

Osmanlı İdaresinde Balkanlar

II

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Hussain Pasha Kavanozâde, Belgrade Muhafiz And Mutessarif Of the Smederevo Sanjak (1827-1833)*

Aleksandar M. SAVIĆ**

ABSTRACT

Hussain Pasha Kavanozâde was the Muhafiz of the Belgrade Fortress and the Mutessarif of the Smederevo Sanjak¹ in the period from 1827 to 1833. The time of his arrival to Belgrade coincides with the time the struggle for autonomy of the new Serbian state entered its final phase. A few months after his departure from Belgrade the issue of the autonomous status of the Serbian state was resolved. This paper will shed light on his role in these key events and his relationship with the representatives of the Serbian authority, especially the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović (1815–1839, 1858–1860). The paper will mostly be written based on the unpublished documentation of the Serbian origin.

Keywords: Hussain Pasha, Belgrade Muhafiz, Miloš Obrenović, Hatt-i Sharifs, Berat, Ottoman Empire, Principality of Serbia.

ХУСЕИН-ПАША КАВАНОЗЗАДЕ, БЕОГРАДСКИ МУХАФИЗ И МУТАСАРИФ СМЕДЕРЕВСКОГ САНЦАКА (1827–1833)

АПСТРАКТАН

Хусеин-паша Каваноззаде/Гаванозоглу (друга половина XVIII века – 1835) током свог живота био је нишки мухафиз, румелијски валија, мутасариф Солунског санџака, мухафиз Никопоља и београдски мухафиз и мутасариф Смедеревског санџака. Најдуже је остао у Београду, више од шест година (1827–1833). Хусеин-паша је званично преузео дужност београдског мухафиза и мутасарифа Смедеревског санџака 19. фебруара 1827. године, а Београд је напустио средином априла 1833. године, када је његову дужност преузео Мехмед Салих Веџихи-паша.

Уочи доласка Хусеин-паше у Београд српска борба за аутономију ушла је у финалну фазу, а неколико месеци након његовог одласка из Србије завршен је процес изградње аутономне Кнежевине Србије. Хатишерифом из 1830. године пашина надлежност била је сведена на пет царских градова – Београд, Шабац, Ужице, Соко, Смедерево и муслиманско/турско становништво у Србији, док је

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¹ Hüseyin Paşa Kavanozâde/Kavanozoğlu, Belgrad Muhafızı ve Semendire Sancağı Mutasarrıfı.

надлежност српског кнеза Милоша Обреновића, који је Бератом (1830) стекао наследно кнежевско достојанство, знатно проширена. Милош Обреновић постао је наследни кнез аутономне Кнежевине Србије, у чији састав су у периоду од 1831. до 1833. године ушли и мањи делови Зворничког, Крушевачког и Видинског санџака.

Током свог боравка у Београду Хусеин-паша није правио велике препреке српском кнезу у борби за аутономни статус Кнежевине Србије, него му је чак шта више у пар наврата био од помоћи. Посебно приликом рада на добијању наследног кнежевског достојанства (1830) и осуде недела бегова Вренчевића (1833), чиме је оправдана побуна након које су Србији прикључене Крушевачка и Параћинска нахија Крушевачког санџака (1832). Неспоразуми између кнеза и паше почели су да се јављају након објаве Првог (1829) и Другог хатишерифа (1830). Узрок је била намера кнеза Милоша да одмах спроведе у дело одредбе оба Хатишерифа. Хусеин-паша као службеник Османског царства изражавао је негодовање, зато што се бојао реакције из Цариграда, која је и уследила. Водећи се сопственим интересима, кнез и паша настојали су да се неспоразуми брзо изгледе. Српски кнез је рачунао да паша може да уради нешто корисно за коначно решење српског питања, а паша је био финансијски завистан од српског кнеза, зато што су српски органи власти прикупљали порез на терену. Из тих разлога су обојица уверавали један другог у своје „велико пријатељство“. Хусеин-паша је чак једном приликом истакао како ће више гледати српске интересе, него интересе Османског царства.

Кључне речи: Хусеин-паша, Хатишерифи, кнез Милош Обреновић, Кнежевина Србија.

Muhafiz of Belgrade or Belgrade Muhafiz was the official name of for all Pasha of Belgrade², commanders of the Belgrade Fortress, in the period from 1690 to 1867.³ During most of the XVIII and in the first decades of the XIX century the Belgrade Muhafiz were, simultaneously, the wardens of the Smederevo Sanjak, also known as the Belgrade Pashalik (Belgrad Paşalığı).⁴ Since the duty of the Muhafiz of Belgrade responded to the duties of the warden of the border area, which represented the defense wall of the Ottoman Empire towards the Habsburg Monarchy, the territory under the control of the Belgrade Muhafiz was significantly wider. Muhafiz of Belgrade was responsible for fortresses and towns that were under the administrative governance of other sanjaks (Kruševac, Zvornik and Sofia). After the Treaty of Svistova (1791) the jurisdiction of the Belgrade Muhafiz was reduced to Smederevo Sanjak only.⁵

² Belgrade Muhafiz held the title of Pasha, and the rank of vizier, therefore, in Serbian sources and literature they are mostly mentioned as Belgrade Pasha or Belgrade Vizier.

³ There was no Muhafiz in Belgrade under the Austrian rule (1717–1739, 1789–1791) and in the period 1807–1813 when there was only Serbian administration in the Belgrade Pashalik. Р. Тричковић, *Београд под турском влашћу 1521–1804. године*, Историја Београда, гл. ур. З. Антонић, Београд 1995, 118–127, 134–137; Р. Љушић, *Историја српске државности, књига II, Србија и Црна Горе, нововековне српске државе*, Нови Сад 2001, 59.

⁴ Belgrade Pashalik was an unofficial name of the Smederevo Sanjak. Since the term Belgrade Pashalik is dominant in the sources of the Serbian origin and that it is accepted in the Serbian historiography, it will be used more frequently than the term Smederevo Sanjak

⁵ Р. Тричковић, *Београдски пашалук 1687–1739*, приредио Н. Шулетић, Београд 2013, passim; Списак мухафиза Београда од 1690. до 1789. године, *Историјски часопис XVIII (1971)*, 297–300; М. Павловић, *Смедеревски санџак 1739–1788*, Војно-административно уређење, Нови Сад 2017, 117–118.

