

**THE DETERIORATION OF OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION  
IN THE LIGHT OF THE OTTOMAN-RUSSIAN WAR OF 1768-1774**

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## ABSTRACT

Continuing victories and absolute belief in the invincibility of their armies are the most important parameters for the Ottomans proving the superiority and perfection of their state traditions and institutions. The Ottomans believed in that their domains were divinely protected as it is reflected in their widely used title of *Memalik-i Mahruse*. After the serial defeats of the Ottoman armies and the Ottoman loss of the Crimea they understood that something must be changed in the structure of the Ottoman State, primarily in the military structure of the Empire.

In this study I investigate the reasons of the Ottoman defeat in the Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774 as the indicators of the corruption and dissolution of the Ottoman State system. I also seek for the answer of the questions why the Ottomans changed their mind and what force them to make reforms. In this study for a better understanding of the reasons and results of the war, political, economic and military situation of the Ottoman Empire and Europe is also examined comparatively. A detailed investigation on the state of affairs of the Ottoman Russian war is especially important to understand which elements of the Ottoman State system required changing.

## ÖZET

Sürekli zaferler ve ordularının yenilemeyeceklerine olan mutlak inançları Osmanlılar için devletlerinin gelenek ve kurumlarının mükemmelliği ve üstünlüğünü gösteren en önemli parametrelerdir. Osmanlı Devleti için çokça kullanılan Memalik-i Mahruse isminde yansıttığı gibi Osmanlılar ülkelerinin İlahi güç tarafından korunduğuna inanıyorlardı. Osmanlı ordularının almış olduğu seri yenilgiler ve Kırımın kaybindan sonra Osmanlı devlet yapısında, öncelikle askeri yapıda bazı şeylerin değişmesi gerektiğini anladılar.

Bu çalışmada 1768-1774 Osmanlı Rus Savaşında Osmanlıların yenilmesinin sebeplerini Osmanlı devletindeki bozulma ve çözülmenin göstergeleri olarak inceliyorum. Ayrıca Osmanlıların niçin fikirlerini değiştirdikleri ve onları reform yapmaya nelerin zorlamış olduğunu sorularının cevaplarını arıyorum. Bu çalışmada savaşın sebep ve sonuçlarının daha iyi anlaşılması için Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Avrupanın siyasi, iktisadi ve askeri yapıları karşılaştırmalı olarak ayrıca incelenecektir. Osmanlı Rus Savaşındaki olayların detaylı bir incelemesinde Osmanlı devlet yapısında hangi unsurların değişmesi gerektiğinin anlaşılması için özellikle önemlidir.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

A.DVN.KRM.:Kırım Hanlığı Kalemî Belgeleri

AÜDTCFD: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi

BOA: Prime Ministry State Archives.

EF: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2nd Edition.

HH: Hatt-i Humayun

İA: *İslam Ansiklopedisi*

NHD: Name-i Hümayun Defteri.

TOP: Topkapı Palace Archives

TSAB: Turkish Studies Association Bulletin

TTK: Türk Tarih Kurumu

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## **Chapter I: Introduction**

From the fourteenth century onward the advance of the Ottoman Turks in Europe was regarded by the Europeans as a real menace for the very existence of the European civilization. This threat caused a fundamental shift in the objective and target of the series of campaigns known as the Crusades. “In the papal declarations of the second half of the fourteenth century propaganda for the crusade began to be formulated as a defensive struggle to save Europe from the Turks.”<sup>1</sup> New crusade campaigns began to be organized as an alliance of the Catholic states to help the Orthodox Byzantium Empire, then in the form of united Catholic and Orthodox powers to save themselves. This problem turned into a merely political matter to be solved by the statesmen of Europe and became a question of maintenance of the Ottoman Empire for the sake of the “Balance of Power” under the title of “the Eastern Question” in the late Eighteenth century.

Throughout the European history political matters went hand in hand with the religious matters. Although in the Eighteenth century religious matters lost importance and were replaced by the state interests, Russia, which was emerging as a powerful state and the defender of Orthodoxy, began to use religious matters in pursuit of their historical mission of being “the third Rome” together with expansionist and state interests. This time while the Orthodox wanted to annihilate the Muslims, the Catholics became the defenders of their old enemies for the sake of the maintenance of the status quo.

In this general framework Ottoman-Russian Struggle continued almost two centuries. At the middle of this struggle stands the War of 1768-1774, which was resulted with the Russian victory. From then on the Russian advance began at the expense of the Ottomans.

The Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774 is one of the most studied subjects of the least studied eighteenth century Ottoman history in the present Ottoman Historiography. The reasons behind this are as follows: some historians regard it as the beginning of the decline period of the Ottoman Empire, and the European historians as the emergence of Eastern Question. The subject is also important that its results paved the way of modernization attempts, fastened decentralization process by empowering local notables in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, abundance of manuscripts, chronicles and primary documents belonged to the period both in Ottoman Turkish and in Russian also attracts the researches. However, it does not mean that the subject is sufficiently examined. It still requires a deep and comprehensive research through Ottoman archives.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Ottomans did not followed the developments in the international relations. The reason of this was the isolation policy of the Ottomans pursued until the end of the century. Though the Ottomans inherited some elements from the Byzantium state tradition as an Islamic and Middle-Eastern state its law, traditions and practices were very different from the those of European states. While the Europeans implied new economic systems and complex political relations,

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<sup>1</sup> H. İnalçık, "The Ottoman Turks and the Crusades 1329-1451", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, p.239

the insistence of the Ottomans on the perfection of their state traditions prevented them to adopt new developments. More important than technological and scientific developments took place in Europe this insistence also deprived the Ottomans of many advantages especially in the diplomatic arena and international relations.

In the eighteenth century while religious and dynastic matters lost their importance state interests replaced them. Thus, European states began to establish diplomatic organizations and practices such as permanent embassies and foreign offices. On the other hand, this new system required short-term alliances, partition policies, secret agreements, inconsistent and tricky policies. All of these were not suitable for *şer i* law and the state tradition of the Ottoman Empire. In many documents it is stressed that the Ottoman Empire was always careful to obey the articles of the treaties, and proud of its obedience to given promises. This is well reflected with the cliché of *Devlet-i aliyye-i daimi'l-karar*. As a result the Ottoman State insisting on its old regime did not enter or was not accepted but in reality stayed as a stranger in the “concert of Europe”.

Before the nationalism movement emerged with the French revolution and started to affect European nations, somewhat similar ideologies were used by the Russians to stir Ottoman minorities revolting against the Ottoman administration. The Russians used religious and some nationalist elements in order to separate some nations such as the Greeks, Serbians and even the Crimeans living in the Ottoman territories. It was natural that multinational empires such as the Ottoman, Russian and

Austrian Empires being multinational states constituted a suitable base to flourish such ideologies. The Russians followed the policy of inducing some Ottoman minorities against the Ottoman administration by showing themselves as the savior of the minorities especially the Orthodox nations living in the Ottoman realm.

In the early 1760's the Ottoman Sultan towards the end of a long peace period believed that his empire was very powerful. Most probably Sultan Mustafa III regarded the result of the War of 1739 of the Ottomans against Austria and Russia as a glorious victory. Sultan Mustafa III was unlucky that the Ottomans were not aware of the rapid developments in war technology in Europe materialized during this period.

Economic power, military might, moral and self-confidence of the Ottomans collapsed after a long series of battles with the Russia between the years 1768 and 1774. Besides the difficulties of the wartime the results of the Ottoman defeat which was accepted by the Ottomans with the humiliating treaty of Küçük Kaynarca also deeply affected rulers and Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire from different aspects.

In this study I will examine the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774 from the Ottoman viewpoint as to many different aspects such as international relations, internal problems, central and peripheral relations, war economy, war technology, provisioning of the army, leadership and commanding of the army to lighten the deterioration of the Ottoman administration.

In the first chapter I will examine the general situations of Europe and the Ottoman Empire, which prepared the reasons behind the Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774. In the next chapter, I will attempt to analyze the nature of the Ottoman declaration of war on Russia and examine its preparedness. In the third chapter I will examine the course and the nature of the war. In the fourth chapter I will examine the situation of the Crimea, the Russian invasion and the Russian endeavor to establish an independent Crimea. In the last chapter, I will examine the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca and some of its important articles.

## **Sources**

There is a great number of documents and chronicles related to the Ottoman campaign of 1768-1774 against the Russians. Almost in every kind of classification in the Ottoman archives we can find documents containing information about reasons of the war, war preparations, and conditions of the army and navy, course of events and treaties. Since it was a huge and very long campaign to determine exact numbers and to show every detail is impossible with an endeavor of a single researcher. In this study we use mainly *name-i hümayun*, *hatt-i hümayun* and *mühimme* registers and various archival documents such as *ferman* and *berat* included in Cevdet collection.

## **Primary Sources**

### ***Name-i Hümayun***

*Name-i hümayun* or *name-i şerif* was the letters related to the international and diplomatic relations sent by the Ottoman Sultan to the

Kings, Tsars, Khans, *Sherifs*, and *Voyvodas*. The letters sent by these rulers to the Sultan was called *name*.<sup>2</sup> *Name-i Hümayun Defteri* (volume) includes both *name-i hümayuns* and *names*, and translations of the letters. There are 18 *name-i hümayun* volumes in the Prime Minister's Archive covering the period between 1687-1918 (1111-1336). Entire volume of some *defters* includes only the treaties and agreements concluded between the Ottoman State and the other states.<sup>3</sup>

There are three *Name-i Hümayun* volumes related to Ottoman Russian relations in the second half of the eighteenth century. The volume number 2 covers the period between 1730 and 1776, the volume number 8 covers the period between 1741 and 1772, and the volume number 9 covers the period between the years 1772 and 1803. Majority of the *Name-i Hümayuns* bears *tuğra*. The Sultan begins the letter with his and his ancestors' titles and gives the names of the regions under his control. In some of the *names* the rulers are also mentions the place names within their realms. In some *name-i hümayuns* the dates are given according to both lunar and solar calendars.

The *Name-i Hümayun* *defters* related to the subject of Ottoman Russian war of 1768 provides information about the Ottoman declaration of war and its reasons, and mediation of the foreign states to prevent the war. They also include the orders of Sultan to the Crimean Khan related to various subjects, and peace negotiations and the articles of the agreements such as Yergöğü truce, Bahr-i Sefid truce, and Küçük Kaynarca treaty.

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<sup>2</sup> M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, p. 652.

<sup>3</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi, p.44

## ***Mühimme* Registers**

The *mühimme* registers (The Registers of Important Affairs) is one of the most important primary sources for the Ottoman history writing. The importance of these sources derives from the fact that the *mühimme* registers include the decisions issued by the highest office of the Ottoman Empire. It provides very important information about the social, economic, military, religious, and cultural aspects of the Ottoman society.

There are 419 volumes of *mühimme* registers in the Prime Minister's Archives covering the period between 1553-1915.<sup>4</sup> The earliest registers have been located in the Topkapı Palace dated 544/45 and 1552.<sup>5</sup> These registers have crucial importance for especially the sixteenth century. At that time, all the government decrees were entered into these registers in contrast to the later practice of separating *ahkam* (orders) and *şikayet* (complaints) registers. The decrees issued to personal complaints against officials and the disputes between individuals began to be collected in the separate *Şikayet Defterleri*. Later in the seventeenth century some aspects begin to be registered in the different registers.

One difficult thing about these registers is that the entries are not recorded by subject or according to the region or institution that the orders were sent. The entries are only in chronological order and one has to start each one to find the relevant document to his/her topic. The officials of the Prime Minister's Archives have prepared some indexes and summaries of

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<sup>4</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi, p.7

<sup>5</sup> Heyd, Uriel, "Introduction: The *Mühimme* Defteri as a Historical Source", in: Idem, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552-1615. A Study of the Firman According to the Mühimme Defteri*, Oxford 1960, p. 3.

the decrees. But the most of the data still is to be designed and indexed. Yet, even these indexes may be misleading since they were not prepared in very professional ways in most cases. So, this is one of the difficulties for the historians, who desire to conduct research on these sources.

The *mühimme* registers were done by the Ottoman High Council to register their decisions and these registers provide valuable information on the government's decisions on a wide range of topics. One of the most important features of the *mühimme* registers is that while we find the official view of the Ottoman government we have the opportunity to observe on which subject and how the Ottoman State put its ideology on certain topics. We can obtain information about how the offices in İstanbul and the provinces are organized and how they operated. Another type of information we can acquire from the *mühimmes* is how the Ottoman government was organized and worked.

### **Cevdet Collection**

Cevdet collection, prepared by Muallim Cevdet İnançalp, is one of the biggest collections preserved in Prime Minister's Archive in İstanbul. The collection covers the period between the years 1322 and 1904. It is classified under seventeen main parts such as *Adliye*, *Askeriye*, *Bahriye*, *Belediye*, *Dahiliye*, *Maliye* etc. and includes 216572 documents. There are 34 volumes catalogues and some catalogues have indexes. The catalogues include various types of documents such as *ferman*, *berat* and *buyruldu*.

### **Ferman** (Imperial Order)

*Ferman* means the imperial order, which was sent by the sultan to the subjects. Every *ferman* has to bear the *tugra* (the sultan's monogram) of the sultan which proved the validity of the document. Fermans generally address more than one person such as *viziers*, *kadis*, *beylerbeyis*, *voyvodas* and *ayans*.

Related to Ottoman Russian Wars beginning in 1768 there are many *fermans*, which mention about recruiting soldiers (*sekban*, *saruca*, *levend*) from various regions of the empire. The *fermans* order local administrators to recruit foot soldiers among the peasants and prepared them until a definite date, generally until the spring season of the year, and sent them to the military camps to give them primary training.

Military service was not a compulsory duty for the peasants. At the last decades of the eighteenth century the government tried to make it an attractive job by offering the candidates that they will not always stay as foot soldiers. They would be given the chance to join the military class by being officers. In addition they also offer daily pay to them directly from the central treasury and the retirement right after they complete a period of military service.

The recruitment of the peasants for the military service began as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. But here we can see an early example of the official permission and opportunity for social mobility, which was against the Ottoman State tradition in which transition from one class to other was prevented for the maintenance of the status quo.

When we compare the power of these *fermans* with that of fifteenth or sixteenth century *fermans* we can see the weakness of the central government. Simply because in earlier periods just one *ferman* was sufficient to stop the ill administration in the provinces. Therefore abundance of the *fermans* in the same issue show us that Ottoman central administration lost its control over provincial affairs.

### **Berat**

*Berat* was a sultanic diploma bearing his official seal. *Berats* were given by the central government to the officials and other persons to determine their status. Most of the *berats* were related to appointments or to give permissions to do something such as to cultivate tobacco or produce wine. Every civil servant and persons working in the foundations controlled by the state such as *wakfs*, guilds and bazaar organizations had to take *berat*, which legally validated their authorities and positions.

The *berats* sent by the central government to the peoples living in the localities were registered to the court registers. In order to take a *berat* a person should make a demand by sending a petition (*arzuhal*) which had to prove his proficiency on the field by the approval of his masters and the reliable peoples.

In many *berats* we can see that sons take the fathers' possessions after their deaths but there is no information related to this issue in the *berats* and other court registers. By using *berats* we can learn the kinds of working fields in the Ottoman Empire. In other *berat* entries there are appointment of the administrator (*mutevelli*) of a pious foundation,

appointments of the commanders (*alaybeyi*) and several examples of contraction between state and some rich peoples. Some peoples, contractors, bought the right of collecting taxes or exploiting mines or income of some kinds of products such as grain, tobacco. This implication provides the state to get the incomes of these sources one year earlier.

### **Buyruldu**

*Buyruldu* is the written order of the high-ranking officials such as vizier, *beylerbeyi* and *kazasker*. The *buyruldu* is somewhat similar to *fermans* but the *buyruldus* contains more specific issues. They adjusted coordination between central and local administrations. With *buyruldus* the officials from central government informed and controlled the local administrators and also give them some irregular duties.

### **Chronicles:**

**Ahmed Resmî Efendi:** *Hülasatu'l-İtibar* is a work of Ahmed Resmî Efendi. He is an eyewitness of the course of war and one of the signatories of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. His book provides valuable information about the Ottoman Russian war of 1768 and 1774. Most probably it was composed between the years 1774 and 1781.

His purpose in this work was to give advice to next generations. Therefore, for the sake of this purpose, he might be added some possible bad situations to his history. Ahmed Resmî was subjective in his history since his writings arranged, maybe fabricated, according to results. He explains his intention of writing this book as follow: "...to profit from the examples of the past, as a warning, as times goes by, to the leaders of this

astonishing world who come after us, and to recall and commend some of the benevolent servants of the supreme State...”<sup>6</sup> In addition his loss of prestige after signing the humiliating Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca might be a reason that forced him to exaggerate and over criticize the events.

In the first three pages Ahmed Resmî explains the purpose of his writings. Introduction part explains the reasons of the campaign. In the first *lahika* Ahmed Resmî deals with the results of mismanagement by giving examples from the past. The first chapter mentions about the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa, and Hamza Paşa’s replacement and dismissal, and appointment of Mehmed Emin Paşa and under his command the departure of the Army. In the second Chapter he mentions about Kartal Vakası. In the third chapter, the events, which occurred during the vizierate of Silahdar Mehmed Paşa, were explained. Chapter four explains the events which occurred during the first year of Muhsinzade Mehmed’s second vizierate. In the second *lahika* Ahmed Resmî explains the benefits and necessities of making peace. The fifth chapter explains the events of the year 1773. The sixth chapter explains the events of the year 1774. In the third *lahika* the reasons of the ending the war and signing the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca were given. In the conclusion he mentions the exchange of ambassadors and the development of improper events upon the Crimeans opposition to the treaty. In the Completion part Ahmed Resmî explains the reasons of the Russian superiority. In the last

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<sup>6</sup> Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman In War and Peace, Ahmed Resmî Efendi 1700-1783*. p. 109.

and an additional part Ahmet Resmî gives information about the Russian military tactics and tricks.

**Ahmed Vasıf Efendi:** (?-1806) He was appointed as a *vak a nüvis* in 1783. He replaced Sadullah Enverî and rewrote his history by accusing him of writing down the events, which he witnessed or heard without making any research and criticism. He states that there are many mistakes in Enverî's history. The second volume of Vasıf's history titled *Mehasinül-Asar ve Hakaikül-Ahbar* or *Vasıf Tarihi* includes the events of the Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774. Vasıf was an eyewitness of the Ottoman Russian war. He began his career in the service of Gül Ahmed Paşa-zade Ali Paşa the defender of Bender in 1769. After his death Vasıf became the secretary of Abaza Mehmed Paşa in Hotin. In 1771 he was captured by the Russians and sent to St. Petersburg. The Russians used him in the service of peace negotiations, and sent him to the Grand Vizier Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa. Since he played a mediatory role between the Russian General Rumiantsev and Muhsinzade in the peace negotiations process, he provides detailed information about this period.<sup>7</sup>

**Necati Efendi:** He was the *defteremini* of Silahdar İbrahim Paşa the governor of Trabzon and Erzurum and defender of Kefe. He went to Crimea in the entourage of Silahdar İbrahim Paşa and wrote down his observations during and after Russian invasion, and his captivity period in his book titled *Tarih-i Kırım* or widely and mistakenly known *Sefaretnâme-i Necati Efendi*.

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<sup>7</sup> V. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace*, p. 112.

The book consisted of mainly two parts: in the first part he mentions the situation of the Crimea and the events of the Crimean front. In the second part he gives information about Russia where he was taken as war captive.

**Halim Giray Sultan** (1772-1823): His *Gülbün-i Hanan yahud Kırım Tarihi* was written in 1811 and published in 1909 in İstanbul. The book gives bibliographic information about 44 Crimean Khans from Mengli Giray Khan to Baht Giray. It also provides account on some important events occurred during their Khanate. The book was written in 1811 when the Crimea was under Russian control. Halim Giray Sultan witnessed the consequences of the policies pursued by the Crimean leaders and the situation of the Crimea after the Russian annexation. Therefore, he highly criticizes the separatist activities of the Crimean leaders during the period of the Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774.

**İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı**: His general history of the Ottoman Empire, in the first part of the fourth volume provides general information about the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774. Although his works fill a large gap in Ottoman historiography, as a handicap of writing a general history, it does not give detailed and analytical information. Uzunçarşılı just gives reasons and results in the narration of the events. His study mainly based on Ahmed Resmî's *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, Vasıf's *Vasıf Tarihi* Volume I and II, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's *Cevdet Tarihi* Volume I, and Hammer's *Ottoman History*. He makes direct quotations and paraphrasing without criticizing from these sources and adds them a little information derived from archival documents mainly from *name-i hümayun* and *mühimme*. As to these peculiarities we

can say that Ahmed Cevdet and Uzunçarşılı's works are very similar to each other.

**Virginia H. Aksan:** Her book titled *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace, Ahmed Resmî Efendi, 1700-1783* is a biography of Ahmed Resmî Efendi a signatory of Küçük Kaynarca Treaty. The book provides information about Ahmed Resmî's life and career at different state offices. The second chapter of the book gives detailed information about Ottoman European diplomatic relations particularly relations with Prussia. The third chapter titled "The Russo-Turkish War, 1768 to 1774: On the Battle Front" is a study based on not only Ahmed Resmî's *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, but also Ahmed Vasıf and Sadullah Enverî's works together with archival documents and secondary sources. In this chapter Aksan mentions about the course of events and Ahmed Resmî's career during the War. As a significant historiographical problems she emphasizes that "...massive documentation available in the Ottoman Archives, about mobilization, provisioning and the expenses, has been virtually untouched."

Aksan's another study titled "The 1768 to 1774 Russo-Turkish War: A Comparative Analysis of Russian and Ottoman Campaign Preparedness" is a paper presented at the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association and published in the Turkish Studies Association Bulletin. In the study Aksan investigates the ability of the Russians and Ottomans to mobilize and feed their troops in the first year of the war; the nature and involvement of the military leadership; and the impact of the outcome on the reform agendas of the two empires.

**Salahattin Tansel:** In his article titled “1768 Seferi Hakkında Bir Araştırma” (A Research on the 1768 Campaign) examines the reasons of the campaign. The study composed of mainly three parts; in the first part he examines the reasons of the war mainly based on *İbretnüma-yi Devlet* as a primary source. In the second part he deal with the Polish question. In the third part he provides translation of some parts of *İbretnüma-yi Devlet*.

**Alan Fisher:** His book entitled “The Russian Annexation of the Crimea” is mainly based on Russian sources and a little number of Ottoman archival documents and chronicles are also used. He states that “Russian sources are predominant because so many have been published” The study provides valuable information about the Russian-Crimean Relations in the period from the Russian invasion of the Crimea in 1771 to the annexation in 1783. He particularly deals with the policies of the Russians to persuade the Crimeans separating from the Ottomans and establishing an independent Crimean state.

