

The Auspicious Event: The Military Significance of the Destruction of the Janissaries



The creation of the Janissary Corps in the fourteenth century represented the establishment of one of the first standing armies in Europe. The early history of the Corps was one of excitement and adventure. The Janissaries boasted, and not without considerable cause, that they never turned their backs upon an enemy. Indeed, they passed from victory to victory, transforming a small frontier principality into the last great medieval Islamic empire. However, the Janissaries were in serious decline by the beginning of the seventeenth century. Between the second siege of Vienna in 1683, and the Treaty of Jassy in 1792, the Ottoman Empire lost Hungary, the Banat of Temisvar, Transylvania and Bukovina in Europe. To Russia, their traditional enemy, they lost all

of their possessions on the northern coast of the Black Sea, from the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia to the Caucasus, including Bessarabia, Podolya and the Khanate of Crimea. In addition, the Russians and Austrians forced the Ottomans to allow them to intervene in the empire's internal affairs on behalf of the Sultan's Christian subjects in a manner that facilitated European influence in the Ottoman Empire. Although Selim II (1789-1807) managed to retain control over Serbia, Bosnia and the Principalities during his reign, he well understood that he accomplished this feat diplomatically and not militarily. The Empire was at a distinct disadvantage militarily vis à vis European their western technological developments. What the Sultan an army capable of meeting Western aggression, if not from a stance, at least on an equal footing. What he had was an army outdated traditions and methodology and rife with corruption.

The Ottoman Empire had a long-standing tradition of trying to Janissary Corps. Suleyman I (1520-1566) and Grand Veizir Lüfti Paşa famous *Asafname*¹ endeavored to restore discipline to the Janissaries. In the eighteenth century, the Ottoman state attempted to overhaul its artillery and fortifications with the aid of Europeans such as Comte de Bonneval and the Baron de Tott. Grand Veizir Hasan Paşa achieved limited success in modernizing the navy after the destruction of the Ottoman fleet by the Russians at the Battle of Çesme (1770). Army reforms begun at the same time proved ineffectual. After the Russian and Austrian War of 1787-92, Selim III made his own attempt to rejuvenate the military.²



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On 14 May 1792, Selim III created the *Nizami Çedid*. European officers sent to the Ottoman Empire by the different states trying to gain favor with the Sultan trained the *Nizami Çedid*. As in the past, the older corps remained intact and hostile to the changes Selim III wanted to implement. By the summer of 1807, the Sultan's reform movement appeared permanently stalled. The anti-reformers deposed the Sultan, disbanded the *Nizami Çedid*, and arrested and/or executed those reforming ministers of the Porte (central government) who did not escape into hiding.³ The supporters of Selim III, who managed to escape the purges, united under the leadership of Alemdar Mustafa, the Paşa of Ruschuk. Their goal was to restore Selim III to the throne and reconstitute his reform program. By the following summer, Alemdar Mustafa and his fellow reformers took the initiative. Alemdar Mustafa and Çelebi (Prince) Mustafa Paşa, the Grand Veizir combined their armies at

Edirne, marched on Istanbul and seized the city. Unfortunately, before they took possession of the palace, Mustafa IV (1807-1808), placed on the throne by the anti-reformers, discovered their plans to restore Selim III to the throne and ordered the former sultan assassinated.⁴⁻⁵

In 1808, the reformers deposed Mustafa IV and elevated Mahmud II (1808-1839) to the throne. Mahmud II began his reign under the domination of the new Grand Vizir, Alemdar Mustafa. Although Alemdar's vezirship lasted only a few months and was over by November 1808, he took several steps to improve the Ottoman military. During his term in office he reconstituted the *Nizami Çedid*, calling them the *Sekbâni Çedid* after an extinct corps formerly affiliated with the Janissaries. Kadi Abdurrahman Paşa and Suleyman Agha, a former *Nizami Çedid* officer, commanded this new corps. Alemdar Mustafa closed the barracks at Galata, a center of riots and sedition, and required sailors to live on their ships in the dockyards. He also prohibited the sale of Porte positions and restored the old system of promoting by seniority. He further demanded that all military personnel agree to accept training and discipline.



