THE LIFE OF KÖPRÜLÜ BAZIL MUSTAFA PASHA
AND HIS GRAND VIZIERATE

by
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We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our combined opinion, it is fully adequate in scope in quality, as a thesis for the degree of master of arts.

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ABSTRACT

The subject of the study is the life and the grand vizierate period of Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who belonged to eminent Köprülü family that provided many statesmen for the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century and in later periods. The purpose of this study was to illuminate the life of Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and his activities during the period of his grand vizierate.

This thesis consists of three chapters.

The first chapter is the biography of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. The childhood years, the education and the activities of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha before his grand vizierate were mentioned in this chapter.

The second chapter is about the period of grand vizierate, his military activities during this period and the Austria campaigns. In this chapter the approach of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha to the non muslim after he was appointed to grand vizierate. Afterwards it was given information about all kind of his preparations for Austrian campaign in the consequent chapters the first and the second expeditions were tried to clarify.

The third chapter is about the economic policy in the period grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and the economic reforms of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. Lastly some reforms which were applied in his grand vizierate such as cizye, reform and monetary and narh transaction were mentioned and also were mentioned mukataas and tax farm system.
ÖZET


Tez üç bölümden oluşmaktadır.

Birinci bölümde Fazıl Mustafa Paşa’nın biyografişi anlatılmıştır. Bu bölümde Fazıl Mustafa Paşa’nın çocukluk yılları, aldığı eğitim ve sadrazam oluncaya kadar yaptığı faaliyetler hakkında bilgi verilmiştir.


Üçüncü bölümde ise gayri müslim tebaa ile ilişkiler, cizye reformu, para ve narh politikası ile mukataa ve iltizam sistemindeki gelişmeler hakkında bilgi verilmiştir.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>B. O. A.</td>
<td>Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi</td>
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<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAD</td>
<td>Maliyeden Müdevver Defter</td>
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<td>MD</td>
<td>Mühimme Defteri</td>
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<td>TDV</td>
<td>Türk Diyanet Vakfı</td>
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TRANSCRIPTION

Vowels:

a = far

e = bend

i = keep

i = again, women

o = coke

ö = fur, œuvre

u = boot or book

ü = French u (chute)

Consonants:

c = dj

c = ch

g = gh

h = never silent

j = zh

f = flipped

š = sh
INTRODUCTION

The subject of the study is the life and the grand vizierate of Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. He belonged to the eminent Köprülü family which provided many statesmen for the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the seventh century and in later periods. The purpose of this study was to illuminate the life of Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and his activities during the period of his grand vizierate.

The first step in our study was to identify chronicles which provide important information for the period. The most important of these chronicles are Deftardar Sarı Mehmed Pasha’s Zübde-i Vekâyiät, Fındıklı Silahdar Mehmed Ağa’s Tarih-i Silahdar, Raşid’s Tarih-i Raşid, Behçetî İbrahim Efendi’s Tarih-i Sülâle-i Köprülüzâde and Abdullah İbn İbrahim’s Vâkıât-i Râzmerre.

The second step in our study consisted of locating relevant defters and documents in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. I went through all the catalogues in the Ottoman archive and studied documents related to the events of 1689-91.

I wish to acknowledge my deep gratitude to Professor Halil İnalcık for his extremely valuable criticism, advice, and encouragement. I am also grateful to Professors Mehmet Genç and Halil Sahillioğlu.

Fehmi YILMAZ
BIOGRAPHY OF KÖPRÜLÜ FAZIL MUSTAFA PASHA

His life before his vizierate

The Köprülü are known as an eminent vizier family in the Ottoman state through their contributions especially when the state encountered serious internal and external problems in the second half of the seventeenth century. The name of Köprülü comes from the town of Köprü located near Amasya. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, who gave his name to the family, was brought to Istanbul from Albania as a devshirme when he was a child and he was trained in the Acemi Oğlanlar Odajı of the palace. He spent a significant period of his youth in the palace. He was appointed as hasa cook in the Matbah-ı Amire in 1623. He also joined the retinue of Bosnak Hüsrrev Pasha who was employed in the same period in the Has-Oda and who would later become later a grand vizier. Although Köprülü Mehmed Pasha joined the Hazine-ı Amire Hademeleri, he could not keep his post for long because of his awkward character. He was a quarrelsome and harsh person. Therefore he was expelled from the palace, through being granted the title of Sipahi. Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was granted the town of Köprü which located near Amasya as a timar. He married to the daughter of the voivode of the town of Köprü where he settled and raised his family who were thus known as Köprülü.¹

Köprülü-zade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was the second son of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. He was two years younger than his elder brother Fazıl Ahmed Pasha. He was born in 1637 in the town of Köprü which was possessed by his father Köprülü Mehmed Pasha as a timar.² He spent part period of his childhood in Köprü, and also in various other cities, Trabzon, Karaman, Damascus, Iznik in Anatolia and Kütendil in Rumelia

where his father took several posts.\(^3\) He commenced medrese education in early years of his childhood with his brother Fazıl Ahmed and he also took private lessons for a long period from the prominent professors of that time. He joined the Dergah-ı Ali Mütteferrikas in 1659.\(^4\) During his father’s grand vizierate (1656-1661) he invited contemporaneous ulema to the library established by him between Vefa and Süleymaniye in Istanbul and he took private lessons from these ulema. He improved his knowledge of Islamic sciences and especially hadith through, these lessons and also these invitations and studies of scholars in the library continued during his and his brother’s grand vizierate.\(^5\) Although his elder brother was a müderris, historical sources do not provide any concrete data about whether Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was a müderris there is not evidence even on this matter in Tarih-i Sülale-i Köprülü-zade the source for their family history.

Although there is not a great deal of information about the activities of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, who was deeply interested in Islamic sciences, during the vizierate of his father Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, he joined the Kandiya Siege in Crete and other campaigns in Rumelia; through these experiences he had the opportunity to observe every stage of sieges and campaigns in Crete.\(^6\) Confirmation of his presence at Kandiye is that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was with his brother Fazıl Ahmed Pasha who died unexpectedly, and the imperial seal (Mühr-i Hümayun) was brought back to the sultan by Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha.\(^7\)

The earliest direct information about Fazıl Mustafa Pasha is found in chronicles and in archival documents from before the second Siege of Vienna. Thus, if Köprülü-zade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha’s life is to be divided into periods, it would be pertinent to draw the dividing line at the Second Vienna Siege in order to reach a better understanding of him and his period. Consideration of events and political developments before and after

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\(^4\) Bağbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühtimme 93, p. 54.


\(^6\) B. O. A., Ali İmri Tasmif, IV. Mehmed, 229.

\(^7\) Behçeti Ibrahim Efendi, *Tarih*, p. 165.
Second Vienna Siege lead us to make a such division; this was a milestone for both Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and the Köprülü family.

The first events of consequence was the Cehryn campaign which saw the appointment of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha as seventh kubbe vizier. In 1669, Doreshenko, Hatman of the Sarikamış Cossacks had requested Ottoman protection against the King of Poland and the Han of Tatar. The Ottomans sent him flag, tuğ and mehterhane as a token of then protection of the Kazak Hatman. Ottoman This protectorate was formalised with the Treaty of Bucăș, signed 16 October 1672, at the end of the war which was waged with Poland; and also by giving Ukraine with in its old frontiers, was given to the Sarikamış Cossacks. However, in early 1675 hatman Doreshenko changed sides and handed over the Cehryn Fortress to the Russians. Therefore, in spring 1677 Şeytan İbrahim Pasha was appointed as serdar and came to region with Crimean Han Selim Giray. At the same time the Ottomans freed Himielnitski, former Hatman of Zaporoukhian Cossacks, who had been imprisoned in the Yedikule Dungeon after becoming a priest; he was appointed as hatman of the Cossacks in place of Doreshenko. The first Ottoman siege of Cehryn Fortress lasted twenty three days and ended in failure on 28.05.1677. When the preparations for second siege were completed in Istanbul, Ottoman forces set out towards Cehryn under the leadership of Sultan Mehmed IV. on 30 April 1678, and when they arrived in Silistria, the sultan appointed Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha who was brother-in-law of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, as serdar commander of the army and sent him to Cehryn. The Ottoman army was under the leadership of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha captured the fortress of Cehryn from the Russians demolished it. This success greatly inspred the Ottoman

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12 Ibid., 102-103.
state, and Merzifonlu Mustafa Pasha, the conqueror of Cehryn was welcomed with great enthusiasm. The sultan, who was in Edirne, later returned to Istanbul (20 April 1679).13

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha's life before becoming grand vizier

The recapture of Cehryn create great enthusiasm in Istanbul. The sultan’s esteem towards and confidence in the Köprülü family became greater since Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha was brother-in-law to the Köprülü family. Henceforth, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was appointed to crucial posts. He continued his Islamic studies after the death of his elder brother Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, and was appointed in May 1680 as seventh kubbe vizier by Sultan Mehmed IV with a significant hass14

From then onwards there is more information about the activities of Köprülü-zade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who was appointed as a guard (muhafız) in 12 December 1680 to accompany the Valide Sultan, Prince Süleyman and Prince Ahmed on the third Cehryn campaign against Russia.15

When The Russian Tsar, received information about an expedition prepared against him by the Ottoman state, he sued for peace through the mediation of Murat Giray. The Sultan returned to Istanbul after signing a treaty which was advantageous to the Ottoman state in 13 February 1681.16 Furthermore, in February 1681, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was promoted to sixth kubbe vizier and he was recharged as guard (muhafız) of Valide Sultan, Prince Süleyman and Prince Ahmed who were living in Edirne.17

However, in 1683, the Ottoman state had prepared a campaign against Austria under the commandership of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Tension escalated when Austria occupied part of Hungary, and the Ottomans extented to protection Emre Thokoly as Hungarian King. The Ottomans also some fortresses to Emre Thokoly which exacerbated

13 Ibid., 6.
15 Silahdar Fındıkçı Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 734.
16 Defterdar Şar Mehmed Paşa, Zübde., p. 119-120.
the situation. But these were abandoned by the Ottomans after their defeat at the siege of Vienna.\textsuperscript{18} When the Vienna campaign began, Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha appointed as kaim-makam the former governor of Aleppo Çanigir-zade vizier Mahmud Pasha to Istanbul; he also appointed Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa to Edirne and Kara İbrahim Pasha to Belgrade where the sultan was residing.\textsuperscript{19} Appointments to Istanbul and to Belgrade were an ordinary transaction of Ottoman bureaucracy. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, who was the sixth kubbe vizier and who was also charged protecting of Valide Sultan and her sons, was now appointed kaim-makam of Edirne and promoted fourth kubbe vizier when Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha moved toward Vienna after the declaration of war between the Ottoman state and Austria.\textsuperscript{20}

The duty of the Edirne Kaim-makamlığı is unclear: There were three different kaim-makams during the campaign: these kaim-makams were in Istanbul, Edirne and Belgrade. Kaim-makam in Ottoman central organization refers to the proxy remaining in Istanbul when the grand vizier leaves the seat of government to exercise his duties as commander in chief (serdar-i ekrem) of the army of any other reason. Kaim-makams were generally chosen among the kubbe viziers and they were as plenipotentiary as a Grand Vizier. Certain sultans resided in Edirne in order to be closer to army or because they enjoyed staying there. If the Sultan resided in Edirne and sent his grand vizier on campaign as a serdar, a kaim-makam was to be appointed by the grand vizier.\textsuperscript{21}

However, the appointment of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha as kaim-makam of Edirne when the Sultan was not present, was an unfamiliar transaction. As a general principle grand viziers, appointed a trusted confident as kaim-makam when they left Istanbul. Thus then could ensure that their duties would be performed in a sound manner when they themselves left the center, and then thereby especially hoped to preclude intrigues and counter-movements against the grand vizier. For instance during the Austrian (1663) and Crete Campaigns (1665) Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had appointed his brother-in-law Merzifonlu

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 741-744. Defterdar Sari Mehmed Paşa, Zübde., p. 124-126.
\textsuperscript{19} Defterdar Sari Mehmed Paşa, Zübde., p. 135-136, 140.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 164.
Kara Mustafa Pasha as kaim-makam of İstanbul despite the fact that he was a Kaptan-ı Derya\textsuperscript{22}. By the same token Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was appointed as kaim-makam of Edirne for three reasons. First of all, he was the close relative of the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha. Secondly Edirne had strategic importance, and thirdly the mother of the sultan and princes were in Edirne.

Shortly after the Ottoman army reached Vienna, on 7 July 1683 Mehmed IV’s mother died.\textsuperscript{23} Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was promoted to third kubbe vizier after the death of Valide Sultan. He had also been appointed to a crucial post, that of Silistria (Özi) governor and military commander of Babadaghi. When the sandjak of Niğbolu was recaptured from the Austrians, it had been included in the border eyalet of Silistria. Thus, the protection of Silistria against the Austrians became an important matter. The fact that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had joined the Polish campaigns with his elder brother Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, and his familiarity with the region influenced the decision to appoint him.\textsuperscript{24}

The Köprüülü family had lost their prestige after the Ottoman defeat before Vienna. Grand vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha who was the son-in-law of Köprüülü Mehmed Pasha, was dismissed and executed on 25 December 1683.\textsuperscript{25} Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was dismissed from his post military commander as well. The putative reason was the belief that he could not defend the Kaminiec and Bogdan regions against an expedition organized by the King of Poland. Thus, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was dismissed from the military command of Babadaghi and Süleyman Pasha was appointed in his place.\textsuperscript{26} Fazıl Mustafa Pasha went to Edirne and continued to carry out duties of third kubbe altı vizier.\textsuperscript{27}

The pressures directed against the Köprüülü family, augmented especially during the grand vizierate of Kara İbrahim Pasha who was appointed kaim-makam in Belgrade

\textsuperscript{22} I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi, 3 vols., Ankara, 1988, p. 421.
\textsuperscript{23} Defterdar Sani Mehmed Paşa, Zübde., p. 156.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 164.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 166.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 174.
\textsuperscript{27} Silahdar Findikli Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 127-129.
while Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha was ???, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, who returned to Edirne as third kubbe altı vizier, demanded to retire to escape the hated directed by Kara İbrahim Pasha against the Köprülü family. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha retired in 22 June 1684. He received the revenues of the sanjaks of Kilis and Azaz as odjaklık which were in South-eastern Anatolia.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha remained in Istanbul until his appointment to the Sakız Muhafızlıği in December 1685. The Alliance formed by Austria, Poland and Venice after the second Vienna defeat had put the Ottomans into a difficult position in their European lands and in the Mediterranean. The capture of Crete deprived the Venetians a deprivation of a crucial base of in the Mediterranean. The Venetians formed an alliance with Austria against the Ottoman State in order to profit from the second Vienna defeat. Before this alliance, the confiscation of goods in certain Venetian galleons by order of grand vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha and the reprisals exacted by Venice against almost one thousand muslim traders had escalated tension between the two states and eventually caused a war. Venice procured ships from the Papacy, Florence, Malta, Genoa and Spain, and then attacked the Ottoman lands of the Dalmatian Coast with approximately one hundred ships and this war spread first to Morea Peninsula and later to the Aegean Sea.

The success of the Venetians in the Morea and in the Aegean Sea compelled the Ottomans to seek for new military solutions for these regions. First of all, it was decided that it would be appropriate to appoint serdars from among the people who were familiar with those regions, who were well equipped, who had sufficient information about war and defence tactics and who had also experienced naval warfare. Additionally, they had to be able to furnish troops and military material. The intention of the Venetians was to preclude the Ottomans from reaching the Mediterranean, by seizing Chios Island and the Dardanelles Straits. Thus, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who was extremely familiar with Venice

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28 Defterdar Sani Mehmed Paşa, Zühde., p. 175.
29 Azaz was the sanjaks between Kilis and Aleppo. See also Map 1
30 Silahdar Findikli Mehmed Ağ, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 129. Odjaklık was the state revenues assigned alienated in papetuity for a specific purpose, in particular, for troop wages.
and the Mediterranean Sea was appointed muhafiz of Chios in December 1685 and in March 1686 he was appointed guard the Dardanelles.

The war on the Austria front continued to be unfavourable to Ottomans for three years and the Austrian army moved into the Balkans. After the vizierate of Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, the sultan had not been able to find any grand vizier as talented as the Köprülü family. Grand viziers Kara İbrahim (16 December 1683) and then Süleyman Pasha (December 1685) were reluctant to go on campaign and appointed others as commander in their place. Furthermore, the sultan himself, had neglected state affairs and was busy with the organization of hunting parties. Eventually, at the insistence of the odjak aghas, Sultan Mehmed IV appointed a new Grand Vizier, Sari Süleyman Pasha to the Austrian front as serdar in March 1686. Nevertheless, the Ottoman army experienced a disastrous defeat in the vicinity of Budin, losing fortresses that were extremely important, such as Szeged, Simintorna, Peçuy, Koloszvar, Siklosh and also part of Transylvania. The army was already furious with sultan, and a rebellion transpired on the pretext that the janissaries did not receive their pay after the Budin defeat. Grand vizier Sari Süleyman Pasha fled to Belgrade on 29 August 1687.

From that date onwards, the Köprülü family again began to take an active role in the events. The Odjak Aghas appointed as kaim-makam Siyavush Pasha, who was the son-in-law of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha after the grand vizier abandoned the army and fled to Belgrade.

The Odjak Aghas that gathered in kaim-makam Siyavush Pashas tent wrote a report to the Sultan informing him of the state of the Army and of Sari Süleyman Pasha and the he had committed. The Sultan endorsed Siyavush Pasha as kaim-makam. when report reached Istanbul. The Sultan ordered the army to stay in Belgrade by stressing that the army must protect the borders against the enemy. However, the army that had

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31 Ibid., 217-223.
33 Ibid., 214-215.
34 Ibid., 220, 232-233.
35 Ibid., 234.
received its first concession from the Sultan in the endorsement of Siyavush Pasha's kaim-makamlik, gave notice that they refused to stay in Belgrade and also that they demanded the dismissal of the fugitive Grand Vizier Süleyman Pasha. Otherwise, they would march come to Istanbul in order to conclude the matter. Thus Siyavush Pasha, son-in-law of Köprülü, was appointed as grand vizier.36

At the same time, Receb Pasha, kaim-makam of Istanbul and supporter of the previous grand vizier changed his attitude towards the army. He knew that the army was willing to dethrone Mehmed IV and to enthrone Süleyman II. Receb Pasha's aim was to enthrone Mustafa II, the son of Mehmed IV. He hoped thus was to eliminate the pressure of the army, to prove that the change of ruler had been exercised according to the will of the center, not that of the army. He was also to quite close to Mustafa II.37 He held covert discussions with Sheyhülislam Ankaralt Mehmed Efendi and demanded a fetwa from him. The Sultan gave an order for the imprisonment and execution of kaim-makam Recep Pasha when he heard of his intentions. Receb Pasha became aware of the situation and fled.38

The Padishah had to choose carefully the person who would succeed the dismissed Kaim-makam Receb Pasha. The rebellion had not come to an end despite the fact that the army's every demand had been met, and the army had moved from Belgrade to Edirne. Sultan Mehmed IV foresaw that if the army could reach Edirne, it could also come to Istanbul. Thus, he appointed Dardanelles muhafizi Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha as kaim-makam of Istanbul expecting him to ward off the advancing army and to resolve the situation. He thought Fazıl Mustafa Pasha would have great influence both on the army and on the new grand vizier Siyavush Pasha who was also the son-in-law of the Köprülü family. An urgent firman was issued on 8 October 1687 for the immediate return of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha to Istanbul.39

36 Ibid., 240-242.
38 Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, Zübde., p. 245-246.
39 Ibid., 246-247.
Fazıl Mustafa Pasha soon arrived in Istanbul for consultations with the Sultan, who attempted to win him over through eloquence and by giving him gifts for to compensate his treatment of Köprülü-zade in the past.\(^{40}\)

Meanwhile the Padishah had sent Haseki Musa Pasha with a Hatt-ı Hümâyûn and the head of former grand vizier Sârî Süleyman Pashâ to meet the army that returned to Edirne as well as. In this Hatt-ı Hümâyûn Padishah had stated that he had met the demands of the army, that he promised not to hunt again and that henceforth he would concentrate solely on affairs of state; he ordered the army to quarter in Edirne. However, the army was dermined to make the padishah abrogate his throne, and responded that it was too late, that he had neglected state affairs because of his extreme interest in hunting. They also indicated that the Sultan had put his own enjoyment and pleasure before the demands of government, which had brought the country to its current situation; they sent Haseki Musa back to Istanbul with new demands. Their demands were the dismissal of the Kızlar Aghası and Bostancıbaşı and the confiscation of their properties.\(^{41}\) Haseki Musa Pasha was brought into the presence of the Sultan by the kaim-makam of Sadaret Fazıl Mustafa Pasha when he came to Istanbul. Sultan Mehmed IV expeditiously accepted the army’s demands by dismissing and expelling both the Kızlar Aghası and Bostancıbaşı and also by confiscating their properties on 22 October 1687. Yet, dissension continued in the army in Edirne about whether to march on Istanbul. Pact of the army, including the grand vizier wanted to orders and stay in Edirne, obey the Padishah’s and then continue the struggle against Austria, Venetia and Poland that threatened the Ottoman lands. Another party, especially the Levends, landless and unemployed person who went on campaign as common soldier, were eager to march on Istanbul and to dethrone Mehmed IV. The Levends expressed their will by throwing stones at the tent of the grand vizier.\(^{42}\) who could do nothing in the face of these threats and sent a covert report explaining the situation in Edirne to the Padishah.\(^{43}\) The Padishah

\(^{40}\) Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, p. 274.
\(^{42}\) Ibid., 251.
replied in a Hatt-ı Hümâyün, saying that he fully understood the demands of the army and agreed to abdicate in favour of his son Mustafa.⁴⁴ The army arrived from Edirne to Solakçeşme, and in response to the Padishah’s Hatt-ı Hümâyün, that reached them in Silivri, they prepared a report addressed to all ulema, ayan, eşraf and odjak aghas in İstanbul about the dethronement of Mehmed IV. The report was sent clandestinely to the kaim-makam of İstanbul, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, on 7 November 1687.⁴⁵

It would be pertinent to indicate two important points related to the dethronement of Mehmed IV. The first is the role Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. He clearly supported the dethronement and played an important role in the event. The report that declared the dethronement of the padishah was secretly sent to him: if Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had been against the dethronement, he would have conveyed the to the padishah who would have taken the necessary retaliation measures. Further, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha enthroned Süleyman II through organizing a furtive meeting with the ulema and askeri erkan. Furthermore, when Fazıl Mustafa Pasha opposed the rebellion of the army in İstanbul, the Odjak aghas indicated that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha always allied with them.⁴⁶

A covert meeting was organized in the palace of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha with the participation of the sheyhülislam and all the ulema, sekbanbaşı, odjak ihtiyarları and important members of the army. Kaim-makam Fazıl Mustafa Pasha read them the report and explained the situation. At the end of the meeting, they agreed that Mehmed IV must abdicate his throne and that Süleyman II would succeed him.⁴⁷ Statesmen in Ayasofya went to the palace and on 9 November 1687 enthroned Süleyman, brother of Mehmed IV, who was in Shimshirlik in the Topkapı palace.⁴⁸

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⁴⁴ Ibid., 290.
⁴⁵ Ibid., 295.
⁴⁶ Defterdar Sarsi Mehmed Paşa, Zübde, p. 273-274; «Yeniceri Ağasının bağıteten 'azlı zuhûru sürbelere bâ'îs-i irtifa'-iemen ü huzûr olub "vezîr-i a'zam bizlerin [yeniçerilerin] bir târîkden taraf-i hülâfizmizda olmaga kadir ve meydân-i muhâlefedede bu denli 'arz-i hüner edecek mertebe bahâdîr olmayub, bu ana dek ittifâkımızda mûgâyir hareketden hazer ü tehâşî üzere iken böyle bi-perva hareketi kâ'im makam Köprülü-zâde Mustafa Paşa'nın tedbir ü ta'îmî ile olduğu mahall-i şübhe değildir.»
⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 252-254.
⁴⁸ Silahdar Fındıkulu Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 295-298.
The army remained in Çırpıcı Çayı near the Istanbul after the dethronement. Siyavush Pasha who had no influence over the army thought over that army would dissolve when ulufes were allocated. However, things did not turn out as he had imaged yet. Aghas and zorbas, who were eager for a power, entered Istanbul. Janissaries occupied their barracks and sipahi and zorbas occupied the palace of Ibrahim Pasha. There was not sufficient money in the treasury for the monetary gifts traditionally distribute on the accession of new sultan (baksheesh). The janissaries looted the markets on the pretext of ulufe and cülus baksheesh and they demanded the cülus baksheesh, salary raises (terakki and salary. Grand vizier Siyavush Pasha invited the Odjak Aghas and Zorba bashi to the palace and explained the state of the treasury. He said that the state could pay its debts, except the cülus baksheesh and he added that their terakkies would increase a certain amount. Additionally, he indicated he would resign from the vizierate if they did not accept this condition. The janissaries accepted this proposal, but it was heard that certain zorbas were executed by the janissary aghas when they accepted their salaries. Then the troops revolted again.49

Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was responsible withholding the cülus baksheeshs and eliminating the zorba leaders. It is obvious that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had a strong position at the center of government. How did he acquire this strong position and how did he manage to carry out his intentions?

