukadderet olunmakta ettiği beyanı vesile-i arz-ı ubudiyetim olmuştur.

Ol babda emr ü ferman devletlü, merhametlü, ubbehelü, veliyyünnimet-i mübinim efendim Sultanım hazretlerinindir.

Fi Z 1241

CEVDET ASKERİYE 25937

Mülga yeniçeri ocağının yevmiyelerine dair defatir olup olmadığı şifahen sadır olan ferman-ı alileri mucibince şakirdler halifesi Ali Efendi kulları nezd-i çakeriye celb ile ledessual yevmiyelerin nizamını havi ve kuyudatını muhtevi olup şakirdler halifesi olanların yedlerinde olan ceride ve defatirin cümlesini bundan akdem getirip teslim etmiş velhalet-i hazihi gerek kendisinde ve gerek sair ketebesini yedlerinde husus-ı mezkura dair defter ve evraka müteallik birşey kalmamış ettiğini ifade etmiş ve ocağ-ı umur ve sair maan mahv ve ilga olunan cebehane ve sipah ve silahdar ve bölükat-ı erbaa ocaklarının yevmiyelerine dair olan defatir ve evrakın cümlesi ve canib-i miriden mübayaa olunan yevmiyelerin senedatı defterhane-i amire ittisalinde kain aklamın battalları vaz'ına muhasses olan mahzene vaz' olunup el yevm-i derun mahzende mevcut olduğu malikane halifesi ve baş muhasebe ve mevkufat kisedarlarından tahkik olunmuş ve mülga yeniçeri yevmiyelerine müteallik olup şakirdler halifesi yedinde olan defterlerden başka yeniçeri katib efendilerin konaklarında mahfuz olan defatir ve evrak dahi ocağın mahv ve ilgası esnasında Hacı Saib Efendi bendeleri marifetiyle cümlesi ihrak edilmiş olduğu haber verilmiş olmakla mahzen-i mezkurda mahfuz olan defatir ve evrak-ı saire bilüzum olduğuna binaen taraf-ı çakeriden adem tayiniyle hiç birisi terk olunmayarak Ayasofya hamamının külhanına ilka ile ihrak olunarak cümlesinin itlaf ettirilmesi muvafik emr-i samileri ise.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 29546

Dergah-ı ali yeniçerileri ocağının eski kanunları icrasıyla şan-ı kadimini yerine getirüp ihya olunmasına irade-i şahane taalluk ve ekseri nizamları bozulup ez-cümle yevmiyeleri güne gün tezayüd olup mevacipleri verilmesinde emval-i miriye kifayet etmeyecek dereceye varıp bunun sebebi yeniçeri ağaları ve ocak katiplerinin mahlulâtı ketm ve hilaf-ı kanun na-ehle fûruht ettiklerinden ve sefer vukuundan beru müstehak olmayanları akçe ile turnacı ve haseki ve çorbacı tekaüdlüleri edüp yevmiyeleri böyle telef birle kanun-ı devlet ve ocağa riayet etmediklerinden olmakla bundan sonra yevmiye alınıp satılmamak ve mahlulât ketm olunmamak ve akçe ile na-ehle turnacılık ve hasekilik ve çorbacılık tekaüdlükleri verilmeyip eğer bu nizam ve şurutun hilafına gerek katib ve gerek sair her kim cesaret eder ise elleri kat' ve cezaları tertip olunup böylece icra olunsun deyu ikiyüz dört tarihinde müteaddid hatt-ı hümayun şevket makrun sadır olmakla bu defa sahib-i arzuhal Yusuf ağaya üçyüz akçe verilmesi hatt-ı hümayuna mugayir olduğundan başka sairlerine dahi sirayet ve beytü'l-mal-i müsliminin hasaretini mucemeldir.

CEVDET ASKERİYE 32916

Divan-ı hümayun çavuşbaşı vekili Ali Necib bey dame mecduhuya ve Köstence naibine hüküm ki;

Bu defa ber mukteza-yı şeriat-ı mutahhara icma-ı ümmet ve ittifak-ı umum ile ref ve ilga olunan yeniçeri ortalarından altmış dört cemaatinin mütevellisi Hacı Ömer hilaf-ı şeriat-ı garra ve mugayir-i emr ü rıza harekete ictira eder erbabından olduğu tahkik olunarak tedibi lazım gelmekten naşi fi'ma bad dersaadetime ayak basmamak ve ebedi itlak olunmamak ve itlakına dair arzuhal takdimine her kim cesaret ederse ol dahi nefy ile tedip olunmak üzere katle bedel merkum müebbeden Köstence kalesine nefy ve tazib olunmak fermanım olmağın imdi sen ki çavuşbaşı vekili muma ileyhsin merkumu divan-ı hümayunum çavuşlarından tayin olunan çavuş Zeyd kadriyle terfikan Köstence kalesine nefy ve irsale müsaraat eyleyesin ve sen ki naib muma ileyhsin vusulunde merkumu ol tarafta müebbeden meks ve ikamet ettirüp bila ferman ol taraftan hatve-i vahide mahall-i ahere harekete ----- ruhsat olunmak lazım gelir ise mesul ve muatib olacağını bilip ana göre muhafazası esbabını istihsal halinde ve vusulünü mübaşiri çavuş-ı merkum ile dersaadetime ilama mübaşeret eylediği babında

Fi evasıt-ı Za 1241

CEVDET ASKERİYE 44583

Devletlü, inayetlü, atıfetlü, mürüvvetlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim Sultanım hazretleri

Ocağ-ı mülga takımından olup kendülere hassa silahşorluğu ihsan buyurulan sabıkan başçavuş Ali Ağa ve on üç bölüğün çorbacısı Mehmed nam kimesneler bu tarafa gönderilmiş ise de zatlarında mezkur olan habaset ve melaneti icra daiyesinde oldukları tahkik buyurularak izaleleri babında südur eden emr-i ali mucibince merkumlar idam ve ser-i maktuları irsal olunmasını emr-i reside-i etmile-i tanzim olan fermanname-i sami-i hazret-i sadaretpenahileri mucibince derhal ikisi dahi idam olunup ser-i maktuları irsal kılındığı bimennihi teali mehatt-ı ilm-i alem aray-ı veliyyü'n-nimaneleri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman devletlü, inayetlü, atıfetlü, mürüvvetlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim Sultanım hazretlerindir.

Fi 19 R 1242

CEVDET ASKERİYE 44584

Devletlü, inayetlü, ubbehtlü, atıfetlü, re'fetlü veliyyü'n-niam celiyyü'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim, Sultanım hazretleri

Yeniçeri kalemi baş halifesi sabıkan altmışdört yazıcısı olup bundan akdem ba emr-i ali Medine-i Konya'ya nefy ve icla olunan Ata nam kimesne min ba'di ıslah nefisle terbiye kabul eder makuleden olmadığı derciyle heman merkumun idam ve izalesiyle ser-i maktuunun dersaadete irsali hususu irade-i keramet ade-i hazret-i zillullahi iktizasından olarak ol babda sadır olan emr-i ali bu defa savb-i bendeganemize ledel-vürud der akeb merkum olduğu mahalden ahz ve tıbkı irade-i aliyye üzere idam olunup ser-i bediresi ve yanında olan eşyasının dahi defteri tatarımız kullarıyla tısyar olunarak ifa-yı irade-i seniyyeye ibtidar olunduğu ifadesi işbu arize-i bendegi tarakkum ve takdimine badi olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala mehatt-ı ilm-i asfaneleri buyuruldukta ol babda emr ü ferman devletlü, inayetlü, ubbehtlü, atıfetlü, re'fetlü, veliyyü'n-niam, celiyyü'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim, Sultanım hazretlerininindir.

Fi 3 Ş 1242

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17315

Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, ubbehettü, re'fetlü, veliyyü'n-niam sahibü'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim hazretleri,

Devlet ve ikbal-i ebedi ve übbehet ve iclal-i sermedi ile sağ olsun arz-ı hal-i kullarıdır ki bu esnada der aliyyede Yeniçeri taifesinin isyan ve tuğyanlarına mebni üzerlerine memurlar tayin ile kahr ve tedmirleri mübaderet olunarak kışlaları ihrak ve ber mukteza-yı şer'-i şerif ve vaki olan ittifak-ı ara mucibince salah-ı hal-i alem içün ocağın isim ve resmi terkin ve kanun-ı kadimi aher heyetle tecdid kılınarak fima ba'd yeniçerilik namı külliyyen ortadan kalkıp anın yerine muallem Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye ünvanıyla din ve devlet-i aliyyeye yarayacak ve gaza ve cihadda düşmana cevab verecek kifayet mikdarı asakir tahrir ve tertib buyurularak yeniçerilik namı ve anlara mahsus olan zağarcılık payesi ve turnacılık taşra memalikte yeniçeri zabıtlığı ve serdarlık lafzı ve yeniçeri yoldaşlığı ta'biri ve nişan da'vası külliyyen ortadan kaldırıldığını herkese ifade ve tebeyyün ile Şam-ı şerifde yeniçerilik iddiasında olanlar bundan böyle sair efrad-ı mü'minin misillü canib-i şeriat-i garradan ve taraf-ı eşref-i hazret-i padişahiden müteayyin vüzera-yı izam ve hükkam ve sair memleket zabitlerine itaat ve inkıyad ederek ve herkes ehl-i ırzlığı takınıp kar u keşb ve ziraat ve hiraset ve ticaret ve san'atlarıyla meşgul olarak her halde mukteza-yı şeriat-ı mutahhara ve asıl müslümanlığa lazım olan tavır ve meslek üzere hareket eylemelerini ve içlerinde hilaf-ı şeriat-ı garra hareketi vukua gelenlerin ve işbu ittifak-ı amme ve icma-ı ümmet-i Muhammediyeye mugayir söz söyleyen ve karşı duranların ber mucceb-i fetva-yı şerife şeran lazım gelen ceza-yı

sezaları icra kılınacağını guş-i huşlarına ilka ve telkine mübaderet ve bu tarafta mevcut yeniçeri zabiti ve neferatı yedinde bulunan kazgan ve çapraz ve sair bunlar gibi ocağa müteallık her ne var ise ba'de'zin yeniçerilik mülga olduğuna mebni yedlerinden devşirilüp kazgan ve sair eşyayı Şam kalesi cebehanesine va'z ve teslim birle mikdar ve kemiyetini mübin defterini ve beytü'l-male teslim için aynen çaprazlarını dersaadete irsal ve takdime müsaraat ve'l-hasıl fima ba'd yeniçerilik namı lisana alınmayup mecmu' ehl-i islam din ve devlet bendesi olmak ve ehl-i ırzlıkta müttehid ve yek vücud gibi olarak müslümanlıkta cümlesi bir tavır üzere oldukça meyanelerinde ayrılık ve gayrılık olmamak ve içlerinde yaramaz ve müstehakk-ı te'dib olanların lazım gelen te'dibatları icra kılınmak hususlarına bi'l-ittifak ihtimam ve dikkat olunmak babında tenbih ve te'kidini havi bu kullarına ve Şam-ı şerif kadısı faziletlü efendi abd-i dailerine ve cümleye hitaben şerefriz sahife-i sudur olan ferman-ı celilü'ş-şan dergah-ı ali kapucubaşlarından utufetlü Mehmed Emin Bey kulları mübaşeretiyle reside-i dest-i ta'zim ve mazmun-ı münifi karin-i itla' bende-i sadakatvesimleri olup her halde infaz-ı emr ve irade-i saltanat-ı seniyyeye müsaraat vacibe-i zimmet-i ubudiyetimiz olmaktan naşi derhal meclis-i şer-i enverde cümle vücuh-ı memleket mahzarında emr-i şerif-i alişan feth-ü kıraat ve mazmun-ı münifi münadiler sevk ile nida ettirilerek ammeye ilan ve işaat olunup cümle sekene-i memleket merasim-i sem' ve taati bade'l-eda devam-ı eyyam-ı ömr ü devlet ve şevket ü saltanat-ı hazret-i zıllullahi ve kavvam-ı hengam furu---- cenab-ı vekaletpenahileri da'vet-i hayriyelerine muvazıb edüp Şam-ı şerifte mevcut olan on altı bölük ve yirmi dört cemaatin nısf ortaları cümle ile bi'l-ittifak ref ve ilga ve tıbkı fermude-i seniyye üzere yeniçeri zabitliği ve neferatı yedlerinde bulunan kazgan ve çapraz ve kalpak ve kalafat ve anlara müteallık her ne var ise ma'rifet-i

şer ve mübaşir-i mir muma ileyh ve bi'l-cümle vücuh-ı belde ma'rifet ve ittifaklarıyla devşirölüp derun-ı arz-ı hal-i çakeriye leffen takdim-i hakipa-yi veliyyü'n-niamleri kılınan mahza defter mucibince Şam kalesi cebehanesine va'z ve ilka olunduğu ve ferd-i aferideden hilaf-ı şeriat-ı garra va'z ve hareket ve irade-i seniyye-yi şahaneye mugayir halet vukua gelmeyüp herkes emr-i hazret-i padişahiye muti' ve münkad olmakla yeniçeriye müteallık evailde Şam-ı şerifte iki aded sim çapraz mevcut iken Şam valisi esbak merhum Silahdar Süleyman Paşanın valiliği hengamında Şam kalesi yeniçeri ellerinde bulunmak mülabesesiyle ol vakt müşarun ileyh ile münazaa ve mücadele vukua gelmiş olduğundan bi-avni'llahi teala müşarun ileyh tarafyab olarak muharebe ile kale-i mezkuru yeniçeri ellerinden telhis eyledikleri o anda ve yağma ve garat esnasında salifu'z-zikr iki aded sim çapraz ol-vakt zayi ve na-bedid olduğunu vücuh-ı belde ifade ve takrir etmekle elhaletü hazihi kaleye vaz olunan -----on bir aded çapraz imtisalen lil-emr bundan sonra der-aliyyeye irsal olunacağı ve Şam-ı şerifin etraf-ı kazalarına birer kıta suret-i emr-i şerif-i alişan neşriyle irade-i seniyye-i mülukane ilan ve işaat kılınarak emr-i padişahi icra kılınacağı ifadesi ve keyfiyet-i hal Şam-ı şerif kadı faziletli efendi abd-i dailerinin i'lamı halinden dahi müsteban ve mehatt-ı ilm-i veliyyü'n-ni'manelerine buyurulacağı i'lanı vesile-i arz-ı ubudiyetim olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala meşmul ----- merhamet ve manzur-ı avn-i inayet veliyyü'n-ni'manelerine buyuruldukta baki emr ü ferman ve lutf u ihsan devletli inayetli, merhametli, ubbehletli, re'fetli, veliyyü'n-niam sahibü'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretlerindir.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17349

Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabbetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam padişahım efendim,

Dün ve bugün dersaadette olan düvel-i süfera ve maslahatgüzarları tercümanlarını hizmet-i riyasete göndererek o bab fesadın tedip ve guşmaları hususunda bihamdihi teala devlet-i aliyyelerinin muvaffak olduğu fevz ve nusret-i tebrik ile herbirleri izhar-ı hulus ve mahzuziyet etmekte ve hizmet-i riyasetten dahi iktizasına göre ecvibe-i mütekabile ita olunmakta olup dünkü gün Nemçe elçisi mahsusen tebrik ve mahzuziyeti havi hizmet-i riyasete bir kıta takrir takdim eyleyüp tercüme ettirilmesi ve bugün İngiltere elçisi dahi serkatibini irsal ile vaki olan ifadesi bir kağıda habt olunmuş olmakla manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındığı ve mersuman-i Nemçe ve İngiltere elçilerinin tekrar tercümanları gelüp ol vechle ibraz eyledikleri memnuniyetlerine dair kelam irad ederler ise gerek anlara ve gerek bundan böyle sair izhar-ı mahzuziyet eden düvel memurları taraflarına hizmet-i riyasetten anların izhar eyledikleri mahzuziyetlerinin derecesine göre iktizası vechle cevab ita olunacağı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabbetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim, padişahım hazretlerininidir.

Benim Vezirim,

İşbu takririn ve Avusturya elçisinin takriri tercümesiyle diğer varaka manzur ve malum-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Reisin bu hususda ----- olmakla bunlara ne vechle cevap verilmek lazım geleceğini da'na bilir. Ana göre her birine iktizasına göre cevap veresün.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17351

Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyünni'metim efendim Padişahım,

Bir müddetten beru Üsküdar ve Eyüb ve Boğaziçi taraflarında ve sair mahallerde olan Bektaşî tekkeleri ibahiyye ve revafız misillü birtakım mülahide ile mala mal olarak şerb-i hamir ve terk-i savm ve salat misillü enva-i fisk ve fezahati bi-mehaba irtikab ve ayinlerinde olan matem gecelerinde ve ayn-ı cem' tabir ettikleri evkat-ı cemiyetlerinde neuzubillahi teala sahabe-i kiram ve belki enbiya-i izam hazaratına haşa ve kella zebandırızlık ile kailinin şer'an tevbesi na makbul ve katli vacib küfriyata ictisar etmekte ve kendileri bu vechile küfr ve delalete münhemik olduklarından başka sair avam-ı nas ve hususa Üsküdar tarafında cüheladan pek çok kimesneyi iğva ve idlal ederek günden güne çoğalmakta oldukları meşhur ve mütevatir olup elhaletü hazihi bitevfikihi teala icra-yı ahkam-ı şer'iyye ve tanzim-i mesalih-i mülkiye hususlarına ced ve say ile darü's-saltanatü's-seniyyeleri nüfus-ı şakiyye ve eşhas-ı reddiyeden tanzif ve tathir olunmakta olarak taraf taraf halen ve istikbalen izaz-ı din-i mübin ve hıfz-ı namus-ı şer-i metine ne derece dikkat ve himmet olunursa ol derece feyz ve tevfik-i ilahi zuhur edeceğine şüphe olmadığından maada beher hal ol makule münkerat-ı şenianın ref' ve izalesine ikdam ve halkın salah-ı halini istihsale ihtimam ehem ve elzem olduğuna binaen gerek mülahidenin meşhurlarından ber mantuk-ı pusula altı neferi ahz ve hapis olunarak gerek bunların ve gerek padaşları olan ehl-i dalalet haklarında hüküm-i şer' ne vechle idüğü bilinüp ve tafahhus ve taharri ve ref' ve izaleleri ne vechile olmak lazım geleceği söylenilerek ana göre iktizasına bakılmak üzere dünkü gün camii şerifte semahatlü şeyhulislam efendi ve sabık ve esbak şuyuhu'l-islam ve sudur-i kiram ve ders-i amm efendiler

daileri ve erbab-ı şura kulları ve celb olunan Celveti ve Nakşibendi ve sair bazı turuk-
i aliyye meşayih-i daileri hazır oldukları halde akd olunan mecliste Şeyhülislam daileri
feth-i bab ile meşayih-i mumaileyhime hitaben:

Malumunuzdur ki Hazret-i Ali Kerremallahu veche taraf-ı hazret-i risaletpenahiden
efdal-i amali sual eylediklerinde fahrialem sallallahu teala aleyhi's-selam efendimiz
hazretleri efdal-i amal zikr ve tevhid olduğunu beyan ve hazret-i Ali'ye kelime-i
tevhidi telkin ve talim buyurup bu vechile zikr-i cehri delail-i Kuraniyyeden başka
kavl ve fiil-i hazret-i nebevi ile sabit ve tarik-i cehriyenin cümlesi Hazret-i Ali'ye
mensub olan tarik-i Nazeninden münşeb olmakla turuk-ı aliyyenin cümlesi hak ve
Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli ve gerek sair turuktan güzeran iden piran ve eizze-i kiram
kaddesallahu ervahuhum cümlesi ehlullah ve ekamil-i ümmetten olup anlara katiyyen
diyeceğimiz yoktur, lakin turuk-ı aliyyeye süluk ve intisab edenler usul ve erkan-ı
kadimesi üzere gidüp, evvela şer-i şerife kemaliyle ittiba ederek feraiz ve vacibat ve
sünen-i seniyyeyi kamilen edadan başka fezail-i a'mal ve mücahedat ile terbiye-i nefis
ve tezhib-i ahlaka sa'y eylemek lazımeden ve hatta şeriatta derece-i kerahatte olan
nesne tarikatte haram menzilesinde olup bu cihetle bu turuk-ı aliyye havass-ı ümmete
mahsus iken bazı cühela Bektaşilik namıyla heva-i nefsine tebe'an feraizi eda etmek
değil belki maazallahu teala tahlil-i muharremat ve istihfaf-ı ibadat ederek küfri
müeddi fisk ve fücur ve fezahate tesaddi etmekte oldukları şayi ve mütevatir olmakla
sizler meşayih-i turuk-ı aliyyeden olduğunuzdan bu hususta sizin malumat ve
mesmuatınız nasıldır ve bu makulelerin hakkında siz ne dersiniz deyu lede's-sual
meşayih-i mumaileyhten bazıları o makuleler ile ülfeti olmadığından hallerini
hakikati üzere pek bilemediklerini ve bazıları vakıa Üsküdar taraflarında o misillü
münkirat tevatüren işitilmekte olduğunu ifade edüp bazı ulema daileri tarafından

bunların heyet-i mecmu'ları hakkında vakıa hilaf-ı şer'-i şerif harekata ictisarlari meşhud olup lakin bişahsihi her birerlerinin üzerine o makule ekval ve efal-i şenianın adem-i sübutı takdirinde umumu hakkında hüküm-i şer' ne vech ile olabilir deyu irad ve istifsar olundukta diğer daileri tarafından bunların sergüruhlarından pusulada muharrer Kıncı ve İstanbul Ağasızade ve hacedandan Salih Efenidinin oruç tutmamak ve namaz kılmamak misillü şenaatlerinden başka neuzubillah çaryar hazeratına itale-i lisan ettikleri hadd-i tevatürde olmakla bu surette vacibü'l-katl oldukları beyan olduğundan maada Yasincizade Efendi daileri bu makulelerin siyaseten icra-yı cezaları caiz olup efal ve akval-i habiseleri bişahsihi üzerlerine sabit olmak lazım değildir demeleriyle bunun üzerine Üsküdar ve Eyüp ve sair tarafta olan Bektaşî tekkelerinin kadimleri terk ile muhdes olanlarının hedmine ve kadim ve muhdes hangileri idüğüne ve kaç seneden beru peyda olmuş olan muhdes itibar olunmak lazım geleceğine dair sohbet cereyan ederek ve bi'l-münasebe geçenlerde kable'l-vak'a Anadolu ve Rumelinin üçer koluna bazı tenbihatı diniyyeyi mutazammin ısdar olunan emr-i alinin ihrac ettirilen sureti dahi kıraat olunarak nihayet şimdi vücub-ı katilleri beyan olunan mezbur Kıncı Üsküdar'da ve İstanbul Ağasızadenin kadılığını Şeyhülislam Efendi ref' etmiş olmakla ol dahi Tophanede ve Salih Efendinin dahi haceliği ref' olunarak pişgah-ı bab-ı hümayunlarında alenen tertib-i ceza olunarak akayid-i batılayı itikad ile hemdal ve hem mudıl olduklarından şer'an cezaları tertib olduğunu mübeyyin yafta va'zolunmak ve Kapan veznedarı Aziz ve Hameyn veznedarı Arif, birer mahalle nefy ve icla olunup Balcı Yokuşluzade Raşid hadisüssin olarak güruh-ı mezbur ile ihtilatı, hak ve batılı temyize kudreti olmamasından iktiza etmiş olduğundan taraf-ı Şeyhülislamiden kendüye tevbe verilerek o misillü akaid-i fasideden teberri ettirilmek ve altmış seneden mukaddem olan Bektaşî tekkeleri kadim itibar olunup ber mantuk-ı pusula muhdes oldukları haber verilen tekkelerin