After the breakout of the First Serbian Uprising in 1804, the city of Niš was separated from the whole of the Smederevo Sanjak, that is, the Niš nahiye, that was an integral part of Sanjak until that time. Thus, after the failure of the First Serbian Uprising in the fall of 1813, the territory under the control of Muhafiz of Belgrade was reduced to 12 nahiyes of the Smederevo Sanjak, that is, Belgrade Pashalik: Belgrade, Valjevo, Šabac, Soko, Užice, Požega, Rudnik, Kragujevac, Jagodina, Ćuprija, Požarevac and Smederevo. The following significant change occurred on the 6 November 1815,⁶ when a verbal treaty was concluded in Belgrade between Marashli Ali Pasha, Rumelia Vali and Belgrade Muhafiz and the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović (1815–1839, 1858–1860). Belgrade verbal treaty concluded the Second Serbian Uprising (1815), that is, the wartime of the Serbian Revolution (1804–1815),⁷ and diarchy was introduced to the Belgrade Pashalik. Serbian administration was established, in addition to the Ottoman rule – *Narodna kancelarija*,⁸ *obor-knezovi* of nahiyes, *knežinski knezovi*, *knezovi* assigned to musellims (müsellim) to be present at trials to Serbs, *kmetovi* of villages. The Supreme Prince Miloš Obrenović was at the top of the Serbian administration, acknowledged, silently, by Marashli Ali Pasha. On the last day of December 1815, the National Assembly met and proclaimed Miloš Obrenović “Supreme Prince and the Ruler of the Serbian people”. Two years later Miloš Obrenović was pronounced a hereditary prince.⁹

Verbal treaty between Marashli Ali Pasha and the Serbian Prince was legalized during 1815/16 when the Sublime Porte issued eight firmans to the Serbs. Firmans prescribed the largest concessions the Ottoman Empire was ready to give to the Serbs. The issue of taxation of the Serbian people in Belgrade Pashalik was regulated, that is, their obligations towards the Sultan, Belgrade Pasha and sipahis, the existence of Serbian rule was confirmed, except for the Supreme Prince which was silently acknowledged, and Serbian merchants were allowed to trade in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ In the upcoming years the Serbian administration represented by the Prince Miloš Obrenović gradually took over the duties of the Belgrade Muhafiz, which will be finalized in the period of Hussain Pasha Kavanoszâde.

⁶ All dates in main text and in the footnotes are given according to the new calendar.

⁷ The Second Serbian Uprising is the corner stone dividing the Serbian Revolution (1804–1815) into two periods: wartime (1804–1815) and peacetime (1815–1835). P. Љушић, *Тумачење Српске револуције у историографији 19. и 20. века*, Београд 1992, 105.

⁸ The highest administrative and judicial authority of the Serbian people in the Belgrade Pashalik.

⁹ P. Тричковић, *Списак мухафиза Београда*, 300; М. Гавриловић, *Милош Обреновић, књига прва (1813–1820)*, Београд 1908, 58–60, 242–248, 393–394; В. С. Караџић, *Милош Обреновић, књаз Србији или грађа за српску историју нашега времена*, Будим 1828, 127–132, 138–139; М. Петровић, *Финансије и установе обновљене Србије, књига I, Од доласка Срба на Балканско полуострво до 1842*, Београд 1897, 115–118; P. Љушић, *Историја српске државности*, 32, 73–74; Кнез Милош прича о себи, за штампу приредио М. Ђ. Милићевић, *Споменик XXI*, Београд 1893, 13.

¹⁰ М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, I, 248–252; P. Љушић, *Историја српске државности*, 86–87.

Hussain Pasha Kavanoszâde, also known in Serbian sources as Hussain Pasha Gavanozoglu or Gavanozogliya, belonged to the generation of Ottoman province wardens born in the second half of the XVIII century. His background traces back from an old and rich ayan family that ruled the Kaza of Tatar-Pazardžik in the period from 1657 to 1840. His mother was Christian, thus, to honor her, he built a church in the vicinity of Tatar-Pazardžik.¹¹ During his life he took different positions in the Ottoman province administration in the Balkans. By the end of 1818 he was named the Muhafiz of Niš. The next year he was appointed Vali of the Rumelia, in the rank of the vizier. He remained on the position until the end of 1820, when he became the Mutessarif of Sanjak of Thessaloniki.¹²

The Greek Uprising in 1821 resulted in significant movements of the Ottoman army in the entire Balkans. In the attempt to prevent a possible uprising of the Serbs in the Belgrade Pashalik, that would contribute even more to the unrest in the Ottoman Empire, the Sublime Porte sent troops to the southern borders of the Pashalik. They were led by Hussain Pasha that, in addition to the title of Mutessarif of Thessaloniki received the title of Muhafiz of Niš. One of the first actions he took, after arriving to Niš on the 30 April 1821, was to execute previous Muhafiz of Niš, Ali Pasha, Metropolitan of Niš Meletije and several more priests and monks. In a letter he sent to Belgrade Muhafiz Marashli Ali Pasha, Hussain Pasha stated that they were executed for conspiring against the Ottoman Empire.¹³

The arrival of Hussain Pasha to the border of the Belgrade Pashalik and collecting the Ottoman army in Niš caused a protest of the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović. Hussain Pasha assured him there was no reason for fear and that his task is to maintain peace and order, which was eventually proven as the truth.¹⁴ Hussain Pasha remained in Niš until September 1825, when he was transferred to Nicopolis, while Osman Pasha was appointed the Muhafiz of Niš, staying in Varna

¹¹ О. Д. Пирх, Путовање по Србији у години 1829, српски превод од Д. Т. Мијушковића, Београд 1900, 18; Б. Куниберт, Српски устанак и прва владавина Милоша Обреновића 1804–1850, књига 1, Београд 1988, 203; Г. Георгиева, Поглед върху социалния профил на османския провинциален управител (по примеру на еялет Румелия от края на XVIII и началото на XIX век), Списание епохи XXIV/2 (2016), 181, 190, 191–192; Архив Србије (= АС), Кнежева канцеларија (= КК), VIII, 164.

¹² Књажеска канцеларија, књига прва, *Нахија Пожешка 1815–1839*, приредио Д. Вуловић, Београд 1953, № 30; *Турски документи за македонската историја IV, 1818–1827*, превод, редакција и коментар П. Џамбазовски, Скопје 1957, 49–53, 59; М. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî 3*, уауина hazırlayan N. Akbayar, İstanbul 1996, 722.

¹³ Књажеска канцеларија, књига друга, Крагујевачка нахија 1815–1839, свеска прва 1815–1827, приредио Р. Марковић, Београд 1954, № 193; Грађа за историју Краљевине Србије. Време прве владе кнеза Милоша Обреновића, књига друга од 1821. до 1823. године, приредили В. Ј. Петровић, Н. Ј. Петровић, Београд 1884, 199–204, 237–242, 247; Г. Елезовић, Нишки мученици, подаци према турским изворима за нашу историју, Политика, 2. и 3. новембар 1930; АС, КК, XXXI, 129, 135, 136; Збирка Мите Петровића (= ЗМП), 2975.

¹⁴ Грађа за историју Краљевине Србије, II, 199–204, 239–242, 247, 249–250, 333–335; Турци са стране кнезу Милошу, фонд Књажеске канцеларије, Документи на турском језику Архива Србије, превела и приредила М. Маринковић, Београд 2009, № 102; АС, ЗМП, 2986, 2995; КК, XXXI, 128, 145.

until that time.¹⁵ A little over one year later, Hussain Pasha was appointed the Muhafiz of Belgrade and Mutessarif of the Smederevo Sanjak, that is, the warden of the Belgrade Pashalik.