The foremost factor in acquiring this strong position and in turning events to his advantage was the great support of the ulema. He always used the ulema as a power base during the performance of his duties since he had been chosen as kaim-makam through the support of the ulema. Apart from the ulema, another crucial factor in his success was the his brother-in-law Siyavush Pasha was the grand vizier. Fazıl Mustafa Pashawas able to make Siyavush Pasha accept his every demand. He saw Siyavush Pasha as the slave of his father Köprülü Mehmed and he imposed all his demands as orders to Siyavush

The Ottoman army had opted for Siyavush Pasha as grand vizier and as a person who would accept their every demand when the army revolted in Budin. Events proved that them right because they had made him accept their every decision. Thus, Mehmed IV had appointed Fazıl Mustafa Pasha as kaim-makam, expecting that he might have a positive impact both on the grand vizier and on the army, largely due to his kin relationship with the grand vizier. According to Fındıklı Silahtar Mehmed, the first point evaluated by Mehmed IV was the relationship between Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and Siyavush Pasha, and it is obvious that he was right in this judgement.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had great influence over both grand vizier Siyavush Pasha and the new Padishah Süleyman II. became padishah as the result of a covert meeting organized by Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. If this meeting had not been covert Süleyman could not have reached the throne. Furthermore, according to Silahtar if the palace had known of it, Süleyman Pasha would have been executed. The new padishah did not have any experience of government. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha demonstrated his influence over the grand vizier and sultan through dismissals and new appointments. In the same way, dangerous persons were expelled from Istanbul and officers that were close to Fazıl Mustafa Pasha were appointed to the administration. The appointment of Harputlu Ali Agha as Janissary Agha, exemplified this situation. This situation produced an adverse reaction among the members of the army in Istanbul.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, due to his attitude in the appointments and especially due to the execution of certain rebels by the Janissary Agha, had lost his post of kaim-makamlıık. If the Padishah had not supported him, he probably would have been executed. Rebels began to perceive Fazıl Mustafa Pasha as the cause of the treatment they received. They

50 Silahdar Fındıklı Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 318; "Vezir-i a’zam Siyavuş Paşa Abaza olmakla sadedid ve sade akıl bir adam idi, hall ü ‘akd elinde olmayub zimâm-i hükümet Yeniçeri ve Sipah zorbaların elinde olub heman kendii uyuk(?) mesâbesinde idi. Menâzib-i ilmiyye ve seyliyye mezbûrların re’yiyle tevcih olundugundan gayrî vezir-i sâni Köprülu oğlu vezir Fazıl Mustafa Paşa kültî umûra müdahale edûb culûsa sebeb ben olum deûü veziriî şîg edûb kimseye söz seyletmez oldu. "Baham kölesiðiri”deyûb defaâtile "be hey Abaza çok söyleme, şunu buyuran” der idi ve devlete pençe vurub sadra geçmek giri kiril ile aleme fiineler birakub halki birbirine katub kul beynine tefnika düşürdü. Vezir-i a’zami çuvaldızg gibi sokub bu eşkiyayı niceye dek yüz verirsin? Bunları birer takrib ile İstanbul’dan dağıt tefrik ile hakârîdan gel...»

51 Ibid., p. 318.
requested a fetwa from Sheyhülislam Debbag-zade Mehmed Efendi for the execution of Köprülü-zade, but could not achieve their aim. The Padishah, who grasped the seriousness of the situation, removed vizier Fazıl Mustafa Pasha from Istanbul for a short time. Köprülü-zade’s new post was the Dardanelles Muhafizligi. 10 February 1688. His appointments were removed from their posts after the exile of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha to Dardanelles and the persons supported by the rebels were re-appointed.

Although Fazıl Mustafa Pasha left Istanbul and Sheyhülislam who did not give the execution fetva was dismissed, the janissaries continued their rebellion. Rebel leaders and rebels could not be mollified and they new demands even as their every demand was met. The padishah issued a firman for their disbandment. This firman was its effective in quelling the rebellion. It was decided in a discussion among the grand vizier, the Janissary aghasi, and the Odjak ihtiyarları, that Istanbul could only be saved from the rebels through a military campaign. Preparations began for the campaign but the rebels became aware of the situation and initiated a new rebellion. Finally, by notifying that they did not support the grand vizierate of Siyavush Pasha, they plundered his palace, executed the grand vizier and his wife, and took their daughters captive. This action was not merely against Siyavush Pasha, but also against the ordinary people and especially against the esnaf. As stated above, this anarchy was extremely costly to the esnaf class. During the rebellion, while certain rebels were looting the grand vizier’s palace, others began to plunder the esnaf’s shops. There was also resentment among the people who experienced five months of rebellion. This anarchy led growing numbers of people in Istanbul to revolt against the janissaries. This insurrection against the janissaries was also supported by the palace administration, the sacred banner of the Prophet (sancaghi sherif) was paraded, and rebel leaders were executed. Thus the rebellion was stamped out and the sultanic authority was reestablished.

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52 Silahdar Tarihi, Zübde-i Vekaiyat and Tarih-i Sıtsile-i Köprülü-zade underscore the fact that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was a vizier although he had been dismissed from his post of kaim-makamlık in order to appease the rebels.
54 Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 324-325.
While these developments occurred in Istanbul, Austria, and Venice were advancing into Ottoman lands. After the defeat at Budin, in the late 1687, first Eszek in October 1687 then Valpova, Petervaradin, (14 December 1687) Eğri, Solnok, Lipve, Istolni and finally Belgrade (8 September 1688) were occupied by the Austrians. In the face of this situation Yegen Osman Pasha was appointed as commander of the Ottoman army in order to hold back the advancing Austrian army. However, the Ottomans had to withdraw because their army was in disarray and they lacked logistic support against the Austrians. Knin Fortress in Bosnia was occupied by the Austrians. Furthermore, new appointments and general call-up (nefir-i amm were not sufficient to remedy the situation. The Ottomans could resist Poland, which intended to recapture Podolia, region through the support of the Crimean Tatar forces. As far as the Venetians concerned, they dominated a great part of the Morea Peninsula, Albania, Bosnia and the Aegean Sea. Muslims and some non-muslim subjects of that region, had begun to migrate towards Anatolia to escape enemy persecution. On the other hand, certain non-muslim subjects supported the enemy. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who had lost his office of Sadaret Kaim-makamlığı had been deliberately reappointed Dardanelles Muhalifizligi was deliberately appointed to this post by the padishah. As stated above, Venice was paramount in the Morea and in Aegean Sea. Their purpose was to capture the Dardanelles after seizing Bozcaada and Gökçeada which guarded the approaches to the Dardanelles Köprülü-zade was one of the statesmen who was extremely familiar with the Venetians and with that region. An account of his presence at the Kandiya Siege where he had become familiar with Venetian war tactics. Additionally, during his previous Muhalifizlig of the Dardanelles, before he became familiar with kaim-makam of the government in Istanbul he had became familiar with the region and understood the need for a military force to be based there, he issued new military regulations for the Dardanelles in a short period of time.

56 Silahdar Fındıklı Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 426-433.
57 Ibid., 381.
Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was also appointed as Hanya Muhafızî in March 1688.\textsuperscript{58} Meanwhile, Kandiya Muhafızî Zülîkar Pasha was executed by janissaries. Köprüülü-zade was appointed as Kandiya Muhafızî, to restore order in Kandiya and to resist the Venetians, who were eager to benefit from the lack of authority in June 1688.\textsuperscript{59} But, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was immediately appointed to Chios Muhafızîlîghi, because the Venetians had attacked again Eğriboz Island in December of the same year. Consequently, he had become closer to Istanbul.

The Ottoman state who faced with the possibility of losing a great part of Rumelia. Once Morea was lost, rebellions spreadin Albania and Serbia, the enemy was advancing towards the Balkans and muslim subjects had begun to leave Sofia. The enemy had arrived near Skopje and for a strong grand vizier was needed to command the army. Consultation on the current situation were held in Edirne between Padishah Süleyman II, Sheyhülislam Debbâğ-zade Mehmed Efendi and the other ulema. In this meeting, the failure of the Ottomans in Rumelia and the collaboration of non-muslim subjects with the enemy were attributed to the incompetence of the grand vizier. They also made clear that the situation would worsen if the necessary measures were not taken. Thus, they sought a grand vizier who was familiar with state affairs, who had military knowledge and experience and who also would be able to resolve financial problems, as well as providing the old sound and well structured system of administration. At the end of the discussion, it was decided that Chios Muhafızî Köprüülü-zade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was eligible for the office and Fazıl Pasha was invited to Istanbul in a Hatt-ı Hümayun dated 9 November 1689.\textsuperscript{60}

Why had Fazıl Mustafa Pasha been chosen as the grand vizier? What were the reasons? Did these reasons stem from the character, talent or education of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha or from another factors? As stated before Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had studied Islamic sciences during the vizierate of his father Köprüülü Mehmed, he had learnt about military

\textsuperscript{58} İbíd., 350.
\textsuperscript{59} Defterdar Sani Mehmed Paşa, \textit{Zühde.}, p. 290.
\textsuperscript{60} Defterdar Sani Mehmed Paşa, \textit{Zühde.}, p. 339-341.
matter during the vizierate of his elder brother Fazıl Ahmed, and he had also become familiar with state affairs and bureaucracy during that of his brothers-in-law. Additionally, he had not resided in one location all his life, but had served the state in many different parts of the empire. He understood state problems in Anatolia and Rumelia. Talent Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was chosen as grand vizier thanks to his education, and experience.

Certainly, there were other statesmen with a very sound education, who were astalented and experienced as Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. But what was the difference between Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and other such statesmen? It would be again pertinent to answer this question by emphasizing the education and entourage of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. As stated, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had been close ulema. He had spent a great deal of his life through studying Islamic sciences. Therefore, the ulema supported Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, and had proved its support both in his appointment as kaim-makam and also during his kaim-makamlik of Istanbul. For example, when the soldiers who rebelled in Istanbul had demanded a fetwa from the sheyhtilislam Debbag-zade Mehmed Efendi for the execution of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, the sheyhtilislam refused that demand. As indicated by Silahtar Mehmed, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha became grand vizier by dint of the support of the ulema. The intention of the ulema was to realize their demands and gain power by providing an important post of state for one of their colleagues.

Köprülü-zade came to Edirne on 11 November 1689, when the Hatt-ı Hümâyun reached him. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was welcomed by Sheyhülislam Debbag-zade Mehmed Efendi, the Edirne Kaim-makam, Kadi of Edirne, muallim-i Sultani and Sadreyn Efendis, Nakibü'l-şraf Efendi who resided in Edirne and müderrisin efendis and members of diwan. First of all, they went to the pavilion of the Kaim-makam Pasha and later Köprülü-zade visited the Sultan and received the imperial seal (mühr-i hümâyun. Köprülü-zade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was chosen for the office of grand vizierate when he was 52 years old.61

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61 Ibid., 342.
PERIOD OF THE GRAND VIZIERATE OF FAZIL MUSTAFA PASHA

Köprülü-zade Fazıl Mustafa Pasha first of all handled the most difficult problems that the state had to face when he inaugurated his new post as a grand vizier. Financial and military problems had first priority. He began to work to resolve these problems.

Abolition of Wine and Arak Tax

The war had continued after the Second Vienna defeat and therefore expenditures of the state had increased. Because of this, statesmen before Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had imposed several new taxes in order to balance the budget. These taxes were Sefer-i İmdadiye, Masarif-i Seferiyye, Şîrsat \(^{62}\) and taxes on Wine and Arak were imposed on non-muslim subjects. A firman was issued to collect a tax called hamr ü arak on alcoholic drinks produced by non-muslim Ottoman subjects and as well as on drinks sold by foreign traders in Ottoman lands, in order to eliminate the treasury’s problems caused by the prolonged war. Heretofore, tobacco brought by foreign traders had not been taxed. It was decided to take ten akça from tobaccoes known as “yenice” brought by foreign traders, and eight akça from tobacco of Kircali with together hamr ü arak tax. These taxes were collected the customs of Istanbul. This additional tax levied on non-muslim subjects, put them in a very difficult situation and encouraged them, to collaborate with the enemy after the Vienna defeat.\(^{63}\) Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had observed this situation during his office in Rumelia and in the Aegean islands, and in an adaletname which was expeditiously issued when he became grand vizier, he emphasized the fact that alcoholic drinks were forbidden (haram) according to the Islamic religion and thus taxes collected from a forbidden goods were also forbidden; consequently, he banned the consumption of alcohol in the Ottoman state and also the sale of drinks imported by

\(^{62}\) Ibid., 221.

\(^{63}\) Ibid., 298-299.
foreign traders to Ottoman lands. At the same time he abrogated the tax of hamr ğ arak collected from non-muslim subjects. Furthermore, Küfrî Ahmed Efendi, who was the customs official responsible for imposing that tax, and who was held responsible for causing non-muslim subjects to collaborate with the enemy, was executed.

However, it is difficult to determine to what extent this ban was conformed to. It was difficult for Ottoman officials to exercise over the prohibition in the whole state. Prohibition could only be imposed in the great cities, such as Istanbul. Several documents show that, the Ottomans attempted to impose the prohibition of alcohol. For instance, there was a complaint regarding the opening of a saloon (meyhane by a non-muslim near a mosque in the Kasımpaşa district of Istanbul. The diwan demanded an inquiry and it was decided to close the saloon and to punish the owner, if the complaint proved accurate.

However, there is an important point to mention in this subject. The prohibition on the consumption of alcoholic drink must not be confused with drink production. In modern books on Ottoman history, this period is mentioned as if drink production was prohibited in the whole country. This is false. There was not any decision about prohibition of drink production in adâletnames and firmans, merely about the consumption of drinks and also about the abolition of the tax of hamr ğ arak. Many Ottoman subjects in Rumelia and the Aegean islands depended for their subsistence on the production and sale of wine and raki. Wine also had a religious function for christian subjects. Therefore, it was not possible for Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who was eager to re-gain the support of non-muslim subjects who are inclined to collaborate with the enemy, to prohibit production.

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64 Ibid., 345. Ali Emiri, II. Süleyman, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23. See Document 1, 2.
65 Defterdar San Mehmed Paşa, Zühde., p. 344.
66 Mühimmé 99, p. 43.
67 Ali Emiri, II. Süleyman, 18, 19, 20, 23.
New Appointments and Assignments

The second most important problem was the military situation that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha faced when he became grand vizier. As stated earlier, a great part of Rumelia was lost and an order had been issued for muslim subjects to evacuate Sofia. The Ottomans could resist Poland with the support of the Crimean army. However, the Austrian and Venetian armies were advancing in Ottoman lands with great success. The Sultah and his statesmen were desperate and janissaries were horrified at these developments. None of the measures taken by Ottomans -Sultan Süleyman had joined the campaign as leader of his army- could stave off the defeat and withdrawal of the Ottoman army, before the advancing enemy.

Thus, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha dismissed the officers appointed by the former grand vizier such as kaim-makam, Tezkire-i evvel, vekilharç, janissary katibi, defterdar, ružnamçeci, cizye muhasebecisi, janissary aghasi and the others in the interests of greater efficiency productively and to allow hasty decision making. He appointed officers who were close to him in place of the old ones. These new appointments were effected not only in the center but at the provinces as well.

Decision regarding military assignments are one of the most salient issues in the mühimmé defters.68 Fazıl Mustafa Pasha carried out these assignments before embarking on the great campaign against Austria in order to prevent further deterioration in the army. It seems that these assignments were made in a systematic way, office holders generally being transferred from Anatolia to Rumelia. Namely, a beylerbegi, sandjakbegi, kale muhafizi or another state officer who had a post in any location in Anatolia, had been appointed to a region or fortress in Rumelia with a new post.69 The reason that assignments were generally from Anatolia to Rumelia was the demands if the continuing war in Rumelia. Assignments were not solely from Anatolia to Rumelia, but a

68 Atilla Çetin, Başbakanlık Arşiv Kilavuzu, Istanbul, 1979. Mühimmé defters in which the decision concerning the state in the first rank were recorded, contain the Fazıl Mustafa Pasha period in defters numbered as 99, 100, 101.
commander in Rumelia, could also be assigned to another location in Rumelia. There were also assignments from Rumelia to Anatolia. Some of these assignments were permanent and the others were provisional. Provisinal assignments were generally carried out to support the immediate needs of the army, and those who were temporarily assigned had to return to their former posts after the completion of their duties. Beylerbegi, sandjak begi, zeamet and timar holders who were temporarily assigned, went to their new posts with the rank of kapi halki. If assigned commanders held office in Anatolia, or elsewhere, they had to come to Edirne to discuss their new responsibilities with the grand vizier and then to move to their new duties after receiving their document of reassignment (tezkire.) Moreover, when beylerbegi, sandjak begi or fortress commander were assigned to a new post, their posts had to be filled by other assigned officers. For instance, Bekir Pasha, the muhafız of Midilli, when he was invited to Edirne, prior to taking up his new office Acem Mehmed Pasha, Bursa mutasarrıfı was assigned to his vacant position as Midilli muhafızı. Similar transactions are countered in the three mühimme defteri referred to above. Military assignments concerned not only land forces, but naval forces as well.

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71 Mühimme 99, p. 15, 21, 23.
72 Ibid., 7, 8.
PREPARATIONS FOR CAMPAIGN

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who inaugurated his grand vizierate by abrogating certain taxes and by carrying out new appointments, continued his war preparations. He conducted a census of janissaries and proclaimed a general levy for the defence of Islam Nefir-i amm (See Document 23) in order to realize the full potential of the state’s military resources.

Census of the Janissaries

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha appointed Zağarcı Eginli Mehmed Agha as Kul Kethidasi to make a census of the janissary odjak as soon as he became grand vizier. The purpose of the census was not only to have the number of janissaries, but also to eliminate illegal practices in the janissary odjak. There had not previously been any supervision or census in the janissary odjak. Thus there were groups registered in the odjak who were not trained as janissaries such as farmers, artisans and others. The number of janissaries skyrocketed during the wars waged against Austria between 1593-1606. Although their number was 7,886 in 1527, it reached 37,627 in 1610. This number had increased to 59,000 in 1688. As a result of the census, it was found that many dead janissaries were still on the payrolls and that retired janissaries received higher wages than the legally rate. The janissary odjaghı was an unproductive institution and brought an enormous financial burden on state treasury. The state had experienced periods when it could not pay the wages of the janissaries which were due every three months. Had there been a new Sultan, the situation would have been worse, because the state was obliged to pay accession gifts to the janissaries. In order to pay accession gifts to the janissaries, the

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74 Halil Inalcık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600.”, In An Economic and Social History of The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, 9-409, Edited by Halil Inalcık with Donald Quataert, Cambridge, 1994, p. 24.
state had to impose extra taxes such as *avarz* or *ciildus akčasi* on its subjects which caused great resentment. At the end of the inspection, those who were not active as janissaries were dismissed from the odjak. The salaries (*terakkis*) of false janissaries were abolished. As a consequence, the names of more than twenty thousand janissaries were erased from the *defters* and 800,000 kuruş revenue provided for the state treasury. In this way, the real potential of the janissaries became apparent and the regional strength strength of the janissaries had been clarified.

**General Levy for the defence of Islam (Nefir-i Amm)**

A *nefr-i amm* (mobilization) was announced in the whole country once the janissaries had presented themselves for duty. Nefir-i amm, was a conscription encompassing all Ottaman subjects. The Ottoman state began to retreat following the great defeats in Rumelia after the Second Vienna Siege. The wars had not been waged only in one front but also in the Aegean, the Morea Peninsula and across Rumelia against the Venetians, Austrians and Polands. The enemy armies were in an advantageous position, both in the amount of soldiers and quantity of ammunition. When Fazıl Mustafa Pasha became grand vizier, the war had lasted for 6 years. More armed soldiers and ammunition were needed in order to resist the enemy. Thus, through a declaration of nefir-i amm, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha summoned janissaries, sipahs and silahtars and all adults for the war. The point that was underscored in the firmans issued by Fazıl Mustafa Pasha relating to the nefir-i amm was that the enemy army was eager to eliminate the Muslim Religion: This necessitated total participation of the soldiers and the reaya in the war. Every adult had to participate except the ill, disabled and the old persons. Those who did not, would be executed. Those exempted would provide food for those who participated. In this way, the ill, disabled and the old persons who could not go to war,

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75 Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, p. 489; This amount of money is given 100,000 kuruş in *Silahdar*. This is certainly false. Because 20,000 janissaries were dismissed from the odjak. Approximately 40 kuruş was given each janissary as annual salary. So this amount must be 800,000 kuruş.