hedmine taraf-ı Şeyhülislamiden memur tayin ve Bab-ı Ali tarafından dahi Mimar Ağa kulları terfik olunarak cümlesi hedm olunup gerek bunlarda ve gerek kadim denilenlerin içinde bulunan şeyhleri, derviş namına olanların keyfiyet-i halleri müşarun ileyh daileri tarafından tahkik ve tedkik birle bunlardan dahi şeriaten ve siyaseten icra-yı ceza-yı sezaları lazım gelenler icra ve Bektaşî olanların cümlesi alel-umum mülhid ve revafız olmayup içlerinde bazı hüsn-i hal ashabı dahi mevcut olduğu derkar idüğünden içlerinde bu misillü ehl-i sünnet itikadında ve kendü halinde oldukları tebeyyün edenlerden sarf-ı nazar olunup maada rafizüyyü'l-itikad oldukları tahakkuk edenler şeran mürted hükmünde olmalarıyla anlara dahi telkin-i din olunarak nefiyleri iktiza edenler vardıkları mahalde su-i ef'allerini icraya muktedir olamamak için Kayseriyye ve Birgi gibi makarr-ı ulema olan mahallere nefy ve def olunmak ve Üsküdar'da Hüdayî Mahmud Efendi Kuddise sırruhu tekkesi civarında gizlice Evliya türbedarı olup oraya müceddeden türbe yapmak daiyesinde olan Bektaşî, türbedarlık-ı mezkuru Bektaşî olmayan ahar bir kimesneye kasr-ı yed etmek üzere kendüye tenbih olunmak ve mahallat aralarında bulunan o makule erbab-ı su-i hal olanları araştırıp haber vermek üzere mahallat imamlarına tenbih ve te'kid eylemesi için İstanbul kadısı efendi dailerine buyuruldu yazılmak ve şimdilik bu taraftakiler bu vechle icra olunup Anadolu ve Rumeli tarafında olan o makule erbab-ı rafz ve ilhadın dahi inşaallahu teala bundan böyle sırası geldikte iktizasına bakılmak hususları karargir olmuş ve idam olunacak mezburlar için vazolunacak yafta müşarun ileyh daileri tarafından tertib ve terkim olunarak salifü'z-zikr pusulalar ile maan manzur-ı hümayun-ı şahaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılınmış olmakla ol vechile icrası muvafık-ı irade-i seniyye-i mülukaneleri buyurulur ise emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, velinimetim efendim, padişahım hazretlerininindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Benim vezirim,

Dünkü gün akdolunan meclis-i şuranın kararını mutazammin işbu takririn ve pusulalar ile yafta sureti manzur ve ma'lum-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Bunca zamandan beru ocağ-ı mülga eşkiyasının güna gün devlet-i aliyyemiz hakkında mazarrat ve habasetleri vukua gelmiş ve bu guruh-ı mekruhun halleri meydanda dururken hiçbir maslahata merkez-i layıkında bakılmadığından umur-i dahiliyyemiz refte refte çığırından çıkıp bayağı reayamız bile cesarete gelerek elan gailisi defolunamadı ve Frenkler dahi halimizi anladıklarından ne güna tekalif-i barideye başladıkları kaziyeye-i malumedendir. Maazallahu teala devlet-i aliyyemizin hali ne derece fenaya varmışken mahza fazl ve kerem-i bari ve asar-ı şeriat-i Muhammedi ile havane-i mekruhenin ne vechile ceza-yı sezalarını bulup ve bulmakta oldukları cümlenin meşhudu olmaktadır. Ancak takririnde beyan olunduğu üzere devlet-i aliyyemiz hakkında bu defa zuhura gelen fezail-i ilahi ve inayet-i namütenahiye bir eyüce tefekkür ile taraf taraf halen ve istikbalen i'zaz-ı din-i mübin ve fakat namus-ı şer'i metine dikkat ve kaffe-i hal ve hareketimizi tatbik ve tevrika sa'y ve gayret edelim ki hatta sahib-i şeriat efendim hoşnut olarak kaffe-i mesalih-i devlet-i aliyyemizin tevrika mukarenetle ileri gitmesine sebep olsun. Bu tarik-i Bektaşiyenin hal ve keyfiyetleri bu dereceye gelmişken maazallahu teala halleri üzre bırakılıp tathirine bakılmasa gün begün çoğalarak ekser nası hüsn-i itikaddan dalalete düşürmeğe sebep olacakları zahir ve aşikar olmakla bu makule guruh-ı mülahidenin fark ve temyizi derece-i vücube gelmiştir.

Takririnde iş'ar eylediğin üzere şimdilik dersaadetimiz civarında olanların tahkik ve icrasına bakılıp badehu Rumeli ve Anadolu tarafında olanların tathirine bakılsun. Pusulada muhdes denilen mahaller hedm olunacak ise de içinde mevcut olan şeyh ve müridleri kaçırılmağa gelmez; evvelce kaldırılıp bir mahalle koymak ve kadim denilen Bektaşî tekkesi ne mikdardır bilinüp fakat tekkelerine dokunulmayarak onların dahi şeyh ve müridleri kaçırılmayarak bir mahalle toplanıp her birinin hal ve keyfiyetleri gereği gibi anlaşılmaq badehu mukteza-yı şer'isi ne vechile icab ederse öylece icrasına bakılmak lazım gelür. Tekkeleri kadim ise içlerinde olanlar ne makule adamlardır bilinemez. Bunların iğva ve idlalleri harice sirayet ettiği gibi kendi tariklerinde olanlara sirayet etmemesi akla müsteb'ad değildir. Velhasıl efendi daimiz ile bu hususu başkaca iş güç idinüp külliye bu makule mülahidenin def ve refine sa'y ve gayret edesiz. Pusulada isimleri muharrer olanların üçü, zikrolunan mahallere yafta vaz'ıyla tertib-i ceza ettirilsün. Diğer üç neferin birine efendi daimiz acımış ise de iki neferi nefyolunup Raşid kaldığı gibi ileride tutulacak tedbire mugayir görünür; o dahi bir münasib mahalle nefyolunsun ve merkumun dahi hakkında söylenen kelam az şey değildir; kaldı ki bu husus umur-i diniyeden olmakla gerek eshab-ı meratibden olsun ve gerek ahad-ı nasdan olsun, cümlesi beraberce tutulup icra olunmak lazımdır. Ezcümle tarik-i ulemadan vak'anüvis-i sabık Şanizade Ata Efendi, müderrisinden Çakalzade Tahir Bey pek meşhurlarından olmakla, bunların dahi te'dibleri lazımedendir. Ata Efendiyi Tire'ye ve Tahir Beyi Hadim'e nefy ve icralarını işaret eylemek için işbu irade-i hümayunumu efendi daimize ifade ve icra ettiresin ve hususat-ı saire dahi müzakere olunup takririnde beyan olunduğu üzere icra olunsun.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17354

Devletlü, inayetlü, atıfetlü, re'fetlü, mürüvvetlü, veliyyü'n-niam kerimü's-şeym efendim Sultanım hazretleri

Vafir müddetten beru devlet-i aliyye ebed müddet ve zımnında din-i mübin ve şeriate hiyanet ve küfran-ı nimet ve ancak ----- ve tagallüb ve habaset kasdıyle tedabir-i hayriyeye muhalefet ve her bar ref'-i liva-yı menhus şekavet eden taife-i bağiye-i kesiretü'l- ----- bihamdillahi teala te'sir-i nutk ekser-i nazir hazret-i hilafet penahiyle kıla' bih-i müfsetet ve imha-yı nam ve nişan atuvv u nahvetlerini ----- ve muallem Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye nam-ı hayr-ı irtisamıyla neferat-ı lazıme tertib buyurulduğunu mübin bundan akdem şerefris vürud olan ---- name-i samileri muktezasınca Erzurum'da ba-avn-i hazret-i hüda bi'l-va'd ve'l-void mahzen saye-i celadet-vaye-i cenab-ı cihandaride yümn-i himem aliyyeleriyle kabul ve imtişal ettirilüp ve verilen i'lam ve mahzarları takdim ve emirname-i veliyyü'n-niamlerinin derhal birer sureti ihrac ve vesaya-yı lazıme tahririyle Çıldır ve Kars ve Van vali ve muhafızları hazerat-ı bendelerine tesyir kılındığı hakpa-yı alilerine terkim kılınıp badehu Kars'tan utufetlü Salih Paşa hazretlerinin tahriratıyla Kars serhadlısının imtişali havi varid olan i'lam ve mahzarı dahi müteakiben irsal olunmuş ve Çıldır valisi saadetlü Hakkı Paşa bendeleri varmaksızın Ahishada memleketce ba'zı niza' tekevvün etmiş ve def olunmuş olduğu mesmu'-ı çakeri olup bunun üzerine maslahat-ı hayriye haberinin dahi erişmesinde şayet ba'zı kıyl ü kal olmak mülahazasına ve müşarun ileyhın dahi istifsarına mebni re's-i serhad olan Erzurum vücuhundan Ahisha Ağalarına etraflı bir kağıd yazdırılıp müşarun ileyh

gönderilmiş idi. Bu defa Van muhafızı bendelerinin taraf-ı acizaneme mektubuyla Van serhadının sabık yeniçeri ocaklısından inkiyadı mutazammın bir kıta ve serhad-ı mezkurun yemin ve yesar ocaklısı ve sairinden diğer bir kıta mahzar-ı varid ve takiben vali-i müşarun ileyhin tahriratıyla Ahisha'nın dahi itaatı şamil i'lam ve mahzarı vasıl olmaktan naşi cümlesi firistade-i pişgah ve ----- penahileri kılındığı ve salifü'l-beyan emirname-i veliyyü'n-niamilerinin Erzurumda kıraat ve ilanında derhal miftah-ı kalenin ahzi ve taraf-ı çakeriden neferat va'zından başka yeniçeri ocağına mahsus heyetin cümlesi deran ihrac ve tebdil ve dükkanlardan nişan ref ve ocağ-ı mezbure muteallık örf-i belde dahi def olunup iş'ar-ı inayet buyurulan emri aliye terakkub olundukta me'mur olan kapıcıbaşı Mehmed Ağa bendeleriyle yevm-i örf-i şeref resan olmaktan naşi id-i şerif cihetiyle bir gün sonra sani-i id tertibi divan ve bay u geda ictimayıyla cümle muvacehesinde kıraat ve ilan ve mecmuuna hitaben dilim döndüğü kadar ba'zı kelimat-ı müessere beyanından başka mukaddemce ba'zı esafil tarafından asakir-i mürettebeye Muhammedi namı tesmiye buyurulmuş biz mukaddem ümmet-i Muhammedden olmayıp cins-i aher mi idik deyu ba'zı ----- samia ress-i benedeği olmuş olduğuna binaen meclis-i mezkurda alenen bu dahi dermeyan birle şöyle bir şey işittim asakir-i mürettebeye muallim Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye namının tesmiyesi Hazret-i Peygamber sallallahu teala aleyhi ve sellem efendimize nisbet ve istinad ile hayr ü yümni müntic olmak üzere ancak tefe'ülen ve teberrüken vaki olmuştur yohsa evvelkiler Muhammedi değil idi demek değildir cümlemiz Allahu'l-hamd evvel ve ahir ümmet-i Muhammeddeniz deyu buna dair akval-i müsemmer beyan kılınmakla vücuh-ı belde eşhas ve kendüyi bilmez sözüdür na mesmu'dur deyu itizar ve taraf-ı çakeriden dahi tahrirat-ı iş'ar birle hasıl-ı tekrar merasim-i itaat ve teslimiyyeti cümlesi yekzeban

olarak Ağa-yı muma ileyh muvacehesinde gıyan oldukları ber mantuk-ı ferman-ı alışan ocağ-ı mezbure müteallik kazgan ve sair eşya ve orta malı taharri olundukta zaman-ı atikden dizdar kale yerinde bulunup seleften halefe devr oluna gelen çend aded kazgan ve ----- ihrac ve Erzurum kalesi cebehanesine vaz' olunup bir kıt'a mahza defteri takdim kılındığı ve Erzurumda bulunan çend nefer ustalardan evvelce çıkarılmış olan çaprastlarıyla ba'zı sakalarda bulunan çaprastlar dahi alınup hıfz ve Erzurum eyaletinin havi olduğu kazaların cümlesine dahi emr-i celilüşşan sur-i seniyyesiyle müekked buyuruldular mukaddem ve dirayetkar mübaşirlerim kullarıyla neşr olunmuş olduğundan anlarda dahi bulunan çaprastlar ve vürudunda cümlesi defteriyle dersaadete irsal olunacağı ve Erzurumda bunlardan gayri orta malı ve sair nesne bulunmayup yeniçeri zabiti ve neferatı ve ocağın mecmu müteferriatı dahi merfü' olarak memlekette kol gezme ve imtisali olan umur taraf-ı çakerinemden tüfenkci başı ve sairler tayiniyle ruyet olunmakta olup fakat duavi zımında ehl-i islâmın ahz ve habsi maddesi ekser-i memlekette öteden beru ocaktan haric a'yan ve voyvodalar ma'rifet ve vesatatiyla ola geldiğinden bu husus taraf-ı bendeganemden me'mur olmak üzere şimdilik Erzurum a'yanına ve sair mahallerin dahi mütesellim ve voyvodalarına ihale olunduğu ve kapıcı başı-i muma ileyh memur olduğu diğer evamir-i celile ile evvela Ahisha ve ba'dehu Kars ve Van'a varmak üzere vesaya-yı muktaziye ile ba'de'l-id i'zam kılınmakla bundan sonra dahi tertib-i askere dair ve sair ne güne evamir-i seniyye zuhur eder ise inşaallahu'l-muin saye-i re'fetvaye-i alide infazına müsaraat kılınacağı beyanı vesile-i ibraz-ı ihtisasım olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala lede eşrefi'l-vusul ol babda ve her halde emr ü ferman devletlü, inayetlü, atıfetlü, re'fetlü, mürüvvetlü, veliyyü'n-niam kerimü's-şeym efendim Sultanım hazretlerindir.

Fi 21 B 1242

Devletlü, inayetlü, atıfetlü, re'fetlü, mürüvvetlü, veliyyü'n-niam kerimü'ş-şeym efendim Sultanım hazretleri,

Derun-ı kalede dizdar konağıyla kale neferatının haneleri olup taraf-ı çakeriden va'z olunan neferata şimdi sayıde lazım değil ise de şitada odalar yaptırılmak iktiza etmiş ve zikr olunan hanelerde nisvan ve sibyan dahi bulunarak ikametleri uymamış olduğundan bila rıza hane-i mezkurların cümlesi iştira ve dizdar ve sairleri cümleten haric-i kal'aya nakl ve ----- birle neferat-ı merkume hane-i mezkurlara ikame olunmuş idüğü ve muallem Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyeye tahrir için Erzurumdan neferat ve sergerdegan tehniyesinden başka Ahisha ve Kars ve Vanda dahi münasib sergerdeler hazırlanmış ve Kars tarafı bu defa Kayseriyeye müteveccihen Erzurumdan murur eden atufetlü Salih Paşa hazretleriyle dahi müzakere olunmuş olup el-yevm buna dair irade-i seniyye zuhur etmediğinden terakkub kılınmakta olmağla bir an akdem suret-i tertibin iş'arına ihsanları babında emrü ferman hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir.

Fi 21 B 1242

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17356

Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, ubbehettlü, veliyyü'n-niam amimü'l-merahim ve'l-himem efendim Sultanım hazretleri

Mübarek ve mesud hakipa-yi ----- veliyyü'n-ni'manelerine arıza-i abd-i sadakat numuneleridir ki;

Kayseriye sancağının haric ve dahili bundan akdem gazab-ı ateşbar-ı cenab-ı zıllullahiye giriftar ile karin-i ihlak ve idbar olan mülga Yeniçeri ocağı mensubatından ibaret olup her ne kadar suret-i mutavaat erae etmişler ise de derunlarında gayret-i batıla mezkur olmak mülabesesiyle bazen suret-i mugayerette bulunmaktan feragat etmedikleri ve gayret çekmekte oldukları ve mutasarrıfının adem-i iktidar ve takayyüdü cihetleri reside-i sem-i devlet-i aliyye olarak hakk-ı acizanemde min gayri istihkak derkar olan hüsn-i zan cenab-ı hilafetpenahi ve ahsen-i inzar-ı veliyyü'n-ni'maneleri üzere liva-i mezbur levs-i vücud eşkiyadan tasfiye ve tathir ve guruh-ı ehl-i ırz ve fukaranın vesile-i asayiş-i hal ve aramis-i balları tahsil ve tekmil olunmak niyet-i hissiyesiyle uhde-i çakeraneme tevcih ve ihsan buyurulması hatır-güzar-ı merahim-nisar cenab-ı şehinşahi buyurulmuş ise de liva-i mezbur mülga Yeniçeri eşkiyasıyla memlu bir mahal olmak hasebiyle taraf-ı çakeranemden bir muktedir mütesellim ik'ad ve maiyyetine beşyüz nefer güzide asker tayin kılınarak bir gune sızıltı tahaddüsünü muceb olmaksızın ber vech-i suhulet levs-i vücud eşkiyadan tasfiye ve tathir ve guruh-ı ehl-i ırz ve fukaranın esbab-ı emin ve istirahatleri tekmil olunmak üzere taraf-ı çakeranemden kavi

taahhüd olunduğu takdirce iktizasının icrasına inayet buyurulacağı beyanıyla isti'lamı havi zeyb-efza-yı esabi-i ta'zim olan emirname-i sami-i veliyyü'n-ni'maneleri mazamin-i celilesi ziver-i zihn-i çakaranem olmakla abden hakları devlet-i aliyye-i ebediyyü'd-devamın gayret-i lücce-i ni'm-i bi-imtınanı ve haizü's-saf mekarim-i i'taf bi-giranı olduğum mülabesesiyle rakabe-i acizaneme farz-ı ayn olduğu vechle hidemat-ı seniyyenin ikmal ve ifasıyla tahsil-i rızayı meyamin irtizayı hazret-i cihan-baniye hayat-ı müstearımı bezl ü sarf eylemekten ----- ve ercah makasidim olmadığın cihetiyle avn-i bari ve yemin tevcihat-ı cenab-ı ----- sitani ve bereket himem veliyyü'n-niamileriyle liva-i mezburun levs-i vücud eşkiyadan tasfiye ve tathir ve güruh-ı ulema ve ehl-i ırzın vesile-i istirahatlerini tekmil eylemek üzere her vechle müteahhid idiğüm beyanı ve bir muktedir ve dirayetkar ve mu'tedil mütesellim ik'ad ve maiyyetine beşyüz nefer güzide asker terfikiyle hüsn-i idare kılınarak inşaallahu teala saye-i saltanat-ı seniyyede bir güne sızıltı vukua gelmeksizin tenkil ve tathir-i eşkiya ve tahsil-i esbab-ı emn ve istirahat-ı fukara hususuna muvaffakiyetim eltaf-ı ilahiden akdem mütemenna olarak heman hüsn-i tevcihat evliya-yı ni'ma fark-ı çakeranemde payidar buyurulmak niyazı ve bi-inayeti'llahi teala matlub-ı ali vechle hüsn-i idare ve taht-ı nizama idrac ve idhalinde ve itmam-ı emniyyet-i fukara emr-i ehemminde kusur olunmayacağı ifadesi bari -i müstakile-i arz-ı ubudiyyetim olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala mehatt-ı ilm-i kainat ara-yı veliyyü'n-niamileri buyuruldukte ol babda ve her halde emr ü ferman ve lutf-ı bi-giran devletlü, inayetlü, ubbehettü, merhamettü, veliyyü'n-niam amimü'r-rahm ve'l-hamim efendim Sultanım hazretlerindedir.