## **Chapter II**

### **General Situation before the Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774**

There is a common agreement among the historians that power struggle between the great powers of Europe, namely, Russia, Prussia, Austria, England, France and the Ottoman Empire, to increase their influence in eastern Europe, and specifically to take the control over the Polish affairs is the real cause of the beginning of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774.

There is also a common consensus that presence of a great number of Russian forces in Poland, which was a buffer state between Ottoman and Russian territories, and interference in the election of the king of Poland, constituted an open threat for the Ottoman security and interests. Thus, it prepared the conditions for the beginning of the Ottoman Russian War. The immediate reason of the beginning of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774 was the penetration of the Russian troops into the Ottoman territory in pursuit of the troops of the Polish Bar confederation. In this chapter I will examine the general situation which prepared the reasons of the Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774.

### **General Situation of Europe**

After the end of the seven years war (1756-1763) the balance of power among the European powers took a new shape. Although the war was ended Anglo-French rivalry on colonial interests, and Austrian-Prussian enmity continued. Especially the alliance between Peter III, the new Czar of Russia, and Fredrick II, the King of Prussia, signed on May 5, 1762 made other states, particularly France, restless. The alliance provided Fredrick II a

period of recovery. Russian aim was to secure its western frontiers, and to secure the maintenance of Russian control over Poland.<sup>8</sup>

Short time after the signing of the alliance with Prussia, Peter III was dethroned with a *coup d'etat* arranged by his wife and successor Catherine II. Immediately after her accession Catherine tried to strengthen her position by gaining the support of Russian nobles and particularly of the ordinary peoples. For this purpose she launched two projects which were regarded as “the historic mission of the Czars”. These were “the conquest of Poland, which should open the Road towards European civilization, and the conquest of the harbors of the Black Sea, which should open the road to that Byzantine Empire whose greatness Holy Russia was summoned to renew, both by popular superstition and by political speculation.”<sup>9</sup>

In the second half of the eighteenth century the dominant powers in Eastern Europe were Austria, Russia, Prussia and the Ottoman Empire while England and France were focused their attention on the colonial struggle in North America. In 1763 the main concern of the dominant powers was to secure control over Poland, which was situated between their territories. The death of Augustus III, the king of Saxony and Poland caused the emergence of so called “Polish Crisis.”

The great powers wanted to increase their power and influence or at least tried to preserve their status. On the other hand they tried to prevent any possible threat of a single state’s or an alliance’s domination over the other states. Thus every state arranged their policies according to position of

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<sup>8</sup> Andrina Stiles, *Russia, Poland and the Ottoman Empire 1725-1800*, p.131.

<sup>9</sup> Albert Sorel, *The Eastern Question in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 9

other states. In the example of Poland, developing events showed that there was the possibility of Russian and Prussian gain at the expense of the others and this disturbed other states. Therefore, Russia and Prussia had to find valid and acceptable reasons for their actions to prevent establishment of a possible counter alliance.

Intervention of powerful states in elections, which were held in some states of Europe, had become an accustomed and expected affair. As a result of family relations and political marriages between royal families, which was experienced throughout centuries in Europe, there would emerge several heirs and candidates belonged to different nations for a vacant throne, as it was in the case of Poland. There were many examples that kings or queens of many nations were belonged to different nationalities and cultures, that is, the sovereigns were foreign to their subjects. For example deceased king of Poland Augustus III was a Saxon and Russian Empress Catherine II was a German in origin.

This practice made intervention of foreign countries in succession of a king an ordinary case, and transformed it from a domestic affair into international one. Thus, as natural, this practice often caused ‘succession crises’, and diplomatic and political tension between the European states upon the death of a ruler. The European history is full of examples, among them we can give following examples; the succession of William, the Duke of Orange, to the English throne in 1689, the war of the Spanish succession in 1701, and the Austrian succession upon the “Pragmatic Sanction” of the Emperor Charles VI in 1720. This practice at least provided a ready pretext

to interfere in the domestic affairs of a state. This practice also played an important role in the dynastic changes and the establishment of new alliances. There were no examples of such practices or traditions, and this kind of interrelations between royal families in eastern monarchies so it is important to put an emphasis on this peculiarity of European dynasties for a better understanding of the matter of Polish succession crisis.

Upon the death of the King of Poland Augustus III, Austria, France, Russia and Prussia wanted to replace him with their candidates. Austria and France to materialize their ambitions demanded Ottoman intervention in the affairs, and tried to convince the Ottomans standing on their sides. Russia and Prussia tried to prevent Ottoman interference in the events and possible Ottoman help to their rivals. On the other hand “the Polish senators intended to bring to the throne either Prince Carol the son of deceased Augustus III or the king’s brother Prince Saverius.”<sup>10</sup> In a *telhis* given by the grand vizier to Sultan Mustafa III a French interpreter states that “the Saxon King is still 19 years of age, and should he know that he will have the support and aid of the Ottoman State, he would be crowned king of Poland, and should the Ottomans agree to this, then, France would also lend a helping hand.”<sup>11</sup> In a newsletter sent by Grigore Callimachi, the Voyvoda of Bogdan, to İstanbul dated February 13, 1764 the situation is summarized. The voyvoda states that “Austria and France are in accord with each other on the subject of the accession to the throne of Poland. Russia and Prussia uphold the view that a

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<sup>10</sup> TOP. No.97, in Nigar Anafarta, *ibid.*, p. 38

<sup>11</sup> TOP. No. E. 2456/24, in N. Anafarta, *ibid.*, p. 37

Pole should be chosen as king”<sup>12</sup>

“Prussia and its ally Russia requested Ottoman Empire to exert efforts to assure that a Pole is chosen as a King of Poland, and the freedom of Poland is guaranteed.”<sup>13</sup> They claimed that election of the third Saxon as the king of Poland would make Poland throne as the hereditary right of Saxon dynasty and this would bring the end of the freedom of Poland. The first partition of Poland in 1772 reflected their real ambitions.

Fredrick II wanted to prevent the election of Prince Carol the Elector of Saxony, which was main rival of the Prussia. Catherine II supported Stanislaw Antoni Poniatowski, who was her former lover. Fredrick and Catherine agreed on the candidacy of Poniatowski, and tried to prevent any opposition and intervention of French, Austrian and Ottoman Empire. The Prussian Envoy informed the Porte, in his statement, dated January 4, 1764, about the situation that King of Austria wished to appoint his son, and the French king wanted to make one of his relatives the king of Poland.<sup>14</sup>

The Saxon candidate died of smallpox at the end of 1763 and there was no other suitable Saxon candidate. Hence Russia’s candidate gained advantage. The Russians were quick in action and sent their troops into Poland, “and also made arrangements for the bribing of influential Poles and strengthening of the pro-Russian forces.”<sup>15</sup> Thus, Catherine II provided election of Poniatowski as the king of Poland on September 6, 1764. In a short time Russia increased the number of its soldiers located in Poland.

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<sup>12</sup> TOP. No E. 6017, in N. Anafarta ibid. p.39

<sup>13</sup> TOP. No.97, in N. Anafarta, ibid. p. 38

<sup>14</sup> TOP. No.97, in N. Anafarta, ibid. p..37

Russian presence in their territories and endeavor to recover the lost rights of the Polish “Dissidents”<sup>16</sup> made Polish Catholics anxious about their future and created an opposition group called Bar Confederates. France and Austria supported this Polish-opposing group.

## **General Situation of the Ottoman Empire**

### **Ottoman Foreign Policy**

At the very beginning of the eighteenth century, after the treaty of Karlowitz, “Russia became a major European power while the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Khanate and Poland suffered from the drastic change in the balance of power in favor of their age-old enemy.”<sup>17</sup> After the Prut war and Ottoman recover of Azak in 1711 “the Ottoman State and the Crimean Khanate emerged as the staunch defenders of the independence and territorial integrity of Poland against Russia.”<sup>18</sup> In an almost century long rivalry both the Ottomans and Russians could not establish a decisive superior position against each other until 1768. However, there was a gradual increase in the Russian power and prestige at the expense of the Ottomans.

The main objectives of Russian foreign policy since the sixteenth century had been to extend its border towards the Baltic Sea to secure a

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<sup>15</sup> M. S. Anderson “European Diplomatic Relations, 1763-1790.” In *New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VIII, p. 258

<sup>16</sup> Dissident meant the Protestant and Orthodox minorities living in Poland. There were in Poland a body of ‘separated’ Greeks and some Lutherans, who were confounded together under the name of *Dissidents*. Quoted in Albert Sorel, *The Eastern Question*, p. 16

<sup>17</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature”, in *Mélanges en l’honneur de Alexander Bennigsen*, p.207

<sup>18</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Struggle for East-European Empire: 1400-1700 The Crimean Khanate, Ottomans and the Rise of the Russian Empire”, in *The Turkish Yearbook*, Vol. XXI, p.13

seaport for foreign trade, to establish its authority over Polish and Ukrainian lands, to annex Crimea in order to stop the Crimean Tatar raids, and to secure a seaport on Black Sea. During the reign of Peter I, Russia annexed Livonia and Estonia in 1721 and secured an outlet to the Baltic Sea.<sup>19</sup> The first Russian attempt at invading the Crimea in 1687 was a complete failure.<sup>20</sup> But “in 1737 and 1738 they invaded Crimea and in 1739 the Tatars and Turks had to abandon Azov definitively to the Russians.” Since Poland served as a buffer state for the Ottoman Empire, its security had a vital importance for the Ottomans. Presence of the Russian troops in Poland caused fear and resentment at the Porte.

Sultan Mustafa III was against the Russian interference in the election of new King of Poland. Sultan ordered to sent letters to the representatives of French, Austria and Spain informing that he is against appointing a king for Poland by Russia, and suggest that all of them should oppose such an action. He stated that “it would be fitting and proper for them to jointly choose a suitable king. Furthermore, this matter calls fore more deep thinking and deliberation.”<sup>21</sup>

Abdülaziz Efendi the Crimean Khan’s secretary to the treasury reported on May 28, 1764 that “Russia wishes to make Poniatowski’s son King of Poland. An army of over 100000 men is being kept right at the border...aside from Poland, there are more than 6000 Russian troops present

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<sup>19</sup> Madariaga, *Catherine the Great*, p.38

<sup>20</sup> H. İnalçık, “Power Relationships between...” in *Mélenges en l’honneur de Alexander Bennigsen*, p. 206

<sup>21</sup> TOP No. E. 2456, *Hatt-i Hümayun* on a *telhis* dated (1177) 1763, in N. Anafarta p. 38

in Lithuania.... There should be no doubt left as to their intention, to appoint Poniatowski as King. This information could also be verified at the French and Austrian Embassies in İstanbul.”<sup>22</sup>

Upon the developments in Poland the Crimean Khan began to prepare for war with Russia. The Grand Vizier Köse Bahir Mustafa Paşa was against the idea of opening war against Russia since he thought that the Ottoman Empire was not prepared enough to defeat the Russians. The Grand Vizier reported to Sultan that “As the matter of war munitions and supplies has been neglected over a long period, at the present time a successful outcome in a war with Russia is not possible.” He preferred to stay neutral and suggested to the Sultan that “it would be proper to inform the Crimean Khan not to interfere in matters relating to the choosing of a King in Poland, and to avoid war preparations on the part of the Tatar tribes.”<sup>23</sup>

We can say that the Grand Vizier avoided any provocative efforts that might cause possible Russian attack. The document also reveals that the Ottomans were aware of their unpreparedness as early as 1764, and witnesses such as Ahmed Resmî Efendi asserted that in 1768 when declared war against Russia they are still unprepared. The question is why they did not make necessary preparations within this period? We know that there was no economic problem in the period so under such conditions waiting without preparations seems an unreliable information.

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<sup>22</sup> TOP. No. 3811, in N. Anafarta, *ibid*, p. 41

## **The Ottoman Diplomacy and the Way of Intelligence**

Drastic changes in the diplomatic relations of the European powers in the second half of the eighteenth century made the traditional Ottoman foreign policy completely useless. The most important change in the European diplomatic system, as to Ottoman viewpoint, was the alliance of France and Austria, the archenemy of the Ottomans, with the Treaty of Versailles in 1756. Throughout the two centuries the Ottomans had used the enmity between France and Austria by supporting France to reduce the power of Austria. The new situation was very dangerous for the Ottomans and it required finding an ally. The most suitable state for the alliance was Prussia, which also needed urgently such an alliance. The first demand for a defensive alliance came from Prussia. However, the beginning of the Seven Years War compelled the Porte to follow the 'wait and see policy' since the Porte did not want to join the war. Thus, as a response of Prussia's request the Porte offered a postponement, and tried to delay it. In July 1761 the negotiations ended by signing not a defensive alliance but a treaty of friendship and commerce.

After the Russian-Prussian alliance of 1762 the Grand Vizier Koca Ragıb Paşa decided to give up the idea of an alliance with Prussia. In a *hatt-i hümayun* we see the reasons of the Ottoman rejection of the Prussian request for a *tahaffuzî ittifak*, a defensive alliance. Upon the request of the king for an ultimate definite decision of the Ottoman State, the Porte as a response declares that according to the eighth article of the existing friendship agreement between the two states to be able to conclude a

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<sup>23</sup> TOP No: E. 538/1, Telhis, N. Anafarta, ibid , p. 40

defensive alliance there must be no obstacle.

For the Ottomans there were two obstacles to accept such an alliance: first, they were waiting for the ratification of Catherine II to the existing agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. Secondly, Austria did not act contrary to the present agreement and the Ottoman State principally could not broken an alliance. Therefore the Porte did not sign the alliance with Prussia which necessitated an Ottoman attack on Austria and/or Russia by breaking the existing agreement.<sup>24</sup>

Upon the Catherine's deny of ratification of Russian-Prussian alliance the Ottomans began to consider Ottoman-Prussian alliance and sent an envoy, Ahmed Resmî Efendi, to Berlin. Fredrick II used Ottoman envoy's visit to Prussia wisely. His real intention was to frighten Catherine II by showing the possibility of an Ottoman-Russian alliance and force her to accept a new alliance with Prussia. Under different conditions he was going to make an alliance with the Ottoman Empire. As a result Prussia and Russia made a defensive alliance in 1764. In this alliance death of Augustus III also played an important role. If this attempt to set up an Ottoman-Prussian alliance had been materialized it would have been the first defensive alliance of the Ottoman State with a Christian state.

In the eighteenth century the European states established the practice of regular exchange of permanent resident diplomats but the Ottoman State did not establish permanent embassies abroad until 1793,<sup>25</sup> Although English, Dutch, French, Austrian, Russian and Venetian diplomats

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<sup>24</sup> BOA. HH. 234. Dated 18 October, 1762.

were allowed to work in İstanbul.<sup>26</sup> Insisting on the old system of diplomacy prevented the Ottomans to have reliable and fresh information about the developments and activities taking place in other states while other states following the affairs in İstanbul closely.

Absence of permanent resident diplomats prevented the Porte to receive accurate and reliable information related to foreign affairs. The main sources of information were the observations of Ottoman ambassadors, the reports of the foreign representatives, and Ottoman officials and governors working at frontier provinces and spies. Under the light of Ottoman documents such as *telhis* (summarized report) *arz* and *takrir* (reports) given to the Porte by various sources, we can say that between the years 1763 and 1768 the Ottoman intelligence system is almost unreliable. This judgement might not be valid for other periods since the developments in Poland were very complex in the period because of manipulations and tricky policies of the dominant powers.

As far as we know the Ottoman Sultan obtained information related to foreign affairs mainly through his absolute deputy, the grand vizier. Grand Vizier submitted the summary of news and his observations to the Sultan after making discussions and interviews with high-ranking bureaucrats such as the *şeyhülislam* (Grand Mufti), the senior viziers and military commanders, and also foreign representatives. Archival documents reveals that Sultan Mustafa III did not trust majority of his bureaucrats and there was also no confidence between the bureaucrats. The situation is

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<sup>25</sup> Halil İnalçık, "Türk Diplomasi Tarihinin Sorunları." In *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi: 200 Yıllık Süreç*, TTK, Ankara, 1997. p. XV.

exposed by the below *arz* submitted by *şeyhülislam* to the Sultan:

“As per the Imperial order, the matter of preserving the independence of Poland has been discussed at length with the Grand Vizier. Though Russia, Prussia, Eflak and Bogdan insist that the independence has not been violated, the contrary should be presumed, and for the purpose of fully clarifying the matter, and ascertaining whether the independence of Poland is still valid as heretofore, or whether it is lost, and if the latter is true, then why it was done, the Bogdan commander has been written to again to ensure that the Crimean Khan engages in a secret investigation, same also to be conducted in Walachia. A replay is expected within a few days, and it would be incorrect to take certain measures without being in possession of the whole truth.”

On the same document there is *hatt-i hümayun* of the Sultan to the grand vizier. He replies that:

“Poland has lost its independence and commander in Chief being an advocate of independence has had his belongings plundered, and it is believed he has retreat to a corner. It is useless to await the letters and the Bogdan (Moldavia) and Eflak (Walachia) commanders’ communications should not be considered trustworthy. The Khan’s letter should be awaited, but he too is not overly trustworthy. All this information should be kept secret and none of it divulged to the Grand Mufti. ”<sup>27</sup>

In the classical period we know that “before taking important decisions the sultan would summon the grand vizier or the *şeyhülislam* to the Palace for discussions, either by themselves or with others he trusted.”<sup>28</sup> It seems that the practice was also continued in 1760’s but the difference was the decrease in number of people whom the sultan could trust in. According to the above document it is unclear that how sultan obtained such information and why he did not trust in the Khan, the *şeyhülislam*, and the commanders. It can also be understood that there must be various source of information of the Sultan other than the grand vizier. The *hatti hümayun*

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<sup>26</sup> A. Stiles, *ibid*, p.56

<sup>27</sup> TOP. No. E. 7019/168, N. Anafarta, *ibid*. p.48

addressed to the grand vizier to inform him. When *şeyhülislam* made a detailed conversation with grand vizier related to the matter either the grand vizier did not have the information that the sultan had or kept the information secret from him. It can be said to explain the lack of confidence that the sultan lost the control of his officers and there must be influential powers apart from the sultan within the state. Although we said above that lack of representation in foreign countries deprived the empire of reliable information, under these conditions if there were permanent representatives in foreign countries how they would be effective can be discussed.

It can be said that there was the problem of confidence among the sultan and his bureaucrats during the reign of Sultan Mustafa III. “In the eighteenth century the imperial council ceased to meet in the Palace and transacted all governmental business in the grand vizier’s residence. In 1776, however, Mustafa III commanded that it meet in the Palace at least once a week.”<sup>29</sup> The reasons of this change might be to follow the important political developments taking place in Eastern Europe, and to provide the security of the confidential decisions taken by the imperial council related to foreign affairs.

### **The Ottoman Economy**

Long peace period between 1747-1768 provided the Ottoman Empire a full treasury. The sentence reflects a contradictory situation between the Ottoman rise and decline periods when we think that one of the

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<sup>28</sup> Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600*, p. 93

main sources of income of the Ottomans was booty acquired with the Ottoman raids into neighboring countries in the early periods of the Ottoman history. In the eighteenth century war became an economically exhaustive undertaking. It was very costly even for the victorious, and yielded no profit at least in the short-run. However, the situation was not obvious for some Ottomans who thought that war still was a source of revenue.

As it was stated in the previous paragraph the Ottoman treasury is full before the Ottoman-Russian war of 1768 but it does not necessarily mean that Ottoman economic system was well established. McGowan and Genç both divide the eighteenth century into two parts as before and after 1760's. In the first part the economic activities were in rise and in the latter in decline. Although there were some progress in the Ottoman economic system it was not sufficient to support a costly war.

One of the main reasons of the backwardness in economy is the "Isolation Policy" of the Ottomans, which had been pursued until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In other words it means the insistence and the belief of the Ottomans in the superiority of their traditional systems, and the problem of adaptation to technologic, scientific and economic developments in the world. On the other hand the Ottomans isolated merely themselves from the outside developments but not closed their doors to the Europeans, particularly the French, British and the Netherlands, by granting

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<sup>29</sup> Halil İnalçık ,ibid. p.90

Capitulations and commercial concessions, “France in 1569, England in 1580, and the Netherlands in 1612”<sup>30</sup>

After launching free trade which was accepted with The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) West European states left their protectionist policies and began to developed new commercial implementations such as funded national dept in England, and the credit instruments of the Dutch and Italians. “ By contrast the Ottomans ... had to cope as well as they could without examining the mostly unconscious economic attitudes which they had inherited from the past.”<sup>31</sup>

Ottoman Economic system can be divided into three main parts provisionism, traditionalism and fiscalism: Provisionism was the economic activities to provide abundant, cheap and good quality of products and services within the Ottoman realm. This economic policy required preventing export of goods while import encouraged. This was the completely contrary to the economic policies of the west European countries. Traditionalism meant to protect status quo and prevent any change in traditional commercial activities. Fiscalism meant to increase the income of Ottoman treasury.<sup>32</sup>

The answer of the question how The Ottomans replenish their treasury lies behind the decrease in state expenses in the long peace period and their success in the application of their taxation system, which was the

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<sup>30</sup> H. İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 21

<sup>31</sup> Bruce McGowan, “The State and the Economy” in *An Economic and Social History* p. 710

<sup>32</sup> Mehmet Genç, “18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sanayii” in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, pp. 226-254

main source of income. “In all of the provinces...the bulk of the state revenues came from the poll-tax and the *mukataas*, constituting almost 90 percent of the total” in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>33</sup> This situation remained almost same, although there were some innovations in taxation system in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. “At the beginning of the [eighteenth] century, the tithe provided 42.5 percent of central government revenues while the head-tax on non-Muslims provided 45.5 percent.”<sup>34</sup>

In the eighteenth century tax collection was assigned to local notables, *a yans*. While decentralization was in progress the state could maintain central control by means of the *a yans*. The Porte tried to control appointment of *a yans* to make them as official representatives of the central government. Especially during the war importance of the *a yans* who supported the campaign increased for the central government. As a result while the central government concentrated on the war with the Russians the *a yans* gained prestige and power in their provinces.

In the period the Ottomans had gradually passed into a cash-based economy and beginning of the collection of the tax-farms in the form of ready cash also provided an increase in state revenues. In addition to the tax incomes, beginning of new technologies such as glass, soap, sugar gunpowder, and paper also made some financial contributions.<sup>35</sup> There were

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<sup>33</sup> Halil İnalçık, “State Revenues and Expenditures; Sources of Revenue” in *An Economic and Social History*, p.55.