Unfortunately, Alemdar Mustafa was not a politician; unaccustomed to the vast amount of power suddenly at his disposal, he became arrogant and destructive. He tried to subvert the authority of the sultan, issuing orders without prior approval and threatening on more than one occasion to replace Mahmud II with Selim Giray, the Khan of the Crimea. In the end, it was the appearance of the *Sekbâni Çedid* breaking their fast, before sunset on the last day of Ramadan, which precipitated the fall of Alemdar Mustafa. The Janissaries who witnessed this outrage stormed the palace and forced Alemdar Mustafa and his supporters to seek refuge nearby in a small powder magazine. The structure blew up, killing Alemdar Mustafa, his men, and several hundreds of the Janissaries clamoring outside.⁶⁻⁷ The Janissaries mounted a full-scale general insurrection, assaulting the palace and demanding a new Agha and Grand Vizir. Mahmud II refused to make concessions. He ordered Ramiz Paşa and Kadi Abdurrahman to bring their troops to the palace. To further cement his position, Mahmud II ordered Mustafa IV executed. Without a descendant from the House of Osman, the Janissaries could not force Mahmud from the throne. The Janissaries eventually reached a compromise with the Sultan. Mahmud II agreed to disband the *Sekbâni Çedid* and, in exchange, the Janissaries promised to let the disarmed troops leave the city unmolested. The Janissaries broke their promise. As soon as the *Sekbâni Çedid* left the palace, they attacked killing many, including Ramiz Paşa and Kadi Abdurrahman.⁸⁻⁹

The Janissaries resistance to military reform had social and economic causes. In his letters, Helmut von Moltke attributed part of the lack of success in reforming the military to the contempt Ottomans had for all things foreign:

...in Turkey even the least gift becomes suspect, as soon as it comes from the hand of a Christian...in Russia the foreigners may have been hated; in Turkey they are despised. A Turk will concede without hesitation that the Europeans are superior to his nation in science, skill, wealth, daring and strength, without its ever occurring to him that the Frank might therefore put himself on a par with a Muslim....¹⁰

They received European military officers

...with the greatest solicitude by the first dignitaries of the Empire, who came to greet them, handed them pipes, and gave them seats of honor by their sides. But, respect for them decreased lower in the social scale. 'The Colonels gave us precedence, the officers were tolerably polite, but the ordinary man would not present arms to us, and the women and children from time to time followed us with curses. The soldier obeyed but did not salute.' Even the Turkish command did not dare to demand of the Turkish soldier that he show respect for a *gâvur* (foreigner).¹¹

The economic motivations for the failure of military reform owed much to the structure of the Janissary pay system. This system involved the Porte issuing pay tickets to Janissary Corps members. The Corps Paymaster had to see these pay tickets before an individual soldier could draw on his quarterly pay, or receive the periodic awards granted with the accession of a new sultan. In 1739, the Porte permitted the sale of these pay tickets. This move encouraged widespread fraud and abuse of the system. Senior Janissary officers and paymasters seldom reported when corps members retired or died so that they might continue to collect income from the Porte for soldiers who were no longer active in the service.¹²

In addition to the financial abuses with the Janissary pay tickets, which tended to benefit the upper levels of the military-administrative establishment and the *ulama*, the Corps began to infiltrate and usurp various small business enterprises during the reign of Mahmud I (1730-1754). They became shopkeepers, boatmen, fire fighters, policemen, and craft guild members, giving up their military lives.¹³ In the provinces, the same situation prevailed in the ranks of the *yamaks*, the permanent frontier regiments. Locally recruited and armed for combat, these men formed the artisan population of the Ottoman fortress towns. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the position of the *yamaks* steadily deteriorated due, in part, to a constriction of the urban market, the drastic rise of inflation and the corruption of the Janissary pay system. Even in the best of times, enrollment in the Janissary Corps did not provide financial security for the *yamaks*. Corrupt commanders and civilian speculators purchased pay tickets as if they were government securities and retained the bulk of the income from them. Scant amounts of the Janissary payroll ever reached the *yamaks*. However, membership in the Corps did provide several privileges among them the right to bear arms and the organizational structure to facilitate their protests against their declining status. *Yamak* protests generally took the form of riots, so that it became increasingly hard to differentiate between bread riots, guild riots and military uprising.¹⁴