Telhis,

Maraş valisi Celaleddin Paşa kullarının varid olan kaimesidir. Malum-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulduğu üzere Kayseriye sancağı ocağı-ı mülga mensubatiyle memlu olup mutasarrıfı Hafız Ali Paşa kulları bunların tathir ve tasfiyesinden çekinmekte olduğundan başka aşırı zulm ve taaddisi dahi ihbar olunmakta olduğuna ve liva-i mezbur dahi yalnız bir sancaktan ibaret olarak müstakil vezir idaresine mütehammil olmayıp ma'mafih ocağı-ı mülga havanesiyle mahlut olduğuna mebni o makule erazil ve eşhasın tathiriyle sair ehl-i ırz olan ahalisinin saye-i şevket-vaye-i şahanelerinde erahe ve asayişleri zımında bade'zin mütesellim ile idare olunmak üzere Maraş valisi müşarun ileyh kullarına ilhaken tevcihi ve müşarun ileyh Hafız Ali Paşa kulları dahi me'yusen çıkarılmamak ve memlekette birden bire karışıklık olmamak için müşarun ileyh Celaleddin Paşa kullarının mütesellimi gelinceye kadar Kayseriyede tevkif birle badehu yine vezareti uhdesinde olarak Kayseriye'den kalkıp Gelibolu ma'berinden Rumeli tarafına mürur eylediğinde ref-i vezaretiyle Keşan ve Maalkara misillü münasib bir mahalde ikamete memur kılınması hususunda geçenlerde vali-i müşarun ileyh bu hususa dair vurud edip takdim-i hakpay-i hümayun-ı mülukaneleri kılınan tahriratı hulasasına surhla işaret ve istizan kılınmış ve balasına şeref-efza-yı sudur buyurulan hatt-ı hümayun şevket makrun-ı şahanelerinin bir fikra-i münifesinde Hafız Ali Paşanın bundan böyle Kayseriyede işe yaramayacağı bilinmiş ise de Kayseriyede ekseri ocağı-ı mülga takımından kalmış habisler olduğu malum olduğundan evvelce bu husus Celaleddin Paşadan isti'lam olunup kavice söz vereceği anlaşılmadıkça Kayseriye'nin Celaleddin Paşaya tevcihinde acele olunmasun ve tarafından Kayseriyeye göndereceği mütesellim beş

yüz müntehib askerden ibaret olmadıkça emniyet olunamaz peşin buraları etrafıyla görüşülerek tarafından müşarun ileyhe yazılsın badehu cevabı gelip keyfiyet bilindikte ol vakit icab ve iktizasına göre icrasına bakılır deyu emr ü ferman buyurulmuş ve mantuk-ı münif keramet redifi üzere husus-ı mezkur vali-i müşarun ileyh kullarına taraf-ı çakeriden yazılmış olduğundan işbu kaimesi anın cevabını mutazammın olup ber tıbk-ı emr ü irade-i seniyye livai-i mezbura ol vechle mütesellim irsaliyle tasfiye ve tathirine taahhüd göstermiş olmakla manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. Müşarun ileyh Hafız Ali Paşa kulları muvahharen kendi dairesinden yüz kadar Asker-i Mansure yazıp Kayseriye ayanı ve müftüsü ve vücuhundan iki nefer kesanın ta'riz ve ifsada dair bazı evza'larını his ile nefy ve iclaları hususunu geçende surh işaretiyle takdim-i hakipa-yi hümayun-ı şahaneleri kılınan kaimesinde iş'ar ve inhası vechle merkulmanın nefy ve ta'zibleri babında evamir-i aliyye isdar ve tisyar kılınmış ise de müşarun ileyh mukaddemden gevşek tutup ba'de'zin davranım dese dahi yine hakkıyla ika-i nüfuz edemeyeceği levayih-i halden nümudar olduğundan livai-i mezburun mütesellim ile zabt ve idare olunmak üzere müşarun ileyh Celaledin Paşa kullarına ilhaken tevcih olunması ve müşarun ileyh Hafız Ali Paşa kulları dahi mukaddem tezekkür olunduğu vechle halefinin mütesellimi vüruduna değin Kayseriye'de tevkif edüp bade'l-vürud Gelibolu ma'berinden Rumeliye müruru haberini inha eyledikte ref-i vezaretiyle bir mahalde ikamet mi icab eder ileride işin gelişine göre kusuret iktiza eder ise ana göre iktizasına bakılmak üzere şimdiki halde halefi mütesellimin vürudunda vezareti uhdesinde olarak kalkıp ma'ber-i mezkurdan Rumeliye mürur ve badehu bu tarafa iş'arı babında memuriyetini havi bir kıta emr-i ali isdar ve taraf-ı çakeriden dahi müşarun ileyhuma kullarına iktizası

vechle mekatib-i tahriri ve tisyar kılınması hususunda ne vechle irade-i seniyye-i mülukaneleri müteallık buyurulur ise mukteza-yı münifi icrasına ibtidar olunacağı rehin-i ilm-i alilerin buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Celaleddin Paşanın işbu kaimesi manzur ve meali ma'lum-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Müşarun ileyh kavice yazıyor. Bu surette mütesellim ile idare eylemek üzere Maraş eyaletine ilhaken Kayseriye sancağı müşarun ileyhe tevcih ve selefi Hafız Ali Paşa dahi buralara geldikte icab ve iktizasına bakılmak üzere tanzim ve icrasına ibtidar ve surhda beyan olunduğu vechle müşarun ileyhumaya iktizasına göre tarafından tahrir ve iş'ar kılınır.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17402.L

Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, ubbehettü, veliyyü'n-niam vüfuru'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretleri

El-haletü hazihi makarr-ı hükümet-i acizi olan Medine-i Kayseri ve havalisinin ekser ahalisi leff ve ilga olunan ocağ-ı ma'lume mensubatından olmak hasebiyle içlerinden ba'zı kesanın ağalık ve bayrakdarlık daiye-i fasidesiyle elyevm gayretkeşliğinde ısrar üzere oldukları istihbar olunmuş ise de bu makule yeniçerilik gayretinde ısrarları vaki' olup olmadığı bilinememiş ve canib-i aciziden dahi bu ana değin husus-ı mezkura dair bir güne tahrir ve inha vaki' olmamış olduğundan meczum-ı devletleri buyurulduğu vechle istihbar-ı merkume sahih olduğu halde bu harekete mütecasir olanlar kimlerdir ve terbiye ve ıslahları ne güne esbab ve tedabire mevkuftur. Etrafiyla mütalaa olunarak iktizasına bakılmak için keyfiyeti ber vech-i hafî serian atabe-i felek-mertebe-i asafanelerine arz ve inhaya ihtimam ve dikkat olunmak iradelerini emren lutfen ve inayeten şeref-bahşa-i sahife-i sudur buyurulmuş olan bir kıt'a fermanname-i veliyyü'n-niamileri bundan akdemce mefharet-bahşa-i vürud ve mazmun-ı itaat-makrunu manzur ve ma'lum-ı acizanem olmuştur. Kaffe-i hal ve mekanda ve sa'm-ı mertebe ser furuperde-i inkıyadı olduğumuz şeriat-ı mutahharanın infaz ve icrasıyla ----- uyun-ı alem ve zide nev'-i beni adem ve sebab-i asayiş kaffe-i ümem olan veliyyü'n-niam-i alem ve veliyyü'n-nimet-i biminnetimiz şevket-meab efendimiz hazretlerinin rıza-yı meyamin irtiza-yı mülukanelerine muvafik hareket ve ibraz-ı hüsn-i hizmete süratle efda-yı ser ü can etmek fariza-i zimmet-i memlukiyetim ve bais-i gurur-ı ----- darinim ise de akdemce mukteza-yı ubudiyet ve sadakatim

üzere hakpay-ı devletlerine arz ve ifade olunduğu vechle bu havalinin ekser ahalisi ocağ-ı mülga mensubatından olup istihbar olunduğu üzere zahiren rıza-cuy ve itaat göstererek ma'nen bu'zileri eraye-i suret-i mugayeret ve gayret çekmekte oldukları reviş ve etvarlarına müsteban olmakla bu makule hareket-i na maraziyyeye mütecasir olan melain tevkif olunarak lazım gelen te'dibat-ı layikalarının icrasıyla tathir-i bilad madde-i hayriyesine bi-avn-i inayet-i bari ve saye-i celadet-vaye-i hazret-i tacdaride sürat-i ihtimam ve gayret olunmak bir iş değil ise de tasdi'-i ser-i mübareklerine hacet olmadığı vechle havali-i merkumede vacibü'l-izale olan bu makule kesanın her birleri kimi ulema tarafına ve kimi dahi ba'zı hanedan ve suleha semtine müteallık ve kavm-ı kabile ve semt ü etraf bulunmuş olduklarından egerçe tahkik olunarak te'dibat-ı layikalarıyla icraları kaydına bakılmak lazım gelecek olsa o caniblerden bunlar guruh-ı eşkiya ve erazilden idi valimiz icra-yı ahkam-ı şer'iye ve infaz-ı irade-i seniyye eyledi ve beldemizi tathir eyledi denilmeyüp mahza tam' ve meramı icrasıyla bir takım mazlumu bi-gayri hakkın telef eyledi diyerek güna gün müfteriyata sulukle hafi ve celi ref' ve def-i eşkiyaya tasaddi edecekleri bedihi olduğundan husus-ı mezkura dair bir güna hareketimiz olmadığı bu mülahazaya mebni olmakla lutf ve inayet buyurup egerçe muvafık-ı harac-ı ali ve mutabık-ı vakt-i hal ise bu makule erazil ve eşhası bir bir tahkik ederek ele götürüp sırasıyla te'dibat-ı layikaları icra olunmak babında ruhsatı havi bir güna irade-i seniyyenin isdar ve inayet buyurulması usulünden idüğü beyanı işbu arıza-i kemteranem terkimine ibtidar ve merfu-ı pişgah-ı inayet-kararları kılındı. İnşaallahu teala lede şerefi'l-vusul ol babda ve her halde emr ü ferman ve inayet ve ihsan devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-niam vüfuru'l-lutf ve ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretlerindir.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 1744.A

Atufetlü birader-i eazım Sultanım hazretleri,

Devlet askersiz olmayıp, saltanat-ı seniyye-i memalik-i mahrusasında olan asakir-i güzide bir devlette yoğiken itaat ve maharetleri olmamak cihetiyle maazallahu teala bozgunluk ve uygunsuzluktan gayri bir işe yaramadıkları ve düşmana mukabele bi'l-misl lazımesinin icrası şeran ve kanunen ve aklen farz idüğü hasebiyle devlet-i aliyyenin ocaklu içinden bil-ırza tertib ve talime şuru' ettiği askere dahi mümanaat ve yine tuğyan ve şekavete cesaretleri müşahede-i ceza-yı i'male min tarafı'llahi teala netice verüp ittifak-ı ara ve icma-i ümmet ile yeniçeri ocağının refi ve yerine muallem Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye nam hayr-ı ittisamıyla asker tertibi inşaallahu teala hulul u vakt-i mukadderiyle be-tevfikillahi teala musib ve nafi ve saltanat-ı seniyyenin teceddüd-i kuvvet-i dal olmuş olup ol babda taraf-ı mahlas-ı firistad emirname-i sami lede'l-vurud Erzurum re's-i serhad ve belde-i cesime ve ahali kesire olduğu halde cümleten kavi yeniçeriden ibaret ve memalik-i saireye kıyas olmayarak dersaadet rusumuna takliden yeniçeri ağası ve ba'zı rüesa zabitanı mevcut ve kol gezme ve ahz ve zabt anlara mahsus ve kale miftahları dahi ser zağari payesinde olan dizdar yedinde ve sair vafir ağaları dahi zağarcı ve saksoncu ve turnacı payelerinde mütehayyiz ve anlardan sonra ekser serdengeçti kabadayı bayrakdarları ile memlu olmaktan naşi tiz elden irade-i seniyyenin burada icrası sair etraf dahi mesil ve vesile olmak niyet-i hayriyesiyle emr-i ali vusulüne bakılmaksızın ilan ve va'd ü vaid ve enva-i kelimat-ı müessere ile müstainen bi'llahi teala ifasına ----- bakılmayup ihtimam olunarak hamdu'llahi teala kuvvet-i te'sir-i

nutk ve teveccüh-i hazret-i cihandariyle cümleye kabul ettirilüp ve kale miftahı ahz ve tarafımızdan neferat-ı ikame ve maadasının tanzimi emr-i ali vurduna ve tenbihat-ı seniyyeye tatbiki tevkif birle icmali bir kıta arıza terkim ve verdikleri ilam ve mahzar dahi takdim olunmakla inşaallahu teala vusulunde bab-ı aliye tebliği ve evvela haddimiz değil ise de gayreten iş'ar olunur ki inşaallahu'l-muin dersaadette bir an gevşetilmeyüp ve verilen karar-ı hayr-i asarın üzerine ısrar ile şu Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyenin her tarafında tertib ve ikmaline himmet ve inayet buyurulmasını hacet yoğsa da evliya-yı umura ihtarları ve saniyen Erzurum'a başkaca mübaşirle emr-i ali gönderilmek emirname-i samiden müstefad ise de kavli evamir-i celilesine dahil olmayup ber vech-i meşruh re's-i serhad olması ve cihat-ı saire ile müstakilen emr-i şerif-i lazımeden ve henüz çıkarılmamış ise demir tavında doğulur fehvasınca serian eriştirilmesi mukteziyattan olmak mülabesesiyle ta'cili ve arıza-i mezkurem derununa bir defter va'z olunup ba'zı kapıcıbaşılık ve silahşorluk ve bila harac gediklülük niyaz olunmuş olmakla biraz ziyadece ise de yazılan cümlesi olmayıp fakat ihtiyar ve intihab kılınanlar tahrir olunmuş ve bu vechle kandırılıp müsaade-i seniyyeye iğtiraren ve itaat ve sadakatlerine i'tibaren taraf-ı mahlasiden va'd kılınmış olmakla cümlesine müsaade-i aliyye-i lazıme-i vakt ve maslahattan ve bilad-ı saireye emsal olmayup memalik-i efrad burası misillü mütehayyiz ağa ve dayiler olmadığı vazihattan olmağın ----- seniyyeye şayan-ı kabilden ve eğer karin-i es'af-ı ali olmaz ise mahlasınız kemaliyle şermsar ve mevaid ve vaidatım dahi beyhude istihsali ve hususen defter-i mezkur balasına muharrer olan Osman Ağa bundan akdem yeniçeri ağası olup evvel ve ahir sadakat etmiş ve bundan akdem ----- çıkmak istid'asıyla a'yan nasb olunup hakkında kapıcıbaşılık dahi rica olunmak üzere iken bu maslahat-ı hayriye zuhuruyla bunda

dahi hayli gayret eylemiş olduğundan başka zatında cümlesinin eskisi ve hanedan-ı kadimi ve reis-i şerif ile ihtiyar ve mu'teberi ve kargüzar ve sadakatkar olmakla sairinden temyizen mirahur-ı sani payesi ve yahud mir alem payesi ile kapıcıbaşılık ihsanı müsted'a-yı mahsusum olmağın tahsili ve bu tarafta neferat-ı mansure yazılacak ise şimdiden ragıblar tedarikimize mebni avn-i hazret-i bari ve yemn-i teveccüh-i cenab-ı şehiryari ile inşaallahurrahman suhuletle tanzim için mikdar ve keyfiyet-i nizamiyesinin biran evvel savb-ı mahlası ihbarı ve medar-ı aslı olan istid'a-yı mezkurumun esafi hususlarına mezid-i himmetleri hüsn-i himmet buyurmaları me'mul-ı meccanemizdir.

25 RA 242

Mürüvvetkarım, gedüklü maddesi şimdilik terk ve arizada tezyil olunup defter-i mezkurda ba'zısına kapıcıbaşılık payesi ve silahşorhan payesi işaret olunmakla kapıcıbaşılık payesi mu'tad olup silahşor payesi gayri mesbuk ise de be's olunmamak gerektir. Sebat olmayup bir paye dahi hasıl olmuş olur ve defter-i mezkur mucibince cümlesi inşaallahu teala himmetinizle husul buldukta biran akdem tebdil tarikleri ve haklarında itibar izharı dahi müstelzim fevaid idüğü bedihidir. Ve eğer münasib ise muhzır-ı mefhumu derciyle haklarında hüsn-i nazar-ı aliye muceb olduğunu ve imtihanı şamil çend satır başkaca bir emr-i ali suduru istizan ve istihsal ile irsal buyurulsa güzel olur zannederim. ----- irade-i seniyyedir.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17453

Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim, padişahım,

Malum-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulduğı üzere dersaadette ve Üsküdar da münhedim Bektaşî Tekyelerinin arsa ve mülk ve zaviyedarlıkları ve hedm olunmayan türbelerin hedm yahud hali üzere bırakılması ve vakfolan hane ve arsa ve tarla ve bağların cennetmekan merhum ve mağfur lehu Sultan Bayezid-i Veli Han tabe serahu hazretlerinin vakıfları tarafından ve mülk olanlarının canib-i miriden zabt veya evladı olanlarının evladlarına terki hususlarına dair geçen de defterdar efendi kullarının takdim edüp surh-i işaretiyle merfu' atabe-i ulya-yı şahaneleri kılınan bend bend bir kıt'a takriri balasına şeref efza-yı sudur olan hatt-ı hümayun şevket-makrun-ı mülukanelerinde vakfolan hane ve arsa ve tarla ve bağların vakf-ı müşarun ileyh tarafından ve mülk olanların dahi varis-i ma'rufları var ise anlara terk olmadığı surette canib-i miriden zabt olunmak üzere icra ve hedm olunmayan türbelerin suret-i şer'isi ne vechle ise efendi daimizden istifta olup ba'dehu ana göre icra olunmak üzere taraf-ı hümayuna keyfiyeti arz edesin deyu emr ü ferman buyurulmuş olmakla mucibince keyfiyet semahatlü şeyhu'l-islam efendi dailerinden istifta olundukta anlar dahi husus-ı mezkurun suret-i şer'isini mübin lazım gelen bir kıt'a fetva-yı şerifesini irsal etmiş olmalarıyla manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındığı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim padişahım hazretlerindedir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Benim Vezirim,

İşbu takririn ve fetva-yı şerife manzur-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Ber mucceb-i fetva-yı şerife tanzim ve icralarına ibtidar olunsun.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17454

Bin sekizyüz yirmi altı sene-i seviyesinin Ağustosunun dokuzuncu günü tarihiyle der aliyyede mukim Sardunya elçisi tarafından ikinci tercümanına i'ta kılınan bir kıta ta'lim-namenin tercümesidir.

İki mah mukaddem der aliyyede vuku' bulan vak'a-i hailenin keyfiyetini ve netayic-i hasenesini ve şevketlü padişah-ı enam hazretleri canibinden zuhur eden sebat ve ikdam ve şecaat-ı hümayunlarını ve nüfus-ı kesire-i vafirenin canib-i hümayunlarına itaat ve inkıyadlarıyla bu kadar seneden beru fesad ve tuğyana ictisar ve devlet-i aliyyenin mesalih-i külliyesine mani' ve müzahim olan askeriyyenin mahv ü izalesini ve müceddeden inşası lazım gelen Asakir-i Mansure-i Muntazamanın taallümlerine keyfiyyet-i ikdamlarını bundan akdem devletim tarafına tahrir olunarak bu def'a muahharen gelen kadirga ile ba-tahrirat cevabı gelip mefhumunda haşmetli Kralımız kaziyye-i mezkurdan gayet memnun ve mahzuz olarak devlet-i aliyyenin dost-ı muhlisi olmak takribiyle devlet-i aliyyenin fer ü şevket tezayüdüne badi ve bais olan işbu ahval-i mezkurenin tebrik ve tehniyesini devlet-i aliyyeye iblağ ve ifadesini emr ü tenbih birle haşmetli Kralımız tarafından bi'l-memure ve taraf-ı daiyanemden bil-isale devlet-i aliyyenin bu gune hareketi ve böyle bir vakt-i nazikte ve ba-husus Rusyalu ile kat-i münazaat hengamında devlet-i aliyye canibinden zuhur eden feraset ve nezaket ile sebat ve kıyam ve Rusya'nın ahvaline vukuf-ı tammı ve o gibi harekete yeniden ne derece miknet ve kuvvet vereceği şüpheden ari olduğunu makam-ı riyaset-penahiye varıp bu cümleyi ifade ve efendi-i müşarun ileyhiniz dahi devletim nezdinde hürmet ve i'tibarı ne derecede olduğu vürud eden

tahriratımızdan müstefad olduğunu ifade edesiz deyu mesturdur.

Telhis,

Sardunya tercümanının elçisi tarafından kendiye verilen talim-name olmak üzere hidmet-i riyasete takdim eylediği kağıdın tercümesi olup devlet-i aliyyelerinin ahval-i hazırasından Sardunya Kralının memnuniyeti ve resm-i tebriki mutazammın olmakla manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındığı rehn-i ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Manzurum olmuştur

Sardunyalı tarafından çünkü bu vechle izhar-ı memnuniyet ile tebrik olunmuş bu surette hizmet-i riyasetten dahi iktizasına göre be-vehb-i mahzuziyet olunduğunu ---
--- cevap verilsin.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17457

Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim,

Bi-havli'llahi teala nam ve nişanları mahv ve ilga olunan Yeniçeri neferatından Bahr-i Siyah boğazında vaki on iki aded kalelerde bulunan neferattan isteyenleri gelüp Serasker Paşa kulları maiyyetinde asker tahrir olunmak ve vilayetlerine gitmeye talib olanlar memleketlerine gitmek ve evli bulunanlar şimdilik ol tarafta tevkif kılınmak üzere karar verilmiş ve neferat-ı mezkureden şimdiye kadar üç dört yüz mikdarı müşarun ileyh kulları tarafına gelüp kendü hahlarıyle asker yazılmış ve üç dört yüz miktar bekarları dahi vilayetlerine gitmeyi istemiş olduklarından bir kaç kıta sefine tedarik ve iktiza eden kanun-nameleri tanzim ile irkab olunarak vilayetlerine def ve izam olunmuş ve evli olanları dahi mahallerinde kalmış olduğundan kaleleri tehi bırakılmamak için müşarun ileyh kullarıyla bi'l-müzakere beş aded topçu ortası tertib ve her bir kaleye münasibi vechle vaz' ve ikame olunması tertib kılınmış olmağın Tophane-i Amireleri Nazırı Efendi kullarıyla muhabere olunarak Tophane-i Amirelerinden beş aded topçu ortası tertib olup müşarun ileyh kulları dahi bugün Büyükdere'ye azimet ederek tertib olunan beş aded topçu ortası neferatını zabitanıyla münasib ve lüzumu vechle kalelere yerleştirmiş ve bir kıta defterini dahi taraf-ı çakeriye göndermiş olmakla defter-i mezkur manzur-ı şahaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılınmış olduğu mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim, padişahım hazretlerindedir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Benim vezirim;

İşbu takririn ve defter manzur-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Bu kalelerin her birinde kaç aded neferat var imiş ve topu sahihen ne miktar imiş ve bundan böyle tertib olunacak neferat ne miktar olmak lazım gelecek ve şimdilik vaz ve ikame ettirilen topcu neferat ve zabitanından maada serasker-i müşarun ileyhin askeri ikame ettirilmemiş asıl benim sual ettiğim buralarıdır bir eyüce anlayıp keyfiyeti bir vechle izah-ı taraf-ı hümayunuma arz ve ifade edesin.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17478

Rumeli Valisi kullarının Hüsnü Bey bendelerine mebus şukkasıdır.