<sup>34</sup> Bruce McGowan, “The State and the Economy” in *An Economic and Social History* .p. 711.

also increases in production and export of silk, cotton, iron, tobacco, and dye.<sup>36</sup> Besides these we can add thriftiness of the Sultan Mustafa III.

### **The General Situation of the Crimea before the War**

Throughout three centuries, since the Ottoman defeat of the Genoese in the Crimea and Crimean Khan Mengli Girays' acceptance of the sovereignty of Sultan Mehmed II in 1475, the Crimea had become an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, politically, economically and culturally.<sup>37</sup> From then on the Black Sea became an Ottoman lake and gained vital importance for the Ottomans particularly in the provisioning of İstanbul. The Crimea as a vassal state of the Ottomans made great contribution to the Ottoman military power by providing great number of soldiers. The Khans with their troops joined many Ottoman campaigns. Crimean Tatars's raids on Polish and Muscovite states and Ukraine weakened these states and booties and slaves acquired in these raids vitalized the Ottoman economy.

After the treaty of Carlowitz the situation completely reversed and the Crimeans from then on always feared of a possible Russian invasion. With the Treaty of İstanbul concluded in 1700 the Crimean Khans lost their suzerainty position over Russia. "Demilitarized zones were defined around the Crimea for the safety of the Khanate and on the banks of the Dnieper

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<sup>35</sup> B. McGowan, "A Perspective on the Eighteenth Century" in *An Economic and Social History* pp. 639-645.

<sup>36</sup> Mehmed Genc, "18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş." In *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, pp. 211-225

<sup>37</sup> Halil İnalcık, "Struggle for East-European Empire: 1400-1700", in *The Turkish Yearbook* Vol. XXI p. 3

River.”<sup>38</sup> Russian Czar’s demand to be recognized in the great power status was accepted by the Ottoman sultan. By the Russian’s full control of the East-Europe gaining power and prestige Russia joined the European concert of states.

Throughout the eighteenth century the primary concern of the Crimeans was to provide their security against a possible Russian invasion. For this purpose they were not willing to send their armies outside the Crimea in the times of the Ottomans demand of military support as they did in the past. This situation brought about disorder in the Crimea because of the Crimean tribe leaders and *mirzas*’s disapproval of the Khan’s policies, which were pursued in accordance with the orders of Ottoman sultan, and caused disagreements between the Ottomans and the Crimeans. This situation paved the way Crimean separatist movement during the Ottoman Russian war of 1768-1774.

Crimean society was composed of Crimean Tatar and Nogay clans. The Giray dynasty as the descendants of Cengiz Khan was the most prestigious family and “in theory the Crimean Khanate was a feudal monarchy with the Giray family, led by the Khan, enjoying supreme power in the Khanate.”<sup>39</sup> In practice the family was regarded as most powerful one among the equally independent clans. They had limited authority and obtained a little part of the land in the Crimean peninsula.

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<sup>38</sup> Halil İnalçık Struggle for East-European Empire: 1400-1700, in *The Turkish Yearbook* Vol. XXI p. 13

<sup>39</sup> Alan Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea.*, p. 6

In the middle of the eighteenth the most important Tatar Clans were Şirin, Mansur oğlu, Barın and Sicivut, respectively.<sup>40</sup> The leaders of these clans “made up the exclusive circle of the Crimean aristocracy called the *Karaçi Beys*”<sup>41</sup> Şirin clan controlled the eastern Crimea except for north and east of Kefe and coastal region of Sea of Azov. The Mansur clan controlled Orkapisi and its surrounding.

Another important element of the Crimean society was the Nogay tribes. There were six important Nogay tribes: Kuban , Kırgız, Yediçkul, Cemboyluk, Yedisian and Bucak Nogays. These tribes had a nomadic way of life style and completely different from the settled Crimean Tatars. Roaming in the steppe north of the Caucasus between Astrakhan and Azak, and between the rivers Dniester and Danube they controlled almost all the Crimean territory outside of the Crimean peninsula. The Kuban Nogays lived in north of the Sea of Azov. The Kırgız Nogays roamed in the Caucasus north of the Kuban River. Yediçkul Nogays lived in the north of the Crimea. The Cemboyluk and Yedisian Nogays lived in the region of Özü. Bucak Nogays lived in the area between the Dniester and Danube, along the shores of Black Sea.

To keep them under control was always a difficult matter for the Khan. They revolted many times against the administration of the Khan mainly because of the disagreements on the rate of the taxes levied by the Khan. Especially after 1670’s the Khans lost control of the Crimean Tatar

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<sup>40</sup> H. İnalçık, “Yeni Vesikalara Göre Kırım Hanlığının Osmanlı Himayesi Altına Girmesi Meselesi”, in *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildirileri*, p. 199.

<sup>41</sup> Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, p. 22

and Nogay leaders. They began to organize raids into Poland and Russia without getting the permission of the Khan.

After the treaty of the Carlowitz, with the forbiddance of the Khans to undertake raids into Polish or Russian territories the Crimeans deprived of an important source of revenue acquired from booties. Besides this the same treaty also abrogated another important source of revenue the annual tribute paid to the Crimeans by the Russians.

With the advice of Nikita Panin Catherine II tried to establish a Russian consul in Crimea. Upon the Crimean Khan Kırım Giray's acceptance of her offer in 1763 a Russian consul was sent to Bahçesaray.<sup>42</sup> The Russian purpose in this attempt was to establish close relations with the Tatars and to make propaganda to start a separatist movement against the Ottoman administration. In the Crimea the Russian consul began to collect every sort of information about the Crimean Khanate.<sup>43</sup> The Porte deposed the Khan upon his rapprochement with the Russians. After the deposition of Kırım Giray the Russian consul was sent to Russia. Although there was no Russian representative in Crimea the propagandizing activities of the Russians was conducted by the Russian agents and became affected on nomadic tribes, particularly on Yedisian Nogays. It was the traditional Russian policy before invading a region.

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<sup>42</sup> Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, p. 52

<sup>43</sup> Alan Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 27.

## **Chapter III: Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774**

### **Declaration of War**

#### **A Pretext or Not?**

Some distinguished historians such as İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı<sup>44</sup> and Alan Fisher<sup>45</sup> and those who write general history and mention about the subject superficially, claim that the Ottomans used the ‘incident of Balta’ as a pretext of opening war against Russia. This claim is far from reflecting the realities. Although some Ottomans were willing to open war against Russia in practice they carefully abstain initiating a war in the period between the years 1764 and 1768. Even they prevented war preparations of the frontier governors and Crimean Khan in order not to violate existing agreement between the two states. On the other hand, if the Ottomans wanted to find a pretext they could have found it easily, and there would be no problem with the other states, even with Prussia, which had been waiting such an action of the Ottomans for a long time

The Ottoman Sultan had to protect *darüislam*- the realms of Islam- and his subjects regardless their religion. Therefore, upon the Balta incident the members of the *Divan* were summoned to evaluate the situation on October 4, 1768. It was decided that the Russians refused to withdraw their troops from Poland because their real intention was to attack the Ottoman State. Russian entrance into the Ottoman territories and destroy the Ottoman

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<sup>44</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi IV/I*, p. 367

<sup>45</sup> Alan Fischer, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 31

town of Balta and Kraşkova<sup>46</sup> and the killing of civil Muslims was a *casus belli* for the Ottomans. According to Islamic canonic law such an action required war. Upon this event the Porte declared war on Russia on October 8, 1768.

### **Timing of the Declaration**

There is a common agreement among the Ottoman historians that it was not a suitable time for attack simply because it gave Russia necessary time to make preparations. This untimely declaration of war is another question to be solved.

Mustafa Nuri Paşa in *Netayic ül-Vukuat* states that “all the Ottoman historians accuse Sultan Mustafa III of opening this war, they find the Grand Vizier Muhsinzade’s suggestion of postponing correct.”<sup>47</sup> Uzunçarşılı states that Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa was against the war and demanded postponement of the war at least one year for making necessary preparations in the *divan* meeting. “The Porte found a pretext upon the entrance of the Russians into Ottoman territories in pursuit of Bar Committee who took asylum in the Ottoman Empire.” However, Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa declared that:

“It was impossible to make war with a powerful state without preparation. Necessary measures have to be taken by sending soldiers and munitions to frontier citadels. Without this preparations the army would encounter many difficulties en route until its

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<sup>46</sup> The place name differs. We preferred the name passing in a document. TOP No. 2380/158. In Anafarta, *Historical Documents Concerning Relations between the Ottoman Empire and Poland*, p. 53. Also used as “Cracow” in Albert Sorel, *The Eastern Question*, p. 26, and as “Raschov” in Osman Kose, “1774 Küçük Kaynarca Andlaşması.” (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis) p. 4

<sup>47</sup> Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, p. 58

arrival to the frontiers. Therefore, this year necessary measures have to be taken and war must be postponed until next year...”<sup>48</sup>

If this account is correct his statement is a real prophecy since all of his claims are exactly the same with what occurred during the war. Here it seemed that as if the Ottoman army will be sent to the front immediately after the declaration of the war. However, it is forgotten that the Porte opened war on September and they had time for initial preparations at least in the frontier regions. So his refusal in this way seems contradictory to the realities. The problem is that such a farsighted statesman how could not see the possibility of the war for three years and did not take necessary measures in this period at least in the frontier regions?

Uzunçarşılı does not give a satisfactory answer to the question of why the Ottomans did not do any war preparations under such circumstances. During the Seven Years War and Polish Crisis period the Ottoman State was on alert and to protect its territories it had to be ready to a possible attack. Oddly enough while a war with the Russians was inevitable and there was no financial difficulty they remained unprepared until the beginning of the war.

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<sup>48</sup> “ Bar Heyetinin Osmanlı topraklarına ilticası sırasında Rusların onları takib ederek hududu geçmesi üzerine hükümet Ruslara harb ilan için bir vesile bulmuştu; fakat Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa böyle sellemehüsselam koca bir devletle derhal harp edilemeyeceğini, hududlara asker ve mühimmat koyup kalelerde tahkimat yapıldıktan sonra muharebeye girilebileceğini ve bunlar yapılmadan derhal harp ilan edilecek olursa ordunun hududa varmasına kadar pek çok fenalık zuhur edeceğini bu sene kalelerin tahkimi ile içine asker, mühimmat ve zahire konulup sair iktiza eden hazırlık ile vakit geçirilerek harbin gelecek seneye bırakılmasını beyan etti isede...” İsmail Hakkı Uzun Çarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi IV/I p.367

Uzunçarşılı just says that the Sultan thought that a full treasury was sufficient to defeat the Russians and excitement of some people living in İstanbul drafted him into such a war without preparation.<sup>49</sup> Most probably He derived his idea from the Sultans statement: “If the problem was money I can make a line of golden money (*iki keçeli altın*) from Edirne gate to Rusçuk.”<sup>50</sup> It was true that the treasury was full but it was not the only point that the Sultan trusted. The Sultan thought that the Ottoman Empire was powerful enough in every respect. Besides this there was another important point; in time, Russia would strengthen her position in Poland at the expense of Polish opposites and this would deprive the Ottomans from additional power of the Poles.

Ahmed Resmî Efendi, who many times criticizes untimely declaration, confesses in *Hülasatü'l İtibar* that if Kırım Giray had not died untimely he could have entered Poland and deprived the Russians of provisions even could have defeated them.

“Thirty days before the *nevruz* (22 March) while he was settling at Kavşan the news of Moskowids’ entrance into Poland came to him. Upon this while the Crimean Tatar tribes preparing to enter Polish territory to plunder Polish land with the purpose of at least to deprive the Russians of provisions the news of Kırım Giray’s death arrived. If the wind was suitable (if God permitted) and Kırım Giray entered into Poland, in reality, it was decided (possible) that by giving them a great trouble they would prevent Russian fearlessly attack on Hotin.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> İ. H. Uzuncarşılı, *ibid.*, p . 372

<sup>50</sup> İ. H. Uzuncarşılı, *ibid.* p.366

<sup>51</sup> “...Nevruzdan otuz gün mukaddem Kavşanda oturur iken Moskowlunun [Leh] diyarına girdiği haberi kendüye vasıl olduğu sa at taḫfe-i Tatar ile Leh’ e girüp Leh diyarını alan ve talan ve Moskov cem iyetini hiç olmaz ise zahire cihetiyle perişan etmeye hazırlanırken kazara bir kaç gün içinde vefatı haberi tahakkuk eyledi. Ruzgar müsa id olup ol esnada Kırım Giray Leh içine girmiş olsa fi’-l-hakika Moskovluya külli dağdağa verip Hotin

Therefore while there was such a possibility of gaining advantage against the Russians by defeating them as early as February of 1769, to criticize the Ottomans of declaring war untimely is not completely true. It seems that it is an excuse of the historians to explain the Ottoman defeat.

### **Reasons of the Declaration**

As a result of Russian oppression in Poland, a Polish committee came to İstanbul to demand the Ottoman military aid. However, Grand Vizier Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa did not want to make war with Russia so he refused to Polish committee's request. Sultan and majority of bureaucrats defended the idea of declaration of war against Russia. Thus, Sultan deposed the Grand Vizier and replaced him with Hamza Paşa the Governor of Aydın. On the other hand, two Polish marshals, Potocki and Krasinski in the Polish committee offered to give the province of Podolya to the Ottomans in return of Ottoman military intervention in the affairs and protection of the Polish territory and people (Catholics).

Russia had been provoking Orthodox subjects against the Ottoman administration and making Russian propaganda in the Balkans for years. Not opening war might weaken the Sultan's authority and prestige and bring about loss of confidence of the Ottoman *reaya* to the Ottoman administration. The Ottoman subjects, particularly living in frontier regions in the Balkans and Crimea, were restless about a possible Russian invasion.

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üzerine bi-perva hücumlarına mani olmak mukarrer idi." Ahmed Resmî Efendi, *Hülasatül İtibar*, p. 31

Influence of the public opinion on the declaration of war is reflected in *Hülasatü'l-İtibar* as follows:“...scoundrels believe that to destroy and punish all the people who believe in other religions is an incumbent religious duty of Muslims. They ignorantly utter that ‘there is no religious gift without action’ these countries taken by sword, Sultan of the Muslims’s fortune is exalted, his officers are experienced, his sword is sharp; there is no difficulty to go up to the ‘Red Apple’ ( ‘*Kızıl Elma*’ was a symbolic place desired to conquire in the infidel world, generally regarded as Rome) in the world under the command of a pious, brave, as wise as Aristotle, vizier after recruiting twelve thousand selected soldiers who perform the prayer with religious community.”<sup>52</sup> Here according to Ahmed Resmî’s observation the word of ‘destroy’ reflects some people’s concept of *cihad* (Holy War). In classical understanding of *cihad*, “Holy War was intended not to destroy but to subdue the infidel world, the *darülharb*.”<sup>53</sup> Ahmed Resmî accuse them of supporting the idea of war, and states that the *cihad* not always required to make war and the order of the world (*nizam-i alem*) is based on defense and peace.<sup>54</sup>

Ahmed Resmî also criticizes some Ottoman officials who say, “what is the difficulty about it? There is no enemy around, and no fortress to besiege. We go in three months and turn back in three months, we will have

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<sup>52</sup> “... edyan-i sa@rede bulunanları bil- umum dünyadan kaldırmak ve yahud her zaman düşmanın burnunu yere sürtüb haddini bildirmek ehl-i İslamın üstüne vacibtir deyu i tikad eden yadigarlar ‘hareket olmazsa bereket olmaz, bu memleketler seyfle alınmıştır. Padişah-i İslamın bahtı ali, ricali pişkin, kılıcı keskindir. Dünyada dindar bahadır vezir-i Aristo tedbir ve beş vakti cema atla kılar on iki bin güzide asker tedarik ettikten sonra Kızıl Elmaya dek gitmeye ne minnet var? ’ deyu tumturak elfazla cehlını i tiraf... idüb.” Ahmed Resmî, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar* pp. 4-5. Also see Uzunçarşılı, OT. IV/I p. 373, Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, pp. 121-122.

office and take degree of rank.”<sup>55</sup> They saw the war as an opportunity to gain status and increase their position by proving their courage and making useful jobs. In reality it was one of the ways of acquiring office in the Ottoman State and from a different respect it seems more frankly than acquiring an office by means of paying, bribing or nepotism which were old abuses began to reappeared during the reign of Sultan Mustafa III.<sup>56</sup>

Russia did not obey the articles of the treaty of Belgrade made in 1739. Moreover, after the death of the Polish king they violated the Ottoman frontiers. Under the pretext of preserving Polish independence and preventing terror they sent large number of soldiers and military supplies into Poland. In reality they totally disregarded the independence of Poland and by using military power they made Poniatowski the king of Poland. Furthermore they killed, put the prison and sent to exile every one who opposed their policies, and confiscated the opponent’s belongings. In addition, “Russia with ulterior motives in mind has also sent forces to the Ottoman borders and razing the villages of Balta and Kraskova, killed several thousands of Muslims. ” Based on these reasons a *fetva* was given, and in accordance with the *fetva* war has been declared on Russia.<sup>57</sup>

In the declaration the Porte informed friendly states with the other reasons. In accordance with the Treaty of Carlowitz the Ottoman State was bound to protect Poland. The Porte also accused Poland or its present

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<sup>53</sup> Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age* p. 7

<sup>54</sup> Ahmed Resmî, *ibid.* p. 4

<sup>55</sup> “Ne güçlük var? Meydanda düşman yok, muhasara olunacak kal a yok, üç ayda gider üç ayda geliriz; mansıb alır paye kat ederiz.” Ahmed Resmî, *ibid.* pp. 11-12.

<sup>56</sup> S. Show, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, p. 246

<sup>57</sup> TOP. Nu. E.2380/158, Nigar Anafarta, *ibid.* p. 53

government of helping the Russians. Poland's permission to the Russians to enter their territory and stay for a long time was regarded contrary to the Treaty of Carlowitz though it was not directly. Moreover, the Porte claimed that majority of the soldiers who attacked Hotin fort was the Poles, and there was a secret agreement between Russia and Poland in 1766.

According to this secret agreement two states would help each other in case of an Ottoman declaration of war on one of them. "Potocki and Krasinski who have sought asylum in the Ottoman State and the Russian representative Obreskov have all confirmed this."<sup>58</sup> This secret agreement was regarded as an open violation of the Treaty of Carlowitz but the Porte thought that Russia forced Poland to accept it. Therefore it was declared that all of these events forced the Ottoman State to declare war on Russia to protect Poland and reestablish friendly relations with the Poles. It was also declared that the Ottoman soldiers shall kill the Russians and the Poles who helped the Russians, where they find them.

Albert Sorel states that "the declaration of war surprised and disconcerted all men –the Turks who made it, the Russians who had provoked it, the French who had prompted it, the Prussians who had discouraged it, the Austrians who lived in perpetual dread of it, and the English who pretended to be indifferent to it."<sup>59</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Ahmed Vasıf and Mustafa Nuri Paşa agree with Albert Sorel and they state that the French representative played an important role in the Ottoman

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<sup>58</sup> TOP. Nu. E. 2380/158, in Nigar Anafarta, *ibid.* p. 53

<sup>59</sup> Albert Sorel, p. 28

declaration of war.<sup>60</sup> Actually there was not so much influence of France though French Government tried to convince the Ottomans to open war against Russia via the French representative Vergennes who was given 3 millions of *livres* by his government for this purpose.<sup>61</sup> Vergennes stated that “War had been declared and that was the wish of the King, which I carried out in every particular; but I am bringing back the three millions which were sent me for that purpose. I have not needed them.”<sup>62</sup>

England as the ally of the Russians, tried to prevent the Ottoman-Russian war. George III the king of England tried to persuade the Porte to change its decision. George III in his letter to the Ottoman Sultan says that the Russian penetration into Ottoman territories and causing harm was not a deliberate action directed to the Ottoman subjects. Therefore, he, accepting to be the guarantor of the Russians, requested Sultan Mustafa III to forgive the Russian’s unintended mistake. He offered that the Russians would compensate the damage they made. He suggested that since the war between the two states would cause killing of many people the best way should be maintaining the peace.<sup>63</sup>

As a response Sultan states that the Russians violated the existing agreements (Carlowitz and Belgrade) by building fortresses and locating a great number of soldiers in the frontier regions. In addition, contrary to the agreements they violated the independence of Poland by intervening in the Polish domestic affairs by using military force. Despite our warnings to

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<sup>60</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Cevdet Tarihi*, vol.1, p.79. Ahmed Vasif, *Vasif Tarihi*, vol.II, p. 196. Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayic ül-vukuat*, vol. III-IV, p. 56

<sup>61</sup> Albert Sorel, *ibid*, p. 25

<sup>62</sup> Albert Sorel, *ibid*, p. 27

remind them that their action was contrary to the agreement they have not evacuated the country. Moreover they entered the Ottoman territories and killed more than one thousand men, women and children. Now in accordance with the Islamic (*şer î*) law to open war against Russia was decided and it is impossible to act contrary to given *fetva*. At the end of the letter Sultan expresses his gratitude to the King for his interest and offer, and states that they would take the mediation of England between the two states into consideration at the end of the war according to the conditions of the time.

### **War Preparations**

In his response to King George III, Sultan Mustafa III informed that the Ottoman army was almost ready for the war. Provisioning of the army completely prepared and the army was about to move.<sup>64</sup> If the Sultan's statement is true the claims of the some historians about the Ottoman unpreparedness are completely false. Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief Yağlıcazade Sadrazam Mehmed Emin Paşa in his *telhis* to Sultan Mustafa III dated April 12, 1769 states “ Obedience and military discipline in the army is excellent. Rations are regularly given.”<sup>65</sup> However, information derived from archival documents contradicts these accounts.

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<sup>63</sup> NHD 8/4 p. 558

<sup>64</sup> “...kavm-i asakir-i nusret müessir encam şamarını tertib ve tanzim ve liva-yı nusret iltica-yı hazret-i seyyidi'l-ibrarı yedd-i müeyyid serdar-ı ekremimiz müşarun ileyhe kariben teslim ve levazımat-ı seferiyyebi'l-cümle takdim ve tatmim olunmağla ordu-yı zafer-nümunumuz tesyir olunmak üzere olub...” NH. 8/4 p.559.

<sup>65</sup> TOP. Nu. 2380/193, in N. Anafarta, ibid. p. 60

Great number of documents includes orders to provinces to prepare and sent military equipment and also mentions recruitment of soldiers. Thus, we can say that the preparation of the army continued until and during the war. There are also many documents and chronicles, which mention about the absence and inadequacy of the provisions even at the very beginning of the war. That is, the army was not ready. Then, why Sultan uttered such a sentence in his letter to the King of England? Most probably he was misinformed or he thought it was sufficient enough. It might be a pretext to refuse the king's offer or a bluff to influence the Russians and force them to evacuate Poland without fighting, by means of the King since it was known that England was the ally of Russia.