76 Ibid., 57, 71, 77, 94, 116, 120, 128. See Document 8, 9, 10.

77 M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, p. 672.
were involved in the nefir-i amm. Moreover, officers and orders were sent to every eyalet to put the nefir-i amm into action.

**Janissaries and Timarlı Sipahis**

Besides, all janissaries, the sipahis and silahdars in the provinces were called to Edirne for the campaign that would commence in the spring of 1690. Firmans also indicated the number of janissaries in every eyalet, sandjak and fortress ordering that these janissaries come to Edirne under the command of the sandjak alaybegs. Pretexts of any kind would not even be discussed and if there were janissaries absent from the census to be conducted, in Edirne, they would be dismissed from the odjak. 78

It is clear that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha himself took control of the janissary odjak. The records indicate that, the number and location of janissaries and ammunition was now known, which enabled immediate access to these resources. For instance, numbers of armourers and artillerymen needed for the campaign are easily found in the defters. It was also apparent that numerous armourers and artillerymen remained to guard the Aegean Islands, Rumelia and some parts of Anatolia. The required number of armourer and artillerymen was determined and a firman issued for them to come to Edirne. 79 In addition to janissaries located in different places, janissaries whose names were erased from the rolls for any reason, such as those dismissed from the odjak were summoned for the campaign, as were retired janissaries. 80

**Yamaks, Voynuks** and the other Ottoman subjects in the regions were used as local guards (muhaflız instead of janissaries who were summoned for the campaign. A division of *Yamaks* and *Voynuks* were also summoned to the campaign while other

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78 Silahdar Findikdili Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 8, 45, 80, 82, 86, 121. See Document 11. See also the others firmans in the Mülhimme Defter 99 and Mülhimme Defter 100.

79 Mülhimme 99, p. 123; İstanköy: cebeci 150, topçu 30; Limni: cebeci 200, topçu 30; Midilli: cebeci 100, topçu 30; Kandiye: cebeci 200, topçu 100; Sakız: cebeci 50; Hanya: cebeci 200, topçu 100; Bozcaada: cebeci 150, topçu 50; Çiz: cebeci 150, topçu 20; Resimo: cebeci 50, topçu 30; Bender: topçu 15; Kirman: cebeci 50, topçu 15; Kertaş: cebeci 50, topçu 30; Doğan geçidi: cebeci 80, topçu 40, Ardahan: cebeci 100; Nusret Kirman: cebeci 50, topçu 15.

80 Ibid., 102, 108, 109, 111. See Document 11.
divisions performed the duty of local protection. It is understood that especially Voynuks were charged to protect areas where bandits and birigands were numerous.

It was also significant that the subject population also contributed to guarding certain locations. For instance, when janissaries, artillereymen and armourers in Eğriboz joined the campaign, reaya and janissaries whose name had been erased from the rolls -çalık janissaries-, reentered the odjak and undertook the duty of defense of the island under the command of a janissary serdar.

**Soldiers in Far Eyalets**

Soldiers in Egypt, Trablusgarb, Tunisia and Algeria eyalets were also summoned to the campaign. The call was both for the navy, and the janissaries of these eyalets. The firmans show that, the navy and soldiers of the above mentioned eyalets had participated in previous campaigns. Moreover, it was indicated that janissaries would be sent by warships from the named eyalets and that ships would be provided by the Ottoman navy in order to facilitate the transportation of troops. The main difference of the odjak janissaries in Egypt, Trablusgarb, Tunisia and Algeria from those in other eyalets was that their expenditures and wages were paid as cash, as gold directly sent from the central treasury.

**The Navy**

The reason for Venetian success in the Aegean Sea, the Morea and the Dalmatian coast against the Ottomans was that they possessed a more powerful navy. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha knew this well from his past experiences. Thus he took the initiative in order to render his navy more powerful. He began with new appointments in the navy as in the land forces. He aimed to create a strong navy through two new initiatives. First, he included in the navy, soldiers from Trablusgarb, Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria.

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81 Mühimme 99, p. 27, 28, 170.
82 Ibid., 110, 170. Halil İnalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600.", p. 91.
83 Mühimme 99, p. 65, 82.
84 Ibid., 31, 33, 34, 35, 87, 93, 94, 95, 97, 104. See Document 12.
85 Mühimme 99, p. 31, 34, 87, 93, 94, 95, 104. See Document 12.
Secondly, he built new warships. Kazas and villages, from Kocaeli to Sinop were charged with the task of providing the necessary materials, especially wood and lumber.86 Oarsman were also needed in addition to the soldiers on the ships. Firmans, sent to the kadis demanded that those guilty of crimes such as homicide were assigned to duty oarsmen.87

In the Ottoman state the other groups encompassed in the to general levy for the defence of Islam were fifty eight different Türkmen and Ekrad tribes (ashiret) in Anatolia88 as well as Yürieks and some reaya of Rumelia. The Ottomans had an extremely well organized registration system. Through the census and inspection conducted in the janissary odjagh the numbers and location of all janissaries were recorded. The situation was the same for timarli sipahis defters of timar, zearnct which were frequently revised. Additionally, defters of mukataa and tahrir contained information about the military and financial potential of the state. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha benefited from these registers by using reaya in Ottoman State as a military resource. Nomadic Yürieks and ashirets were subordinate to a given mukataa and they were registered in mukataa defters. Thus, the number of ashiret and yürik could be established and it was hoped to find additional troops yürik and ashıret when necessary. It is understood from the firmans sent to these groups that the number and location of Türkmen and Ekrad ashirets, and yürik was known. These firmans ordered that the required number of soldiers from a given ashiret must report for duty.

86 KK, 2473, p. 32, 44, 48, 53, 67, 80, 82.
88 See Document 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.
Türkmen and Ekrad Cemaats in Anatolia

Firmans sent to janissaries explained the difficult situation of the state as did those sent to Türkmen and Ekrad tribes, (ashirets). Each the order included the names of the mukataa and kethüda each cemaat depended on, and the number of soldiers each cemaat should sent. (See tables I and II) 89

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Kurdish Ashiret</th>
<th>Mukataa</th>
<th>Number of Soldiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Okçu Izzeddünülü</td>
<td>Kilis</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musabeylü</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiki</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şeyhül</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum'ma'matah</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Rışvan</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Lekevanik</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berazi</td>
<td>Ruha</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinayi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baziki</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gevenik ve Döğerli</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millü, Turahlu, Kiki,</td>
<td>Mardin</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedinç, Şakaki,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaťaranlı, Abdulhay,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merditi, Ziriki, Badili.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1760</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89 Mühimme 99, p. 48-56; "İşbu sene-i mubahêkedê mê'ûnet ve levâzîm-i seferiyelerin görmek üzere ellişer kuruş ile Türkmen ve Ekrad aşâ'irînden sefer-i hümayûna memur olan süvûri asker ile bahnefsîhîm gelmeleri ferman olunan boy beyleri ve kethüdalarî ve iş erlerînîn aîl-esami defteridir." Fi sene 1101. See Document 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.
Thus we see that 5,000 person from Türkmen and Ekrad ashirets situated within Ottoman borders were demanded for the campaign. The number of Ekrad soldiers was
1760, and 3240 was that of Türkmen. We have information about how events developed after the firman and whether the 5,000 soldiers demanded went on campaign or not.

Most of this information is found in the yoklama defters. These defters concern the number of soldiers sent, the name of the soldier, his father's name, his town, village, neighbourhood and his guarantor (kefil). It was indicated in the firmans and yoklama defters that each soldier participating in the campaign would be paid 50 kuruş. Yeniil and Halep mukataası were to send the financial resources required. First of all, kethüdas of every cemaat would receive these moneys and disburse it to the soldiers sent for the campaign. The soldier who would join the campaign had to visit the kadi or naib with his guarantor and to register his name and the name of his guarantor, and then he would be paid. This obliged the soldier to join the campaign. In general, soldiers were the guarantor of each other. Also, those who did not participate in the campaign or were boybegi for the whole group sent by him, could be guarantor.

Ekrad and Türkmen soldiers had to move towards Edirne with their defter under the flag of their boybegi once these procedures had been completed. There was another after arriving in Edirne on the basis of these defters, and soldiers who were absent or present were again recorded in the defters. In the same defters, there were records about the amount of food received by ashirets and where they were ordered to serve. Some Türkmen and Ekrad ashirets sent the number of troops demanded from them, but some of them were not able to satisfy the demands of the state. Some soldiers deserted after their departure for Edirne, and their pay was demanded from their guarantor.

Yüreüks in Rumelia

Yüreüks and some other reaya were also included in the nefir-i amm for the campaign. A firman was sent to Yüreüks when they joined the campaign. This firman explained the problems besetting the state and the need for more soldiers for campaign. It

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90 MAD, 608.
91 Ibid., 44. Mülhimme 99, p. 56, 57, 115.
92 MAD, 608.
93 Ibid., 37.
also stressed the number of soldiers that a sandjak would send. The recruitment of yörüks was different rather than those of other groups. Yörüks were recruited with the undertaking that they would obtain an exemption from taxes. Yörüks paid taxes to the state such as resm-i ağnam, resm-i zemin, resm-i bennak, yave akçasi, bad-i heva, tekalif-i örfşye and şakka. The food needed for Yörüks was provided by Yörüks certain kazas who could not join the campaign due to their old age, illness or disability. Furthermore, in certain kazas, Yörüks were exempted from taxes if they provided a given number of soldiers or provided the food needed for the soldiers whom they sent. In certain kazas there was a different practice. The state charged every two or three Yörük hane households with the duty of providing one soldier and also ensuring the food for that soldier under the tax of avanz. Yörüks who held offices such as yamak, yağci, küreci in the wakfs of Sultan Bayezid, Gazi Evranos and Sultan Han in Filibe, Gümülcine, Tatarpazarı, Çirpan, Zağra-yı Atik, Zağra-yı Cedid, Uzunca Ova, Hasköy and Çirmen were also invited for their new duties.

When it organised a campaign, the Ottoman state aimed at eliminating problems within the state, through another transaction which allowed control over certain groups who threatened public order and peace in certain regions. For instance, the state had called up Sekhans and Saricas from Anatolia and also Yörüks who were haydut and serkeş in Karadağ area indicating that if they joined the campaign, they would not be punished.

**Reaya in Rumelia and Anatolia**

The nefir-i 'amm demanded that every able-bodied man participate in the campaign against the "infidels". The reaya had to supply soldiers or give tekalif, was

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100 Mühimmé 99, p. 91, 106, 110, 112, 137.
101 Ibid., 137.
responsible a given number of soldier from the magnates of the vilayet. As in the firman
ten to other groups, the difficult situation of the state was stressed, the need for more
soldiers to repel the enemy; soldiers were also demanded from the magnates of the
vilayets apart from the reaya that gave taxes in kazas.102

**Logistic Measures**

The procurement of essentials such as wheat, barley, meat, in advance of and
during campaign was of vital importance. It was also important to find secure locations to
store the provisions and to secure the stations menzils and roads for the soldiers. Vehicles
were needed to transport these provisions to the necessary menzils where they were
needed.

**Provisions**

The necessary provisions had to be provided by Rumelian kazas. These kazas
were as follows: Rodosucuk, Malkara, Tekirdağ, Vize, Čisr-i Mustafa Paşa, Baba-ı Atik,
Baba-ı Cedid, Ipsala, Ferecik, İncek, Keşan, Bekarhisarı, Eylü(?). Filibe, Tatarpazari,
Kırkçilise, Hayrabolu, Çırmen, Zağra-ı Cedid, Zağra-ı Atik, Gümülçine, Yenice-ı
Kızılçağac, Akçakızanlık, Yenice-i Karasu, Hasköy, Elçelebi(?), Sultanyeri, Silistre,
Çardak, Osman Pazarı, Pravadi, Varna, Hazergrad, Balçık, Mangalya, Hacıoğlu Pazarı,
Tekfurgölü, Babadagh, Havas Mahmud Paşa, Bergos, Saray, İnoz, Kili, İsmail Geçidi,
İsakçı ve İbrail, Uludere, Kınalı, Payaslı, Saruhanbeyli, Rusçuk, Zıstov, Yerköy.103
Firman indicated the amount of wheat and barley a given kaza should sent to a named
menzil.104 There were also officers from the center named as “zahire
buyers (mübayyacilar)” whose duty was to buy and send provisions to the menzils.105 The state
collected provisions in three different ways. First, provisions were bought with money
sent directly by the state treasury106 or through the transfer of a given mukataa

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102 Ibid., 120, 128, 152, 158. See Document 9, 22.
103 Mühimme 99, p. 118, 144, 150, 192.
104 Ibid., 92, 150.
105 Ibid., 118, 144.
revenue\textsuperscript{107} or from the \textit{sürsat zahiresi} tax collected from the reaya\textsuperscript{108} Secondly, provisions were collected in place of \textit{avaz} and other \textit{örfi} taxes. Thirdly provisions were taken as \textit{ayni}, namely as \textit{öf} from the produced zahires. The state was also concerned that prices of provisions to be bought was not high. Firmans notified that persons who increased prices could be punished if it was necessary.

\textbf{Roads, Bridges, Menzils and Vehicles of Transportation}

It is obvious that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had paid attention to the regularity, sufficiency and security of the roads and menzils from where the needs of the army would be met during the campaign. Many bridges, passes and important thoroughfares had been left, undefended and neglected due to war; bandits and brigands were ubiquitous in mountainous and woodland areas. Hence, the first task of officers was to provide security by cleaning these roads, important thoroughfares, bridges and waystations of bandits and also by punishing villages that collaborated with the enemy.\textsuperscript{109} Security could only be achieved by appointing more officers in those locations, by fortifying roads, bridges, provisions granaries and by the establishment of new granaries and bridges.

Three groups of soldiers were charged with this security function. First, reaya near derbends, bridges or menzils were exempted from taxes and \textit{Voynuks} and \textit{Martolos} were appointed as guards. Secondly, the janissaries from the center and some part of the \textit{Yürük}s of Rumelia were assigned as guards. Third, on rare occasions, conducted by the subjects soldiers were hired as guards.

The restoration of roads, bridges and granaries used by the army had great importance for both pre-campaign preparations and also during the campaign. As stated above foods were bought before the army set out on campaign and these foods had to be transported apace to the menzils to be stored there. By the same token, roads, bridges and

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 44, 80.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 45, 83.
\textsuperscript{109} Muhimme 99, p. 72, 162, 163.
menzils had to be secure and regulated to ensure ease of transport. Therefore bridges were overhauled and new bridges were built. Menzils were restored and new granaries that would met the army’s demand were established. Moreover, through new firmans sent to certain kazas carpenters and masons and the necessary materials were provided.\textsuperscript{110}

An other preparation for the campaign was the procurement and transportation of the food to the menzils. The transportation of the period depended on camel, horse, oxen and ships. Our records show, that there were not sufficient pack-animals for transportation in the menzils themselves. Many of them had been taken away from the menzils during the war, and had not been brought back. Therefore the state collected pack-animals from the reaya. Firmans sent to Anatolia and Rumelia indicated that animals should not be used by the reaya for other purposes except the transportation of zahire and horses should not be removed from the menzils.\textsuperscript{111} The necessary pack-animals were provided in two ways. First and most frequently payment was made to the reaya who owned the animal, or secondly the state rented horses and camels especially from Yürük in order to transport the zahire to the menzils. Waterborne transport was provided in two ways; first, on ships owned by the state, especially in the Black Sea and in the Danube River; and secondly, boats on the Danube River were rented from reaya. Sea and river transportation was easier than land. Provisions were transported to the ports by pack-animals and then brought to the nearest menzils and to the most suitable places along the Danube River by barge and boat. From here the provisions were transported to the menzils by animals.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 92, 118, 150.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 89, 145, 158, 178.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 158, 164, 178.
THE FIRST AUSTRIAN CAMPAIGN

Austrians and Venetians in Rumelia, Morea and the Aegean Sea continued their successes while the Ottomans were engaged in the preparations for the campaign. The appointments made by Fazıl Mustafa Pasha as soon as he became grand vizier, were not sufficient although they were partly provided the necessary security. Kaniye Fortress surrendered to Austria in April 1690 after four years of resistance.

The migration issue was also a crucial subject. Austria had become dominant in Rumelia against the Ottoman army, especially by capturing the fortress of Niş. A great many muslim families began to migrate towards Anatolia as the result of Austrian success, because the Austrians had not treated the Ottoman well reaya in the areas conquered by them. This migration movement had become a great problem for the Ottoman State.\(^{113}\) On the other hand, the success of the Austrians in attracting non-muslim subjects in Rumelia to their side through propaganda, was another crucial problem for the Ottoman State.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was reluctant to initiate the campaign before the preparations had been completed, For the defeat of the Ottomans would be inevitable against Austria and Venice. Such defeat had been frequently experienced after the Vienna Siege. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha send Crimean army towards Skopje in order to prevent further problems and also to divert the Austrian army to gain time. He charged Mahmud Pasha who was in Morea with restoring order. In fact, the actions of the Crimean Army and the appointment of Mahmud Pasha were the best decisions taken during the campaign, since the Crimean army and the Morea forces cleared the enemy the from vicinity of Skopje. Subsequently,

\(^{113}\) Mühimme 99, p. 13, 19, 20, 74, 84, 119, 130, 163, 178.
the Crimean Army and Morea forces recaptured Kumanova and Kaçanik forts from Austria and the kazas of Prizrin and Prištine, Novebarda Fortress and the vicinity of Kosova. In this way the activities of the Austrian army to the east of Niş were terminated.\footnote{Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, \textit{Zübde\textunderscore}, p. 349-356. Silahdar Fındıklı Mehmed Ağa, \textit{Silahdar Tarihi}, p. 490-499. Behçet İbrahim İfendi, \textit{Tarih\textunderscore}, p. 166-168.}

In early July 1690, preparations completed. Finally, there was a meeting in the palace of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, attended by Selim Giray Han, Han of the Crimea and all of the commanders. At the end of the meeting, it was decided that the Padishah would stay in Istanbul and Fazıl Mustafa Pasha would become the commander of the army. Khazinedar Ali Pasha was appointed as kaim-makam.\footnote{Ibid., p. 169.}

**Departure of the Army**

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha moved with his army from Edirne on 13 July 1690.\footnote{The dates of departure and arrival of the army differ in \textit{Zübde\textunderscore} Vekaiyat, \textit{Silahdar} and \textit{Tarih\textunderscore} Süle\textunderscore} Köprülü\textunderscore. Reliable informations about the position of the army during the campaign could be provided from defter MAD 7157. This defter is an Ordu Mühimmesi for the campaign and gives the chronology of the campaign. This defter gives information about the menzils used by the Ottomans after the departure from Edirne, about courses of departure as well as events which occurred during the campaign.}
the ammunition to the menzil of Dirağman before they left that menzil. Bolu Beylerbegi joined the army with his soldiers at Halkah. They arrived at the menzil of Dirağman on 7 August where the Beglerbegi of Sivas joined the army. They also arrived in the menzil of Buğ (?) on 8 August. The beglerbegi of Canik came from Köstendil to join the army.\footnote{MAD, 7157, p. 22, 24.}

**Conquest of Şehirköy, Niş, Vidin and Smederovo**

The Ottoman army arrived in the vicinity of Şehirköy Fortress which had been captured by the enemy. Fazıl Pasha demanded its surrender. However, Hungarian and Austrian forces in the fortress refused that demand. The fortress was immediately besieged and the enemy forces surrendered the fortress to the Ottomans on 11 August. Moreover, on 12 August, when Ottoman forces arrived at Musa Pasha fort which was held by the enemy, the enemy soldiers evacuated the fort. The Ottoman army reached the menzil of Illice, near the fortress of Niş on 13 August and moved towards the fortress of Niş after resting one day and completing their preparations.

The Ottoman Army arrived near Niş Fortress on 16 August. In the fortress, there were Austrian and Hungarian forces as well as 400 bandits who had persecuted muslims in the vicinity. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha demanded the surrender of the enemy soldiers. But, his demand was rejected. The fortress was besieged from three sides. All units of the army joined in the siege, and trenches and tunnels were excavated. The siege lasted 22 days, and when the enemy soldiers grasped that they would not be able to receive any aid, the fortress was surrendered to the Ottomans on 8 September. The enemy soldiers had been permitted to abandon the fortress on condition that they would leave their weapons behind. 6,000 Hungarian and Austrian soldiers left the fortress on 9 September. In this way the Ottomans seized an important fortress with 150 muslim captives as well as a great deal of ammunition. The Ottomans had obtained 30 pieces of artillery, rifles and other ammunition from the Austrians. 399 bandits in the fortress had not been permitted to leave but were executed when the fortress was surrendered. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha granted baksheesh from his own treasury to the soldiers who had participated in the
During the Ottoman siege of Niš, Austria had sent an army of 15,000 soldiers under the commandership of Veterani to relieve the fortress. This army had reached the menzil of Yagodine near Niš. However, Veterani was ordered to go to Transylvania on account of Erdel the defeat of an Austrian army under the leadership of Heissel charged with the conquest seizure of Erdel Özi Beylerbegi Çerkes Ahmed. In this way, the Ottomans had eliminated an enormous problem and the fortress had been surrendered to them.

Before besieging great fortresses, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, demanded the besieging and conquest of small fortresses retained by the enemy. Therefore, before the commencement of the Niš Siege, Karaman Beylerbegi Dursun Mehmed Pasha and Tuna Captain Mezomorta Hüseyin Pasha were charged with preventing the dangers that could come from the Danube and with re-conquering the fortress of Vidin which had great strategic importance for the conquest of Belgrade. The Vidin Fortress was besieged from both land and river and consequently conquered. The Ottomans now had possession of an important base for their departure to Belgrade. The village of Çiprofta in the Sandjak of Vidin, the stronghold of rebels and of bandits in the vicinity was captured, and the bandits were massacred.

The Ottoman army resided for one more week in the menzil of Niš after the conquest of the fortress. During this time, preparations continued for the fortification of the fortress and the siege of Belgrade. Bridges that could have been used by the Ottomans had been wrecked by the retreating Austrians. Halep Beylerbegi Halil Pasha was charged with the establishment of a bridge on the Morava River. The Ottoman army moved from Niš and reached the menzil of Aleksinac on 12 September. The Tatar Han joined the army with 3,000 soldiers at the menzil of Rajene on 17 September. The army reached the menzil of Smederovo on 25 September via the menzils of Perakin, Morava, Yağvedise,

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119 Ibid., 368.
120 Ibid., 369.
Yalmica (?) and Hasan Pasha.\textsuperscript{121} Smederovo was a small but important fortress on the way to Belgrade. The fortress was besieged on the same day. The beglerbegi of Diyarbekir Kemankesh Ahmed Pasha was charged with the conquest of the palanga of Gügercinlik, near Smederovo which was held by the enemy. 300 soldiers were sent from Belgrade to aid Smederovo but they could not enter the fortress and the fortress was captured on 27 September. Henceforth, the road to Belgrade was wholly secured.\textsuperscript{122} The Ottomans had embarked upon the preparations for the siege of Belgrade when Smederovo was captured. A general census of soldiers and ammunition was also conducted within the army.