Devletlü, atufetlü, refetlü, mürüvvetlü, seniyyü'l-himem pederim mekadd-ı ----
efendim hazretleri,

Eyalet-i Bosna'da vaki Saray kazası ahalişi yeniçerilik daiyye-i fesadından -----
etmeyerek mel'anet ve şekavette olduklarını ve sebep ve badi olanlar içlerinde
bulunan eski yeniçeri zabiti olan hain idüğünü Yenişehir'e vürud eden silahşoran-ı
hassadan İbrahim Bey bendeleri taraf-ı atufilerine ifade ve inha ve saadetlü Osman
Paşa bendelerinin biraderi Hüseyin Bahtiyar Bey dahi ahali-i merkume ile ittihad ve
muvafakat üzere olduğu mesmuu olmuş idüğünü ihbar ve ima etmiş olmaktan naşi
Paşa-yı muma ileyh bendeleri tarafından biraderi Hüseyin Beye o misillü fezahattan
----- eylemeleriçün tahrir ve tahzir ve mahsus-ı adem irsal ve tesyir kılınması
babında bu defa irsal buyurulan şukka-i atufilerinin mal u ----- mürevves ihtivası
malum senaveri olup fi'l-hakika Osman Paşa bendelerinin biraderi Hüseyin Bey o
misillü hayır ile şerri fark ve temyize kudret ve zehresi olmayan bir takım hayvan
makuleleri habisleri ile muvafakat etmiş olduğu surette tenbih ve tahziri lazımeden
ve herhalde emr ü irade-i seniyyeye gerdendade-i teslim ve rıza olarak inkıyad ve
itaat etmeyenler karibü'l-ahdde mazhar-ı kahr-ı azab-ı şehinşahi olarak bela-yı
sezalarını bulacaklarını ba'de'l-beyan mir muma ileyhimin o misillülerden
mufarakati zımnında te'kid ve teşdid olunması hem maslahata medar-ı suhulet ve
hem muma ileyhüma bendelerini varta-i hevlnakden sebep-i tahlis ve himayet

olacağı keyfiyyat-ı malumeden olmakla tıbkı işar-ı devletleri üzere emirname-i atufileri Paşa-yı muma ileyh bendeleri tarafına irsal olunarak savb-ı senaveriden evvelce tahrir ve ikdam olunduğu ve bu günler Paşa-yı muma ileyh bendeleri Rahva canibinde olan askerimiz ile beraber bulunmuş ise de çend ruz tarafına celbi musammim olmakla inşaallahu teala husus-ı mezbur sana dahi tenbih ve te'kid kılınacağı karin-i ilm-i mekarım rehin-i re'fileri buyuruldukta taraf-ı hulusverlerin tevcihat-ı samimiyeleriyle vayasinde himmet ve mesar buyurmaları ----- senaveridir.

Fi 18 C 1242.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 17480

Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam kesirü'l-himmet efendim,

Ağa Paşa kularının hizmetinden mufarakatında mahzur olup olmağın hususunun mukteza-yı irade-i seniyye-i şahaneleri üzere muhızır ağa kullarından münasebetiyle istimzaca yevm-i Cum'a cihetiyle vakit olmadığından başka müşarun ileyh kullarının bugün mu'tad üzere çakerleriyle mülakatında tekrar ne güne istinbat olunur ise ana göre hareket olunmağa tevakkuf-ı bendei olmuşidi. Müşarun ileyh bendeleri lede'l-vurud Kapudan Paşa kullarından sonra başkaca mülakat birle husus-ı merkume dair hakipa-yi ----- cihandarelerinde olan ifadatını beyan etmek hasebiyle çakerleri dahi heman tevcihi istisvab edip ve hatta boğaz içinde olan askere dair ve sair vesayayı kendüye iş'ar eyleyüp canib-i maali-menakıb-ı şehriyarilerinden istihsal-i izn-i ali ile ihalesi suretini serahate kendüye tefhim eyleyip lakin müşarun ileyhın bab-ı alilerinden avdeti ba'de'l-asr olması ve bazı kullarını dahi resm-i mülakatı hasebiyle ahşam üzeri tasdi' etmemek ve te'hirinde bir beis görünmemek mülabesesiyle bu gece ariza-i bendeganemi tehye ve ale's-sabah takdim etmek fikrinde iken şerefris vusul olan mübarek hatt-ı hümayun-ı keramet-makrun-ı padişahilerinde mütevekkilen ala'llahi teala Hüdavendigar ve Kocaeli sancaklarının Karadeniz boğazı muhafızlığıyla müşarun ileyh yeniçeri ağalığının dahi kul kethüdası Ahmed ağa bendelerine tevcihi ferman-ı isabet-makrun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmuş olmakla inşaallahu teala feth-i mehazz-ı hayr olmak üzere heman bu geceden davetle yarın icra olunmak yahud ma'lum maali-melzum-ı şehriyarileri buyurulduğu üzere bi-minne teala yarın olacak meclis-i meşverete

müşarun ileyh kulları dahi med'uvv olduğundan tiz elden bir vakt-i münasib ihtiyar ettirilüp kabl'l-meclis ya hitamında hil'at-ı seniyyeleri eksa ve ana göre muma ileyh ----- dahi celb ile müteakiben ağalık tevcih kılınmak şıklarından ne gune irade-i hayriyet-i ifade şahaneleri buyurulur ise ol vechle hareket olunacağı,

Şimdiye kadar te'hir-i çakerinin sebebi istiş'ar-ı tacdarilerine buyurulmuş olmakla abd-i kemterleri atebe-i ulya-yı mülukanelerinin sadakati sermaye edinmiş kölesi ve ber mukteza-yı ş'i'ar-ı çakeri sözü dolaştırmak zeminlerini şimdiye dek beceremeyüp her şeyde doğrucasını söylemek ve bir maksudum olur ise de sarihce beyan etmek usul-i abidanemden idüğü Allahu'l-hamd menbaü'l-hamm ve fuyuzat olan tabi' hakayık-şinas-ı şahanelerine aşikar olmak ümidinde olduğuma binaen husus-ı merkumda garez-i asli çakeranem bi-avn-i hazret-i bari tevcihat-ı aliyye şehriyarileriyle rabitasına girmiş usul-i hüsniye ve cehametü'l-vücuuh bir halel gelmemek olup hazret-i hüda alim bundan gayri bir nesne olmadığı ve müzakere ettiğim dai ve bendeleri dahi te'hirini evvel-emirde istisvab edip lakin müşarun ileyhden keretle tahkik olduğuna göre lillahi hamd bir mahzur görülmeksizin anlar dahi tevekkülen ihalesini müehhiren tensib eyledikleri ve işbu takrir-i abidanem derdest iken ni'müt-tesadüf te'kid-i taahhüde dair müşarun ileyh kullarının tezkiresi gelmekle takdim kılındığı mehatt-ı ilm-i alemşumul padişahileri buyuruldukta her halde emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim padişahım hazretlerindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Benim Vezirim,

İşbu takririn ve Ağa Paşanın şimdi vürud eden tezkeresi malum-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Vakıa burada da nizamına girmiş, usulün her halde halelden hıfz-ı himayesi lazımeden olmakla pek de aceleye gelir maddeden değildir. Bu vechle teenni olunarak icrasına teşebbüs olunması inşaallahu teala devlet-i aliyyemiz hakkında mehass-ı hayırdır. Hak budur ki bu gün selamlıkta müşarun ileyh senin --- gayet senande oldu. Sadr-ı sabıkada hayli sitemler görmüş, bu mesnedde olanlara televvün yakışmaz. Aralıkda söyler idim eski huyu olduğundan yine bildiğine gider idi. Bi-minnet-i teala yarınki gün takririnde iş'ar eylediğin üzere kable'l-meclis yahud hitamında ol-vechle icra eyleyesin. Hak teala muvaffak bi'l-hayr eyleye amin.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 19344

Bosna Valisi Hacı Mustafa Paşa kullarının Belgrad muhafızı bendeleri tarafına meb'us kaimesidir.

Devletlü, atufetlü, mürüvvetlü, re'fetlü, karındaş-ı eaz-ı ekremim, Sultanım hazretleri,

Taife-i yeniçeriyânın refine dair memalik-i mahrusaya irsal buyurulan evamir-i aliyye misillü Bosna'ya dahi bir kıta emr-i ali ile bir kapıcıbaşı mübaşir tayin buyurulmuş ve kapıcıbaşı muma ileyh Tıravnik'e gelip badehu taraf-ı huluserlerinden yanına adam terfikiyle medine-i Saraybosnaya gönderilmiş olmakla muma ileyhuma medine-i mezbureye vasıl ve keyfiyet-i vücuh ve ahalisinin itla'laları hasıl oldukta Yeniçerilik da'valarından adem-i rücu'larını beyan ve suret-i şekavet ve isyanda olduklarını ilan ederek muma ileyhumayı iadeye ----- dermeyan eylemiş ve huluserkarları olduğum yerde kaleye kapanmış ve eyalet-i merkume bu vechle karışmış idüğünü Yenipazar mütesellimi mir miran Osman Paşa Üsküp mutasarrıfı mir miran Yaşar Paşaya yazmış ve mutasarrıf-ı muma ileyh dahi bir kıta şukkasıyla Kapı Kethüdasına bildirmiş ve ol dahi keyfiyet-i mezbureyi hakipa-yi hazret-i vekaletpenahiye arz eylemiş olmakla keyfiyyet-i mezburenin etrafıyla tahkik olunmasıçün mutasarrıf-ı muma ileyh isti'lamı havi cevabname-i hazret-i sadaretpenahi tahrir buyurulmasını ve cenab-ı devletmeab-ı desturanelerinin saye-endaz oldukları Belgrad Bosna'ya karib olmak mülabesesiyle keyfiyetinin taraf-ı müşiranelerinden dahi tahkikine ferman buyurulmuş idüğünden husus-ı

mezkur etrafiyla sub-ı huluskarlarından tahrir olunması savab buyurulmuş olduğunu mübin bu defa meb'us-ı suy-ı hulusileri buyurulan tahrirat-ı mürüvvet-i gayatları rahe-i zib ta'zim ve bi'l-cümle mefhumu karin-i zihn-i hulus vesimleri olmuştur. Maru'l-beyan isti'lamı havi cevabname-i samiye-i asafanenin bir kıta sureti muma ileyh tarafından taraf-ı hulusverlerine gönderilmiş ve keyfiyet bu cihetle -----(silik) lerinden hakikati üzere hakpay-i hazret-i vekaletpenahiye ifade olunmak lazım gelmiş olmakla hakikat-i hal bir kıta ariza-i hulusşiarlarıyla çendruz mukaddem hakipa-yi hazret-i asfaya arz ve ifade ve tatarım bendeleriyle şah-ı rahden gönderilmiş idüğü ve muma ileyh Osman Paşa ve İzornik mutasarrıfı Zülfikar Paşa ve medine-i Saraybosna'da mevaliden olan re's-i ulema ve mütesellimi ve bu tarafta Bosna ricali ta'bir olunanlar ile keزالik ulemaları eşkiya-yı merkumenin sergerdeleriyle yek dil ve yek cihet olup emr-i şerif-i mezkurenin tenfiz ve icrasının hafi ve gerek aşikare müzakeresini edecek bir sadık-ı devlet-i aliyye olmayup la- teşbih ricallerinden ve ulemasından her kangısına -----(silik) bakalım şu maslahat-ı hayriyenin bir müzakeresini edelim dediğimde aman efendim ben bilmem beni bu tekliften afv eyle deyu it'izar etmekte olduklarından emr-i şerif-i mezkur ila hazihi'l-an tenfiz ve icra olunamayıp peyder pey medine-i mezbureye buyuruldular ve münasib olanlara kağıtlar ve iktiza edenlere rey ve aman tezkireleri ve müteayyin adamlar gönderilerek üslub-ı hakimane yoluyla ikdam olunmakta ise de eşkiya-yı merkume ve muavin ve müttelikleri encam-ı mülahaza-i fasidesine umumen tebaiyyet ve kar-ı mekruhalarını maazallahi teala sekte ve halelden vikayet ve ol vechle da'va-yı ma'lumelerinden adem-i ric'at birle irade-i aliyye-i şahaneye muhalefet etmekte olduklarından böyle bir madde-i azime ve maslahat-ı cesimede muhaccele ----- olmayup teenniyle hareket olunmakta nice hayr-ı hafi zuhur

eylediđi bi'd-defeat tecarüb-i hulus-şiarları olmakla bu hususta dahi teenni ve uslub-ı hakimane hareket ve biraz eyyam dahi sâbr ve nasihat olunup encam-ı kar her nerede karar ve huluskarları dahi külliyen aciz ve bizar kaldığımda maazallah-ı bari cevabı kaleme alınacağı ifadesi tasdi-i serverlerine badi ve adamları kulları muavedetiyle feristade-i nadi-i devletmebadileri kılındı. İnşaallahu teala lede şerefi'l-vusul bundan böyle dahi canib-i rabba mücanib huluskarların hayır dua-yı devletleriyle bad ve tevcihat-ı mekkarım nümayatları takririyle dilşad buyurmaları niyazımdır.

Fi 3 S 1242

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 21804

Bosna valisi Abdurrahim Paşa kullarının varid olan kaimesidir.

Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, ubbehettü, veliyyü'n-nimet-i bi-minnetim efendim
Sultanım hazretleri,

Çaker-i der ----- tevfik-i cenab-ı hüda ve kuvve-i nüfus-ı şecaat me'nus hazret-i padişahi geşveraren ve asar-ı tevcihat himem-i veliyyü'n-niamileriyle Bosna maslahatında muvaffakiyet olduğuna binaen vak'a-i ve nüfuz-i bendeganemi tezyid-i irade-i seniyyesiyle taraf-ı eşref-i hazret-i cihanbaniden min gayri had sezavar inayet ve ihsan buyurulmak üzere maiyyet-i çakeride bulunanların münasibi vechiyle suret-i taltifleri ne güna münasib ise tertib olunmak zımında bir kıt'a defter gönderilmesi ve silahdarım kullarının Tıravnik'te gayret ve şecaati vukuuna mebni kapucubaşılık rütbesi tasdim buyurulmuş olduğunu emr-i akdemce etmile-i ---- tekrim olan bir kıt'a emirname-i merhamet-alame-i veliyyü'n-niamileri meali karin-i zihn-i bendeganem olarak maiyyet-i çakeride bulunan paşa-yı muma ileyhüma bendeleri birer cihetle taltif ve ikram muameleleri bi't-tabii hasıl olup vesair kapudanan ve ağavat ve sergerdegan saflarında dahi savb-ı bendeganemden taltif ve te'mine dair tedabir-i lazimesi icra olunmakta olduğu ve muma ileyh Osman Paşa mahdumu Mehmed Bey için hassa hasekiliği niyazında olup muvafık irade-i seniyye ise himem-i rahimleri erzan buyurulması ve iç çukadarım Osman Bey kullarının sadakat ve gayreti silahdarım kullarından akdem sebkat etmiş olduğundan şayan-ı merhamet muma ileyh Osman

Bey kullarının kapucubaşılık rütbesiyle bekam buyurulması iltimas ve eyalet-i Bosna'nın cümleten istihsal-i hüsn-i nizamı henüz bitmeyüp bi't-teenni icrası derdest olduğundan mezkur hil'atların bir kıt'a defteri takdim olunmuş ise de vaktine te'hir ve kullarının Saray'da ikamet olunması istid'alarıyla cezaim güzeşteleri afv-i istirhamında eyaliyle Bosnadan tertib olunmakta olan mahzarların takdiminde cümleye hitaben bir kıt'a ferman-ı ali tasdir ve tesyir buyurulması hususunda akdemce takdim-i hakipa-yi veliyyü'n-niamileri kılınan ariza-i çakeri meali mehatt-ı ilm-i rahimleri buyurularak hakipa-yi hümayun-ı mülukane lede'l-arz meşmul nagah-ı keramet asar hazret-i tacdari buyurulmuş ve inha-yı bendeganem vechiyle mülahazat-ı çakeri iktiza-yı hal ve maslahata tensib buyurularak fakat muma ileyh Yaşar Paşa tasmim olunan taltifat sırasında akdemce ba-ariza iltimas olunduğu vechle zir idaresinde olan Neveberde ve Lic.... kazalarının zahire bedeliyesi afvına dair ba-irade-i seniyye-i evamir-i şerifesi paşa-yı muma ileyh tarafına irsal buyurulmuş ve hakk-ı çakeranemde min gayri istihkak sezavar-ı inayet ve ihsan-ı hümayun-ı şahaneleri zikr olunan ferman-ı alinin irsali vaktine te'hir ve sair hil'atların dahi tensib görülecek zamana tevkif buyurulmuş olduğu ve muma ileyh Osman Paşazade Mehmed Bey kulları hassa-i hasekiyan zümresine ilhak ve muma ileyh Osman Bey kullarına dahi avatıf-ı aliyye-i mülukaneden kapucubaşılık ihsanıyla iktiza eden ruus-i hümayunu emirname-i samilerine leffen tisyar buyurulmuş ve silahdarım muma ileyh kullarının işbu hizmet-i hayriyede emeği sebkat etmiş olduğundan çıraklığı hususunda irade-i seniyye taalluk buyurulmuş idüğüne binaen akdemce keyfiyyet-i suret isti'lamında emir buyurulmuş ise de muma ileyh hakkında birşey açılmayarak muma ileyh Osman Beyin kapucubaşılık ile bekam buyurulması iş'ar

olduğuna ve muma ileyhin dahi kapucubaşılık veyahud aher bir münasib şey ile taltifi hususunda iş'ar buyurulmasını amil bu def'a ana ----- ray-ı ta'zim olan bir kıt'a emirname-i veliyyü'n-niamileri ve muma ileyhlerin ruus-ı hümayunları ziver-i tevkir olup mezamin-i celilesi karin-i zihn-i çakeranem olmuştur. Bu kulları devlet-i aliyye-i ebediyyü'd-devamın izar kabul etmez gayri mu'tekidlerinden olduğum mülabesesi cemi' zamanda müstağrik olduğum envai niam-ı celile ve nev a nev ve saha-i zuhur olan enfas-ı merahim-i istinas-ı şahane ve tu'fan-ı re'fet-i ayat-ı rahimaneleri bende-i sıdk-ı iştimal kılınmıştır. Çakerleri ve ittibaim kulları cümlesi bendegan-ı -----şanından olduğu şerefine mebni muma ileyh Osman Bey kullarının gayret ve sadakati silahdarım kullarından akdemce vuku' ve sebkat etmiş olduğundan muma ileyhin olvechle bekam buyurulması hususunda iş'arına mütecasir olunmuş olduğundan bi't-tekrar muma ileyh silahdarım kullarının dahi kapucubaşılık rütbesiyle bekam buyurulması iltimasına te'diben tasdia mütecasir olunmadığı mehatt-ı ilm-i rahimleri buyuruldukta muvafık irade-i seniyye ise muma ileyh kuları hakkında dahi ol vechle sezavar-ı inayet ve ihsan buyurulmak ifadesi ibraz-ı hulus-ı ubudiyyet-i sadıkanem siyakında işbu arz-ı hal ----- çakeranem terkim ve takdim-i hakpayi vacibü't-ta'zim-i veliyyü'n-niamileri kılınmıştır. İnşaallahu teala lede şerefi'l-vusul mehatt-ı ilm-i alem ara-yı rahimleri buyuruldukta her halde muhtac ve ümidvar olduğum hüsn-i tevcihat-ı meymenet ayat-ı kerimeleri fark-ı bendeganemde derkar ve sayedar buyurulmak babında ve her halde emr ü ferman-ı lutf u ihsan bi-payan veliyyü'n-nimet-i bi-imtinan efendim Sultanım hazretlerininindir.

Telhis,

Malum-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulduđu üzere müşarun ileyh kullarının Bosna maslahatında vaki' olan gayret ve hüsn-i tedbir ve muvaffakiyetine binaen atufet-i celile-i cihanbanilerinden müşarun ileyh kullarına ihsan ve irsali tasmmim-ferma-yı hilafet-penahileri olan mücevher hançerin ahali tarafından gelecek mahzarlara cevaben isdar kılınacak emr-i aliye derc olunarak beraber gönderilmek üzere tevkif kılındığına ve maiyyetinde bulunup şayan-ı taltif olunan hil'atlar irsali hususu ve dahi kendisünün tensib edeceđi vakte ta'lik olunduđuna ve mukaddemce kapucubaşılık iltimas eylediđi iç çukadarını silahdarına sebab-i tercihin isti'lamına dair yazılan mektub çakerinin cevabını mutazammın olup hakkında şayan buyurulan iltifat-ı celile-i cihanbanilerinin ibraz-ı teşekkürüyle iç çukadarı muma ileyh kullarını tercih etmesi ikisinin birden iltimasına te'dibinden naşı olarak silahdarı muma ileyh kullarına dahi kapucubaşılık ihsan buyurulmasını iltimas etmiş olmakla eyalet-i Bosna ve Saray ahailerinin cerayim-i güzeştelерinin afvı ve Bosna valilerinin ba'de'zin Saray'da ikametleri için Bosna'da vali sarayının inşa ve i'marı isti'zanı hususlarına ve Saraylunun fen-i talimi icraya mübaşeretlerine dair diđer kaimesi ve ol babda verilen iki kıt'a il'lam ve üç kıt'a mahzarlar ile beraber manzur ve mealim-vufur-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. Müşarun ileyh bendelerine ihsan-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulacak hançerin irsali sırası gelmiş olduđuna nazaran be-vech-i muharrer isdarı musammim olan ferman-ı ali müşarun ileyhın mukaddemce vurud ile meşmul

nazar-ı meali eser-i cihandarileri buyurulan şukkasında iş'ar etmiş olduğu sebk ve siyak ve iktizası vechle takdir ve inayet-i celile-i padişahaneleri dahi derc-i ----- olunarak maan tesyir kılınması ve zikr olunan vali sarayının inşasına ruhsatı havi diğer bir kıt'a emr-i ali dahi isdar ve isra ve müşarun ileyh kullarının inha ve iltiması vechiyle silahdarı muma ileyh avatıf-ı seniyye-i mülukanelerinden kapucubaşılık rütbesi i'ta olunması ve müşarun ileyh bendelerinin Mehmed Arif ve Şerif Ahmed ve Salih İzzet ve İsmail Hakkı Bey namında dört nefer oğulları olup muma ileyh İsmail Hakkı Bey kendü yanında ve diğerleri vilayeti olan Erzurumda olarak muma ileyhumdan Şerif Ahmed Beyin müderrislik ve diğerlerinin kapucubaşılık ile çıraklıkları hususu kendüsünün pek marazi ve emeli ise de te'diben izhar edemediğini mukaddemce Bosna'dan avdet eden Mes'ud ağa kulları müşarun ileyhin siyak-ı kelimandan his eylemiş olduğunu geçen de bi'l-münasebe taraf-ı çakeriye ifade idüp vakıa müşarun ileyhin oğullarının ol vechle iltaf-ı celile-i şahanelerine nailiyetleri kendüsüne başkaca bir şevk-i cedid ve mefhareti mucib olacağından muma ileyhum kullarının kapucubaşılık ve muma ileyh Şerif Ahmed Bey kullarının müderrislik ile bekam buyurulmaları hususları muvafık emr ü idare-i mekar maade-i şehiryarileri buyurulur ise müderrislik hususu semahatlı şeyhülislam efendi dailerine bi'l-ifade iktiza eden ruusi celb ve ber minval-i meşruh müşarun ileyh kullarının silahdarı ve üç nefer oğulları için dahi dört kıt'a kapucubaşılık ruusleri takdir ve taraf-ı çakeriden dahi iktizası vechle cevabname tahrir olunarak müşarun ileyh kulları hizmet-i ----- masrafından vareste olmak için zikr olunan evamir-i aliyye ile maan cümlesi kapı kethüdası tarafına virilüp irsal olunması ve maiyyet-i müşarun ileyhte sair hizmette bulunanlar için mukaddema kendüsünden isti'lam ile geçende re'y-i aliye havaleten cevab yazmış