### **Conditions of the Army**

Ottoman army was not ready for such a war. It is a historical fact that because of the lack of the military reforms and the innovations in the war technology materialized by its rivals, the Ottomans lost the military superiority. In addition to absence of technological developments the Ottomans could not put into practice their traditional tactics and military methods. It was also witnessed during the course of war that provisioning, commanding and mobilization of the army were great problems for the Ottomans.

Upon the military campaign on Russia was decided a *ferman* addressing to governors and *alaybeyis* was prepared and 200 copies of it sent every part of the Empire. By the *ferman* it was announced that the Sultan will be in Edirne on the beginning of March and ordered that the

governors and *alaybeyis* be ready there. As well as *zeamet* and *timar* holders *Yörüks*, *Evlad-ı Fatihan* and volunteers were also called to arms.<sup>66</sup>

There were three main parts of the Ottoman army: the regular standing army, (Janissaries and *sipahis*, cavalry) local troops (*timarli sipahis* and recruited troops) and the Crimean Tatars. The total number of the army was indefinite the figures vary from 200000 to 500000. The numbers of the standing army was almost 25000, the local troops were 150000 and the Crimean soldiers were 100000.

There were 14200 soldiers for the Özü Fort defense, for the Hotin fort 3100, for the defense of the Crimea 24000 and as an auxiliary to the Crimean Khan 2000. Under the command of Bender commander there were 15000 soldiers. The chief-commanders of the main army were Albanian Kahraman Paşa, Kadıpaşa, Canarslanoğlu Hüseyin Paşa, Abaza Ahmed Paşa, Feyzullah Paşa, Koca Ağa of Tarsus, Çopuroğlu of Adana, Ali Paşa the Tax Collector (*Muhassıl*) of Canik and his sons Mikdad Paşa and Battal Paşa, and the sons of Karaosman, and Çapanoğlu, Rıdvan Ağa and Adem Ağa of Kütahya, Hacıbey of Adana, Falcıoğlu of Trabzon, Kayserilioğlu, Kaygioğlu of Söğüt, Muratoğlu of Ankara, Çalikoğlu the Voyvoda of Viranşehir, Ali Paşa of Moldova, Zaralızade Feyzullah Paşa, İpeklioğlu Mustafa Paşa the *Başbuğ* of *Levend*, Kaplan Paşa, Kurd Paşa, Ispanakçı Mustafa Paşa, Abdulcelil Oğlu, Ali Paşa of Dağıstan, Ağa Mehmed Paşa, Gürcü Ahışalı Hasan Paşa, Koca Abdi Paşa, Halil Paşa, Çerkez Hasan Paşa, Ferruh Ali Paşa, Hüseyin Paşa, Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa, Uzun Abdullah Paşa, Şahin Ali Paşa, Silahtar Mehmed Paşa, Kara Halil Paşa, İvaz

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<sup>66</sup> Hammer, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, vol. 16 p.133

Paşazade Halil Paşa, and Sarım İbrahim Paşa. In the main army under the command of these commanders totally 254 900 soldiers were recruited and prepared excluding the soldiers locating at the frontier regions.<sup>67</sup>

### **Provisioning**

Provisioning of such a large army was really a difficult matter. Traditional Ottoman method in provisioning of the army was to provide the needs from the local supplies and the big warehouses, which were set up underground in different localities. In the classical period the Ottoman and Crimean light cavalries were well-adopted steppe conditions. However, since the provisioning had a vital importance for the huge armies of the eighteenth century, lack of appropriate logistics, especially in the times of drought and bad harvest, might cause disorder and revolts among the soldiers, even it may cause death of great numbers of soldiers of hanger. Besides this such a method badly affected local peasants. Actually, setting up warehouses was a solution of provisioning problem but they could not be used effectively in 1769 campaign because of lack of organization and unqualified officials. Because of the inadequate number of the warehouses, as a practical solution, the army decided to transport a limited amount of provisions by wagons together with them.

As protection of the *reaya* was one of the main responsibilities of the central government the Porte also had to prevent ill treatment of the soldiers to the peasants. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century the Ottoman traditional provisioning method had been worked well but the sharp increase

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<sup>67</sup> M. Kesbi, *İbretnâme- yi Devlet*, p. 25

in the number of troops, especially in lengthy campaigns, made it useless. Of course provisioning of the armies was not only the problem of the Ottomans. The Europeans had developed using an organized system of magazines instead of traditional “live of the land” methods.<sup>68</sup>

In 1768 campaign the Ottoman Army suffered much because of the inadequate provisioning. Ahmed Resmî states that “for a campaign of army of forty-fifty thousand men, ten thousand tends is required and for fifty thousand men fifty thousand camels, horses and mules is required, and they need food every day. If even one day there is no food the quarrel is ready. In this way to provide foods for them each day is really a trouble.”<sup>69</sup> He criticizes that men of states brought their personal retinues “...in order to maintain the proper pomp and circumstance in the wilderness, they were accompanied by up to 1000 red-cloaked, showy, personal retainers who were good for nothing but decorating the roadway.”<sup>70</sup> Their existence made the provisioning problem worse as well as decreasing the speed of the mobilization of the army “During this campaign, the system appears to have broken down. Cash and agricultural shortages, hoarding, inflation of prices, corruption, and widespread starvation are constant themes of all the sources studied to date”<sup>71</sup>

In the 1769 campaign meal of soldiers mainly composed of fresh baked bread, biscuits, rice, *bulgur*, butter, coffee, honey and barley. In the

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<sup>68</sup> Virginia Aksan, “The 1768 to 1774 Russo-Turkish War”, in *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* Vol. 16, Apr. 1992 no. 1, p.22.

<sup>69</sup> Ahmed Resmî Efendi, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, p. 17

<sup>70</sup> Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace*, p. 137

<sup>71</sup> Virginia Aksan, The 1768 to 1774 Russo-Turkish War, in *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* Vol. 16, Apr. 1992 no. 1, p.23

campaigns *Nüzül Emini* (Chief Commissary Officer) was assigned the task of providing food for the army. Ahmed Resmî sarcastically states that because of the *Nüzül Emini* demented Tahir Ağa at the very beginning of the campaign, when the army left İstanbul famine began, and they began to add millet to flour for baking bread.<sup>72</sup> This shows the disorganization of the campaign. Contrary to this a *telhis* of the Grand Vizier Yaglikcizade Mehmed Paşa to Sultan Mustafa III, dated April 12, 1769 it was informed that “Obedience and military discipline in the army is excellent. Rations are regularly given to the troops...”<sup>73</sup>

As to protection of the *reaya* there are many archival documents related to warning of the soldiers to pay in return whatever they obtain from peasant and not to force them. For this purpose cash money required and it was provided by the central treasury and local notables (*ayans*).

In a short time the central government encountered financial difficulties and to regulate war economy they devaluated the money. Among the reason behind this the abuses of officials working in the battlefield was the most important one. And this is also important as to reflect the corruption of the Ottoman bureaucracy. For example upon a control of the treasury it was discovered that the cashier had substituted *white akce* (a high grade silver coin) for most of the gold.<sup>74</sup> In addition to this some regiments which were registered for example as one thousand men but remained not more than half of it continued to get the money from the treasury according

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<sup>72</sup> A. Resmî, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*. p. 17

<sup>73</sup> TOP. Report, dated 12 April, 1769. No. E. 2380/ 193. In N. Anafarta, *ibid.* p. 60.

<sup>74</sup> V. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace* p. 139.

to registered number.<sup>75</sup> As a result of this kind of abuses sources exhausted in a short time, and discipline in the army was low and under such conditions the peasants living in the region suffered from oppression of the deserted and rebellious soldiers.

### **Commanding**

Next to the military experience and tactical knowledge, commanding and leadership were also important to establish discipline in the army and to keep the soldiers moral high. In the Ottoman Army the grand vizier was also the commander-in-chief. Other viziers and governors were also appointed as commanders. Ahmed Resmî states that there was no experienced commander in the army as a result of long peace period. In the Ottoman tradition military leaders were generally chosen among the individuals who were trained on the frontiers and proved their competence in the battlefield. However, in the 1769 campaign most of the commanders of the army had been educated in the palace and had no experience.

On the other hand, another handicap of the Ottomans related to the leadership in this war was the short service duration of the grand viziers and commander-in-chiefs: Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa (30 April, 1765- 7 August 1768) Silahdar Hamza Mahir Paşa (7 August-20 October 1768) served just one month, Yağlıkcızade Mehmed Emin Paşa (20 October 1768- 12 August 1769) ten months, Moldovancı Ali Paşa (16 August-12 December 1769) five months, İvaz-zade Halil Paşa (12 December 1769-25 October 1770) almost eleven months, Silahdar Mehmed Paşa (25 October 1770-11 January 1771) three months, and for the second time Muhsinzade Mehmed

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<sup>75</sup> Ahmed Resmî, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, p.19

Paşa 11 January 1771- 4 August, 1774. The situation was also the same for the Crimean Khans, eight khans were deposed and appointed during the years between 1764 and 1774.<sup>76</sup>

This rather short service periods of the grand viziers and the Crimean Khans prevent the Ottomans of pursuing stable and consistent policies. Newly appointed grand viziers most probably would appoint their men to strategic offices, whom they could trust in, and this appointments also caused deposition of many officials and brought about a struggle among the bureaucrats and subordinate commanders. This also reveals a corruption in the traditional Ottoman appointment system. Majority of them discharged from office, and Yağlıkcızade Mehmed Emin Paşa was executed. Execution of a faulty, unfavorable and unsuccessful grand vizier was an old practice of the Ottomans. This practice might have forced even experienced grand viziers to take unsuitable and false decisions.

Although the Grand Vizier had a complete command on the battlefield two chanceries, one in battlefield accompanying grand vizier and the other in İstanbul under the control of substitute grand vizier in İstanbul were also effective in decision making.<sup>77</sup> Disagreements between the two different decision centers caused confusion and negatively affected the campaign. As a result of the absence of effective leadership and command the army suffered bitter defeats before the Russian troops.

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<sup>76</sup> Alan Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 18

<sup>77</sup> V. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace* p. 130-131

## **Chapter IV: The Course of the Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774**

### **Kırım Giray's Raid**

The Ottoman Russian War of 1768-1774 started with the Crimean Khan Kırım Giray's raid into Ukraine in January 1769. Baron de Tott who was sent to the Crimea as the Extraordinary French Consul describes the Crimean army as an eyewitness in his memoirs as follows: "After the military campaign on Ukraine was decided in İstanbul it was also accepted by the council of the Crimean Beys. In the Crimea it was demanded three cavalymen from every eight house thus they planned to create three separate armies: The *Nureddin's* army was consisted of 40000 men and it would move towards Küçük Don region. *Kalgay's* army was 60000 men and would move along the left bank of River Dniester and the Khans army was consisted of 100000 soldiers and would directly penetrate into Ukraine."<sup>78</sup> While de Tott claims there were more than 200000 soldiers in the Crimean army, Hammer gives the total number of the army as 100000 soldiers and states that this number derived from khans' own report is more reliable than that of Baron de Tott.<sup>79</sup> In some sources the number of the army is given between 100000 and 125000.<sup>80</sup>

Baron de Tott also states that an army of Nogays consisted of 30000 soldiers wanted to join the Khan's army.<sup>81</sup> *Serdengeçdis* who were settled at Şumnu, Hazargrad and Tuna, were sent to support the Khans army. There

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<sup>78</sup> Baron François De Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlar Arasında*, p. 134

<sup>79</sup> Hammer, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi*, vol.16, p. 146

<sup>80</sup> Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Sülayman Efendi, *Mürit-Tevarih*, vol. II, p. 126

were also 10000 Ottoman *sipahis* sent by the Porte to support the Khan. However, De Tott states that these *sipahis* were harmful for the Khan's army. The condition, nature and behavior of them were completely different from those of the Crimeans and they won the hate of the Khan in a short time by plundering the towns belonged to the Crimeans before the eyes of the Khan.<sup>82</sup> Baron de Tott claims that some of these *timar*-holder Albanians were actually Christians who confessed that they were pretending to be Muslims to obtain *timar*.<sup>83</sup>

Winter season was suitable to launch raid on Ukraine since there was no prepared Russian army and freezing rivers provided the Crimean army easy access to Ukrainian territories. Despite the severity of the winter and the losses of many soldiers and horses they penetrated into Ukraine. With three separate armies they went forward 350-400 kilometers deep into Ukraine as far as the Polish territories.

They obtained great amounts of booty and slaves in the Ukrainian towns. De Tott gives the number of slaves as 15000. Hammer and Vasıf give as 7000. Hammer, by making quotations from de Tott's memoirs, in agreement with Baron de Tott states that each soldier acquired almost half a dozen slaves. İsmail Hami Danişmend gives the number of slaves as 20000.<sup>84</sup> This information constitutes a contradiction between the given numbers; there were at least 30000 soldiers in the Khan's army and total slave number was not more than 20000. They took the booty as much as

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<sup>81</sup> Baron François De Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlar Arasında*, p. 136.

<sup>82</sup> Baron François De Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlar Arasında*, p. 137

<sup>83</sup> Baron François De Tott, *Türkler ve Tatarlar Arasında*, p. 137

<sup>84</sup> İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, IV, p. 44.

they could bear, and burnt the remaining to deprive the Russians of using them.

### **Movement of the Ottoman Army**

Although the Ottomans declared war, the only offensive movement of the Ottomans was the raid of the Crimean Khan in the winter of 1768, throughout the war period the Ottomans had to take a defensive position before the attacks of the Russians.

Under the command of the Grand Vizier and the Commander-in-Chief Yağlıkcı-zade Mehmed Emin Paşa, the army left İstanbul in 22 March 1769. They first stationed at Davudpaşa military camp and in 26 April 1769<sup>85</sup> they arrived Isakci region where they discussed about the movement plan of the army. Since there was no definite movement plan, the Grand Vizier Yağlıkcı-zade Mehmed Emin Paşa stated in the military court that “I am not accustomed to military campaign so tell me without hesitation which one of the Özü and Hotin fronts direction should we follow.” After the consultation to go to Bender which is situated between Özü and Hotin was decided with the consideration of locating in a suitable position in order to be able to help to the two sides in case of a Russian attack.

While the army was marching to Isakci the Russian army had been seen around the Hotin Fort. When the Army reached to the Hantepesi region the news of the Russian assault on the Hotin forth arrived the army. Upon the defeat of the Russians before the Hotin fort, it was decided by the army

to sent some auxiliary support to Hotin Fort and continue towards Bender with the consideration of a possible Russian attack on that region.

### **Russian Assault on Hotin**

Hotin was the northernmost stronghold and one of the most important strategic points in the northern frontier region of the Ottomans. Throughout the year 1769 the Russians tried to conquer the Hotin Fort and besieged it three times.

As a military tactic a small Russian vanguards appeared around the Hotin Fort in April of 1769. The forces in Hotin wished to cross over to the Polish side to defeat the Russians. The fort governor Yegen Huseyin Paşa not willing to assault on the Russian without obtain information about the real strength of the Russians, rejected their demand by saying they were not permitted to enter the Polish side, upon this they killed him. A Crimean Khan states in his report that “the Hotin Fort Commander Yegen Huseyin Paşa has been accidentally wounded [by the Ottoman soldiers] and died.”<sup>86</sup> M Kesbi states that the forces of the Hotin fort who were assigned to open trenches, thought that while the infidels were approaching the commander gave us pick and shovel instead of weapons, he must be an infidel, and killed him. Kesbi also adds that some of them might be Russian spies.<sup>87</sup> It was also claimed that killing of him was a complicity of the Governor of Dukakin Kahraman Paşa, who, after the death of Hüseyin Paşa, was

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<sup>85</sup> Most of the historian states that the army arrived Isakci at the beginning of May 1769. Mustafa Kesbi states that the army arrived in 26, April 1769. “Ordu-yi Hümayun İshakçı Sahrasına 1183 senesi gurre-i Muharreminde dahil olup...” *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, p. 51.

<sup>86</sup> TOP. No. E. 2380/ 254. Quoted in N. Anafarta, *ibid*, p. 61.

<sup>87</sup> Mustafa Kesbi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, p. 51.

appointed the defender of the fort and was executed later.<sup>88</sup> The information derived from the primary sources about the death of Hüseyin Paşa is completely different and contradictory to each other.

Upon the death of Hüseyin Paşa Grand Vizier appointed Ahiskalı Hasan Paşa as the defender of the Hotin Fort but the *yamaks* (hired soldiers) of the fort rejected his appointment and elected Kahraman Paşa as the commander of the fort. The Russian assaults on Hotin Fort began in April 1769, while the main Ottoman army was approaching Isakci region. The Russians besieged the fort with 30000 soldiers a part of main Russian army and in a short time their number reached 80000. After seven days of fighting, the fort guards successfully repulsed the first Russian assault. Uzunçarşılı claims that the Russians burned the town of Hotin during the siege.<sup>89</sup> However, Kesbi states that they themselves set on fire their own houses and mosques to prevent the Russian advance and with a dense artillery fire they killed most of them.<sup>90</sup> It was accounted that in this battle the number of the Russian casualties were 35000. “The defeated enemy escaped to Poland. Of the 80000 men 60000 were Russian, 5000 were Polish, 5000 were Bogdanian and 10000 were Russian Cossacks.”<sup>91</sup>

While Russian siege was continuing the auxiliary Ottoman army, consisting of 6000 *Levendat* cavalries under the command of Abaza

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<sup>88</sup> İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. IV, p. 45

<sup>89</sup> İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, OT, vol.IV/I, p. 378

<sup>90</sup> “Moskoflu[nun]... derun-ı kal aya yürüyüş edeceği ahzolan esirler takriiriyle ma lumumuz oldukda varoşta olan han ve hane ve cami ve mesacidimizi yed-i hodumuz ile leylen ihrak binnar edip bir gece sabaha varınca ateş-i ihrak havfindan üzerimize gelmeyib...” Mustafa Kesbi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, p. 51. Quoted in “1768 Seferi Hakkında Bir Araştırma” Salahattin Tansel, In *AÜDTCFD*, vol. VIII/IV, p.524

<sup>91</sup> TOP. No. E. 5801/2, in N. Anafarata, *ibid.*, p.59

Mehmed Paşa, approaching towards Hotin encountered the Russian forces in the Değirmen Boğazı region. After a hand-to-hand fighting they defeated the Russians by killing more than 14000 soldiers.<sup>92</sup>

Kesbi also states that Abaza Mehmed Paşa and Ali Paşa both were ordered to be ready at the defense of the Hotin Fort. However, there was a quarrel between them because of the secret order of the Sultan to both of them to kill each other. After the situation became obvious by the declaration of both sides to each other they swore and made an agreement not to execute the Sultans order but even after the oath they carefully controlled each other and tried to keep their forces remote from each other.<sup>93</sup> This account reveals the confusing situation in the Ottoman army and the mis-administration of the Porte.

### **Movement of the Army towards Bender**

The main army stationed for a while at the location called Hantepesi where there had been established warehouses to provide the provisions of the army. In 26 June 1769 departed towards the direction of Bender and stationed Yassitepe region situated near Bender.

The provisions of the army were consumed in a short time and this situation caused disorder in the army, the death of great number of soldiers of malnutrition. They had to eat low quality and unhealthy bread, and the

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<sup>92</sup> Mustafa Kesbi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, p. 52. . Quoted in “1768 Seferi Hakkında Bir Araştırma” Salahattin Tansel, In AÜDTCFD, vol. VIII/IV, p.524

<sup>93</sup> “Abaza ve Ali Paşanın yanlarında 12000 den müteceviz Levend süvarileriyle bir gün evvel Hotin muhafazasında mevcut bulunmak üzere isticallerini müşfik birbirini mütaakib avamir-i aliyye tevarüd eylediğinden gayrı fırsat bulur ise Abaza, Ali Paşayı idam eylemek ve Ali Paşa dahi Abazayı idam eylemek üzere birbirinden hafî verilen emr-i aliyyi merkulmar birbirine irae edip bu ihaneti etmemek üzere taahhüd-i levendane eylemişlerdi, ama hernekadar yemin dahi etmişler isede yine emin olmayıp birbirinin ordularından baid

soldiers began to desert their regiments. Ahmed Resmî accused the Chief Commissary Officer (*nüzul emini*) of adding millet to bread, and states that bread from dirt-like flour was started to make and gave stale biscuits as old as forty years.<sup>94</sup> Grand Vizier states in his report that “the Isakci warehouse supervisor Emin Hatipzade has supplied poor quality provisions and flour to the army.”<sup>95</sup>

In June Grand Vizier told Polish Confederation representative Potocki that he had sent Commander Mehmed Paşa with 60000 soldier to Hotin with the purpose of driving out the Russians from Poland and demanded him to give help to the commander and to meet the provisioning need of the army. Potocki promised to provide provisions for 60000 soldiers. Since 1769 was a drought year and yielded bad harvest not providing provisions of the army became as destructive as the battles with the Russians. Ligor the Voyvoda of Bogdan dismissed since he did not accomplish his responsibility to provide provision for the army and it was understood that he was in relation with the Russians.

The Crimean Khan and the commanders of the army were called for consultation in July1769. It was decided that Moldovancı Ali Paşa as the commander of Yaş (Jassy) was to send to the town of Yaş, in Bogdan region, to keep the populace under control since it was realized that they were supporting the Russians and Crimean Khan Devlet Giray with 40000

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olurlar idi...” M. Kesbi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, p. 52. . Quoted in “1768 Seferi Hakkında Bir Araştırma” Salahattin Tansel, In AÜDTCFD, vol. VIII/IV, p.524

<sup>94</sup> “...Nüzul emimleri anbarlarda kırk yıldan beru arta kalmış kireç gibi unları ve toprak gibi peksimedi uzub yeni unlara kattılar. Menzil be menzil yapılan anbarlar yer içinde olmağla istedikleri kadar toprak kattılar. Toprak pişmek adet olmadığından hemen kuruca çamur gibi etmek halka verdiler...” Ahmed Resmî, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, p.17-18

soldiers under his command, was assigned to help Ali Paşa. Conquest of the forts of İlsavat, Orhangrad and Mirhorad which were established along the Aksu River, was also decided, and Kel Ahmed Paşazade Ali Paşa was appointed as the commander of Aksu. The Agha of the Janissaries was dismissed by being accused of causing the disorder of the Janissaries and the Colonel of the Janissaries Süleyman Ağa was selected as the new Agha of Janissaries<sup>96</sup>

At the middle of the July the Russian army under the command of General Golitsyn assaulted on Hotin for the second times. The Crimean Khan Devlet Giray gave information about the situation to the grand vizier and demanded sending of additional force of 30000 soldiers, artillery and ammunition to Hotin and Bender region. Upon his demand Governor of Diyarbakir Mehmed Emin Paşa, Beylerbeyi of Karaman and Mutasarrıf of Çorum with their troops together with the artilleries and ammunitions sent to the regions to help the khan and the grand vizier also ordered the khan to act together with Moldovancı Ali Paşa.<sup>97</sup>

The Ottoman forces under the command of Abaza Mehmed Paşa and Hasan Paşa passed the River Turla (Dniester) and began to fight with Russian forces. After severe skirmishes the defeated Ottoman forces began to disperse and retreat to the other side of the river by leaving 40 cannons and 300 wagons of ammunitions and provisions. The Russian forces passed the river and besieged the Hotin Fort for the second time. Aksan states that

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<sup>95</sup> TOP. No. 9050/1. Report of the Grand Vizier Yağlıkcizade Mehmed Emin Paşa to the Sultan dated 30 May, 1769. Quoted in N. Anafarta, *ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>96</sup> Ahmed Vasif, *Vasif Tarihi*, vol. II. p. 15.

