

**NON-MUSLIMS AND MILITARY SERVICE IN THE LATE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

by

Handan BALKAN TEC

Submitted to the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Turkish Studies

Sabanci University

August 2015

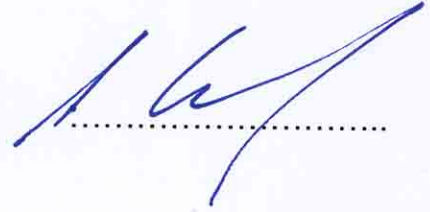
NON-MUSLIMS AND MILITARY SERVICE IN THE LATE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE

APPROVED BY:

Assistant Professor Yusuf Hakan Erdem
(Thesis Supervisor)



Associate Professor Selçuk Akşin Somel



Assistant Professor Kahraman Şakul



DATE OF APPROVAL: 04.08.2015

© Handan Balkan Tec 2015

All Rights Reserved



ABSTRACT

NON-MUSLIMS AND MILITARY SERVICE IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

HANDAN BALKAN TEC

M.A. Thesis, August 2015

Advisor: Yusuf Hakan Erdem

Keywords: non-Muslims, military service, mandatory military

This thesis, which handles the period between 1839 and 1912, aims to show how non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire could not be taken to military service successfully. Non-Muslims created many problems that did not allow equality between Muslims and themselves. Even though all the military reforms that the Empire did to provide equality among all the subjects, these reforms could not be practiced very effectively in society. There were two important reasons that created the unfair situation in military service among the Ottoman citizens. The first one was common desertions of non-Muslims from their military service duties. The second reason was that the Empire was giving a tax-payment option to non Muslims to get rid of military service because of its money need. Name of the tax, that was replaced with *cizye* in 1856, was *bedel-i askeri*. The modern military reforms in the Ottoman Empire could be dated to reign of Selim III and Mahmud II. Ottoman army became more organized and modern in Tanzimat period at the nineteenth century. Changes of duration of military service and asking for the *bedel-i askeri* for a while, then abolishing it later were the most radical military reforms between 1839 and 1912.

ÖZET

GEÇ OSMANLI DÖNEMİNDE GAYRİMÜSLİMLER VE ASKERLİK HİZMETİ

HANDAN BALKAN TEC

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ağustos 2015

Danışman: Yusuf Hakan Erdem

Anahtar Sözcükler: gayrimüslimler, askerlik hizmeti, zorunlu askerlik

1839 ve 1912 yılları arasındaki dönemi ele alan bu tez, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki gayrimüslim tebanın başarılı bir şekilde askere alınamayışını göstermeyi amaçlıyor. Gayrimüslimler, Müslümanlar ve kendileri arasındaki eşitliği engelleyecek sorunlar yarattılar. İmparatorluğun tüm halk arasında eşitliği sağlamak amacıyla yaptığı tüm askeri yeniliklere rağmen, bu yenilikler toplumda verimli bir şekilde uygulanamadı. Osmanlı vatandaşları arasında askerlik hizmeti konusunda adaletsizliğin ortaya çıkmasında iki önemli sebep vardı. İlki gayrimüslimlerin askerlik hizmeti sorunluluklarından yaygın şekilde kaçışlarıydı. İkinci sebep imparatorluğun para ihtiyacı nedeniyle gayrimüslimlere askerlikten muaf olabilmeleri için vergi ödeme seçeneği sunmasıydı. Cizye yerine 1856 yılında getirilen bu verginin ismi bedel-i askeri idi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki modern askeri yeniliklerin başlangıç tarihine gitmek gerekirse bu tarih bizi III. Selim ve II. Mahmud dönemlerine götürür. Osmanlı ordusu 19. yüzyıldaki Tanzimat döneminde daha düzenli ve daha modern bir hale geldi. Askerlik hizmetinin süresindeki değişimler ve bedel-i askeri vergisinin bir dönem alınıp başka bir dönem alınmasının bırakılması 1839 ve 1912 yılları arasındaki en köklü askeri yeniliklerdi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Yusuf Hakan Erdem, my thesis advisor, for his academic support and important contributions to this thesis. I also want to thank the jury members Selçuk Akşin Somel and Kahraman Şakul for their valuable comments. In addition, I am thankful to İzak Atiyas and Tülay Artan for helping appreciate and generate different ideas during my time at Sabanci University.

I would like to dedicate some special appreciation to Prof. Suraiya Faroqhi who gave me the inspiration of not only reading and researching more but also taught me how to enjoy life. Her precious personality encouraged me to travel more and see the beauty in small details. I am also thankful to my professors Levent Yılmaz, Elektra Kostopoulou, Bülent Bilmez, Başak Tuğ, Boğaç Erozan and Cengiz Kırılı who made me look at historical and political issues from different perspectives.

At a more personal level I want to express my gratitude to my family who supported all my decisions that I took in my life. I would like to especially thank my sister Canan Balkan for being a great model and for being next to me since my birth. She contributed a great deal in helping me complete this thesis. I am also thankful to my love Juan Javier Tec for his infinitive caring for me. His presence makes my life more meaningful and cheerful. Lastly, thanks to my friends Öznur Yılmaz, Yadigar Bilgin and Szilvi Ilonka for being there whenever I needed them, and for being interested with my studies since the beginning.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
REIGN OF SELİM III AND MAHMUD II: ORIGINS OF THE IDEA OF A DISCIPLINED ARMY	
1.1. Selim III	9
1.2. Mahmud II	11
1.3. French Military Influence in Muslim World	15
MILITARY REGULATIONS FOR THE NON-MUSLIMS IN THE TANZIMAT PERIOD	
2.1. <i>Tanzimat</i> Period and <i>Hatt-ı Şerif</i> of <i>Gülhane</i>	22
2.2. Recruitment of non-Muslims to the Ottoman Army	24
2.3. Military Reforms	26
2.4. Royal Edict of Reform	32
2.5. Replacement of <i>Cizye</i> with <i>Bedel-i Askeri</i>	36
2.6. Inequality Discussions & Reactions to <i>Tanzimat</i>	40
2.7. Desertions of non-Muslim Soldiers	44
2.8. Non-Muslim Soldiers in Different Fields of the Empire	46
2.9. The New Recruitment Law (8 th of March 1870)	47
FROM THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD TO THE GREAT WAR, 1876- 1914	49
3.1. Discussions in the First and Second Parliaments about non-Muslims' Military Duties	51
3.2. <i>Nizamiye</i> Law (1886)	55
3.3. Balkan Wars	55
3.4. Memories of <i>Sürmenyan</i>	56
CONCLUSION	59
ATTACHMENTS	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY	76

INTRODUCTION

General Ottoman history courses offered at the university level are mostly focused on civic, social, and economical aspects of the Ottoman Empire. Political and international matters dealing with the Ottoman Empire are, for the most part, missing in general Ottoman history courses. General lessons on Ottoman history rarely shed light on internal and external wars, treaties, and matters on which sultan was ruling at a specific time period. The courses could be more complete if Ottoman military and political backgrounds are mentioned. Şakul says that research topics of military history are quite extensive today.¹ These developments can be applied in general Ottoman history courses. Military history usually sounds boring for people because of the many details and dates that are meant to be kept in mind. Indeed military history is not all about why wars started and what they achieved. The developments in Ottoman military history can be studied with making a connection with the developments in Ottoman society. Wars can change the attitudes and ideas of society. For example, in France, the notion of citizenship appeared in the process of the formation of the modern state. ‘Citizenship’ brought the mandatory military system first in France then in other states such as the Ottoman Empire. To be a citizen in a state brought duties and rights to people. Having to fight for one’s country became one of the most important duties for a citizen. In my thesis, I connect developments in the Ottoman military with developments in Ottoman

¹ Kahraman Şakul, “Yeni Bir Askeri Tarih Özlemi”, *Yeni Bir Askeri Tarih Özlemi: Savaş, Teknoloji ve Deneysel Çalışmalar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 2013). p.4

society by shedding light on the connection between the recruitment of non-Muslims to the Ottoman army and their reactions to those recruitment attempts.

The most important reason why I chose this subject is that experiences of non-Muslim soldiers in the Ottoman army, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century have been dealt in only a few studies. Even it was my starting point which motivated me to study on this topic, I went further. I did not only focus on military regulations that were made for non-Muslims. Instead, my thesis became a general frame about military regulations in the modern Ottoman world. Of course, it can be discussed what was modern or when the Ottoman Empire became modernized. Modernization of an empire means following the contemporary developments in military, bureaucracy, trade and adapting them according to itself. Thus my thesis started with the reign of Selim III who adapted European style reforms in the Ottoman army.

Mahmud II's reforms not only in military but also in other fields followed the regulations of Sultan Selim. It was not a coincidence that Mahmud made the first general population census while the Empire was becoming more organized under the reforms. One of the main reasons of the census was to keep the people under control. That is to say, the state used the census as a policing tool. Another reason was to increase resources of treasury that came from taxes by being able to collect more taxes. According to number of male members in the Empire it could be guessed not only potential amount of taxes, but also soldiers.

The time period examined in the thesis is between 1792, the year when the *Nizam-ı Cedid* reforms were commenced, and 1914. Even reign of Selim III and Mahmud II

constituted my thesis's background I mostly focused on the developments after 1839. The reason why this period has been chosen is that most of the military reforms occurred in this time frame. And the reason why I took 1839 as a focus is obvious: 1839 was the year in which the *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane* was proclaimed that launched the *Tanzimat* (Reorganizations) period of reforms and reorganization in the Ottoman Empire. I limited my study with the World War I that started in 1914 because the environment and context of the war are different and it needs to be studied separately in order to focus on it.

Studying on over a hundred years in reforms and reorganization period gives a chance to see the effects of reforms in a long term. It is interesting to see the changes in military, education and society. Among all the Tanzimat period changes, military part attracts my interest the most because it is the field that modernization process reflects itself the most sharply. Besides, changes in military system shaped the lives of non-Muslims in the Empire.

This thesis is divided into three main chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion chapters. The first chapter focuses on the military reforms of Selim III and Mahmud II. Foundation of *Nizam-i Cedid* (New Order) Army by Selim III and *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (the Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad) by Mahmud II are two fundamental military developments in the late Ottoman Empire. They both intended to make the army stronger and more organized. For this purpose, they worked on modern system of military education. Furthermore, they were open to adapt Western style army reforms to keep up with the recent developments in Europe.

The second chapter covers military regulations for the non-Muslims in the *Tanzimat* period. It starts with death of Mahmud II and asking what does *Tanzimat* mean. I will talk about the reforms that were promised with *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane* in 1839. Then I will answer the question what the new military regulations of 1843 changed in Ottoman society. In this chapter, abolition of *cizye* (tax paid by non-Muslim subjects of the Empire) and establishment of *bedel-i askeri* (payment for Muslims non-Muslims who did not go to military service) will be mentioned. Additional to this, escape attempts of non-Muslim soldiers from military service will be covered. Lastly, I am going to answer if Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat (Islahat Fermanı)* brought equality for Muslims and non-Muslims in 1856.

In the third chapter I will focus on the changes of military rules for non-Muslims from the First Constitutionalist Period to the Great War between years of 1876-1914. The effects of the First Ottoman Constitution's proclamation in 1876 are the start point of this chapter. I will basically mention main military reforms that shaped the period. 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War (*93 Harbi*) created lack of soldiers to fight in the war. This situation resulted with discussions in the Ottoman Parliament about non-Muslims' responsibilities about military. Some deputies supported to abolish *bedel-i askeri* for non-Muslim subjects and make them all a part of the military. On the contrary, some other deputies were against that suggestion. After the Second Constitution in 1908, those discussions became more common. This chapter also includes an Armenian officer, Surmenyan's memories about his experience in the Ottoman army as an example that shows non-Muslim officers' lives in the Ottoman army.

Primary sources that I used in this thesis supported the secondary sources in the literature. Mostly documents from *Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivi* are used. I provided their summaries instead of the whole Ottoman text in transliteration. In addition, I put some of documents in their original form to the appendices part.

Secondary sources formed the basis of my thesis. I reviewed the literature of the nineteenth century Ottoman reforms. I basically used the following secondary sources. Gülnihal Bozkurt's book² offers detailed information about Ottoman non-Muslims' judicial status in two different periods. These periods are the *Tanzimat* period and the Second Constitutional period. She mentions which rights non-Muslims gained and which duties they became responsible for in those two periods. In a part of her book, she focuses on military service duties of non-Muslims. Also all the efforts that the Ottoman officers spent to take non-Muslims to the military service are described very well.

Ali Güler has a similar book³ with Bozkurt about the non-Muslims' status in the Ottoman military, politics and law systems. He basically focuses on these terms before and after the *Tanzimat* period. However, his main focus point is non-Muslims' socio-economic status at the beginning of the twentieth century. He worked on specific non-Muslim groups; Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. He strongly believed that it is impossible to study any of those groups independently from the others.

Erik J. Zürcher's book⁴ *Turkey a Modern History* is a reference guide for many researchers on the nineteenth and twentieth century Ottoman Empire history. His book

² Gülnihal Bozkurt, *Alman-İngiliz Belgelerinin ve Siyasi Gelişmelerin Işığında Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu (1839-1914)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989)

³ Güler, Ali. *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Azınlıklar* (Ankara: Tamga, 2000)

⁴ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: a Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004)

starts with the reforms of Selim III and Mahmud II which is the background of my thesis. He also analyzes the era of the *Tanzimat* and the Second Constitutional period. Among all the reforms that Zürcher describes, I found the military reforms most useful for my study. He tells how Ottoman non-Muslims are started to be part of compulsory military service and what rights they gained later to be exempted from military service. I also used his book called *Arming the State*.⁵

Kalusd Sürmenyan's memories about his military and deportation years in the Ottoman Empire are edited in a book⁶ by Yaşar Cora. As an Armenian officer, Sürmenyan tells about all the process how he became an officer in the Ottoman army. First he mentions his military education background; the years that he spent in *Askeri Rüştiye* (military secondary school), *Askeri İdadi* (military high school) and Military Academy. Then we learn how he was appointed to the army and became a part of Balkan War. Sürmenyan's memories are very useful to understand how non-Muslims used to feel about serving for the Ottoman army. For example he and his friends wanted to be part of the army to protect the rights of the other Armenian soldiers in the army.