olduğu hil'atlar hususuna dair müşarun ileyh kulları bu def'a dahi serahaten birşey iş'ar etmemiş ise de muma ileyh Mes'ud Ağa kulları bu husus için nezd-i çakeriye celb olunarak kendüsi ol tarafta iken müşarun ileyh'in işbu hil'atlar hususunda reyî ve tasmini ne vechle olduğu sual olundukta vaki' olan ifadesinde vali-i müşarun ileyh maiyyetinde olan mir miranların birer suretle lazime-i taltiflerini kendüsi icra ve sair kapudanan ve ağavat ve sergerdeganın dahi taltif ve te'minine dair tedabir-i münasebesini ifa edüp bunun üzerine tekrar bu taraftan körük ve kaput misillü şeyler ile haklarında taltifat gösterilse şırmalarını mucib olarak hal ü kallerine dahi pek itimad olunur kabilden olmadıklarından müşarun ileyh şimdilerde bu sureti pek tensib edemediğine dair kendüsiyle ol tarafta iken sohbeti geçmiş olduğunu beyan ve ihbar etmekle siyak-ı ifadesine nazaran işbu hil'at hususunun müşarun ileyh kullarından bir güne inha zuhuruna terakkuben meskut bırakılması münasib gibi görünmüş ve İskenderiye mutasarrıfı Mustafa Paşa kullarına mücevher kutu ihsan-ı hümayunları buyurulacağına dair mukaddema emr ü irade-i seniyye-i şahaneleri şeref-sudur buyurulmuş olduğundan bu defa Bosna valisi kulları ile beraber müşarun ileyh hakkında dahi asar-ı iltifat-ı seniyye-i şahaneleri sunuh buyurulduğu halde olduğu kapı kethüdası tarafından irsal kılınması suretleri hatt-ı güzar olmuş ise de bu hususlarda dahi ne vechle irade-i aliyye-i padişahaneleri müteallık buyurulur ise mukteza-yı münifi icrasına ibtidar kılınacağı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emr efendimizindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Bosna valisinin işbu kimesi diğer kimesesiyle il'amat ve arz-ı mahzarları manzur ve malum-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Müşarun ileyhın oğullarının dördüne dahi kapıcıbaşılık verilsün ve silahdarına dahi erkan üzere kapıcı başılık verilip tarafına hitaben isdarı lazım gelen emri ve kapıcı başılık ----- cümleten kapı kethüdasına tesliman gönderilsin. Hançeri tarafına gönderdim ancak fermanın balasına hatt-ı hümayunum yazılmak iktiza etmez mi edüğü surette bir suretini arz edesin ve İskenderiye mutasarrıfına dahi gönderilmek üzere mücevherli katv gönderdim. Bu dahi mutasarrıf müşarun ileyhın kapı kethüdasına teslimen gönderilsün ve tarafınızdan müşarun ileyhın iktizasına göre cevap tahrir ve irsal olunsun.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 21815.B

Medine-i Saray ve mucibince Travnik eşkiyalarının yazdıkları kağıtların sureti

Yayçe ve Gölhisar ve Benaluka ve Gradiška ve Doblucı ve P--- ve Kuzarca ve Sus ve Ma'den-i atik ve Kurupe ve Bihke ve Usturyuçe-i atik ve Petruca ve Guluca nahiyeleriyle cümle ulema ve kapudanan ve ağavat ve ilimdarın ve sair cümle din karındaşları hazeratı bundan akdem asitane-i aliyyede yeniçeriyânın Padişah-ı alempenah hazretlerine harekat-ı na-merziyesinden külliyeñ yeniçeri ocağını ref eylediği dergah-ı ali kapıcıbaşlarından Mehmed Ağa yediyle eyalet-i Bosna'ya ferman-ı ali sadır olup cevap taleb olunmakla ancak bundan böyle nice nice bidatler zuhur olunacağı derkar olduğundan cümle eyalet tarafından cevap raci' olduğu ma'lumunuz olduğta her bir kazalarınızdan müntehib birer ikişer üçer kimesneleri li-ecli'l-istişare Saferü'l-hayrın yirmi dokuzuncu gün Saraybosna'da mevcut bulunmak için irsal edesiz ve gayret edesiz.

Medine-i Saraybosna'da olan eşkiya sergerdelerinin eyalet-i Bosnanın dört kol ta'bir eyledikleri kazalara yazdıkları kağıtlarının Yerkulu'nun suretidir.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 21847

Devletlü, inayetlü, atufet-ubbehettlü, merhametlü, re'fetlü, veliyyü'n-niam vefiyyü'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim, Sultanım hazretleri,

Saray ahalisi ocağ-ı mülga gayretinde olarak mukaddem sunuh eden emr ü irade-i seniyyenin icrasında teannüd etmekte olduklarına ve bu cihetle Bosna valisi bulunan atufetlü el-hac Mustafa Paşa hazretleri eyalet-i merkumenin idaresine muvaffak olamadığına binaen bu defa eyalet-i merkume Belgrad muhafızı vezir-i mükerrer devletlü Abdurrahim Paşa hazretlerine tevcih ve müşarun ileyh hazretleri galebelik ile derun-ı eyalete girüp tergıb ve teşvik ile ahali-i merkumenin taht-ı itaat-ı idhal ile maksud hasıl olduğu halde bunlara şiddet üzere muamele olunmak iktiza edeceğine itminaen hasbe'l-ihtiyat Gosine mütesellimi Gül Bey ve Akve zabiti Süleyman Ağayı asakir-i vafiye ile serian Yeni Varoşa tayin ve bu bendeleri dahi li-ecli't-terhib bi'n-nefs-i hareket şayiasını vermeğe irade-i aliyye-i şahane taalluk ederek keyfiyyet canib-i seniyyü'l-cevanib hazret-i veliyyü'n-nimanelerinden vali-i müşarun ileyh hazretlerine ifade ve iş'ar buyurulduğu ifadesini havi ve bu babda gayret ve mübaderet kılınması tenbihini muhtevi bu defa irsal buyurulan emirname-i lazımu'l-mutavaaları vasıl-ı dest-i ta'zim ve mazmun-ı vala müniflerine itla'-ı bende-i müstedimleri olmuştur. Kaffe-i emr ü irade-i saltanat-ı seniyyede ve hususen işbu meham-ı lazımu'l-ihtimamda ve vucuhiyle ikdam ve mübaderet-i bendeganem derkar olmaktan naşi derhal canib-i mezkure için askerinin hazır ve amade olması hususu taraf-ı çakerimden tahrir ve irsal ve li-ecli't-terhib bi'n-nefs dahi hareket-i bendegi i'lan ve işaa kılınmış olmakla ancak bu havalileriyle

hemhudud bulunup Saraylu eşkiyasına tab'iyet ve Bosna caddesi üzerinde bulunan Taşlıca kasabasının ussatına ianet ve vücuhuyle takviyet veren Kulaşın ahalisinin suhulet ile celbi hususu merkum Gül Bey kullarına tahrir ve tavsiye kılınmasını bundan akdem Yenipazar'da olan atufetlü Arif Bey bendeleri taraf-ı bendegiden iltimas etmekle ol-vechle iltimasları üzere tahrir ve tavsiye olunmuş ise de bu ana kadar egerçe bir güne haber ve cevap zuhur etmeyüp ve itaat ve inkıyad etmeyecekleri her ne kadar mülahazadan gayri baid ise de eğer bu vechle suhulet ile inkıyad idüp celb olunurlar ise feni'mi'l-matlub Taşlıca kasabası gailisinin dahi suhuletine medar olacağı zahir-i feemman olmadığı surette darb-ı dest ile inşaallahu'rrahman daire-i itaate idhal olunmaları lazım gelse de yine Taşlıca kasabasının maslahatı teshiline muceb olacağı bahir ve bu cihetiyle matlub buyurulan asker ibtida Kulaşın badehu Taşlıca üzerine ta'yin ve tesyil kılınsa re'y-i bendegiye göre dahi münasib olup zira Kulaşın kasabası zikr olunan Gosine ve Akve ve gerek Pirezrin sancağından ma'dud olup öteden beru sancak mutasarrıflarından uhde-i çakeriye ihale olunagelen Bihor ve Tirgovişte kazaları mabeyninde vaki ve ziyadesiyle yakin ve civar bulunduğundan matlub buyurulan askerin mahall-i merkumeleri me'muriyetleri tahvil buyurulsa askerin dahi ziyade çıkacağı derkar idüğüne mebni şimdilik bunları zuhura bırakılıp matlub buyurulan askerin Yeni Varoşa gitmesi tensib buyurulmayacağı me'muliyle keyfiyetinin isti'lamiçün vali-i müşarun ileyh hazretlerine tahrir olunmuş ise de ol-babda re'y ve irade-i veliyyü'nni'manelerine muntazır olduğumuz ve bu babda re'y ü irade-i aliyyeleri vürud edinceye kadar asker-i mezkur dahi hazır ve amade olacağı ve inşaallahu'r-rahman her ne vechle emr ü irade-i aliyye zuhur ve vürud eder ise derhal bila te'hir asker-i mezkur ihrac ve isbal kılınacağı arz ve beyanı vesile-i ibraz-ı

ubudiyetim olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala vasıl-ı hassa-i inayet ve keyfiyyet-i mehatt-ı ilm-i atufetleri buyuruldukta ol babda ve her halde emr ü ferman ve lutf u ihsan devletlü, inayetlü, atıfetlü, ubbehettü, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-niam ve fi'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretlerinindir.

Fi 17 B 1242

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 21862.A

Belgrad muhafızı Abdurrahim Paşanın kaimesidir.

Devletlü, inayetlü, ubbehelü, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-nimet-i biminnetim efendim
Sultanım hazretleri,

Bosna eyaletinde kain kapudanana hitaben sudur eden emr-i ali taraf-ı çakeriye vusulunde maslahatı etrafiyla tefekkür edip sonra iktizasına göre tedbir olunmasıçün emr-i şerifi tevkif ve ser rüşte sizce nasih amiz yollu İzornik mutasarrıfı ve kapudanana ve sair lazım gelenlere kağıt yazıp adamım kullarıyla gönderildiği Bosna'ya memur saadetlü Arif Bey bendelerine ve hakipa-yı devletlerine mukaddemce iş'ar kılınmış idi. Adamım merkum kulları İzornik'e duhulünden evvel beher kazadan birer ikişer adam mahsusen adam ta'yin olunarak Saraya istetilmiş ve İzornik'te bulunan beş altı yüz mikdarı yeniçeri gayreti çeken süfaha dahi Zülfikar Paşanın re'yi münazim olarak süfihadan birini göndermişler, adam-ı merkum varıp kapudan ve saire ve paşaya kağıtları teslim ettikten sonra müfti ve kapudanı ve tımarlusı ve yerlü ağavatından tahririmiz üzere yeniçerilikten el çekip ve nişanlarını kaldırıp irade-i aliyyeye mutabaatı muzammın ilam ve mahzar tertib ve eyalet valisine göndereceklerini erae ettikte Paşa-yı muma ileyh bakalım adamımız gelsin Saraylı ne cevap verir ise biz dahi öyle hareket edelim diyerek imrar-ı vakt etmeğe çabalamış ise de diğer taraflı meyhaneleri kapayup ve nişanları kaldırıp ve İzornikte yeniçeri ağası vekiline dahi bir işe karışmamasını tenbih edip Yeniçerilik iddiasında olanlar ile birlikte olmadıklarını ve ağa vekilini ve nişanları

kaldırdıklarını ve meyhaneleri kapadıklarını müş'ir-i ilam ve mahzar ile yerlülüklerinden biriyle vali-i müşarun ileyh hazretlerine irsal eylediklerinin ifade-i hali zımında tarafımızdan gönderilen kağıtlara ecvibe olarak kapudan ve müfti ve yerlülüklerinden Ataullah ağa kulları başka başka kağıd yazdıklarından Paşa-yı muma ileyh dahi balada zikr olunan hususatta ve kağıd yazmakta ayrılamayarak muma ileyh dahi merkumlar ile birlikte hareket ve ol birilerinin kağıtları mealinde bir kağıt yazıp adamım kullarıyla göndermiş ise de ma'nen Saraylu ile olduğu ve zikr olunan kağıtlar müttelikü'l-meal olduklarından birinin sureti ve keyfiyat-ı mezkurenin tafsili mir-i muma ileyh tarafına tahrir ve irsal kılınarak mezkur kağıtların dört kıtası aynen bu defa hakipa-yi devletlerine takdim kılındığı ve İzornik kapudanı ve müfti ve yerlülük ve sipahinin bu defa olan hal ve hareketleri irsal eyledikleri kağıtlarından balada beyan kılındığı üzere müsteban ve adamım kullarına dahi lisanen söyledikleri nefis-i İzornik'te ve kazasında yeniçeri namına olan güruh-ı mekruh bir altıyüz miktarı edepsizden ibaret olup anların dahi nam-ı mekruhtan kifayed ettiklerini ifade kılmışlar ve İzornik sancağı mülhafatından Tuzla kapudanı kendüleriyle birlikte olup Saraylıdan ayrılacağını taahhüd ederek gönderdiğimiz kağıdın suretiyle tarafına mahsus bir adam göndermişler kapudan-ı merkum dahi kağıdının gelmesini ve tarafımıza getürmesini adamım kullarına ifade etmişler ise de tiz avdet eylemesini merkuma tenbih etmiş olduğundan mezkur kağıdın gelmesine duramayıp bu kağıtlar ile avdet etmiş yine merkumların siparişi olarak adamım kullarının ifadesi Saraydan beru ----- kenarında olan kapudanlardan Gradicac kapudanı Hüseyin kapudan ve Derbend kapudanı Mahmud kapudan ve Tiravnik ahalisinden maada Saraylu ile birlik bu kadar serhad tarafından dahi bir iki üç kapudandan Saraya adam vardığı ve maadası zatında yeniçerilikte

olmadıklarından ittifaklarına dahil olmamış idüklerini tefhim etmişler Boşnak taifesi ehl-i İslam arasında cümleden imtiyazen daima serbestlik iddiasında oldukları zahir ve bu defa gönderdikleri mefhumu ve adamım kullarının takririne ihale eyledikleri cevablarına nazaran inşaallahu teala eshel vechile yatışacakları tefehhüm olunur. Bosna'ya me'mur buyurulan mir muma ileyh bendeleri Bosna caddesiyle gitmiş olduğundan kapudanana olan emr-i ali bu taraftan mahallerine gönderilse taife-i mezkure dahi vesile ittihazıyla me'mura bakmayarak vasıtasız devlet-i aliyyeyi tasdik ederler, kalan takımı dahi anlara başlı başına emir geldiğinden şöyle böyle söylerler imiş deyu birbirinin üzerine atarak cümlesi lakırdı çoğaltıp fırka fırka devlet-i aliyyeden meram tahsili za'mına düşüp bu suret işin ağırlaşmasına sebep olacağı mülabesesiyle eyaletin cemi' keyfiyeti memur muma ileyhin eyalete duhulünde me'muriyeti aşikar oldukta kemaliyle anlaşılıp ol esnada iktiza eder ise emr-i ali mir muma ileyh tarafından kapudanalara gönderilmesi dahi bir münasib suret olduğu hatır-ı çakeraneme hutur eylediğinden emr-i şerif bu taraftan mahallerine isal olunmayup mahfuzen yine hamili olan tatara teslimen mir muma ileyh kulları tarafına icaleten gönderilmiş ve işbu ariza-i bendeganem misillü Ba'barethu tarafına dahi bir tahrirat tesyir kılınmış olduğu mehatt-ı ilm-i ali buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 21894

Devletlü, inayetlü, ubbehelü, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-ni'met-i bi-minnetim efendim Sultanım hazretleri,

Taife-i bağıye-i yeniçeriyânın mahv ve ilgasına dair Bosna tarafına dahi bir kıta emr-i ali ile irsal buyurulan kapıcıbaşı mahalline vusulunden sonra eyalet-i merkume derununda hudus eden keyfiyat aher tarafından suret-i icmalde vasıl samia-i devletleri buyurulmakla Belgradın Bosnaya civariyeti hasebiyle keyfiyyetin taraf-ı çakeriden tahkikinde suhulet derkar olduğuna binaen Bosna valisi hazretleri elyevm kalede midir ve ahali ne halde olduğu ve zuhur eden fesad ne surette idüğü etrafiyla tashih ve tahkik ve hakipa-yi devletlerine tasri' ve beyan kılınması babında şerefvurud olan emir-name-i devletlerinin meal-i münifi malum-ı bendeganem olmuştur. Kapucubaşı muma ileyh Tıravnikte Bosna valisi hazretleriyle mülakat ve emr-i şerifi ibraz ve kıraat ve müşarun ileyh Tıravnik'te olan serdar ve nişanları refinin ferdası bir adamını kapıcıbaşıya terfiken medine-i Saraya irsal ve vusullerinde bir gece tevekkuf ve sabahı emr-i şerifi kıraat eylediklerinde derhal Saray ahalsi çarşu ve bazarı kapayup heman anlar dahi o gün Tıravnik'e avdet ve bunların akabince ahali-i Saray içlerinden birini Tıravnik'e serdar ta'vin ve irsal ve ol dahi Tıravnik'e vusulunde anda dahi çarşu ve bazar kapanup ref' olunan nişanları yine yerlerine vaz' ve gufteguya başlamışlar ve İzornik ve sair kazalarını dahi tahrik ettiklerinden müşarun ileyh tarafından gönderilen emr-i ali suretine anlar dahi huşutetle cevap vermişler hatta İzornikte suret-i emr-i ali kıraat olunduktan sonra naib ve birazları sem'an ve taaten resmini eda ettikten sonra kapudanının bir

bölükbaşı yirmi otuz haşerat ile gelüp paralamak suretinde naibin üzerine hücum ettiklerinden yine içlerinden birkaçı naibi güç ile kurtarıp hanesine erişirmişler ve birkaç gün sonra eşkiya firarilerinin hakkında sudur eden emr-i şerif Tıravnik'e vusulunde kıraat olunmak için emr-i şerifi müşarun ileyh hazretleri mahkemeye göndermiş ba'de'l-kıraa kadıyla ba'zıları i'lam verilmesini münasib gördükte onların dahi üzerlerine hücum ve kadıyla defterdarı döğmüşler ve kadının zevcesi sadaya çıkmakla anı dahi değnek ve taş ile döğmüşler ve mukaddema bu vechle ettikten sonra müşarun ileyhın tatarıyla der saadete ba-arz ve mahzar adam çıkardıkları havadisini neşr ettikleri ve bu tarafa gelenlerden böyle işidildiğinden buna mebni ol-vakt taraf-ı çakeriden ifade kılınmamış idi. Badehu mahzarları gitmiş gitmemiş ve müşarun ileyh tarafından dahi tatar gönderilememiş ve gönderilmiş misillu meşuk haberler havali-i mezkureden gelen söylediklerinden vuku'-ı halin tahkiki ve kendilerinin hal ve keyfiyeti ve eyaletçe birlikte mi değil mi civariyyetim hasebiyle bu kullarından istilam buyururlar mülahazasıyla cins-i aherden içlerine varanları teftiş etmekte olduklarından yine Boşnak taifesinden olarak hala Belgradda mütemekkin bir adam gönderilmiş idi. Merkum varıp iki üç gün medine-i Saray'da ve bir iki gün Tıravnik'te edam etmiş ve yine güfteguları ----- edüğü ve müşarun ileyhın asitane-i dersaadetten tatarı gelmiş, deraliyyede sizin bu haliniz işitildiğinden isti'lam-ı keyfiyyet zımında bir kıt'a emirname-i veliyyü'n-niami vürud eylemiş ne cevab yazayım deyu müşarun ileyh hazretleri medine-i Saray'a mahsusen bir adam göndermiş ve ahali-i Saray dahi der-ma'delet-medara arz u mahzar göndermek niyetiyle bir kaç gün meşveret etmişler ise de bu ana kadar gönderdiğimiz mahzarlar ocağa gönderilir idi ocak tarafından hem takdim ve hem kabulüne sa'y olunur idi. Şimdi ocak olmadığından arz ve mahzarları verecek yok

ve meramımıza müsaade eder dahi yoktur diyerek mahzar ve adam göndermekten kari' olup yirmi beş güne kadar iyilik ve kötülüğümüzden der aliyyeye bizim için birşey yazmamak rica ederiz deyu yine müşarun ileyhe bir adam göndermişler, müşarun ileyh hazretleri ne cevap verip vermeyeceğine bakmayıp şayet duyulup kendüye de birşey ederler deyu duramayup gönderdiğim adam kulları tatar çıkarılmazdan bir gün akdem Belgrad'a geldi ve eyalet-i Bosna serhadlerinden Kıladaşa nam kal'a kurbunda kurulan panayırda Boşnaklar ile Nemçelü beyninde niza' vukuuyla tarafından beşer altışar adam mecruh ve helak olduğu mukaddemce mesmu'-ı abidanem olmakla merkum kullarından bu keyfiyet dahi sual olundukta niza'nın vukuu sahihdir ve Hasan Ağa dahi Nemçelü ile niza'da olup işte bu defa Nemçelü otuzbin mikdarı askerle gelmiştir ve ehl-i İslama atılan topların kilesidir deyu on yedişer ve on sekizer vukiyelik iki kileyi Hasan Ağa mukaddemce ----- gönderdiğini Boşnaklar söylemişler ise de kilelerin geldiğini ve Hasan Ağanın zikir olunduğu vechle müşarun ileyhe sipariş edip etmediğini gereği gibi tahkik edememiş ve merkumun Bosna havalisinde işittiğine ve sair gelenlerden istima' olunduğuna nazaran Boşnaklar ile Nemçelü beyninde panayırda niza olduğu ve tarafeynden birkaç adamın cerh ve helakı sahih ise de pek de külliyyetli şey vuku' bulmamış anlaşılıyor. Eyalet-i merkumenin cümlesi Saraylu ile müttefik midir değil midir deyu merkumdan ve aherinden ve müşarun ileyhin dairesinden iftiraken gelenlerden sual olundukta şimdilik söylemeleri cümlesi birlikte görünüyor amma bu fesadı edenlerin şiddetten korktuklarına mıdır yoksa hakikaten cümlesi birlikte midir gereği gibi anlaşılacak mümkün değildir, zira ibtida Saray ahalisi fitneye tasaddi ettiklerinde cümle kazalarından dahi nefsi Saray'a adam celb edip müslim ve gavurdan beher evden ayda iki defa yirmi beşer kuruş miri ve bağ ve bağçe ve

