

# Selim III and the Ottoman Empire: The Tragic Dawn of Reform

## Introduction: The Sultan and the Storm

On April 7, 1789, Selim III ascended to the Ottoman throne as the 28th sultan.<sup>1</sup> His accession coincided, in a profound historical irony, with the dawn of the French Revolution, an event that would fundamentally and violently reshape the political and military landscape of Europe.<sup>3</sup> The empire he inherited was in a state of advanced crisis, mired in a disastrous war against both Austria and Russia (1787–1792) and suffering from what contemporary observers described as "social, economic, and administrative chaos".<sup>5</sup>

The reign of Selim III (1789–1807) represents a tragic paradox, one that defines the transition from the early modern to the modern Ottoman state. Selim was an enlightened ruler, a man of culture, poetry, and music, who possessed an inherited "zeal for reform".<sup>1</sup> He was intellectually a product of the pre-revolutionary Enlightenment, a monarch who sought to implement rational, top-down reforms modeled on the *ancien régime* absolutism of his correspondent and "role model," Louis XVI of France.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, he was forced to govern in a post-revolutionary world. The very modernity he sought to emulate was super-charged by the "intellectual and political ferment" of the French Revolution, making his attempts at gradual reform seem slow and insufficient.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the geopolitical chaos unleashed by that same revolution, particularly the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, created a volatile international environment that destabilized his empire externally, culminating in the 1798 French invasion of Ottoman Egypt.<sup>5</sup>

This report analyzes the tragic misalignment between the man and his era. It argues that Selim III's personal vision, rooted in enlightened absolutism and high culture, was ultimately mismatched with the violent, structural decay of his empire and the deeply entrenched interests that thrived within it. His failure was not one of vision, but of execution. He was a reformer who lacked the requisite ruthlessness, a "pacifist" <sup>9</sup> monarch whose cautious attempt to build a "new order" was consumed by the forces of chaos he could neither control nor destroy. His reign was a necessary prologue, and his murder, a tragic but "instructive" lesson <sup>10</sup> that paved the way for the brutal, and more successful, reforms of his successor.

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## Part I: The Man - Sultan Selim III (1761–1808)

The first half of this report examines Sultan Selim III as an individual, analyzing the unique education that shaped his worldview, the artistic pursuits that defined his character, and the violent downfall that cemented his legacy as the first martyr of Ottoman reform.

## **The Reformer in Waiting: A Prince's Education**

Selim III's character and reformist zeal were not accidental; they were the product of a deliberate, inter-generational project. Born at the Topkapı Palace on December 24, 1761, his birth was celebrated with a seven-day festival, a sign of the hope invested in him.<sup>1</sup>

The primary influence on his worldview was his father, Sultan Mustafa III (reigned 1757–1774).<sup>1</sup> Mustafa III was acutely aware of the empire's military and technological decline, particularly in the face of a rising Russia, and had already initiated his own attempts at reform, such as opening new maritime and artillery academies.<sup>11</sup> He bequeathed this "zeal for reform" <sup>5</sup> to his son, creating the political and intellectual space for Selim's later efforts.

When Mustafa III died, Selim was only 13.<sup>1</sup> His uncle, Abdülhamid I (reigned 1774–1789), ascended the throne. In a significant break from the lethal Ottoman tradition of fraternal execution or the strict confinement of princes to the *kafes* (cage), Abdülhamid I treated his nephew with kindness.<sup>1</sup> Selim was permitted "greater freedom prior to his accession than the Ottoman princes before him".<sup>5</sup>

This freedom was not just personal; it was intellectual and political. Selim received an "excellent education from the best teachers".<sup>1</sup> His curriculum was consciously modern, focusing on science, history, politics, and, critically, the "administrative and military organization of European states".<sup>1</sup> He became fluent in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Old Bulgarian.<sup>2</sup> This education was designed to groom a new kind of sultan, one who could understand and engage with the West.

The most telling evidence of his princely worldview was his clandestine correspondence with the Crown Prince of France, Louis XVI.<sup>1</sup> This was not a simple diplomatic courtesy but an active effort by a prince-in-waiting to find a "role model" <sup>3</sup> for enlightened, absolute monarchy. His intellectual framework was that of the *ancien régime*, believing that a powerful, rational monarch could reform the state from the top down. Selim's entire upbringing was a symptom of the empire's crisis; the elite recognized the failure of the old system and deliberately cultivated a reformer to save it. This context makes his subsequent failure all the more poignant, as he was a man specifically prepared for a mission that, as it turned out, was impossible to achieve.