Ufuk Gülsoy's book⁷ on Ottoman non-Muslims' military experiences is one of my main secondary sources that I used for my thesis. His book covers many details about rules and reforms of compulsory military service in different periods. Of course, he also includes non-Muslims' positions in military reforms. Gülsoy emphasizes abolition of *cizye* and replacing it with a new tax called *bedel-i askeri*. In his study, it can be easily

⁵ Erik J. Zürcher (ed), *Arming the State: Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia 1775-1925* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999)

⁶ Yaşar Tolga Cora, *Harbiyeli Bir Osmanlı Ermenisi Mülazım-ı Sani Sürmenyan'ın Savaş ve Tehcir Anıları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015)

⁷ Ufuk Gülsoy, *Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni* (Istanbul: Simurg, 2000)

seen how military rules for both Muslims and non-Muslims changed in chronological order. The book also includes acceptance of non-Muslims to the military schools. Reactions of notables and politicians about all the developments are discussed very well. Opposite ideas of the Ottomans about the reforms related to compulsory military service of non-Muslims are given in different chapters.

Musa Çadırcı's book⁸ is another important source for my topic. He worked on military service in the Tanzimat period. Since his study has a more specific time period, his book has more detailed information on military laws between 1839 and 1876. He basically pays attention to 1843 Recruitment Law. He explains what had been changed with the law and how it affected Muslim and non-Muslim soldiers. Briefly, he tells about how this law shaped military system in the Ottoman Empire.

Önder Kaya has a book⁹ about the non-Muslims of the Ottoman Empire between the *Tanzimat* period and treaty of Lausanne. His work also focuses on the most common three non-Muslim groups namely Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. He gives background of those groups and what they were doing to survive until the Tanzimat period. We learn in which field of profession Greeks, Armenians and Jews involved. In later periods, the problems occurred about non-Muslims's military positions is also well described. Kaya also mentions the reactions of Muslims and non-Muslims to Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat*.

⁸ Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Sürecinde Türkiye 'de Askerlik* (Istanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 2008)

⁹ Önder Kaya, *Tanzimat'tan Lozan'a Azınlıklar* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2004)

I used another book on regulations (*nizamname*) about non-Muslims by Murat Bebirođlu.¹⁰ Almost all the regulations for non-Muslim groups are included in the book called *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslim Nizamnameleri (Non-Muslim Regulations in the Ottoman Empire)*. Instead of focusing to all of those regulations separately I personally decided to look at the general picture of the regulations. Affects of the Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* on non-Muslims' daily life and their military duties is the most important part of the regulations.

Şenol Çöklü has a book called *I. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Asker Alma Usulleri (The Recruitment Methods for the Military from the First Constitutional Period to Republican Period)*.¹¹ As it can be understood from the title he focuses on what has been changed for the soldiers with the First Constitutional Period. The regulations that were made to take the non-Muslims to military are described with the laws and reforms. He also mentions that the Ottoman Empire asked for voluntary soldiers in war times. Also the escape movements of non-Muslims in different times are discussed.

Additionally, I applied to sources of Virginia Aksan, Khaled Fahmy, Merwin Albert Griffiths, Tobias Heinzelmann, Stanford Shaw to provide background about the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰ Murat Bebirođlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslim Nizamnameleri* (Istanbul: Akademi Matbaası, 2008)

¹¹ Şenol Çöklü, *I. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Asker Alma Usulleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2014)

CHAPTER ONE

REIGN OF SELİM III AND MAHMUD II: ORIGINS OF THE IDEA OF DISCIPLINED ARMY

1.1 Selim III

The first most important Ottoman attempt to create a disciplined army was Sultan Selim's new army, the *Nizam-ı Cedid*. Selim's formation of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* was a phenomenal act that caused much uproar in the capital and whose reputation far exceeded the boundaries of Istanbul and spread all over the Empire. Moreover, some of these new *nizami* troops of Sultan Selim had a chance to come to Palestine as part of the Ottoman forces that were sent by sea under the command of the Capitan Pasha to expel the French from the country.¹²

Selim decided on a radical solution which was to create a new army outside the existing structure when the Ottoman Empire needed a strong army. The work on this new army started in 1794. By the end of the Selim's era in 1807 there were almost 30.000 men ready to fight in the Ottoman Empire. They were strong, well equipped and trained. Also the navy was reorganized.¹³

In general, *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order) was name of the programme of Selim's reforms. This programme's aim was to increase the strength of the central state

¹² Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men; Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (UK: Cambridge Universtiy Press, 1997). p. 81.

¹³ Zürcher, p.24

organization, against external and internal enemies. The external enemies were mainly Russia while the internal ones were the semi-independent *ayans*.¹⁴

Zürcher says that every reform of Sultan Selim can be understood as means to that end: building a new army costs money; money had to be generated by more efficient taxation, which in turn could only be achieved through a modern and efficient central and provincial bureaucracy. Better communications were needed to extend government control and new types of education to produce the new-style military and civil servants that the sultan needed.¹⁵

Selim's reformers were forced to isolate the new troops, who were to be organized and disciplined explicitly along European lines, in places far afield and in garrisons separated from the Janissary and court *Sipahi* corps. In fact the Empire was maintaining two systems simultaneously, the Janissary and the Nizam-ı Cedid, and relying on a third, the countryside militias, for defense of the borders against the internal and external enemies.¹⁶

During Selim's reign, some new schools were opened to make the navy and the army stronger. For instance, the existing naval engineering school was modernized and an equivalent for the army was established in 1795. Also a modern medical service and a medical school were established.¹⁷

¹⁴ Zürcher, p.23

¹⁵ Ibid., p.41

¹⁶ Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars: 1700-1870 An Empire Besieged* (UK: Pearson, 2007). p.196

¹⁷ Zürcher, p.25

Selim III tried unsuccessfully to westernize the army as part of his *Nizam-i Cedid*. Selim, earlier, had some success in introducing military and naval schools, but when he attempted to alter the fundamental structure of the military forces, he failed. The experiment was premature. The Janissaries correctly saw their own destruction as imminent, if the new army came into being, and reacted accordingly. As a result, Selim lost his throne in 1807 and his life in 1808.¹⁸

1.2 Mahmud II

Mahmud II came to throne in 1808 and he reigned until 1839. The war against Russia between 1806 and 1812, the Serbian uprisings between 1807 and 1817 and the Greek insurrection between 1821 and 1830 had clearly established the military bankruptcy of the Ottoman Empire. As if to make this fact the more ignorable, Muhammad Ali had rebuilt his Egyptian army along European lines in the preceding years.¹⁹ All these things created need of an organized army under Mahmud's reign.

The Army of Janissaries was abolished in 1826 by Mahmud II. In the years preceding the destruction of the Janissaries, Mahmud II had gradually filled the high bureaucracies of the Ruling Class with young Ottomans who were energetic, ambitious, loyal to him, and determined to carry out his reform desires.²⁰ The most pressing problem facing Mahmud was that of providing new military leadership. The destruction of the Janissaries left the Ottoman Empire without the military leaders which even that archaic

¹⁸ Merwin Albert Griffiths, *The Reorganization of the Ottoman Army Under Abdülhamid II, 1880-1897* (University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D., 1966). p.8

¹⁹ Griffiths, p.7

²⁰ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976). p.21

military institution might have provided. The artillery and engineer officers were put into service for which they had no particular training.²¹

A new army was established under the name of *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*. It was an Islamic army. The army had an exclusive character which appeared in its title ‘the victorious soldiers of Muhammad’.²² This new army was salaried as the Janissaries used to be. The soldiers of *Asakir-i Mansure* could work in agriculture or trade after the twelve years salaried military service.²³ The total military force in 1828 numbered about 200.000, including sipahis and irregulars.²⁴

Mahmud II had some attempts to create a modern system of military education that would be tentative and experimental. Since the eighteenth century, there were schools for teaching mathematics to the officers in the navy and in the technical branches of the army. However there were no schools for the training of officers in the other branches of the army. In 1831, Mahmud initiated plans for establishment of a military academy. *Mekteb-i Harbiye* (the Military Academy) opened its doors in 1834.²⁵

The need for trained officers gave rise to the opening of the Military Academy in Istanbul. Although that was a progressive and needed move, the school progressed very slowly in the early years. The lack of instructors and books, and a general ignorance of the basic principles of military education created confusion. There were no primary or secondary schools from which the Military Academy could draw its students.

²¹ Griffiths, p.10

²² Ibid., p.12

²³ İlhami Yurdakul, “Osmanlı Ordularının Asker İhtiyacının Karşılmasında Yeni Bir Yöntem: Kura Sistemi 1839-1914”, *Eskiçağ’dan Modern Çağ’a Ordular, Oluşum, Teşkilat ve İşlev* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2008). p.433

²⁴ Griffiths, p.11

²⁵ David B Ralston, *Importing the European Army* (USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1990). p.63

Consequently the students and instructors alike came from the ranks of the army, by selecting soldiers who seemed to possess leadership ability. Because of the totally inadequate preparation of the students, the Military Academy itself had to provide the elementary and secondary education. As a result the first class did not graduate until 1847.²⁶

In military reforms there were some problems mostly about the military personnel. There was lack of trained and trustworthy personnel. The number of people with enough knowledge of the new military and bureaucratic techniques could be counted only in hundreds in 1840s and 1850s. The new training establishments could only gradually supply the state with suitable graduates, in the beginning of the 1840s.²⁷

Men like von Moltke were hired to help the organization and training of the army. Others taught at the Military Academy. In addition, the government began to send students abroad for military training. In the first years of the operation of the Military Academy, twenty-six students went to Europe – mostly France – for training. Upon their return most of them took teaching positions at the *Mekteb-i Harbiye*.²⁸

Foreign instructors were invited to train the officer corps. The Ottoman government started to invite Prussian instructors because they were less suspect politically than French, British and Russian officers. The tradition of Prussian influence in the Ottoman army started. Later it would continue with “German” influence which would last for nearly a century. Some Muslims prevented the foreign officer from being put in command of

²⁶ Griffiths, p.15

²⁷ Zürcher, p.47

²⁸ Griffiths, p.15

Ottoman troops and limited their effectiveness. Dressing and equipping the new army was one of the major problems among the military reforms. Most of the materials were imported from different European countries.²⁹

On the other hand, different types of schools were opened under Mahmud II's period. For example, a school of military music was founded in 1831. On the other hand a medicine school (*Tıbbiye*) was opened. Two *Rüşdiye* (adolescence) schools for young Muslim males were opened at the Süleymaniye and Sultan Ahmet mosques in Istanbul, providing elements of grammar, history and mathematics for those wishing to go on to the military technical schools.³⁰

Plenty of other changes were made in the Empire at the reign of Mahmud. Empire's first general population census was made in 1831. According to the census, there was 2.467.128 Muslims while number of the *reaya* was 230.519 in Anatolia, 833.994 in Rumelia and 82.957 in the islands (Mediterranean Sea islands and Cyprus).³¹ In total, number of *reaya* was 1.147.470 in the Empire.³² The main reason of the census was to determine potential number of soldiers for the new army and to regulate collection of taxes.³³

²⁹ Zürcher, p.43

³⁰ Shaw, p.47

³¹ Cem Behar (ed.), *The Population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey : Historical Statistics Series Vol. 2* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1996). p.23

³² Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831* (Ankara: Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, 1943). p.215

³³ Adnan Çimen, "Civil Registration Services In Ottoman In Terms Of Census, Registration System, And Organisation", *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.14, no.3 (2012). p.194

For the first time, in each neighborhood local headmen were chosen even from the Christians. Additional to those, the first steamship was brought to Istanbul at the reign of Mahmud II.³⁴

Mahmud II presented another very important military reform. Zürcher emphasizes this reform as an important step in the modernization of the army. This step was the establishment of a military reserve (*redif*) in 1834 after the Prussian model. The purpose was to create a large pool of trained men in the provinces to make the regular army ready in time of wars.³⁵ The *redif* system would screen and train men in advance so that only those who were fit and ready to serve would be sent to the front, and then only in accordance with the needs and capacity of each village.³⁶

Establishment of reserve units was one of the series of steps that Mahmud did to put some order into his chaotic military organization in the 1830s. Reserve units (*redif*) first appeared at Edirne, Aydın, Konya and Erzurum. By 1837, forty battalions of reserves, totalling 40.000 men, were available. The reserves fell under the control of the provincial governors since the army had not yet centralized its administration.³⁷

1.3 French Military Influence in Muslim World

The French model of government and administration was followed by all advanced modernizing societies during the nineteenth century. This model had principles of

³⁴ Murat Bebiroğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslim Nizamnameleri* (Istanbul: Akademi Matbaası, 2008). p.17

³⁵ Zürcher, p.43

³⁶ Shaw, p.43

³⁷ Griffiths, p.14

centralization, abolition of privileged groups, uniform codes of law and the extension of the power of the state over the lives and resources of citizens.³⁸

Wright says that many of the middle classes, especially in Germany, embraced nationalism as a means of seeing the back of the French. On the other hand, the significance of burgeoning nationalism in Europe after 1808 should not be discounted, for it became widespread among intellectuals and the educated middle classes, especially in Germany.³⁹

In France, nationalistic feeling under Napoleon was dependent on victory and glory. Napoleon encouraged nationalistic feeling in Italy and Poland. Nicholls thinks that the experience of the Napoleonic Wars and empires in Europe helped to provide some of the myths and nostalgia necessary for the creation of authentic nationalism.⁴⁰

The French military influence in the Ottoman Empire begun in the previous century, the eighteenth century. This influence played a dominant role especially in the military reforms of Mahmud II. According to Albert, this was natural since the French school of military organization, training and tactics dominated the European military philosophy until the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Although the Ottomans drew upon other nations in building the new army, the French influence was the strongest.⁴¹

Khaled Fahmy says that no one living at the turn of the nineteenth century could evade the effect of Napoleon and his armies that swept the entire European continent and