**Conquest of Belgrade and Siege of Eszek**

Once the preparations were completed, the army arrived in the vicinity of Belgrade via the menzil of Çeşme on 1 October 1690. The siege of the fortress began in earnest from three sides on 2 October. Soldiers from Sivas, Anatolia and Egypt besieged from the Danube (east) side, the soldiers from Halep, Arnavud and Rumelia from the Sava (west) and the janissaries from Atpazarı (South). The defense of the fortress was formidable. On the seventh day of the siege (8 October 1690) when it seemed that the Ottoman attacks were ineffectual, a mortar fired by the Halep forces, caused the explosion of the arsenal in the fortress. The explosion and ensuing fire caused the disintegration of the enemy army. A huge part of the fortress wall had been demolished, and the Ottoman army entered the fortress at this point. Approximately 15,000\textsuperscript{123} enemy soldiers attempted to flee by boat and barge on the rivers Danube and Sava. Many of them were drowned. In this way, the Ottomans had seized an important enemy base. The Ottomans had almost 1,500 casualties during the siege, the beglerbegis of Rumelia and Anatolia included. Baksheeshs were dispersed to soldiers during the siege. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha granted 70 purses (kese) akça as baksheesh to the janissaries from his own treasury.\textsuperscript{124}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{121} MAD, 7157, p. 28, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 29.
\item \textsuperscript{123} This figure is between 25,000 and 35,000 in Tarih-i Sülale-i Köprülüçade, and it seems exaggerated. A number between 10,000 and 15,000 is given in Zühde-i Vekaiyal and seems more logical.
\item \textsuperscript{124} MAD, 7157, p. 30, 31. Behçet İbrahim Efendi, Tarih., p. 171-172.
\end{itemize}
A messenger had been sent to the padishah who was in Edirne after the conquest of Niş to announce the conquest. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha received the Hatt-ı hümayun and gifts sent by the Padishah in recognition of the conquest of Niş when the army conquered Belgrade. The grand vizier restored order in Belgrade, punished the bandits in the vicinity and made appointments for the protection of the city.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had ordered Hüseyin Pasha, the governor of Bosnia to conquer the enemy held fortress of Eszek when he was in Smederovo. Hüseyin Pasha had besieged the fortress after capturing the forts in the vicinity of Eszek. He moved towards Eszek on 15 October. He suspended the siege when he arrived there due to the impending winter weather. The fortress of Eszek would be besieged in the spring by the Bosnian governor Hüseyin Pasha.125

**Reconquest of Avlona and Kanina**

Ottoman forces in Morea had also joined the Austrian campaign under the commander of the Beglerbegi of the Morea, Koca Halil Pasha. The Venetian army had both attacked from the sea and the land and captured the fortresses of Avlona and Kanina. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, when he received this information, charged the beylerbegi of Morea Koca Halil Pasha, the beylerbegi of Rumelia Cafer Pasha, the beylerbegi of İskenderiye Süleyman Pasha and Mahmud Pasha who was the sandjakbegi of Prizren and Dukakin to recapture these fortresses and to clear the enemy from the region. It was decided that the necessary ammunition would be provided from the fortress of Belgrade and from the fortresses that were near the fortresses of Avlona and Kanina. The Ottoman army immediately moved to that region and after vehement struggles recaptured these fortresses and cleared the vicinity of the enemy.126

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha ordered the conquest of Shanis Island on the Danube River when he came back from Eszek. Although the Island of Shanis was a small one, it was fortified by Austria and there was also artillery there. This situation required the conquest

125 Ibid., 173.
of the islet due to the fact that it rendered difficult the movement of the Danube fleet and it was also an obstacle for future aid. The non-muslims of the islet surrendered to Ottoman forces after a short siege. They were permitted to leave on condition that they would work for the overhaul of the fortress of Belgrade.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha sent the Crimean Han with his soldiers to İstanbul, made final appointments for the protection of the region and resolved the provisioning problems of the city; he moved towards İstanbul on 5 November. The army arrived at Davud Pasha Sahraşı near İstanbul via the menzils of Hisarcık, Semendire, Gabrova, Vidin, Kırkkilise and Edirne.127 Sultan Süleyman II had come to the Sahra of Davud Pasha to welcome the army, despite his illness. Grand Vizier Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was invited to the pavilion, otagh, of the Sultan; and he received gifts.128 The Sipahi soldiers coming from Anatolia and other eyalets had been permitted in Sahra of Davud Pasha to go to their home districts before the army entered İstanbul. The grand vizier moved towards İstanbul with the sultan and janissaries when these soldiers had moved to their home districts.

127 Silahdar Fındıklı Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi, p. 547.
128 Ibid., 547-548; «Hoş geldin yol zahmetleri, berhudar ol, yüzün ak, kılıçın berrak, ekmeğim sana helal olsun. Dilhah-i himayunum üzere hizmet eyledin, seylerinden böyle bir ular gaza dünyesser olmadi. Hakk-ı cell ü 'alâ hazretleri takdirdine muvaffak etmek ancak zaman-ı saadetimize sana nasib oldu.»
Continuation of the Campaign

The campaign of the Ottoman army under the leadership of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha proved to be successful in Rumelia against the armies of Austria, Hungary and Venice. The imminent winter after the fall of Belgrade had prevented the capture of Eszek and its vicinity and also the pursuit of the enemy army. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had appointed Özi Beylerbegi Çerkez Ahmed Pasha to protect of Erdel against the Austrian army while coming back from Eszek. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha also sent Silahor Süleyman Pasha with a number of janissaries and Tatar soldiers to Erdel while he was coming back to Istanbul after the conquest of Belgrade. Süleyman Pasha would capture Erdel and would re-enthrone Emre Thokoly as the king of Erdel. He would also provide soldiers and provisitions to the fortresses of Temesvar, Göle, Yanova and Varad which were defended by Ottoman forces. After capturing the fortress of Lipve with the forces of Beylerbegi Cafer Pasha, Süleyman Pasha entered Erdel with him. However, almost the whole of Erdel was in the hands of Austrian and Hungarian forces. Emre Thokoly was completely defeated by Austrian forces. Winter was also thwarting the maneouvre of the Ottoman forces. If the Ottoman state did not carry out a campaign against Austria in the spring, the region of Erdel would be lost and the successes of the first campaign would be in vain.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Behçet İbrahim Efendi, Tarih., p. 175-177.
Activities of Fazil Mustafa Pasha in İstanbul

Fazil Mustafa Pasha gave particular attention to financial affairs and the rebellions in Egypt and Cyprus when he came back to Istanbul. He also dealt with preparations for the campaign against the Austrians who were in control in Erdel. Fazil Mustafa Pasha did not himself want to participate in the spring campaign. He was eager that another officer be appointed as army commander. His purpose was to continue the works he had started after returning to Istanbul and to become more closely involved in the problems of the state. If he had joined the campaign, his work would not have been completed.

Another matter which concerned him was that Sultan Süleyman II was ill and could suddenly die due to his illness. A qualified prince had to be enthroned after death of Sultan. The candidates for the throne were Mustafa II who was the son of Mehmed IV and Ahmed, the brother of Süleyman II. Mustafa II was supported by those people opposed to Fazil Mustafa Pasha. The grand vizier supported Ahmed II. The issue of the campaign was discussed in diwan and Fazil Mustafa Pasha expressed his wish not to participate in person. The diwan members indicated that it would be more beneficial if Fazil Mustafa Pasha joined the expedition as the commander of the army. At the end of the meeting it was decided that Fazil Mustafa Pasha would command the army, and the Sultan and princes would be sent to Edirne.130

Departure of the Army from İstanbul

Fazil Mustafa Pasha completed his final preparations and moved towards Edirne via the Sahra of Davud Pasha on 2 May 1691 when he appointing his relative Amca-zade Hüseyin Pasha as the kaim-makam of Istanbul. Soldiers from Anatolia and other eyelets would join the army in Edirne and in Rumelia. The army arrived in Edirne on 11 May via the menzils of Ordu, Küçük Çekmece, Büyük Çekmece, Silivri, Çorlu and Bergos.131 Fazil

130 Ibid., 177.
131 MAD, 7157, p. 32.
Mustafa Pasha stayed in Edirne for four days. Before leaving, he warned his officers that Ahmed II would be enthroned if Süleyman II died. The army reached Belgrade on 22 June via the same menzils as in the previous year. On 26 June when the army was at the menzil of Akıncı, they were informed, that Sultan Süleyman II had died on 23 June and that Ahmed II was enthroned the same day. The grand vizier received a Hatt-ı Hümayun, seal, and hilat sent by the new Sultan Ahmed II On 1 July, before arriving at the Sava.¹³²

**Battle of Slankamen**

The Austrian army was between Varadin and Zemlin when the army reached Belgrade. The Ottomans heard that part of the enemy force was proceeding towards the Sahra of Zemun which was near Belgrade.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha planned to attack the Austrians from the river Sava before the arrival of the enemy army at Belgrade. However, refused to comply it. Since part of the Anatolian army and especially the Crimean troops had not yet arrived. They indicated that it would be dangerous to move towards the enemy army before the arrival of the Crimean Army.¹³³ Fazıl Mustafa Pasha did not accept this hypothesis and ordered the establishment of a bridge on the river Sava for the future use of his army. Moreover, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha undertook new precautions to stave off the dangers that could come from the Danube and to preclude future support for the enemy. The Danubean fleet reached to Belgrade on 27 July. On 6 August The whole Ottoman army moved towards the Zemun sahra where the enemy army was, via the river Sava. They saw that the enemy army had withdrawn when they arrived at Zemun on 7 August 1691. This withdrawal encouraged Fazıl Mustafa Pasha and he moved towards Karlowitz, in order to hinder the Austrian army which withdrew towards Varadin. The Ottoman army arrived at the menzil of Slankamen before the Austrian forces. The intention of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was to gain time until the arrival of the Crimean army.

¹³² Ibid., 33, 34.
The commander of the Austrian army suddenly attacked when he was informed that the road to Varadin was occupied by the Ottomans. On 20 August Ottoman forces, resisted the first attack. Commander Ludwig attacked for a second time. During this attack, Austrian weaponry caused the withdrawal and the flight of Türkmen and Ekrad forces on the right wing. Simultaneously, kapikulu cavalry on the same wing began to withdraw when they realized that they could expect no relief. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha attacked the enemy center when he saw that the enemy proceeded towards his center via the right wing. This encouraged the his army and initiated a general attack when the enemy army began to withdraw, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was wounded in his forehead. Soldiers who were near him announced the fall of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha to the ground by crying out that “The commander has fallen”. This a panic and the Ottoman army began to withdraw, to the advantage of the Austrian forces. Although the Austrian forces were exhausted, they managed to capture the Ottoman camp (ordugah). They seized the treasury and heavy weaponry. Halep Beglerbegi Halil Pasha took over command of the army which began to withdraw towards Belgrade. He aimed to take the army to Belgrade without its disintegration. At the same time, the captain of Danube who was on the river at the moment captured a great deal of enemy ammunition and provisions vessels. The field of battle was covered with scores of bodies: both sides had enormous casualties. However, the body of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha could not be found on the battle field.\footnote{Ibid., 591-595. MAD, 7157, p. 36-37. Behçeti İbrahim Efendi, Tarih., p. 178-179. Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, Zübde., p. 400-402.}
Permission for the Rebuilding of Churches

At the beginning of the second chapter, it was stated that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had abolished the wine and arak tax imposed on non-muslim subjects when he became grand vizier. As stated in the same chapter, his purpose was to regain the support of people who were inclined to collaborate with enemy. He attempted to achieve his aim not merely by abrogating the tax but also through other incentives. For instance, prisoners taken after the conquest of Niš and Belgrade were freed and allowed to return to their home districts. They also received provisions from the state granaries. The Austrian army, during its withdrawal from Belgrade by the Ottoman army, had taken approximately 10,000 non-muslim subjects from between Belgrade and Niš. They were settled on the islets of the Danube and across the river. When the Ottomans captured these regions, these people requested from the grand vizier to be resettled in their former locations. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha gave permission for this and appointed çavuş to provide security travelled as they towards their villages. These people were also provided from state granaries with wheat suitable for seeding, barley and also oxen.  

Another incentive was permission for the restoration of churches on the Ottoman frontiers. The establishment and the overhaul of churches in the Ottoman state had depended upon the permission of the state. A church could not be built and repaired without permission. Churches that were not restored for a long time, became neglected and

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inappropriate for worship. Churches in deserted places became ruined. Many churches had also been demolished due to neglect caused by the abandonment of villages as their inhabitants settled in secure places to escape the Celali Rebellions in Anatolia, or left their villages due to wars waged in Rumelia. Non-muslim subjects, who returned to their former lands after the reestablishment of security in Anatolia and Rumelia, requested permission from Fazıl Mustafa Pasha to rebuild their churches and this was granted. From many different regions of the empire came requests for permission restore churches and this was granted. Church restoration was under the control of kadıs. The establishment of a new church or the addition of a new building to a church was not permitted. There would be a punishment for those who violated this rule.\textsuperscript{136}

Cizye Reform

The term *cizye* designates the poll-tax imposed on non-muslim male subjects who did not change their religion and continued to live in an Islamic country under the dhimma law. By the same token, the state guaranteed security of life, property and religious freedom to zimmis. *Cizye* was not taken from children, women, the disabled, the poor or priests.137

In the Ottoman state, the term *harac* was used in place of *cizye* until the sixteenth century but later the use of *cizye* or *cizye-i şer'i* became widespread. Cizye was taken by two methods according to Islamic law. One was called *maktu* and the second was *cizye ale'r-ruüs*. *Maktu cizye* was a fixed amount of money. This method of collection was widespread and referred either to the annual payment by christian prince-domains that were bound vassals of the Ottoman state, or else to a lump sum taken from zimmi subjects of the padishah by community. Thus a decrease in the population of a community for any reason, led to an increase in the shares of the remaining members and thus zimmis became less able to pay their cizye. With the passage of time administrative control became weak, and regular registration of cizye payers was neglected. According to *Vakiat-ı Ruzmerre* the amount of cizye per person was 30-40 akça in certain regions and 2000-3000 akça in other regions.138 Documented example is the situation in Varna in 1685. By 1685, non-muslim subjects had 1295 households (hane) in Varna and were obliged to pay 355.050 akça as cizye. However, after the second Vienna defeat in 1683, most of the non-muslims left Varna. A new sensus conducted in Varna in 1685. According to census results, the number of households was now only 876 and the amount of cizye to be paid was 285.970 akça. If there had not been a new census in Varna, non-muslim subjects would have still been obliged to pay 355.050 akça.139

138 See Text III.
139 MAD 7395, p. 11.
Tax-payers by the method of cizye-i ale’r-ruûs were divided into three groups, a’lå “rich”, evsat “middle” and edna “poor”. The amount of cizye paid by them was respectively 48, 24 and 12 şer’i dirhem of silver, or 4, 2 and 1 gold dinar.140

Cizye, were one of the most important revenue resources of the Ottoman state, especially as expenditures increased after the Second Vienna Siege and statesmen sought to overcome the financial crisis.141 I will give information about the cizye reform during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha by answering the questions below What was the nature of the cizye reform of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha? Had any similar reforms been attempted before this reforms? Did Fazıl Mustafa Pasha play an active role? What prompted the cizye reform of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha? What were the developments and consequences?

The cizye reform of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was based on the principle of Cizye-i ale’r-ruûs, namely, cizye tax would be collected according to the degree of wealth and income of the non-muslims. This was begun in İstanbul on 26.10.1688 and in November 1688, firmans explaining this reform were sent to other provinces.142 Therefore, the attempt at cizye reform began before the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha who came to office in late 1689. We have no information as to whether Fazıl Mustafa Pasha played an active role in this first attempt. During that time, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was the muhafiz of Kandiye. We may

142 Mühtime 98, p. 11-12, «Brusa, İzmir, Manisa mollahlarına Kuşadası kadısana ve zikr olunan kazaların Yahudi tâñfesi tahririne me’mur olan zide kudruhîya hüküm ki, bundan akdem hâzinin ... ve kezret ve kesreti zamanlarında memâlik-i mahrûsam dahi Yahudilerden harac-i şer’î noksan üzere taleb ve hazine-i âmire defterlerine kayd olunub, sinif-i sâbikada ... cizyeleri şey’-i ka’îl olub ihmal olundugundan her vechile müreffehî’-ı hal idiler. Halen mütemekkin bulundukları yerde kendüleri ve ... ve murâhik (?) olub harac-i şer’î taleb olunmak bi-hasebi’s-şer’î ve’l-kâmûn caiz olanların múceddeden kendülerinin ve babalarının isimleri ilı ale’l- esâmî ‘âlâ ve evsat ve edna itibarı ile harac-i şer’î taleb olunmak üzere defter olunub ve defter mucevhenle her birinden rüycî’-ı vakt olan dirhem-i şer’î hesâbi üzerinde ’ällândan 816 akça, evsatından 408 akça ve ednasından 204 akça harac-i şer’îleri ırslal olunan mübahîr muvvmifette tahsil itdirilüb biz maktu’ kaydolmuş idik veyahud hâneye bağlu idik deyy illet ve bahane itdirilmeyüb tahirim olunaklari üzre tahsil ve ordu-yi hümâyûnûna irsîl eylîyesiz deyy yazılmıştır. Fi evsat-ı M. Sene 1100. Birer sureti dahî Haleb, Şam, Kudüs, Trabûssam, Sayda, Beyrut, Lefkoşe, Kbris, Sakiz, Rodos cezirelerine, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Karahisar-ı şarkî, Trabzon, Sürmene, Musul, Ankara, Karahisar-ı sahib, Amasya, Divriği, Iğdır, Arapkir, Kırk kilise, Yanbolu, Karinbad, Vidin Sancaklarına ve Bağdad, Basra ve Misir valilerine gönderilmişdir.» See also Document 24.
suppose that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha supported this reform because the census officers could have been sent during the Istanbul kaim-makamlik of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. He activated this reform and strictly controlled it when he became grand vizier.

Fazıl Mustafa Pasha endeavoured to disseminate this innovation across the whole empire in 1691, including merchants and non-Muslims within its scope. 4 şerifi gold were to be collected from a'lä, 2 from evsat, 1 from edna or 48 dirhems silver from a'lä, 24 from evsat and 12 from edna (as esedi kuruş, 9 from a'lä, 4.5 from evsat and 2.25 from edna. As akça 816 from a'lä, 408 from evsat and 204 from edna).¹⁴³ The second part of the cizye reform was the transfer of cizye revenues to the cizye muhasebesi kalemi, except those of Egypt, Bagdad, Basra, Eflak, Bogdan and Dubrovnik. They were to be considered as treasury revenues. It was decided that the incomes of various mukataas, sultanic vakıfs, hass of vizier and sandjakbeg and cizye assigned as odjaklik, were to be collected as one unit by the Cizye Muhasebesi kalemi.¹⁴⁴ i.e., cizye would not be collected by the groups mentioned above but by the treasury on its own account. Cizye would be collected by cizyedars appointed by the treasury. Moreover, the cizyedars would receive from a'lä 10 para, from evsat 8 para, from edna 4 para.¹⁴⁵

The new method of cizye collection was introduced by categorizing cizye payers as a'lä, evsat and edna. Separate receipts for each group bore the seals of Cizye Muhasebecisi and Defterdar. Cizye collectors received 20-30 thousand of these receipts. The cizye papers of a'lä, evsat and edna were in different colours. After the tax collection the cizye collector also had to stamp his seal on the cizye paper retained by the tax payer. Thus, there were three different seals on a single cizye paper. The purpose of these seals and papers was to prevent problems and abuses. When non-Muslims were asked whether they had paid their cizye, they

¹⁴³ See Text VI.
¹⁴⁴ See Text II.
had to show these papers. The collectors had to account for the number of papers given to them. The collectors were responsible for the quantity of tax collected as well as the number of papers given them.146

The collection of cizye, as stated above, first began in Istanbul. Sari Osman Agha, the former Customs intendant (Gümürük Eminî, was appointed to the post of collecting cizye of Istanbul on 12.3.1691.147 Sari Osman Agha delivered the first cizye moneys collected from non-muslims in Istanbul to the treasury on 13.5.1692. The task of collection lasted approximately 15 months. Sari Osman Agha distributed 8.235 cizye papers to jews in Galata, Hasköy and Üsküdar, of whom 545 were a’lâ, 3.469 were evsat and 4.221 were edna.148 The total number of cizye papers distributed by Sari Osman Pasha in Galata was 12.821. This number comprised 1.015 a’lâ, 7.584 evsat and 4.222 edna. The number of cizye paper distributed in central Istanbul was 23.873. Consisting of 2.501 a’lâ, 15.651 evsat and 5.721 edna. The number of cizye paper distributed for Yave cizye in Galata and in a total of central Istanbul center was 20.292. Sari Osman Agha had distributed a total of 54.404 cizye papers.149 Sari Osman Agha collected 12.500 kuruş as total of the cizye of Istanbul.150

Cizye was collected in other cities of the Ottoman Empire as it was in Istanbul, namely the same procedures were followed. Problems emerged due to the different money types used in cizye collection and in submission to the treasury. Non-muslims wanted to pay their cizyes with the type of money that they held at that moment. This situation led to confusion in calculation and to abuses as well. Therefore a firman issued in August 1692 declared that yaldız gold, Hungarian gold and esedi kurus would not be given as cizye tax, but only şerifi gold and sim-i hâlis would be accepted.151

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147 See Text III.
148 MAD 1276, p. 1.
151 See Text VI.
It would be pertinent to consider the cizye revenues since the beginning of the reform, in order to understand whether the cizye reform introduced during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was successful in augmenting treasury revenue.

Below, Table III is total annual cizye revenues and their ratios of budget income.\(^{152}\)

**Table III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Cizye (akça)</th>
<th>Budget ratio as %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1103/1691-92</td>
<td>223,258,191</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1104/1692-93</td>
<td>409,569,392</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1110/1698-99</td>
<td>533,270,820</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1113/1701-2</td>
<td>537,535,400</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1114/1702-3</td>
<td>546,452,360</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below, Table IV is the annual number of Christian and Jews cizyes in Anatolia and Rumelia.\(^{153}\)

**Table IV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Cizye (akça)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1101/1689-90</td>
<td>156,521,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1102/1690-91</td>
<td>311,945,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1103/1691-92</td>
<td>275,211,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1104/1692-93</td>
<td>342,530,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105/1693-94</td>
<td>348,751,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1106/1694-95</td>
<td>359,511,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1107/1695-96</td>
<td>370,100,380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{153}\) Ibid., p. 147.
It is obvious that cizye revenues considerably after the reform of cizye. These increases continued in subsequent years and they became an important source of revenue for the state treasury. Therefore one may cogently argue that, the reform of cizye exercised during the grand vizierate period of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was successful. With this reform, cizye became a continuous and important source of revenue for the empire.