## **The Artist on the Throne: Patronage, Poetry, and Piety**

To understand Selim III's reign and its limitations, one must understand his personal identity. He was, perhaps, more artist than administrator, a temperament that defined both his

visionary openness to new ideas and his fatal hesitation in the face of brutal opposition. Selim was a "poet and an accomplished composer of Ottoman classical music".<sup>5</sup> His fondness for literature and calligraphy was well-known, and many examples of his calligraphy were placed on the walls of mosques.<sup>2</sup> Under the *nom de plume* 'İlhamî' (The Inspired), he wrote a *divan* (collection) of poetry, often reflecting on the political anxieties of his time, such as the painful Russian occupation of Crimea.<sup>2</sup>

His talent as a musician was profound. He created fourteen *makams* (complex melodic types), three of which are still in use today, and sixty-four of his compositions are known.<sup>2</sup> His patronage is credited with a "revival and rebirth of music at his court"<sup>2</sup>, and he himself was an accomplished performer on the *ney* (reed flute) and *tanbur* (long-necked lute).<sup>2</sup> He was also a significant patron of the visual arts and architecture. He commissioned a series of engraved portraits of the sultans from London in 1796 and sat for his own famous portrait by Kapıdağlı Konstantin in 1803.<sup>13</sup> In 1795, he appointed the European architect Antoine Ignace Melling as his court architect, who designed several palaces for him.<sup>2</sup>

Crucially, Selim's cultural and political identity was unified by his deep religious piety. He was a devout member of the **Mevlevî Order** of Sufi dervishes.<sup>2</sup> His piety was not merely incidental; it was an active and creative passion. He composed a Mevlevî *ayin*—a long, complex liturgical form performed during the *semâ* (whirling ceremony)—in the sophisticated *Suzidîlara makam*.<sup>2</sup>

This spiritual affiliation is the philosophical key to his reformist identity. The Mevlevî Order, with its emphasis on music, poetry, and intellectual sophistication, represented the "high culture" of Ottoman urban society. This stood in stark contrast to the Bektashi Order of dervishes, which was institutionally fused with the Janissary corps.<sup>15</sup> By the late 18th century, this Bektashi-Janissary nexus had become associated with a populist, anti-intellectual, and reactionary stance, fiercely protective of its privileges. Selim's deep, personal, and creative involvement in Mevlevism was therefore a profound political and cultural alignment. It was an attempt to re-brand the spiritual identity of the Sultanate, aligning it with a sophisticated, intellectual, and "orderly" (*Nizam*) vision of Islam, in direct opposition to the "disorderly" and mutinous Janissary corps.<sup>15</sup>

## The 1807 Coup: Deposition of the Sultan

The "disorderly" forces ultimately proved stronger than the Sultan's vision of order. The rebellion that ended Selim's reign did not begin with the Janissaries themselves, but with their auxiliary levies, the *yamaks*, who were stationed in the fortresses defending the Bosphorus.<sup>9</sup> The immediate *casus belli* was a potent symbol of the entire reform conflict: the new uniform. On May 25, 1807, Raif Mehmet, the minister of the Bosphorus, attempted to persuade the *yamaks* to wear the new European-style uniforms of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order).<sup>9</sup> The *yamaks* viewed this as a profound threat to their identity, with Janissaries famously protesting that the new attire would "convert" them to "Muscovites".<sup>17</sup> The *yamaks* refused, murdered the

minister, and began to march on Istanbul.<sup>9</sup>

Their elected leader was a sergeant named Kabakçı Mustafa.<sup>9</sup> As they advanced, their numbers swelled, joined by disaffected Janissaries in the capital and residents angered by new taxes and rumors of corruption.<sup>9</sup> This was the decisive moment, and it revealed the fatal flaw in Selim's character. Conservative elements in his government, particularly Köse Musa, refused to use the loyal, well-trained *Nizam-ı Cedid* troops to crush the rebellion.<sup>9</sup> Selim III, described as "quite pacifist" <sup>9</sup>, possessed the *means* to suppress the revolt but lacked the political will or ruthlessness to deploy it against his own subjects. He "approved Köse Musa" and hesitated.<sup>9</sup>