tarlası hasılından herkes evine götüreceği az çok me'kulattan kıyye başına gümrük namıyla üçer, beşer, onar paraya kadar kıymetine göre alınacak ve tımar ve zeamet ve çiftlik ve reaya elinde olan toprak cümle miriye zabt olunacak ve reaya ve kim olur ise olsun ekdiği ekinden ve bağ ve bağçesi hasılatından ashabına fevt la-yemut yiyecek verildikten maadası miriye kabz olunacakve evladlarınız asker için alınup diyar-ı ahire gönderilecek ve bu suretle galebeliğimizi azalttıktan sonra kalanlardan dahi sağ adam kurtulmaz deyu hatıra gelmez bunun emsali nassı soğutacak gün a gün sözler peyda edüp halkı dehşetlendirdiklerinden başka içlerinden devlet-i aliyye ile biz başa mı çıkarız bunun encamı neye varacak diyenlerden Saray'da ve Tıravnik'te ve İzornik'te bir iki üç adamın üzerine öldürmek kasdıyla hücum ve ba'dehu kimesne ile görüşmemeleriçün evlerine kapattıklarından halkın gözü dolup korkusundan kendilerinin hilafı olarak birşey söylemeye kimse cesaret edemediğinden anlaşılması mümkün olamıyor deyu merkum kulları ve müşarun ileyhin dairesinden ayrılıp gelenler söylüyorlar. Ancak Belgradda mukim Bosna tüccarının ba'zılarından istima', olunan bu işlere rızası olmayan vardır ve ittifaklarına dahil olanlardan encamını fikir ile izhar-ı peşimanı ederler imiş bu işe sebep olan ----- takımından Saray yeniçerisi ve birkaç kapudandan Allah sebep olanları şöyle böyle etsün deyu inkar ediyorlar ise de Boşnak taifesinin sözüne i'timad olunmaz zira bu ana kadar tecrübe olunan tuttukları bir işin iki tarafını dahi elden bırakmazlar ve her ne tarafta bulunurlar ise buldukları mahallin tab'ına muvafık söylerler. İşte bu evanede eyalet-i mezkureden işitilen bu vechle olup ve yine hal ve keyfiyetlerinden celb-i ihbar ve hakipa-yi devletlerine arz ve iş'ar niyetiyle bir adam Saray'a ve andan Tıravnik'e gönderildiği ve mümkün olduğu halde müşarun ileyh hazretlerine gizlice takdim etmek üzere bir kağıd dahi verildiği

ve iki adam dahi kazalarına irsal kılındığı ve'l-yevm müşarun ileyh hazretleri kal'ada olmayup Tıravnik'te vüzeraya mahsus olan mahalde idüğü ve işbu gönderilenlerin avdetlerinde işidüp öğrendikleri keyfiyyat ifadeleri misillu hakipayı devletlerine arz ve iş'ar kılınacağı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Fi 27 M 1242

Telhis,

Belgrad muhafızı Abdurahim Paşa kullarının varid olan kaimesidir. Diğer bir kıt'a şukkasıyla beraber manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. Muhafız-ı müşarun ileyhin evvelki gün vurud ile merfu' atebe-i ülyayı mülukaneleri kılınan kaime şerhle işaret ve isti'zan olunduğu üzere Bektaşî tekyeleri maddesiçün Rumeline Pirlepe'li Ahmed Efendi daileri gidüp Bosna'ya ulemadan aher bir dailerinin intihabı veyahud muma ileyh Ahmed Efendinin Bosna'ya azimetle Bektaşî tekyeleri maddesine ulemadan aher münasibi bulunması hususu semahatlü şeyhulislam efendi daileriyile lede'l-muhabere müşarun ileyh daileri muma ileyh Ahmed Efendinin Bosna'ya azimetle yerine Bektaşî tekyeleriçün aher birinin tedarik ve intihabını tensib etmiş olmakla mukaddemce muma ileyh Ahmed Efendi daileriyile Ali Bey bendelerinin Bektaşî tekyeleriçün Rumeli tarafına gidecekleri dersaadette şayi' olduğundan dersaadete göre bu şaiyada be's olmayarak belki Bosna havadisi Bektaşî meşreb olduklarından tekye taharrisinden dolayı bir nev kıylü kal vuku' bulmamak için Bosna'ya gidecek muma ileyh Ahmed Efendi ve mektubi-i sabık Arif Bey ve gerek Rumeli'ye memur Ali Bey kullarıyla maiyyetine

tedarik ve terfik olunacak daileri bu taraftan ihrac ile Edirne'ye vardıklarında muma ileyhuma Ali Bey ile maiyyetinde olacak daileri ----- hümayun maslahatıyla meşgul olmak üzere Edirne'de tevakkuf ve aram ederek muma ileyhüma Arif Bey ile hasbe'l-civariye Bosna'ya dair tahsil eylediği malumattan dolayı vaki olacak ta'limatı vechle Bosna'ya azimet etmeleri ve inşaallahu teala bunlar maslahat me'murlarını yesr ve suhuletle icra ederek Bosna ahalsinin izhar-ı muvafakları haberi vürudunda muma ileyh Ali Bey kulları Bektaşî tekyeleri maddesine ol vakt şuru' ve mübaşeret etmesi ve vakt ü hale muvafık olacağı müzakere olunduğu ve ol-vechle Arif Bey bendeleriyle Ahmed Efendi daileri Bosna tarafına ve Ali Bey kullarıyla maiyyetine tedarik ve intihab olunacak daileri dahi Bektaşî tekyeleri maddesinde me'muren i'zam olunmak ve evvelki gün muhafız müşarun ileyh kullarının kaimesine serhle işaret olunduğu vechle Bosna maslahatıçün iki kıt'a evamir-i aliyye ısdar ve taraf-ı çakeriden dahi Bosna valisine ve lazım gelen ta'limat ve telkinatın icrası vesayasını havi Belgrad muhafızı müşarun ileyh iktizasına göre başka başka mektublar tahrir ve tisyar kılınmak üzere muma ileyh Ahmed Efendi dailerine evvelce me'muriyet sabıkası zımında üçbin kuruş harcırah i'ta olunmuş ise de Bosna'nın ----- takribiyle bu defa iki bin kuruş dahi verilerek anın yerine diğer intihab olunacak dailerine dahi üçbin kuruş i'ta olunması efendi-i müşarun ileyh daileriyile müzakere olunmuş ve muma ileyh Arif Bey kullarına dahi za'f hali cihetiyle onbeş bin kuruş i'tası münasib görünmüş olmakla muvafık irade-i seniyye-i mülukaneleri buyurulur ise icrasına ibtidar olunacağı ve şukk-i mezkurede inha olunduğu vechle Belgrad mellası Çukacızade Mustafa Efendinin müddet-i hükümeti tekml olunmuş ise de şimdilik Belgradta ikameti münasib ve efendi-i muma ileyh dirayetli adam olmak hasebiyle ol tarafta bulunması ba'zı şeylerde muhafız müşarun

ileyhe dahi faideyi müstecvib olacağından iş'arı üzere tevkif eylemesi kendüye tahrir kılınacağı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Belgrad muhafızının işbu kaimesiyle diğer şukkası manzur ve ma'lum olmuştur. Bosna maddesini artık uzatmağa gelmez, heman mübaşirlerin biran akdem çıkarılmaları lazımdır. Muma ileyhümadan Arif Beye onbeş bin kuruş ve Ahmed Efendiye dahi üçbin kuruşun üzerine bir iki bin kuruş zammıyla beşbin kuruş harcırah i'tasıyla ihrac ve i'zamlarına mübaderet olunsun ve Ali Bey ile me'mur kılınacak efendi her kim olacak ise heman ol dahi tedarik ve üçbin kuruş harcırah i'tasıyla müşarun ileyhin şukkasından inha eylediği Belgrad mollası muma ileyhüma tevkif eylemesi tarafınızdan tahrir ve irsal olunur.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 22062.N

Ma'ruz-ı abd-i dai-i devam-ı ömr ü devletleridir ki,

Devlet-i aliyye-i ebediyyü'd-devamda mukaddema yeniçeri ocağı külliyyen ref ve ilga olunduğunu mübeyyin şerefriz sahife-i sudur olan bir kıt'a emr-i ali ser bevvin-i dergah-ı ali saadetlü Mehmed Ağa mübaşeretiyile vurununda ağa-yı muma ileyh daire-i eyalete duhulünde hademesi derun-ı emr-i alide münderic olmayan enva-i türlü bidat-ı mühaddese ibadullahiye tahmil ve arz ve dine muhalif tekalif-i baride ile sade dil guruhunu tahvif ederek makarr-ı vülat-ı izam olan medine-i Tıravnik'e kadar caddede bulunan kazalar ahalisini tahdiş ve bu cihetle bazı ----- olan kimesneler tevahhuş eylediğinden emr-i ali-yi mezkur ile medine-i Saraybosna'ya vurununda vücuh-ı ahali ve sair zevi'l-ukul olan kulları sem' ve mutavaatı izhar üzere iken sade diller ber vechle etminan-i kalb-i adem-i husulunden derhal emr-i ali-yi ez'anından sarf-ı zihin etmişler ise dahi vücuh-ı ahali ve sair zevi'l-ukul bu hususa nasb nefis ve emr ü ferman -ı hazret-i zillullahiye tenfiz ve icraya bu ana kadar sarf-ı kudret ve bi-hamdillahi teala ----- ilahi zuhur eylediğinden sağır ve kebir mefhum emr-i ali-i ezan ve bu güne bid'at-ı mühaddese tahmil murad olmadığını teyakkun eylediğinden cümlesi izhar-ı itaat ve inkıyad ve emr-i hazret-i zillullahiye mutabaat birle emanet-i çapraz ile kazganları emr ü ferman buyurulduğı üzere çaprazı asitane-i aliyyeye irsal için huzur-ı lamiu'n-nura takdim ve kazganı kal'a cebhanesine vaz' ve hıfz ve canib-i seniyyü'l-münakib-i evliya-yı niamiden ehil ba-buyuruldu-i hatır zabıt nasb olunca bi'l-intihab ----- Ali Ağa kulları cümle ma'rifeti ve ma'rifet-i şer'iyile ehl-i islama zabıt nasb ve

Yeniçerilik davasından feragat ve ale'l-umum kavvam-ı fer ü şevket hazret-i alempenahi ve ez ----- ömr ü devlet evliya-yı niamı da'vatına muvazabat ve bu ana kadar cümle nekes hakkında bast-ı cenah-ı şefkat olunduğu misillu fima ba'd dahi hüsn-i inzar-ı merahim asar hazret-i şehinşahi zuhur u ----- ve himem-i hazret-i evliya-yı niami ile haklarında tahrik-i şecere-i merhametleriyle kaffe-i mezalim ve ta'diyattan hıfz ve himaye olunmaları rica ve temennasında oldukları ol ki vakiü'l-haldir. Bi'l-iltimas huzur-ı merahim-i mevfur-ı müşiranelerine i'lam olundu. Baki emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Fi'l-yevmi'l-hamis aşer min şehri Recebi'l ----- sene isneyni ve erbain ve mieteyn ve elf.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 22097

Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-ni'metim efendim padişahım,

Bosna'ya memur Arif Bey kulları tarafından şimdi bir takım tahrirat vurud edip kaimeleri evvelce yazılmış olduğundan anlar da Saraybosna maddesinin kuvvet-i karibeye geldiğine dair keyfiyyatı beyan etmiş ise de Receb-i şerifin on yedisi tarihiyle sonradan yazdığı şukkasında lilahi'l-hamd ve'l-minne cenab-ı hakkın avn ve inayeti ve zat-ı şevket simat-ı zillullahilerinin te'sir-i tevcihat-ı kudsiye-i cihanbanileri bir katible Saraylunun ocağ-ı sadık namından teberri ve emr ü ferman-ı padişahanelerine itaat ve inkıyadlarını mübin Saraybosnadan i'lam ve kazgan ve kepce misillü şeyler kal'a cebhanelerine kaldırılıp çaprastlar dahi Bosna valisi Abdurrahim Paşa kulları tarafına gönderildiğini müş'ir defter vürud ederek i'lamat ve evrak-ı saire ile beraber takdim kılındığını ve hamden sümme hamden maslahat bu vechle gairesizce bitmiş olduğunu inha ve iş'ar etmekle mir muma ileyh kullarının ve Saray kasabası efendi ve dailerinin işbu tahrirat ile bi'r-rüfeka gelmiş olan adamlarının takrirleri dahi kaleme aldırılarak cümlesi manzur-ı maalim-vüfur-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındığı ve hakim-i muma ileyh dailerinin sa'y ve sadakati mukaddemden dahi işidilüp bu defa mir-i muma ileyh bendeleri dahi yazmış olduğundan vakıa tarikince mükafata şayan ve mir-i muma ileyh kulları dahi doğrusu ol tarafa vardığı günden beru çalışarak lillahi'l-hamd ve'l-minne hizmete muvaffak olmuş olduğuna ve haylice deyn ü masraf etmiş idüğüne mebni saye-i şevketvaye-i şahanelerinde anın dahi taltifi münasib olduğundan gayri gelen adamları merkumanın dahi atıyye-i seniyye ile mesrur kılınmaları lazımeden

olup ancak inşaallahu teala ahşama sabaha vali müşarun ileyh bendelerinin dahi tahriratı vürüd edeceğinden bi-minneti teala müşarun ileyh tahriratı vürüd ile ibtida anın gelecek adamı ve ba'dehu bunlar taltif olunarak hakim-i muma ileyh dailerinin hasbe't-tarik terfi'-i rütbesi ve mir muma ileyh bendelerinin atıyye-i seniyye-i şahaneleriyle tahsin-i hizmeti hususları dahi ol-vakt hakipa-yi hümayun-ı cihanbanilerinden istizan olunacağı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-ni'metim efendim padişahım hazretlerindedir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Benim vezirim,

İşbu tahririn ve Bosnaya memur Arif Bey tarafından vürüd eden tahrirat manzur ve mealleri ma'lumum olmuştur. Lillahi'lhamd avn ve inayet-i hakla Bosna'nın bu vechle gairesinin bitmesi teşekkür olunacak şeydir. Ancak sergerde-i eşkiya olanların ettikleri habaset ve mel'anet yanlarına kalacak ise bu makulelerden bervechle emniyet ve ıslah-ı nefis etmeleri me'mul olmadığından beher hal bu ma'ruf olan sergerdelerin i'dam ve izaleleri tertibine bakılması pek elzem görünür. Bakalım Bosna valisinin ne vechle tahriratı gelür, badehu ana göre icab ve iktizasına bakılsun. Hak teala mesalih-i devlet-i aliyyemize her halde suhulet ihsan eyleye amin.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 22174

Devletlü, inayetlü, ubbehettü, veliyyü'n-nimet-i biminnetim efendim Sultanım hazretleri,

Mukteza-yı memuriyet-i bendeganem olduğu ve akdemce ----- hamme-i beyan kılındığı üzere ahz ü ihzarlarına taraf taraf me'murlar tayin ve irsal olunan ocağ-ı mülga eşkiyası firarilerinden ele getirilen yirmi nefer Tıravniklü ve on iki nefer Tıravnik nahiyelü ve iki nefer Na'rasiyetlü ve yedi nefer Saraylu ve bir nefer ----- ve iki nefer İznicele ve iki nefer Velivkalu ve iki nefer Bircelü ve bir nefer Tıravniklü enderun-ı Ali ki cem'an kırk dokuz nefer eşhasın nefyi ve iclalarıyla her birinin isim ve mahalli ve mahall-i menfası bu defa takdim-i hakipa-yi veliyyü'n-niamileri kılınan bir kıt'a defter de tebeyyün kılınmış ve bunlardan maada ele gelen firari-i eşkiyadan nefsi Saraylu on ve Tıravniklü onbeş ve nahiyesinden altı ve Çelebi pazarından iki ve İzniceden bir ve Velivkadan bir ve Foça'dan bir ve Deboy'dan iki ve Belne kazasında vaki Yaniya kasabasından iki ki cem'an kırk nefer mel'anehtarının dahi katl ve i'damlarıyla ruus-i maktuaları bu defa tatarım kullarıyla derbar-ı mehabet-karara irsal olunmuş idüğü ifadesi ve Bosna defterdarının oğlu olup Bosna defter kethüdası olan Ahmed dahi bu defa mübaşirine teslimen ihtimana nefy olup merkur Ahmed tertib-i mücazata seza ise de pederi mezbur i'dam ile ceza-yı ----- bulduğuna mebni merkur Ahmedin müddet-i medide menfada meks ve ikamesiyle te'dib olunması rıza-yı aliye muvafık ise hakk-ı merkurda olvechle inayet buyurulması hususu vesile-i arz-ı ubudiyetim olmuştur. İnşaallahu teala keyfiyeti mehatt-ı ilm-i alemşumul veliyyü'n-niamileri buyuruldukta ol babda ve her

halde emr ü ferman hazret-i veliyyü'l-emrindir.

Fi 23 L 1242

Telhis,

Bosna valisi Abdurrahim Paşa kullarının varid olan kaimesidir. Mukaddime-i iş'arından müstezad olduğu üzere Saray ve Tırvnik ve sair ba'zı kaza ve nevahi ahalisinden ve ocağ-ı mülga eşkiyası firarilerinden bu defa kırk dokuz neferini ele getirüp nefy ve icla ve maada kırk nefer habasetkaranı dahi i'dam ve izale ederek ruus-i maktualarını isra etmiş olduğunu mutazammın olmakla eşhas-ı merkumun esami ve şöhretlerini mübeyyin gönderdiği bir kıta defter ile beraber manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. İrsal eylediği ruus-i maktua pişgah-ı bab-ı hümayunlarında hak-ı ibrete ilka ve tatarına hil'at iksa olunarak kendüsine dahi tahsini havi taraf-ı çakeriden iktizası vechle cevabname tahrir ve isra olunması muvafık irade-i seniyye-i mülukaneleri buyurulur ise emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Bosna valisinin işbu kaimesiyle gönderdiği defter manzur-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Gönderdiği ruus-i maktua-i nehade cay-ı ibret kılınıp tatarına hil'at iksa ve münasibi miktar atıyye i'ta kılınarak tahsini havi iktizasına göre tarafından cevab tahrir ve irsal oluna.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 22219

Tataran-ı hazret-i sadaretpenahiden Bosna valisi saadetlü Mustafa Paşa hazretlerine tahrirat-ı seniyye irsaline memur kılınıp kapusuz tatar suretiyle gidip avdet eden Hacı Süleyman kullarının takriridir.

Tatar-ı merkum Yenipazara varıp, Arif Beyefendi ile görüşmek için Yenipazar mütesellimi Osman Paşa kirabargirleriyle Piriştineye gitmiş olduğundan bargir bulamadığına mebni üç gün ikametinde Yenipazarın çarşu ve bazarını gezüp ahalisinin hallerini teccessüs eyledikte emr ü fermanına itaatimiz vardır deyüp ilam vermiş iseler de muma ileyh Osman Paşa muma ileyh Arif Beyi görmek için Piriştineye azimetinde bir baş eski Saraya gidüp Saraylu tarafından serdarlık mektubu alıp zikr olunan mektubu meydana çıkarmak daiyesinde olduğunu tarar-ı merkum kulları haber almış ve paşa-yı muma ileyh Yenipazara geldikte şöyle bir havadis işittim haberiniz var mı deyu sual eyledikte ben de işittim lakin uyur yılanın kuyruğuna basmam eğer mektubu meydana çıkarır ise dört sekban göndertir ifna ederim ve bundan sonra yine o misillu mektub götürən olur ise anı da ifna ederim demiş ve sonra merkum baş eski mektubu meydana çıkardıkta paşa-yı muma ileyh vücuh-ı ahaliyi celb birle be canım siz devlet-i aliyyenin her bir emr ü fermanına itaatimiz vardır deyu ilam ve mahzar verdiniz şimdi niye mektub götürtüyorsunuz bu nasıl iştir ya bu davadan fariğ olun veyahud bana bir cevap verin ben devlet-i aliyyeden korkarım durmam giderim demiş anlar dahi ettiklerine taib ve müstağfir olup Paşa ve mübaşir-i muma ileyhümanın ellerini öpüp tekrar ilam ve mahzar verecek olduklarını ve şimdilik paşa-yı muma ileyhın uhdesinde olan Mitrovis ve

Yenice ve Yenipazar ve Resnice ve ----- kazalarında zahirde yeniçerilik davası olmadığını ve Taşlıca kazası ahalisinin ekseri ma'hud-ı guruh-ı mekruhdan idüğünü,

Saraybosnada ocağ-ı merfua takımı kema fi's-sabık iddialarında musırr idüğü ve ağalığı takınmış olan Ali Molla ve rüfekalarından Tahmisci ve ----- bayraktar ve Hasan Bey misillü bir kaç sergerde-i eşkiya bir takım erazil ile kendi hevalarına tabi olup ehl-i irz dahi mağlub olduğundan diledikleri gibi alup satmakta olduklarını ve mezbahaneye bir takım tüccar gelüp İstanbul'da bizim tüccarlarımız var idi. Acaba geliyorlar mı deyu sual eylediklerinde yolda öyle tüccara rast gelmedim. Lakin İstanbul'da Bayezidde gördüm, oturuyorlar idi deyu cevap verip geçmiş ve guruh-ı mekruhun ağaları olan Alinin konağı etrafında beher gece yüz, yüz elli eşkiya dolaşmakta olduğunu ----- mesmu olduğunu ve fi'l-asl bu adet olmayup tatar merkumun vusulünden dört gün evvelden beru zuhur etmiş ve bu suret-i zahirde merkumu muhafaza olup iç yüzünden bu da'va başa çıkmayacağını akılları kesdiği gibi bizi bu iğfal eyledi deyu ele vermek için firar edememesi zımında olacağı anlaşıldığını,