**Monetary Policy**

In this chapter we shall try to provide information on monetary policy during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha.

By asking what conditions affected the monetary policy pursued during that period? If these conditions prevailed before his period, what were the policies pursued by previous grand viziers? Did Fazıl Mustafa Pasha play an active role in formulating these policies? What were the results of the policies he actually pursued? Was the monetary policy a sequel to previous policies? What were the consequences of this policy? How did it affect reaya and the state? Finally, was this policy successful or not?

The events that affected the monetary policy pursued during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had begun earlier. The wars after the second Vienna defeat in 1683 caused an increase in military expenditures and a decrease in state revenues. The Austrians had captured Hungary, Serbia and the Danube area and the Venetians had seized Dalmatia, losses of land which caused a great decline in the tax revenue of the Ottoman state. The prolonged war had also hindered the payment of wages so that and unpaid janissaries rebelled and dethroned Mehmed IV. Süleyman II, the successor of Mehmed IV, sent silver and gold objects the Imperial Mint to (Darbhane from the Palace (Enderun and (Has Ahur in to be melted order down to pay the salaries. However, these attempts were insufficient.

A new tax *imdad-i seferiye* was first imposed on Istanbul and later on the whole country; secondly cizye income was transferred to the treasury, and finally the *bedel-i timar*
was again levied. A new akça adjustment was made in May 1688 when the last property from the palace was minted. 17 units of akça were minted from 1 dirhem of silver instead of 5. Furthermore, the state minted mankur (mangır) from copper from 13.9.1688. This was an attempt to control inflation. 800 mankur could be minted from 1 okka copper. 2 mankur was equivalent to 1 akça. The reaya initially had no reaction to the mankur which was used even in trade in the market. 

We have no not a definite information as to whether Fazıl Mustafa Pasha played an active role in these reforms. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was the muhafız of Kandiye when mankurs were first minted in Istanbul. Therefore one may argue that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha did not play an active role in the minting of mankurs. However, one may claim that Fazıl Mustafa Pasha espoused the mankur policy and supported since he continued this policy in an extreme manner during his grand vizierate. The mankur was withdrawn from circulation after the death of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha.

As stated above, the monetary policy pursued during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was the sequel of previous policies. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha exercised this policy in a harsh manner, even thought it was disadvantageous for the people. A new monetary adjustment was made in 1690. 1 mankur became equivalent to 1 akça. Thus 1 kuruş was equivalent to 120 mankur, Şerif gold to 270 mankur and Yaldız gold to 300 mankur. 

The great appreciation of the mankur compared to its former value coused increased inflation. As a matter of fact, the real cause of inflation was not only the new adjustment in the mankur value. In the same period, spurious mankurs were widespread in the market. During the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, spurious mankurs were minted in Rumelia especially in 1690. The reaya and traders preferred the spurious mankurs. For example in Tarlan village of Yenişehir kazası in Tırhala Sandjagi and in Beşkapılı, village of Görüce

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154 Halil Sahillioğlu, Bir Asırlık Osmanlı Para Tarihi 1640-1740, p. 75-85.
155 See Text IV. V.
kazasi in Pasha Sandjadi, 8-9 hundred spurious mankurs were traded in the market for 1 gold piece and 3-4 hundred for 1 kuruş. The reaya changed its gold and silver to mankur in the above mentioned places. While the state offered 120 mankur for 1 kuruş, the counterfeiters provided 3-4 hundred mankurs for 1 kuruş. By the same token, traders that come from Rumelia and brought tobacco from Yenice-i Karasu and Yenice-i Vardar, had begun to bring mankur instead of tobacco.

Faced with this situation the state sought for solutions in order to prevent the minting of spurious mankurs. Firstly, the production of mankur in Bosnia was prohibited in 4 January 1691. The purpose was to provide the mankurs from merely one source, that is from the Istanbul Mint and to preclude the spurious mankurs coming from Rumelia in this way. The relevant firman indicated that spurious mankurs should not be accepted. The reaya lost confidence in the state over its mankur policy when the Mint of Bosnia was closed. For instance, the reaya began not to accept mankur minted 1 year before in Istanbul Mint, but they accepted the mankur minted a few months eacher. The other measure taken by the state to control spurious mankurs, was the strict pursuit of spurious mankurs. In this way, thousands of spurious mankurs were seized, and melted down in the Istanbul Mint. The state bought the that melted copper by paying 1 kuruş for one kryye. Thus, the state both prevented the spurious mankurs coming to Istanbul and provided a certain quantity of copper for the Mint.

What kind of problems had the mankur policy of the state and the abundance of spurious mankurs created? This situation led to a shortage of food and also to black market, namely, the increase of the prices since the traders and their customers were willing to use mankurs when they bought goods. However, producer preferred to sell their goods in exchange for silver and gold. Therefore, there was a shortage of food in Istanbul and prices increased. For example, a kryye of meat which was one of the most important essentials, rose

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157 Ibid., p. 109-111.
to 32 akça. A kile of rice increased from 120 akça to 200 akça, wheat from 80-90 akça to 180 akça and barley from 40 akça to 60 akça.\textsuperscript{158}

In order to prevent price increases and the shortage of food, the government summoned the \textit{kethüdas} and \textit{yigitbashis} from all walks of life. In the meeting, it was unanimously decided to prohibit the use of old mankurs in trade, and then substitution by new mankurs minted in İstanbul. It was also declared that those who disobeyed would be punished. Assets and liabilities would be transacted $\frac{2}{3}$ in gold and silver and $\frac{1}{3}$ as mankur and those who did conform with that rule would be punished.\textsuperscript{159}

It is obvious that the application of new rules regarding the mankur were not only pernicious for the reaya, but also caused temporary loses to the state treasury. Officers and \textit{mültezims} in Rumelia, Anatolia and in other eyalets, who had exchanged the taxes collected in gold for mankur as a result of the collaboration with Jews bankers (sarrafı̈s) gave mankur to the treasury instead of gold. This deprived the treasury of gold and kuruş, which the state needed in order to buy certain supplies for the campaign. This shortage of gold and kuruş put the state in a difficult position. It was declared that, taxes collected as gold and silver would be directly given to the treasury as gold and silver and mankur would not be accepted.\textsuperscript{160}

It is stated above that there was a loses of confidence in the mankur, in the great cities, especially in İstanbul, where there was shortage of food and prices increased as a result of the monetary adjustment of 1690. For instance, producers accepted 1 gold piece as equivalent to 500 mankur and 1 esedi kuruş as equivalent to 200 mankur which was approximately equivalent to half of the value stipulated by the state for the mankur. The state set 1 kuruş as equivalent to 120 mankur, and 1 gold piece as 270-300 mankur.\textsuperscript{161} Therefore, artisans

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., p. 115-116.
\textsuperscript{159} See Text V.
\textsuperscript{160} See Text I.
\textsuperscript{161} See Text IV.
(esnafs) became unable to buy goods or sell them. Goods were sold at high prices ion the black market.

The increase of military expenditures after the Second Vienna Siege, required a new monetary adjustment. Hence, in firmans issued on 28.6.1691, 1 şerifi and Hungarian gold piece appreciated from 270 mankur to 360 mankur, Yaldız gold from 300 mankur to 400 mankur, 1 kuruş from 120 mankur to 160 mankur and one para from 3 mankur to 4 mankur. Besides, it was decided that the state would calculate these money values at the old rate of exchange for its revenues, namely it would receive 1 kuruş as 120 mankur, Şerifi gold as 270 mankur and Yaldız gold as 300 mankur, but would apply the new rates to its expenditures.\textsuperscript{162} The state accrued 25% profit from this difference in exchange rates.

The monetary policy exercised during the grand vizierate period of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, attempted to put state finances in a better situation, so that soldiers could receive their wages, and endeavored to cover state expenditures through the minting of mankur.

Thus, the Ottoman governors prevented income for military expenditures and rebellion was avoided. The state treasury, traders and black marketeers benefited from the reforms. However, the reaya and the artisans found themselves in a very difficult position due to price increases. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha emphasized the issue of religion in exercising his monetary policy in order to win the support of the reaya and he was supported by the ulema in the continuation of his policy.\textsuperscript{163} This monetary policy based on inflation which was exercised in an extreme manner during the grand vizierate of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, was a momentous experience for the state. The mankur was withdrawn from circulation immediately after the death of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha on 16.11.1691. Henceforth, the state returned to gold and silver money.

\textsuperscript{162} See Text IV.
\textsuperscript{163} See Text V.
Transaction of Narh

Narh, the setting of a maximum price for basic necessities, and the regular inspection of prices and weights and measures in the bazaar were among the most important responsibilities of the head of the community, whether sultan or local kadi. Ottoman sultans took this duty most seriously, since the prevention of a shortage of basic goods and an economy of plenty was a central concern of the sultan. As the absolute proxy of the sultan, The grand vizier was Therefore he had among the people who were directly responsible for the execution of Narh.

Fazil Mustafa Pasha did not consider narh an important issue during his grand vizierate. He did not interfere in prices. This neglect led to an increase in prices and caused reaya to the suffer. This situation was occasionally reported to Fazil Mustafa Pasha and he was demanded for taking precautions. Why did Fazil Mustafa Pasha not control the narh despite the price increases and the difficult position of the reaya? What was his attitude regarding narh? Was it based on religious or economic considerations?

Fazil Mustafa Pasha underwent a medrese education from his childhood, and studied Islamic sciences and especially the hadith. Therefore he had a sound knowledge of religion and great respect towards Islamic law and the ulema. All of his actions were based on Islamic law and he always emphasized the religious angle. One may claim that his attitude towards narh was based on Islamic law as well, since Muhammed, prophet of the muslims, refused the implementation of narh despite the great desire of the people. This attitude of the prophet on the issue of narh, continued during the time of his successors.

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164 Halil İnalcık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600.”, p. 46.
165 M. Zeki Pakalın, Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü, p. 655.
Mukataa and Tax Farm System

A mukataa means a source of revenue estimated and entered into the registers of the finance department, each as a separate unit. The Ottoman State could convert any kind of agricultural, commercial and industrial enterprises into tax farms, mukataa. Although the incomes of tax farms was belonging to the Ottoman state they could be appropriated to the vakfs, they could be given as salaries, (ulufe ), or ocaklık, or they could be allocated as zeamet and hase to Ottoman Statesman and Viziers.

From the introduction of mukataa system, the management of tax farms by iltizam or emanet was the standard application. iltizam referred to the acquired right of tax collection by an entrepreneur (tax farmer) in return of an amount of money which was fixed at auction. Mukataas was in general bidded at auction for 1 to 3 years periods. While emanet, the other method to collect taxes was to appoint a salaried government commissssioner, an emin, to do job of a tax-farmer. The agrarian taxes to be collected from the land reserved for the Sultan (Havass-ı Hümayun), or more exactly for the central treasury, were generally sold as tax-farms to private persons, The viziers and governors for their hase benefices and even big timar holders resorted to the same method, or sometimes they employed stewards.

After giving these informations my aim is to explain the changes in mukataa system during the period of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha by asking several questions. After the Second Vienna defeat and the relative worsening of Ottoman situation with what kind of problems the Ottomans faced? Do these problems continued during the period of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha? Or do new problems arisen? And if so how Fazıl Mustafa Pasha tried to solve these. And finally was there any relation between the transactions of the tax farms in the period of Fazıl

167 Halil İnalcık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600.”, p. 57-58.
168 For instance the mukata of Yenil belonged to the vakf of Uskudar Valide Sultan Camii.
169 KK 3076 there are many mukaatas like this.
170 The mukataa of Karahisar-ı Sahib ihtisab ihzariye was given The governor of Anatolia as havass MAD 139, p. 28.
171 Halil İnalcık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600.”, p. 65-66.
Mustafa Pasha and the *Malikane* system which was declared in 1695 shortly after the death of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha?

The Second Vienna defeat and continuing wars caused serious financial problems and sharp decreases in the *mukataa* incomes, obviously one of the major cash source of the State. One of the main reasons was the loss in the Ottoman territories on borders, sometimes permanently and sometimes temporarily, due to the war defeats and consequently the loss of *mukataas*. Another reason was the delays in payments and also excessive amounts of collected taxes from the subjects by the *mültezims*. This situation gave rise to both to a decrease in State incomes and to the abandonment of lands by the Ottoman subjects. In the other areas of the Ottoman Empire, a similar situation was experienced. For instance in Southeearn Anatolia in the province of Rakka, between the years 1680-1695, of the two hundreds villages given as *mukataas* approximately 10-15 % survived. The others were deserted and ruined due to brigandage and extra taxes. Another serious problem was a kind of double selling which means the selling of the right of tax collection by the State before the end of the contract with the initial tax farmer, *mültezim*, which certainly caused a lack of trust on the side of the candidate tax farmers.

These problems continued when Fazıl Mustafa Pasha became Grand vizier. His first action was to try to resettle the subjects on deserted lands. Consequently the subjects would be able to cultivate their lands and pay their taxes. Although his migration politics was

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172 Mühimme 100, p. 127. MAD 19862, p. 9; «Az-ı bende-i bi-mikdar budur ki, Rumeli ve Anadolu'da vâki' bazı mûkataalarî nice kimeseler her sene kendilere almak için bundan akdem bir târîk ile hatt-i hümayûn alub ocaktî makaminda kendilere tâpîs eylemişlerve niceleri dahi 'ulûfe bedeli deyî alub bi-berat zabt ederler mâl-ı mukâtaat kapu kullânının mevâciblerine her üç âyda bir taksit iken vakt ü zamanindî taksîterîn eda eylemeyüb müzâyaka-i hâziyeye bâ'îs olduklarında gayrî verdikleri ademlerle tahammülünden ziyâde fazla ile vermeleriyle zabt edenlerin ta'addî ve tecâvûzînden re'âyâ fûkarasî mukaddemâ 'az-ı hâl eylediklerinde şikâyetlerin ruhsât ve müsâ'ade olsunmdîğindanパーレケェ ve peşîn olmaga bâ'îs olmagla bu mâ kullânı mukâtaat zabt edenlerden vakt ü zamanıla taksit vermeyleleri ta'addî ve tecâvûzleriinden re'âyâ fûkarasî şikâyet edenlerin üzerinden reî ve peşîn ve taksit ve kefîli olanlara der ühde olsunmak için ferman-i 'îhsân buyurulmak habinda ferman devletli ve sa'âdetli sultanım hazretlerînindir. Der zaman-ı Hüseyîn Efendi.» Fi Şehr-i Ca Sene 1099.

173 MAD 9856, p. 30.


175 KK 2728, p. 21.
successful, the transaction of mankur system in the same period caused unfortunately a new problem. As cited above (in the chapter of Reforms under the subtitle of monetary policies). The mültezims were insisting on the collection of taxes in gold, silver or para and paying the State in mankur. Furthermore the subjects in their turn wanted to do their payments in mankur while to collect in gold, silver or para. Such a situation was obviously creating many difficulties for each party. In order to solve this problem a decree was issued in 1691 by Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, under the reign of Süleyman II. According to this decree the two third of the incomes of mukataa and avarız should be collected in gold, silver or para while the remaining part, the one third in mankur and also should be delivered to state treasury in the same manner. In the same year another decree was issued concerning the problem of double selling. With this firman, a guarantee was given to tax farmers on the prevention of reselling of tax farms before the end of the contract.

A major issue regarding our subject is the relation of mukataa and iltizam system in Fazıl Mustafa Pasha's time with malikane system of which the application became widespread by a decree dating 1695. It's well known that a malikane is a life term tax farming instead of a fixed short term period such as one to three years. According to Mehmet Genç the malikane system was applied before 1695, in Southeastern Anatolia and Egypt. But where and how was the application of malikane, both long before the issuance of the decree and also during the time of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha should be understood. Especially due to the wars, after 1683 there was a growing gap between the incomes and expenditures of the State. (see Table V below)

179 D. BŞM 569 p.1-20
The State, for solving this problem looked for means in order to control his budget, increase his income and to decrease the expenditures.\textsuperscript{180} For this purpose the State begin to sell the \textit{mukataas} in return of a fixed lump sum, \textit{maktu}, instead of bidding at auction. For instance, in the province of Rakka (the case above) the deserted \textit{mukataa} villages were transformed into \textit{maktu} and were sold as tax farms to the local prominent figures.\textsuperscript{181} This

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Year & Income(kese) & Outcome(kese) \\
\hline
1053 & 8574 & 8563 \\
1064 & 13443 & 16458 \\
1072 & 9687 & 9893 \\
1077 & 13835 & 15886 \\
1099 & 14007 & 18020 \\
1102 & 11315 & 16257 \\
1103 & 16363 & 18583 \\
1104 & 16067 & 18380 \\
1105 & 15948 & 19004 \\
1106 & 18933 & 22283 \\
1108 & 18773 & 21923 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table V}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{180} Mehmet Genç, Malikâne, p. 233-235.
\textsuperscript{181} MAD 9856, P. 30; «Mukata’ât-i kazâ-i Ruha, Rakka eyaletinde váki ’ 200 mikedâri mukata’ât karyeleri olub, 10-20 selden beri Ekrâd ta’cizinden ve sâr tekâlidinden 20-30 mikedâri karyesi kalub, maadası hâlí ve harâbe oub, hâlâ mu’attat kalmalı hâlâ vilâyetin a’yân ve eşrâf, ‘ulemâ ve sülêhâsî zikr olunan harâbe karyeleri çift koşub, şen ve ahâdân maktû’ eyelemek üzere ta’ahhüt etmeleriyle sene be sene maktu’ların
application of *maktu* system was not only limited to Southeastern Anatolia, it was also applied in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. For instance in Rumelia, Filibe, the *çeltik mukataası* was transformed into *maktu* in the year 1688 and sold to a tax farmer.\(^\text{182}\) Such cases can easily be increased.\(^\text{183}\) Furthermore, after 1680's the members of military class begin to have the priority on the purchase of *maktu mukataas* as *iltizams* by leaving their salaries to the state treasury (*hazine manda*). The state was in favor of this application because he was both holding the salary and also the lump sum. For instance in the year 1682, Abdülbaki Yusuf Ağa, without drawing his salary of 15 akça per day, had moreover paid 175,000 akça each year for the purchase of the *mukataa* of Bergos customs.\(^\text{184}\)

It can be said that the *maktu* system had became widespread during the period of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha, and especially between the years 1689-1691 many *mukataas* were sold as tax farms under this procedure. The *berats* and the contracts held before the year 1689 were renewed. Besides same tax farmers had purchased these *mukataas* for *malikane* after the year 1695.\(^\text{185}\)

Finally it can be concluded that the application of maktu system, in fact a period of smooth transition to *malikane*, accelerated and became widespread in the Ottoman Empire during the time of Fazıl Mustafa Paşa, until the year 1695 when finally it was transformed to *malikane* system and it acquired a new title and legitimacy.

\(^\text{182}\) MAD 7550, p. 81; «Kili nezâretinden Akkirman mukâta'asına tâbi Şeyhderesi demekle ma'ruf Sarbay adlı karyede ancak iki nefer adanın sakin olub, aruzisiz zirâ'atden hâli oltâma sene'vi 2.000 akça nâzir olanlara sene be sene verilmek üzere ber vech-i maktû' kayd ve berât verilmek bânbânda mezbûr Mustafa ricâ edüb, 'urz-i hâl etmekle fi'l-vâki' hâli olduğu vâki ise mahalline kayd olunub berât verilmek üzere telhis olunub, arz olundukda mücebince berât verile deyti târih-i merkûmda fermân-ı 'âli sâdâr oltâmâla berât verilmiştir.» Fi 6 Za 1101.

\(^\text{183}\) MAD 9856, p. 71; «Akkirman kazasına tâbi karye-i Hacı Tabâ'ûmenâ itizâmdan hâric başka maktû' olub, mezbûrlar kendi mallaryla gift koşub, en ve âbâdan ve mâl-i mârûsin sene be sene her niceye ise vovodaları vakût ü zaman ile edât ve teslim ve yedinde ma'mûline temestûk aldıklarına nice ber vechi dimişiyet mutasarrîflar olub, ümenâ tarafîndan ve tarafî-ı âhârdan müdahale olunmaya deyû berât-ı şerîf verilmiştir.» Fi 3 Ça 1101.

\(^\text{184}\) MAD 3076, p. 17. MAD 7550, p. 8; 27. MAD 9856, p. 71. MAD 10277, p. 136-138.

\(^\text{185}\) MAD 3076 includes selling of the lump sum mukataas which were given as iltizam between the years of 1689-1691. MAD 7550, p. 27.
Confiscations

The state levied extra taxes from the reaya as necessary and also collected taxes and borrowed money from statesmen in different ways. Moreover, when tax-exempt persons from the military class died the state seized the cash portion of their inheritance. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha carried out many such confiscations on the grounds that the wealth was acquired unjustly. He confiscated 20 million akça from the estate of former kaim-makam Çelebi Mehmed, 55 million akça from former Grand Vizier Bekri Mustafa Pasha and 25 million akça from Serasker Mahmud Efendi. In this way, he had procured a great deal of income for the treasury.

Other economic measures taken by Fazıl Mustafa Pasha were the strict control of people who owed money to the treasury and the punishment of those who did not pay their debt. Grand viziers, defterdars and janissary aghas gave gifts (pişkeş) every year to the padishah. The amount was extremely high and people who gave pişkeş did not refrain abuses in order to regain the money spent by them. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha abolished this practice in order to preclude these abuses.

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186 M. Zeki Pakalın, Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü, p. 624-625.
188 Mühimme 99, p. 18, 19, 70, 124, 142, 149, 158, 162, 163, 173, 175.
189 Defterdar Sani Mehmed Paşa, Zübde, p. 358.
CONCLUSION

From the second siege of Vienna (1683) the Ottomans struggled against the armies of the Holy League namely Austria and Venice in Rumelia, the Morean Peninsula and in the Aegean. Almost all confrontations went against the Ottomans and resulted in territorial losses in all these regions. As a result of the defeats the state was confronted with tremendous problems at home, such as the crises in military, financial, political and social spheres.

At such a time, the state found an able leader in the person of the Grand Vizier Fazıl Mustafa Pasha. Fazıl Mustafa Pasha had in his early life received a good education, devoted himself to scholarly studies -especially in hadith- and even established a library. He personally joined the campaigns of Kandiye and Poland during his elder brother’s grand vizierate and improved his experience in the military field. He also developed experience within the state organization and bureaucracy when his brother-in-laws Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha and Siyavush Pasha were governor. Besides these, because of his familiarity with various areas of Anatolia and Rumelia, he had gained a good knowledge of the problems that the people were suffering from as well as the condition of the state.