His hesitation was fatal. The rebels became the *de facto* rulers of the capital.<sup>9</sup> They convinced the *Sheikh ul-Islam* (the empire's highest religious authority) to issue a *fatwa* (religious ruling) against the reforms.<sup>12</sup> On May 29, 1807, Selim III was formally deposed. The decree of deposition accused him of failing to respect the religion of Islam and the tradition of the Ottomans.<sup>2</sup> He was imprisoned in the relative comfort of the Topkapı Palace <sup>18</sup>, and his cousin, Mustafa IV, was placed on the throne. The new sultan immediately allied himself with the Janissaries, pardoned the rebels, and formally abolished the *Nizam-ı Cedid* reforms.<sup>5</sup> The period from 1807 to 1808 was one of profound chaos, marked by a rapid and violent exchange of power between multiple factions. The following table clarifies the key individuals and their roles in this critical year.

**Table 1: Key Figures in the Ottoman Coups (1789–1807)**

Figure	Role / Title	Faction	Key Action(s) 1807–1808	Ultimate Fate
Selim III	Deposed Sultan (r. 1789-1807)	Pro-Reform	Imprisoned in the Topkapı Palace; reportedly taught reform ideas to his cousin, Prince Mahmud. <sup>18</sup>	Assassinated by sword on the order of Mustafa IV in July 1808. <sup>2</sup>
Kabakçı Mustafa	Yamak Sergeant / Rebel Leader	Anti-Reform	Led the May 1807 revolt that deposed Selim III. <sup>9</sup> Became <i>de facto</i> ruler of Istanbul.	Killed by Alemdar Mustafa Pasha's forces when they entered the capital in July 1808. <sup>9</sup>
Mustafa IV	Sultan (r. 1807-1808)	Anti-Reform (by alliance)	Placed on the throne by Kabakçı's rebellion. <sup>18</sup> Ordered the assassination of	Deposed by Alemdar Mustafa Pasha. <sup>18</sup> Later executed on the order of Mahmud II.

			Selim III and Prince Mahmud. <sup>18</sup>	
<b>Alemдар Mustafa Pasha</b>	Ayan of Ruscuk / Governor	Pro-Reform	A "strong partisan of the reforms". <sup>2</sup> Marched on Constantinople with 40,000 men to restore Selim III. <sup>2</sup>	Arrived too late to save Selim. <sup>18</sup> Deposed Mustafa IV and installed Mahmud II as Sultan. <sup>18</sup>
<b>Mahmud II</b>	Prince / Future Sultan	Pro-Reform	Escaped the assassins sent by Mustafa IV by hiding. <sup>18</sup> Was proclaimed Sultan by Alemдар Mustafa Pasha. <sup>18</sup>	Became Sultan (r. 1808-1839). He would eventually, and brutally, succeed where Selim had failed. <sup>21</sup>

## Murder in the Seraglio: The Final Act

The final, bloody act of Selim III's life occurred on the night of July 28, 1808.<sup>20</sup> The pro-reform *ayan* Alemдар Mustafa Pasha, having gathered a formidable army of 40,000 men, had arrived at the gates of Constantinople. His stated goal was to depose Mustafa IV and restore Selim III to the throne.<sup>2</sup>

Hearing Alemдар's army advancing on the palace, Sultan Mustafa IV took "fright".<sup>20</sup> To secure his own throne, he gave a desperate and brutal order: execute the only other male claimants of the Ottoman line, his deposed cousin Selim and his half-brother Prince Mahmud.<sup>18</sup>

A group of assassins, including the Chief Black Eunuch, Nezir Aga, burst into Selim's chambers.<sup>20</sup> A violent and chaotic struggle ensued.<sup>2</sup> Imperial executions were, by centuries of tradition, carried out with a silken bowstring to avoid the sacrilege of shedding royal blood.<sup>20</sup> In the panic and chaos of the moment, this tradition was abandoned. The assassins drew their swords.<sup>20</sup> Selim's loyal consort, Refet Kadın, threw herself on his body in a vain attempt to shield him but was "dragged away screaming".<sup>2</sup> The former sultan was cut down, his last words reportedly being "Allahu Akbar" ("God is great").<sup>2</sup>