Tıravnik'e varıp hamil olduğu tahrirat-ı seniyyeyi müşarun ileyhe verdikten iki gün sonra dükkanlar kapanıp Tıravnik eşkiyası mahkemeyi basıp devlet-i aliyyeye takdim etmek za'mıyla düzdükleri mahzarı sen de mühürle deyu Tıravnik hakiminin üzerine hücumlarında ben kendü kendümü hakimlikten azlettim. İşte baş katibe mirasla verdim, hakim odur ben değilim demiş ise de kani' olmayup cebren basdırmak için tatbik-i mührünü aradıklarında tatbikimi kırdım yoktur deyu cevap verdikte Mehmed isminde bir mühür bulup işte bu mührü bas deyu sıkıştırdıklarında

ben bu el ile bu mührü basmam ama beni yaralar iseniz razıyım lakin mühür basmam demiş sonra baş katibin imzasını yazdırıp ana bastırmış ve hakim muma ileyh mahkemedən başka haneye çıkmış olduğunu ve birkaç gün geçtikten sonra eşkiya takımı yine ayaklanıp Camialtı nam mahalle cem' olup yerlü topcubaşı müşarun ileyhın mukim olduğu Saraya kaçmış ve yerlü arabacı başıyı ahz ve cemiyetgaha götürüp telef ve oğlunu kaleye habs eyledikleri havadisi işitilip sebebi sual olundukta ocağ-ı mülğaya müteallık olan vücuh Cuma günü resmen müşarun ileyh görüşmek için azimetlerinde başlarında olan alametleriyle kendilerine mebni arabacı Paşa-i muma ileyh padişahımız bu ocağı kaldırmış hiç olmaz ise paşaya görüşmeye gittiğiniz vakit şu başlarınızda olan kalafatları çıkarın da öylece gidin yine da'vanız var ise da'vanızı edin bu ----- bu günkü günde olmazdır dediğine mebni bu paşa tarafıdır diyerek i'dam eylemiş oldukları tahkik olunduğunu,

Tıravnik vücuhundan Süleyman Paşa zadeler ve Bosna defter-i kethüdası ve Ata-i kebir muhafızı Abdulkerim Paşanın oğlu devlet-i aliyye bendesi oldukları hasebiyle Saraylılar bunlardan emin değiliz durmasınlar, gitsinler deyu ısrar etmiş ve bunlar beş altıyüz çıkmak sahibi olduklarından bunlar dahi çokdan çok ve azdan az olur deyu çıkmamağa ısrar eylediklerinde müşarun ileyh çiftliklerinize gitmemeye ısrar eylediğiniz takdirde sizi almak için Saraya hücum ederler ben de tahammül edemeyüp urun derim sonra tüfenk patlar, tüfenk patlamağa şimdiye kadar bir irade yoktur tekrar fesad hasıl olmasun, çiftliğinize gidin demiş ve anlar dahi çiftliklerine çekilmiş iken güruh-ı mekruh tekrar cemiyet birle vücuh-ı muma ileyimin evlerinde birer adamdan ziyade kimesne kalmasun, istemeyiz demiş ve ziyadeleri gidüp fakat birer adamları kalmış ise de ne vakit müşarun ileyh matlub eder ise mevcud

tevabiimiz ile derhal erişiriz deyu müşarun ileyhe daima haber göndermekte olduklarını,

Müşarun ileyhi birkaç defa gördükde söz başı olanlardan Bosna defterdarını devlet-i aliyye bendeliğine teşvik etmekten ve nash ve pend eylemekten hali değilim lakin ne vakit böyle nash ve pend etsem merkum gider bir vesile ile erazili tahrik ederek bir fesad çıkarır ve bundan muradı bize karaltı göstermek oluyor. Şu söz başıların birisi olsun bir tarafa çekilse kusuretinin kolayı bulunur idi lakin çekime gelmiyorlar bir de şu Ali Molla dedikleri habis hem dersaadette ve hem burada müteehhildir. Dersaadette ocaklı takımını el altından tahrik etmek veyahud İstanbulun ahvalini tecessüs ettirmek için yeğenini veyahud kaynını Taşlıcadan uydurduğu iki şahıs ile hasılı üç nefer olarak bundan iki mah mukaddem Saraydan çıkarıp dersaadete göndermiş olduğunu haber aldım İstanbula geldiğin gibi Bab-ı aliye ifade ile şu habisler aratulsun deyu müşarun ileyh tatar-ı merkuma ifade eylemiş ve tatar-ı merkum gelür iken göz kulak olmuş ise de o makule eşhas gözüne ilişmemiş olduğunu ve bunların Bosna'dan çıktıkları Çirmen mutasarrıfı saadetlü Esad Paşa hazretlerinin dahi galiyen mesmuu olmuş olduğundan Edirne'de tezkere-i memurinin yanına mahsus tarafından birisini ta'yin etmiş olduğunu avdette Edirneye geldikte müşarun ileyhin tatar ağasından münasebetle anlamış idüğünü,

Müşarun ileyhin verdiği cevapname ile Tıravnikten çıkıp Belgrad tarafına uğradığı Tuzla-i Zir ve Tuzla-i Bala kazaları kapudanlık olduğundan buralarda dahi da'va-yı ma'hud olmadığını ve Belene kazasına vurudunda ayanı Osman Ağa tatar-ı merkumu konağında bir gece misafir edip akşamdan sonra mevcut takımdan elli

altmış kadar eşhas gelip bir takım türrehat söylemiş gitmiş yatacağı vakit dört nefer kimesne gelüp tatar ağası seni uyhusuz bırakacağız amma bu maslahat çikalı bizim gözümüze uyhu girdiği yoktur. Bosnalının cümlesi fena değildir, içimizde güzel adam çoktur. Lakin erazil takımı ehl-i ırzımıza galibdir. Anın için birşey söylemiyorlar. Devlet-i aliyyeye cümlemizi kötü anlatırlar ve padişah-ı alempenah efendimiz dahi cümlemizi kötü belleyüp Bosna gibi memleketim yoktur buyurur ise bir tarafımız Nemçelü, bir tarafımız Karadağ ve bir tarafımız Sırpıdır. Üç düşman arasında biz bu kadar çoluk ve çocuk ve nisvan ve sibyan gavur elinde kalırız bizim halimiz nasıl olur deyu düşünüyoruz dediklerinde tatar-ı merkum dahi çünkü böyledir buna dair dai ve tebrikiniz nedir ve nasıl olsa münasibdir deyu sual eyledikte külliyyetlü asker ile bir vezir tayin buyurulur ise ehl-i ırz ayrılır vezirden tarafa olur, o vakit kötünün hakkıdan gelinmek asan olur dediklerinde boşnaklar pek çokluktur hem yiğit adamlardır yalnız bir vezir ne yapsun deyu ağızlarını aradıkta eski boşnaklar kalmadı Bosna bildiğin gibi değildir bütün çoluk ve çocuktur, Bosnalı ticaret ile geçinir. Boğazlar kesilüp içerüden dışarı kimse çıkarılmasa ve beruden dahi içerüye kimse salıverilmese ne yaparlar o vakit tabiatıyla aman-ı amane gelürler deyu mahremane hasbihal etmiş ve merkumunun birisine Abdi Ağa derler imiş öbür üç neferin ismini zabt edememiş olduğunu ve'l-hasıl Bosnalı dört sınıf olup bir sınıfı sipahi, bir sınıfı tüccar ve sınıf-ı diğer kapudan bir fırkası dahi güruh-ı mezcum olarak sipahi zümresi devlet-i aliyye bendesi olup bunların öte tarafa meyl etmek ihtimali olmadığını ve kapudanan dahi güruh-ı mekruh ile zıdd idüğünü ve tüccar takımı dahi devlet-i aliyye tarafıdır diye bilür ise de bunlar dağınık olduğundan izhara cesaret edemediklerini teferrüs etmiş idüğünü,

İstanbul'da serasker kapısında ne surette ta'lim ve taallüm olunmakta ise Belgrad Muhafızı saadetlü Abdurrahim Paşa hazretleri dahi gece ve gündüz askeri taifesine ve yerlüsüne öylece talim ettirmekte olduğunu ve anladığına göre müşarun ileyh Bosnayı me'mul eylemeğini risaye-i hazret-i padişahide havali-i mezkura asude ve emin olup Belgraddan altı günde gelemeğini tatar-ı merkum kulları takrir eder.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 22219.İ

Devletlü, inayetlü, atufetlü, merhametlü, re'fetlü, ubbehettü, veliyyü'n-niam ve kesirü'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim hazretleri,

Devlet ikbal ile sağ olsun, ma'ruz-ı bende-i kadime ve çaker-i müstedimeleridir ki canib-i şer'i şeriften verilen fetva-yı şerife mucibince Yeniçeri ocağı menhusesi külliye ref olunmuş ve yerine muallim Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye tertib buyurulmasına ittifak-ı ara ile karar verilmiş ve keyfiyeti müteaddid evamir-i şerifeler ve müteayyin-i mübaşirler irsaliyle Rumeli ve Anadolu ve sair memalik-i İslamiye-i Şahaneye neşr ve ilan buyurulmuş olmakla bu babda Bosna'ya hitaben isdar buyurulan ferman-ı celilüşşan çend ruz tarafında mahsus-ı mübaşir ile irsal olunmak üzere olduğu beyanıyla Bosna kilağının miftahı Yeniçeri zabitanı yedlerinde olmak ve sair ba'zı kıla' dahi ellerinde bulunmak ve örf-i bende olmuş ba'zı rusumat Yeniçeri tarafından icra kılınmak misillü şeyler adet-i belde idüğü malum olan halattan olmağın zikr ü beyan kılındığı üzere Yeniçeri ocağının külliye aradan kaldırılması cihetiyle bu misillü adetlerin fima ba'd vülat ve mütesellim bulunanlar taraflarından zabt ve irade ve icrası lazımeden olmakla keyfiyet-i hal ma'lum-ı bendeganem oldukta ittifak-ı amme ve icra-ı ümmet-i Muhammediye ile tanzim olunan kararın tamamca suret-i tenfiz ve icrası ne makule tedbir ve esbaba mütevvaffik ise infazı esbabını zihn-i bendeganemde tasavvur ve tasmim ile kararlaştırıp emr-i şerif-i mezkur lede'l-vusul ana göre icrası hususuna sa'y ve gayret olunmasını amir-i mukaddemce sudur buyurulan ferman-name-i beşaret-alame-i veliyyü'n-nimaneleri ocak tatarlarından Mustafa Ağa kulları

sahabetiyle medine-i Saraybosnaya vusul-i bendeganemin ferdası rahe-i zib ta'zim ve bu tedbir-i hasene-i farızanın icra buyurulmasına hüda hakk-ı kemal-i mahzuziyet ve surur-i azim-i bendeganem olmuş ve müteakiben dergah-ı ali kapucu başlarından saadetlü Mehmed Ağa bendeleri mübaşeretiyle ol babda sadır olan ferman-ı celilüşşan-ı mezkur dahi makarr-ı vülat-ı Bosna olan Medine-i Tıravnik darü'l-fesad ve't-tahrike duhul-i bendeganemin dördüncü günü şerefbaş-ı vusul ve tertib-i divan ile feth ü kıraat ve mazmun-ı itaat makrunı suret-i emr-i şerif mucibince buyurular ile mübaşirler tayin kılınarak ilan ve işaat olunmuş ise dahi Medine-i Saraybosnada olan reis-i ulema ve mu'tilerinde olan sergerde-i eşkiya ve mütesellimi bi'littifak suret-i muhalefete ictisar ile erazil-i eşhaslarını ta'lim ve tahrik birle muhalefetlerini izhar eyleyüp bi'l-muhabere Medine-i Tıravnik'te müttetikleri olan Bosna defterdarı Yaman Bey oğlu defter kethüdası Ahmed Bey ile Tıravnik müftisi dahi ahali-i Tıravnik'i külliyyen silahlandırıp ve ayaklandırıp gece ve gündüz biran ve bir saat ihtilal ve fesaddan hali ve ferağ olmadıklarından emr ü ferman buyurulan hususat-ı mezkurenin icrasına beş mahe karib yol bulamayıp vaktine ta'lik olunmuş olduğu ifadesi arz-ı hal-i pürmelal-i bendeganem tahririne ibtidar ve tatar-ı merkum kullarının muavedetiyle hakipa-yi veliyyü'n-nimanelerine takdime ictisar kılındı. İnşaallahu teala hakipa-yi veliyyü'n-nimanelerine vasıl keyfiyyed hala itla'-ı rahimaneleri hasıl oldukta bu babda vaki olan taksirat-ı acizanem damet şeref-i ----- veliyyü'n-nimaneleri mestur buyurulmak babında emr ü ferman devletlü, inayetlü, atufetlü, merhametlü, re'fetlü, ubbehettlü, veliyyü'n-niam ve kesirü'l-lutf ve'l-ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretlerindedir.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 22285

Benim saadetlü, mükerrermetlü, mürüvvetlü, birader-i eazım Sultanım efendi -----
hazretleri,

Avn ve inayet-i hakla ortadan kaldırılmış olan Yeniçeri ocağı ve yoldaşlık tabiri ve sair hususlarının usul ve furu'ları beyarıyla buna dair sunuh ve sudur eden irade-i keramet-ifade-i padişahi mahrusa-i Haleb'de tenfiz ve icra olunmasını havi çendruz mukaddemce varid olan emr-i ali Şeyh Bekir nam mahalde divanımızda hazır olan vücuh-ı ahali ve sanadid-i tüccar ve sunuf-ı askeri muvacehesinde feth-ü kıraat ve ilan ve işaat olundukta cümlesi serfuru-berde itaat ve inkıyad olarak muktezası icrasına mübaderet olunmakla dürüst-i temhir olan taahhüd ilamı ve mahzar-ı ahali ve arzuhal mahlası ile husus-ı mezburun mübaşiri saadetlü Ali bey hazretleri bir kaç gün zarfında mutayyiben dersaadete iade olunacaktır. Hak teala her işlerimizi hall ü asan ve Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye ile devlet-i aliyyeye te'yidat-ı kaviyye ihsan eyleye amin. Ammenin i'tikadiyesine göre Haleblünün kavlı ve fi'line i'timad caiz değil ise de taht-ı itaatte olanlara zarar ve ziyan kasdımız olmayacağı hafi ve celi iktizasına göre anlatıldığından ve eski yeniçerilerin içlerinde mer'iyü'l-hatır bulunanları farzen hukuk-ı şer'iyyeden dolayı hafifce habs olmak lazım geldikte erazil-i saire misillü tüfenkcibaşı zincirine bend ettirilmeyüp keenne serdar konağında oturur gibi bundan böyle eyalet çavuşlar emini odasında habs ile kadirlerine riayeti va'd eylediğimizden anlar da yoldaşlık lafını ağızlarına

almayacaklarına kavi söz vermeleriyle uslu otururlar zannederiz. Ancak Halebte olan sadatın içlerinde haylice edepsizleri olmağın bunlar anlara istihza yollu bir aralık takılmakla meyanelerinde uygunsuzluk zuhuru hatıra hutur eder ise de mukaddema ve hala emirler vücuhu tarafına dahi tenbih ve takyiddin hali olmadığımızdan başka ahali-i Haleb cümlesi din ve devlet-i aliyye bendeliğinde müttehid olmak vesayısı derun-ı emr-i alide tasrih buyurulmuş olması isabet ve keramet nevinden olmakla inşaallahu teala ol makule istihza ve iddiaya dahi cesaret eder olmaz ----- ederler ise de şevketlü, kudretlü, padişahımızın sayesinde bi-avni'llahi teala ve bi-kereme te'diblerine bakılır heman rabbim vükela-yı saltanat-ı seniyyenin tedbirlerin ahsen-i takdire muvaffak ederek şan ve şevket-i islamiyeyi yevmen fe-yevmen müzdat eyleye amin-i sümme amin. Halebde olan konsolosların yasakçıları Yeniçeriler tarafından memur oldukları ecilden ba'de'zin anların bekası usul-i haliyyeye elvermeyeceği konsoloslara haber gönderilerek ref' ettirilmekle diğer güruhtan lisan-ı araba aşına yasakçılar istid'a etmiş olduklarından eyalet çavuşları mülazimlerinden tertib ve ta'yin olunmak musammemdir bakalım konsoloslar da bu tertibe razı olurlar ise rabitası sureti bab-ı aliye arz olunur. Eski serdar Urfa'lı Mehmed Ağa ve birkaç kimesne dahi hassa silahşorluğu niyaz ediyorlar. İsim yerleri açık olarak üç silahşorluk mektubu ihsan buyurulur ise iktizasına göre münasibine verilerek ba'dehu isimleri deftere kaydolunmak üzere pusulası irsal olunacağını devletlü, inayetlü, veliyyü'n-niam sadrazam efendimiz hazretlerinin hakpayilerine ifade eylemeniz me'muldür.

Telhis,

Haleb valisi Vahid Paşa kullarının şukkasıdır. Ocağ-ı sabıkın ilgasına dair sadır olan ferman-ı alinin vusul ve infazıyla mübaşiri avdet ettirilmek üzere olduğunu ve sair ba'zı iş'aratı mutazammın olmakla manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındığı ve müşarun ileyh bendelerinin iltimas eylediği isim yerleri için üç kıta Silahşorluk mektublarının irsali muvafık irade-i seniyye-i mülukaneleri buyurulur ise tahrir ve irsal ettirilerek kendüsüne iktizası vechle cevap yazılacağı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Manzurum olmuştur,

İltimas eylediği silahşorluk mektupları isim mahalleri açık olarak irsal ve kendisine dahi iktizasına göre cevap tahrir oluna.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 23985

Franca padişahının dersaadette mukim büyükelçisi Ceneral ----- senaverlerinin takriridir.

Haşmetlu Franca padişahının elçileri ve konsolosları istedikleri yasakçıları i'mal edüp bu hususta kendülere münasib olmayanları istihdam eyle deyu cebr olunmayalar deyu Francaluya i'ta buyurulan ahidname-i hümayunda musarrah olduğuna mebni ezmine-i sabıkada devlet-i aliyyeye ettiği hidemat sebebiyle sair asakir-i Osmaniyyeden mümtaz olan yeniçerilerin ocağı elçilere ikramen yasakçı hizmetiçün tayin olunup Franca elçileri ol zamandan beru bu vakitlere dek ocağ-ı mezkurun neferatından yasakçılarını intihab etmiş iken bir kaç aydan beru yeniçerilik namı ortadan kalkıp yeniçeri ocağı külliyyen ref ve ilga olunduğundan sefaretlerin muhafazasıçün Galata Voyvodası tarafından adamlar irsal olunup ol vakitte elçi başı Françada bulunup darüssaltanatta bizzat mukim olmadığına nazaran ve devlet-i aliyye bulunduğu keyfiyyet ve vakt ü hale tatbiken Franca maslahatgüzarı mesfurları ila hinin kabul etmiş ise de elçi başı Franca diyarından bir iki aydan beru avdet etmiş olup kendisi serasker olduğundan maada Franca padişahının büyük elçisi olmakla payesi vücuh ile vezirlerin payesi ile hem ----- ve elhamdulillah hala fesad ve ihtilal kemal-i emniyet ve asayiş mübeddel olduğuna binaen Galata voyvodasının verdiği adamlar elçi-i muma ileyh senakarlarının şanına muvafık olmadığı melhuz devletleri buyuruldukta gerek yeniden ihdas olunan ocak ve gerek topçu veyahud tersane-i amirenin ocağından hasıl-ı kelam hala mevcut olan üç ocaklardan biri Franca elçilerinin muhafazasıçün ikramen tayin ve tahsis olunması babında bir kıta emr-i alinin ısdarını elçi-i muma ileyh senaverleri istid'a ve takrir eder.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 24283

Atufetlü, saadetlü, mürüvvetlü, karındaş-ı eazım Sultanım hazretleri,

Dırama ahalisinden bazıları nefy ve iclaya seza oldukları derbar-ı ma'delet-karar-ı mülukaneye arz ve inha olunmağın mübaşirler ve ustasıyla ahz ve Tuna sevahiline nefy ve icla olundukları ve içlerinden defteri-i Mısır Mehmed Bey oğlumuzun biraderleri Halid Bey daileri Selanikte bulunduğu ve kendi halinde olduğu Selanik Valisi vezir-i mükerrerem atufetlü Ömer Paşa senaverleri tarafından arz ve inha olunmakla ıtlakına müsaade-i aliyye-i şahane erzan buyurulmuş ve lazımu'l-sudur olan ferman-ı ali tasdir ve müşarun ileyh tarafına tesyir kılınmış olduğu işaret-ı atufilerinden malum-ı mahlası olmuş idi. Muma ileyh Halid Beyin hamd ü sena ve sepas ve duayı havi tarafına başka ve karındaşı mir muma ileyh tarafına başka ariza ve mektubu gelmeğın keyfiyeti bilinmiş ve iyal ve evladıyla Mısıra celbi tasvib olunmuş ve mir muma ileyh oğlumuz tarafından mahsus adam gönderilmiştir. Muma ileyhın iyal ve evladıyla Mısıra gelmesi hüsn-i himmete ve muavenet ve müzaherete mevkuf olmakla hüsn-i iktizasını icraya bezl ve ruyet ve sarf-ı gevher-i hamiiyet eylemeleri me'muldur. Vech-i muharrer üzere makrun-ı nazar-ı mahlası olan varakaya nazaran Dıramadan iclasına irade-i aliyye taalluk eden ahali yirmi üç nefere baliğ olup bunlar her ne kadar kendü halleriyle meşgul iseler de cehalet iktizasıyla ağazda bulunmuş ve nefy olunmuş oldukları ve ekserisi ma'lum mahlası olan eski adamlardan olmakla kendilerinden hilaf-ı rıza hareket me'mul olmadığı ve bi'l-husus Dırama kasabası kaleden ari ve ahali Yeniçerilikten beri olup beynlerinde Yeniçerilik makalesi havadis gibi işidilür ve fakat lafzı söylenir şey

olup bu daiyeyi etmek ve çıkmayacak yola gitmek bunların itikadına münafi ve i'tiyadlarının hilafı idüğü nezd-i mahlaside müsbet olmağın zat-ı merahim-i ayat-ı mülukaneye bahşullahi olan merhamet ve şefkat iktizasınca sebillerinin tahliyesi ve içlerinden Mahmud Paşa biraderi Osman Bey hadisu's-sin olduğu cihetle keyfiyeti çendan ma'lum değil ise de gelip gidenlerden işitildiğine ve beyan-ı hal edenlerden haber alunduğuna göre ol dahi kendü halinde olduğu ve ocak-zade olup rahm u re'fete şayeste idüğü bedihi olmağın makrun-ı afv-ı hümayun buyurulduğu surette Dırama'da ikametine müsaade buyurulmaz ise Mısır'a irsali hususunda müsaaka-i behiyye-i şahanenin mebzul ve meşmul buyurulması eazz -ı me'mul mahlası idiği ve bunların afvını kaleme almaktan ve rehin-i merhamet-i mülukane olmalarını istid'a etmekten murad hallerini bildiğim ve acezeden olduklarına vakıf olduğum ecilden taraf-ı hümayun-ı şahane için dua aldirmek mütalaalarından ibaret idiği ve ehl ve erbabı vasıtasıyla tahkikine himmet ve istiknah-ı hale rükun ve ra'bet olunsa böyle bulunacağında şüphe olmadığı ve bu vechle merkumların şayan-ı afv u inayet ve sezavar-i rahm u re'fet olması eazz-ı rica-yı mahlası olduğu ifadesiyle sahife-i mahsusa-i müveddet tahrir ve tesyir olunmuştur. İnşaallahu teala lede'l-vusul hakk-ı iktizasının icrasına sarf-ı himmet ve senad gevher-i hamiiyet buyurmaları me'mul-ı halisanemizdir.