In December 1826, Abdurrahim/Abdurrahman Pasha, Belgrade Muhafiz and Mutessarif of the Smederevo Sanjak at that time, received news from Constantinople that he was appointed the Vali of the Bosnian Eyalet, and that he is to be replaced by Hussain Pasha Gavanozoglu, recent Muhafiz of Nicopolis. On the third of January 1827, Abdurrahman Pasha took down his banners from the saray, accompanied by cannon fire, hinting that he will be leaving Belgrade soon. On Christmas he was visited by the *Knezovi* of the Belgrade Court who expressed the regret of Prince Miloš for Pasha leaving Serbia. Pasha responded that he was sorry too, but that “he was the servant of the Emperor and that he must obey the Emperor’s command”. At departure, he told the *Knezovi* of the Belgrade Court to let Prince Miloš know he should be very careful with Hussain Pasha, because “Hussain Pasha is not a good man”. Abdurrahman Pasha left Belgrade on 11 January 1827, and five days later he moved on to the Bosnian Eyalet.¹⁶

Less than a month later, Hussain Pasha Gavanozoglu arrived at the Serbian border. He was welcomed in Ćuprija by the *knezovi* Milosav Zdravković, Pana Jeremić, Miloje Todorović, Mileta Radojković, priest Miloje Vukašinović and Turkish scribe Mulla Sali. Afterwards, Pasha headed to Belgrade, staying overnight in Jagodina, Batočina, Hasan Pasha palank, Kolari and Grocka. He entered Belgrade ceremoniously on the 17 February 1827.¹⁷ Two of his sons came with him, Ahmet Bey and Abdurrahman Bey, that were his closest associates. Ahmet Bey was Hussain Pasha’s right-hand man, *kâhyâ bey*, until 1828, when he took over the administration in Tatar-Pazadžik, replacing his deceased uncle Ibrahim Bey.¹⁸

Prince Miloš Obrenović approved the use of 6,000 groschen for the welcoming celebration of Hussain Pasha, 3,474 tax groschen and 35 paras was utilized out of that sum. Upon Pasha’s entrance to Belgrade, at Prince’s orders, dozen rams were slain as corban (“an offering”), where six of them were placed on one side, and other six on the other side of the city gates. On behalf of Prince Miloš, Pasha was welcomed by the *Knezovi* of the Belgrade Court, while the Prince explained his absence with the illness of this wife, Princess Ljubica. Tomorrow, on

¹⁵ АС, ЗМП, 3207; КК, XXXI, 346, 347; II, 1158; VII, 274; *Протокол кнеза Милоша Обреновића 1824–1825*, приредили В. Крестић, Н. Петровић, Београд 1973, 239, 249, 294, 295, 363, 364, 378, 403, 440, 488, 497; *Турци са стране кнезу Милошу*, № 91, 141, 144, 156, 163, 165, 166, 170, 186, 187, 190, 254.

¹⁶ АС, ЗМП, 1810, 1811, 1812; КК, VIII, 73, 79, 81, 86, 87.

¹⁷ АС, КК, VIII, 79, 81, 91, 92; ЗМП, 6547; *Суд општенародни српски (= СОС)*, 697; *Београдски суд 1819–1839*, приредио Б. Перуничкић, Београд 1964, № 373; М. Гавриловић, *Милош Обреновић, књига друга (1821–1826)*, Београд, 1909, 245–249.

¹⁸ АС, КК, IV, 563; VII 437, 444, 469, 560, 641; VIII, 164, 171, 174; XXX, 475.

18 February 1827, Hussain Pasha had an audience with the *Knezovi* of the Belgrade Court and expressed his desire to live with Prince Miloš in peace and friendship, adding that, if he is friends with someone, he is a true friend. He advised them not to pay any attention to those who are trying to make a discord between him and the Serbian Prince and that he will write only the finest things about the Serbian people to Constantinople. During the discussion he repeated the following several times: “Inshallah, we will live good and it will be good.”¹⁹

On the twelfth of February 1827 Hussain Pasha called up his first divan, on which two Emperor’s firmans were read. The firmans authorized Hussain Pasha to run the Belgrade Pashalik and to accept all the responsibilities assigned to him. He was ordered to maintain good relations with the neighboring Bosnian Vali Abdurrahman Pasha and his northern neighbor Habsburg Monarchy, and to “take care of the subjects of the Emperor and to live with them in love.”²⁰ From that moment on Hussain Pasha officially took over the rule in the Belgrade Pashalik and, in line with that fact, on the same day, Aleksa Simić, belgrade consul (*bazerganbaşı*), handed over the portion of taxes belonging to him. After this, Hussain Pasha appointed his own bodies of executive power – musellims, in all the twelve nahiyes of the Belgrade Pashalik.²¹

Hussain Pasha was supported by the Serbian people, as the Muhafiz of Belgrade and Mutessarif of the Smederevo Sanjak. On semi-annual level (Đurđevdan and Mitrovdan term) a sum of 324,750 tax groschen was collected, that was used to support Pasha, his administration and the Belgrade Garrison – *imdâd-ı hazariye*.²² Stated funds were paid in several monthly installments, and Pasha often asked for advance payments, for the following term, even. Frequent claims of the payment of taxes in advance was justified by significant expenses by the Pasha. Aleksa Simić noted that Pasha was always in good spirits when he received tax funds, and that he used to joke: “Kodža Miloš, my friend, he knows we need money for Ramadan right now, so he sent a bit more.” Due to frequent claims for taxes in advance Aleksa Simić wrote to Prince Miloš: “Our vizier is quite good, only if he did not ask for the money in advance, he would be even better.”²³

Additionally, Hussain Pasha received, on semi-annual level, 2,400 wagons of hay for the cattle and 3,585 meters of wood for heating, that is, per month, 400 wagons of hay and 598 meters of wood. Until Đurđevdan of 1830 the Serbian

¹⁹ АС, ЗМП, 6547; Поклони и откупи (= ПО), 67/9; КК, VIII, 90, 95.

²⁰ АС, КК, VII, 411; VIII, 95.

²¹ АС, КК, VII, 411; ЗМП, 1820, 6551; *Београдски суд*, № 363, 367.

²² М. Петровић, *Финансије и установе*, I, 495–496; *Турци са стране кнезу Милошу*, № 304–310.

²³ АС, КК, VII, 412, 415, 421, 424, 436, 452, 484, 552, 558, 592, 606, 665, 667, 702, 766, 866; ЗМП, 6551.

population supported Pasha's musellims, which amounted to, on semi-annual level, 6,000 tax groschen for each musellim, including 300 groschen for hay and wood. Until Mitrovdan 1831 the Serbian population supported the *Kadı* of Belgrade and his administration, which amounted to 11,368 tax groschen on semi-annual level.²⁴ In addition to stated tax obligations the Serbian population had monetary obligations towards the Sultan, sipahis and own administration.²⁵ The tax collected in the name of the Sultan was submitted to Pasha. Hussain Pasha, as the warden of the Belgrade Pashalik, in agreement with the Serbian authorities, issued an official order (*buyuruldu*) to collect the tax from the population. When receiving tax funds, Pasha issued certificates for the received assets.²⁶

At the time of the arrival of Hussain Pasha to Belgrade the struggle for the autonomy of the Serbian people gradually entered its final phase. The fifth article of the Akkerman Convention signed on 7 October 1826 between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, the Serbian issue was supposed to be resolved based on the eighth article of the Treaty of Bucharest (1812). Porte was obligated to resolve the Serbian issue within 18 months in cooperation with the Serbian side, and the final result of negotiations was supposed to represent a Hatt-i Sharif, which would include all the privileges given to the Serbian nation. The content of the Hatt-i Sharif would be presented to Russia and would be considered an integral part of the Akkerman Convention.²⁷

In a Separate act that was added to the Akkerman Convention, certain privileges given to the Serbian people were detailed: freedom of religion; election of people's representatives; internal self-government; union of six nahiyes that the Serbian rebels liberated in the First Serbian Uprising; payment of taxes in one installment, giving Muslim properties to Serbs, under the conditions the income is paid with taxes; free trade of Serbian merchants in the Ottoman Empire; establishment of schools, hospitals and printing facilities; prohibition to Muslims to settle in the rural part of Serbia, they could only live in the towns. All in all, generally speaking, it was the fulfilment of Serbian requests sent to the Porte in 1820. The only request that was not included in the Separate act was the request to give Miloš Obrenović the title of the hereditary Prince of Serbia. The reason for this was the fact that there was no mention of that in the eighth article of the Treaty of Bucharest.