Selim III thus became the *only* Ottoman sultan in the empire's 600-year history to be killed by a sword.<sup>2</sup> The assassins wrapped his body in a quilt and reportedly threw it before Alemдар's advancing troops to show them their cause was lost.<sup>18</sup>

The act, however, failed to achieve its political objective. The assassins moved on to find Prince Mahmud but were unable to locate him; he had been hidden by a slave and escaped his would-be murderers.<sup>18</sup> Alemдар's forces stormed the palace, arrested and deposed Mustafa IV, and immediately declared the 23-year-old Mahmud II as the new sultan.<sup>18</sup> The

method of Selim's murder was a final, terrible symbol of his reign. His life's work had been to impose *Nizam* (order) on the state. His death was the most disorderly and tradition-breaking regicide imaginable, a final, bloody victory for the forces of chaos he had tried, and failed, to tame.

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## Part II: The Empire - The Ottoman State (1789–1807)

The second half of this report analyzes the Ottoman Empire that Selim III governed. It examines his ambitious reform program, the *Nizam-ı Cedid*, as a holistic plan for imperial survival; the powerful internal "triangle of opposition" that destroyed it; and the volatile external environment of the Napoleonic Wars that made the empire a pawn in a larger global conflict.

### The "New Order": A Program for Imperial Survival

The *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order) was not merely a military reform; it was a comprehensive, Western-inspired program designed to fundamentally restructure the Ottoman state.<sup>16</sup> Officially promulgated in 1792–93 after the conclusion of the war with Russia and Austria, it represented a "profound shift in Ottoman thinking".<sup>5</sup> For centuries, Ottoman reform had meant returning to a perceived "golden age." The *Nizam-ı Cedid* was premised on a revolutionary new idea: that Western ideas, processes, and technologies *had* to be adopted to restore Ottoman global prestige.<sup>24</sup>

**Military Reform:** This was the "central innovation" of the program.<sup>24</sup>

- **The New Army:** Selim III created a new infantry corps, also known as the *Nizam-ı Cedid*, to be trained and equipped along modern European lines.<sup>5</sup> This force was designed to counterbalance the "ineffectual" and politically disruptive Janissaries.<sup>24</sup> The corps was recruited from Turkish peasant youths in Anatolia<sup>2</sup> and trained by foreign officers, mostly French.<sup>3</sup> Though small, this unit was highly effective in its few engagements, most notably playing a key role in the 1799 defense of Acre against Napoleon's army.<sup>24</sup>
- **New Schools:** To staff this new army, a new educational infrastructure was required.<sup>17</sup> Selim founded new military and naval schools.<sup>16</sup> The most important of these was the **Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun** (Imperial School of Military Engineering), opened in 1800.<sup>26</sup> This institution was revolutionary. Its four-year curriculum included modern geometry, algebra, trigonometry, ballistics, mechanics, and fortification.<sup>27</sup> It established a printing press and imported European equipment.<sup>27</sup> French was a required language<sup>27</sup>, and the school's location in Hasköy was deliberately chosen for its "remoteness... to prevent students... from coming into contact with the Janissaries".<sup>27</sup>

**Administrative Reform:**

- **Permanent Embassies:** Recognizing that the empire could no longer afford to be

ignorant of European affairs<sup>2</sup>, Selim initiated a revolutionary shift in diplomacy. Starting in 1793, he established the *first-ever* permanent Ottoman embassies in the major European capitals: London (1793), Vienna (1794), Berlin (1795), and Paris (1796).<sup>1</sup> This was a radical break from the traditional Ottoman policy of ad-hoc diplomacy, which was rooted in a sense of religious and political superiority. These embassies were intended to gather intelligence, represent the empire as a modern state, and facilitate cross-cultural exchange.<sup>1</sup>

- **Provincial Centralization:** Selim also proposed new administrative regulations in 1795 to reform provincial governorships and taxation.<sup>5</sup> The goal was to "reverse the trend...towards decentralisation"<sup>24</sup> and rein in the power of local warlords. These efforts, however, "lacked military or financial resources to carry out the policy," rendering centralization an "unattainable ideal".<sup>24</sup>