One of the methods the Janissaries used to protest the Sultan's reforming activities was arson. In April 1810, the Janissaries set fire to over 2,000 homes in Galata. The fires were so widespread that the Ottoman people demanded the right to bear arms to protect themselves and their property from the brigandage of these "royal troops". Springtime in 1811, Janissary regiments engaged in a gun battle in Istanbul and murdered a Jewish man who refused to pay an exorbitant bribe. In May of that year when Mahmud II ordered a general muster to arms, the Janissaries refused and tried to force the *yamaks* to go in their place. This in turn gave rise to another series of riots. When they finally reported for duty on 27 May 1811 they numbered 13,000. However, by the time they moved across the bridge at Kuçuk Chekmeje along the road to Edirne from Istanbul, over eighty percent of the soldiers vanished. Only 1,600 reached the checkpoint where the Sultan's agents made a secret count. Although on paper Mahmud II had a force of some 300,000 troops, he considered

himself fortunate when even a third of them appeared for any given campaign. In fact, he could count on only a fraction of them ever answering any call to muster.¹⁵ Mahmud II was determined to gain control over the military, but first he had to form a power base. In the first two decades of his rule, he cautiously extended his power and authority, gradually introducing reforms. Mahmud had to contend with three main power centers in the Ottoman government: the *ulama* under the control of *Seyhulislam*, the Janissaries under the authority of the *aghas* and regimental commanders, and *Reis ul-Kuttap*, the powerful leader of scribes of the Porte.¹⁶

Mehmet Sait Halet Efendi led the *ulama* faction of reactionary opposition to reform. One of the most influential reactionary leaders, Halet became involved in the plotting to overthrow Selim III and was in exile during the overthrow of Mustafa IV. When Mahmud II came to the throne, Halet returned to Istanbul to serve in the Porte. During his service, he helped to end the lengthy reign of Suleyman Agha, the Janissary Corps Commander (leader of the third faction opposing reform), and assisted in establishing the Ottoman Empire's direct control of Iraq. Between 1802-1806, Halet served as ambassador to Paris and in 1815, Mahmud II appointed him *nisançi* (chancellor) of the Royal *Divan*, or council. Halet was one of Mahmud's chief political and military advisors, assisting the sultan in organizing his military campaigns against the provincial *ayans* and various European enemies. Halet opposed reorganization of the Janissary Corps and used bribery to build a strong coalition of support against reform.¹⁷⁻¹⁸

Mehmet Sait Galip Efendi was one the key members of the Porte opposing Halet. Galip gained distinction during his tenure as Selim III's special ambassador to Paris for the negotiations of the Peace of Amiens in 1802. An active member in Alemdar Mustafa's Ruschuk Committee, responsible for placing Mahmud II on the throne, Galip strongly supported the Sultan's program for military reform. Galip used Halet's expedition against Ali of Janina (1820) and the beginning of the Greek Rebellion (1821) to secure Halet's dismissal and exile.¹⁹ With Halet gone, Mahmud II began to assert his political authority over the different factions within the Ottoman Porte. He replaced Halet with Deli Abdullah Paşa (1822-1823), but Deli Abdullah failed to control the Janissaries and Mahmud II replaced him with Silahtar Ali Paşa (1823). Silahtar Ali, the Sultan's Sword-Bearer, assisted Mahmud in placing loyal men into key positions within the ranks of the Janissary Corps, while keeping the reactionary members of the *ulama* from objecting too strongly to the reform program. Galip followed Silahtar Ali as the Grand Vezir between 1823-1824. Mahmud II brought Galip into the government because of his foreign affairs experience. The Sultan hoped that Galip would be able to resolve the difficulties posed by the Greek Rebellion, as well as aid in his plans for the Janissaries. Before the sultan could make a move against the Janissaries, he had to deal with the Greek rebels. The fall of Missolonghi in April 1826 seemed to herald the end of the Greek problem. After Galip assisted Muhammad Ali's Egyptian Army in suppressing the Greeks, it was time to deal with the Janissaries.²¹

By the winter of 1826...