²⁴ АС, ЗМП, 6551, 6554, 6592, 6663, 6668, 6734; ПО, 38/41, 42, 43, 49, 57; *Београдски суд*, № 387; М. Петровић, *Финансије и установе*, I, 499–500, 502–504.

²⁵ For more details, see: М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, II, 361–440; Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, Београд 2004, 69–70.

²⁶ АС, КК, VII, 419, 420, 465, 466, 543, 552, 611, 612, 697, 773, 834, 866; ЗМП, 6551; *Турци са стране кнезу Милошу*, № 304–310.

²⁷ G. Jakšić, *Evropa i vaskrs Srbije (1804–1834)*, Beograd 1933, 321–322; E. П. Кудрявцева, *Россия и становление сербской государственности (1812–1856)*, Москва 2009, 51–53.

Since Sublime Porte approved the election of national representatives and obligated itself with the Separate act to, together with the Serbian representatives, resolve all other applications of the Serbian mission, provided it was not contrary to the subordinate status of Serbia, there was a possibility to meet this request as well.²⁸

As soon as Prince Miloš Obrenović heard of the provisions of the Akkerman Convention he summoned the National Assembly that met in Kragujevac on 27 January 1827. The Assembly expressed gratitude to the Russian Emperor and proclaimed the news that the Porte satisfied the desires of the Serbian people. Two days later, Miloš Obrenović was proclaimed a hereditary prince for the second time, while people's representatives swore allegiance to him and his family. At the same time, they prepared an request to the Sultan Mahmut II (1808–1839), in which they sought confirmation of Miloš as the hereditary prince and a letter of gratitude was sent to the Russian Emperor Nikolaj I Romanov (1825–1855), with a plea to intercede for the Serbian issue. Afterwards, members of the sixth Serbian mission were appointed, led by Lazar Teodorović, secretary of the Prince's Office. The instructions given to the representatives stated they should make their best effort in meeting the desires of the Serbian people, especially recognize the heredity to the Serbian Prince.²⁹

In the struggle to receive his hereditary dignity as the Prince Miloš Obrenović calculated on the support of Hussain Pasha. Thus, from the very start, he invested a lot of effort to maintain a friendly relationship with him. Financially dependent from the Serbian authorities that were collecting taxes in the field, Pasha also tried to be as friendly as possible. Meeting monetary requirements of Hussain Pasha impacted his positive presentation of the Prince and the Serbian population in Sublime Porte. He pointed out how the loyalty of Prince Miloš to the Sublime Porte is evidenced by him sending his wife and children to visit the Pasha. The Sublime Porte responded to Hussain Pasha that it was satisfied with this report and that no Belgrade Muhafiz before him wrote so positively about Miloš Obrenović and the Serbian people. Hussain Pasha made sure Serbian Prince heard of this, since it was the testimony of the Pasha's friendship towards him. Additionally, Pasha promised to intercede for the heredity of the dignity of the prince through his representative in the Porte – diplomatic representative Neshad Efendi. Neshad Efendi is a friend of Serbia, spoke

²⁸ М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, II, 231–233; G. Jakšić, *op. cit.*, 321–322.

²⁹ В. С. Караџић, *op. cit.*, 157–172; Политические и культурные отношения России с югославянскими землями в первой трети XIX века, Документы, отв. состав. В. М. Хевролина, Москва 1997, № 194–196.

Pasha to Aleksa Simić, but “after he has received a gift from Kodža Miloš, he will speak better on his behalf, this is the nature of men.”³⁰

Gifts did not do much at that time, things went the wrong way temporarily. Worsening of relations between the great European forces and the Ottoman Empire postponed the temporary resolution of the Serbian issue. Since the Ottoman Empire rejected mediation by Great Britain, Russia and France for the resolution of the Greek issue, complications occurred that led to the naval Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, in which the Ottoman navy was demolished. Relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the three great forces became hostile. Diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, Russia and France left Constantinople in December, and the Serbian representatives became hostage.³¹

Termination of diplomatic relations with three great forces and the war on the horizon made Porte take preventive measures. In such circumstances, at the orders from Porte, Hussain Pasha demanded loyalty from the Serbian Prince, promising the fulfilment of all Serbian requests in return, after the fight with great forces has ended. Willing to execute his orders, Hussein Pasha told the Serbian Prince to submit a *sened* (pledge) to loyalty and secure his future and the future of the Serbian people. As the Serbian Prince received advice from the Russian government to stay neutral in case of a war between Turkey and Russia, he decided to accept the request of the Belgrade Muhafiz. For this purpose, on 28 December 1827, National Assembly met in Kragujevac. At the meeting held on 1 January 1828, the decision was made to accept the request of Hussain Pasha, provided the Porte accepts to meet all the Serbian requests from 1820, and to award the hereditary dignity of the Prince to Miloš Obrenović. Decision of the Assembly was formulated as the national request to the Sultan on the same day. On the sixteenth of January a special assembly delegation led by the Prince's brother Jevrem Obrenović submitted the national request to the Belgrade Muhafiz. Then, Prince Miloš promised Hussain Pasha he will award him with 100,000 groschen if he succeeds in providing him with the hereditary dignity of the Prince.³²

Regarding the Serbian request, Hussain Pasha prepared a special letter to the Sultan, recommending the Serbian requests, and then, on 24 January, he sent both acts in Constantinople. Fearing the Pasha's translation would not be accurate, Prince Miloš sent the Assembly decision to the Serbian mission in Constantinople

³⁰ АС, КК, VII, 425, 432, 435; XXX, 484; *Алексинач и околнина*, приредио Б. Перуничкић, Алексинач 1978, № 20.

³¹ P. W. Schroeder, *The transformation of European politics 1763–1848*, Oxford University Press 1994, 650–653; В. Поповић, *Европа и српско питање у периоду ослобођења 1804–1918*, Београд 1940, 70.

³² АС, КК, VII, 436, 438, 440; АС, ЗМП, 1891; *Политические и культурные отношения*, № 202; М. Гавриловић, *Милош Обреновић, књига трећа (1827–1835)*, Београд 1912, 39–44.

with the order to translate it and submit it to the Porte. The mission received instructions that, after the Porte issues the *sened* guaranteeing fulfilment of Serbian demands, they must assure Porte that the *sened* obliging the Serbian people to loyalty towards the Sultan and the Porte will follow soon enough. On 17 February 1828 the Serbian mission received the *sened* signed on that same date, which stated the Porte will continue negotiations with Serbs when the time comes. Even though the *sened* did not meet any of the demands of the Serbian people, the Serbian Prince received it and, as a response, submitted two *seneds*, dated 23 March 1828 to Hussain Pasha, obligating the Serbian people to loyalty towards the Porte.³³