³⁸ D. G. Wright, *Napoleon and Europe* (London: Longman, 1984). p.70

³⁹ Wright, p.71

⁴⁰ David Nicholls, *Napoleon a Bibliographical Companion* (California: ABC – CLIO, 1999). p.179

⁴¹ Griffiths, p.16

the devastation and havoc that they caused in their wake. Being a military man himself and living on the fringes of this continent, Mehmed Ali Pasha must have been curious to know more about these armies that were the talk of the day. Indeed, the Pasha was a great admirer of the Emperor and even during his lifetime his flatterers used to “persuade him that he is a second Napoleon”.⁴² When Mehmed Ali became governor of Egypt in 1805 at the young age of thirty-five, he was aware that he had been given one of the wealthiest Ottoman provinces to rule.⁴³

Moreover, on his landing in Egypt, in 1801 Mehmet Ali had a chance to see Napoleon’s army himself. Although, Napoleon had left Egypt two years earlier in search of greater glory in France. In spite of the short period during which the French Army stayed in the country, it did make a noticeable impact on Egypt. Though French soldiers did not try to enlist the Egyptians at large into their *Armée d’Orient*, the French nevertheless did form a regiment of some 2000 Copts who were trained by French officers, clad in French uniforms and attached to the French army. A number of Memluk youths were also drafted in the French army and were said to make very good soldiers. Furthermore, some Maghribi soldiers were also organized according to French system and drilled along French lines with the words of command issued in French.⁴⁴

After the departure of the French army from Egypt, Hüsrev Pasha, the new Ottoman Vali, set out to train some of the Memluk soldiers along French lines after enlisting in his service all those French officers who stayed behind when their army left Egypt. Hüsrev also formed a Sudanese regiment and trained it in the French style after tailoring for them

⁴² Fahmy, p.79

⁴³ Erik J. Zürcher (ed), p.46

⁴⁴ Fahmy, p.79

“tight” French uniforms. He formed a private escort guard for himself, and he appointed an officer to “teach them the positions of the French.”⁴⁵

It is therefore clear that the Mehmet Ali Pasha was informed about Napoleon’s army and that he was influenced by it when he came to organize his own army. However, Mehmed Ali’s fascination with Western models of reform and French ones in particular, seems to be overstated. As obvious as it is that he was borrowing from the French, it is clear that he was equally influenced by the Ottomans who themselves had been borrowing from the French and adopting their models to suit their own needs. There is some evidence suggesting that the Pasha was familiar with contemporary Ottoman reform attempts especially in the military field and that he was influenced by them in his attempts to create a modern army of his own.⁴⁶ Mehmed Ali undertook a series of striking and innovative reforms that completely reorganized Egyptian society.⁴⁷

Mehmed Ali told his son, Ibrahim, “It has been implemented by Napoleon to lead an army composed of several thousand troops. Our army however, is a new one which we have only recently begun creating.” Two weeks later he ordered his son to have a meeting with the same officials who had drafted the original plan and ordered them to draft a new organizational scheme for the army which he explicitly said should be along the lines of Sultan Selim’s army.⁴⁸

These were the influences on the Pasha’s mind when he decided to form a disciplined army and it is clear from other reform attempts in the Ottoman Empire at large

⁴⁵ Fahmy, p.80

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.80

⁴⁷ Aksan, p. 307

⁴⁸ Fahmy, p.82

that his was not the only attempt at founding a modern, disciplined army. It is also clear that he was not as pioneering in this respect as he might appear if developments in Egypt are not studied in isolation of the wider Ottoman context. Looking at the army he created at the end of his reign, however, one thing stands out as significantly different from other Ottoman military reform attempts, namely, adopting something close to universal conscription whereby masses of peasants were drafted in the new army.⁴⁹

The military reforms of both Mehmed Ali and Sultan Mahmud II took are strikingly similar. Both men were influenced by the *Nizam-ı Cedid* army that Sultan Selim III established prior to his deposition in 1807. Mehmed Ali attempted to take example of *Nizam-ı Cedid*. Both also realized that to start introducing new tactics and drills in their perspective domains, they had to get rid of the traditional military castes that saw the introduction of such new techniques as a direct threat to their privileged positions. Mehmed Ali thus got rid of the Memluks in the infamous massacre of the Citadel in 1811, and Mahmud got rid of the Janissaries in 1826, to pave the way for the introduction of new drills. They seem to have understood that without borrowing from the Europeans and seeking their assistance in founding their new armies, their reforms would have been seriously undermined. In that manner both Pasha and Sultan sought the assistance of various European military advisors, the most famous of whom were Süleyman Pasha and Lieutenant Helmuth von Moltke.⁵⁰

Although the act of getting rid of the Janissaries was important, it was neither as decisive nor as successful as Mehmed Ali's massacre of the Memluks in 1811. The

⁴⁹ Fahmy, p82

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.269

Janissaries were fulfilling tasks other than purely military ones, the most important of which was keeping the peace and security in the capital, Istanbul. Abolishing that most prestigious of military castes within the Empire left the capital defenseless in the face of possible riots. Unlike the situation of Mehmed Ali whose massacre of the Memluks helped him restore security and order in Cairo and in Egypt at large, the Sultan, by getting rid of the Janissaries, felt even more insecure in his own capital. That sense of insecurity limited his course of action in his attempt to spread his reforms over wider segments of his army.⁵¹

To compare Mahmud with Selim; Mahmud II's reforms had a difference from Selim III's. Selim tried to combat abuse of the existing system while Mahmud created new administrative and legal structures. The most radical change that Mahmud did was abolishing the Janissaries. He established a new army under the name of a *Muallem Asakiri Mansureri-i Muhammediye* (Trained Victorious Soldiers of Muhammed).⁵² Mahmud also convinced the powerful elites in both Istanbul and the provinces of the need for a reconstituted system of governance, and enhanced bureaucracy to support the new army. Achieving such cooperation or submission of the regional power-brokers was to be Selim's failure.⁵³

Lastly, obligation of dressing differently for the Christians and Jewish was abolished for the first time under Mahmud II. The sultan Mahmud made a surprising

⁵¹ Fahmy, p.271

⁵² Zürcher, p.42

⁵³ Aksan, p.185

explanation: “I recognize the Muslims in mosque, the Christians in church and the Judaics in sinagog. There are no more differences between my subjects.”⁵⁴



⁵⁴ Bebiroğlu, p.19

CHAPTER TWO

MILITARY REGULATIONS FOR THE NON-MUSLIMS IN THE TANZIMAT PERIOD

2.1 *Tanzimat* Period and *Hatt-ı Şerif* of *Gülhane*

On July 1, 1839 Mahmud II died and Abdülmecid took the throne, opening the curtain on that period of Ottoman history known as *Tanzimat*. *Tanzimat* means reorganization. Mahmud's contribution to the future Ottoman military modernization was successful. Also Mahmud took major steps toward centralization of the authority in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁵

The period from 1839 to 1876 is named as *Tanzimat* in Turkish historiography. The main difference of *Tanzimat* with earlier period was that the centre of power now shifted from the Palace to the Porte (*Bab-ı Âli*), the bureaucracy.⁵⁶

On the 3rd of November 1839, *Hatt-ı Şerif* of *Gülhane* was announced in the name of the new sultan. At the same day, it was read aloud outside the palace gates (at the Square of the Rose Garden, hence its name *Hatt-ı Şerif* of *Gülhane*). It was read to an assembly of Ottoman dignitaries and foreign diplomats.⁵⁷ In English, this document is known as the 'Rescript of the Rose Chamber'. *Hatt-ı Şerif* of *Gülhane* promised reforms which would provide security of life and property, honor of each subject and abolition of

⁵⁵ Griffiths, p.17

⁵⁶ Zürcher, p.52

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.53

tax-farming.⁵⁸ It suggested the beginning of a new age for the Ottoman state with its aim of reforming the old structure and resisting the West.⁵⁹

Imperial Edict of *Gülhane* brought a big difference about military practices. It was limiting military service duration with five years. Before this regulation military service was taking life time. In brief, the main purpose of limiting duration of military service was to encourage people to be a part of the military. Another important aim was to reduce the fear of Muslims about being a part of the Ottoman army.⁶⁰

There were reactions of Muslim people against the Imperial Edict of *Gülhane*. There was some misunderstanding among people about the Edict. For example, Hamlin as a first-hand witness of the responses of the people mentioned to the cries of the Muslims as “the Sharia law is broken, now the Muslim and the non-Muslim are on the same status”.⁶¹

2.2 Recruitment of non-Muslims to Ottoman Army

In 1835, the government took one thousand ninety eight *reaya* (non-Muslim)⁶² for the navy from the mostly Armenian populated places from hinterland of the Empire. Those places were Sivas, Amasya, Erzurum, Hafik, Divrik, Tokat, Zile, Van, Ankara and

⁵⁸ Ralston p.59

⁵⁹ Uğur Peçe, *Greek Ottomans in the 1908 Parliament* (Sabanci University: School of Arts and Social Sciences, Master Tezi, 2007). p.69

⁶⁰ Gülsoy, p.35

⁶¹ Kübra İyiiiş, *An Appraisal of the Impact of Reform on Society: The Case of the Early Tanzimat, 1839-1856* (Sabanci University: School of Arts and Social Sciences, Master Tezi, 2015). p.68

⁶² Reaya: non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire. “Reaya”, *Redhouse Sözlüğü Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce* (Istanbul: Sev Yayıncılık, 1999). p.591

Nevşehir. Next year, they did not require any non-Muslim soldiers. However, they asked for soldiers both from Muslims and non-Muslims because of the navy's need for soldier. But this time, coastal towns were also included as well as hinterland. Trabzon, Canik and Hüdavendigâr were some of those places where the Greeks were highly populated.⁶³

From Ubcini, we learn that three thousand Greek sailors were taken to the Ottoman navy in 1835. It was not the first time of recruiting the Greeks to the navy. Greeks were part of the navy until the Ottoman navy had to face the Greek insurrection in 1821. In the 1820's, the Greeks disappeared from Ottoman warships.⁶⁴ Mahmud II appointed Muslims in Greek sailor's place. However, the increase of the Egyptian navy and the French conquest of Algiers deprived the Ottoman Empire of important Muslim recruiting-areas for sailors and the need for men was so strong. For this reason, the Empire called on Christians again on the navy: 1098 that year and 1491 in 1837.⁶⁵ Some Greek soldiers were asked to join the Ottoman navy from Canik, Trabzon, Hüdavendigâr, Erdek, Ordu, Sivas, Tokat, Nevşehir, Ankara, Erzurum, Niğde and the islands of Limni, Bozcaada, Midilli, İmroz, and Semendirek.⁶⁶

In total, one thousand five hundred non-Muslim soldiers were taken to the navy in 1837. They were between eighteen and twenty-five years old who were used to sea life.

⁶³ Gülsoy, p.29

⁶⁴ Zürcher (ed), p.53

⁶⁵ Hakan Erdem, "Do Not Think of the Greeks As Agricultural Labourers': Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence", *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2005). p.74

⁶⁶ Kaya, p.76

Additional to this, they were supposed to serve five years in the ships that belonged to the navy. After they finish their duties, they would be paid salary and exempt from *cizye*.⁶⁷

The Ottoman Empire was afraid of possible problems, such as conflict among Muslim and non-Muslim soldiers, if they took many non-Muslims to the army at the same time. That is why they decided to take the non-Muslims in parts.⁶⁸ From 1837 to 1845, the Empire did not ask even one non-Muslim to be part of the army. The number of the taken non-Muslim soldiers was very low in 1845 compare with the ones of 1837. Only 142 mariners were taken to the navy from Canik, Trabzon, Hüdavendigâr, Erdek, Ordu, Sivas, Tokat, Nevşehir, Ankara, Merzifon, Erzurum, Niğde, Limni, Bozcaada, Midilli, İmroz and Semadirek.⁶⁹

Hafız Mehmed Pasha, who was the commander of the Ottoman army in 1839, raised many Armenian soldiers. His plan was making twenty percent of the Ottoman army Armenian soldiers. Also the German/Prussian officer Moltke suggested to the *Bab-ı Âli* that the Armenians' status should have risen to squadron leader. All these attempts met resistance of the non-Muslims.⁷⁰

In 1847, 1156 non-Muslims were decided to be taken to the Ottoman navy. But the Empire could not reach to that number. Only 834 non-Muslims were sent to Istanbul. The main purpose of this failure was bad attitude of the officers to the non-Muslims. British

⁶⁷ Gülsoy, p.30

⁶⁸ Çöklü, p.14

⁶⁹ Gülsoy, p.39

⁷⁰ Kaya, p.77

government asked the Ottoman Empire to punish the Ottoman officers because of their bad attitudes. And the Ottoman Empire did not refuse this request of the Britain.⁷¹

The Empire provided convenience to non-Muslims to increase number of them in the navy. There is a document from 1847 about appointment of priests to Ottoman ships and having prayer rooms for non-Muslims on ships:

The opinion of *Şeyhülislam* on appointment of priests to Ottoman ships: The Ottoman Empire had a navy from its establishment day. As everybody knows there were many non-Muslims in imperial ships. Nevertheless it was never permitted to appoint a priest to Ottoman ships. But now as it can be understood from the official letter a prayer room will be provided on ships of the imperial navy. This decision was only possible with the sultan's permission.⁷²

2.3 Military Reforms

One of the most important military developments in the *Tanzimat* period was the institution of provincial armies with their own provincial commands in 1841. These were under the command of the *Serasker* in Istanbul, ending the hold of provincial governors and notables over the local garrisons. Under the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz, the navy was developed into the third largest in Europe. Abdülaziz took a personal interest in everything concerned with military equipment. Unfortunately, the quality of the naval personnel was far behind of the major European navies.⁷³

In 1843, new regulations of military were announced with a ceremony. In this regulation Ottoman lands were divided in five big army regions. Two of those armies were in Istanbul under the names of *Hassa Ordu-yu Hümayun* (Imperial) *Dairesi* and *Dersaadet*