<sup>97</sup> BOA, NHD. no. 2/71-33.

according to the Russian sources the number of the soldiers defending the fort was reached 200000 by the late July, and 70000 of them was the forces of Abaza Mehmed Paşa. Kesbi states that the total number of the fort defenders was 45000 not including the forces of Abaza Mehmed Paşa; 10000 of them stationed in the stockade in front of the fort and 35000 of them inside the fort.<sup>98</sup>

The Russian siege continued 27 days. Kesbi also asserts that there remained no artillery soldier in the fort, and some talented soldiers, who had observed the artillery soldiers while they were firing, selected as artillery and bombardier soldiers. He also states that these soldiers accepted to use the cannons in return for additional payment. The reason for this might be the using of this weapon would cause deadly wounds for the users. It also explains the absence of artillery soldiers if not the Russians particularly targeted and killed them. By exaggerating the situation he says that entire day and night in a minute 500 cannons and 5-10 thousands pistols were fired towards the enemy but not with a purpose of killing the enemy but to prevent their advance.<sup>99</sup> However, he states that during the first Russian siege of Hotin 500 canons were fired in an hour by trained artillery soldiers and in the second siege there was no trained artillery.<sup>100</sup>

Kesbi also states that 114 thousands *kantar* (at least 5130000 kg) flour and biscuits stored inside the fort, was consumed in the tenth day of the siege, the number seems incorrect. Simply because even if we take the number as 200000 soldiers, and by excluding the animals, and take the

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<sup>98</sup> M. Kesbi, *İbretnâme-yi Devlet*, p. 53.

<sup>99</sup> M. Kesbi, *İbretnâme-yi Devlet*, p. 53

circumstances of war under consideration a soldier could have sustained with 2 kg of provisions. Even in this account with the exaggerated numbers the stored provisions must have been sufficient at least for 15 days. From then on they began to grind wheat by using hand millers but since it was a difficult process they began to eat their wheat by boiling it in water.<sup>101</sup> After the arriving of the relieving forces of Moldovanci Ali Paşa and Devlet Giray Khan the Russians were repulsed in August 14, 1769.<sup>102</sup>

Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief Mehmed Emin Paşa could not establish authority and lost the control over the soldiers. Besides this, the insufficient provisioning and financial difficulties caused disorder in the army. Accusing him of being responsible with the present situation the Sultan dismissed Mehmed Emin Paşa in August 12, 1769<sup>103</sup>, and four days later Moldovanci Ali Paşa was appointed as the new grand vizier and commander-in-chief. Mehmed Emin Paşa was exiled to Dimetoka but before his arrival he was executed in Edirne.<sup>104</sup>

Uzunçarşılı claims that since Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Paşa saw Moldovanci Ali Paşa as a rival for the office of grand vizierate, made him *Serasker* of Yaş and assigned him to the responsibility of defending the town of Yaş.<sup>105</sup> This could not be true at least for this reason since the Grand Vizier himself confessed his desire to leave the office. Although the Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Paşa was not a suitable person for the grand

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<sup>100</sup> M. Kesbi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, p. 51

<sup>101</sup> M. Kesbi, *İbretnüma-yı Devlet*, p. 54

<sup>102</sup> Ahmed Vasif, *Vasif Tarihi*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>103</sup> Virginia Aksan gives the date as August 2, 1769.

<sup>104</sup> Ahmed Vasif, *Vasif Tarihi*, pp. 23.

<sup>105</sup> İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *OT*, vol.IV/I, p. 378

vizierate may be more correctly for the office of the commander-in-chief. He could not do his responsibilities especially after his sickness during the last days of his vizierate, his execution, like many of his former colleagues who shared the same fate, negatively affected his successors.

Ahmed Resmî states that the new Grand Vizier Moldovancı Ali Paşa in order to win the Sultan's approval initiated an attack untimely and without taking necessary measures.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, Moldovancı Ali Paşa intended to destroy the demoralized and weakened Russian army, and planned to march into Poland. The Grand Vizier also thought that the Russians were waiting for the Ottoman main army's retreat to winter quarter for the purpose of assaulting on defenseless Hotin again so their repulse was necessary.

The Ottomans set up a bridge on the river Dniester and began to cross the river. By September 9, 1769 whole army crossed the river and dug in trenches. The battle lasted in eight days. With the collapse of the bridge the Ottoman forces panicked and began to scatter some of the cavalry retreated towards bender some of them jumped into the river and the remaining soldiers fought on desperately against the superior Russian forces and suffered a bitter defeat on 17 September 1769.

After this failure the new Grand Vizier retreated to Hantepesi. The defeat demoralized the Ottoman soldiers and discipline of the army was broken. Moreover, because of the lack of provisions, the arrival of winter, and the fear of the enemy no one wanted to stay at Hotin. Thus, the fort was abandoned to the Russians. This defeat was a turning point in the Ottoman

Russian war of 1768-1774 since after it the Russians established superiority on the Ottomans and their advance towards the river Danube began. By the end of 1769 the Russians occupied Hotin and most of Eflak (Wallachia) and Bogdan (Moldavia). The Ottoman main army retreated to the Babadağı winter quarters and the Russians stationed north of the river Dniester. The Grand Vizier Moldovanci Ali Paşa was dismissed and İvaz Paşazade Halil Paşa replaced him.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, the Russian General Golitsyn was also dismissed on the pretext of his insufficiency in the battles, and was replaced by Rumiantsev.

The Russian forces continued their attack on the Ottoman strongholds and in the winter, and some skirmishes took place at Bender, İbrail, Yergöğü, Kalas and Silistre regions. *Serasker* of Bender Kel Ahmed Paşa-zade together with the Khan's forces repulsed the Russian forces but his sudden death made the situation worse. "By February, the Russian vanguard had withdrawn to Jassy [Yaş] to rest their troops and prepare for the new season."<sup>108</sup>

### **Battle of Kartal**

The New Grand Vizier İvaz Paşazade Halil Paşa intended to reconquer the lost territories and forts. He ordered the new Crimean Khan Kaplan Giray to assault on Yaş with his 50000 light cavalries, and sent Abaza Mehmed Paşa and Dağıstanlı Ali Paşa with their 30000 soldiers. In May the Khan could not pass the river Prut and decided to attack on the Russians stationed in Hantepesi and began to move towards Jassy. The

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<sup>106</sup> Ahmed Resmî, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, p.39.

<sup>107</sup> MD. No.168. p. 3

Khan's forces could not be successful in the confrontations with the Russians and could not prevent their advance. Upon the demand of the Crimean Khan the Grand Vizier send Abdi Paşa, the commander of Bogdan, to the help of the Khan.

Because of the heavy raining in the spring season the level of the river Danube highly increased and prevented the Ottomans from setting up a bridge on it, and the main army of the Grand Vizier could not pass across. Commander of the Janissaries Kapikiran Mehmed Paşa wanted to pass across the river with his troops by using boats, and to join the armies of the Khan and Abdi Paşa in the Kartal plain.

The Russian army numbered almost 16000 under the command of Rumiantsev repulsed the attacks of Khan and Abdi Paşa and advanced in the direction of Falça. While the Ottoman commanders planning to join their forces and attack the Russian camp from three different directions, the Russians made an unexpected assault on Khans and Abdi Paşa's station at Falça (Larga) on the night of 19 July. In bewilderment, the Ottoman forces started to disperse and left all their equipment and supplies on the battlefield. Upon this event the Grand Vizier compelled to pass across the Danube to command the army. On 27 July 1770 the main army crossed the Danube. The whole army joined and stationed at Han Kışlası near Gölbaşı region. On the night of 1 August the Russians attempted to make a sudden assault on the Ottoman station but this time they failed. On August 2, the two armies confronted each other at the Kartal (Kagul) plain. Despite the weakness and the small number of the Russian army, the Ottoman forces

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<sup>108</sup> V. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace*, p. 148.

were overwhelmed by the Russian superior firepower, and the army started to disperse before the well disciplined Russian forces. Once the order of one wing of the Ottoman army was broken and dispersed, it immediately influenced the other wings, and the battle ended in four hours with the victory of the Russians.<sup>109</sup>

Thereafter, the Russians occupied Bender, Akkerman, İsmail, Kili and Ibrail respectively. After the defeat at Kartal the Ottoman soldiers began to leave their units. To prevent fleeing of the soldiers the Porte offered to increase the amount paid to the soldiers. In order to increase the number of the forces new *fermans* sent to provinces ordering recruitment of new soldiers. The Grand Vizier began to take measures to prevent the passing of the Russians through Danube so did not sent any forces to north of the river. A little number of soldiers and people of Bender and Ibrail desperately resisted to the Russian forces, the other places were abandoned without fighting. Except for Yerköy and Niğibolu whole Ottoman territory in north of Danube were occupied by the Russians by the end of the campaign year.

### **Russian Offer for Peace Negotiations**

Having occupied Bender the Russians sent an envoy to the Grand Vizier to inform him their demand to start negotiations for peace between the two states without mediation of the third parties on 16 October 1770. The Grand Vizier had the full responsibility to make such negotiations but instead he wanted to inform the government in İstanbul about the situation and waited for its approval before giving a decision. Ahmed Resmî states

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<sup>109</sup> Ahmed Resmî, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, p.50.

that some bureaucrats in İstanbul interpreted Russian demand for peace as an indication of their weakness and sent order to the Grand Vizier to continue war until gaining an advantageous position for the peace negotiation.<sup>110</sup> On 6 November 1770, the Russian offer for peace was rejected. In reality the Porte wanted the mediation of Austria and Prussia to reduce the Russian demands and profits.

The Russians wanted to make peace with the Ottomans without mediation of the other states especially the Austrians since Russian advance as far as Danube alarmed Austria. After two years war with the Ottomans and Poles the Russians were exhausted as to financial and human resources and in this situation they could not prevent any possible Austrian assault. Prussia also did not want further Russian advance, which might be harmful for the Balance of Power in Europe.

The Austrians, worried about the Russian occupation of the territories in north of the Danube, made a secret alliance with the Ottomans. The alliance was guaranteeing mediation in case of Ottoman need or to give military support to prevent the further Russian advance. For this agreement the Ottomans sent 4000 bags of *akçe* to the Austrians.<sup>111</sup> However, this agreement resulted in nothing since Russia made an agreement with Austria and Prussia for the partition of Poland and the Austrians abandoned the Ottoman alliance in favor of the partition of Poland.

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<sup>110</sup> Ahmed Resmî, *Hülasatü'l-İtibar*, p.55

<sup>111</sup> A. Sorel, *Eastern Question*, pp. 224-226

## **Russian Mediterranean Campaign**

One of the most striking events of the Ottoman Russian war of 1768-1774 was the Russian naval campaign to the Mediterranean. It was achieved with the cooperation of England since the British needed Russian help in Europe and also hoped to use the Russians to end the French supremacy in the Levant.<sup>112</sup> The Russians sent their navy from Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean by sailing around the shores of Europe through Baltic Sea, North Sea to England and after completing their preparations in the harbors of England by hiring experienced English navigators mainly from former officers, and equipment and new ships. The Russian fleets continued its way through the Atlantic into the Mediterranean. While the Russian fleets passing through the Channel, the British warned the French not to interfere in the passage of the Russian fleets.<sup>113</sup> Catherine II assigned Aleksey and Fyodor Orlov brothers for this enterprise, and Aleksey Orlov was appointed as the commander of the Russian forces.

Their intention was to astonish the Ottomans with an unexpected attack from a different direction, the first step of the plan was to stop the Ottoman navy at the Dardanelles to prevent them from transporting soldiers to Morea. The second step was to defeat the Ottomans with the help of the Orthodox minorities particularly the Greeks who had been prepared for uprising by the Russian agents and priests for a long time. By this expedition, they also planned to cut the way of supply sending from Egypt

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<sup>112</sup> S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I., p.248.

<sup>113</sup> Isabel de Madariaga, *Catherine the Great*, p. 45.

to İstanbul by closing the Dardanelles. Their ultimate purpose was to capture the Ottoman capital.

### **Uprising of the Greeks in Morea**

The Russians had been making propaganda among the Morean Greeks for a long time and working to prepare the Greeks a revolt against the Ottoman administration with the promises of liberation. They began to induce the Orthodox subjects, and tried to convince them uprising by promising the Russian aid and protectorate. Some Greek merchants, who had granted commercial privileges by the Ottoman administration to maintain commercial activities with Russia, also played role in increasing of Russian popularity among the Greeks. On the other hand misadministration of the local rulers and their oppression to the Greeks also played an important role in the uprising. Süleyman Penah Efendi states that the central government neglected the administration of the Morea. The *kadis* appointed to Morea were not willing to leave İstanbul and sent their *naibs*. Their *naibs* used this situation for their own benefit and in agreement with the *ayans* (local notables) and *kocabaş*. They collected money by force levied heavy taxation, and made arbitrary arrestments.<sup>114</sup> Besides this they also exploited the sources of state revenues such as *mukata a* (Tax-farm), *timar* (fief), *cizye* (poll-tax), *avariz* (extraordinari levies) and *gümrük* (custom).

Although the French informed the Ottomans about the Russians'

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<sup>114</sup> Süleyman Penah Efendi, *Mora İhtilali Tarihiçesi*, in *Tarih Vesikalari*, vol. 2, no. 10 p. 314-315

plan, it was not given much importance. Nevertheless, some trivial measures were taken. Most probably they despised the Russian sea power and could not think the possibility of their joint action with the Greeks. Ahmed Vasif states that some of the Ottoman statesmen could not believe the possibility of such an attempt and refused the evidences showed by the others.<sup>115</sup>

The Russian fleets consisted of seven galleons, four frigates and several transport ships under the command of Admiral Spiridov, arrived Morea on 20 February 1770. Meanwhile, the second Russian fleets consisted of ten ships in various types anchored at the harbors of England. The Russians hired Admiral Elfinson, who was a retired admiral in the British navy. The second fleet under the command of him departed from England to the Mediterranean in April 1770. An unexpected storm compelled the Russian fleet to anchor a harbor of Maina, the Greeks interpreted it as the signal of uprising and started to revolt. Thus the Russians changed their original plan.<sup>116</sup>

On 28 February 1770, Fyodore Orlov together with his 500 soldiers tried to organize 50000 Greeks of Maina who participated in the revolt. They besieged the Koron Fort. The siege lasted in two months with failure. On 26 April they retreated, meanwhile, the Greek rebels numbered almost 60000 under the command of Antonios Psoros and Barkof killed many Muslims in the towns of Mizistre, Modon, and Londar.<sup>117</sup> Majority of the Muslims living in the region started to flee to Tripolice, the well-protected administration center of Morea under the control of the governor Hasan

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<sup>115</sup> Ahmed Vasif, *Vasif Tarihi*, vol. II, p.42

<sup>116</sup> İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *OT*, IV/I, p. 394.

Paşa. The Greeks were disappointed by the small number of the Russian military forces sent as a supporter to the revolt. Besides this the attitude of the Russians towards the Greeks and their endeavor to establish control over the Greeks caused some disagreements.<sup>118</sup>

The Porte appointed Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa as the defender of Morea and assigned him the suppression of the rebellion. The main navy was also sent to Morea under the command of Hüsameddin Paşa and Governor of Iskenderiye Mehmed Paşa and governor of Rodos, Cafer Bey was ordered to join the army together with their ships.<sup>119</sup> Muhsinzade was afraid of the delay of the Ottoman reinforcements and demanded the help of local notables from the government. Some of the notables had already completed their war preparations since they were assigned to join the main army stationed in İshakçı in 1769. Thus, when the Porte ordered them to join the army of Muhsinzade instead of the main army, they could fulfill the order in a short time.<sup>120</sup>

When the Greeks assaulted on Tripolice on 9 April 1770, and Muhsinzade's army numbered almost 10000 was also stationed there. In a short time, the Greeks realized the superiority of the Ottoman sources and started to disperse. After this event the offensive movement of the Ottoman army began. The Greeks could not show resistance before the Muhsinzade's forces and left many places and forts they occupied within one month. The Russians embarked on the ships and left Morea. The Ottoman navy had just

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<sup>117</sup> CA 1597/1-7. Yuzo Nagata, *Muhsin-zade Mehmed Paşa ve Ayanlık Müessesesi*, p. 49

<sup>118</sup> Yuzo Nagata, *ibid.* p. 51

<sup>119</sup> BOA, MD., no. 168, pp. 177-178.

<sup>120</sup> Yuzo Nagata, *ibid.* p. 54.

arrived to Morea on 27 May 1770 and confrontation between the Ottoman and Russian fleets began.<sup>121</sup>

### **The Çeşme Incident**

The two powers came together on 6 July 1770 near Chios in the Aegean Sea. The Ottoman naval force was composed of sixteen galleons, six frigates and the Russian navy was after joining of the second fleets composed of nine galleons, four frigates and four armed ships and one fire ship. The confrontation began with the assault of the galleon of Cezayirli Hasan Bey (later Paşa) on the galleon of Spridov. Although the Ottoman forces were superior to the Russians in number, firepower and the military tactics used skillfully by the British admiral forced the Ottoman fleet to retreat to harbor of Çeşme. The Ottoman fleets anchored the harbor and the Ottomans did not think that the Russians could dare to follow them and continue the battle. They thought that they could destroy the Russian fleet with the help of cannons which were put into coasts of Çeşme in case of an assault so they did not take necessary measures to prevent any possible Russian attack. The experienced British admiral saw the mistakes of the Ottomans and set aflame the Ottoman fleet by sending fire ships on 6/7 July 1770.

The Russians did not expect such a success in this campaign. After the destruction of the Ottoman navy they did not encounter a serious Ottoman power in the Mediterranean. *Kaptan-i Derya* Hüsameddin Paşa

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<sup>121</sup> Fevzi Kurdoğlu, *1768-1774 Osmanlı Rus Harbinde Akdeniz Harekatı ve Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa*, p.14

was dismissed upon this event, and Cafer Bey was appointed to the office. Newly constructed six ships and thirty ships from Ülgün and Bar were given to the command of Cafer Bey. The Porte immediately sent orders to the Ottoman shipyards to construct ships to compose a new navy.

In order to prevent Russian attack to Izmir the Ottomans constructed a set in Sancakburnu by sinking five ordinary ships bought from the merchants. Ali Paşa the defender of Seddülbahir, assigned the defence of İzmir. Defenders of the forts in the coastal regions were alarmed to the Russian threat. However, the Russians assaulted on Mondros harbor in the island of Limni. The harbor was suitable for using as a base for the Russians who were intending to close the Dardanelles. They besieged the Limni fort in September but the fort defenders successfully resisted their attacks. Cezayirli Hasan Bey with 1100 soldiers landed on the island and assaulted the Russians on 7 October, the defeated Russians embarked on the ships and retreated to Bay of Paros. Hasan Bey after this success was appointed as the new *Kaptan-i Derya*.

The Russian attacks to conquer Rhodes and Eğriboz were also resulted in failure. Their existence in the Mediterranean became harmful for the Ottoman trade. They also provided some assistance to the Mamluk rebels in Egypt.<sup>122</sup> They also take the control of some little islands in the Aegean Sea. The Russian ships remained in the Mediterranean until the end of the war and this campaign resulted in great success for the Russians as to proving their sea power to the European states.

## **Chapter V: Establishment of the Independent Crimean State**

### **The Crimean Front**

As it is mentioned in the previous chapters the primary concern of the Crimeans, particularly tribe leaders and *mirzas* was to provide their security against a possible Russian invasion. For this purpose they were not willing to send their armies outside the Crimea in the times of the Ottomans demand of military support as they did in the past. Devlet Giray IV did not send his forces to Hotin and was deposed in January 1770, and Kaplan Giray II replaced him.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, the Crimean light cavalries were not effective against the Russian artillery and firepower. The Ottomans would provide them necessary weapons and stationed an Ottoman unit under the command of a governor appointed by the Porte as the defender of the Crimea. The *mirzas* influencing Russian propagandizing activities saw the Ottoman military power not sufficient enough to protect the Crimea. Moreover, frequency of deposing and appointing of the Crimean Khans within a short period increased the disagreements between the Giray families and their supporter tribes.

During the first two years of the Ottoman Russian war, the Ottoman administration concentrated on its own problems and appointed the Khans according to its own needs, and did not pay attention developments taking place in Crimea. This situation brought about disorder in the Crimea. The Crimean tribe leaders and *mirzas* were not satisfied with the Khan's policies, which were determined by the Porte and pursued by the Khan in

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<sup>122</sup> S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. I. p.249

accordance with the orders of Ottoman Sultan. In addition, the *mirzas* and tribe leaders lost their role in the election of their Khans in this period and this situation made Russian promises for an independent Crimea more attractive. While the Ottomans sent *fermans* to the Crimea to advise them to remain obedient to the Caliph Sultan on behalf of Islam, the realities forced them to pursue the policies determined by the conditions of the time.

The Crimeans participated in the campaigns of the Ottoman army in 1769 and 1770 witnessed the defeats of the Ottomans before the Russian forces. Having known the Russian power and Ottoman weakness changed the mind of many tribe leaders and *mirzas* in favor of the Russians. They preferred to be independent under the protectorate of the Russian Empire instead of a Russian invasion. Particularly, their fear of the possibility of a second Russian invasion played important role in their choices.

The Crimea was the most important Ottoman territory, which the Russians desired to occupy or at least to separate from the Ottoman Empire. Acquiring a seaport on the Black Sea would provide them with a direct access to İstanbul as well as economic benefits. Moreover its annexation would not cause troubles with the European powers at least in the short run. As a matter of fact, they abandoned the territories north of Danube occupied by them but insisted on the matters related to the Crimea during the peace negotiations.

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<sup>123</sup> Halim Giray, *Gülbün-i Hanan*, p. 116, 118.