Sultan Mahmud II had greatly increased his internal authority with the exception of Egypt. He had reduced to obedience all [*paşas*] who, like Ali of [J]anina, had ventured to aim at independence. He treated the Derébeys...in a similar manner. The *Ulama*, ...the *Esnafs*...were no longer in a condition to oppose their sovereign's will. There remained, as a thorn in his side, the Janissaries, ever ready to break out into mutiny....²⁰

The extraction of this thorn required a colossal effort on the part of the state. Throughout the winter and spring of 1826, Mahmud II and his chief advisors held serious debates over the nature and implementation of the Sultan's intended military reorganization. The *ulama* elite and Porte ministers agreed to model the reform program upon the Egyptian Army's organization and to execute it in stages. The Ottoman government also decided to begin the process by extracting several thousand men from the Janissary Corps. These men would become *eskençis*, or active soldiers. The plan they developed was simple and straight forward, as far as it went. Only one problem remained: how to enforce it. Agha Husayn, one of Mahmud's advisors, believed that the military's upper echelon officers might agree to the reforms. Agha Husayn wanted to use their acceptance of the plan to influence the common soldiers. Husayn believed that the intermediate and administrative officers were the primary obstacles to accepting military reform. These men had the most to lose in the reorganization of the Corps. Husayn advised the Sultan to execute them in a sudden coup, but Mahmud II preferred to try persuasion first. Thus, he called in Mehmed Cellaeddin (the Janissary Agha), Hasan (the Lieutenant-General), Ibrahim (the Commander of the *Sekbâni Çedid*), Mustafa (the Commander of the 32nd Regiment of the Bolûk Division) and Canbaz Yusuf (Janissary Corps) to inform them of the plans for reorganization.

The *Eskençis* Project began by taking 150 men from each of the 51 Janissary companies in Istanbul. The Porte divided these 7,650 men into 51 companies of 150 men. Each of these new companies had a captain, a lieutenant, a paymaster, a standard-bearer, a commissary officer, a top sergeant, a surgeon, an imam and fifteen corporals; the rest were common soldiers. The *Eskençis* Regulation lacked several crucial details. For example, the document did not define the officers' military duties and it dealt with rationing in a haphazard manner. However, the Porte never expected the *Eskençis* companies to replace the Janissary Corps. The *Eskençis* Project was the first phase of a lengthy process of military reformation. The Janissary Corps remained intact.

In contemporary European armies, the pyramid was the basic organizational structure. In these armies, officers commanded a number of equally ranked subordinated officers, who in turn commanded a group of men of subordinated rank, who likewise commanded subordinated men. By contrast, the Janissary command structure was a long chain. Each Janissary soldier ranked above and below another soldier. Officers achieved their promotions by seniority. Contemporary European armies contained divisions that divided into brigades which divided into battalions, then companies, then platoons and squads. Military needs took precedence in the disposition of troops. In the *Nizami Çedid* and the *Sekbâni Çedid*, the reformers tried to apply the basic principles of the European systems. In the Janissary Corps, the company was the sole administrative unit and officers' posts were essentially administrative in nature.²²

In the *Eskençis* Project had the same basic organization as the Janissary Corps with a few exceptions. The *Eskençis* Project had a fixed quantity of men in each company and unsuitable men could not rise above the rank of captain. The *Eskençis* Regulation abolished the sale of pay tickers and military positions and promoted the post of Secretary-General to Superintendent of the Janissary Corps. The Porte took these steps to prevent abuses in the administrative system of the Corps and to create a counterbalance to the powerful and influential Janissary Agha. On 28 May 1826, sixty-three Porte officials, including 34 *ulama* and 19 Janissary officers convened at the *Seyhulislam's* residence to ratify the *Eskençis* Project. Everyone appeared to accept the proposed reforms and the meeting ended with all participants signing the act.²³ Two days later, the Janissary Agha received orders from the Porte to begin implementing the *Eskençis* reforms.²⁴ On 12 June 1826, after several weeks of intensive training, the *Seyhulislam* inaugurated the new *Eskençis* recruits initial drill with

speeches and prayers in the outer courtyard of the royal palace. The *Eskenci*s recruits drilled again during the next two days and on 14 June, the Janissary Corps rose in rebellion.²⁵