Having these capabilities, Fazıl Mustafa Pasha became prominent by his activities toward the improvement of the affairs of the state when he was promoted to the post of Sadrazam. Above all, in order to regain the confidence of the people and prevent Christian subject from siding with the enemy, he aimed at removing the heavy tax burden levied by his predecessors. Knowing that, to end the long wars, it was necessary first to solve the financial crisis he undertook radical measures to provide income for the state treasury. Rather than
short-term measures such as adding new taxes as his predecessors did, he chose to take long-term measures to provide a steady income for the state. One of these measures was to cut the unjust gains of the parasitic elements within the janissaries. For that reason he ordered a first general survey to establish the number of "real" janissaries. This survey showed that so much money of the state was spent in unnecessary ways. He expelled about twenty thousand janissaries who had illegally entered the army. This effort provided 12 million akça for the state treasury. Another source of income that he channelled into the state treasury was his transfer of cizye collecting from the waqifs to the state - in this case, he provided 200 million akça to the state treasury. While doing this he also classified Christians according to their financial status and levied the cizye accordingly. Other than this, by putting strict control on those who were unwilling to pay their debts to the state, he provided a considerable source of income. The final long-term measure he took was to facilitate the return of those farmers who were uprooted from their land because of the wars by giving them oxen and seed.

He also tried to make the best use of military resources within the empire. For this reason he mobilized janissaries and timarlı sipahıs all over the empire in order to increase military potential. In doing this he especially used Turkomans and Yürük in Rumelia and Anatolia. The success of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha during his grand vizierate was ultimately dependent on emphasizing the religion factor and the support of ulema. Therefore he never faced opposition in achieving his aims. He always emphasized religion and stated that every transaction was for the benefit of Islam and the state, while putting his plans into action. The ulema which began to become effective during the grand vizierate period of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha reached the pinnacle of its power with Sheyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi in the early eighteenth century.

Consequently, one may claim that the grand vizierate period of Fazıl Mustafa Pasha was a period of recovery in the military, economic and political spheres. Especially the reforms introduced in the economic field were a learning experience for Ottoman statesmen.
For instance the policy of minting mankur, introduced during this period, was never again exercised. Benefits of the reform of the cizye became apparent in that period and this system continued until the middle of the nineteenth century.
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Der-i devlet-mekine 'arz-ı dâ'i-i kemîne budur ki,
Bundan esbâk taraf-ı Devlet-i 'aliyyeden Kıbrıs ceziresinde vâiki' zimmîlerden resm-i hamr ve 'arak için vârid olan emr-i 'âli ile mübâşırlere re'âyadan alınan akçaları yedlerinden girû ahr. ü kabız oluna deyû vârid buyurulan emr-i şerîf-i 'âlişan vusûl bulduktâ cümle re'âyâ mûvâçehelerinde feth ve kirrâat olundukda resm-i hamr ve 'arak için bir akça ve bir habbe virmedik deyû ba-cemâhem haber virilmeğin ol ki vâki' ül-haldir 'ala vükû'a der-i devlet masîre i'làm olundu. Hurrire fi evâhir-i min şeyr-i Cemazyûl-ahir li-sene ihdâ mic ve elîf. İz'afûl-i'bâd Mustafa el-mevlâ der kazâ-i ...
Der-i devlet-mekine ‘arz-ı dâ‘î-i kemîne oldur ki,
Aydın muhassılı olan Ahmed dame ikbalehuya hüküm ki,
Senki mürmüran mumâ-i lîyhsin divân-ı Edirne'ye gelen iktizâ ednekle mükemmül ve mürettib kapun ve yarar ve güzide ve müsellem ve müstevfî adamlarına emr-i şerîfîm vâsit olduğu gibi te'hîr ve tavakkuf etmeyûb kalkub divân-ı Edirne'ye gelesen ve lakin sent-i hûmâyûnum isgal olduğu üzere ibadaullahâ sâîr vakîtte olduğu gibi cevir ve ta'addü ile ve celb-i mal olunmakdan be-gayet ihtirâz ve ictinâb eyleyûb bir bahâne ile kimesneyi rençêde ve remide eylemeyesin şöyleki bundan sonra yokladılb konub göçdûğünüz mahallere zulm ve ta'addu ile ve celb-i mal olunduğu muhayyak olur ise bilâ aman hakkınızdan şer'e lazım gelen içrä olunmak bâbında fermân-ı 'alisânım sâdzîr olmuştur deyû yazılımıdır. Fi selh-i M. sene 101.

Bir sureti dahi bervechi arpalık Hamid sançağı mutasarrîfî olan Ali dame ikbalehuya veçh-i meşrûh üzere yazıldı. Fi't-tarihü'l-mezbur.
Karaman eyaletine mutasarrıf vezir Kemankeş Ahmed Paşa'ya hüküm ki,
Sofya'da kalan 'asâkir-i İslâma baş ve buğ olub muktezâ-yi vakt üzere hareket ve ol havâliyi mekr ü keyd-i a'dâdan bi-inâyet'i-l-llahi ta'âlâ gereği gibi hifz u hirâset eyleyesin degü yazılmıştır. fi evâil-i S. sene 101.


Mora tarafından 'asâkir-i İslâma ser' asker olan vezir Halil Paşa'ya hüküm ki,
Sen ki vezir-i müşârûn-i ileyhsin yanında olan mîrûmîrân ve mîrliva ve eyâlet 'askerleriyle icâleten Üsküb muhâfazasına iриşmek üzere bundan 'akdem ordu-yi hümâyûnum tarafından emr-i şerîfim gönderilüb tenbih olunmağa ol emr-i şerîfim ... mukarrer olub vech-i meşrûh üzere bir gün evvel Üsküb'un hâvalisine erişüb bi-inâyet'i-l-llahi te'âlâ mekr ü keyd-i a'dâdan gereği gibi hifz u hirâset itmekde sa'y ve ihtimâm eylemen bâbinda fermân-ı 'âlişâmîm sâdîr olmuşdur deyü yazılmışdır. Fi evâhir-i M sene 101.
Özi tarafından 'asâkir-i İslâma ser' asker olan vezir Mustafa Paşa'ya hüküm ki,
Mukaddemâ me'mür olduğun üzerine mükemmel ve müretteb kapusu ve yarar ve güzide ve müsellem ve müstevfa adamlarıyla varrub Niğbolu'da mubahafası lazım olan mahalleri mekr ü keyd-i a'dadan bi-inayeti'il-llahi te'âlâ gereği gibi hîfz ü hıraset eyleyesin deyû sürûtle yazılmıştır. Fi evâl S sene 101.

Ümera-yi deryâdan bervech-i arpalık Rodos sancağına mutasarrîf olan Abdülkâdîr Paşa dâme ikbalehuya hüküm ki,
Sen ki mûrimiран mumâ-ileyhsin mevsim-i sefer-i deryâ karîb olⵎaɫa senin forsa sefinen ve yarar ve müstevfa levendâtınla me'mür olmuşsundur. İmdî emr-i şerîfim sana vardıği gibi inşallahı te'âlâ senin forsa sefinen ve yarar ve müstevfa levendâtınla vakt ü zamanla gelüb donanma-yi hümâyûnuma mülîhâk ve mülâki olub düştür-i mükerrem müşîr-i mufahham nizâmü'l-alem bi'il-fi'î'l kapudânıım olan veziyim İbrahim Paşa edam allahu te'âlâ iclîchunun re'y-i ... üzere hîdemât-ı 'alîyyemde bezd-i mehûd eylemek bâbinda fermân-ı 'alîsanîım sadîr olmuşdur. Fi evâhâr Ca sene 101.
Anadolu'nun sağ kol nihayeti Halebe varına yol üzerinde vaki' olan kadılar ve kethüda yerlerleri ve altı bölük yoldaşlarına hüküm ki,
Memâliq-ı İslâmîyeye istilâ kastında olan kâffâr-ı haksârîn del"-î mazarrâtîları için işbu sene-i mubahâkede sefer-i hümâyûn-ı nusret makrûnum mukarrer ve muhakkak olub sipah ve silahdar ve bölük-i erba'a ... yoldaşlarının ... Edirne sahrasında ordu-yı hümâyûnununda yarakları(?) elinde hidemât-ı 'aliyyemde mevcûd bulunmaları bâbında fermân-ı 'alişanım sâdir olmâğa sipah ve silahdar ocakları ... ve çavuş zide kudrehuma ta' yin olunub gönderilmekle imdi sizki kethûda yerlerisiz her kânsîn taht-ı kazâsına dahi olur ise kazâlara hàzir olan altı bölük yoldaşlarının cümllesi mühkem tenbihi ve te'kid eyleyesiz kendi kenu mahsûs ve mu'tayyen olan mizrak ve yaraqlarıyla mükemmel ve müsellah şimdiden hâzır ve âmâde olub inşallahu te'âlâ ve hân olmamı sâdîr ve ikt îsâh-ı hâmîyemde ve 'âle'l-husfis yoklama mahallinde mevcûd etdirmege ziyâde takâyyûd-i tam ve sa'yî û ihtîmâm eyleyesiz ve sizki zikr olunan kazâlarda olan altı bölük yoldaşlarınız bu zamannda lîl'-akrebi kâla-kurb gaza ve cihâd cümlle ümmet-i Muhammed üzerlerine farz olub sizler hod düşman-ı dinden ahz-ı intikâm ile emr-i cihâd icin ta' yin ve tahsîs olunan kapum kullanndanzis gerekdir ki sizler daha uğur-ı din-i mubîne dilirâne ve merdane hareket idûb kethûdâ yerleriniz ile mükemmel ve müsellem vakt-i mezûrûba gelüb sahrâ-yyî Edirne'de ordu-yı hümâyûnununda bayrakları altında ve yoklama mahallinde mevcûd etdirmege ziyâde takâyyûd-i tam ve sa'yî û ihtîmâm eyleyesiz ve sizki zikr olunan kazâlarda olan altı bölük yoldaşlarınız bu zamanında lîl'-akrebi kâla-kurb gaza ve cihâd cümlle ümmet-i Muhammed üzerlerine farz olub sizler hod düşman-ı dinden ahz-ı intikâm ile emr-i cihâd icin ta' yin ve tahsîs olunan kapum kullanndanzis gerekdir ki sizler daha uğur-ı din-i mubîne dilirâne ve merdane hareket idûb kethûdâ yerleriniz ile mükemmel ve müsellem vakt-i mezûrûba gelüb sahrâ-yyî Edirne'de hidemât-ı 'aliyyemde ve 'ale'l-husuf fís yoklama mahallinde mevcûd bulunmaka ziyâde ikdâm eyleyesiz. Şöyleki ordu-yı hümâyûn taşraya çikub ve sizler vakt ü zamanıyla gelüb irişmeyüb ve fermânım olan yoklamada mevcûd bulunmayub bu vakt-ı sâ'îrre kîyas ile ihmâl ve müsâmaha eyleyesiz 'özr ve cevâbûniz mesmu'-ı hümâyûnum olunub dirlikleriniz katî olunmağa ıktîfâ olunmayub cümleniz mu'atîb olunmun muyuk râsûl-î mukarrer bilesiz ve sizî ki kethûdâ yerlerisiz nefserât-ı mezûrûrunun önerline düşüb inşallahu te'âlâ rûz-ı hazerde Edirne sahrasına irişib hidemât-ı 'aliyyemde bulunmağa ikdâm ve ihtîmâm eyleyesiz ... sâ'îr evkâta kîyas ile ... ve te'hirden ve ihmâl ve müsâmeheden inâyet ihtirâz üzere eyleyesiz deyu agâlari tarafından muhûrlu mektub verilmekle mucəbince amel eylemeniz içün yazmaqda. Fi evâ'î Ca sene 101.
Bir sureti dahi Anadolu'nun sol kol nihayeti Erzurum'a varına yol üzerinde vaki' olan kadılar ve kethûdâ yerleri ve altı bölük yoldaşlarına vech-i meşrûh üzere yazılımsdır. Fi't- tarih el-mezûrûb.
Bir sureti dahi Anadolu'nun orta kol nihayeti Diyarbekir'e varına kol üzerinde vaki' olan kadılar ve kethûdâ yerlerine ve altı bölük yoldaşlarına vech-i meşrûh üzere yazılımsdır. Fi't-tarih el-mezûrûb.
84


[Handwritten text in Turkish]

[Translation]

[Handwritten text in Turkish]

[Signature]
Özi beylerbeyisi Ahmed dame ikbâlehüya ve Silistre ve Çardak ve Umur Fakih ve Babadağ ve Prevadi ve Hacıoğlu Bazarı ve Karasu nam-ı diğer Tekfurgölü ve Mangalya ve Isakçı ve Tolcı ve Karinabad ve Aydos kadılarına ve zikr olunan kazâlarda vaki' kethûdâ yerleri ve yeniceri serdarları ve a'yân-ı vilâyet ve sâîr iş erlerine hüküm ki,

Memâliḳ-i İslâmîeye mazarrât kasında olan mubahibinin def't-i mazarrâtalcon gazâ ve cihad ... kaffe-i mü'minin ve 'amme-i muvahhidin üzerine farz-ı âyin olub emirû'l-ümera'l-kirâm bervech-i arpalık Niğbolu saancağina mutasarrîf olan ol hâvalide muhafazaya me'mûr olan Salih edam-ı ikbâlunun yanında ziyâde adem iktizâ itmekle sefer-i hümüyûnuma me'mûr olan tevâif-i 'askeri ve tekâlîf veren re'âyadan olmayub ahâli-i vilâyetin zi-kudretlerinden zikr olunan kazâlardan zâhireleriyle altı yüz yetmiş nefer piyade 'asker ihrâçı fermânım olmağla imdi senki márîmîr muma-ileyhsin Silistre kazâsından kirk beş nefer ve Çardak kazâsından on beş nefer Umur Fakih kazâsından on beş nefer vakf karyeleriyle ma'an Babadağ kazâsından seksen nefer ve Balçık kazâsından yetmiş nefer ve Prevadi kazâsından seksen nefer ve Varna kazâsından kirk nefer ve Hacıoğlu Bazarı kazâsından yüz nefer ve Karasu nam-ı diğer Tekfurğölü kazâsından elli nefer ve Mangalya kazâsından kirk nefer ve vakf karyeler ile ma'an Isakçî kazâsından on nefer ve Tolcı kazâsından on nefer ve Karinabad kazâsından doksan nefer ve Aydos kazâsından zâhireleriyle yirmi beş nefer ihrâc ve márîmîr-ı muma-ileyh Salih dame ikbâlehûnun yanına ırsâl ve iktizâ eden hidemät-ı 'alîyyemde tamamen mevcûd eylemekde ziyâde takayyûd ve ihtimâm eleyüb ve siz ki kadılar ve a'yân-ı vilâyetsiz siz dahi bu husûsun bir saat mukaddem vüsüluâne her biriniz sa'y eleyüb hîlâsîndan ihtiraż eylemeniz bâbında fermân-ı 'alişânîm sâîdur olmuşdur deyû yazılmıştır. Fi evâsit-ı C sene 101.
Document 9. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 99, p. 120.
Paşa sancağında vâkı' Behlişte ve Priştine ve Karadağ ve Koloniye(?) ve Urya(?) ve Sarıgöl kadılarına ve livâ-i mezbûr mütesellimi zikr olunan kazâlarda vâkı' bey ve bey-zâde ve sâ'ir a'yân-ı vilâyetin iş erlerine hüküm ki,

Hâlâ düşman-ı din memâlik-i İslamiyeye istilâya ve su-i Kasdi olub ????????? def' ve ref'i cümlenin üzerine lazım olub düstûr-i-mükerrem müşîr-i mufahham nizâmül- 'âlem 'asâkiri-i İslama ser' askerîm olan vezîrîm Halil Paşa edam allahu te'âlâ ıçlaluhu tarafına ziyade 'asker tedârîki cehem-i mühimmât-ı din ü devletden olmasa zikr olunan kazâlar ahâlisi bundan 'akdem fermânım olduğu üzere hinc-i ıkizâda 'asker-i İslama imdâd ve i'ânet eylemek şartıyla mu'tâd tekâlîf-i 'örfiye ve şakûlahar ref' olunub hâlâ ıkizâsîyle 'asker-i zafer me'âsirîme imdâd ve i'ânî eylemeleri lazım ve mümkün olmanın vezîr-i müşûrûn ileyhin ma'rifetîye her iki hânelerinden bir nefer cengâver yarar ve müsellah ademlар ihrâc ve ser' askerîm müşûrûnîleyh yanında nevruzda mevcûd bulunmak üzere şehriye hazir ve amâde vaktî zamanıyla mahall-i mercûmda mevcûd etdirmeniz bâbinda mâliye tarafından(? emr-i şerifîm verilmekle mucebînî 'amel olunmak üzere yazılımsıdır. Fi evâsit-i Ca sene 101.
Hacıoğlu Bazarı ve Yeni Bazar ve Karasu ve Hırsova kadılarına ve zikr olunan kazalarda vakti yeniçeri serdarlarına hüküm ki,

Taht-ı kazanızda vakti mumuk ve müsâfir yeniçeri ve topcu ve cebeci tâ'ifesin evlerinden ve yerlerinden ihrâc idüb Niğbolu muhâfazasında yeniçeri ocağı tarafından ağa ve kîl olan Haseki Mustafa zide mecedehu yanında rûz-1 hâzârden yırum gün mukaddem mevcud bulunub ve hâlal mahall-i merkmûnda muhâfazada olan olaların neferâtında obub emekdar olanlar bir tarîkile esâmileri çalîk olanlar famîbâd olaların bekleyûb vakti ol şimdemat-ı 'aliyyemde mevcud bulunmak üzere esâmileri tashih olunmak icân mûmâ-ileyh Haseki Mustafa'ya ferma-ı şerîfim sadir olub...... zide kudrehu mübâşîr ta'în olunmuğn imdi siz ki yeniçeri serdarları şiz biriniz kazalımuğnnda olan tevâlîf-i mezûbûreyi evlerinden ve yerlerinden ihrâc ve bayrağınız açub öneürün düsüb me'mür olduğunuz üzere ber-vech-i taç'il mahall-i mezûbûrda mûmâ-ileyh Haseki Mustafa'nın yaninda mümmel mürettib ve müsellah neferâtıniz ile mevcud bulunduk esâmileri çalîk olanları tashih itdûrûb muhâfaza-yı mezûbûrede ve sâîr hidemat-ı 'aliyyemde mevcud itdiresiz şöyleki tevâlîf-i mezûbûreden bir ferd mahalline varmayub yerlerinde kalmak ihtimâl daha ise hâlal ocağınız tashhi bâbında sadîr olan hatt-ı hümayûn şevket makrûnum mücevince me'mür oldukları sefer-i hümayûnumda hidemat-ı 'aliyyemde mevcud bulunan dergâh-ı mu'allâm cepbecileri re'âyâ toprıqâ zirat' ederler deyû ol bahâne ile tekâlîf-i sakradan bir nesne taleb itdûrûyüb ve lâkin yeniçeriliken ocağında obub me'mür oldukları sefer-i hümayûnuma varmayub gayret-i din-i mûbin icân hidemat-ı 'aliyyemde mevcud bulunmayub yerlerinde kalanlar ve ehl-i esâmileri, topçu ve cebecîyiz deyû diîrîk iddi'â itdiklerine bakmayub re'âyâ defterlerine ilhâk itdiresinin ve tevâlîf-i mezûbûreden hâlal sizînle me'mür oldukları Niğbolu muhâfazasında bayrağınız ile varmayub ve vâki' olan hidemat-ı 'aliyyemde mevcud bulunmayanların sonradan diîrîk iddi'âsî idenlere sâhib çıkûûniz istimâ' olur ise esed-i 'ukûbetle hakkûnzdan gelmek mukarrerdir ve sen ki mûbâsîr-i merkûmsun zikr olunan kazalârda olan yeniçeri ve topçu ve cebecî tâ'ifesin sâkin oldukları mahalleleriyle alel' esâmî defter edûb serdarlarıyla me'mür oldukları mahalle yollâdikdan sonra defterleri kadılarına imzaladûb dergâh-ı mu'allâmâ getûresin ki me'mür oldukları Niğbolu muhâfazasında ve sâîr hidemat-ı 'aliyyemde hîn-i yoklamada mevcud bulunmayanlar re'âyâ defterlerine kayd olunalar senin dahî bir ferde himaye ve müsâmaha eyledınizin istimâ' olur ise sen dahî esed-i 'ukûbetle mu'âkab olman mukarrerdir ona göre hareket olunmak bâbında bîl'-fi'î dergâh-ı mu'allâm yeniçerilerim âgasî olan iftihârîl-ümerârî ve'l-ekâbîr Ali ağa dâme 'ülûvvêhe tarafından mûhûrî mektûb virîmeğin mu'kebine 'amel eylemeniz bâbında ferman-ı 'âlişânım sadîr olmadur deyû yazûlmuştur. Fi evâlî-i C sene 101. Bir sureti Lofca ve Eskicüm'a ve Şumnu ve Hezargrad kadılarına ve yeniçeri serdarlarına yazûlmışdır.
Bir sureti Babadağ ve İskci ve İsmail ve Kılı ve Akkırım kadılarına ve yeniçeri serdarlarına yazılmıştır.
Bir sureti dahi Varadin ve Varna ve Balçık ve Mangalye kadılarına ve yeniçeri serdarlarına yazılmıştır.
Bir sureti Ruscuk ve Tırnova ve Zisitovi ve Silivri kadılarına ve yeniçeri serdarlarına yazılmıştır.
Cezayir Beylerbeyisi dame ikbalehuya hüküm ki,
İnşallahu te'âlâ bu sene-i mubahere kede fermânım olduğu üzere edavât ü âlât-ı harb ve kitâb ve ...
... ricâl ile memlû ve meşhûn gemileriniz ile uğur-ı din ve ... sizden hidemât-ı meşkûre ve meşer-ı meşhûre me'mül-ı hümayûnum olmAglı cenginizde âfitâb-ı 'avâtîf-ı 'âliyye-i șahânem ... senki mûrîmîrân mûmâ-îleyhsin hassa hali' fâhire-i mülükânemden ... Cezâyîr'in ocak dayısı ve yenîçeri âgası zide kudrehümaya ve săîîr ru'esâya îlbûs icûn háli'-i fâhire-i sultânî ile ocağınzdan ta'yin ve ihrâc olunacak guzâtâ dahi itâye-i celîe-i huzûrânemden otuz bin altun ihsânım olub ... îrslâ olunmuşdur. İnşallahu te'âlâ vûsûlûnda înâyet ve ihsânım olan háli'-î fâhiremi ikrâm ile... gönderilen ol mikdâr altunu Ocağınz gemîlerine nakl olunacak guzât-ı müslümîne tevzi' eleyûb İnşallahu te'âlâ gayret ve hamiyyet-i dinîyye mûktezâsîncâ me'mûr olduğunuz üzere vakt ü zamanıyla donanma-yî hümayûnuma mûlâî olub sebîl-i din... hizmetlerde bulunmak üzere hareket eleyesîz deyû yazılmıştır. Fi Evâsit-ı Ra sene 1101.