#### **Economic Reform:**

- **The *Irād-ı Cedid* (New Revenue):** The new army was expensive, and the existing imperial treasury was both bankrupt and controlled by vested interests.<sup>17</sup> Selim's solution was to create "an entirely new treasury"<sup>30</sup>, the *Irād-ı Cedid* (New Revenue), which was a private, parallel treasury whose sole purpose was to finance the *Nizam-ı Cedid* army.<sup>24</sup>
- **New Taxes:** This new treasury was funded by "revenues from confiscated fiefs" (*timars*) and deeply unpopular new taxes "imposed on previously untaxed sources".<sup>16</sup> These included taxes on liquor, tobacco, and coffee.<sup>5</sup>

The creation of the *Irād-ı Cedid* was not merely a financial move; it was a profoundly political one. By creating a separate army and a separate treasury to pay for it, Selim was attempting a "stealth revolution." He was not trying to reform the old, corrupt system; he was trying to build a new, modern, and solvent "shadow state" directly under his control, with the intention of letting the old Janissary-controlled system wither. This explains the totality of the opposition he faced. The Janissaries, the *ulama*, and the *ayan* recognized this program as a direct, existential threat to their entrenched economic and political power.<sup>17</sup>

## **The "Triangle of Opposition": The Internal War on Reform**

Selim III's reforms were ultimately not defeated by foreign enemies, but by a "conservative coalition" of powerful domestic groups.<sup>16</sup> This opposition formed a "triangle" of entrenched interests: the Janissaries (military power), the *ulama* (ideological power), and the *ayan* (provincial power).

1. **The Janissaries:** This group formed the most visible and violent opposition. Once the elite fighting force of the empire, the Janissary corps had "devolved into a corrupt and politically powerful faction".<sup>21</sup> They "accurately perceived that the new ways threatened their privileges and security".<sup>23</sup> The *Nizam-ı Cedid* army was designed to replace them, making them militarily obsolete and stripping them of their political influence and

economic privileges. Their resistance was absolute and non-negotiable.<sup>21</sup>

2. **The *Ulama* (Religious Scholars):** This class of religious-legal experts joined the coalition with the Janissaries.<sup>16</sup> They provided the crucial ideological and legal justification for the opposition. They framed Selim's Western-inspired reforms as an "un-Ottoman" concession to the West and a violation of Islamic tradition.<sup>2</sup> This allowed the Janissaries to portray their mutiny not as a defense of their privileges, but as a righteous defense of the faith.
3. **The *Ayan* (Provincial Notables):** This was the most powerful and, ultimately, the most decisive branch of the opposition. The 18th century had seen the "Rise of Ottoman Local Notables" (*ayan*), who held *de facto* power in the provinces, "beyond the control of the Sultan".<sup>34</sup> Selim's reforms, particularly his 1795 centralization policies<sup>24</sup> and his funding of the *Irād-ı Cedid* by confiscating *timars* (fiefs)<sup>16</sup>, were a *direct* threat to the semi-independent power and wealth of these provincial warlords.<sup>15</sup>

Two case studies illustrate the *ayan*'s power and Selim's weakness:

- **Case Study 1: Osman Pazvantoğlu of Vidin.** Pazvantoğlu was a "regional governor who had declared *de facto* independence".<sup>38</sup> He gathered his own army of "rebel Janissaries" and mercenaries<sup>39</sup> and openly "opposed the *Nizam-ı Cedid* practices".<sup>40</sup> In 1798, Selim III launched a massive imperial campaign, sending an army of up to 100,000 men under Küçük Hüseyin Pasha to besiege Vidin and crush Pazvantoğlu.<sup>38</sup> The siege resulted in a "great failure for the Ottoman government".<sup>38</sup> This humiliating defeat forced Selim to pardon Pazvantoğlu in 1799 and officially recognize him as the governor he already claimed to be.<sup>38</sup>
- **Case Study 2: Ali Pasha of Ioannina.** Known as the "Lion of Ioannina," Ali Pasha operated as a "semi-independent despot".<sup>41</sup> He built a *de facto* independent state in Albania and Greece<sup>43</sup>, commanding his own army of 50,000 men.<sup>41</sup> He was so powerful that he conducted his own foreign policy, intriguing with both the British and the French. In a sign of the central government's weakness, he allied with Napoleon and accepted a French consul "with the complete consent of the Ottoman Sultan Selim III".<sup>41</sup>

These *ayan* were not simply backward-looking "reactionaries." Figures like Ali Pasha and Osman Pazvantoğlu were, in fact, *alternative modernizers*. They were not opposed to "Westernization" itself; they were building their own centralized, modernizing mini-states in *competition* with Istanbul. They had their own armies, their own tax collection, and their own foreign relations.<sup>40</sup> Their opposition to the *Nizam-ı Cedid*<sup>33</sup> was not an ideological rejection of reform; it was a *political* rejection of Selim's *centralization*.<sup>24</sup> They were happy to adopt European ideas to strengthen their own pashaliks *against* the Sultan.