After sunset on Wednesday, 14 June 1826, a mere three weeks since the first reform conference, the Janissaries gathered at the Et Meydan. They came in ones and twos by circuitous routes from the barracks located in the same quarter. In a short time, the square filled with rebels. Once they assembled in sufficient force, they dispatched emissaries to Lieutenant-General Hasan Agha. The Janissaries confronted Hasan Agha's in his home and asked for his support for their rebellion. Hasan Agha convinced the Janissaries that he could not join them without the support of his company commanders. Towards midnight, the Janissaries left Hasan Agha and went to Agha Mehmed Cellaledin's residence planning to kill their commander, the Janissary Agha. Their arrival coincided with Cellaledin's return from a night tour of the Seven Towers quarter. The Janissary Agha was closeted in the lavatory and unavailable when they burst into his house searching for him. Cellaledin remained hidden until the rabble departed and shortly thereafter took refuge in a hiding place near his home.

On the following morning, the Janissaries dispatched orderlies throughout Istanbul to urge the population to join their revolt. A crowd of porters and laborers soon joined the confusion, marching on the Et Meydan Square. At the same time, Janissaries attacked Grand Vezir Selim Mehmet Paşa's home and pillaged the house of Nejb Efendi, the superintendent of the powder factories and an agent for Muhammad Ali of Egypt. Neither Porte official was at home during the destruction of their properties. Word of the growing rebellion spread rapidly. In Beylerbey, the Grand Vezir Selim Mehmet Paşa heard of this disruption and instructed his brother Halil Bey Efendi to order Husayn Agha and Izzet Mehmed to report to the palace with their troops. The Grand Vezir then left for the palace himself. After arriving, Selim Mehmet Paşa immediately ordered the superintendent of the palace treasury to inform Mahmud of the Janissary rebellion. Selim Mehmet Paşa also ordered Sa'id Efendi (Superintendent of the Imperial Arsenal), Nu'man Agha (General of the Artillerymen), Hasan Agha (Army Transport Commander), Dede Mustafa Agha (Chief of the Bombadiers), Halil Bey (Sapper Leader) and Papuchju Ahmed Agha (Sergeant of the Dockyard Sailors) to join him at the palace with the other top officials of the Ottoman Porte.²⁷



After Mahmud II received news of the Janissary rebellion, he ordered his barge launched and immediately started for the palace. Mahmud landed at the Cannon Gate of the New Palace on Seraglio Point and hastened to the Sunnet Odasi (Great Hall) where he summoned his supporters. The Sultan ordered criers sent to all corners of the Istanbul, Galata, Pera and Scutari to encourage all Muslims to join him in defeating the Janissary rebels. The citizens of Istanbul, surfeited with the excesses of the Janissaries, supported Mahmud in his effort to overcome the rebels.³⁰

Nearly everyone had some old score to settle with them. One wanted to avenge the murder of his parents, and to make them tone for the dishonor of his sister, yet another, the rape of a daughter, or the murder of a brother.³¹

Consequently, most of Istanbul's population paid little heed to the rebels' cries for support. Within minutes, people began to converge upon the palace to offer their assistance in putting down the rebellion. These citizens accompanied Mahmud's troops to the Ahmed Mosque, one the most important mosque in Ankara and the general headquarters for the operation. At the mosque, Mahmud II entrusted his soldiers with the Sacred Banner of the Prophet. The Sultan then assumed a position in an apartment overlooking an imperial gate from where he could view the proceedings in relative security.³²

Mahmud II could afford to wait upon the outcome of the battle, hopeful of its final disposition. The Janissary insurrection did not catch the Sultan off guard; he had time to marshal his forces to oppose it. The Porte mustered crucial troops, such as bombardiers, sappers and marines to put down the rebellion. The *ulama* which in the past, frequently joined the Janissaries in rebellion, now aided the Sultan. Mahmud masterfully maneuvered the ulama by bringing them into the reform process and rewarding them with important positions in the new army.³³ Mahmud II also had the support of his subjects in Istanbul who were tired of the abuses of the Janissaries. These encouraging factors, plus the presence of 17,000 troops bolstered Mahmud as he waited for the results of the contest.