Readiness of the Serbian Prince to provide the Sultan and the Porte with written guarantee of loyalty was not enough. Since it was clear the Russian-Turkish war was imminent, the Porte, at the start of 1828, decided to strengthen her garrisons in Belgrade, Šabac, Užice, Soko, Smederevo and Čuprija.³⁴ Regarding this strengthening of the military presence in Serbia, Prince Miloš sent a protest letter to Hussain Pasha, and Aleksa Simić and Avram Petronijević received orders to protest with the Pasha related to this issue. Pasha assured them a moderate number of soldiers will come and that the Porte is forced to take precautionary measures. By the middle of March 1,500 soldiers came to Belgrade from the Bosnian Eyalet, led by Ali Pasha Vidajić. About 500 soldiers came to Šabac and Užice, respectively, and 100 to Soko.³⁵ After the entry of the troop in the Belgrade Pashalik, Hussain Pasha announced to Aleksa Simić that there is no reason to worry and that the army from the Bosnian Eyalet will scatter, since it is not paid and it has no supplies.³⁶

Entrance of troops from the Bosnian Eyalet into the Belgrade Pashalik caused unrest with the Serbian population. Prince Miloš managed to settle the people assuring them these were only precautions due to the upcoming war between Russia and Turkey. Behavior of Prince Miloš was commended by the very Sultan Mahmut II. Related to the Sultan's commandment Hussain Pasha told Aleksa Simić the following: "The Emperor was very pleased to hear that Kodža Miloš did not oppose letting troops into towns, and as much as he believed him before, he now believes him double." Grand Vizier Mehmet Selim Siri Pasha not only commended the loyalty and commitment of the Serbian Prince and the Serbian people, but also the Belgrade Muhafiz, for his kind behavior towards the Serbian Prince and the

³³ М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 45–57; АС, КК, VII, 465, 467, 469; ЗМП, 1891, 1896, 1899.

³⁴ АС, КК, VIII, 179, 180; АС, КК, VII, 456.

³⁵ М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 52–54; АС, ЗМП, 1891; КК, VII, 466, 467.

³⁶ АС, КК, VII, 467.

Serbian people. For this reason, the Sultan awarded the oldest pasha's son, Ahmet Bey, the ayan of the Tatar-Pazardžik, with the title of *kapıcıbaşı*³⁷, and Hussain Pasha was confirmed at his position by *ipka firman* (*ipka fermarı*). A little over one year later, the title of the *kapıcıbaşı* was awarded to pasha's younger son, Abdurrahman Bey.³⁸

The Porte wanted to reward the loyalty and commitment of Prince Miloš by providing a proposal on the solution of the Serbian issue, which was not in line with the provisions of the Akkerman Convention or the Separate act.³⁹ The Serbian Prince was left with the option to wait for the turnout of the events that were accelerating and to keep a neutral position following the Russian advice in the upcoming war. Since Great Britain and France hesitated to use force in resolving disputes with the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Emperor, on 26 April 1828, announced war, by himself, to the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰ Soon after the military actions had started, the concentration of Ottoman troops from the Bosnian Eyalet on Drina commenced.

Hussain Pasha explained to Aleksa Simić that these were merely 4,000–5,000 soldiers that came to Janja and Bjeljina at the orders from Porte. Porta did this since it received information from the Vidin Vali Ibrahim Pasha that there are a lot of Serbian volunteers in the Russian army that entered Wallachia and Moldova. As Hussain Pasha claimed, the fear that the Serbian volunteers would pass over to Serbia and cause a rebellion was the main cause of concentrating Ottoman army on Drina. Moreover, pointed Pasha out, in case of the attempt of the Russian army to enter Serbia, the army from Bosnia will cross the Serbian territory “as if it was its own land, against its enemies.” In case none of this happens, army will not cross Drina. I believe Prince Miloš, so does the Sublime Porte, Hussain Pasha would say, but a rebellion might happen in the country, organized without Prince's knowledge. This is why Pasha took precautions also. He placed cannon on the walls of Belgrade and organized night watch.⁴¹

After witnessing the neutrality of the Serbian Prince, the Sublime Porte assured him that the army from the Bosnian Eyalet will not cross the border of Serbia. Hussain Pasha received an order to assist Prince Miloš in case of internal rebellion within the country. In case of more significant internal unrest, Pasha could seek help from the Muhafiz of Niš, Osman Pasha. Bosnian Vali Abdurrahman

³⁷ Designating the chief of the palace gatekeepers or „chief warder“.

³⁸ AC, KK, VII, 469, 474, 475, 477.

³⁹ More on this: M. Гаврилович, *op. cit.*, III, 58–60.

⁴⁰ История внешней политики России, Первая половина XIX века (От войны России против Наполеона до Парижского мира 1856 г.), отв. редактор О. В. Орлик, Москва 1999, 226, 228–229; Политические и культурные отношения, № 205; AC, ПО, 23/4.

⁴¹ AC, KK, VII, 489.

Pasha was ordered to prevent potential incidents on the border. Additionally, Muhafiz of Belgrade advised Prince Miloš to issue an order to the Serbs not to enter into conflict with the army on Drina.⁴²

Unrest due to the presence of the army on the borders of Belgrade Pashalik did not last long. Internal conflicts in the Bosnian Eyalet in summer 1828 caused the withdrawal of the army from borders.⁴³ Soon after that, regiments that came from the Bosnian Eyalet a couple of months ago started leaving on their own, from Belgrade, Šabac, Užice and Soko. Hussain Pasha and Prince Miloš tried to speed up their departure, looking after their own interest. Hussain Pasha had an issue with the behavior of Ali Pasha Vidajić, who acted with certain level of condescension towards him. Realizing this, Prince Miloš tried to deepen the gap between the Muhafiz of Belgrade and Ali Pasha, persuading the Muhafiz that Ali Pasha is working against him at the orders of the Bosnian Vali Abdurrahman Pasha. Their goal is, confided the Serbian Prince to Hussain Pasha, to remove him from his position and to make Abdurrahman Pasha the Muhafiz of Belgrade Pashalik again. Pasha was of the same opinion.⁴⁴

Since some of the more prominent Turks in Belgrade invested significant effort on the removal of Hussain Pasha and the rumors started that Hussain Pasha will become the Vali of Bosnia, Prince Miloš wrote to the Serbian mission in Constantinople to advocate for the Pasha's stay in Belgrade. The Porte responded to the representatives that there will be no changes, but their effort is evidence to their own satisfaction with Hussain Pasha and vice versa. Pasha was touched by the effort of the Serbian Prince and expressed great gratitude to him in writing on this occasion.⁴⁵

During the Russian-Turkish war (1828–1829) there were no significant conflicts between the Serbs and the Turks in the Belgrade Pashalik, because the Prince and the Pasha strived for peace and order. The only problem Pasha had was the fact some Serbs escaped to Austria and then, from Austria to Wallachia where they joined the Russian army. The existence of the Serbian volunteer detachments in the Russian army in Little Wallachia under the command of Miljko Petrović, younger brother of Hajduk-Veljko Petrović bothered him especially. Considering that the Porte will look upon this with disapproval, Pasha advised Prince Miloš to react. On this note, Prince Miloš contacted the General-Colonel

⁴² AC, KK, VII, 490.

⁴³ AC, KK, XIV, 50, 52, 55; IV, 576, 579; Рашид Беј, *Историја чудноватих догађаја у Београду и Србији*, превео са турског Д. С. Чохаџић, Београд 2010, 81–83. For details about situation in Bosnian Eyalet, see: A. C. Eren, *Mahmud II zamanında Bosna-Hersek*, İstanbul 1965, 91–97; G. Šljivo, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1827–1849*, Tešanj 2006, 61–69.