Bir sureti dahi Mısır Beylerbeyisine, Tunus ve Cezâyîr Beylerbeyisine ve Trablûs garb Beylerbeyisine yazılmıştır.
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[Image content]

[Text content]
Mevzi Kaptanägä Ağa
Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimnîc Defteri 99, p. 49.
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[Handwritten text in Arabic script]

[Translation provided if necessary]
Kızanlık ve Lofça ve Berkofça ve Silistre ve Niğbolu taraflarında vâki' kadınlara ve zikr olunan kazalarda vâki' a'yân-ı vilâyet ve iş erleri ve yörük çeribaşları ve söz sahipleri ve ihtiyâr âlere hükm ki,

İnşallahu te'âlâ işbu sene-i mûbarekede yapılabacak olan sefer-i hümayûnum için ziyâde tüfenk endâz gerektiğinden zikr olunan kazalardan yörük tâ'ifesinin cenk ve harbe kâdir tüvânâ tüfenk endâz müstevfa yörük intihâb ve ihraçına ta'yın olunan ....'nin mûbasıretüyle ihraç ve Niğbolu semtinde tecemmu' edüb iktizâ eden hümâyûma mevcûd etdirilmek için Eğriboz tarafinan yazılan surete göre hükm yazılmıştır. Evâl-i B sene 1101.
Kızanlık ve Loşa ve Berkofça ve Silistre ve Niğbolu kadılarına ve â'yân-ı vilâyet ve iş erlerine ve yörük çeribaşlarına ve ihtiyâr ve söz şahıblerine hüküm ki, İnşallah te’alâ mu’âfiyet şartı ile bu sene-i mubârekte Niğbolu tarafında tecemmu’ ve hidemât’i ‘aliyyemde mevcûd bulunmak üzere taht-ı kazânımda sâkin olan yörük dilâverlerinden her bir kazânınızın tahammullerine göre cenk ve harbe kâdir müstevfâ yörük yiğitlerini ihrac ve mahall-i mezburâ ısrâl olunmak üzere emr-i şerifim gönderilüb tenbîh-i hümâyûnum olmudur. Ba’de isti’câl ıçün varan Ahmet çavuş sehven Tatarbazar’nda tecemmi’ eylemek üzere memûrlardır deyû cévab etmekle tereddüdlere ba’îs ve sen ki Kızanlık kadısı mevlânâ-î mezkûrsun Kazâ-yi mezburûn kirk nefer tahammülü vardır deyû i’lâm eylemişsin onun gibi kazâlardan birer ikişer yüz nefer ta’yîn ve ihrac olunmuşken kazâ-yi mezburudan ancak ... nefer tahmini mücerred adam ve ... ihmâl ve müsamahanız olmudur. ımdî siz ki mumâ-ileysîs emr-i şerifim vardıği gibi her biriniz taht-ı kazânınızdan tahmilleri mertebesi cenk ve harbe kâdir müstevfâ yörük dilâverleri ihrac ve kdvetîl-emâcid ve’-ayân mutasarrîf Mustafa ma’rifetîyle Niğbolu‘ya ısrâl ve isâl,eyleyüb ihmâl ve müsamahanırdan ve kazâlardan tahmillerinden ... nefer ihracıyla ... ihtiras eylemek bâbında yazılmıştır. Evâsît B 1101.
Filibe ve Gümülcine ve Tatar Bazarı ve Çırpın ve Zağra-i Atık ve Cedid ve Uzunca Ova ve Hasköy ma’sı Sivricekaya ve Çırmens kadınlara ve a’yân-ı vilayet ve iş erlerine ve yörük çeribaşlarına ve ihtiyarın ve söz sâhiplerine hüküm ki,
Bundan akdem Rumeli yakasında tavattun iden yörük tâ’ifesinin mu’affiyetleri mükübâlinde
her bir kazadan tahâmmülüne göre cengâver yörük yığıtları ihrâc ve fermân olunan mahalle
irsâl âylemektede mesafe-i mu‘âyâyene olan kazaların yörüklerinden kati‘â ta‘âllül ve
muhâfezet mesmû‘ olmayub siz kâ yikr olunan kazaların kadınları ve zâbit ve a’yan-vilayet ve iş
erlerisiz ve yörük ihtiyârlarını ve söz sâhiplerisiz cümleden akdem sâkin olduğunuz memleket-i
İslamiye mühâfazasının takayıûd idûb fermân-ı hümâyünüm mûtezâsîncâ tammu‘-şûrûh
ve cenk ü harbi yeri yörük yığıtların mahallinde hâzîr ve mevcûd itdirmeniz lazım iken
teveccühe olunmayaçak özr ve bahaneyi müş’ar ‘arzlarınız gelmekle cümlelen itâb ü ikâba
mûstehak olmusuz imdî bu zaman-ı sâ‘ire kıyâs itmeyüb her birinizin taht-ı kazâsında sâkin
olan yörükleri gerek eşkînci ve yamak ve gerek yaşıcı ve küreci serhad ve Medine-i
Müneverede ve Sultan Bayezid ve Gazi Evranos ve Sultan Murat evkâf yörükleridir cümle
bu fermânı dahâldir. İşlerinden birisine mühâfezet itdirmeyüb sipâhi ve yenenü ve emir ve
sâîr ‘askerleriz dediklerine ‘amel ve i’tibîr itmeyüb dergâh-ı mu‘allah kapıcu başılarından bu
husûsa mûbasîr ta‘yın olunan ‘...’nn mûbasîretiyle her bir kazadan mukaddem emr-i
şerîfînde tasrîh olunduğu üzere tûvânâ yörük yığıtları ihrâc ve ‘âle’l-‘acelâ Tatar Bazârînda
mevcûd itdirdüb tekrar özr ve ‘îllet beyanından ve nihâde ve ihmâlden hazer eleyezi
bundan sonra väki‘ olan kusurlarını ‘âv olunmayüb cezâniz tertîb olunur bilmüş olub ona
göre hareket eylemeniz bâbinda fermân-ı ‘alisânım sâdir olmuşdur deyû yazılmışdır. Fi
Evâhir B sene 101.
Mora tarafından 'asakir-i İslâma baş u bucuk olan Ali dâme ikbâlehüya Yenişehir-i Fener mollasına ve Tîrhala ve Çatalca ve Serfice ve Alasonya kadinlarına ve zikr olunan kazâlarda vâki' kethûda yerleri ve yeniçeri serdarları ve a'yân-1 vilâyet ve sâ'ir is erlerine hüküm ki,
Memâlik-i İslâmîeye mazarrât kasında olan muhâribinin def'-i mazarrâtların gazâ ve cihâdul'-akreb ... kaffe-i mü'teminin ve amme-i muvahhidin üzerlerine farz-1 'aydın olub bi-avnîhi te'âlâ ol tarafîn hifz ü hiráseti ehemmî mühimmât-1 din ve devletinden olmâgîa tekâlîf veren re'â'ıyân olmayub ahâli-i vilâyetin zi-kudretlerinden olub ve iktîzâ iden zâhire ve me'ûnetleri kendi tarafînndan gürülmek üzere Yenişehir-i Fener kazasından dört yüz yirmi nefer ve Tîrhala kazasından yüz yetmiş nefer ve Çatalca kazasından yüz yetmiş nefer ve Serfice kazasından altmış nefer ve Alasonya kazasından seksen nefer ki mecmû' dokuz yüz nefer tüvânâ ve sâkîri's-ülâh tufenînd êndâz levend ihrâcit fermânîm olmâgın imdi sen ki mûrûmûrân mûmâ-ileyhsin rûz-1 Kasîma karîb vakte deñin senin yanında hidemât-1 'aliyyemde bulunmak üzere mûbâşirler ma'rîfetleriyle zikr olunan kazâlardan vech-i meşrûh üzere dokuz yüz nefer piyade tufenk endâz 'asker ihrâc ve bir gün evvel ve bir sâ'at mukaddem mahallinde hâzûr ve âmâde ve iktîzâ iden hidemât-1 'aliyyemde istihdâm eylemek bâbdında fermân-1 'âlişânîm sâdûr olmuştur. Fi Evâhir-i C sene 1101.
رئیس بخش بانک‌ها و کارخانجات
_decision_

مجلس عالی مرکزی
رئیس کل بانک‌ها و کارخانجات

 bardzo

فاصله کیفیت سنگین

مهمان‌های پذیرش

رئیس بخش بانک‌ها و کارخانجات

یکی از مهم‌ترین اهداف مرکزی به اینکه بانک‌ها و کارخانجات به‌طور کامل و مستقل از همدیگر کاررانه و مهارتمند باشند. همچنین، برای اطمینان از اطمینان و در صورت نیاز به کمک بانک‌ها و کارخانجات، باید بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان و بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان را در خدمت بانک‌ها و کارخانجات قرار دهید.

راز استقلال بانک‌ها و کارخانجات، از جمله اهمیت‌های اصلی آن، می‌تواند به بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان و بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان باشد. این حکایت از اهمیت از جمله اهمیت‌های اصلی آن، می‌تواند به بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان و بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان باشد. این حکایت از اهمیت از جمله اهمیت‌های اصلی آن، می‌تواند به بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان و بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان باشد. این حکایت از اهمیت از جمله اهمیت‌های اصلی آن، می‌تواند به بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان و بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان باشد. این حکایت از اهمیت از جمله اهمیت‌های اصلی آن، می‌تواند به بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان و بهترین راهکارهای قابل امکان باشد.

İhtilâl-i mankur çünkü kalp mankuru cüddidine münhasır oldu. Meyân-ı halkda kuruş ve altun ve para terakkî bulub ... ... şekilde ihtifâya çekilüb, kemiyya-yi iksîrden azîz olub, görünmez oldu ve her esedî kuruş 150 mankura ve ma’mül altun 335 mankura ve Frengî altun 375 mankura balî olub ve ehî-i sükin füruht eyledikleri eysânın bahâsi bi’l-cümlê mankuru olub, bazırgânandan tekrar metâ’ mübâyaya eylemek murâd olundukda tâife-i bazırgân mankuru ehî-i sük ve şirâdan hâsîl eyledikleri mankuru altun ve kuruşa tebdîl üçün sarrâflara mü‘âlâ’at eylediklerinde tâife-i sarrâf Efendî kuruşa 160 mankuru ve Frengî altuna 400 mankuru ve ma’mül altuna 350 mankur ile tebdîl idüb, zarar-ı küllileri almağın tebdîl eyledikleri altun ve kuruş ile tâife-i buzzgânandan metâ’ mübâyaasına imkânı oldukça ehî-sük dahi her eşyanın tahmîli mertebesinde izdîyâd ... fâhiş tarzî kıymetine terakkî zamî idüb, her eysa iki kat kıymet ile füruht olunduğu nümâyân olmuşdur. Bundan kat’-ı nazár memâlîk-i Rumeli’nde ve gerek Anadolu’da mîrî mukâta’âtdan voyvodâldan cizye ve avârîz ve bedel-i nuzûldan mültêzimin tahsîl eyledikleri altun ve kuruş ve paranın fazlasına tama’-ı hammlarî cihetinden mîrî için tahsîl eyledikleri kuruşu hazine-i âmireye teslim etmeyüb, Yahudi sarrâflarından fazlasıyla tebdîl idüb, mîrî mîrî hazine-i âmireye bi’l-kulliyye mankuru teslim olunmamağla bazı mühimmât-ı seferiye üçün altun ve kuruş ıktîza eyledikte hazine-i âmirede mankurdan maada bir türlü akça dahi bulunmamağla ve mültêzimin tahsîl eyledikleri maîl-i mîrîyî tebdîl eyledikleri Defterdar Ismail Efendi’nin ma’lûm ve mesmût-ı olmâmın mültêzimînîn tahsîilleri tebdîl olunmayaçub, aynı ile hazine-i âmireye teslim olunmak üçün der-i devlet-medâra arz ve telhîs olundu.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.
Kadı-'asker-i Rumeli faziletlü efendi defterdär Ismail Efendi'den su'ał buyurdular ki acaba memlük-i mahrûsa Anadolu ve Rumeli'nde vâki' bi'l-külliye cizye-güzâr keferenin cizye mellârî ne miktâr olur deyû su'ał su'lâyrikârlarında defterdär Ismail Efendi su'llerine cevâb virûb cizye-güzâr olan keferenin defterleri mahsûsan bir aklâmâda olmayub aklâm-ı hazinenin bir kaç kalemlerinde olmağa bi'l-cümle cizye mali ne miktâr oldugu başka hesâb olunmamışdır deyû cevâb verdiklerinde kadı-'asker efendi buyurdular ki 'acaba cizye-güzâr keferenin defterleri bi'l-külliye bir kalemde derc ve mevcûd olunub mahsûsen bir kalem olub bi'l-cümle cizye mali başka kesâb olunsa ma'kül ve münâsib görülmez mi deyû redd-i cevâb etdiklerinde taraf-ı sadr-ı 'alîden defterdär efendiye lisânên fermân sâdir olub faziletlü efendi hazretlerinin buyurduklari minvâb üzere cizye-güzâr olan keferenin bi'l-cümle cizye defterleri asîl cizye kalemi olan harac mühasebesi kalemine ilhâk olunub cümlesi bir aklâm olmak münâsibtir deyû fermân buyurmuşlar. Çünkü cümle cizye defterleri bir kalemde derc olunmak fermân buyuruldu. Baş mühasebe kaleminde olan gerek vilâyêt-i Erzurum ve gerek mevkûfat cizyeleri ve cezirelerden cezire-i Sakiz ve cezire-i Kibris cizyelerinin cizye defterleri baş mühasebe kaleminde ref' olunub, asîl cizye kalemine zamm ve ilhâk olunub ve mensûh aklâmî i'tibâr olunan kalemden selâtîn-i mâziyye-i âl-i Osman'în ve vüzerá-î 'izâm-ı sâbîkanın evkâfi re'a'yânın cizyelerine ziyâde-i cizye deyû ta'bîr olunub, cümlesinin defterleri asîl cizye mühasebesi kalemine zamm ve ilhâk olunmuşdu ve Bursa mukâtahâsi i'tibâr olan aklâmâda dahi Taşoz ve Aynaröz ve Midilli ve Bozcaada ve şârîr adaların cizye defterleri Bursa mukâtah'asından ref' olunub, cizye kalemine zamm ve ilhâk olunub. Zikr olanın aklâmîn hocalarına ve hulefâlara hitâben divân tezkiresi vârîd olub, kalemlerinizden cizye-güzâr keferelerin cizyeleri asîl cizye kalemi olan harac mühasebesi kaleminde derc olunmak bâbında fermân-ı 'alî sâdir olmâgûn gerekter ki kalemlerinizde olan cizye defterlerin cizye mühasebecisi olan büyük tezkireci Mustafa Efendi'ye teslim idesiz deyû vârîd olan fermân-ı şerîf mu'cebine üç aklâmâda olan cizye-güzâr keferenin bi'l-cümle defterleri müşarûn-îleyh tezkireci Mustafa Efendi'ye teslim olundu. Cizye hulefâlari 'avâ'îd hususunda kadîmden sâkîler iken kalemleri ma'mûr olub, 'avâ'idleri mübâlaga ile terakki bulmuşdur.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
Sâbik defterdâr-ı ışık-ı evvel olan Yusuf Efendi Anadolu’da vâkı’ cizye-güzar keferenin cizyeleri tahsîl içi muhassîl-ı cizyedâr nasb ve ta’yîn olunub, hil’at-ı fâhire ilbâs olundu. Rumeli’nde ve Anadolu’da vâkı’ cizye-güzâr kefere re’âyâsînîn cizyeleri kadımden defter-i cizye mucbeince tahsîl oluna gelmiş iken ba’zî vilâyet cizye-güzâr kefere re’âyâsî is’âf ve müsâ’îf ile kesr olub, ve ba’zî vilâyetin cizye-güzâr kefere re’âyâsî kalîl olub, cizye-güzâr keferesi kesr olan vilâyetin cizye-güzâr re’âyâsî cizyelerin defter mucbeince edâ eylediğî de kesretlerinden nâsi her bir kefere re’âyâsîna otuzar, kürkar akça cizye isâbet idüb ve kalîl olan vilâyetin cizye-güzâr re’âyâsî dahi defter mucbeince cizye edâ eylediğî halde her bir cizye-güzâr re’âyâ fukarasına kalîl oldukları ... ... ile ikişer, üçer bin akça cizye isâbet itmekle re’âyâsî kesr olan vilâyetin re’âyâsî refâhiyyetde ve kalîl olan vilâyetin cizye-güzâr re’âyâ keferesine gadr-ı sarîh olduğu nümâyân olmağîn memâlik-î Rumeli ve Anadolu cizye-güzâr kefere re’âyâsînîn cizyeleri defter mucbeince tahsîl olunmayub, yâve kağıtî tarzî bi’l-cümle cizye-güzâr kefere re’âyâsînîn cizyeleri kağıt ile tahsîl olunmak bâbında fermân-ı ‘âli sadîr olmağîn cizye kalemînîn yâve kağıtîlari tahîr olunub ve her kağıt iki mühûrîl olmak üzere, biri cizye muhasebecisinîn ve biri defterdâr efendinin mührî olub, cizye tahsîldârlarının kimine otuz bin kağıt, kimine kirk bin kağıt teslim olunub, zâr olunan kağıtlar dahi üç kism olmak üzere biri a’là ve biri evsât ve biri ednâ i’tibariyle cizyeleri tahsîl olundukda bir mührûr dahi taraf-ı cizyedârdan urulub, cizye-güzâr keferenin yedîne virilen kağıt üç mührûrl olunmuş olur ve cizye tahsîldârlarîn ne mîkdâr kağıt sarf ider ise hesâbi ol mîkdâr kağıtdan görülmek buyruldu ve nefs-i Kostantiniye’de ve Galata’da ve Haliç-i Kostantiniye’den Karadeniz Boğazı’na varuncu Tophane ve Beşiktaş ve Ortaköy ve tevâbi’i bi’l-cümle mahallerde sâkin ve mütemekkin cizye-güzâr kefere re’âyâsînîn ve tâ’îfe-i Yahudiyan’în cizyeleri tahsîline sâbika gümrük emini olan Sarî Osman Ağa ta’în ve der‘-uhde olunub, hil’at-ı fâhire ilbâs olunub ve cizye kalemînîn cizye kağıtlarîn virilmek fermân olunub. 11 C 1102.
جزء من نص نموذجي:

حسناً أنا أعتقد أن الكتاتب قد أرسلت هذا النص. ومع ذلك، لا يمكنني قراءة النص بشكل طبيعي من الصورة. يرجى قراءة النص بشكل طبيعي وكتابة النص المكتوب عليه بشكل طبيعي.
... guruşun râîc olmasi husûsunda sa'ri olan fermân-ı 'âli ehl-i sevk meyânında mankur husûsu içten münâza' vûkût bulub ba-husûsbır hirfet-i kassabân ve tâ'îfe-i habbazân mankur ahvâlînde sermayemize küllî zarar mürettib olduğundan mâ'âdâ yâylaklarda sâhib-i âğnâm olan tâ'îfe-i yöurt ve tüccâr olan ... mankura i'tibârî olmayub ve altuna nazâr itmeyüb 'âynî esedi mütâlebe itmeleri ile sermayemize isâbet-i zarardan mâ'âdâ koyun mûbâyâ'â ve tedârîki düşvâr olmuşdur deyû nîzâ'dan hirfet-i habbazân ise tâ'îfe-i bazîrgân ve erbâb-ı muhtekîr altun ile esedi olmadıkca mütêgarri(?) olan hântannin yüzün göstermezler ve sülüs ve sülüüsân hesâbî üzere mankura râğbet etdikleri halde biz altuna beş yüz mankur ve bir esediyce iki yüz mankur mütâlebe itmeleriyle bu takdirce sermâyeye nisfiyyet üzere zarar ... ve iškâre iken yine hûnta ile âğnâmın tedârîki müşktîl deyû nîzâ'da ve sa'ir ehl-i sevkîn kezâlik her hirfet-i müte'âyyine göre ahvâl-i mankurdan nîzâ'da iken kaîm mâkâm-ı rikâb-ı hûmayûn Ali Paşa'ya taraf-ı hûmayun bû'âr olub mazmûn ve mûnîfînde hâliyâ beynîn-nâs ihtifâdan râîc olduğu üzere firengi altun dört yüüz mankura ve şerifi altun üç yüüz altmîs mankura ve esedi grûş yüz altmîs mankura ve hâlîsî'l-âyâr dîrder mûnîkarda sevîk-1 sultânîde beynîn-nâs râîc olub ziyâde noksana teklîf edenlerin haklarından gelinmek üzere ordu-ı hûmayûn tarafîndan ârîd olan emr-i nâlîsân tâşrîh olmâğın emr-i nâlîsân mücebrane râîc olmâk üzere kâîm mâkâm-ı rikâb-ı hûmayûn Ali Paşanın mûnâdiyânî fermânî üzere bedestân-ı Edirne'de ve üç şerefeli ve eski camî pişgâhinda ve derûn-ı ... ve Ali Paşa çarşışında mûnâdîler nîdâya âğaz idûb altun ve esedi grûş ve para fermân olunduğunu minvâl üzere beynîn-nâs râîc olub ziyâde ve noksana teklîf edenlerin mûhûm haklarından gelinîr deyû taraf be taraf köse be köse mûnâdîler ... ... âğaza gelûb tenbih ve te'kidîleri tahhîk bulmuşdur, garîbêt bunda ki mukaddemâ lahmân kîryeşi altmâz paraya olmâk üzere nahr-ı hâkim sudûr buldukdâ lafz-ı mankur irâd olmâyından lahm-ı mûbâyâ'a olundukda on sezik mankura bey' ve şirâ olunur iken nîdâ-ı mûnâdid'en sonra para ile altmâz paraya ve mankur ile yîrmî dîrder paraya mûbâyâ'a olunmâyın fukarâyâ hesâb evvelinden bir kîryeşi altmâz altmâz akça zarar mürettib olduğu mukarrer olmûsdur. 26 Ramazan 1102.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة. إذا كنت بحاجة إلى مساعدة في شيء آخر，请告诉我！