⁷¹ Gülsoy, p.42

⁷² Ibid., p.191

⁷³ Zürcher, p.60

(Istanbul), *Ordu-yı Hümayun Dairesi*. *Hassa Ordusu* included Bursa, Aydın, Balıkesir, Biga, İzmit, İzmir, Menteşe, Karahisar-i Sahip, Hamid, Teke and Antalya. *Dersaadet Ordusu* included Ankara, Kastamounu, Edirne, Konya, Amasya, Bolu, İçel, Viranşehir, Büyük Çekmece, Küçük Çekmece, Kartal and Gebze regions. Three other armies were named as *Anadolu Ordu-yı Hümayun Dairesi*, *Rumeli Ordu-yı Hümayun Dairesi*, and *Arabistan Ordu-yı Hümayun Dairesi*.⁷⁴

The new geographical organization of the army brought it more into line with current organizational concepts of the European armies. Each of the five army regions contained an army corps (*ordu*) and reserve (*redif*) units. In Europe, the army corps was not arbitrary unit of organization. It was determined to be the largest unit which could mobilize, travel and deploy into battle as a self-contained unit, under a single commander. It contained infantry, cavalry and artillery forces, as well as the required support troops. The optimum strength for the army corps eventually became set at 30.000 men. The Ottoman army, probably for reasons of convenience and standardization, accepted this structure, although it did not fit the pattern of population distribution in the Ottoman Empire in many cases.⁷⁵

The formation of the army regions, although their function in the early years was basically administrative, represented a major step forward in the centralization of military authority. The army regions cut across the lines of civil administration. Each army region contained several *vilayets*, which were the largest unit of civil division. The power of the army commanders, who were appointed from Istanbul, weakened the power of the

⁷⁴ Çadırcı, p.66

⁷⁵ Griffiths, p.20

provincial governors in military matters. As time went on, the functions of the army region headquarters increased to encompass military education, conscription, training and mobilization.⁷⁶

In 1843 there were crucial military regulations in the Ottoman army. The Recruitment Law was a major step toward organizing the army on a more centralized and systematic basis in 1843. The troops were to permanently organize into corps, divisions, and brigades. Every major unit was assigned to a particular locale. The size of the army was fixed as 150.000 men on active service and 90.000 in the reserves, with the soldiers being chosen by lot through a regular system of conscription.⁷⁷ With minor exceptions, all branches of the service, including the cavalry, became part of the regular army organization. The French military institution provided the example for the infantry and cavalry, while the Ottomans followed the Ottoman model in their artillery organization.⁷⁸

With new regulations of 1843, length of military service was set as five years. The soldiers who finished the first five years, in the regular (*nizam*) forces, would be appointed to seven years duration reserve (*redif*) army. They also settled to choose the soldiers with Recruitment Law (*Kur'a Kanunnamesi*). Meanwhile the name of the Ottoman army *Asakir-i Mansure* was replaced by name of *Asakir-i Nizamiye*.⁷⁹

Before the Recruitment Law, it was not sure how many years a soldier would serve in the military service and come back home. In Recruitment Law, a person whose name was not chosen by drawing of lots (*kur'a*) for five years, he would be freed from the

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.21

⁷⁷ Ralston, p.61

⁷⁸ Griffiths, p.19

⁷⁹ Çadrcı, p.67

military service. Compulsory military service started officially in different places of the Empire in 1845.⁸⁰

According to the Recruitment Law, the soldiers who finish their military service would be discharged from military. And the new soldiers would be chosen, who were supposed to be between twenty and twenty-five years old, with the Recruitment Law. Çöklü says that the Recruitment Law started to be put into practice in 1847.⁸¹

Draft offices (*kur'a memurları*) were settled for execution of Recruitment Law. Those offices were separating men who were healthy to practice military service from who were not.⁸² Doctors were making examinations to decide who was healthy and who was not. Any of the soldiers whose name was chosen by *kur'a* could send someone else to the army instead of himself. It was called as *bedel-i şahsi*.⁸³

As an example, there is an announcement document that tells what criteria soldiers had to have. This document from 1855 gives order to the officers and notables to collect soldiers:

The soldiers were supposed to be between twenty-five and thirty-five years old. Handicapped and sick ones would not be taken. Soldiers would be chosen among the honorable ones and sufficient ones for military service. This time all the soldiers from different sectarians would have every opportunities to practice their religious rituals. Priests and other religious leaders would be provided to them for practicing their beliefs whenever it was necessary. The all Ottoman subjects would be safe under this topic.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Çöklü, p.12

⁸¹ Ibid., p.13

⁸² As long as the soldiers were collected they would be sent to health control. The ones who were not suitable physically for military, they would cover this with other ways. Criminals were not allowed to be a part of military. Therefore, criminals would not be taken to military service. BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (5) 1271/1855.

⁸³ Yurdakul, p.435

⁸⁴ BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (5) 1271/1855

Bedel-i şahsi had one simple rule. A Muslim or a non-Muslim, whose name was chosen by draft, he could send someone instead of himself only from his own nationality. For example, a Greek could give another Greek person or a Catholic could choose a Catholic as *bedel-i şahsi*.⁸⁵

To be free of military service the Muslims had to give *bedel-i şahsi* or *bedel-i askeri*. This practice was the same with the non-Muslims were giving *bedel-i askeri* from beginning of Ralay Edict of Reform *Islahat*.⁸⁶

In 1853, they made some new regulations for the non-Muslims to make them find someone as *bedel-i şahsi* easier. For example, a Christian could send someone from his own nationality and religion; at the same time he could also send someone who was a part of other Christian communities. Unfortunately, Crimean War would start soon and leave all these progress unfinished.⁸⁷

Sultan Abdülmecid wanted to review the topic of military at *Dar-ı Şura-yı Askeri* in 1858. He offered to take non-Muslims to the army who reached to twenty-five years of age. He suggested not taking the older ones. But the government did not agree with the Sultan. They decided to include all the Christians and Muslims under the conditions of *Kur'a Kanunu*. On the other hand, Abdülmecid agreed on making some regulations for

⁸⁵ Gülsoy, p.40

⁸⁶ Yurdakul, p.441

⁸⁷ Çöklü, p.15

non-Muslims to practice their religions in the army. Unfortunately, this decision would not be applied because of Abdülmecid's death in 1861.⁸⁸

The military organization of 1843 remained substantially the same until 1869. In the interim between the Crimean War and 1869, the army instituted only one significant change. In about 1860 the Ottoman army accepted the concept of the General Staff. Prior to this time and to some extent after, the civilian secretaries (*baş katib*) acted as chiefs of staff to the military commanders. As a few officers began to emerge from General Staff section of the Military Academy, simple military staffs came into being.⁸⁹

Some other important military changes occurred in the 1840's. In 1844, *Zaptiye Teşkilatı* was officially established. All of the *tımar* lands were transferred to *Zaptiye Teşkilatı* under certain circumstances. Between years of 1843-1846, basics of the Ottoman army changed. European armies were taken as model for the weapons and training. For the troops of infantry (*piyade*) and cavalry (*süvari*) French regulations were adapted while artillery unit started to use Prussian drilling.⁹⁰

2.4 Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat*

Before Paris Conference in 1856, the Western countries asked new claims from the Ottoman Empire in return for protecting the Empire from Russian attacks earlier. The main part of these claims was giving rights to the non-Muslims. Because of the Crimean War, Ottoman statesmen were now in an especially vulnerable position with respect to reform demands and pressure from the European great powers. This process resulted in the famous

⁸⁸ Gülsoy, p.99

⁸⁹ Griffiths, p.25

⁹⁰ Çadrcı, p.68

Reform Edict.⁹¹ Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat, Islahat Hatt-ı Hümayun*, was announced on the 18th of February, 1856. The main goal of the Edict was giving equality to the non-Muslims in every area in the Empire. The non-Muslims had a chance to be appointed to the public offices, to be part of the local councils, and to be represented in *Meclis-i Vâlâ* (Supreme Council).⁹²

This part of the *Hatt-ı Şerif* defined the military responsibilities of people as follows:

...as everyone said, the defense of the country is an important fact, and thus it is a duty for all the inhabitants to furnish soldiers toward this end, it has become necessary to establish laws to regulate the contingents which each locality must furnish, according to the requirements of the times...⁹³

As with many other promises of the declaration, the action did not implement the promise. When the new law on recruitment came out a few years later, the non-Muslims were not included in the law.⁹⁴

Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* changed status of all the citizens in the society. It made radical changes in their religious, judicial and social life. Especially, emphasize on term of ‘equality’ was very important. Emphasize on equality was much stronger in Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* than the one in Imperial Edict of *Gülhane*.⁹⁵ While the *Gülhane* Edict of *Tanzimat* did not clearly stipulate equality of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of

⁹¹ Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War 1853-1856* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). p.335

⁹² Çöklü, p.16

⁹³ Griffiths, p.19

⁹⁴ Griffiths, p.24

⁹⁵ Gülsoy, p.61

the Ottoman Empire, Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* specifically declared them equal.⁹⁶ In the *Gülhane* Edict the emphasis of just treatment of all the subjects of the Sultan was put while a more groundbreaking and less ambiguous document of Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat*, for the first time, brought in a strong emphasis of equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan.⁹⁷

This would seem to have effectively solved the question, but at the end of the Crimean War, the promise of equality of military service was once again expressed. *Islahat Hatt-ı Hümayunu* provided for admission of all subjects into both the civil and military schools. The Edict promised new laws which would permit subjects of all religions into military service, while at the same time restating the principle of exemption by payment. With minor exceptions, then, military service continued to maintain their essentially Muslim character.⁹⁸

In general, non-Muslims were happy with the Royal Edict except the ‘equality’ of being required going to military service. According to them, being a part of the Ottoman army was very tough. It was very important for them that the Edict was letting them to pay instead of attending to the army in person. The Christians were supporting equality in theory while they were against to it in practice. It was more rational for them to stay at home and be busy with trade and agriculture.⁹⁹

After announcement of the Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat*, the new regulations were started to be practiced. They decided to include non-Muslim soldiers to the army step by

⁹⁶ Badem, p.343

⁹⁷ Peçe, p.12

⁹⁸ Griffiths, p.24

⁹⁹ Gülsoy, p.63

step. They were afraid of some possible problems could occur among the army. In 1857, they decided to get 3500 non-Muslim soldiers to the army.¹⁰⁰ This number would increase to twenty-five thousand in the following years. At the end, *Meclis-i Vâlâ* decided to receive both Muslim and non-Muslim soldiers according to their population rate.¹⁰¹

In the Imperial Edict of *Gülhane*, negative outcomes of unbalanced numbers of soldiers who were taken to the army from different districts were emphasized. From some areas small amount of soldiers were taken to military service. On the other hand, from some others high number of soldiers was taken. This situation created problems in trade, agriculture and public works. Also life-long military service caused population decreases and tiredness on soldiers in earlier period.¹⁰²

With Royal Edict of Reform, non-Muslims gained a chance to go to the military schools. The government decided to choose the successful soldiers among the army and give them opportunity of being an officer. To be a good officer they would go to the military schools.¹⁰³ For a similar document:

Non-Muslim students who were willing to register to military schools with exam they were supposed to apply first to head of military high schools. Both Muslim and non-Muslim boys had to have enough capacity to understand science courses in schools' schedule. Military schools would not only help people to take advantage of science and public education but also make people to reach the desired levels of humanity. Military schools could generalize benefits of education too.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Three thousand – five hundred soldiers would be taken from different provinces after population census of all the non-Muslims. Their total number should be showed according to each provinces. BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (3) 1271/1855

¹⁰¹ Gülsoy, p.64

¹⁰² Gülsoy, p.65

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.98

¹⁰⁴ BOA, İ.DH., 762/62137 (08) 1294/1877

Islahat Fermanı stipulated equal opportunity for all Ottoman subjects for admission into civil and military schools and also recognized the right of every religious community to establish their own schools. Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks made good use of this point and opened many schools.¹⁰⁵ Those schools' curriculum and appointment of teachers would be under control of the sultan and *Meclis-i Muhtelit-i Maârif* which had Muslim and non-Muslim members.¹⁰⁶

An important point of the Imperial Edict (*Islahat*) started to be applied officially in 1863. For the first time thirty-two non-Muslim children could register to military and civil schools. They were Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian children. This development did not continue for long. The Ottomans thought that the military school graduate Bulgarians betrayed the Ottomans in the Russian-Ottoman War (*93 Harbi*). Therefore military schools were closed to non-Muslim children.¹⁰⁷

There were also some reactions against the Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat*. According to Mustafa Reşid Pasha, people who prepared the Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* were betrayers. Some of them were his students, Âli and Keçecizade Fuad Pasha. Mustafa Reşid Pasha was not against the idea of the Edict. Instead, he was criticizing them for not considering the possible reactions of the Muslims to the rights that were given to non-Muslims. Most of the Muslims started to think that they lost the meaning of what their

¹⁰⁵ Badem, p.347

¹⁰⁶ Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler", *Savaştan Barışa: 150. Yıldönümünde Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması 1853-1856* (İstanbul: İ. Ü. E. F. Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 2007). p.71

¹⁰⁷ Gülsoy, p.108

ancestors did for them. “Today is the day to cry,” they said. The Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* was seen as an appeasement.¹⁰⁸

2.5 Replacement of *Cizye* with *Bedel-i Askeri*

The Christians had been free from compulsory military service. Instead of going to military they were paying a tax called *cizye*. *Cizye* had been a head-tax imposed upon non-Muslims since virtually the beginning of Islam.¹⁰⁹ The non-Muslims who were attending to military service they were not paying *cizye* during their recruitment. They were asked to continue to pay the tax after they finished their service.¹¹⁰

Non-Muslims were usually unwilling to go to military service. At the same time, Muslims were getting poor and their population was decreasing in time because of compulsory military service. Of course there were some exceptions. For instance, while most of the Christians did not want to be part of the Ottoman army and the Muslims did not trust Christian soldiers, some Greeks were asked to attend to the maritime army in 1847.¹¹¹

An important development occurred during the Crimean War between 1853- 1856. Need for the Ottoman soldiers increased during the war years. Pressured by an increasing manpower, the Ottoman government felt the need to extend military service to its non-Muslim subjects and announced to oblige non-Muslims in the service with a statement