⁴⁴ AC, KK, VII, 501, 504, 506, 518, 521.

⁴⁵ AC, KK, VII, 518.

Feodor Klementovich Geismar, commander of the Russian army in Little Wallachia. Geismar accepted the request of the Serbian Prince and the Serbian detachment was disbanded. Pasha was happy, so was Prince Miloš, that saw a political opponent in Miljko Petrović.⁴⁶

After this, Hussain Pasha never stopped tracking the events on the Russian-Turkish battlefield. He was reported regularly on the situation in the field, from Osman Pasha from Niš and from Prince Miloš. Pasha did not pay too much attention to the arriving news, up until the moment his older son, Ahmed Bey, received the order to join the fight. Pasha sought a way to get his son out of the battle, and not to offend Sultan Mahmut II who gave the title of *kapıcıbaşı* to Ahmet Bey. Finally, he got the idea to ask the Sultan to make his son a musellim in Šabac or Smederevo, to set disturbed Turks at peace and to maintain peace and order. The Sultans response was a positive one, and in December 1828, Ahmet Bey was named Musellim of Smederevo. He reached Smederevo in February 1829.⁴⁷

Two months later, Hussain Pasha received two firmans from Constantinople. The first firman ordered him to change the way he dressed, both him and his clerks. They were supposed to wear uniforms of the regular army (*nizâm*) and put a fez on their heads, which became a mandatory part of clothing for Ottoman officials and clerks since 1829. Even though he was not too happy about it, Hussain Pasha followed the order, and became the first Belgrade Muhafiz that put a fez on his head. We should mention that during the time of Hussain Pasha, the first official newspaper of the Ottoman Empire came to Belgrade – *Takvim-i Vekayi*, the same year they started to publish, in 1831⁴⁸. The second firman was an *ipka* firman confirming his title, which was pleasing to Pasha.⁴⁹

Unlike previous 1828, Russia entered the war in 1829 more decisively. Defeat of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Rashid Pasha at Kulevča on 11 June 1829 opened the path through Balkans for the Russian army. Russian troops had no significant obstacles ahead, all the way to Constantinople. When Edirne was taken on the 20 August, Sultan was forced to seek peace. The peace treaty was signed in Edirne on 14 September 1829. Russia was territorially expanded and sought significant war damages from the Ottoman Empire. Article six of the Treaty obligated the Porte to “without any delay and with utmost precision” meet all the provision of article five of the Akkerman Convention and the Separate act. It was stipulated that Porte must return the six nahiyes to Serbia that were taken in 1813. Hatt-i Sharif, which will

⁴⁶ AC, KK, VII, 491, 498, 537, 546; ЗМП, 1935, 1955; ПО, 70/3.

⁴⁷ AC, KK, VII, 497, 530, 533, 535, 536, 551, 552, 560.

⁴⁸ Београдски суд, № 453; AC, KK, VII, 818.

⁴⁹ AC, KK, VII, 584, 592.

order the execution of stated provisions, the Porte was obligated to officially announce to the Russian Court within one month. Peace of Edirne confirmed the increased Russian patronage over Serbia. The all-powerful Russian influence in Constantinople offered a chance that all important demands of the Serbian people will be met.⁵⁰

The First Hatt-i Sharif was issued to the Serbs by the Porte on 30 September 1829. Hatt-i Sharif arrived at Kragujevac on the 11 December 1829, and from there, it was sent to Belgrade, since it was sent to the Muhafiz of Belgrade and the *Kadi* of Belgrade. Hatt-i Sharif was submitted to Hussain Pasha on 13 December, and Pasha congratulated the Serbs on their success. The following day, the Hatt-i Sharif was officially read in Belgrade in the presence of Serbs and Turks. Aleksa Simić noted that during the reading of the Hatt-i Sharif, certain Turks “were sweating with unrest”. Afterwards the Hatt-i Sharif was registered in court protocol and the copies of it were sent to Šabac, Užice, Soko, Ćuprija and Smederevo. Hatt-i Sharif was also read in Serbian in the National Assembly in Kragujevac on 6 February 1830.⁵¹

Hatt-i Sharif from 1829 did not confirm the rights the Serbs demanded from 1815, it only, in an official manner, only stipulated the privileges that the Serbs will soon be able to enjoy. The Sultan’s act officially promised to fulfil all the provisions of the Bucharest peace treaty and the Akkerman Convention, regarding the Serbian people and that the Serbia will get back its six nahiyes. Hatt-i Sharif had a great impact on the Muslim/Turkish population in Serbia, which, after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in war with Russia and the compromise the Porte made with the Serbs under the pressure of the Russian Court, led to the impression that they will no longer be able to live in Serbia. For this reason, some Muslims started selling their property to Serbs.⁵²

Soon after the announcement of Hatt-i Sharif the Serbian Prince ordered the establishment of quarantines on the borders, and in all towns and villages with churches, he ordered the construction of bell towers and installation of bells. Raising bell towers in Belgrade especially upset the Muhafiz of Belgrade, Hussain Pasha. Pasha protested since this was done without his knowledge and for the fact that Porte would not be too positive with him allowing the Serbs something not yet officially confirmed in Constantinople. So, Pasha confided to Aleksa Simić that Hatt-i Sharif does not say the Serbs received their rights, but that they will, so they need

⁵⁰ В. Н. Виноградов, *Двуглавый российский орел на Балканах 1683–1914*, Москва 2010, 239–241; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, V. Cilt, *Nizam-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri (1789–1856)*, Ankara 2011, 120–122; Политические и культурные отношения, № 219, 221–223, 225, 227; АС, КК, VII, 608, 609.

⁵¹ М. Гаврилович, *op. cit.*, III, 148–149, 153–162; G. Jakšić, *op. cit.*, 340; Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 4–5; АС, ЗМП, 2026; КК, VII, 631; XXX, 595.

⁵² Р. Љушић, *Историја српске државности*, 89; М. Гаврилович, *op. cit.*, III, 173.

to wait, and then set the bells. Prince Miloš would not let go, so Pasha folded finally, so the bells were ringing in Belgrade on *Bele poklade* on 28 February 1830.⁵³

Giving in of Hussain Pasha was not conditioned by his belief that he will be moved from Belgrade soon. In the attempt to be named the Muhafiz of Niš for the third time with the aid of the Serbian Prince, Pasha presented himself as the great friend of the Serbs. He congratulated the setting of bells, he assured them he was their true friend, that he will promote Serbian interest and provided advice on how to defend them. Certain actions he took proved this, especially moving of musellim from the rural parts of Serbia, depriving them of their monthly income. Even though the authority of Hussain Pasha was reduced by this, he did not protest. He tried to work in cooperation with Serbian authorities and did not oppose the proposal of the mixed Serbian and Turkish patrols maintaining peace and order in Belgrade.⁵⁴

Motivated by his personal and state interests Prince Miloš Obrenović also tried to have the best possible relationship with the Pasha, meeting his financial demands, as he did in the past. Since the First Hatt-i Sharif did not even mention the hereditary dignity of the prince, Prince Miloš decided to accelerate this using Hussain Pasha. Negotiations started in Belgrade, on 13 March 1830, with Aleksa Simić and Avram Petronijević as mediators, and they were finalized in Topčider on 5 August 1830. On that day Prince Miloš and Hussain Pasha met for the first time, with Aleksa Simić as the interpreter. During the discussion Pasha noted that he will invest his best effort with the Porte to receive the hereditary dignity of the prince for Miloš, and he was promised a reward of 200,000 groschen for this. Three days later, Pasha sent a letter to the Porte on the necessity of the hereditary dignity of the prince in Serbia, stating the main argument of loyalty and commitment of Prince Miloš to the Sultan and the Porte.⁵⁵ In addition to the Muhafiz of Belgrade, Serbian representatives and certain Ottoman officials, that were promised significant material compensations, were also involved in this matter in Constantinople. The success was soon accomplished.⁵⁶