While Mahmud II waited to receive word on the progress of the battle, the Grand Vezir ordered Husayn Agha and Izzet Mehmed to lead the Porte's troops against the Janissaries at the Et Meydan. These commanders left the Ahmed Mosque and set off together down the great street of the *Divan*. The Sultan's forces advanced in two columns until they reached the Bayezid Mosque. At the mosque, Husayn Agha took the southern route to Et Meydan Square and Izzet Mehmed took the northern route. Husayn Agha pressed forward to within a few hundred yards of Et Meydan Square. The Janissaries levied a quick volley of fire killing two of the artillerymen under the command of Husayn Agha and Ibrahim Paşa. Husayn Agha and his troops forced the Janissaries to retire into the walled drilled grounds surrounding their barracks in Et Meydan Square. The troops of Izzet Mehmed and Nejjib Efendi joined Husayn Agha and his men in the square. The Sultan's troops released a volley of cannon fire on the Janissaries massed behind their barracks' gate. At least six cannon loaded with grapeshot, numerous volleys of rifle fire and a storm of bullets from marksmen in the upper floor windows of adjacent houses rained down on the Janissaries.³⁴

Driven back from the barracks' gate, the Janissaries broke rank and fled. Gunfire from the Sultan's troops cut down most of the fleeing rebels, but some managed to reach the temporary safety of their immense wooden barracks. Janissaries also sought refuge in the Bektaşî Tekke sanctuary where they lost control and began yelling accusations at each other. Absorbed in these recriminations, the Janissaries failed to stop one of the Sultan's gunners from setting fire to the butchers' stalls in front of the barracks. The Sultan's troops fired oily rags and some fifteen volleys into the Janissary Corps' hiding place. Flames spread rapidly, engulfing the wooden structure. Those Janissaries who did not die in the flames, government soldiers shot down as they tried to escape.

With a military action that lasted less than six hours from start to finish, the Ottoman Porte destroyed the Janissaries. In the capital, the Sultan's subjects viewed the end of the Corps as a positive step. In the provinces,

where Janissaries acted as a buffer, of sorts, between the excesses of Porte governors, Ottoman subjects resented the destruction of the Corps. The “Auspicious Event” of the destruction of the Janissaries, is a benchmark in the history of the Ottoman Empire. Before the annihilation of the old Corps, the Janissaries hampered Ottoman sultan sat every turn in their military reform efforts. The *Nizami Çedid*, though based on modern thinking and not nostalgia for the days of Suleyman the Lawgiver, was still no more than an auxiliary corps in the main Janissary force. The *Sekbani Çedid* was the same. The *Eskenci* Project was different from the previous reform efforts, in that it attempted to reverse the roles of the old and new corps. Under the *Eskenci* Regulation, the Sultan planned to make the Janissaries a reserve force. While previous sultans’ may also have planned to abolish the Janissary Corps, the *Eskenci* Regulation openly stated its goal. The honesty of the proposal and the clear threat it posed to the Janissaries compelled them to mutiny in June 1826.

With the Janissary Corps finally out of the way, Mahmud II speeded up his military reform efforts. He promulgated a new military code later in 1826, but war against Russia forestalled in major changes until after the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. Given the state of his resources and the condition of the army before the reform program, Mahmud achieved remarkable success. The fact that his untried troops fought as effectively as they did in the campaigns against Russia is indicative of just how rapidly the Sultan achieved progress.

The strongest possible proof of the wisdom with which [Mahmud’s] measures were planned, of the beneficial effects which they actually produced in Turkey, and the far greater benefits which they would have conferred if Russia had not hastened to attack her while those measures had scarce begun to ripen, is to be found in the dispatches of the chief statesmen of Russia during the war of 1828-29, in which they take credit for their sagacity in discerning in [Mahmud’s] reforms the necessity for prompt hostilities on the part of Russia; and in which they own that Turkey had displayed, under the stern guidance of [Mahmud], a degree of energy and power higher than she had long previously possessed and they felicitate themselves in not having waited until the new Turkish forces, which, even in their infancy, were so hard to conquer, had acquired consistency and mature strength.³⁶