¹⁰⁸ Kaya, p.100

¹⁰⁹ Griffiths, p.23

¹¹⁰ Tobias Heinzelmann, *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Genel Askerlik Yükiümlülüğü 1826 – 1856* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009). p.238

¹¹¹ Yurdakul, p.436

published in its official newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 14 May 1855.¹¹² All the Ottoman soldiers were sent to fight. The possibility of a Russian attack to Erzurum occurred at the second half of 1855. The Ottoman officers started to collect more soldiers to defend Erzurum. They started to collect voluntary and unwilling Muslim and non-Muslim soldiers from the villages of Trabzon. Many inexperienced people were registered to the army by force. As a result, twenty thousand soldiers could be collected in total to be sent to Erzurum. But only fifteen thousand of them arrived to Erzurum. Five thousand succeeded to escape on the way. In short time this number reduced sharply because of unhealthy diet and epidemics that the soldiers had. Also with the continuous desertions, only 1300 soldiers were left to fight in Erzurum.¹¹³

In 1856, the bad experiences of the Crimean War ended with abolition of *cizye*. With the abolition of *cizye*, the Empire could reduce the lack of soldiers in wars. It could also help Muslims who were suffering most of the time by being a part of wars while the non-Muslims were not.¹¹⁴ In addition to these, *cizye* was considered an insult to Christians and it was impossible to evade Europe's persistence on this point.¹¹⁵

There was another important factor in the abolition of *cizye* which was not applying the *Tanzimat* reforms. After the *Tanzimat* reforms it was accepted in principle that all Ottoman subjects would perform military service. But in practice the reforms were not implemented very well. The non-Muslim population avoided military service most of the

¹¹² Peçe, p.70

¹¹³ Gülsoy, p.56

¹¹⁴ Gülsoy, p.57

¹¹⁵ Badem, p.338

time. Also the Muslim officialdom had reluctance to accept the non-Muslims as a part of Ottoman army. The principle remained but it was not practiced.¹¹⁶

First, the *cizye*, which was incompatible with the declared policy of giving equal rights to non-Muslims, was abolished. Then *cizye* was replaced with the military service exemption tax, *bedel-i askeri*, which was in the same amount and collected in the same manner as the *cizye*.¹¹⁷ Those who could not serve in the army would pay *iane-i askeriyye* in return.¹¹⁸ (*Bedel-i askeri* is also called as *bedelât-ı askeriye*).¹¹⁹ In 1845, non-Muslims, too, were officially asked to serve for military. This new regulation could create some problems within the army. For this reason, they were given the option of paying a special tax, *bedel-i askeri*. Muslims, too, could make payment instead of service.¹²⁰ *Bedel-i askeri* could reduce possible tension in the army. The non-Muslims, who paid this new tax, would be exempted from military service. The Christians would mostly apply to this new tax.¹²¹

At the first years of practice of *bedel-i askeri* some problems occurred in the far provinces to the center such as Haleb. The non-Muslims in Haleb asserted some excuses in order not to pay the tax. And some of them simply refused to pay while some made different tricks to be exempt from the *bedel*.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2012). p.112

¹¹⁷ Is amount of *bedel-i askeri* going to be same amount of *cizye*, that was taking from non-Muslims earlier? Or is it going to be a higher amount which includes the expences of the soldiers such as salary and clothes? BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (2) 1271/1855

¹¹⁸ Badem, p.342

¹¹⁹ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (Istanbul: Alkım, 2006). P.102

¹²⁰ Zürcher, p.59

¹²¹ Çöklü, p.12

¹²² Gülsoy, p.92

The Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* accepted paying taxes for being exempted from military service. *Bedel-i askeri* was officially accepted in June, 1856. In theory, this new tax was providing equality between Muslims and non-Muslims because it was also giving a chance to Muslims to pay the tax to be exempted from the military service.¹²³

Bedel-i askeri did not have same conditions for Muslims and non-Muslims not only in amount but also in duration. If a Muslim person paid the *bedel* he would still go to the military service but only be exempt from *muvazzaflık* service. However a non-Muslim who paid the *bedel* he would not go to military service even for one day.¹²⁴

In 1888, *bedel-i askeri* tax was increased for the non-Muslims by 1/3 to reduce inequality between Muslims and non-Muslims. For instance, the government was taking 180 soldiers from one village earlier and asking 5000 piastre (*kuruş*). After the tax increase law, they took 135 soldiers from a village and got higher taxes.¹²⁵

2.6. Inequality Discussions & Reactions to *Tanzimat*

The concept of exclusiveness of military service to Muslims was deeply embedded in Islamic history. Each war was a ‘holy war’ (*cihad*) in which only members of the faith could participate. In the Ottoman Empire, these principles were violated in numerous examples. Non-Muslims participated in active naval service with the Ottoman fleets and in non-combative services connected with the land forces. In the Empire, each non-Muslim religion constituted a *millet*, the rights and duties of which were defined by law, and more

¹²³ Çöklü, p.17

¹²⁴ Gülsoy, p.95

¹²⁵ Bozkurt, p.128

importantly by tradition. The general application of military service, by law, would have acknowledged the equal status of all citizens.¹²⁶

There was a general conflict between the Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans about military topic. The Muslims did not want to get orders from the Christian military officers. Also they did not want non-Muslims to be armed. Besides, the Christians wanted to be equal with the Muslims in theory but not in practice until military service became mandatory for themselves.¹²⁷

Ralston thinks that there was no equality between Muslims and non-Muslims in practice. The non-Muslims wanted greater legal and political equality but not at the price of having to go into the army. In 1855, during the Crimean War, non-Muslims were called to join to the Ottoman army. Most of the non-Muslims from Rumelia run away to the mountains and quitted Ottoman territory.¹²⁸

Grand vizier Âli Pasha and *Yeni Osmanlılar* (Young Ottomans) were supporting equality in the army. In 1871, Âli Pasha wrote a testament submitted to Sultan Abdülaziz. In his testament he mentioned how unfair to let Muslims suffer from military service while non-Muslims were not affected by difficulties of war. The Young Ottomans were sharing the same ideas with Âli Pasha. They also believed that it was not equal to let non-Muslims be busy with trade and agriculture while Muslims were getting poorer and their population was decreasing.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Griffiths, p.18

¹²⁷ Çöklü, p.15

¹²⁸ Ralston, p.60

¹²⁹ Gülsoy, p.104

Inequality discussions were getting more intense among the Ottomans. People were divided into two opposite sides about the conditions of taking soldiers to the army. They were writing reports to Sultan to share their ideas and claims about the topic. Besides, they uttered their opinions at parliament meetings.

The English consul in Trabzon wrote this report in 1868:

The Muslim population takes all the responsibility of military service. The Christians pay only a small amount of money to the treasury. But this amount is nothing compare with the advantages that they gain because of not participating to the army. Even if the *bedel-i askeri* would be very high this could not hurt them as much as being in the army physically. The reason of the decrease of Muslim population and the increase of non-Muslim population is inequality in the military system.¹³⁰

Also Âli Pasha wrote a report to Abdülaziz around same time with the English consul. In his report he said:

The Muslims will be minority soon in the Empire. The strong young Muslim men are taken from their daily life and sent to military service where the soldiers were having terminal illness. The Muslims should also involve in agriculture, trade, industry and arts. Salvation of the Muslims is only possible with working.¹³¹

Number of Muslims that could be taken for the army was decreasing every day. In 1865, a commission gathered under the head of Fuad Pasha to reconsider necessity of the non-Muslims in the army. Ottoman chronicler Ahmet Cevdet Pasha was also in the commission. There were two opposite sides in the commission that agreed and disagreed on importance of taking non-Muslims to the army. One side was complaining about reduced young Muslim population. So they were supporting the idea of taking non-

¹³⁰ Bozkurt, p.122

¹³¹ Bozkurt, p.123

Muslims to the army. However, Cevdet Pasha who was at the other side of the commission was against non-Muslims being a part of the army. He believed that some possible problems could be occurred because of different religious beliefs and practices. According to Pasha, it also would not be easy to motivate them under a same target.¹³²

Ahmet Cevdet Pasha was also against appointment of the non-Muslims as military officers in the Ottoman army. He thought that Muslim soldiers would not like to take commands from non-Muslim officers. And it would create a conflict in the army. He suggested collecting more Muslim soldiers from some parts of Rumelia and Anatolia, which did not give enough number of soldiers before. He emphasized the places in which Muslims were resisting to go to the military service, such as Kozan. The members of the commission and *Sadrâzam* Âli Pasha agreed on Ahmet Cevdet Pasha's ideas. It was decided to find more Muslim soldiers instead of the non-Muslims.¹³³ (Even though Âli Pasha was supporting the equality between all the soldiers from different religions, he agreed with the common idea of the commission).

After all those equality and inequality discussion, the Ottoman Citizenship Law (*Osmanlı Tabiyet Kanunnamesi*) was established in 1869. It included the matter of who might be of benefit to the state. However it did not cover whom the state would be obliged to protect and provide for. Deringil gives references to Gülnihal Bozkurt and says that it was partly based on the Napoleonic Code Civile, it has been hailed as secular principles because the primary differentiating criterion in a person's citizenship status was no longer about whether they were Muslim or Christian but whether or not they were Ottoman.

¹³² Gülsoy, p.100

¹³³ Gülsoy, p.101

Deringil thinks that the law instituted the category of ‘foreigner’, which included all foreign nationals regardless of religion; it also formalized the concept of ‘Ottoman’.¹³⁴

As cited by Selim Deringil, Macit Kenanoğlu makes a definition of citizenship in Islamist meaning:

Although Islamist jurists in the classical period did not use the term citizenship, (*vatandaşlık*) the concept of citizenship was known to Islamic law. According to Islamic law, those belonging to the Islamic state that has established sovereignty over the *Dar ul Islam* become the *ehlü dari'l Islam*, that is to say the people, the subjects of the Islamic state...Because Islam subsumes faith and citizenship.¹³⁵

2.7 Desertions of non-Muslim Soldiers

The Christians were not very willing to join the Ottoman army because they did not go to the military service earlier for years. Most of them did not want to be next to the Muslims in the army. They were also worried about possible inequalities in promotion of the Muslim and non-Muslim soldiers.¹³⁶

In different times during the time interval studied in this thesis, there were many non-Muslims who were making use of tricks to get rid of military service.¹³⁷ For instance, they were using fake titles. In this way they would have been free from military service.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Deringil, p.18

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.157

¹³⁶ Bozkurt, p.121

¹³⁷ It was ordered to get soldiers from Trabzon among the Greeks. Therefore the Greeks started to apply to Russian passport to be a Russian subject. They gave money to Russian or Greek consuls to make their applications. Gülsoy, p. 98.

¹³⁸ Griffiths, p.18

In general, the non-Muslims who did not have economic power to pay *bedel-i askeri* were taken into service of deployed-in garrison. Still the non-Muslims were escaping from the military service whenever they had a chance. There are reports on the complaints about their attitude.¹³⁹

The order of collecting around 1500 non-Muslims for the navy in 1837 created a panic among the Greeks in different towns. Some Greeks run away to the mountains and the islands to get rid of the military service. For instance, most of the Greeks in Rhodes Island (*Rodos Adası*) and Chios (*Sakız Adası*) escaped to the small islands with boats before the officers came to take them. Even the ones who were already recruited, they succeeded to run away on the way of *Paşalimanı* shipyard.¹⁴⁰

For a similar document of desertions by the Greeks:

Mehmed Aga stopped the ship in Chios for the passengers who wanted to take off while he was travelling to Rhodes island by sea. The ship had to wait on the harbor of Chios for one week because of bad weather conditions. Hereby Mehmed Aga took off the ship and stayed in house of the tax collector of Chios. Mehmed Aga witnessed desertions of non-Muslims residents of Chios and he wondered reason of the escapes. He found out that Greek subjects run away after they learned recruiting decision of the Ottoman Empire even from the Greek.¹⁴¹

Another big escape movement occurred in 1909 after abolition of *bedel-i askeri*. Some of the non-Muslim candidate soldiers ran away to America or Europe. And some others found a solution to escape to Egypt. Ottoman government took precaution to reduce

¹³⁹ Çöklü, p.34

¹⁴⁰ Çöklü, p.31

¹⁴¹ Gülsoy, pp. 196-197.

the desertions. They announced that they would punish everyone who intended to help non-Muslim soldiers' escape.¹⁴²

It can be said that desertions of non-Muslims was one of the most important reason why they could not be taken to the Ottoman army. On the other hand, need for cash of the government was another important fact. The Empire mostly preferred to receive taxes from the non-Muslims because of lack of money in treasury before the 1877 Russian War. As important as the need for cash, need for soldiers was also a big issue before the war. Because of this need they called Muslim *redif* soldiers from different places of the Empire.¹⁴³

2.8 Non-Muslim Soldiers in Different Fields of the Empire

At the classical period of the Ottoman Empire there were non-Muslims in different military positions. Also there were many of them who were working for technical offices of the Ottoman navy. They were paid salary. Most of them were Greeks and Armenians. The non-Muslim soldiers were sailing with the ships for three months. Then their service ended after periodical positions.¹⁴⁴

There were also other examples of high positions that non-Muslims got. Under Mahmud II's reign, the Jewish doctors called Dr Uziel, Dr Spitzer and Dr İzal Şalom had positions at medicine school.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, they were not commonly employed in

¹⁴² Ibid., p.147

¹⁴³ Çöklü, p.31

¹⁴⁴ Kaya, p.75

¹⁴⁵ Yüzbaşı Kırkor was one of the doctors from the troops of military serve that were sent to Yemen. BOA, İ.DH., 1266/99548 (1) 1309/1892

the army.¹⁴⁶ Admiral Eliyas Kohen Pasha was one of the rare non-Muslims who worked at the Ottoman army.¹⁴⁷

There were non-Muslims in the Ottoman army who were giving different services. Some of them were military policemen, security of powder mill and paddler in the navy in Eflak and some other places.¹⁴⁸

With Berlin Treaty in 1878, the government had started to employ Christian gendarme (military police). On the 22nd of April in 1896, 10 percent of gendarme would be taken among the non-Muslims. A very little amount of the non-Muslim population wanted to attend to the gendarme troops because of low and irregular income.¹⁴⁹