## Russian Invasion

The Crimean peninsula was geographically very suitable for defense. Baron de Tott mentions about the strategic importance of the Orkapı as the only gateway of the peninsula. At the mouth of the gate there was a strong construction set up for defense. Without help from inside to pass this gate would be very difficult and costly. The Russians had no important sea power on the Black Sea and could not land its forces from the sea so they had to force this gate.

Uzunçarşılı states that the Russians first attacked on Crimea in March 1770. The *Serasker* of the Crimea Silahdar İbrahim Paşa had positioned at Orkapı, and made a good defense and successfully repulsed the Russians. He does not give any source. Fisher claims that such an ‘attack’ had never occurred and states that “this attack has apparently be confused with a Russian-Ottoman battle in the vicinity of Azak, one in which the Turkish fleet sank two Russian warships.”<sup>124</sup> However, in a footnote in the re-published version of *Gülbün-i Hanan* by Kırımlı Arifzade Abdurrahim Hilmi quoted from *Tarih-i Osmani* of Abdurrahman Şeref, such an attack is mentioned. Its date is not obvious but it is definite that there was a Russian attack which was repulsed by İbrahim Paşa before the Russian invasion had took place, according to Abdurrahman Şeref. There is an archival document in which the Porte congratulates İbrahim Paşa for his military success.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Alan Fisher, *The Russian Annexation...* p. 41

<sup>125</sup> CA: nu. 1556

After the Russians occupied the territory in the north of Danube they began to make negotiations with the people of the regions. After the occupation of Bender, the Yedisian Nogay tribe under the leadership of Canmambet Bey concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Russians on 6 July 1770. This alliance increased the Russians' hope in making alliances with other tribes and the Crimean Tatars themselves.<sup>126</sup>

Catherine sent General Petr Panin to Crimea to make a suggestion of an independent state and to give assurance the Khan that the Russians had no intention of expanding its territories, and also promised them that they never demand military support from the Tatars as the Ottomans did.<sup>127</sup> Panin used Melisa Mirza, the brother of Canmambet Bey, by sending him to persuade the Crimeans. Newly appointed Khan Selim Giray refused this suggestion. The Ottoman administration continuously sends money to the Crimean Khans to keep them loyal and when they suspicious about his loyalty immediately deposed him and appointed new one. Necati Efendi states that in 1770 the Crimean Khan Kaplan Giray II, Şirin *Mirzas*, Canmambet Bey and some clan leaders sent a written statement to inform the Russians that “ instead of obeying the Ottomans, at the present time we prefer to be the dependents of a state such as yours which is benevolent to us.”<sup>128</sup> After a secret agreement concluded with the Russians the Khan came

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<sup>126</sup> A.Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 34

<sup>127</sup> A. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>128</sup> “Han-ı Kırım Kaplan Giray, Nogay ve Bucak taifelerinden Yedisanlı nam Tatar-ı orduşikar asker-i bî sūmar ile Özü'ye ve andan Kırım canibine geçüb Özüboy tabir olunur nam mahalde kaba il-i mezkurların reş-i menhusları olan Can Mambet nam mirza vesair mirzalar küffarın tarafına tahrirat gönderüb ahd ü aman ederler ki ‘bizler Han-ı Kırım ve gerek sair erkan-ı devlet-i Kırım ve Şirin Mirzalarıyla cümlemiz Osmanlıya fermanber olmakdan ise bu zamnda sizin gibi bizlere hayırhah devlete kul olmak yeğdir’...” Necati Efendi, *Kırım Tarihi*, Tarih Vesikaları, nu.13 pp.63-64

to Bahçesaray and tried to persuade some of the Crimeans by saying “we made an agreement with the Russians if you want to save your families and properties you too have to make agreement with the Russians.”<sup>129</sup> As a response they demanded written statement from the Khan. Necati Efendi states that this was a secret conversation between the Khan and some of the Crimean officials. However, since Necati Efendi had established friendly relations with them, some of them did not keep it secret from Necati Efendi and explained the situation by saying: “this is not a good meaning and symptom but we are compelled... We were pleased with you because you have protected our country by fighting with the infidels for more than two years. It is known that the source of this disorder is Nogay Tatars and another reason is Khans’ preference to settle at Kavşan instead of settling in the Crimea. For this reason the Şirins were also divided into fractions and became disobedient.”<sup>130</sup>

During this period the Porte was so engaged and concentrated on the war continued in the Balkans that it could not send military aid and supplies to the Crimea. Nevertheless, they learned the situation and deposed Kaplan Giray. The Russians realized that just persuading the Khan and some leaders was not sufficient, and the Russians sent agents to Crimea to persuade the Crimean *mirzas* and subjects not opposing the approaching Russian army.

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<sup>129</sup> “ ... Han-ı mezbur Bağçesaray’a gidüb erkan-ı devlet-i Kırım ve Şirin ve mirzalarını cem edüb... ‘sizlere dahi lazımdır ki Moskov ile sulh u salah idüb sened alup sened veresiz ki, Kırım vilayeti ve iyal ü evlad ve mal ve emlakınız halas ola’ dediklerinde...” Necati Efendi, *ibid.*, p. 64

<sup>130</sup> “... Bu eyü ma na ve alamet değıldür. Lakin bizler dahi mecburuz... sizlerden hoşnud idik. Zira sizler bir iki seneden mütecavizdir ki memleketimizi hıfz u hırasat ve küffar ile muharebe olundu. Ma lum, lakin bu fesadın vuku u Nogay Tatarından ve Hanların Kırım içinde oturmıyub Kavşanda oturduklarındandır. Ol sebebden Kırım içinde olan Şirin mirzaları dahi fırka fırka olub ita atten çıkdılar...”

Khan Selim Giray entered into negotiations with the Russians and fled to İstanbul at first suitable occasion when he caught a chance. He reached İstanbul on 6 August 1771 and informed about the situation to the Porte. After Russian invasion, many of the Crimeans migrated to Anatolia and some of them run away to mountainous regions.

When the news of Russian assault on the Crimea reached to İstanbul, the Porte tried to send forces to Crimea by ships.<sup>131</sup> Uzunçarşılı states that when the Ottoman forces, under the command of Abaza Mehmed Paşa, just arrived Yenikale, they understood that the Russians had already invaded Crimea and occupied Taman Fort and Abaza Mehmed Paşa thought that it was impossible to defeat the Russians with his small forces and returned to İstanbul. For this reason he was executed.

Contrary to this Necati Efendi states that Abaza Mehmed Paşa came to Kefe by ship. Having settled, he visited *Serdar* Silahdar İbrahim Paşa. During their conversation Mehmed Paşa stated that “I was given *yarlık* by the Khan which gives me permission that it depends on my choice if I want to go Kal a-i Cedid [Yeni Kale]I can go or if I want I can stay here, or I can go to Or Kal ası together with you.” Then asked to İbrahim Paşa to learn his view. İbrahim Paşa stated that “the Sultan give you a ferman and assigned you to defend Kal a-i Cedid and Arabat and you have to fulfil the Sultans

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<sup>131</sup> CA: nu. 44824

order of defending the forts of Kal a-i Cedid and Rubat.” However, Abaza Mehmed Paşa did not obey the order of Sultan and did not go.<sup>132</sup>

*Serasker İbrahim Paşa* congratulated and sent some gifts to the new Khan Selim Giray and asked him to provide wagons for his army. Khan promised him to send necessary wagons. İbrahim Paşa began preparations for the movement of the army and sent *buyruldu*s to Hasan Paşa the agent of Captain Paşa, and to Abaza Mehmed Paşa to go to the forts, which they were assigned to defend. Both of them refused to fulfil the order. Khan sent a written statement to İbrahim Paşa informing him that the Russians came to Orkapisi and ordered him to come to help with his present troops as soon as possible. In his response letter to the Khan, İbrahim Paşa states that “my army will be the place titled Beydeğirmeni in three days. Let us meet there. Please do not proceed further before my arrival.” The army of İbrahim Paşa departed from Kefe on 25 June 1771(12 Rebiül-evvel 1185.)<sup>133</sup> Fisher gives the date of Russian assault on Hotin as 14 June 1771 deriving from the Russian sources. If he does not give the date according to the Julian Calendar and the date given by Necati Efendi is true there is a conflict and

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<sup>132</sup> “... Abaza Mehmed Paşa ...Kefe Limanına gemiyle gelüb, şehir derununda konak döşenüb, oturub ve Serasker-i alişan hazretleri rüsum üzre görüşüp esna-i kelimde Mehmed Paşa Serasker-i alişana ‘Paşa hazretleri ben sizinle Or kal asına giderim ve hizmette olurum ve bana Han hazretleri dahi yarlık vermişdir ki , ister isen Kal a-i Cedide git ister isen Kefede otur. Yahud Serasker-i alişan ile Or kal asında bulunasız, ne buyurursuz’ dedikde Serasker-i müşarunileyh dahi: ‘Paşa karındaş Padişah sana Kefeyi mansıb verüb Kal a-i Cedid ile Rubatı muhafazaya ferman vermiş. Benim ma iyyetime meñur olmak üzre ferman varmıdır?’ dedikde. ‘Hayır yokdurö lakin Han hazretleri yarlık verdi.’ Serasker-i alişan hazretleri tekrar cevap verüb:‘sana lazım olan emr-i padişahi üzre karadan meñur olduğun kal aları hıfz-ı muhafazadır ve derya tarafından dahi donanma-yı *hümayun* gemileri muhafazaya meñurdur . Lakin vaktini üç ay tecavüz etmekle kal alar bu ana değin boş kalmıştır, kerem edip buyurasız’ deyu emrolundu. Lakin emre imtisal etmedi. ”

<sup>133</sup> According to Gregorian Calendar it was on 25 June 1771, according to Julian Calendar it was on 14 June.

disagreement on the exact date of the Russian attack between the Russian and Ottoman sources.

Necati Efendi continues narration of the events as follows: “When the written statement of İbrahim Paşa was received, the Khan expressed the plan of İbrahim Paşa to the high officials of the Crimean state. As a response to Sahip Giray, the *bey* of Or, Han Ağası İslam Ağa, and Celal *mirza* and İnayet Şah *mirza* and others and Şirin *bey*s and all the *mirzas* of the Cemboyluk Nogays and [TBŞÓV]oğlu who settled in the Crimea stated that: ‘my *padişah*, for two years here in Crimea only the Ottoman Serasker has acquired reputation and title. Our services have been known by neither Khans nor the Ottoman state. Please be generous, we wish that this year let us not leave the opportunity of gaining fame to the *serasker* so that we could be happy thanks to our lord the Khan’s victory.’”<sup>134</sup> Necati Efendi claims that they deceived the Khan since they had already made a secret agreement with the Russians. When they approached Orkapı, the fort defenders evacuated the fort to welcome the Khan. To make known the Khan’s approach they made a cannon fire. This was also planned as a sign to the Russians stationed near the fort. The Russians after the sign entered into the fort through the gate, which was opened by a person inside.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> “Tahrirat-ı mezkuru Han-ı müşarun ileyh erkan-ı devlet-i Kırırna ifade edüb, ol esnada Or Beyi olan Sahib Giray ve Han Ağası İslam Ağa ve Celal Mirza ve İnayet Şah Mirza ve sairleri ve Şirin Beyleri ve derun-ı Kırırnda sakın olan Canboylu [TBŞÓV]oğlu naman Nogayların fi’l-cümle mirzaları Han-ı alışana baş urub: ‘Padişahım iki senedir ki, bu Kırırnda Osmanlı seraskeri nam ve şan sahibi olub bizlerin hizmetleri gerek Han hazretlerinin gerek Devlet-i aliyyenin ma lumları olmadı. Kerem edüb bu sene-i mübarekede Han Efendimiz Hazretlerinin yüzünden nusret ola ki biz kulları dahi şad ola.’ Deyü her birileri rica ve niyaz edüb...” Necati Efendi, *ibid.* p. 68

<sup>135</sup> “...meğer Han hazretleri ol vardıđı gece Tatarların ol vardıđı gece Tatarların küffar ile beynlerinde işaretleri var imiş. Ana binaen kal adan top atılub ehl-i kal a ‘Han-ı alışan hazretleri geliyor ’ deyü cümle temaşaya çıkub küffar-ı bed-fi al bu işe ma hud olub doğru

On 14/25 June 1771 Russian troops consisted of 30000 Russians and 60000 Nogays under the command of General Dolgorukii proceeded into the Crimea through the almost defenseless Orkapısı.<sup>136</sup> Majority of the Crimeans in a desperate situation and they obeyed their leaders who accepted not opposing the Russian forces. The Ottoman forces little in number and weak in condition because of the absence of money, provision and ammunition. They also understood that the local people could not help them. Under these conditions Serasker İbrahim Paşa was defeated and captured at Kefe in late June, and sent to St. Petersburg as a war prisoner. In a short time the Russians occupied Kefe, Yenikale, Taman, Kerc, Gözleve and Sudak.

The Ottomans appointed Maksud Giray the Crimean Khan. Sahip Giray was elected as the new Khan by the Tatar leaders in July 1771. Şahin Giray became *Kalgay* and together with Crimean representatives went to St Petersburg to obtain Russian confirmation of the election of his brother Sahib Giray and to talk about independent Crimea.

There was an established balance between them during the Ottoman administration and the clans had had power in the administration of the Crimea. They would not like to lose their status. Rivalry and struggle among the Crimean clans, particularly the Şirin beys, *mirzas*, to maintain their old status and to acquire higher positions in the new administration might be

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Or kapısına gelüb, içeriden dahi kapu açılıb iki canibe mezkuran mirzalar ve Şirinler ve Nogay Tatarı vesairleri saf saf durub kafirler içerü girüb derun-ı kal ada kalan askerim kimi firar ve kimi şehid ve esir olmakda iken kavm-i mezkuran şad-man olarak Han hazretlerinin canibine gelüb ‘meded Han-ı alıšan iş işden geçti, yalan deryası taşıdı. Kefere kal ayı aldı ve topları bu tarafa çevirdi’ deyü han hazretlerinin yanına gittiler. Han-ı alıšan nam u şan almak gayretinde iken der akab karar-ı firara tebdil edüb... ” Necati Efendi, *ibid.* p.68

cause a disorder in the Crimea, and prepare a suitable base for the Ottomans to increase their influence. Therefore, in order to be able to establish an independent Crimea the Russians had to solve this problem.<sup>137</sup>

Sahip Giray demanded from the Russians to take the Nogays under his authority. The Nogays unwillingly accepted Sahip Giray as their sovereign. The Russians made large sum of monetary aid to the new Khan in return they demanded from him to announce that they will constitute an independent Crimea, and to promise to have friendly relations with the Russian Empire forever.<sup>138</sup> He was also demanded to make a public request to Russian General Dolgorukii not to evacuate the Crimea and remain with his forces to help the Crimeans against an inevitable Ottoman military attempt to re-conquest the Crimea. The last demand was meaningful as to reveal real Russian intention and understanding of independence. The Russians in this way tried to create an official base to explain their presence in the Crimea to the Crimeans and possible intervention of European states.

*Kalgay* Baht Giray and one of the former *Kalgays* Şahbas Giray united their forces in the Kuban Mountains and showed opposition to the Russians. They tried to organize the Crimeans and some Nogays against the Russians.<sup>139</sup> They were aware of the real ambition of the Russians through the example of the Poland. They tried to persuade Şahin Giray but could not be successful.

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<sup>136</sup> A.Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*. p. 43

<sup>137</sup> A.Fisher, *ibid.* p. 49-50

<sup>138</sup> A.Fisher, *ibid.* p. 45

<sup>139</sup> A.Fisher, *ibid.* p. 49

In November 1772 the Russians and the Crimeans signed the Treaty of Karasupazar. The signatories were Lieutenant Shcherbinin, Sahib Giray Khan, the *Beys* of Şirin and Mansur tribes, and Canmambet Bey.<sup>140</sup> Leaders of each of the clans, *müftü* and *kadiasker* were also invited but they did not responded positively. With the treaty the Russians coplated the first part of their real purposes.

“The treaty established an ‘alliance and eternal friendship’ between the Russian Empire and the new Crimean State, without compromising the latter’s religion, laws, or freedom. The Khan was to posses all administrative power, and was to be freely elected by the whole Crimean community, a procedure in which neither Russia nor the Porte could interfere. The Russian court would be informed of each such election. The Khan’s authority spread over all of the peoples who had inhabited the former Khanate- this includes the Nogays, the Cherkess and the Abazas of the Caucasus. The Russian court would never request that the Crimeans enter any of its wars, and in return the Crimeans would never again attack Russia. The Russian Empress, in her own name and that of all of her future successors, promised to protect the existence of this new state. In particular, Russia would find it necessary to maintain garrisons in a few places within the Crimea as a safeguard against Ottoman reprisals. These included Yenikale, Kerch, and Kilburnu. Concerning Christian captives in the Crimea, the treaty specified that the Russians would be freed while the others who had escaped would be returned by the army. The Russians were granted trading privileges and the right to establish a resident at the Khan’s court.”<sup>141</sup>

The Russian invasion of the Crimea and establishment of an independent state alarmed the Ottomans. It was the first time that the Ottomans lost a Muslim populated land. They had declared war on Russia to save Poland. After the Russian invasion of the Crimea the primary concern and purpose of the Ottomans was to become re-conquest and restoration of the Crimea.

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<sup>140</sup> Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* p.56

<sup>141</sup> A.Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*. p. 50-51

## **Chapter VI:**

### **The End of the War and The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca**

#### **End Of the War:**

Despite the many failures of the Ottoman army the Porte did not lose its hope to defeat the Russian army and continuously sent orders to the Grand Vizier to pass across the Danube and force the Russians to retreat. The reasons of that the Porte did not well informed about the real situation of the army and the reports about the condition of the Russian army which also weakened after serious severe fighting, lost many soldiers because of deceases, and increasing difficulty to find provisioning in the region which was devastated by both armies and evacuated by the local subjects and they were rather away from their departure point and provisioning supplies. The Russians gave importance to intelligence, the sources show that they always tried to learn the condition of the Ottoman army by means of spies and war captives. They generally knew well the condition of a fortress which they planned to occupy. By this way they gave primary importance to conquer first the forts in which provisioning and ammunition stored.

The Grand Vizier Silahdar Mehmed Paşa stationed the army at Babadağı winter quarters. The Porte continued recruiting soldiers in Anatolia and sent them to the main army by ships through the Black Sea and the Danube. While the Ottoman main army was making preparations for the war season the Russians continued to advance in winter. They conquered the Yergöğü Fort, which was defended *Serasker* İzzet Mehmed Paşa, on 30

February 1771 after a three-day battle and acquired the great amount of provisioning stored in the fort.

The Grand Vizier assigned *Serasker* of Rusçuk Ahmed İzzet Paşa to pass across the Danube with his troops and organize raids.<sup>142</sup> On 4 April 1771 their assault on Tolça Fort failed after the Ottoman reinforcements arrival to help of the fort.<sup>143</sup> The Ottomans reoccupied Yergöğü Fort and planned to attack on İsmail Fort. The Russian army tried to stop Ottoman advance and attack on the Ottoman forces but defeated and retreat to İsmail.<sup>144</sup> The Russian army numbered 20000 soldiers composed of Moldavian rebels and Russian soldiers attacked on Yergöğü Fort on 13 August 1771 but defeated.

After his successes in suppressing the Morea revolt the ex-grand vizier Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa appointed as Serasker of Vidin and sent to Vidin with his troops numbered 40000. Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa came to Yergöğü fort and sent a part of his forces to Bucharest. The Russian forces defeated the Ottoman army and took the control of the whole region along the left bank of Danube. Now the Ottomans had to defend this large region, for this reason Muhsinzade sent to Rusçuk. To increase the number of the soldiers *fermans* were sent to local peoples in the Balkans and Rumeli who could fight call to arms and join to the forces of Muhsinzade and İzzet Mehmed Paşa, the defender of Bucak.<sup>145</sup> The Ottomans did not know from

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<sup>142</sup> MD. No: 168/327

<sup>143</sup> Ahmed Resmî, *Hülasatül İtibar*, p.61.

<sup>144</sup> Ahmed Vasıf, *Vasıf Tarihi*, vol. II, p. 122

<sup>145</sup> CA. No, 2433

which direction the Russians may assault and did not have adequate military forces to defend the long line.

The Russians attacked Babadağı where the Grand Vizier Silahdar Mehmed Paşa stationed with a little forces. The Ottoman forces could not show much resistance and retreated to Pazarcık in November 1771. Upon this defeat the Grand Vizier Silahdar Mehmed Paşa disappointed and Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa appointed as the Grand Vizier.

The Ottoman army was in poor condition and avoided confrontations. In the winter of 1772 the Russians consolidated their position in the places they occupied and the Ottomans began to seek mediation of third parties particularly Austria and Prussia.

### **Negotiations for Peace**

The Ottomans and the Russians decided to hold a peace conference and concluded an armistice in Yergöğ/Yerköy on 10 May 1772 and it was decided that belligerents will not fight until October of 1772.<sup>146</sup> In order to stop fighting on the Mediterranean the armistice of *Bahr-i Sefid* was concluded between the Russian Admiral Spiridof and the Ottoman Captain Hocoğlu Mustafa Bey on 12 July 1772.<sup>147</sup> The expire date of the armistice period was determined as November 12, 1772.

After the armistices were concluded the peace conference at Fokşan began on 19 August 1772. The Participants of the conference were Ottoman representatives Yenişehirli Osman Efendi as the first plenipotentiary, Ayasofya Şeyhi Yasincizade Efendi as the second plenipotentiary, and the

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<sup>146</sup> Ahmed Vasif, Vasif Tarihi, vol. II, p.162.

<sup>147</sup> NH. No. 9/4

Russian representatives Gregory Orlov and Obreskov. They first extended the truce period to 21 September. The Russians refused the mediation of Austrian and Prussian representatives. Upon their demand the representatives of Austria and Prussia left the conference. The Russian demand and insistence on the independence of the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman refuse finished the peace negotiations without any result.

After this failure for peace belligerents extended the period of truce to 30 October. The second peace conference began on 6 November 1772 in Bucharest. This time *Reisülküttab* Abdürrezzak Efendi appointed as the first plenipotentiary of the Ottomans. The Russian representative was Obreskov. To this conference the Austrian and Prussian representatives were not invited. At the first meeting the period of truce was extended to 21 March 1773. They agreed upon many issues but Crimean question still away from the solution. Obreskov declared that the Russians would not demand war indemnity if the Ottomans accepted the independence of the Crimean Tatars under the Russian protection. Abdürrezzak Efendi sent a letter to Muhsinzade to take his decision and Muhsinzade sent a letter to İstanbul for the final decision. Both of Abdürrezzak Efendi and Muhsinzade hesitated to take the responsibility for the treaty. The Porte did not consider the Russian demands reasonable and rejected. After the Ottomans declared the rejection of the Russian demands to Obraskov the conference was ended and war preparations began. The articles taken in this conference constituted the first form of the subsequent Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca.