In September 1830 the Sultan signed Berat on heredity of the dignity of the prince. A little over one month later, to be more precise, on 17 October 1830, the Sultan signed on the Second Hatt-i Sharif. The Hatt-i Sharif and the Berat were

⁵³ AC, KK, VIII, 271; VII, 634–639, 643, 639, 645–648; XXXI, 513; *Кнез Милош прича о себи*, 19; Рашид Бей, *op. cit.*, 94–95; М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 174–176; N. Duran, *Sirbistan Emareti öncesi Belgrad: 1792–1830*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimleri, Tarih Anbilim Dalı, Yakınçağ Tarihi Bilim Dalı, Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi 2019, 161.

⁵⁴ AC, KK, VII, 648, 650, 670, 675; XXXI, 521.

⁵⁵ AC, KK, VII, 652, 688; V, 70; ЗМП 2110; *Сећање Алексе Симића на књаза Милоша*, приредио и предговор написао Р. Љушић, Крагујевац 1997, 39, 41; *Управа вароши Београда 1820–1912*, приредио Б. Перуничкић, Београд 1970, № 37; М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 257, 288; Б. Куниберт, *op. cit.*, 1, 252. Prince Miloš never paid this sum in full to Hussain Pasha, only part of it.

⁵⁶ *Дипломатско представништво Србије у Цариграду, I том (1830–1858)*, приредили М. Перишић, А. Марковић, С. Рајак, Београд, 2015, № 7–13; М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 256–262, 269.

officially read on Tašmajdan on Saint Andrew's day on 12 December 1830 with the presence of Prince Miloš Obrenović, his family, Serbian officials, Belgrade Muhafiz and his entourage. After the reading of the Hatt-i Sharif and Berat, the Serbian Prince, with bells ringing, cannon fire and the crowd cheering, went into the church where he was anointed. Tomorrow, on the same spot, Lazar Zuban, the loudest clerk the Prince had, read the Serbian translations of Hatt-i Sharif and the Berat. The day the Hatt-i Sharif and the Berat were read, Saint Andrew, was proclaimed the state holiday of the Principality of Serbia.⁵⁷

The Second Hatt-i Sharif regulated the relations between the Principality of Serbia and the Ottoman Empire. Serbia received its internal self-government, but it was still considered part of the Empire. The Serbs were free to practice their religion, elect episkops and metropolitans, they were entitled to organize courts, army and open schools, printing facilities, hospitals and post offices. Serbian merchants were allowed to trade in the Ottoman Empire. Serbia was entitled to hold its diplomatic representative in Constantinople, who will perform necessary activities with the Porte.⁵⁸

The Hatt-i Sharif confirmed Prince Miloš and his title, and he received the right of heredity in line with the first-born principle, which was detailed in the Berat. This reception of the hereditary dignity of the prince actually represented a very important self-governing right. Heredity in the Ottoman Empire was the privilege of the representatives of the ruling dynasty. Prince Miloš Obrenović was the first Christian ruler to receive the heredity right of the throne in the Ottoman Empire. This recognition was the indirect recognition of the Principality status of Serbia. The birth of the autonomous Principality of Serbia with the hereditary prince at the top significantly reduced the authority of the Belgrade Muhafiz. Muhafiz of Belgrade retained the control of five Empire cities – Belgrade, Šabac, Užice, Soko, Smederevo and the Muslim population in Serbia.⁵⁹

Second Hatt-i Sharif prescribed that the Muslims who are not part of garrisons are to move out within one year, after selling their goods. In accordance with this, the Muslims from Belgrade started selling their homes and properties to Serbs. However, in February 1831, the Muhafizi of Belgrade received a harsh warning from Constantinople. He was told that the Porte did not even consider moving of Muslims from towns with forts, since they were part of garrisons, only the ones living in

⁵⁷ AC, KK, VII, 700; XIV, 88; M. Ç. Börekçi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sırp Meselesi*, İstanbul 2001, 187; A. Özkan, *Miloš'tan Milan'a Sırp Bağımsızlığı (1830–1878)*, İstanbul 2011, 23; Г. Георгијевић, *Знаменити догађаји новие србске историје*, Београд 1838, 101–105; М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 270, 276, 293–300; Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 6, 11, 13.

⁵⁸ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 7–10; М. Ç. Börekçi, *op. cit.*, 187–190.

⁵⁹ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 7, 8, 11–13; AC, KK, VII 796.

villages and palanks, and only after one year has passed. After this, the imperial commissioner is to arrive, that will sell the property to Serbs. Hussain Pasha was ordered to tell the Muslims to get their property back, and those who have moved out, to return.⁶⁰

The situation got complicated. Prince Miloš protested to Pasha, and the Serbs, as ordered by the Prince, refused to return the property they bought. Firm attitude of the Serbian Prince and his threat of coming to Belgrade alarmed the Muslims in Belgrade, that temporarily moved their families from the town to the fortress. In the attempt to calm the situation down, Hussain Pasha wrote Prince Miloš to protest in Constantinople, not in Belgrade, because he had nothing to do with it. To resolve the problem as soon as possible, Pasha advised the Prince to contact the Russian Embassy in Constantinople and he wrote to the Porte that he never told the Muslims to move out, but to act in line with the Hatt-i Sharif. The letter was so skillfully written, that Pasha did not admit he made a mistake, but did not deny it, either.⁶¹

The intention of Prince Miloš was to move out the Muslims around Soko, from Lešnica and Šabac additionally caused unrest. Hussain Pasha was in a very unpleasant situation, he simply did not know what to do. What was troubling him the most was the fact Prince Miloš was not informing him on his intentions anymore. Pasha feared that Prince's actions might lead to his demise and that he could easily wind up executed. Mutual accusations followed, Pasha was accusing the Prince of creating a stressful situation in the country, and the Prince was accusing Pasha of conspiring against him in Constantinople.⁶² The relationship was improved soon, the situation calmed down, moving out of Muslims stopped, and the Pasha received another confirmation of his title by *ipka* firman.⁶³

The Hatt-i Sharif of 1830 left the issue of unification of six nahiyes and the determination of the annual tax to be paid to the Porte by Serbia unsolved. This was accompanied by the problem of Muslim immigration which was, as said above, initiated, but stopped soon. Hussain Pasha, as the Belgrade Muhafiz, was authorized to, together with Mehmed Lebib Efendi, commissioner of the Porte for the determination of Serbian borders, negotiate with the Prince of Serbia on the issue of borders and annual tax. Pasha was friendly with the Serbs, and, according to his account, he was telling them everything he knew. He often stipulated that "Serbian issues cannot be resolved" without him, especially after the spreading of

⁶⁰ Београдски суд, № 522; AC, KK, VII, 732; VI, 144a.

⁶¹ AC, KK, VII, 732, 734, 735, 743; VIII, 348; Београдски суд, № 522, 529; Управа вароши Београда, № 42.

⁶² AC, KK, VII, 743, 747, 748.