They decided to employ 2 per cent of the Christians as gendarme in 1902. Next year, not all the gendarme positions that belonged to non-Muslims could be filled. By March of 1903 only three hundred - nineteen non-Muslims made their registration to start to serve as gendarme.¹⁵⁰

2.9 The New Recruitment Law (8th of March 1870)

Hüseyin Avni Pasha, the minister of War under Abdülaziz, was responsible for a big military growth. His goal was to raise the war strength of the army to 800.000 men, 150.000 horses, and 2000 artillery pieces. The weapons, of course, were all purchased from abroad. To bring about the large increase in manpower, the government published a new

¹⁴⁶ Kirkob Agob Efendi was a doctor of the third army and fifth battalion. He was graduated from Imperial School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) who started to military service in 1877. BOA, Y.MTV., 15/41 (2) 1301/1884

¹⁴⁷ Kaya p.63

¹⁴⁸ Bozkurt, p.23

¹⁴⁹ Bozkurt, p.128

¹⁵⁰ Gülsoy, p.125

law on recruitment with support of Hüseyin Avni Pasha, on the 8th of March in 1870. Under the provision of this law, military service was extended to twenty years, and a new category of reserves known as the *mustahfiz* was added. The *redif* now became the first-line reserve, and the *mustahfiz* the second-line reserve.¹⁵¹ The recruit would spend three years as *muvazzaf*, two years as *ihkiyat*, seven years as *redif*, and eight years as *mustahfiz*.¹⁵²

Those who entered the *redif* after six years of regular service had received such training and could have been expected to be effective for several years after entering the reserves. It was obviously impossible to raise large reserves in a short period of time under this system.¹⁵³

The Ottoman subjects who were invited to the *Kur'a Meclisi* had to attend to the council. If they did not go to the council they would be taken forcibly. Some chosen ones in lottery system were escaping out of their towns. They had to go to the military service for six years whenever the imperial officers caught them. Some of the chosen ones were cutting their fingers or having out tooth to be free from the military service.¹⁵⁴

After *kur'a* process finished, the ones who were chosen for the military service were informed about the duration of their military service. The officers were giving certificate (*pusula*) to the candidates on which names and occupations of the candidates were written. They were giving twenty days to the candidate soldiers to make them able to see their family and organize their lives before they left for the military service. If they did

¹⁵¹ Griffiths, p.27

¹⁵² Çöklü, p.18

¹⁵³ Griffiths, p.28

¹⁵⁴ Çöklü, p.19

not come back in twenty days they would be punished as if they escaped from the military.¹⁵⁵

There was a privileged group of people who did not have to go to military service. They were judges and *madrakah* (religious school) teachers. However, civil servants had to finish their military duty as physically or paying *bedel-i askeri*. Also palace workers were not in charge to be a part of the military during their employment under the sultan's private service.¹⁵⁶

CHAPTER THREE

FROM THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD TO THE GREAT WAR, 1876-1914

Sultan Abdülmecid died in 1861 and Sultan Abdülaziz took the throne. The period which followed was characterized by the rapid spread of Western influence, of an immense growth in the Ottoman foreign debts, and in administrative and other reforms within the Ottoman Empire. The period culminated in the proclamation of the First Ottoman Constitution in 1876. Military reform was an important aspect of the change in this period, from which emerged an Ottoman army of considerably increased strength.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p.19

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p.20

¹⁵⁷ Griffiths, p.26

On the 7th of August 1909, the new constitution abolished *bedeli-i askeriye*. And military service became mandatory for all the citizens of the Ottoman Empire, including Jews, Christians and Muslims.¹⁵⁸ Christian and Jews ecclesiastics were not included in the law. The new law was published officially in *Takvim-i Vekayi* on the 11th of August.¹⁵⁹

The recruitment of Christian subjects into the army was never a serious option before 1909 that is shown clearly by the text of the 1870 regulations. Its first article says: ‘All the Muslim population of the well-protected domains of the Sultan is personally obliged to fulfill the military service which is incumbent on them’. There is no mention of non-Muslims, which clearly suggests that in the Ottomans’ eyes they did not come within the compass of the military service law.

Thus, military service for non-Muslims remained a theoretical option until 1909. This does not mean that there were no Christians in the army. There were Christians, but they were officers, primarily in medical corps, which consisted for a large part of Armenian and Greek army doctors who held the ranks of lieutenant and captain.¹⁶⁰

Under Mehmed V’s period, the Empire was putting a great effort to follow the recent war tactics and fighting strategies. They were getting advices from the German experts about the recent innovations. Sultan Mehmed demolished *bedel-i askeri* and ensured equality in the society. Those regulations increased the number of army officers

¹⁵⁸ Bozkurt, p.129

¹⁵⁹ Gülsoy, p.138

¹⁶⁰ Zürcher (ed), p.89

and soldiers in the Ottoman army. There were 12.998 army officers and 274.046 soldiers in 1881. This number increased to 380.964 in 1908.¹⁶¹

Abolishment of *bedel-i askeri* tax and making military service for non-Muslims mandatory made some people happy while it made some others disappointed. For example, non-Muslim deputies of the parliament were proud of the new law. According to them, non-Muslims finally became citizens of the country in real terms. On the other hand, Christian communities were afraid that non-Muslim soldiers would forget about their beliefs and start to believe in Islam.¹⁶²

Compulsory military service also made some non-Muslim subjects unhappy as non-Muslim representatives. For instance, Sombeki Island Christians sent a telegram to Sublime Porte to be exempted from military in 1910. From the telegram:

Sombeki Island had been had some privileges for ages. If taking soldiers and counting of cattles were done to provide equality, it should be known that a big part of the Island was stony and dehydrated. Livelihood of the Island people was sponge fishing. Sponce fishermen must be young and strong. If young people had to go to military service they would miss the age of working on sponge fishing. In this case island people would be ruined. Therefore we want protection of the privileges that the earlier sultans provided.¹⁶³

3.1 Discussions in the First and Second Parliaments about non-Muslims' Military Duties

Between 1877 and 1878, discussions on military service of non-Muslim citizens became the main topic of *Meclis-i Mebusan*. The reason of it was the Ottoman-Russian

¹⁶¹ Çadırcı, p.114

¹⁶² Gülsoy, p.142

¹⁶³ Gülsoy, p.199

War. Even all the soldiers were alerted for the war, the total number of the soldiers were not enough. In this case¹⁶⁴, the government asked for voluntary soldiers from Ottoman citizens.¹⁶⁵ Members of the parliament started to discuss about getting voluntary non-Muslim soldiers or not. In the parliament, there were not many Christian deputies who were supporting equality among Ottoman citizens for attending to the war. However, most of the Muslim deputies corroborated necessity of all the citizens to be voluntary to fight in the war.¹⁶⁶

Among non-Muslim representatives, Istanbul representative Vasilaki Efendi was supporting importance of taking Christians to the military. On the 2nd of June, 1877 parliament session, Vasilaki Efendi offered to abolish *bedel-i askeri* tax. He strongly supported that it was not fair to let only the Muslims die for the country. He believed that having soldiers from different believes in the army would not create any conflict. Contrary, it would make all of them united under same goals.¹⁶⁷

One of the other representatives Ahmet Muhtar Efendi did not agree with Vasilaki Efendi's offer about abolition of *bedel-i askeri*. He found this offer unrealistic under bad economic conditions. According to him and many other representatives, the Empire needed

¹⁶⁴ A regiment, consisted of three-thousand non-Muslim soldiers, sent a petition or to ask for assistant soldiers for the Russian War. Volunteer non-Muslim soldiers who fought in the Serbian War provided a beneficial service. It can not be denied that presence of Christian soldiers would have material and nonmaterial positive effect in Russian War too. Ibid., pp. 197-198.

¹⁶⁵ For protection of the government Muslim, Greek, Latin, Bulgarian and Copt (Kipti) subjects of the Prezrin town were collected just like from everywhere else of the Empire. These volunteer people were from five different sects and between fifteen – seventy years old. Gülsoy, pp. 199-200

¹⁶⁶ Gülsoy, p.112

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p.113

to keep receiving this tax from non-Muslim citizens to have power of defending the country in the wars.¹⁶⁸

The representative of Hersek Mustafa Efendi was also against to take the non-Muslims to the army because of need of taxes under bad economic conditions. Opposite to this, Halep representative Nafi Efendi was underlying equality of all the people from different religious. He was supporting the laws of the *Kanunu-i Esasi* (the constitution). The sultan was of the same idea with Nafi Efendi. On the opening speech of *Meclis-i Umumi* (the parliament), between 1st and 13th of December 1877, the sultan emphasized equality of the Muslims and the non-Muslims before law.¹⁶⁹

All the discussions that were made at the parliament on different sessions did not end with a new result. Muslims would keep attend to army compulsorily and fight at wars. On the other side non-Muslims would pay their taxes to get rid of military service. Only the ones who would be willing to attend to the Ottoman-Russian war voluntarily were welcomed.¹⁷⁰

After the establishment of the Second Constitution in 1908, the arguments about the necessity of taking the non-Muslims to the army became more common between the politicians and at press. This time the discussions were mostly ending with agreement on that compulsory military service had to cover the non-Muslims as well. For instance, the lead author of *Tanin* newspaper, Hüseyin Cahid wrote that all the Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Jews were sons of this country just like the Muslims. And in his articles, he

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p.114

¹⁶⁹ Gülsoy, p.126

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p.115

gave advices to all the citizens to gather around same targets and to move together as brothers.¹⁷¹

Voluntary non-Muslim soldiers involved in different times to defend the Empire. One of those times was Serbian revolt. Many non-Muslim soldiers joined Ottoman troops to help the other Muslim soldiers to defend the benefits of the Empire. Midhat Pasha formed a voluntary company composed of non-Muslims where Christian cross together with Muslims crescent were displayed in company's banner. Following a public presence on the streets of Istanbul volunteers were sent to the spot to fight in the same ranks with Muslim soldiers.¹⁷² Another movement of voluntary soldiers occurred during Ottoman-Russian War. Four thousand voluntary soldiers between fifteen and seventy-five years old became a part of the war. This number included Greek, Bulgarian, Latin soldiers beside the Muslims. The government named the voluntary groups from Istanbul as *Asakir-i Muavine* (voluntary troop). They created another Istanbul's group of voluntary soldiers as *Mevkib-i Hümayun*. The reason of making these new troops was collecting the soldiers under organized groups.¹⁷³

With the Second Constitutional Monarchy regulations non-Muslims were taken to the military service. In this way three million non-Muslims could be taken to the military in theory. Discussion about this topic was going on. But mostly people were sharing the same idea about the need for non-Muslim soldiers in the Ottoman army. Even some non-Muslims agreed the idea of equality in the army. For example, the deputy of Erzurum Ohannes Vartkes made a speech in Meclis-i Mebusan: "... non-Muslims should be part of

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p.128

¹⁷² Peçe, p.72

¹⁷³ Gülsoy, p.118

the Ottoman army to be equal with the Muslim. Non-Muslims should be taken to the military service too. Being a soldier and fighting for Ottoman benefits is duty of us.”¹⁷⁴

Finally, discussions with regard to universal conscription occupied the Ottoman Parliament for three years, from 1909 until 1911. Passionate discussions held in 1909 culminated with the decision to put an end to the *bedel-i askeri* and extended conscription to non-Muslims.¹⁷⁵

3.2 Nizamiye Law (1886)

On the 25th of November in 1886 a new law was established under the name of ‘Asakir-i Nizamiyye-i Şahanenin Sureti Ahzına Mübeyyin Kanunu Hümayun’. It replaced the 1870 Recruitment Law. After 1877-1878 Russian War the Ottomans became more careful about taking soldiers to the military and be more ready for the possible wars.¹⁷⁶

3.3 Balkan Wars

All the Ottoman citizens became responsible for the benefits of the Ottoman army after the 1909 constitution introduced compulsory conscription. Balkan Wars is a good example of implementation of compulsory military service in battle field. During the Balkan Wars there was a need for soldiers to fight. Many Greek, Armenian and Jewish

¹⁷⁴ Çöklü, p.57

¹⁷⁵ Peçe, p.76

¹⁷⁶ Çöklü, p.40

soldiers were fighting for the Ottoman Empire. However, most of them did not know how to hold guns.¹⁷⁷

During the Balkan Wars, twenty per cent of the troops were non-Muslim soldiers. There were many Greek, Armenian, Jewish and Bulgarian soldiers. Some of them were high ranking while most of them were inexperienced. For example, Mişon from Kocamustafapaşa was a reserve officer who was a high-school graduate. Even there were also many escaped non-Muslims during Balkan War; participation of the non-Muslims was satisfying. For this reason, Ottoman government would keep taking more non-Muslim soldiers to the Ottoman army in following years.¹⁷⁸

3.4 Memories of Sürmenyan

Kalusd Sürmenyan published his memories in 1947. The duty of military service was discussed between the Armenians for a while. Some Armenians, who did not believe to the Constitutional Monarchy, did not want to be part of the Ottoman army. However some of them supported the idea of equality to take advantage of learning to use guns. In this way they could defend themselves when it will be necessary.¹⁷⁹

The Armenians organized meetings and protests everywhere to show their ideas against sending soldiers to the Ottoman army. Same ideas were common in Erzincan. Religious leader Yervant Perdahcıyan was against to see the Armenians in military service. On the other hand the youth was willing to be armed. Finally the law helped the young

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p.53

¹⁷⁸ Gülsoy, p.166

¹⁷⁹ Yaşar Tolga Cora (ed.), *Harbiyeli Bir Osmanlı Ermenisi Mülazım-ı Sani Sürmenyan'ın Savaş ve Tehcir Anıları* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015). p.40

Armenians, and the government started to take the Armenians to the Ottoman army in 1910.¹⁸⁰

Before the World War military officers behaved to the Armenian soldiers friendly in Erzincan. The Armenians were allowed to go to the church every Sunday regularly. They were also given money to eat whatever they want on Sunday. The Armenians got used to the military life in time. They also started to show their talents in different areas in a short time. Turkish military officers were amazed by how the Armenians were clean and tidy. The Armenian soldiers were replaced with the Turkish soldiers who were taking care of cleaning.¹⁸¹

Turkish government began to work harder on modernizing the army from the beginning of Second Constitutional Monarchy. They gave mission of organizing the army to the German military officers. They also rebuilt the military schools and made them more effective. The Turkish army had a big chance in six years, from the Second Constitutional Monarchy to the World War. The army had a higher authority and better economy before the War.¹⁸²

Sürmenyan mentions his experience about how he applied to *Askeri Rüştüye* after the announcement of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. “A small group of Armenians applied to *Askeri Rüştüye* in fall of 1908. We knew that we would be taken to the Ottoman army. We wanted to be part of the army to protect the rights of the other Armenian soldiers

¹⁸⁰ Cora, p.41

¹⁸¹ Cora, p.41

¹⁸² Ibid., p.41

in the army.” Sürmenyan also says that soldiers were a privileged group in society just like in Germany.