The porte sent declarations to the European states to inform them that the Russia was responsible for restarting the war.<sup>148</sup> The Ottomans recovered the condition of the army in the long truce period. The Porte demanded from the riches on behalf of the religion to recruit soldiers by using their own properties and sent them to army.<sup>149</sup> The Ottoman army was superior to the Russian army as to the number of forces.

The Russian army, numbered 14000 soldiers, first assaulted on Ruscuk. Serasker of Ruscuk Dağistani Ali Paşa successfully defended Ruscuk and repulsed the Russians on 29 May 1773. Another Russian army consisted of 40000 soldiers, under the command of Field Marshal Rumyantsev occupied Babadagi and advanced towards Silistre. On 24 June the Russian army defeated Ottoman forces in Silistrem the defeated Ottoman soldiers retreated to Silistre Fort. On 29 May 1773 Russians assaulted the Fort but repulsed by the defender of the fort Serasker Osman Paşa. The Russians lost more than 20000 soldiers in this battle. While defeated Russian army was retreating they encountered with the Ottoman forces under the command of Numan Paşa in Küçük Kaynarca on 21 July 1773. During the battle the Ottoman soldiers killed Russian General Weismann. In October of 1773 the Russian forces assaulted Karasu, Pazarcik and Varna but encountered with the strong Ottoman defense and retreated.

On 21 January 1774 upon the death of Ottoman Sultan Mustafa III his brother Abdulhamid I ascended the Ottoman throne. The Russians

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<sup>148</sup> NH nu. 9/12

<sup>149</sup> CA. Nu.1664, CA. Nu. 2002

wanted to use of this change of the Ottoman Sultan and sent an officer to the Grand Vizier Muhsinzade to offer peace. Their offer included the same conditions determined at the Bucharest conference. Muhsinzade rejected the offer.

### **Ottoman Defeat at Şumnu**

Upon the Ottoman refusal the Russians assaulted on Kozluca and confrontation began on 20 June 1774. The Ottoman forces were about 25000 and the Russians not more than 15000. “ The Russian artillery fire was so intense that the Ottomans may have lost 4000 men.”<sup>150</sup> Defeated Ottoman forces began to retreat by leaving cannons, provisions and munitions at the battlefield.

The Ottoman main army was at Şumnu and took a defensive position. The Russians attacked on the Ottoman main army and defeated the Ottomans. The Ottoman soldiers plundered the Ottoman camp and retreated to İstanbul Muhsinzade had no choice but to accept Russian peace offer and negotiations began.

### **The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca**

The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca was signed at Küçük Kaynarca village on the right bank of the river Danube near Silistre in 21 July 1774. It ended the six- year long war between the Ottoman Empire and Russian Empire but could not terminated whole problems between the two states.

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<sup>150</sup> V. Aksan, *An Ottoman Stateman.....*, p. 165.

The treaty regarded by the Ottomans as humiliating and its future policies were determined by their purpose and endeavor to recover their losses.

**Articles**<sup>151</sup>

- 1- The old hostilities and enmities between two states shall be terminated forever, no vengeance shall be taken for them in any way and there shall always be a perpetual and constant peace. The treaty shall be treated with respect. Neither of the two sides shall conduct secret or open activity against each other. Both sides shall grant amnesty and general pardon to all their subjects without distinction. The prisoners in the prisons and galleys shall be released and their properties and ranks shall be restored. Those prisoners shall be protected from any injury and attack until their arrival to their countries and the assailants shall be punished severely.
- 2- If, after the conclusion of the treaty and the exchange of the ratifications, any guilty subjects of the two States seek asylum in the territories of the other side, they must not be sheltered there under any pretext but must be immediately sent back or at least expelled, except for those who changed their religion.
- 3- The Tatars of Crimea, Bucak, Kuban, Yedisan, Canboyluk and Yediçkul shall be acknowledged by the two States as independent and free nations. The Tatars shall select their own sovereign, of the descendance of Cengiz Khan. This Khan shall govern them according to their ancient laws and traditions. Neither the Russians

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<sup>151</sup> NH. 2/29, HH nu. 58503, J. C.Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: a documentary record*, Vol. I, Princeton, 1956

nor the Ottomans shall interfere in the election of Khan or any other domestic affairs. As to religious ceremonies the Tatars shall be bound to the Ottoman Caliph and regulate their religious affairs without disturbing the stability of their political and civil liberty. With the exception of the fortresses of Kerç and Yenikale, all the occupied towns, castles and settled places in Crimea and in Kuban; and the region between the rivers Berda, Konskie, Vodi, and the Dnieper, and the lands situated between the rivers Özü, Aksu and Tuzla as far as the border of Leh (Poland) shall be left to Tatars. The fortress of Özü shall be left to the Ottoman State. After the conclusion and exchange of the treaty, Russia shall draw its Army back from Crimea. The Ottoman State shall give up all its rights on castles, towns and settlement places in Crimea, Kuban and Taman. Both states shall not send any armed forces there under any pretext.

4- Both states shall be able to construct every kind of fortresses, towns, habitations and edifices at wherever they see it necessary and appropriate within their borders. Old fortresses, cities, towns shall be able to be repaired or re-constructed.

5-After the conclusion of the agreement and the renewal of friendship, there shall be a Russian Envoy or Minister Plenipotentiary in İstanbul. He shall benefit from all the rights that the other state's ambassadors have. At official ceremonies he shall follow the German ambassador if he is at the same rank with the latter. If the Austrian ambassador is at a higher or lower rank, the Russian

ambassador shall follow the ambassador of Holland, in his absence, he shall follow the Venetian ambassador.

- 6- If any person who is in the service of the Russian ambassador steals something or commits any other crime, the stolen things shall be given back on the bases of the ambassador's declaration. If one of them wanted to become Muslim while he is drunken, it shall not be admitted as valid unless he accepted Islam after his drunkenness is over and declared before the interpreter sent by the Russian ambassador, and the neutral Muslims, it shall be valid.
- 7- The Ottoman State promises to protect the rights and churches of Christians, and it also allows the ministers of Russia to make, upon all occasions, representations, as well in favor of the new church at İstanbul, of which will be mentioned in Article 14.
- 8- The Russian monks and subjects shall be given permission to visit Jerusalem and other holy places. These people shall not be subjected to *cizye*, *harac* and any other tax while they were on their way. There shall be given *fermans* and passports as are given to the subjects of other countries, and they shall be protected by the State from any assault or danger within the Ottoman territories.
- 9- Since the interpreters who were in the service of the Russian ambassadors also serve to the Ottoman State affairs, they shall be regarded as they were in the services of both countries. Therefore, they shall be treated with kindness and shall not be subjected to ill-

treatment by reason of the business with which they may be charged by their administrators.

10- If a conflict occurs between the two sides in the period between the date and the proclamation of the agreement to the regions by the Commander-in-Chiefs, the occupied lands shall be given back and nobody shall benefit from these type of events.

11- All the ships of both sides shall be able to sail through all the seas for commercial purposes. The Russian trade ships have the right of free passage from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean and from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea. They shall be able to benefit from shores, coasts, harbors and straits for commercial purposes. Moreover, the Russian businessman shall be treated in the same manner as the British and French businessmen, and they shall be free to make trade by land and Tuna river. The same capitulations granted by the Porte to the merchants of France and England shall also be granted Russian merchants. The Russian businessmen, who give the same amount of taxes as the other businessmen give, shall be able to reach İstanbul through the harbors on the Black Sea or other seas in order to transfer or export their properties. They shall be able to accommodate in both states. In this matter, the freedom that was given to the businessmen of other states shall also be given to the Russian businessmen, and Russia shall be able to appoint consuls or deputy consuls wherever they want within the Ottoman boundaries. The *beratli* translators in the services of those consuls

and deputy consuls shall benefit from the rights that the British and French translators have. Russia shall also give the same privileges that they gave the other states to the Ottoman businessmen who pay the taxes properly. Both sides shall help the ships that had accident, and the equipment that they need shall be given at current fixed prices.

12- The Ottoman state shall help Russia in improving their commerce with Trablusgarb (Tripoli), Tunis and Algiers

13- The Porte promises to use the sacred title of the “Empress of all Russias” in the all public acts and letters and in all other cases in Turkish language “Bütün Rusyalıların Padişahı.”

14- Russia shall be given permission to erect a public church in one of the quarters of Galata in the Beyoğlu street. The church shall always be under the protection of the ministers of Russia and secure from all coercion and outrage.

15- In case of disputes and disagreements among the subjects of the two states in the frontiers the two states mutually agree that all such cases of disagreement shall be investigated by the governors and commanders of the frontiers, or by commissioners appointed for that purpose. Such situations shall never be used as a pretext to change the friendship and good relations re-established by this treaty.

16- Bucak province, Akkerman, Kili and Ismail fortresses, and Wallachia and Moldavia shall be restored to the Ottoman Empire. In return the Ottoman state promises the following conditions:

- a- The crimes of all the inhabitants of the two voyvodaliks shall be forgiven in accordance with the Article 1. All of their estates, ranks and positions they had before the war shall be determined and restored.
- b- Wallachia and Moldavia shall be free in religious affairs. The construction of new churches or reparation of the old ones shall not be prevented.
- c- The lands and estates of monasteries and people in Ibrail, Hotin and other places, which were illegally captured, shall be given back to the owners.
- d- The necessary privileges shall be given to the monks.
- e- The people who want to leave the country shall not be prevented until one year passes after the agreement is exchanged.
- f- For the former accounts anything shall not be demanded.
- g- No tax shall be demanded for the wartime period. In order to recover the damages and losses of Wallachia and Moldavia during the no tax shall be demanded from the inhabitants for two years after the agreement is exchanged.
- h- At the end of the two years period, the Porte shall taken the present conditions of Wallachia and Moldavia into consideration in levying poll taxes. The taxes shall be paid in two years' periods. If tributes are paid, nobody shall raise any difficulty, or make attacks on them. No extra taxation

shall be demanded under any different name. For this matter, the privileges given by Sultan Mehmed IV shall be in force.

- i- The kapi kethudaliks of Wallachia and Moldavia shall be abolished, and they shall be replaced with Christian *chargé d'affaires* who are bound to Greek Orthodox sect. They shall be protected against any assault.
- j- The Russian Embassies shall have to right to negotiate with the Ottoman side on the matters of these voyvodaliks, and the matters that they present shall be taken into consideration.

17- Russia shall surrender the islands that they invaded in the Mediterranean to the Ottoman Empire in return the Ottoman state promises:

- a- to forgive the inhabitants of the islands for their crimes in accordance with the Article 1.
- b- That the Christians shall not be oppressed. The reparation or re-construction of the churches shall not be prevented, and the servants of the churches shall never be insulted.
- c- That no tax shall be exacted on the island inhabitants for the wartime period and for the two years' period after the agreement is exchanged they shall be exempt from any taxes.
- d- That the inhabitants shall be granted the right of free emigration to another country for only one year time after the agreement is exchanged.

e- The Russian navy shall leave Mediterranean within three months and the Ottoman State shall do its best to help the Russian navies.

18- The Kılburun fortresses situated at the mouth of Özü Suyu (Dnieper), sufficient amount of lands along the left bank of the river, and the desert between Aksu (Bug) and Özü shall remain under the control of Russian State.

19- The fortresses of Yenikale and Kerc situated in the Crimean peninsula, their ports, and the lands between the Black Sea and the former borders of Kerç as far as Bohace (Bugak), and from Bohace to the Azak sea shall be remain under the control of Russian State.

20- The Azak fortress shall be left to Russia as it was arranged in the agreement signed in 1700 between Tolstoy and the governor of Ace, Hasan Paşa.

21- The matter of the subjection of the Great and Little Kabartays to the Russian state shall be left to the consent of the Crimean Khan as to their proximity and relativity to the Tatars.

22- The two states have agreed to annihilate all the treaties and conventions concluded between them until now including the treaty of Belgrade, and with one exception that the agreement concluded between Tolstoy and Ace governor Hasan Paşa in 1700 that arranges the boundaries of Azak and Kuban.

23- The fortresses of Bağdadçık, Kutayis and Şeherban at the region of Georgia and Mekril, which were invaded by the Russians, shall be

given back to their former protectors. After the investigation, if the castle was belonging to the Ottomans, Russia shall give it back in a certain period after the treaty is exchanged. The Ottoman State shall forgive all the inhabitants according to the first article. From now on, the Ottomans shall not collect tributes of children, male and female and every other kind of tax in these regions. The Ottoman State shall not violate the rights of anybody and shall give the lands that were previously seized by the Georgians and Mekrilians back to them. There shall be no intervention to their religious affairs, monasteries and churches, and the re-construction or reparation of the old churches shall not be hindered. The assaults of the commander and officers of Çıldır shall be stopped. As the inhabitants of the region are the Ottoman subjects, Russia shall never interfere their affairs.

24- The Russian troops shall withdraw to the left bank of Danube within a month after the treaty is signed. After passing the Danube to the left side, the fortress of Hirsova shall be restored to the Ottoman troops. The provinces of Wallachia and Bucak shall be evacuated within two months. After withdrawn from these places, the Russians shall restored the fortresses of Yergöğü and İbrail, the town of Ismail and the fortresses of Kili and Akkerman to the Ottoman troops respectively. After the evacuation of Wallachia and Bucak provinces completed within three months, the Russians shall leave Moldavia and pass the Danube to the left bank. After the withdrawal from the provinces and military positions are completed 5 months

later than the treaty, and the Russian troops arrive at the left bank of the Danube, the fortresses of Hotin and Bender shall be left to the Ottoman troops. At the same time, as stated in article 18, the fortress of Kılburun and the wasteland between Özü and Aksu shall be left to the Russia.

At the same time, the Mediterranean islands shall be restored to the Ottomans by the Russians. The Ottoman State shall meet the needs of Russian navy to accelerate the departure and evacuation. The Ottoman State shall never interfere in the administration of the inhabitants of Islands until the Russians completely evacuate the Islands. In this period, the Ottomans shall provide the Russian soldiers food and other necessities. The Ottoman state shall not send its forces to these regions until the Russian Field-Marshal Romanzof notifies the Ottoman Official in charge that they evacuated and withdrawn all the regions. The Russian soldiers shall discharge Russian grain stores and munitions at fortresses and towns. The Russians shall give the Ottoman cannons back while they are leaving the fortresses, which they occupied. In all provinces, during the Russian withdraw, the Ottoman State shall not hinder the people who want to go with the Russians, and shall not interfere the situation for one year.

25- All the prisoners of war except the Muslims who are converted to Christianity and the Christians who are converted to Islam, shall be exchanged after the confirmation of the agreement without ransom

or redemption money. Thus, the prisoners from Leh, Wallachia, Bogdan, Mora, Mediterranean Islands, Georgia and Russia in Turkey with the Ottoman prisoners in Russia shall be released.

- 26- When the message about the confirmation of the treaty is reached to Crimea and Ozi fortress, the Russian troops shall communicate with the guardian of Ozi, and they shall appoint their trustees to complete the surrender of Kilburun fortress and the places stated in 18<sup>th</sup> article within two months. After the trustees' meeting, the conditions of the articles shall be fulfilled within two months. The process of surrender shall be completed at most in 4 for or fewer months' time after the treaty is confirmed, and the completion of the process shall be notified to Grand Vizier and Field Marshal without any delay.
- 27- The treaty shall be confirmed and the ratifications shall be mutually exchanged by the ambassadors. For this purpose, both ambassadors shall be met on the frontiers in the same manner at the same time. The Ottoman State shall officially treat the Russian ambassador equal to other European states' ambassadors. As a testimonial of friendship they shall be mutually sent presents which shall be proportionate to the dignity of their Imperial Majesties.
- 28- The treaty shall be signed by the Ottoman delegates, Ahmet Resmî Efendi and İbrahim Münib Efendi, and the Russian delegate, General Repnin, and then the Ottoman Grand Vizier and Russian Field-Marshal shall notify this information to the navies at Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea and across Crimea by messengers. The Ottoman

Grand Vizier and Russian Field Marshal are authorized to sign the treaty. They are authorized to sign and seal the treaty. The Grand Vizier's copy shall be in Turkish and in Italian, and the Field Marshal's copy shall be in Russian and in Italian. The Grand Vizier and the Field Marshal shall exchange the treaty five days after the endorsement.

## **Conclusion**

The years between 1768 and 1774 were one of the catastrophic periods of the Ottoman history. As a consequence of the War the Ottomans lost prestige and power as well as the large territories. Thousands of civilians and soldiers deceased in the war. Because of the war expenditures the Ottoman economy collapsed. The production rate decreased and this situation brought about internal disorders and revolts. Relations between central and periphery were broken because of misadministration and oppression of local rulers. Russian influence over the Orthodox Christian minorities increased. The decisive defeats before the Russian armies resulted in awakening of the Ottomans and modernization period of the Ottoman Empire began. Most probably Prince Selim first thought the necessity of reforms in this period.

Attempts of the Russians in this war revealed their long-term ambitions and future policies such as the “Annexation of the Crimea”, “Greek project” and Greek revolt, and as the ultimate target to conquer İstanbul.

The declaration of the war was necessary for the Ottomans who did not want a powerful rival. In addition the Ottoman Empire was still a world power and in order to preserve its status and prestige they had to intervene in the “Polish affairs.”

Timing is not false since they planned to make an unexpected attack on the Russians stationed in Poland. The appointment of Kırım Giray as the

Crimean Khan shows the intention of the Porte. His unexpected death prevented them to materialize their plans.

The Ottomans had made some war preparations but the unexpected mistakes on their accounts related to provisioning stored in the ware houses, bad harvest season, and unqualified officials increased the problem of provisioning of the large army. Moreover, the officers and soldiers are not experienced and badly trained. It was the matter of the military training system and could not have been recovered in a short time. That is a postponement of the war for a few years could not be the solution.

Another problem was the loyalty of the Ottoman subjects to the Ottoman administration. Especially the Crimean Tatars were blamed on betraying the Ottomans. The main reason of the uprisings and betrayal of the minorities was the corruption of the local rulers and decentralization. Another main reason was that they had no alternative after the Russian victories. The Ottomans could not establish a full control over the Nogays and these tribes as characteristic of the nomadic tribes always accepted the sovereignty of the powerful. Settled Crimean Tatars on the other hand preferred to be independent to an inevitable Russian invasion. Struggle for power and prestige among the Crimean clans and *mirzas* also played an important role in the Russian invasion. Russian propaganda by giving them a consciousness of their national identity to separate the Crimeans from the Ottoman administration is also became effective.

Russian decisive victories over the Ottomans increased their self-confidence and they desired to materialize their dream of conquering

İstanbul and resurrected Eastern Roman Empire. May be to challenge Holy Roman Empire and Latin Christendom and to prove the supremacy of Orthodoxy. “Catherine II named her grandson Constantine and minted coins containing an image of the old Cathedral of St Sophia in İstanbul.”

In the period between the years 1768 and 1774 the real strength of the Russians was understood by the Ottomans and the Europeans. From then on the arch enemy of the Ottoman Empire became the Russian Empire. The discontent of the minorities especially living in the Balkans showed itself and forced the Ottomans to reconsider effectiveness of their central administration. The broken peace in the Balkans could never be restored. As it is reflected in the title of “boiling pot”, the Balkans became the arena of never-ending wars, disorders and uprisings. The loss of the Crimea shocked the Ottomans and it determined their future mission to liberate the Crimeans and reestablish the Ottoman rule together with the new group of the Crimeans in exile. The *ayans* emerged as a powerful group.

One of the most important consequences of the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca was the Ottomans realizing the power of the title of Caliph and effectively used it by intervening in the matters of not only the Crimeans but also of the other Muslims living in the Russian territories. Thus this practice culminated in the Pan-Islamist policies employed by the Abdulhamid II.

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## Appendix I.

HATT-I HUMAYUN, NO: HH. 234

*Reisü'l-küttab efendide hıfz oluna zayi olunmaya*

*Hürmetlü Prusya elçisi dostumuza takrir-i dostanemizdir.*

Bu def a canib-i dostanelerinden gönderilen bir kıta takririn mefhumunda haşmetlü Prusya Kırallı cenabı tarafından bu esnada tarafınıza tahrirat gelmekle mazmununda Kırallı müşarun ileyh dostumuzun devlet-i aliyye-i da'imi'l-karar taraflarından in ikadını iltimas eylediği tahaffuzi ittifak maddesinin akdi ve ana müteferri olan umurun tesviye ve tanzimi hususuna Kırallı müşarun ileyh cenabları muntazır olmağla mukaddem ve muhhar tesyir olunan takrir-i dostanelerine katiyyü'l-müfad cevab irad olunması istida olunmuş devlet-i aliyye-i ebed peyvend ile Prusya devleti beyninde pezira-yı in ikad olan mevadd-ı musafatın sekizinci maddesinde bundan böyle devleteyne nafi ve hayırlu olan bazı husus müzakere ve mahzurdan ari olduğu halde karar-dide ve mevadd-ı müsalemete ilhak olunmak ca'z ola deyu mezkur ve musarreh olub ve Kırallı müşarun ileyh dostumuz tarafından in ikadı iltimas olunan tahaffuz-ı ittifak maddesinin akdi ve mevadd-ı musafata ilhakı hususu çünkü mahzurdan ari olmak şartına mebnidir el-haletu hazihi bu hususun nizamına iki mahzur mani olub birisi bu ki mukaddem verilen takrir-i dostanemizde beyan olunduğu üzere Devlet-i aliyye-i da'imi'l-karar ile Rusiyye Devleti beyninde olan musafatın kabul ve istihkamı için imparatoriçe-i cedide tarafından henüz Der-sa adete name ve elçi vürud itmemekle bu keyfiyyet madde-i mezburenin te'ir-i nizamına badi olmuşdur. İkinci mahzur bu ki öteden beri Devlet-i aliyye-i da'imi'l-karar ahd ve misakında sebat ile müşarun bi'l-benan olmağla hıfz-ı mu ahedeyi

menafi -i kesireye tercih etmek mukteza-yı şime-i kerime-i saltanat-i seniyye  
olub ve Nemçelünün bu ana dek mugayir-i şurut-ı musalaha bir hareketi zuhur  
etmemişken taraf-ı Devlet-i aliyyeden fesh-i musalahaya ibtidaen mübaderet  
olunması devlet-i aliyyenin ez-kadim ba is-i iftihar olan muhafaza-i misak  
menkıbet celilesine münafi bir keyfiyyet olduğundan ma da lillahi'l-hamd ve'l-  
minne hala piraye-i bahş erike-i tacdari ve revnak efza-yı tahtgah-ı saltanat ve  
bahtiyar-i a zam selatin-i a zam ve efhem-i havakin-i kiram malikü'l-berreyn  
ve'l-bahreyn naşirü'l- adl beyne'l-hafakeyn şevketlü kerametlü mehabetlü  
kudretlü veliyyün ni metim padişah-ı cihan ve şehir-i yar me ali unvan efendim  
hazretlerinin kuvvet u kudret-i mülükane ve satvet u miknet-i hüsrevaneleri min  
külli'l-vücut kemalde ve Nemçe Devletinin za if hali ve teferruk-ı asker ve  
ricali derke-i nihayette iken devlet-i müşarun ileyhaya hamle ve hücumu şefkat  
ve mürüvvet-i rahimaneleri tecviz ... görmeyüb şahin-i himmet aliyye-i  
hakanileri her kar u şanın i lasında pervaz itmekle mahzur-ı evvel add olunan  
Rusiyye Devletinin hususu meram üzre nizam bulsa dahi bila mucib-i Nemçe  
Devletiyle meyanede olan musalahanın feshi taraf-ı Devlet-i aliyyeden zuhur  
itmesi bu kadar müddetten beru ba is-i iftihar-i Devlet-i aliyye olan hıfz-ı misak  
maslahat-ı hamidesinin zevalini mucib olmağla bu keyfiyyet mahzur-ı kavi ve  
şefkat ve mürüvvet-i hüsrevane dahi hıfz-ı misak maslahatını mü'ayyid ve  
mukavvi olduğu ve tab -ı hümayun-ı mülükaneenin bu gune hıfz-ı mu ahedeye  
kemal-i ri ayeti ve kanun-i merdaneği ve mürüvvete i tina ve dikkati yalnız  
Nemçe Devleti hakkında olmayub haşmetlü rağbetlü Rusiyye Kıralı cenabları  
hakkında dahi ale'd-devam bu dakikalar mer i ve mu teber idügi ma lumunuz  
oldukda Kıral müşarun ileyh dostumuz şimdiki halde kendü devletine nafi  
olduğu vechle umuruna nizam virüb Devlet-i aliyye ile dermiyan kılınan akd-i  
ittifak maddesini vakt-i mukadderi hululüne tevkif eylemeleri irade-i aliyye-i  
hüsrevaneye muvafık ve tedabir erkan-i saltanat-ı devlet-i aliyyeye mutabıkdır.