The final, fatal test of this internal conflict was the **1806 Edirne Incident**. When Selim III attempted to expand the *Nizam-ı Cedid* army's barracks into Rumelia (the Balkans), the regional *ayan* and the local Janissary garrisons united in an "armed confrontation".<sup>4</sup> They decisively blocked the Sultan's new army and *forced the imperial forces to retreat* back to Istanbul.<sup>4</sup> This event was the "deathblow" to the reform program. It proved, unequivocally, that the "conservative coalition" was stronger than the Sultan and his new forces, setting the stage



for the successful coup just one year later.<sup>4</sup>

The following table synthesizes the specific aims of Selim's reforms and the corresponding threats they posed to the established interests of the empire.

**Table 2: The *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order) Reforms: Aims & Opposition**

Pillar of Reform	Specific Initiative	Objective (Per Selim III)	Primary Opposition Group(s)	Reason for Opposition (The "Threat")
<b>Military</b>	<i>Nizam-ı Cedid</i> (New Order) Army <sup>16</sup>	Create a modern, effective, disciplined army <sup>17</sup> to replace the old corps.	<b>Janissaries</b> <sup>23</sup>	<b>Existential Threat:</b> Rendered the Janissary corps militarily obsolete and directly threatened their centuries-old political power and privileges. <sup>21</sup>
<b>Military</b>	<i>Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun</i> (1795) <sup>26</sup>	Train a new, Western-educated officer corps. <sup>16</sup>	<b>Janissaries &amp; Ulama</b> <sup>16</sup>	<b>Cultural/Religious Threat:</b> Saw Western, French-language instruction <sup>3</sup> and non-traditional methods as "un-Islamic" and a heretical concession to Europe. <sup>2</sup>
<b>Economic</b>	<i>Irād-ı Cedid</i> (New Revenue) Treasury <sup>30</sup>	Create an independent, solvent fund to finance the new army, bypassing the old treasury. <sup>24</sup>	<b>Janissaries &amp; Ayan</b> <sup>17</sup>	<b>Political Threat:</b> Created an autonomous financial and military power base for the Sultan, severing the opposition's control over the state's purse strings.
<b>Economic</b>	New Taxes (Liquor, Tobacco,	Fund the <i>Irād-ı Cedid</i> . <sup>17</sup>	<b>General Public &amp; Ulama</b> <sup>17</sup>	<b>Economic/Moral Threat:</b> Burdened

	Coffee) <sup>16</sup>			the public, which did not support the reforms <sup>32</sup> ; <i>Ulama</i> opposed taxes on goods they considered morally questionable, fueling popular resentment.
<b>Administrative</b>	Centralization Policies & Confiscation of <i>Timars</i> <sup>16</sup>	Re-establish central state control over provinces and revenue sources. <sup>3</sup>	<b>Ayan</b> (Provincial Notables) <sup>5</sup>	<b>Direct Political/Economic Threat:</b> Selim's centralization was a direct assault on the <i>ayan's de facto</i> independence and their primary sources of wealth. <sup>15</sup>
<b>Administrative</b>	Permanent Embassies in Europe <sup>28</sup>	Establish direct diplomatic relations and gather intelligence on the West. <sup>1</sup>	<b>Ulama &amp; Old Guard</b> <sup>16</sup>	<b>Ideological Threat:</b> Acknowledged the (infidel) Western powers as diplomatic equals, reversing a centuries-old policy of assumed Ottoman superiority. <sup>2</sup>

## A World in Ferment: The Empire and the Napoleonic Age

Selim III's internal war on reform was fatally compromised by the chaotic external environment he inhabited. He was not a strategic "player" in European diplomacy but a "pawn" <sup>10</sup>, forced to react to the maneuvers of larger powers. His foreign policy was defined by a violent "whiplash" as he was forced from one alliance to its opposite, a volatility that made any consistent internal reform impossible.