The Auspicious Event

Footnotes

1. Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, p. 794; Howard A. Reed, "Ottoman Reform the Janissaries: The *Eskenci Layihasi* of 1826," (hereafter referred to as Reed, *Eskenci*), p. 193.
2. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (hereafter referred to as Lewis, *Modern Turkey*), pp. 70-71, 74-75; Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II: Reform, Revolution and Republic, 1808-1975* (Hereafter referred to as Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*), p. 1; Reed, *Eskenci*, p. 194.
3. Harry Luke, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, p. 34; Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*, pp. 1-5; Harold Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea*, (hereafter referred to as Temperley, *The Crimea*), pp. 5-6.
4. Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*, p. 1; Sutherland Menzies, *Turkey Old and New: Historical, Geographical and Statistical* (Hereafter referred to as Menzies, *Historical*), pp. 130-135; James de Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832* (hereafter referred to as De Kay, *Sketches*), pp. 233-236.
5. Apparently, Mahmud II escaped death by hiding in a roll of carpets, in a bath furnace or on the palace roof. See, Howard A. Reed, *The Destruction of the Janissary Corps by Mahmud II in June 1826*, (hereafter referred to as Reed, *Destruction*), p. 8; Temperley suggests that black eunuchs rescued Mahmud. See, Temperley, *The Crimea*, p. 6.
6. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume I, Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire Under Selim III, 1789-1807* (hereafter referred to as Shaw, *Between Old and New*), pp. 397-405; De Kay, *Sketches*, pp. 232-236; Samuel S. Cox, *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey* (hereafter referred to as Cox, *Diversions*), p. 91; Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*, pp. 1-5.
7. Deena R. Sadat, "Ayan and Aga: The Transformation of the Bektashi Corps in the Eighteenth Century," (hereafter referred to as Sadat, "Aya"), pp. 206-219.
8. A Janissary Agha is commander in the Janissary forces.
9. Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*, pp. 1-5; Cox, *Diversions*, p. 91; Menzies, *Historical*, pp. 133-135.
10. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, p. 82.
11. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, p. 83.
12. Reed, *Eskenci*, pp. 194-195.
13. Rev. Hugh Macmillan, "The Janissaries," p. 569; Reed, *Eskenci*, p. 195; Sadat, "Ayan," pp. 210-215; Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, p. 794.
14. Sadat, "Ayan," pp. 214-215; Avigdor Levy, *The Military Policy of Sultan Mahmud II, 1808-1839* (hereafter referred to as Levy, *Military Policy*), pp. 165-166.

15. Reed, *Destruction*, pp. 39-44; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of the Right Honorable Stratford Canning, Viscount Stratford de Radcliffe* (hereafter referred to as Lane-Poole, *Canning*), p. 417.
16. Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*, pp. 8-9; Reed, *Destruction*, pp. 39-44.
17. Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*, pp. 8-9; Reed, *Destruction*, pp. 39-44.
18. Shaw, *Reform, Revolution*, pp. 8-9.
19. Reed, *Destruction*, pp. 39-44.
20. Lane-Poole, *Canning*, pp. 396-397.
21. Lane-Poole, *Canning*, pp. 396-397, Levy, *Military Policy*, pp. 122-123.
22. Levy, *Military Policy*, pp. 123-131.
23. Levy, *Military Policy*, pp. 127-130.
24. Levy, *Military Policy*, pp. 143.
25. Reed, *Eskenci*, p. 197.
26. Cox, *Diversions*, p. 93; Conceivably this Egyptian could have been Da'ud Agha, the Colonel in charge of the new drill. Cox does not go into detail. See also, Reed, *Destruction*, p. 195.
27. Reed, *Destruction*, pp. 196-198.
28. Reed, *Destruction*, p. 199.
29. Reed, *Destruction*, p. 200.
30. Reed, *Destruction*, pp. 200-210.
31. Reed, *Destruction*, p. 210.
32. Reed, *Destruction*, p. 210.
33. Avigdor Levy, "The Ottoman *Ulama* and the Military Reform of Sultan Mahmud II," pp. 18-20.
34. Reed, *Destruction*, pp. 217-226.
35. Menzies, *Historical*, pp. 124-127.
36. Edward Creasey in Reed, *Destruction*, p. 362.

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