⁶³ AC, KK, VII, 749, 750, 758.

false rumors that he will be the next Vali of Bosnia. Though he was not entirely sure why, Hussain Pasha felt queasy for days. When he finally found out, by the end of August 1831, that the Grand Vizier and the Porte suspect that he is behind the rebellion of Bosnian captains (1831–1832)⁶⁴, all for the purpose of becoming the Vali of Bosnia, Pasha was completely lost. Scared that he might lose his properties in Tatar-Pazardžik and his life, Pasha turned to the Serbian Prince. I could never be a proper Bosnian Vali, said Hussain Pasha to Aleksa Simić. If I do as I am told by the Sultan, I will be destroyed by the captains of Bosnia, and if I listen to them, I will be killed by the Sultan. So, let Prince Miloš help me before it is too late, until I am appointed the Bosnian Vali, pleaded Pasha. He substantiated his request with the fact that he is familiar with the Serbian requests and that he will help Serbia, thus, he should remain there until the Serbian issue is resolved. However, his fears were completely without any grounds. Ibrahim Pasha was appointed the Vali of Bosnia, former Vali of Vidin, who never reached Bosnia.⁶⁵

When he found out about the fears of Hussain Pasha, Prince Miloš wrote Aleksa Simić that he could acquit the Pasha in Porte easily, but he is not going to, since the Pasha was not honest with him. As the Prince found out, during 1831, Pasha sent negative reports on him to Constantinople, accusing him of violent eviction of Muslims from Serbia. Pasha claimed this was not true and he was ready to send a letter to Porte demanding the disclosure of all he wrote against the Serbian Prince. The letter was actually written and sent to Prince Miloš for him to send it to Constantinople. The Prince returned the letter and decided to close the matter, since he thought he could still have some use from Pasha. For this reason, he persuaded Pasha to believe him and that he will prove his friendship. Whenever he needed, the Prince was ready to provide financial support. Pasha thanked him and assured him of his honest friendship, asking additional 500,000 groschen on top of the loan he received, which was granted to him. Thus, at the beginning of 1832, all the disputes between the Serbian Prince and the Belgrade Muhafiz were settled.⁶⁶

After that, the Serbian Prince and the Belgrade Muhafiz maintained a sound relationship, until April 1833, when Hussain Pasha left Serbia. In the meantime, the borders of the Principality of Serbia were expanded. Taking advantage of the new global situation caused by the First Egyptian Crisis (1831–1833)⁶⁷ Prince Miloš

⁶⁴ The rebellion of Bosnian captains led by the Hussain Captain Gradašćević (1802–1833) was directed against the reforms of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839). More on the circumstances that resulted in and the rebellion: A. C. Eren, *op. cit.*, 71–148; G. Šljivo, *op. cit.*, 11–217.

⁶⁵ AC, KK, VII, 723, 727, 728, 730, 771, 782, 796–800.

⁶⁶ AC, KK, VII, 797, 819, 830, 831, 834, 840.

⁶⁷ More on the First Egyptian Crisis and circumstances that caused it: Ş. Altundağ, *Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa İsyanı, Mısır Meselesi 1831–1841*, I Kısım, Ankara 1945; A. L. Al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*, Cambridge University Press 1984.

primarily established his rule in the part of Stari Vlah, Jadar and Radjevina, and then, in autumn of 1832, he instigated the rebellion of the Serbian population around Kruševac, Paraćin, Ražanj and Aleksinac. By the end of that year, Serbian administration was present on those territories. The direct cause for the rebellion was the kidnapping of two Serbian girls committed by Selim Bey and Ahmet Bey, the Vrenčević brothers. Since the older brother went mad, only the younger was tried, Ahmet Bey, that was brought to Belgrade in 1833 for this matter. By the conviction of Ahmet Bey, who was imprisoned, vile act of Vrenčević brothers were confirmed, justifying the rebellion from the autumn of 1832. The main role in convicting Ahmet Bey was played by the Muhafiz of Belgrade, Hussain Pasha, who received the award from the Serbian Prince for this of 50,000 groschen. Soon after that, Hussain Pasha started preparing for departure from Serbia.⁶⁸

In December 1832, Hussain Pasha was appointed the Vali of Rumelia, and Mehmed Salih Vedžihi Pasha, former Mutessarif of Thessaloniki was appointed the Belgrade Muhafiz. Since Vedžihi Pasha was forced to wait for the new Mutessarif of Thessaloniki by the end of March 1833, Hussain Pasha remained in Belgrade.⁶⁹ At the end of February 1833, Prince Miloš sent his wife, Princess Ljubica and the Serbian Metropolitan Melentije Pavlović (1831–1833) for a farewell courtesy call on Pasha.⁷⁰ Hussain Pasha left Belgrade by the middle of April in 1833. The Serbian Prince met him during his passing through Serbia, securing the transport of his property and accommodation in Grocka, Kolari, Hasan Pasha palank, Batočina, Jagodina, Paraćin, Ražanj and Aleksinac.⁷¹ He crossed the Serbian border on 24 April at Aleksinac, where he received the news he was confirmed a Vali of Rumelia. Hussain Pasha was followed by the Muslims from Paraćin, Ražanj and Aleksinac, because Pasha told them there was no place for them in Serbia anymore.⁷²

Appointment for the Vali of the Rumelia Eyalet was the last appointment received by Hussain Pasha Kavanozâde/Gavanozoglu. Two years after taking duties, Pasha died (1835).⁷³

⁶⁸ М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 410–434; Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 23–32; У. С. Шешум, *Србија и Стара Србија (1804–1839)*, Београд 2017, 165–166; *Крушевац у једном веку (1815–1915)*, приредио Б. Перуничкић, Крушевац 1971, № 9, 19; *Град Светозарево (1806–1915)*, приредио Б. Перуничкић, Београд 1975, № 115, 117–122; *Алексинач и околина*, № 31, 32; М. Петровић, *Финансије и установе*, I, 482–483.

⁶⁹ АС, ЗМП, 2158; VI, 247, 249; XIII, 104; XXX, 745.

⁷⁰ АС, ПО, 78/167.

⁷¹ АС, КК, VI, 253, 257, 260, 261; ПО, 67/94, 96; ЗМП, 6774; КК, XXXI, 659.

⁷² Горња Ресава (Деспотовац са околином) 1804–1918, приредио Б. Перуничкић, Београд 1989, 266.

⁷³ АС, ЗМП, 4560; М. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî* 3, 723; *Турски документи за македонската историја V, 1827–1839*, превод, редакција и коментар П. Џамбазовски, Скопје 1958, 75–76, 86, 93.

Soon after the departure of Hussain Pasha Prince Miloš started preparing uprisings in Krajinska and Crnorečka nahiye of the Vidin Sanjak. After minor conflicts with the Turks, the Serbian army entered these territories on 11 May 1833, joining them to Serbia. Porta was left to acknowledge the status on the field. With the Third Hatt-i Sharif on 14 November 1833, Prince Miloš was given the rule over the territories he united, that is, the six nahiyes, and the sum of the annual tax was cut to 2,300,000 groschen. The Third Hatt-i Sharif marked the end of the process of building the Serbian autonomy, which was started in 1815, the autonomous Principality of Serbia was created, spreading over the territory of 37 740 km².⁷⁴

⁷⁴ М. Гавриловић, *op. cit.*, III, 453–463, 482–497; Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 15–21, 32–35.