Sürmenyan was accepted to the fifth grade (last year) of the school easily owing to his earlier two-year experience in a Turkish school. But the other young Armenian men were not very fluent in Turkish. So they could not pass the exams to be a part of the *Askeri Rüştüye*. In 1908 only five of the Armenians were accepted for the military school: Kalusd Sürmenyan, Onnik Kundakyan, Vağinak Meşkoayan, Krikor Sarrafyan and Şahen Tatigyan.¹⁸³

Sürmenyan keep telling about his experience in military schools:

I finished *Askeri Rüştüye* in 1909 and *Askeri İdadi* (boarding military high school) next year. I went to Bolis (Istanbul) and started to Military Academy (*Askeri Akademi*), in Harbiye in fall of 1910. There were around 1200 students at Harbiye. Only one in a hundred of them were Armenians. There were a couple of Greeks and one Bulgarian as other Christians. In summer of 1912 we, five Armenians, graduated from the school with the title of ‘lieutenant’. We were the first Armenian officers in the Ottoman army. We were appointed to the different places of the Empire with lottery. I was lucky to pick up the 4th Army from Erzincan in lottery. In late summer of 1912 I put my sword and my shiny buttons on me and went to my hometown happily.¹⁸⁴

After appointment of Sürmenyan to Erzincan he would be sent to Istanbul with a troop to help to the Ottoman army in Çatalca during the Balkan War. He had to leave his hometown in November of 1912. After the Balkan War, Sürmenyan’s troop was sent back to Amasya in summer of 1914. But he was sent to Erzincan for one month to be part of target practice. He also had a chance to visit his family.¹⁸⁵ In the 21st of July the Ottoman

¹⁸³ Cora, p.42

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p.43

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p.44

Empire became a part of the World War. Every men between eighteen and forty-five years old were asked to join the army.¹⁸⁶

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, basically, there were two important findings. The first one was that the strong emphasize on equality in Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* could not be practiced in society successfully. It mostly remained unfulfilled because of negative reactions of non-Muslims about being a part of the Ottoman army. Non-Muslims thought that it was very difficult to go to military service and spend their time in the army. It was more profitable for them to work in trade or agriculture. From their perspective, they would not lose their lives and spend their energy physically.

The second finding was that non-Muslims had some wrong images in their mind about military service. They were afraid of being forced to become Muslim in time during their military service. Even though the Ottoman Empire provided opportunities to non-Muslims to make them able to practice their religions, non-Muslims did not take this in consideration. They also did not want to be equal with the Muslims in military duties. They desired to have privileged rights.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p.45

In the thesis, it was seen that the government could not be very successful to take non-Muslims to military service. There were two main forces that stopped the Ottoman Empire to make non-Muslims part of the army. First one was common desertions of non-Muslims from going to military service. Second force was that the Empire was giving a tax-payment option to non Muslims to make them get rid of military service because of Empire's urgency for money.

It can be said that military service was not mandatory for non-Muslims until the Young Turks, who came to power in July 1908 and for whom unity and equality between the different ethnic elements of the empire were a top priority, changed the recruitment law in 1909. The Reform Edict of Gülhane, the first conscription law of 1843 and the regulations of 1870 all specified that all Muslims were liable to serve in the army. At that time, the idea that non-Muslims should be allowed, or forced, to serve seems to have been as alien as the idea of female soldiers. But the Royal Edict of Reform *Islahat* which Ali Pasha drew up in 1856 in close cooperation with the French and British ambassadors, and which formed the Empire's entry ticket to the 'Concert of Europe', emphasized equality between Muslims and non-Muslims. Application of this principle meant that the discriminatory practice of conscription would have to cease and non-Muslims would have to take part in the drawing of lots as well.¹⁸⁷

Discussions in the Ottoman Parliament about non-Muslims' military duties came into prominence in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There were two opposite ideas completely against each other about non-Muslims' military service. Some notables and parliament leaders supported the idea of all the subjects of the Empire fighting for the

¹⁸⁷ Zürcher (ed), p.88

same target would make them get closer to each other. They also believed that it would be more fair to take soldiers from every part of the society instead of only putting the Muslims in danger. However, the opposite idea was defending that soldiers from different believes would have conflict during their military service. According to them, this conflict could even effect a continuing war negatively.

For further research on experiences of non-Muslims' military service in the late Ottoman Empire can be searched in more detailed from different points. For instance, it might be possible to find memories or letters belonged to non-Muslims about their experiences in the Ottoman army. They could be great sources to understand their view about being a part of military. Maybe their desertion adventures could be reached as well from their personal accounts.

Moreover, military reforms that started from reign of Selim III and Mahmud II can be analyzed more in European sources. The questions such as, what reforms were adapted from French military reforms or which ones did not fit to Ottoman military system, can be asked. In general, the nineteenth century military system could be compared with simultaneous military developments of European countries. It would be interesting to see if any other countries had similar issues about making laws for taking the minorities to military service. It could be also seen what was missing in the Ottoman Empire to motivate people to go to military service.

To conclude, I hope this thesis could give inspiration to the readers to work on non-Muslims and military service in the Ottoman Empire in different periods. It was an

enjoyable topic for me to work on. I learned many details about process of recruitment of non-Muslims to Ottoman army.

APPENDICES

BOA, HH, 28133-G. (23.08.1837)

Desertion of Greeks of Sakız Island (Chios) who do not want to be in the naval forces

Mehmed Aga stopped the ship in Chios for the passengers who wanted to take off while he was travelling to Rhodes island by sea. The ship had to wait on the harbor of Chios for one week because of bad weather conditions. On this wise Mehmed Aga took off the ship and stayed in Chios tax collector's house. Mehmed Aga witnessed escapes of non-Muslims residents of Chios and he wondered reason of the escapes. He found out that Greek subjects run away after they learned recruiting decision of the Ottoman Empire even from the Greek. Aga informed the tax collector about this situation. The tax collector did not stop the Greeks because he thought that they were leaving for trade. Aga asked the tax collector if the government would take soldiers from subjects of Chios or not. Tax collector had no idea. Then Mehmed Aga arrived to Rhodes island and stayed there for twenty days. Ten days before he left Rhodes, two soldiers came with a boat

from Chios. They announced that government would take soldiers for Ottoman army among Greek subject. People got worried with the news and many of them escaped to Alyonos. In response, Rhodes governer Hafiz Pasa put the island under protection to stop escapes. Mehmed Aga said that there were still many escapes despite the protection.

BOA, İr. Mes. Müh., 364. (04.10.1847)¹⁸⁸

The Opinion of Şeyhülislam on Appointment of Priests to Ottoman Ships

The Ottoman Empire had a navy from its establishment day. As everybody knows there were many non-Muslims in imperial ships. Nevertheless it was never permitted to appoint a priest to Ottoman ships. But now as it can be understood from the official letter a prayer room (kinisa) will be provided on ships of the imperial navy. This decision was only possible with the sultan's permission.

¹⁸⁸ Gülsoy, p. 191.

BOA, İH, nr. 3712. (07.04.1851)¹⁸⁹

Deceits of Greeks of Trabzon not to be in the naval forces

It was ordered to get soldiers from Trabzon among the Greeks. Therefore the Greeks started to apply to Russian passport to be a Russian subject. They gave money to Russian or Greek consuls to make their applications. The Greeks were willing to get rid of military service. Only four non-Muslim could be found for the military among a high number of Greek residents .

Head of Trabzon Karantina

¹⁸⁹ Gülsoy, p.198

BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (2) 1271/1855

The Ottoman subjects consist of Greek, Armenian, Catholic and Jews besides Muslims. By the imperial rescript it is announced with the articles how to organize and collect *bedel-i askeri*. These written articles must be known.

Is amount of *bedel-i askeri* going to be same amount of cizye, that was taking from non-Muslims earlier? Or is it going to be a higher amount which includes the expences of the soldiers such as salary and clothes?

Income and wealth of non-Muslims would be considered for distribution and collection of *bedel-i askeri*. Is *bedel-i askeri* going to be collected as a tax or as cizye according to the classes from the total population?

BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (3) 1271/1855

It seems that there is three million non-Muslims in the registration books. Seventeen thousand – five hundred of them are supposed to be taken to the military annual. Three thousand – five hundred of them should be appointed as a soldier. Rest of them, fourteen thousand should pay *bedel-i askeri*. Three thousand – five hundred soldiers would be taken from different provinces after population census of all the non-Muslims. Their total number should be showed according to each provinces.

BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (5) 1271/1855

Announcement Document

Accordingly to the order that was given to the officers, the chief men of the place would make an effort to take non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. Also notables of the Empire, who were responsible to give soldiers, would make an effort for this purpose.

Collecting soldiers would be done with help of officers and notables. The soldiers were supposed to be between twenty-five and thirty-five years old. Handicapped and sick one would not be taken. Soldiers would be chosen among the honorable ones and sufficient ones for military service.

This time all the soldiers from different sectarians would have every opportunities to practice their religious rituals. Priests and other religious leaders would be provided to them for practicing their beliefs whenever it was necessary. The all Ottoman subjects would be safe under this topic.

As long as the soldiers were collected they would be sent to health control. The ones who were not suitable physically for military, they would cover this with other

ways. Criminals were not allowed to be a part of military. Therefore, criminals would not be taken to military service.

BOA, İ. MMS., 132/5647 (8) 1271/1855

The soldiers would be gathered at the head of district. Then they would start going to the head of sanjack. From the first day that they departed, they would be paid three hundred dirhem and fourty daily. This payment would be made by notables (kocabaşı) until the day they would be appointed to piers.

The soldiers would be chosen and be appointed to head of district, head of sanjack and notables of district. They would be taken to near piers by notables (kocabasi). These notables would be decided by despot.

The notables would commend the soldiers who got sick or tired to local officers of cities and towns on the way. Identity discs of left behind soldiers would be given to civil officers in piers to be sent to Istanbul. Local officers would take care of those soldiers until they got better. Then they would be send to Istanbul when they recover. If there were any soldiers with bare foot, they would be provided a pair of shoes from subdivision of treasury's money.

BOA, İ.DH., 762/62137 (8) 1294/1877

Non-Muslim students who were willing to register to military schools with exam they were supposed to apply first to head of military high schools. Both Muslim and non-Muslim boys had to have enough capacity to understand science courses in schools' schedule. Military schools would not only help people to take advantage of science and public education but also make people to reach the desired levels of humanity. Military schools could generalize benefits of education too.

Military school graduates had been sending to battalions as officers.

BOA, İD, nr. 61062. (24.05.1877)¹⁹⁰

Volunteer Units That Constituted From Muslims and Christians of Prizsen Town

Telgram that came to the Grand Vizierate on the 12th of May, 1877

For protection of the government Muslim, Greek, Latin, Bulgarian and Gypsy (Kipti) subjects of the Prizsen town were collected just like from everywhere else of the Empire. These volunteer people were from five different sectarians and between fifteen – seventy years old. They went out the Prezrin town today, Thursday in company with officers, ulema and seyhs. They would start to be trained in jointly mixed groups from different sectarians after benedictions of the sultan. Number of traning soldiers reached to forty-thousand and this number expected to raise.

¹⁹⁰ Gülsoy, pp. 196-197.

BOA, İD, nr. 60933. (01.04.1877)¹⁹¹

The document which shows permission to constitute non-Muslim troops in the Russian War:

During the Serbian War, Dimostini Efendi regulated volunteer assistant soldiers and sent them to the battle field. A regiment, consisted of three-thousand non-Muslim men, sent a petition or to ask for assistant soldiers for the Russian War. Volunteer non-Muslim soldiers who fought in the Serbian War provided a beneficial service. It can not be denied that presence of Christian soldiers would have material and nonmaterial positive effect in Russian War too. Aformentioned Efendi deserves a big admiration because of his services to nation. For this reason we are willing from the sultan to give special permit to Dimostini Efendi for registration of the assistan soldiers. We are also willing publication of the regiment in Takvim-i Vekâyi to collect more volunteer soldiers.

Sultan Abdulhamid II's will:

It is ordered to give special permit to aformentioned Efendi for registration of assistant soldiers and to inform Minister of War for publication of the mentioned petition.

¹⁹¹ Gülsoy, pp.197-198.

BOA, Y. MTV., 15/41 (2) 1301/1884

A petition (*arzuhal*) was sent to ask promotion of ‘Adjutant Major of the Left’ (*Sol Kolağası*) Flank Kirkor Agob Efendi’s rank. He was a doctor of the third army and fifth battalion. Kirkor Agob Efendi was graduated from Imperial School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şahane*) who started to military service in 1877. Then he gained his current rank in 1881. It was understood that he deserved the promotion. Therefore it was decided to title him with ‘Adjutant Major of the Right Flank’ (*Sağ Kolağası*) rank.