Suret-i telhis arz-ı bende-i bi-mikdâr burdur ki,

Bi-emr-i allahu te'âlâ seferler mutedâmi olub gitdikce masraf ziyâde ve istilâ-yı duşmandan seneden seneye irâd takallûl olub mühim ve muktezi olan masârîfe cevâb virilmeyûb masârîfî ihatâya bir kaç bin kisse muhtaç olduğu numâyân olub bunun tedârîki bi'l-cümle ümmet-i Muhammed olanlara mûrettib-i väcîb ve din ü devletin 'umûr-ı mu'azzâmâsından olmağla vûzerâ-yı izâm ve 'ulemâ-yı kirâm ve saîr hayr-ı hâhân-ı devlet olanlara ile istişäre olundukda hazinezeye alûn emvâl-i mîrî masraf oldukda altun ve guruş ve para tefavüütü izdiyânînden hâsil olan başka irâd kayd olunmayûb masârîfâta i'ânetî ve hazinezeye nef'î olunageldişi kadîmi hazine defterlerinde mestar olub ve hâlâ masraf hususunda altun ve guruş ve para envâ'mın beynên-nâs ahvâlî mazbût olmâdîndan bey' ve şirâ ve ahz ve î'tâda gümüş ve altûn sarfında nizâ'-î şefidî ve ihtilâf-ı mûfîdî ve tefâvûd-ı fâhiş vâki' olub mu'âmelâtın ta'tiline ba'îs olunâgan nizâ'lâri mûndef ve sarfında vâki' olan ihtilânlarî mûndef ve mu'âmelât ahvâlî ... ve kadîmden olunageldişi üzere din-i devlet-i İslâmîyênin mühim ve muktezi olan masârîfine sarf olunmak üzere hazinezeye menfa'âtî olmak için bir hadd ta'yûn olunmak cümelenin re'y ve ittifâklarî ile ma'tûl ve mûnâsib görûlmeğin ba'de'l-yevm emvâl-i mûrûden tahsîl olunub ve hazine-i 'âmireye gelen akçadan kal-eevvel Yâlîzî altûn üç yûze ve Şerîfî ve Macar altûnu iki yûz yetmişe ve guruş yûz yûrûmîye ve para üç ve saîr envâ'î dahi bu hesâb üzere alûnub ve hazineden ihrâc-ı mevâcîb-i 'ûsker ve neferât-ı kîlâ' ve sâlıyânê-i ümerâ-î derya ve cemi' ocaklar ve selâtîn-î 'izâm sâliyânelerî ve havass ve harem-i hümâyûn ve ağayân-ı rîkâb-î sa'âdet makrûn 'ülûfelerî ve saîr vezâîfî ve bi'l-cümle masârîfî için mûrûden Yâlîzî altûnu dört yûze ve Şerîfî ve Macar altûnu üç yûz altûrsa ve guruş yûz altûrsa ve para dördê ve saîr envâ'î dahi bu hesâb üzere virîlub 'âmme ve hassâ beyninde bu emr-i şerîfe-i vâhîde ve müsâvât üzere càrî olub sâliyânê ve havâssan ve 'ulûfât-ı vezâîfêden ve sâîr i'tîyât ve masârîfîde hiç bir ahd ve maddede bu nisîfdan istisnâ olunmayûb bu üslûb üzere ceryân olub 'âmme ve hassadâ fark olunmayûb ve masârîf-i mûrûfenin cümelenin nisîf ve ehad üzere càrî olub minvâl-i meşrûh üzere hatt-ı hümâyûn sa'âdet makrûn sâdîr olûgânın ber-mûceb-i hatt-ı hûmâyûn fermân-ı 'ûlûfelerî dahi ęhsân buyurulur ise altûn ve guruş ve para iktîsâbînîn makbûzında sûlûs ve ehad mîkdârî hâsil ve càniîb-i mûriye 'âidî ve masârîfî din ve devlete medâr olûgân olub bu suretde sûlûs ve ehad altûn ve guruş ve para tefâvûtûnden ve bir mîkdâr dahi sâîr masârîfîtâm iktîzâsina göre takallûlînden hasil olduğu halde inşallahî te'âlâ hazineye külli i'ânet olub ve 'ibâdullahâ muzîr olan muzîr hûhaddesâtîn iритikâbîna cevaz gösterîmez, sâdîr olun hatt-ı hûmâyûn sa'âdet makrûn múcebînî minvâl-i meşrûh üzere baş muhasebê defterlerine ve rûzanîmçe-i hûmâyûn defterlerine dûstûrül- 'aman olunmâk üzere kayd ve hifz olunmak bâbînda telhis olunub...
الحوار الأول والثاني: 

"لا يوجد سعر أو تجربة مختصرة، لا يوجد مقابل، ولا يوجد قيمه.

إذا كنت تريد أن يكون بمثابة ما يلون الحياة، فعليك أن تكون دائمًا متحمسًا.

ولا ت أغبي أو تحرض أو تهاجم، فإن الحياة عنيفة.

أعتقد أنك بحاجة إلى بعض التخليصات، جرب التفكير بآلة أخرى.

أنا أعرف أنك تفكر كثيرًا، ولكن لاحظ أن الحياة ليست ممتعة تمامًا.

أنا أتمنى أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.

أعتذر إذا كنت قدcompatibleي 여기 أيضًا ببعض الأمور الصغيرة.

أرجو أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.

أنا أتمنى أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.

أنا أتمنى أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.

أنا أتمنى أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.

أنا أتمنى أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.

أنا أتمنى أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.

أنا أتمنى أن تكون لديك الكثير من الوقت للتفكير، وذلك يعتمد على كل ما tú تأكله.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
Cizye-güzär keferenin a'lasından dört yaldız altunu ve evsatından iki ve ednâsitle mücerredinden birer yaldız altunu tahsil olunmak üzere istimâ' olunmuş idi, ve lâkin cizye-güzär keferenin haracı sikke-i padişâhîden gayri sikke tâhsîl olmamağıla kefere síkkesiyle gerek Yaldız altunu ve gerek Macar altunu ve gerek esedi gurûş ve zolata tâhsîl olunmayub mutlak sikke-i padişâh ... ve şehinşâh-i hilafeti-i destegah hazretlerinin sikke-i hümâyûnları ile meskûk olan şerifî altun ile hâlisû'l-ayâr damgalî sim-i hâlis tâhsîl olunmak üzere cizye tâhsîl dârlarına ordu-yî hümâyûn tarafindan emr-i şerif-i ‘alişân vârid olub zikr olunan şerifî altun ile sim-i hâlisîden gayri sikke alınamayub ve bin yüz iki itmâmi ki mah-ı gâyet-i zîl-hicce-i şerifîdir, intîhâ-i şerif-i mezbüre değin bi’l-cümle cizyeler tâhsîl olunub 1103 senesine bâki ve kusûr kalmayub, şöyle ki eger bir kazâ ve bir kurâda yedinde cizye kağıtları olmadık kefere bulunur ise ve sene tamamından bâki kalmış olur ise sizi ki cizye tâhsîl dârlarînusbız, ‘özr ve bahaneniz mesmu’ olunmayub tazmin olunur ona göre basîret üzere olub tamamına(?) değin tahsil olunub bâki kalmakdan ve yedinde kağdî yok cizye-güzär kefere bulunmakdan begâyet ihtiraz üzere olasız deyû ordu-yi hümâyûn tarafindan hâkim-i hümâyûn vârid olduğun Edirne kazâsiyla etrafında vâki’ otuz aded midâri kazânın cizye tahsiline me’mûr vezîr-i a’zam maktûl Sarî Süleyman Paşa’nın sâbika kethüdâsi olub Hayrabolu sâkinlerinden Çorumlu Muhammed Ağa’dan istimâ’ olunub nakl olunduğu üzere cizye-güzär kefere nin kadımîden a’lâ itibar olununun cizyesi kirk sekiz dirhem sim-i hâlis ve evsâtînından yirmi dört dirhem ve ednânın on iki dirhem olmak kânûn-i kadâm olub, her bir dirhem sim-i hâlis on ikişer akçadan a’lâsînın kirk sekiz dirhemi dört yüz seksen akça ve evsâtın yirmi dört dirhemi iki yüz kirk akça ve ednânın on iki dirhemi yüz yirmi akça olduğu halde kadımîden şerifî altun yüz yirmi akçaya cärî olduğu hesâb üzere a’lasından dört şerifî altun dört yüz seksen akça olmuş olur ve evsât ve ednâsî dahi hesâb-i merkûm üzere kıyâs olunur. 8 Z 1102.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
İcmil-i irad ve masfuufat-ı hizane-i'funire el-vaki' der sene 1102.

An-mâl-ı mukâta'ât ve cizye ve 'avâriz ve bedel-i nûzul der vilâyet-i Rumeli ve Anadolu.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Fi sene</th>
<th>Kese</th>
<th>Kûsûr</th>
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<td>847.698.796</td>
<td>16.953</td>
<td>48.796</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Zikr olunan emvûden çûrûk ve bi-hâsîl olan ve istîlâ-yı kefere sebebîyle mûmteni'ull-hâsîl ve mu'ât ve ??? ve ihrâcât zir olunur.

281.947.388 akça | 5638 | 47388 |

El-bâki-i berâ-yı irâd-ı hizane-i 'âmire:

| 565.751.408 | 11.315 | 1.408 |

Zikr olunduğu üzere hazine-i 'âmirenin bir senede mûmknûnîl-husûl olmak üzere irâdî 11.315 kese ile 1.408 akça olur.

El-masûrîfât.

Mevâcib-i Yeniçeriyan-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' serhâdlû

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Nefer</th>
<th>Yevmîye</th>
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<th>Kese</th>
<th>Kûsûr</th>
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<td>134959064</td>
<td>2699</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mevâcib-i Cebeciyân-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' serhâd-i mânsûre ve mútekâ'îdîn ve gayrîhu

| 8782  | 86030 | 30454666 | 609 | 4616 |

Mevâcib-i Topcuyân-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' muhâfîzân-ı kîlâ'-î serhâd

| 3396  | 40456 | 14322132 | 286 | 22132 |

Mevâcib-i Arabaciyan-ı tob

| 576   | 6285  | 2224888  | 44  | 24880 |

Mevâcib-i Sipâhiyân

| 7090  | 22448 | 43346588 | 866 | 46588 |

Mevâcib-i Bölküha-i Erbâa

| 576   | 6581  | 2321672  | 46  | 28672 |

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Mevâcib-i Gilmanân-ı Acemiyan ve Bostanyân ve Ağayân-ı Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn ve mútekâ'îdîn ve Teberdârân ve Hûddâm-ı Matbah ve Tersânê ve İstabî-ı âmîre ve ham ve tabl ve âlem ve Bevvâbîn-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ve Kâtîbân ve hûddâm-ı karhâne ve ocakhâ-i sâire

| 14500 | 146556 | 50522668 | 1010 | 22668 |

Yekûn mevâcibât

| 312875517 | 6257 | 25517 |

Mevâcib-i neferât-ı kilâ' ve masûrîf ve zâhîre ve baha ve vezâîf-i mútekâ'îdîn ve du'âgûyân
Mevâcib-i neferât-ı kil'a'-i serhâd-i mansûr-e vilâyet-i Rumeli ve Anadolu
194348 122287748 2225 37748
Mevâcib-i mütekâdidin ve du'âgûyân-ı vilâyet-i Rumeli ve Anadolu
136792 48424368 968 24368
Berâ-yi zarar-ı lahm ve zâhîre-baha ve zemîstânî-yi yênîçeriyan-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' cebeçiyân ve topcuyân ve arabacîyân-ı tob ma' neferât-ı yerlûyân
31409216 628 9216

page 134
Yekûn-ı mevâcib-i kil'a ve masârîf-i sâire
196121322 3922 2 1322
Et-Teslimât be-mezkûrûn
Teslim-i be-hazine-i Enderûn-ı Hümayûn bera-û cib-i hümayûn
2470000 49 20000
Teslim-i be-Emin-i şehr berâ-û mevâcib-i Harem-i Hümâyûn
14063874 281 13874
Teslim-i be-Emin-i Matbâh-ı Amire
20165494 403 15594
Teslim-i be-Emin-i Tersânê-i Amire ber vech-i tahmin
12000000 240
Teslim-i be-... saray-ı atik ma' mure ma' baha-i güşt
6741388 134 41388
Teslim-i be-Ağa-û İstanbul
1821914 36 21914
Teslim-i be-Ser Kassaban-ı Hassa
15861078 317 11078

Page 135
Teslim-i be-Emin-i peksimad
862100 17 12100
Teslim-i be-Nâzîr-ı TophHane
1562664 31 12664
Yekûn teslimât
85359260 1707 9260
Berâ-ı hasshâ-i vüzerâ-ı 'izâm ve mümürlân-ı kirâm ve sultanân-ı ismet-medârân ve gayrîhû ve salyâne-i Han-ı ‘âlişân ve ûmerâ-ı Çerâkise ve ûmerâ-ı derya ve fîrkataciyân

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Berâ-ı salyâne-i ûmerâ-ı derya ve Han-ı ‘âlişân ve ûmerâ-ı Çerâkise ve gayrîhû

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Yekûn-ı havâss ve salyânêhâ

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El-ıhracât

Berâ-ı masârif-i hacc-ı şerîf ma‘ ziyâde-i surre-i urban

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Berâ-ı yeniçeriyan-ı Şam-ı şerîf ve harc-ı mîr elhâc Paşa

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Be cihet-i baha-i...

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Be cihet-i... dergâh-ı ‘âli der Asitâne

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Be cihet-i masârif-i bargîrân-ı menzil der vilâyet-i Rumeli ve Anadolu

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Be cihet-i masârif-i kâlyonhâ-ı mürî

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Be cihet-i kassâbân ve ağayan-ı Enderûn-ı hûmâyûn

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Be cihet-i baha-i post samûr ve hil’at ve mühimmat-ı hazine-i amire ve bera-yı atlas-ı vüzerâ-ı ‘izâm

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Yekûn ihracât

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Mevâcib ve teslimât ve ihracât

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Masraf an el-irād

Page 137
İcmâl-i irād ve masârîf-i hizâne-i 'âmire ammerallahû te'âlâ ilâ yevmi'l-kıyame el-vâki' der sene 1103
An mâl-i mukâta'ât ve cizye ve 'avârîz ve bedel-i nüzûl-i vilâyet-i Rumeli ve Anadolu
Tâbi'î kalemi muhâsebe-i evvel

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<td>12090576</td>
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Page 138
Tâbi'î kalem-i mukâta'â-i hasslar

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<td>Tâbi'î kalem-i mukâta'â-i şîkk-i sânî nâm-i diğer Piskopos</td>
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Yekûn-i irâd
Zikr olunan emvalden çürük ve bi-hâsil ve istilâ- yı kefere sebebiyle mümteni'ü'l-hâsil ve mu'âf olan emvâl ve ihrâcât ve mahsûbât ocaklardır ki zikr olunur

Page 139
Berâ- yı mümteni'ü'l-husûl ve bâki zâhire, cizye, mukâta'ât, 'avâriz bedeli, celebkeşân, adet-i âğnâm

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Berâ- yı ocaklık ve ihrâcât ve mahsûlât

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Berâ- yı istilâ- yı küffâr

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Berâ- yı mu'âfât- yı zamm- i merfurât 'avâriz ve nûzûl

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Yekûn- i istilâ ve mu'âf ve merfurât

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<th>70701801</th>
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<th>1801</th>
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Belgrad hazinesi âklâmindan olub hâlâ cizyeleri taraf- i mûrûden kağıt ile cibâyet olunmak ferman buyurulmağa irâd olunan cizye mâlt

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An mûl- i mümteni'ü'l-husûl ve na-fürûht ve mûl- i merfurât ve ocaklık ve mahsûlât ve ihracât

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An mûl- i cizyeâhâ

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El-Bâki berâ- yı ırsâliye-i hazine-i âmirâ

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Mevâcib-i Yeniçeriyan-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' mütekâlidin ... ve muhâfiz-ı Belgrad ve Niş ve Vidin

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Nefer</th>
<th>Yevm</th>
<th>El-Mukarrer</th>
<th>Fi Sene</th>
<th>Kese</th>
<th>Küsür</th>
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Mevâcib-i Cebeciyan-ı dergâh-ı ali ma' mütekâlidin der serhadluyân-ı muhâfiz-ı kilâ'-ı serhad-i mansûre

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<th>4905461</th>
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Page 141
Mevâcib-i Topcuyan-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' mütekâlidin-i serhadluyân

| 2970 | 33312 | 2948103 | 11792412 | 235 | 42412 |
### Mevâcib-i Arabicyâ'n-ı tob ma' mütekâfîdîn

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### Mevâcib-i Sipâhiyân

| 5436 | 94134 | 8330859 | 33323436 | 666 | 23436 |

### Mevâcib-i Silahdârân

| 4535 | 77830 | 6887955 | 27551820 | 551 | 1820 |

### Mevâcib-i yekûn-i erbâ'a

| 836 | 9177 | 812162 | 3248644 | 64 | 48644 |

Yekûn-i mevâcib-i yeniçeriyan ve cebeciyân ve Topcuyân ve Arabicyâ'n-ı tob ve Silahdâr ve bölükâ-i sâire

| 55855 | 603770 | 54265074 | 217060296 | 10296 |

Page 142

### Mevâcib-i Mezkûrîn

Mevâcib-i ... sarây-ı atik

| 486 | 1314 | 118260 | 473040 | 9 | 23040 |

Mevâcib-i Gilmânân-ı bostânân-ı bağça-yî hassâ

| 3615 | 25518 | 1995615 | 9182880 | 183 | 32880 |

Mevâcib-i Ağayân-ı rikâb ma' mütekâfîdîn

| 84 | 8040 | 723600 | 2894400 | 57 | 44400 |

Mevâcib-i Kazaskerân-ı Rumeli ve Anadolu

| 3 | 1635 | 147150 | 588600 | 11 | 38600 |

Mevâcib-i Ağayân-ı Enderân-ı hümâyûn ma' mütekâfîdîn

| 651 | 14424 | 228450 | 1298160 |

Mevâcib-i Mezkûrîn

| 5192640 |

Mevâcib-i Mûteferrikagân-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' mütekâfîdîn

| 539 | 12256.5 | 1084700 | 1084700 | 86 | 38800 |

Mevâcib-i Çavuşân-ı dergâh-ı 'âli ma' mütekâfîdîn

| 672 | 9244 | 3372376 | 13489504 | 65 | 22376 |

Mevâcib-i Bevvâyân-ı dergâh-ı 'âli

| 800 | 7434 | 6579909 | 2631636 | 52 | 31636 |

Mevâcib-i ... hassâ ma' mütekâfîdîn

| 13 | 510 | 45900 | 183600 | 3 | 33600 |

Mevâcib-i Hademe-i âmire ve Helvahâne-i ma' mûref

| 1257 | 4800 | 424800 | 1699200 | 33 | 19200 |

Mevâcib-i Istabl-ı âmire-i büzûrg ve küçük

<p>| 922 | 6490.5 | 574409 | 22976636 | 45 | 47636 |</p>
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<td>346916  6  46916</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i Etibbâ-ı hassâ</td>
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<td>285320  5  35320</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i Hazinedarân-ı birûnî</td>
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<td>169212  3  19212</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i Peykân-ı hassâ ma' mütekâidîn</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i Müşahere ve kâtib ve şakird</td>
<td>304  6389  575010</td>
<td>2300040  46  40</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i ... doğan ve şahinciyân</td>
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<td>67320   1  1732</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i Câmêşûyân-ı hassâ</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i Naccârân-ı hassâ</td>
<td>11   137   12124</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i ... Rumeli ve Anadolu</td>
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<td>Mevacib-i Sîkkezenân-ı Darphâne-i Amire</td>
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<td>42789144  855  39144</td>
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59988  558958  181072532  22532
Mevâcib-i Mütekâadin-ı ve du'âgûyân der Rumeli ve Anadolu
14292  144730  51234440  1024  34440
Berâ-î zarar-î lahm ve zâhîre-baha-i yeniçeriyan ve cebeciyan ve topçuyân ve arabaciyan-î
tob ve neferat-î kîlâ'-i muhâfaza-i Azak
31355422  627  5422
Bera-î tamirât-î kîlâ'-i serhadd-i Rumeli ve Anadolu
5000000  100
Yekûn-î Mevâcibât ve vezâîf-î mütekâadin-ı ve du'âgûyân
268663394  12394
Et-Teslimât be ümenâ-i mezûrûn
Teslim be emînhû
30079753  601  29779
Teslim be Hizane-i Enderûn
10132040  202  32040
Page 147
Teslim be Emîn-i şehr
14393163  287  43163
Teslim be Emîn-i Tersâne-i Amire ber vech-i tahmin
22500000  450
Teslim be Ağa-î Istanbul
4184700  83  34700
Teslim be Serkassabân
10878862  217  28862
Teslim be Emîn-i Peksimat
1725000  34  25000
Teslim be Nâzîr-î Tophânê-i Amire ber vech-i tahmin
2400000  48
Yekûn Teslimât
169814208  14208
Bera-î Havâss-î vüzerâ-î 'izâm ve mîrîmîrân ve Sultanân-î ismet-medârân ve salyânê-i
Hân-î 'âlişân ve ümerâ-î deryâ ve Kethûdâ-î Tersânê-i Amire ve gayrîhû.
Bera-î Havâss-î vüzerâ-î 'izâm ve mîrîmîrân ve Sultanân-î ismet-medârân ve gayrîhû
49618320  992  18320
Berâ-î Salyânê-i Hân-î 'âlişân ve Sultanân ...  6656000  133  6000
Page 148
Berâ-î Salyânê-i ümerâ-î deryâ ve kethûdâ-î Tersânê-i Amire
3065000  613
Berâ-î Salyânê-i Firkataciyan-î nehr-i Tuna
26368000  527  18000
Berâ-ı Salyâne-i fırkataciyân-ı Akdeniz

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Yekûn-ı Havâss-ı salyâne
Bera-ı Havâss
Bera-ı Salyâne
El-ı hâracât

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El-ı hâracât

|                | 18517600   | 370   | 17600 |
|----------------|------------|-------|
|                | 13074908   | 261   | 24908 |
|                | 1492225    | 29    | 42225 |
|                | 4522611    | 90    | 22611 |

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Berâ-ı masârîf-i kalyonhâ-i mîrî ma' mevâcib-i levendât ve mühimmât-ı säire

|                | 35473341   | 709   | 23341 |
|----------------|------------|-------|
|                | 7606250    | 152   | 6250  |
|                | 11254000   | 225   | 4000  |
|                | 8214430    | 164   | 14430 |

Be cihet-i baha-i zemistân-i hademe-i ocakhâ ve îçiyân ve ... ve mütekâidîn

|                | 9971186    | 199   | 21186 |
|----------------|------------|-------|
Yekûn lhrâcât
Cem'ân masârîf
Ziyade-i masârîfânî'l-irâd

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ملاحظة: هذا النص يمكنه تمثيل النص العربي المعطى في الصورة. ومن المستحسن ملاحظة أن النص العربي يستخدم خط العربي الأصلي وليس خط اللاتيني.
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