رئیس کتبخانہ برقعہ  
حفظ اولاد کے  
اولیہ

حزب روسیہ الجبیبی دسترہ تقریر دستا نہ مزد

بودضہ جانب دستا نہ لریک کوزریدون برقطعه تقریران معنومندہ خستناو برسایا قرلی جناو طرفین بوشا نہ ذکر پور  
کلکله معنومندہ قرالشا رالیہ دسترک دولک علیہ دایم القرا و طرفلریک انعقادجی التماس ایلیکی تحفظا اتفاق ماده سنک عقیدی  
و اکاشق اولو امورک تسوہ قطنلی خصوصنه قرالشا رالیہ جنا باری منتظا و لعلله مقدم و مؤخر تسیب اولو ان تقریر  
دوستا نہ لرینہ قطنلی انعقاد جواب ابراد اوقسی استیعا اومنیق دولک علیہ ابرو بوزالیہ برسوسا دولی بنیدہ بزیرا انعقاد  
اولو ان مواد صافانک سنجی ماده سنده بونرن بولبله دولتیہ نافع و خیر اولو ان بعض خصوص مذاکره و محدودرد عاری  
اولو ایلی حاله قرار داده و مواد مسالمتہ الحاق اونیق جائز اولو دیومندو و صریح اویوب و قرالشا رالیہ دستر طرفلریک انعقاد  
التماس اولو ان تحفظ اتفاق ماده سنک عقیدی و مواد مصافا قہ الحاق خصوصیکه محدودرد عاری اونیق شرطیہ بنید  
الحالہ ہذہ بر خصوصک نظامہ ایلی محدودرد مانع اولو لب برسی بولبله مقدم و بریلو تقریر دستا نہ مزہ بران اولو ایلی اوزرہ دولت  
علیہ دایم القرا ایلہ روسیہ دولی بنیدہ اولو ان مصافا قہ قول واستحکای ایلیچون ایمر اطوریچہ حدیرہ طرفلریک ہوزر دولت  
نامہ و ایلی ورود ایتمکله بویکت ماده مزبورہ نل ناخیر نظامہ باری اولو شد ایلی محدودرد بولبله اولو ان  
دایم القرا محدودر میثاقہ ثبات ایلہ مشارا بناک اولو لعلله حفظ معاہدہ فی منافع کثیرہ بہ ترجیح اتیان معقنا شیمہ اریکہ  
سنیہ اولو و بختہ لونلک بوانہ دل مغایر شرط مصالحتہ بر حرکتی ظهور ایتا مستیکن طرف دولت علیہ دن قس مصالحتہ بہ لیتا  
میادرت اوقسی دولت علیہ نل ارقم باعث اختاری اولو محافظہ میثاق منقبت جلہ سنہ ساقی بویکت اولو ایلی اولو ان  
قہا لود الملتہ حاویر ایلہ بختا اریکہ تاجدار ی ورون افزای تختکاکہ سلطنت و بختیاری اعظم سادین عظام و ایلی خولریک  
مالک البرین و العین ناشرا عدل بین الخائفین شوکا و کلماتو مہا پلو قدرتو و لی اتم بادشاہ جہان و شہر بار معالی  
اقدم حضرتانریک قوت و قدرت ماویکان و سلطنت و سکت خسرانہ لر من کل الوجوه کالک و بختہ دولتانک ضعیف اونی  
دقترا عسکر و جالی درکہ نہایدہ اکیمن دولت مشا رالیہ ایلہ عملہ و هجومی شفقت و مرؤت رحیمانہ لر بختیز و راوردیوس  
شاہین ہمت عالیہ خاقانری ہرکاروشا نلک اعلا سنده پرواز ایتکله محدودر اولو ان روسیہ دولتانک خصوصیکم  
اوزرہ نظام بولبله دولی بلا موجب بختہ دولتیہ میاندہ دران مصالحتہ نل قطنلی طرف دولت علیہ دن ظهور ایلی بوقررتن  
برو باعث اختیار دولتی علیہ اولو حفظ میثاق و خصلت حمیدہ سنک زوالی موجب ایلہ بویکت محدودر قوی و شفقت  
و مرؤت خسرانہ دولی حفظ میثاق مصطفی مؤید و مقوی اولو ایلی و طبع ہر اونی ماویکان نل بویکتہ حفظ معاہدہ بہ کال  
رعایتی و قانوز مردانری و مرؤتہ اہتتا و دقنی باکریچہ دولتی حقیقہ اولو ایلی و خستناو خستناو برسوسا قرالیہ جنا باری  
دغی علی اندام بودقیقہ لر معنی و معتبران و کومعاویک اولو قرہ قرالشا رالیہ دستر شہید جالہ کوزر دولتیہ نافع ایلی  
و جبیلہ امورینہ نظام ویروب دولت علیہ ایلہ در میان قنایک عقدا اتفاق ماده سنہ وقت معقد دی جالولہ توقیف ایلریک  
ارادہ علی خسرانہ بہ موافق و تباہرا دکان سلطنت دولت علیہ بہ مطابقت

OSMANLI ARSIVU DARE BASKANI

## Appendix II

### Name-i Hümayun 8/4, 558.

*Bu def a mübarek rikab-ı müstetab hazret-i cihanbaniye takdim olunmak emniyesiyle İngiltere Kırallığı Yorgi (George III) tarafından vürud iden namenin suret-i tercümesidir.*

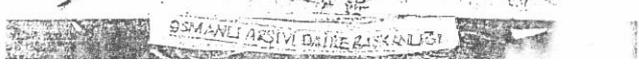
Şevketlü, kudretlü, azimetlü, kerametlü, padişah-ı mualla dustgah ve hakan-ı fermanan Sultan Mustafa Han hazretlerinin pişgah-ı humayun şehriyarilerine biz ki bi inayeti'llahi teala İngiltere ve France ve İrlanda memleketlerinin kırallığı ve [BRDLSV]nin ve Levneburg Dükası ve Roma İmparatorluğunun prens (Prens) Herseği ve ..... ayin-i Nasaranın hamisi Yorgi Salisiz (George III) taraf-ı halisanemizden istidame-i azimet ve şevket ve istizade-i salatanat ve devletleri da vat-ı takdiminden sonra hulusane arz ve ilam olunur ki devlet-i aliyye-i İslampenahileriyle İngiltere devleti beyninde mün akid olan hüsn-i musafat ve merasim mevalat-ı dirine sinin-i kesireden beru tetarruk-ı halelden masun ve vikaye olunarak bu ana gelince bila infisal derkar ve istivar olduğuna binaen bu esnada cenab-ı şevketmeablarıyla Rusiyye İmparatoriçesi hohterimiz beyninde sulh ve salahı salib ve muharebebirle tarafeynden nüfus-i vafirenin etlafını calib ve afatı müstelzim ba zı münaza at hudus eylediği der aliyyelerinde mukim elçimiz daileri vesatatiyla tarafımıza inha olundukda terk-i .... birle illet-i gaibe-i afreniş hazret-i halik mütteal olan sulh u salah ve emn ü aman alemyani irca ve ibkaya terğib zımnında zat-ı hümayunlarında merkur-ı envar şefkat-ı seniyyeleri lami asınca bundan mukaddem canib-i seniyyi'l menakıb mülükanelerinden düvel-i Nasara taraflarına ibraz-ı asar hayrhahı olduğuna misüllü tarafımızdan dahi bu def a fesh-i sulhü mü'adda-i münaza atın defiyle ıslah-ı zati'l-beyne kemal-i keremiyyet ile hüsn-i tavassuta ikdam olduğuna arz ve beyan ve Rusiyye İmparatoriçesi hohterimiz nush-i pendimiz ile amel ve arazi-i İslamiyede Rusiyyelü tarafından vuku bulan zarar ve ziyan vech-i layıkı üzre tazmin olunacağı ve fi ma ba id dostane harekette bulunmak üzre ta ahhud edeceği indimizde bila iştibah olmağla taraf-ı bahirü'l şerif hüsrevanelerinden dahi Rusiyyelünün li'l-garzin bu babda vaki olan hareketlerini afvbirle gerek tazmin-i zarar ve gerek tekeffül-i halisanemiz ile İmparatoriçe-i muma ileyhanın arz ideceği taahhudatı re'iy-i hayriyyet mansusumuzda itibaran kabul ve isga buyrulmak me'mulüyle işbu name-i muhalesat-ı allame tahrir ve irsaline mübaderet olunmuşdur inşaallahu te ala lede'sş-şerifi'l-vusul astane-i devlet aşıyanelerinde mukim elçimiz da ileri bu babda arz ve takdim edeceği mevadde-i müsade-i mülükaneleri erzani ve azimet ve nusefet ve adalet ile meşhur-ı elsine-i alemiyan olan ibda-i azamileri hazratına iktizaen terk-i münafasa ve muhasamaya himmet-i seniyye-i hümayunları masruf buyrulması rica ve niyaz olunur milad-ı Hazret-i İsa'nın bin yedi yüz altmış sekiz senesi mah-ı Teşrin-i saninin onikinci gününde .....şehrimizde tahrir olunmuşdur.

مشرفان مشهور اولاد بزرگی اتم ابراهیمی بدو کس تیز تر من کس تیزه واقع ناز نایا ماد سکه در انوارت ابراهیمی  
 محو کرده طرف هابون حسره و از مزوی اعطی اولاد بی جواب نامه هابون انور نوروز دنی اچی مولی ایس سیم بزرگتر  
 بینه لای لری الومول آنه تیزه و عمر بیدوی بره میانه ده ماری اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم و منوت کرد است و تیزه بی منوت  
 اولاد سیم و مهر و محبت اذنی تا شریک و از تیزه اولاد بی تیزه و منوت خلیا به سیم تیزه اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم ابراهیم  
 اچیکز ایشیه مرتبط اولاد بی قیمی مولان سیم تیزه اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم ابراهیم  
 عی و عی اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم  
 بنابر کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم

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بدر خیارک رکامرتقا و حضرت جهانانی به تقدیم اولین امین سیاه انصافه قرآنی اچوری طرفان ورد  
 این نامه نیک صورتی ترجمه سید

سوزیدر قدر تو عظمی کو ام تو داد شایع علی کس کما و وفا فان فرمانان سلطان منصفی خان حضرت نایب بیک  
 هانود خیریا در برتبه بیکه بتالیه الله تعالی انکدره و در آنچه داروز و مکمل تیزه قرآنی در بدو سیدک و تیزه بویج و در  
 و دروا امیر اطرافتک بهنج هر کسی دار شریک و بی این نصابانک حاسی بویج: نالان از طبع خالصه مزین  
 است ساهله و عظمت و شرفک دستاره بسطت و دولتدی عموقی تقدیمتک طبع خالصه و عی و اولاد  
 دولت عی: اسلامینا امیر بیکه انکدره و در آنچه نیر معقد اولاد حسن مصافات و مراسم اولاد و در جیبان شریک  
 و در آنچه خیریا مصون و در قالد اولاد و در آنچه نیر معقد اولاد حسن مصافات و مراسم اولاد و در جیبان شریک  
 در سیه امیر اطرافتک عی و در آنچه نیر معقد اولاد حسن مصافات و مراسم اولاد و در جیبان شریک  
 و در آنچه نیر معقد اولاد حسن مصافات و مراسم اولاد و در جیبان شریک  
 برله عی خایله اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم  
 منصفی ذات فرمان تیزه مرکز اولاد شرفتک سیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم  
 نصارا طریقه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم  
 ذات البه کمال کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم اولاد بی کس تیزه ایس سیم  
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### Appendix III.

#### *Name-i Hümayun 8.4, s. 559*

*İngiltere Kırallı tarafından elçisi vesatıyla gelen namesiene cevab olmak üzere kaleme alınan name-i hümayun hazret-i cihandarinin müsveddesidir.*

ba de'l-elkab

müddet-i medid ve ahd-i ba idden beru devlet-i aliyye-i ebediyyeti'l-istimrarımız ile İngiltere devleti beyninde metin ve resin olan musafat ve musalimatın tevsik ve istihkamına sıdk-ı niyyet ve hulus-i taviyyet ile kıyamınız zirve-i alada olduğuna binaen devlet-i aliyye-i ruz ezfunumuzda olan hayırhahlığınız ve dostluk merasimini icraya ihtimam-ı tam ve vakt-i sadakatencamınız muhat-ı ilm-i alem ara-yı şehinşahanemiz olmakdan naşi dostluk merasimini kemal-i sıdk-ı derun ile icraya i tina ve dikkatiniz ba is mahzuziyyet-i hüsrevanemiz olmuşdur bu esnada devlet-i aliyye-i abid devam ile Rusiyye devleti beyninde muharebe zuhur ve katl-i nüfus-i mevfur olacağı astane-i sa adette mukim elçiniz tarafından iş ar olduğundan Rusiyye devletinin muğayir-i sulh u salah arazi-i İslamiyede vuku bulan zarar ve ziyasının tazmini ve sulh ve musafatın irca ve ibkası ile vaki olan o makule hareketinin afvını istirhamen tavassuta ikdamlarını havi bir kıta name-i dostaneleri elçiniz vesatıyla sadr-ı azam-ı ekremim ve vekil-i mutlak ve serdar-ı efhemim nazım-ı münazımı'l-ümem El-hac Mehemmed (harekeli) Emin Paşa zide Allahu bi't-teyid ikdidarehu taraflarından rikab-ı müstetab-ı mülukanemize arz ve takdim olunmağla izhar-ı müsafat ve mevalat ve ibraz-ı sadakat hulus-ı şî arlarından ve tavassuta ikdamlarından hazz-ı mevfur olunmuşdur ancak devlet-i aliyye-i ebed miknetimiz ile Rusiyye devleti beyninde mün akid olan müsalahanın şerafine devlet-i aliyyemiz taraflarından ...tamamhar-ı ayat olduğu meşhur ve ma lum-ı alemyandır lakin Rusiyye devleti muğayir-i amade-i dosti kurb u civar-ı hududda muğayir-i ahidname kala -i müte addide bina ve da men mühimmat ve asker-i ta biye ve iyva eylediğinden başka tevsî -i memleket zımında halik olan Leh Kırallı yerine ırkında kırallı olmıyan şahsı Leh memleketine kırallı nasb ve şurut-ı serbestiyet-i Leh'i ilga ve memleket-i mezbura asker idhal eylemekle askerinin ihracı taraf-ı devlet-i aliyyeden ifade olundukca vakt-i filanda ihrac edeceğine takrirler virmekle beş seneden beru bu siyak üzere hareketinden maksudu devlet-i aliyyenin indinde meczum ve münfehim ikne yine dostluğa binaen ağmaz olunmasında\_ encam karde derbar-ı hilafetmedarımızda mukim olan kapı kethüdasının ta ahhüdünü mübeyyin virdiği senedat-ı müte addede muğayir ve ahidnamemize münafi hudud-ı İslamiyeden Balta nam mahalli ale'l-gafle top ve humbaralı asker ile basub bin neferden mütecaviz rical ve nisvan ve sıbyanı ihlak ve kurra ve beldeyi ihrak ve nehb ve harab ve işkar-ı gadra cesaret ve naks-ı ahd arını irtikab eylediği hasebiyle şer an ittifak ara-yı ulema-i azam ve vükela-yı fiham ile ber-muceb-i emr-i humayun

üzerine sefer-i nusretmekrun-ı şahanemiz muhakkak ve mukarrer olduğu bundan akdem cenabınıza dahi iş ar kılınmışidi avn u kerem-i hazret-i Vahhab ile devlet-i aliyyemiz dahi ber mukteza-yı şer kavm-i asakir-i nusret müessir encam şamarını tertib ve tanzim ve liva-yı nusret iltica-yı hazret-i seyyidi'l-ibrarı yedd-i müyyid serdar-ı ekremimiz müşarun ileyhe kariben teslim ve levazımat-ı seferiyye bi'l-cümle takdim ve tatmim olunmağla ordu-yı zafer-nümunumuz tesyir olunmak üzere olub her halde münkad ve muti i olduğumuz şer -i şerif-i mazhara muğayir hareket bir vechle mutasavver ve mümkün olmadığı ve naks-ı ahd müteyemmen olmayub irtikab iden mağlub olduğu mücerreb ve ma lum olmağla ba- avn-i hazret-i Bari fevz ü nusret tevfik ve yadi olacağı müsted amız olmağla bu surette izhar-ı adavet ve fesh-i sulh iden Rusiyyelü ile kable'l-muharebe musalaha hususu müzakeresi mümkün olmadığı ma lumunuz oldukda inşa-i Mevla ordu-yı hümayun zafer-nümunumuz mahalline varub ba- avn-i hazret-i Vahhab Rusiyyelü ile mukabil oldukdan sonra musalaha mukarrer olduğu hinde devlet-i aliyyemizin sadakatkar ve kadimi dostu olan İngiltere kıralı dostumuz cenablarının tavassutu hususuna mukteza-yı vakt ü hale göre ri ayet ve lede'l-iktiza elçiniz mumaileyh ile tavassut maddesinin hüsn-i nizamını müzakere keyfiyetini serdar-ı ekremim müşarun ileyhe tavsiyemiz masruf kılınacağı bi-iştibahdır. Ve's-selam mine't-tabi i'l-Hüda.

اختره قرنی از خندان الجبسی و ساطیله کلون نامه سنه جمادی اولی و زود قبله النان نامه هارانی  
حقوق چهارم ازین مسوده سید ...

بعد الوفا  
مدت مدید و عهد بیدون برودت عین ابدی استقرار از ایله اکتبره دولت بیدمتین صید  
اولون مصافات و سالک توشیح و استحکامه صدق نیت و خواص طوبی ایله قیامت زود و  
اولدینده بنا و دین عین روز افزون و اولدیندن اولدیندن اولدیندن اولدیندن  
و وقت صدقات ایلان کما طاع علم عالم آرای نیشاها از اولدیندن ناشی و در ساق مراسمی کمال  
در و ن ایله اجرامه اعتنا و در کتب با عتف محظوظیت خسروان مز اولدیندن بواناده و وقت عین ایلدول  
ایلله دوستیه دولت عین کما دمه ظهور و قتل نفوس ثور اولدیندن حقی استانه سعادت و معین ایلدول  
اشعار اولدیندن دوستیه دولت معایر صلح و صلح اراضی اسلامی و در وقت بولون منور اولدین  
تفصیح صلح و مصافات ارجاع و ابقای ایلله واقع اولون اولدیندن عین استرمانا اولدین  
اقتدار بی ما و بر قطعه نامه و دستار لری ایلدول و ساطیله صدر اعظم اکر و در کل مطبق و سردار  
الغزناظم منظم الوم الحام محمد امین با ناضاعه الله بالنا بیادقتاره طرفین کما بیستاد مایه کایز  
عین و تقدیر و نعلیه اظرا مصافات و و اوت و ابراز صدقات خالصها رازدن و در ساق اولدیندن  
حفظ موزرا اولدیندن دین عین ایلدیندن ایلدیندن دوستیه دولت معایر اولدیندن اولدیندن  
قریب و جوار حدود و معایر عهد نامه قانع مستعد و بنا و اتمام هات عین کعبه و ایلدیندن  
توسع مملکت ضمیمه هالک اولون کز قرالی برینه عرقده قرال و لیس شخصی که مملکت قرال نصب و نطق  
سرتین لیس الغا و مملکت رفوره عکرا دخال ایلدیندن عکرنیک اخراجی طرف عین و ده افاده ایلدیندن  
وقت خوز و اخراج ایلدیندن تقریر و بر مکتبه نیش سنه و ن بر و لوسیا اولدیندن مقصود  
حق عین نیک عند زود مجرم و ستم ایلدیندن و در قطعه بنا و اخراجی اولدیندن انجام کاده و در  
حقیر اولون قوت و سلسله عهد عین و بر دیک سزاق مستعد و به معایر عهد نامه منافع حدود  
اکلاهم و ن بالظه نام محلی علی الغفله طوب و خبره لوعکرایه به معایر عهد نامه و در حال و نسوان  
و جنای لى الهدیک و قرال و بدین امرای و نوب قرالی و انکار و قدره مسارت و نقض عهد عین ایلدول  
ایلدیندن سبیله شیخا اتفاق ارای عینا و عظام و وکلای قیام ایلدیندن بر مذهب امرها اولون اولدیندن سفر نیش













































