BOA, İ. DH., 1266/99548 (1) 1309/1892

Yüzbaşı Kirkor was one of the doctors from the troops of military serve that were sent to Yemen. He was member of the sixty-fourth regiment and third battalion of Imperial guard regiments (Hassa Ordusu). Sultan's permission was asked to award him with honorable mark of Sultan Abdülmecid (nişan-ı zişan-ı mecredi)

BOA, BEO, nr. 280927. (28.04.1910)¹⁹²

The Telegram that the Sombeki Island Christians sent to Sunlime Porte to be Exempted from Military

Sombeki Island had been had some privileges for ages. If taking soldiers and counting of cattles were done to provide equality, it should be known that a big part of the Island was stony and dehydrated. Livelihood of the Island people was sponge fishing. Sponce fishermen must be young and strong. If young people had to go to military service they would miss the age of working on sponge fishing. In this case island people would be ruined. Therefore we want protection of the privileges that the earlier sultans provided.

¹⁹² Gülsoy, p. 199.



الحق اسلوه منہ ما عدا تہم دولتہ علیہم روح داری و قولک دیہوری ملتہ منہ عبادتہ الیہ بونزدہ عموم دبر کونہ بسقہ اشدی مقضای اراہ تہیدہ دن اولہ اعانہ عسکر
جستہ ترتیب و تخصیص مقدمہ اولہ علیہ مطلقہ آئندہ مگر مواردک بمنہ متوفدہ

اعانہ عسکر اولہ رتہ ترتیب اولہ مقدمہ و مالک مقدمہ جزہ تا سیم فرسبہ نیک ہر برسی نہ وقتہ و نہ صورت نمہ اولہ دبر دہلہ ایچہ مقدر می اودہ مقدر بوشے عکرہ از شہر
معتمدہ و ایچہ دہلہ رتہ سارہ لوی مقابلہ بزار شہی دہا علوہ قلمہ مقدر

دبر کونہ صورتہ توزیع و تخصیص محلاتہ بجزہ کسک حال و تحمل و تقی و تجزیہ کور اولہ بقصدہ استیو اعانہ عسکر دبر کونہ معلومی قبیل اولہ مقدر بوشے قلمہ
موجود اولہ ترتیب جزہ کمی اوج و یا خود دہا ترتیب و تقصا نہ صورتہ ترتیبہ منہ تخصیص قلمہ مقدر

جزیہ مالک یک و نہ لردنہ کونہ در عدادہ و کونہ طرہ و غیرہ قبیل تصور بقا یا سیک اصول سبقتہ سی و دہم تخصیص لازم کدہ یک در بار اولہ بقا فقط
مالک مذکور سہ بنہ محکم اعتبارہ قبیل اولہ کونہ و بر کویہ مارہ اعتبارہ قبیلہ قلمہ قبیلہ و اعانہ عسکر دبر کویہ علوہ اولہ قبیلہ جزیمہ عادتہ اعتبارہ بجز تخصیص
لازم کلمہ جلدنہ بر حالہ قبیلہ بر تہ سی قبیلہ مالک غیر از قبیلہ تصورہ بقا با نظریہ با قبیلہ سبقتہ جمہ قبیلہ اولہ رتہ استیو اعانہ عسکر رضی سہ فرزدہ با ترتیب
اعتبارہ من دبر کویہ علوہ قلمہ مقدر

i-mms 132/5647

2

نبع غیر مسلم نفوس دگری جریده قودی جو کج اوج ملیونه عد و اعتبار اوله زده بو مقدار
 نفوسده سوی اویله بیک بیوز نفر عکالمه لازم کلامه بیک اوجسک بیوز نفر کج
 و اوله درت بیک نفری بدلا اخذ اولمده مقرر اولدیغه نظر اشرف اذکر مندرسه تعلیم
 الذ صیبه اوجسک بیوز نفر صوفییم غیر مسلم بیک نفوس موجوده لری
 فستی اوزرینه تقسیم ابلالمه ایجاب ایدره جکله مینی اوج ملیونه عد و اعتبار
 اوضیح کاف صوفییم غیر مسلم وده هر صنف نفوس مقدار سیک
 بیق بیق و تکلیف اولدیکی امانته و حکامه و نظار کورستری بلرک
 بایضه لازم کلمه یلی

i.mms¹³²/5647

3

I.MMS.00132

احكام و دروس

نشر اوليه اولونه اوامر عليه و بيايه ناسه لره ده تقصير كمر اولديش اوزره اصول دامنه رديتقا و قودالعام اولمه لايه اولرده و بر پدورده
مه نظره محسوب قلمده اوزره حسب كورمور سيجاقون حرسينه ديورده اهنگينه سبلاك بران عكرالسه قرار و برلشده و بودده نفوس موجوده برلست
اولدره ديابلورده هر كوريك از احكامت ايشده

اهل اسلام عوي اولدند سهره شهادت نده بودده قودالعام اولدره اخذ اولدره نفقاتيك معلول برلر ايعه فن بيلهيه اقتضاي ديره صغر يك واره كور اخذ
و صيه هر بره و صيه و شفا بيلت و ظهور و وساطت عترت ابع حكر در بوزنه عكر ديره حلك صوف نه شهادت روت و و عوه هلت ابر اوليه
ابراه صرافيه ابع حكرت سلطنت سبناك معلول عاكس اولر ايشده و بونرلك معلوم اولدره قود صغيف معلوم نه مخصوصه اچه بونرلنده اوله بولمام
حكوم جمد نك تنفقا عير بايقام لازم ذمه

اشو نفقات اصراطه ده بيج و البسلك النظيم نكت نه و صيه اولونه معلوم و وساطت قودوم بيلر صغر بيلام اجرا اولوب و نظرت و نه بيلر بيلستنه
اولور بيلنه قده اولوب نطق سفظ عليل اولوب نه ايش برار و خدمت عكر بيل الوير و اهلي عرض من خدمه اولسه نيام سبلا رقت اولر جهده
بوزنه انجوه عكرلك هر صغيف معلوم اولدين من هلت آيينه اجرام هر كونه سبلا نه ناي اولر جهده واقضه كوره باندرنك بيلر و فاضله اولدره
هره بيلر بيلدريج ايفاي مهند اولوب بول عايه اولدره هر كونه اعينه هر صغيف نه ناي اولر جهده

انفان نظرات عكرت طوبى قح عايه اولر جهده اك وجوده عكر لك الوير بيل حكر ظهور ابر بس اعرس سبلا بيل ايجوه اقتضا حال اجرا اولر جهده
براهه و سبلا نورده صوته مطرو ديه اولر سلك عكر بيل بولنه بر وجه تجر ب اولر بيل جهه بولاس بيلنجو معلوم اولدره او مقود كنه لركت
عكرلك و بيلسه و الويه اعقا و رقت اولر جهده

i-mms 132/5647



مكتبة
مستشرقین

صنعتی بازار کاشی

۴

۵۸۱
 اینجی اردوی جمہوریہ شہنشاہی طبری طبعی صورتی اعلیٰ کفر لغوب انجیلہ زریع زبہ مستحق اعصاب دیکھا عثمانک مریون تیر بر لغا ایل قلیتہ بیلم ایجا با طرسه جوی لہوہ
 مذکورہ سیرت جیدہ دکانہ بیستہ مورد تجزیہ اشعارینہ و موہا ایدک منب طبرستانہ بادیلوہ شامہ ایدک فغانہ اوج ستہ توریہ ادرہ برہ خدش سیرہ بر ارض
 و فغانہ بری ستہ تریہ اولت ادرہ دروزہ و تہ حکیمتہ نانا اولینہ قیاسا اولہا تاریخ نصیحتہ نظراً مدت لغتہ بیستہ مع زیارہ امکانیہ زریع تریہ کسبہ تحقیق ایدک
 اکادمیہ الفتنہ لمبتہ صفا بیستہ برنہ ادرہ سابعولطفا حقیقہ یادیک موہا ایدک عمدہ نہ صغ قولہ غلامہ زبہ توریہ سیرتہ ایلدیک عرصہ دستہ باغ
 اوردن حقیقہ سلاو کدر ایلدیک



15/41

YMTV

15/41

2

بدرزاد کهنه

باش کتابت داره

۵۷۶۵

معرفه چاکر کنیز لیرکه
 پنه سوده اولسه رریف طابردارنه مستخدم و طبابده اولوب صد خدمتدی کور بلوده خاصه از روی تقابینه منوب
 رریف صنف مقدم التمه در رنجی فره مانه الایک ایکنجی طابردی طیبی یوزباشی احمد شوکت والای مذکورک اوکنجی
 طابردی طیبی یوزباشی کرفد- وایکنجی اردو هابینه منوب رریف صنف مقدم تیسرا ایکنجی انظار الایک برنجی
 طابردی طیبی یوزباشی احمد وایکنجی طابردی طیبی یوزباشی صطفی نعم و اوکنجی طابردی طیبی یوزباشی تقادر
 و در رنجی طابردی طیبی خانده و مذکور ایکنجی اردو هابینه منوب رریف مقدم تیسری فره طیار الایک ایکنجی
 طابردی طیبی یوزباشی یوسف کفانه اقدیده برنجی زنده نشانه زینانه مجیدی اعطاسی عهد و تساهل
 او شریه شرفدار اوله اراده سینه حضرت پارتاهی ایچار عالیبنده اوله رفه دائره جلدی عدلیه دخی بلیغ ماره
 ابرلس اولغه اولبایده ارونه حضرت مع کور کدر له سعاده شیخ (امام) شیخ
 لیسر طابردی
 رریف

I.DH 1266/99548

I.DH.01266



Picture: Mobilizing Muslim and non-Muslim soldier candidates in the garden of Topkapi Palace¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Gülsoy

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi:

-İrade Dahiliye

-İrade Meclis-i Mahsus

-Yıldız Mütenevvi Maruzat

Secondary Sources

Aksan, Virginia. *Ottoman Wars: 1700-1870 An Empire Besieged*, UK: Pearson, (2007).

Badem, Candan. *The Ottoman Crimean War 1853-1856*, Leiden: Brill, (2010).

Bebirođlu, Murat. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslim Nizamnameleri*, İstanbul: Akademi Matbaası, (2008).

Behar, Cem (ed.). *The Population of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey : Historical Statistics Series Vol. 2*, Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, (1996).

Bozkurt, Gülnihal. *Alman-İngiliz Belgelerinin ve Siyasi Gelişmelerin Işığında Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu (1839-1914)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, (1989).

Cora, Yaşar Tolga (ed). *Harbiyeli Bir Osmanlı Ermenisi Mülazım-ı Sani Sürmenyan'ın Savaş ve Tehcir Anıları*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, (2015).

Çadırcı, Musa. *Tanzimat Sürecinde Türkiye Askerlik*, İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, (2008).

Çimen, Adnan. "Civil Registration Services In Ottoman In Terms Of Census, Registration System, And Organisation", *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.14, no.3 (2012).

Çöklü, Şenol. *I. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Asker Alma Usulleri*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, (2014).

Erdem, Hakan. "Do Not Think of the Greeks As Agricultural Labourers': Ottoman Responses to the Greek War of Independence" in Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas, (eds.) *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, London: Routledge, (2005): 67-85.

Deringil, Selim. *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, USA: Cambridge University Press, (2012).

Fahmy, Khaled. *All the Pasha's Men; Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt*, UK: Cambridge University Press, (1997).

Griffiths, Merwin Albert. *The Reorganization of the Ottoman Army Under Abdülhamid II, 1880-1897*, University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D., (1966).

Güler, Ali. *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete Azınlıklar*, Ankara: Tamga, (2000).

Gülsoy, Ufuk. *Osmanlı Gayrimüslimlerinin Askerlik Serüveni*, İstanbul: Simurg, (2000).

Heinzelmann, Tobias. *Cihaddan Vatan Savunmasına Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Genel Askerlik Yükümlülüğü 1826 – 1856*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, (2009).

İyiiiş, Kübra. *An Appraisal of the Impact of Reform on Society: The Case of the Early Tanzimat, 1839-1856*, Sabanci University: School of Arts and Social Sciences, Master Tezi, (2015).

Karal, Enver Ziya. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, Ankara: Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, (1943).

Karpat, Kemal H. *Osmanlı'da Değişim, Modernleşme, Uluslaşma*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, (2006).

Kaya, Önder. *Tanzimat'tan Lozan'a Azınlıklar*, İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, (2004).

Nicholls, David. *Napoleon a Bibliographical Companion*, California: ABC – CLIO, (1999).

Ortaylı, İlber. *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, İstanbul: Alkım, (2006).

Peçe, Uğur. *Greek Ottomans in the 1908 Parliament*, Sabanci University: School of Arts and Social Sciences, Master Tezi, (2007).

Raltson, David B. *Importing the European Army*, USA: The University of Chicago Press, (1990).

“Reaya”, *Redhouse Sözlüğü Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce*, İstanbul: Sev Yayıncılık, (1999).

Shaw, Stanford J. and Shaw, Ezel Kural. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, UK: Cambridge University Press, (1976).

Somel, Sekçuk Akşin. “Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermai ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşümler” in *Savaştan Barışa: 150. Yıldönümünde Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması 1853-1856, Bildiriler*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, (2007). 61-84.

Stiles, Andrina. *Napoleon, France and Europe*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, (1993).

Şakul, Kahraman. “Yeni Bir Askeri Tarih Özlemi” in Kahraman Şakul, (ed.) *Yeni Bir Askeri Tarih Özlemi: Savaş, Teknoloji ve Deneysel Çalışmalar*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, (2013): 1-20.

Ünal, Uğur. *Sultan Abdülaziz Devri Osmanlı Kara Ordusu 1861 – 1876*, Ankara: Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları, (2008).

Weider, Ben and Guegen, Emile. *Napoleon The Man Who Shaped Europe*, UK: Spellmount Staplehurst, (2000).

Wright, D. G. *Napoleon and Europe*, London: Longman, (1984).

Yurdakul, İlhami. “Osmanlı Ordularının Asker İhtiyacının Karşılmasında Yeni Bir Yöntem: Kura Sistemi 1839-1914”, in Feridun M. Emecen, (ed.) *Eskiçağ’dan Modern Çağ’a Ordular, Oluşum, Teşkilat ve İşlev*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, (2008): 433-443.

Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: a Modern History*, London: I.B. Tauris, (2004).

Zürcher, Erik J. (ed). *Arming the State: Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia 1775-1925*, London: I.B. Tauris, (1999).