4 N 1242

Telhis,

Mısır Valisi kullarının kapı kethüdası Necib Efendi tarafına mersul kaimesidir.

Bundan akdem Dırama kazasından Tuna sevhiline nefy ve icla kılınmış olan yirmi üç nefer ahalinin isnad olunan töhmetten beriyyü'z-zimme olduklarını beyan ve inha ederek afv u itlakleri hususuna ve içlerinde Mahmud Paşa biraderi Osman Beyin ba'de'l-ıtlak Dıramada ikametine ruhsat-ı seniyye buyurulmadığı halde mir muma ileyhın Mısıra gönderilmesi musaaka-i seniyye evzan buyurulması hususlarına iltimas ve istid'a etmiş olmakla zıkr olunan menfilerin töhmetleri Yeniçerilik hebasetinden dolayı olmayup memleketce niza' ihtihal kabilinden olarak isim ve keyfiyetlerini mübin divan-ı hümayunları kaleminden bir kıt'a pusulası indirac ettirilerek manzur-ı hümayun-ı şahaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. Vali-i müşarun ileyh kullarının inha ve niyazı vechle merkumunun afv u itlakleri ve muma ileyh Osman Bey dahi kezalik itlak olunup ba'de'zin Dırama'da hanesinde kendü haliyle ikameti şartıyla ruhsat verilmek veyahud ister ise Mısıra gitmek şıklarında tahrir kılınmış hususlarında bu vechle emr ü irade-i merahim-ade-i hazret-i şehinşahileri şeref sudur buyurulur ise emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Vali-i müşarun ileyhın iş bu kaimesi ve kalemden mahrec-i pusula manzur ve ma'lum-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Çünkü müşarun ileyh bundan afv ve itlakleriçün bu vechle iltimas ederek yazıyor tıbkı iş'arı üzere itlak olunsunlar ancak Dırama mutasarrıfı işbu esseyyid Paşanın dahi keyfiyet-i hali ma'lumu olmak için tarafından iktizasına göre müşarun ileyhe yazup bildirülsün.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 24728

Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim,

Bağçe kapısı haricinde duhancı Giritli Ahmedin nefyi ve teb'idi babında şerefriz sudur olan hatt-ı hümayun-ı şevket makrunları mantuk-ı münifi üzere merkumun Rodos'a nefyi ve iclası babında iktiza eden emr-i tasdir ve mübaşiri dahi ta'yin olunmuş idi. Merkum ordu-yı hümayunda hala Yeniçeri ağası kullarının bacanağı olduğu mesmu' olduğuna binaen haremi işidüp rica ve şefaata edeceği ve müsemmir olmayacak olur ise ordu-yı hümayuna tahrir ile ağa-yı muma ileyh kulları tarafından şefaata ettirüp mahalline varır varmaz ıtlakı dahi ----- mülahazaları hatırgüzar-ı abidanem olup husus-ı mezbur rikab-ı mualla elkab-ı şahanelerine arz ve iş'ar birle olbabda ne vechle emr ü irade-i hüsrevaneleri müteallık olur ise iktizası icra olunacağı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim padişahım hazretlerinindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

Kaymakam Paşa,

Merkumun nefyiyle tedibi hususunda falana müteallıktır deyu sana bayrak gösteren kimdir? Tarafıma bildiresin. Bakayım benim cezm eylediğim kimesneler midir? Bu hususta bir nisa taifesine mağlub olup umur-ı siyasiye muattal olur mu? Bu mugalatayı eden Yeniçeri ağasının adem-i mutavaatını işrab ediyor. Sen emrimi icra edip merkumun ehlinden mukaddem ordu-yı hümayuna yazasın ve merkumun ifsad eylediği fesadeler sana bayrak gösterenlerin ma'rifetiyle olduğu aşikar oldu.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 25635

Benim vezirim,

Fetva-yı şerif mucibince ittifak-ı ara ile karar verildiği üzere ocağ-ı amiremnden bir taraftan eşkinci neferatı tahrir olunmakta ise de bu neferatın suret-i talim ve taallümleri ne vechle olacak eğerçi neferat-ı mezkura münavebe tarikiyle tahsis olunan mahallere gidip tüfenk ile talim edecekler ise de kullanacakları tüfenk ne cins olacak ve usul ve fûruunu kimden görüp meşk edecekler, elbette bu fenni bilir üstad adamlar içlerinde bulunmak iktiza eder zannederim. O makule fennini bilir adamlar var mıdır, bu tekellüften murad mukteza-yı vakt-i hale göre işimize yarayacak vechle kesb-i maharet etmeleridir yoksa nişan urmak ve usul ve furuunu bilmeyerek her biri körlemeden atacak iseler hiçbir şey demek olmaz, kaldı ki bu kadar adam evvel emirde atub tutmasını ve usul ve fûruunu öğrenmedikçe barut ile çat pat tüfenk atmaları sakil bir şey olup bayağı Frenkler istihza ederler evvel be evvel bu neferatın kuru talim etmeleri lazım gelir bir de eyyam-ı sayfde Davutpaşa ve Kağıthane'de münavebe ile gidip talim edecekler ise de karakış içinde nasıl edecekler elbette boş durmamaları için bir münasib yakın mahalde kuru talim etmeleri iktiza eder zannederim ve neferatın talime gidecekleri mahaller neresi olacak ise ol mahalle İstanbul halkının seyr ve temaşa tarikiyle kesret üzere gidecekleri zahirdir. Ma'haza bunda mazarrat vukuu melhuzdur bunun menine ne vechle bakılmak ve kış derununda kuru talim etmeleri ne şekil usule konulmak

iktiza edecek ise şimdiden düşünölmek lazımeden olmakla ana göre Hüseyin Paşa ve sair iktiza edenler ile gayet mektumen müzakere edip iktizasını taraf-ı hümayunuma azimet ve ifade eylesin hak teala mesalih-i devlet-i aliyyemizi teshilat-ı subhanesine mukadir eyleye amin.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 31434

Devletlü, saadetlü, atufetlü, refetlü, seniyyü'l-himem efendim Sultanım hazretleri

Bundan akdem ber mukteza-yı şer-i şerif cümle ittifakıyla yeniçeri eşkincisi olarak der aliyyede tahrir olunup icra-yı talim ve taallüme karar verilmiş olan asakir emr-i taallüme mübaşeret olunmuş iken bir takım erazil ve eşkiya makulesi bağıtaten Et Meydanına cem olarak fesada ictira eylediklerinden eşkiya-yı merkumenin haklarından gelmek niyet-i hayriye-i mefruhasıyla liva-yı saadetü'n-neva-yı hazret-i seyyidü'l-enbiya -i aliyye ve ala ilahe efdalu't-tahyai Sultan Ahmed camii şerifine ihrac ve ehl-i irz güruhu dayire-i ittifaka celb ve sayir sunuf-i askeriye ile canib-i şeriat-i garradan verilen fetva-yı şerife mucebince üzerlerine sel-i seyf ve hücum olunarak li'llahi hamden ve'l-minne eşkiya-yı mezburenin cümlesi ta'meten şimşir ve kahr u tedmir ve kışlaları ihrak ve yoldaşlık ve yeniçerilik namı ve ocakları külliye terkin ve ref ve Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye ünvanıyla tanzim ve sayir vesaya-yı seniyye-i müstemil bu defa şerefbahşa-yı südur olan ferman-name-i hazret-i vekalet-penahi ikdam olundukta der akab ikametgah-ı senaveride tertib-i divan birle cümle vücuh-ı belde ve yeniçeri ve sunuf-ı sayire rüesalarını hazret-i senaveri celb ve ihzar ve muvacehesinde feth ü kıraat ve mazmun-ı itaat makrurı ilan ve işaa olunarak cümlesi seman ve taatan diyerek saye-i merahim vaye-i şahanede tertib buyurulan Asakir-i Mansure can ve başlarımızla beraber ve emr ü irade-i tacdariye itaatten sermu ictinaf etmeyeceklerini her birleri takrir-i kelam eylediklerinde tıbkı irade-i seniyye-i şahane üzere derhal çarşı ve dükkanlarda yeniçeri alametleri olan nişan tahtalarını kesr ü imha ve bade iç kalede olan

Yeniçeri Ağasını ihrac ve dayire-i sitayiş-kari halkına ilhak birle memleketin muharasasiçün tüfenkçi başımız elli nefer tüvana asker ile enderun-ı kaleye tayin ve esvak ve çarşı kolluğu tabir olunur mahalle kapıcılar kethüdamız Mustafa Ağa memur ve tayin kılınarak ve hakimü'l-vakt efendi daileri ve vücuh-ı belde ve taraf-ı senaveriden mu'temed ve mü'min adamlarım kulları tayiniyle bi'l-muayenet ve bi'l-ittifak İbrail'de vaki meyane kışlalarında mukim aşçı ustalarını ihrac ve yedlerinde olan çapraz ve kazgan ve sayir edevat-ı miriye ba defatir yekan yekan ahz birle iç kalede mahall-i me'muna va'z ve hıfz olunarak sefayin ile der aliyyeye irsal kılınacağı ol vechle kışlalar kapıları sedd ü derkemin ve muvakkat-ı şer'iyle temhir ve cümle vücuh-ı belde ve sunuf-ı sayire yekdil ve yekzeban olarak ed'iyeye-i hayriye-i hazret-i cihanbani ve saniyen ezderbar-ı ömr ü devlet-i cenab-ı vekaletpenahi müdavemet ve muvazabat üzere olduklarını bir kıta ilam-ı şer'iyesi tanzim ve temhiren derbar-ı merhamet karara takdimine ictisar kılındığı inşaallahu teala lede ahseni'l-vusul karin ilm-i alem ara-yı samileri buyuruldukta badema sub-ı senaveranemi ta'tifen behiye-i dilnevazileriyle bad ü üs'ade himem ü febiheleri eazz ü mearib ve ihzar-ı matlub bi irtiyablarıdır.

Fi 25 ZA 1241

Telhis,

İbrail muhafızı Süleyman Paşa kullarının varid olan kaimesidir. Ocağ-ı sabıkın mahv ve ilgasıyla yerine Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye tertib ve icra olunduğun mutazammın tahrir ve tisyar olunan mektub-ı çakerinin cevabını mübin olmakla ol

babda İbrail naibinin bir kıta ilamıyla beraber manzur-ı hümayun-ı mülukaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındığı mehatt-ı ilm-i alileri buyuruldukta emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehu'l-emrindir.

Hatt-ı Hümayun,

İbrail muhafızının işbu kaimesiyle naibinin ilamı manzur ve malum-ı hümayunum olmuştur. Elhamdulillah şimdiye dek gelen tahriratın cümlesi birbirine tevafuk ediyor. Bundan böyle gelecek tahriratların dahi mealleri mutabık gelerek umumi günlerin bir şeması hasıl olur inşaallah.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 34933-B

Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-niam, kesirül ekrem efendim, Sultanım hazretleri,

İdare-i uhde-i bendeganemde olan Tokat voyvodalığı iki seneden berü saye-i vakt-i aliyyede imkan-ı mertebe kıyl ü kal olmaya şimdiye kadar idare olunmuş ise de kaza-yı mezkurda naib-i ----- olan efendi daileri memur olduğu umur-ı şeria ile iktifa etmeyerek takarrur davasıyla ocağ-ı merfu bakayalarından serdar-ı inam Mehmed ve vakayi-i sabıkada usta bulunan ser ----- kör odabaşı ve ----- başı Hasan odabaşı ve hafız oğlu Hasan ilimdar ve bu defa naib efendiye üçbin gurus verip ---- şerife izin alup ----- olan Şerif oğlu Halil İlimdar ve Dağdelen Hasan İlimdar ve ----- Mehmed İlimdar ve hala şehir kethüdası ----- Hafız ve şişçi Mehmed İlimdar ve bakkal başı Hacı Mustafa işbu mezkurul esami kimesneler gece ile efendi hazretlerine varıp bundan böyle bizden lazım gelen galilat ve tedibat vukuunda bizleri voyvoda habsine vermeyüp dizdarhanesine irsal buyurulsun deyu niyazlarına muma ileyh dahi söz verip ve bunlar ile ittifak üzere balide-i mezkuranın kaffe-i ticaretini bunlara muhasara edüp ve varide olan tekalif-i şahane ve mesarifat-ı saire müstakilce aceze makulesine tahsis etmiş olup umur-i şeriadan başka bir hususa vaz-ı yed etmeyesün deyu kendine emr-i sami zuhur etmiş ise de yine tenbih olmayup ulema ve ağavattan kimesnenin haberi olmayarak ilan idüp ---- -- emrini götürmüş olduğu Abdüsselam efendi ile mezkuru'l-esami kimesneleri başına cem edüp bundan akdem Sivas valisi devletlü Mehmed Paşa hazretleri huzurunda ruyet olunan muhasebatı karıştırarak gizlice bir defter edüp matlub

buyurulan asker bedelîyesini dahi idhal etmeyüp kendünden sual olundukta o hususları devlet bana sual eder deyu cevab verüp ve saye-i ulyada kendine söz bulup iskat etmek mümkün ise de merkuman ile müttelik olmak hasebiyle şayet bir fesad çıkarup bunların yüzlerinden fukara ve zuefa birer fenaya mebla olarak sonra kulları dahi muatib olurum mülahazasıyla naçar her yer etvarlarına vazî olarak midad ve mümaşat ile şimdiye kadar vakit geçirilmiş ise de iki seneden beru her bir ahvale vakıf devletlü Celaleddin Paşa hazretlerine ve vuku-ı hali ifade-i arızıye etmiş isem de bu defa dahi eyalet valisine ifade etmek vacibe-i ----- olmakla Medine-i Sivas'a vürud ve keyfiyet-i hali ifadedattan avdet-i müddetim tekmiline kadar umur-ı fukara-yı ruyet-i azlim ve ibkam haberi zuhuruna kadar idare eylemek üzere isem de ol hain-i din ve devlet olan merdudların layıkı vechle tedibatı ve taht-ı rabıtaya idhali hususundan sarf u nazar buyurulsa gerek kullarının ve gerek gelecek voyvodanın idare-i hayr imkanın olmayıp her halde bunların mazarratları defîyle kaffe-i ehl-i ırzıye ve fukara-yı ra'betin davat-ı haberiyesine mazhar buyurulmak babında emr ü ferman devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-niam ve'l-ekber ve'l-ekrem efendim Sultanım hazretlerindedir.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 43477.A

Bosna kadısının ilamıdır,

Maruz-ı dai-i devam-ı ömr ü devletleridir ki,

Bundan akdem der aliyyede vuku bulan fesad ve fitne yeniçeri ocağından neş'et etmiş olduğundan külliyyen aradan yeniçeri namı kaldırılmak babında ve dergah-ı ali kapucubaşlarından saadetlü Mehmed Ağa yediyle taraf-ı dersuturanelerine ve mucibince taraf-ı alilerinden maan ba-buyuruldu mübaşirler yediyle sudur ve inayetriz buyurulan ferman-ı vacibü'l-ittiba' medine-i Saray'a vurudunda medine-i mezburda yeniçeri ağası olan Serturnai Ali nam hain-i din ü devlet ile diğer Serturna vücuhundan ----- nam müfsid ve serdengeçti Bakiri İbrahim ve diğer Tahmisci Mustafa ve Peynu İbrahim İlimdar ve mütesellim-i beled Osman Bey nam hainler der akeb bir takım erazil makulesi cem edüp kapucubaşı ağa ma'iyetinde olan mübaşirleri üzerlerine paralamak kasdıyla üzerlerine hücum edüp ellerinden ferman-ı aliyi ve buyurulduları ahz, kendüleri ber takrib hilas olmuşlar ise de mezburlar ferman tarafımıza irsalinde taraf-ı şer'i Ahmediden mahzar-i pendleri her tarafa irsal olundu ki cümle muvacehesinde feth ü kıraat oluna deyu mezbur hainler cümleye ihafe etmiş idi. Her kim mahkeme kapusundan bakar ve ----- her kim dikilir ise kurşun ile vurup yare yare ettirir cevaplarından bir kimesne zuhur etmeyüp bade beş on kadar başeski namında bir takım kanlı ve katil makulesi huzur-ı şer'a gelüp cümle vilayetin ----- vardır bu emri cisile kayd etmeyüp suretini al ve bize ver ve fermanı mübaşirine irsal edeceğiz deyüp tarafımızdan naçar virüp

bade ferman mübaşirine ve sureti tecemmü oldukları mahalde kıraat edüp cümleye hitab edüp ey ahali yeniçerilik aradan kalkar ise bir kimesne mülk ve emlakine mutasarrıf olamaz ve ticaretin dahi ----- olurlar biz bunu kabul etmeyiz ve yeniçerilikten dahi geçmeyiz umumen telef oluruz deyüp cümle sancağın havi olduğu kazalara mektublar tahrir birle bilumum sancağı fesad virüp cümle ümmet-i Muhammed arasında bir ateş bırakıp cihanı fesada vermek hülyasında olduklarına bu abd-i aciz dailerinin ilme mahit olmakla -----Allahu ve rasuluhu vaki ila li-huzur maa'n-nur dersuturanelerine arz ve i'lama cesaret olunur bakiü'l-emr hazreti men lehu'l-emrindir. Tahriren min sekiz Muharremi-i Haram sene isna ve erbain ve mieteyn ve elf.

HATT-I HÜMAYUN 47935.J

Ma'ruz-ı kulları budur ki;

İktiza-yı kaza ve kader ile bu tarafta bazı edani ve esafil makuleleri tahrikiyle mukaddemce iştiial etmiş olan ----- cenk ve cidalin keyfiyet-i na-marziyesi reside-i samia-i aliyye-i veliyyü'n-niamileri olmakla umumen Musul ahalisinin hakk-ı acizanelerinde derkar ve peyder pey asar-ı numudar olan vufur-ı merahim ve işkak ve ayet-i insiyak-ı diniyye pervane ve mezid-i müsaade ve esaf-ı himayet insaf-ı hadivanelerinden naşi işbu hareket-i reddiyenin vehamet-i akibetini ve muntic olacağı nedamet ve şeemeti tahzirat-ı vafiye ve tehdidat-ı şafiye ile lutfen ve inayeten bast ü beyan ve bu defa Yeniçeri ocağının isim ve resmi kaffe-i memalik-i mahrusa-i hüsrevaneden ref ve imha olunmak babında taraf-ı devletlerine mehabetriz sudur olan ferman-ı alişan vacibü'l-ez'anın bir kıt'a suret-i münifi irsaline terahhüm ve ihsan buyurularak ber mucceb-i irade-i katia-i cihandari Yeniçerilik namını ba'de'l-yevm lisana almamak ve vuku' bulan fitne ve fesadın def ve itfasına itina ve dikkat olunmak hususunu amir cümleye hitaben isdar ve tisyar buyurulan bir kıt'a buyuruldu-i şerif-i itaat-redif ve mehasin-amilleri şerefriz vurd ve ala melei'n-nas feth ü kıraat ve mezamin-i aliyyesi cümlelerin guş-i hoşlarına telkin ve ifadeye mübaderet olunmakla cümlesi semi'na ve ata'na emr ü ferman şevketlü padişah-ı alempenah efendimiz ve inayetlü veliyyü'n-niam efendimizindir diyerek halat-ı sayıkadan tevbe ve inayete müsaraat ve devam-ı ömr ü devlet-i şahane ve kıyam-ı fer ü haşmet-i hadivane da'vatı tekrarına mübaderet etmişlerdir. Ancak mukaddem vuku bulan keyfiyyet-i nabeca erbaş ve erazil-i nassın yek diğer

ile derkar olan adavat ve nefsanîyetlerinden neş'et etmiş maazallahî teâlâ bu beldenin vücuh ve eşraf ve sair ehl-i ırz ve erbab-ı diyanet ve insafları bu maddenin vukuuna ne sa'y etmiş ve ne rıza göstermiş ve def ve ref'ine bi-kaderi'ttaka ----- ve ihtimam ve vecd ü ikdam eylemiş ve bu takribiyle buyuruldu-i şerif vürudundan dokuz gün mukaddem saye-i ----- veliyyü'n-niamileriyle ve devletlü Bahir Paşa hazretlerinin emval-i tahsiline me'mur saadetlü Halil Efendi kullarının hüsn-i tedbiriyle ateş-i fitne ve fesad itfa ve imhad olunmuş olup keyfiyyet mukaddemce hakipay-i hacet deva-yı daveranelerine arz ve takdim kılınmış olduğundan inşaallahu teâlâ bu ana kadar mehatt-ı ilm-i inayet ----- asfaneleri olmak gerektir. Musulda esamelü yeniçeri mevcut olmayup yeniçerilikleri ma'nasız bir lafız ve hakikatten hali bir suret ise de ber mucceb-i fermude-i seniyye suret-i mezkure aradan kalkıp ve yeniçerilik ve yoldaşlık lafzı terk olunup ahali-i merkume kulları beynlerinde hudus etmiş olan tebaguz ve muadat-ı mübeddel selm ve musafat olarak cihet-i camia-i İslam ve hemşehrilik iktizası üzere cümleleri yek dil ve yek cihet ve bi'l-ittifak-ı hidemat-ı aliyyeleri icrasına bi-efşurde-i müzekker sadakat ve istikamet ve her halde hissin-i himayet-i veliyyü'n-niamilerinde mütehassin olarak her vechle hal-i acizaneleri müsaadesi hususunda merahim-i aliyyeleri sunuhi niyazında olduklarının arz ve i'lamı zımında işbu arz-ı ubudiyyet tahririne cesaret kılındı. Ol babda emrü ferman men lehu'l-emrindir.

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