The cornerstone of Ottoman foreign policy for over two centuries had been its friendly,

"pro-Ottoman" relationship with France.<sup>3</sup> This relationship was shattered in 1798. Napoleon Bonaparte, seeking to threaten British India and establish a French colony, invaded the Ottoman province of Egypt.<sup>7</sup> This invasion was a profound "shock"<sup>3</sup> and a betrayal by the empire's oldest European ally.<sup>8</sup>

This French shock drove Selim III into the "unthinkable": an alliance with his "long-standing enemy," Russia, and Great Britain.<sup>5</sup> This new coalition of traditional enemies (Anglo-Ottoman-Russian) was temporarily successful. The combined forces repelled Napoleon's army at the Siege of Acre (1799) and ultimately forced the complete French evacuation from Egypt in 1801.<sup>5</sup>

However, by 1804, Selim was "dazzled" by Napoleon's declaration as Emperor and his stunning victories at Ulm and Austerlitz.<sup>5</sup> Napoleon, now master of the continent, sought to use the Ottoman Empire as a tool "to bend Russia... to his will".<sup>46</sup> In 1806, he dispatched his charismatic ambassador, General Horace Sébastiani, to Constantinople.<sup>51</sup>

Sébastieni's influence over Selim proved to be immense.<sup>5</sup> He successfully convinced the Sultan to completely reverse his foreign policy, abandoning his British and Russian allies. Under Sébastiani's influence, Selim declared war on Russia in December 1806<sup>5</sup> and defied Great Britain.<sup>54</sup>

The British response was swift and humiliating. In February 1807, a British fleet under Admiral Duckworth forced the Dardanelles, destroyed the Ottoman ships guarding the straits, and anchored off Istanbul.<sup>54</sup> This "English Event"<sup>55</sup> created mass "hysteria in the city"<sup>55</sup>, exposing the capital's terrifying vulnerability. While Sébastiani helped organize the city's defenses and the British fleet, facing stiff coastal batteries and unfavorable winds, was compelled to retire, the damage was done.<sup>12</sup> The incident shattered public confidence and was a final, destabilizing factor that contributed directly to the Janissary coup just three months later.<sup>55</sup> Selim's foreign policy, lurching from one protector to another, demonstrated a state in terminal crisis, incapable of charting its own course.

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## Conclusion: The Instructive Failure

The reign of Sultan Selim III "ultimately faced failure".<sup>17</sup> His "cautious military reforms"<sup>2</sup> were abolished. The new embassies were dismantled, and the *Nizam-ı Cedid* troops were dispersed.<sup>2</sup> The Sultan himself, a "pacifist"<sup>9</sup> who hesitated to use force against his internal enemies<sup>5</sup>, was deposed and brutally murdered before his ideas could "fully materialize".<sup>2</sup>

By this measure, his rule was a complete disaster. But his legacy is not found in his achievements, but in his "instructive fate".<sup>10</sup> Selim's true heir was his cousin, Prince Mahmud, who had been his companion in the palace and to whom Selim had "taught ideas of reform" while they were both imprisoned.<sup>18</sup>

Mahmud II (reigned 1808–1839) learned the brutal lesson of Selim's failure. Selim's "cautious"<sup>2</sup> approach was to build his *Nizam-ı Cedid* alongside the Janissaries, hoping to reform them or

let them fade away. Selim's murder proved this was impossible. Mahmud II learned what his predecessor could not accept: the old order (the Janissaries) could not be reformed, co-opted, or sidelined; it had to be *destroyed*.

Selim's reign was the necessary "prologue".<sup>57</sup> His reforms "laid the ground" <sup>58</sup> for the more comprehensive 19th-century Tanzimat reforms.<sup>23</sup> In 1826, Mahmud II, having spent 18 years consolidating his power, orchestrated the "Auspicious Incident"—the total annihilation of the Janissary corps in their barracks by a massive, modern artillery bombardment.<sup>18</sup> This was the brutal, bloody, and decisive act of state-building that Selim was temperamentally incapable of taking.

Selim III was the "Enlightened Martyr" of Ottoman reform. His historical role was not to *succeed*, but to *fail* in such a public and tragic way that his successor's "brutal success" became both possible and necessary. He provided the *idea* of reform (the *Nizam-ı Cedid*), and his murder provided the *justification* for the violence needed to finally achieve it.<sup>18</sup> He was the tragic, but essential, first step.<sup>58</sup>

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