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AN ANALYSIS OF SOME OF THE REVOLTS THAT ERUPTED IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OVER THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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Abstract

During the reign of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic of Turkey established after the War of Independence, several social movements that generally gave rise to revolts emerged for various reasons. In the Ottoman Empire, social movements generally emerged based on religious or economic discontent, while, in the first years of the Republic, they generally emerged as a response to the new state system and practices. Aiming to prevent reforms, social movements that broke out in the early-republican period wanted to hide behind the arguments accepted as legitimate by the society in order to prevent the desired reforms. These baseless arguments, which were frequently voiced in the early years of the Republic of Turkey, were generally based on religious abuse, claiming that ethnic discrimination would be applied, centuries-old religious practices and traditions would be banned, Islamic law (sharia) would be prohibited, etc. During the Ottoman rule, tribes that were dominant in the Eastern Anatolia Region enjoyed partial autonomy due to the distance from the state center and geographical conditions making transportation and communication difficult. In order not to be deprived of this partial autonomy, some prominent tribes in the region started revolts at various times against the

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newly established republic, which was adopting a strictly centralized structure. This paper aims to explain the revolts that erupted in the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic of Turkey and their reasons within the framework of the concept of social movements.

Keywords: Social movement, Revolt, Uprising, Ottoman Empire, Turkey.

Osmanlı Devleti ve Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Ortaya Çıkan Bazı İsyanlara Toplumsal Hareketler Kavramı Üzerinden Bakış

Öz

Osmanlı Devleti zamanından itibaren ve Kurtuluş Savaşı sonrasında yeni kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti döneminin ilk yıllarında çeşitli nedenlerden dolayı genellikle isyanlar ile sonuçlanan toplumsal hareketlilikler yaşanmıştır. Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde genellikle dini veya ekonomik temelli hoşnutsuzluklara dayalı toplumsal hareketlenmeler daha sıklıkla yaşanırken, yeni kurulan Cumhuriyette ise genellikle yeni kurulmak istenen devlet sistemine ve uygulamalarına tepki olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bir yenileşme girişimini, ıslahat hareketini veya reformun gerçekleşmesini engelleme amacı taşıyan bu toplumsal hareketler, bu değişimi engellemek için söylem olarak toplum gözünde meşru argümanların arkasına saklanmak istemişlerdir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun ilk yıllarında sıklıkla karşılaşılan bu argümanlar ise; genellikle asılsız bir şekilde etnik ayrımcılık uygulanacağı iddiası ile geleneklerin yasaklanacağı ve şeriatın terk edileceği yönündeki din istismarı söylemleri olmuştur. Osmanlı Devleti döneminde Doğu Anadolu bölgesinde etkin olan aşiretler; merkezden uzak oluşu, coğrafi şartların ulaşımı ve iletişimi zorlaştırması nedeniyle kısmen özerk ve hareket serbestliği vardı. Bazı önde gelen aşiretler; yeni kurulmakta olan ve katı merkeziyetçi bir yapıda oluşturulmaya çalışılan cumhuriyet devletine karşı, eski kazanımlarını bırakmamak adına çeşitli zamanlarda isyan hareketleri içine girdiler. Bu çalışmada; Osmanlı Devleti'nde ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk yıllarında ortaya çıkan ayaklanmalara ve sebeplerine toplumsal hareketlilik kavramı çerçevesinde açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal hareket, İsyan, Ayaklanma, Osmanlı Devleti, Türkiye.

INTRODUCTION

A social movement can be defined as a collective effort to promote or prevent a social change, to protect a common interest, or to achieve a common goal.² David Aberle identified four types of social movements, which are:³

² Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, Prepared by C. Güzel, Kırmızı Yay., Istanbul, 2008, p.916; Mahmut Tezcan, *Sosyolojiye Giriş*, 4th Edition, Şafak Matbaası, Ankara, 1995, p.190

³ David F. Aberle, *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho*, Chicago, 1966; as cited in Hasan H. Çalı, *Çevreci Toplumsal Hareket Olarak Greenpeace-Türkiye Hareketi*, AU Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Doctorate Thesis, Ankara, 2006, pp.20–21.

- *Revolutionary social movements:* A revolutionary social movement aims at far-reaching, destructive, and often violent changes.

- *Reformative social movements:* A reformative social movement advocates minor changes in the existing social order. It only aims to eliminate certain types of inequalities and its demands are local.

- *Redemptive social movements:* A redemptive social movement seeks ways to save people from lifestyles that different groups deem worthless. These movements are mostly adopted by religious groups.

- *Alternative social movements:* An alternative social movement targets individual and seeks to make minor changes in their lives. Anti-alcohol or anti-smoking groups are examples.

Like many countries in the world, Turkey, too, has witnessed all four types of social movements mentioned above throughout its history. In this respect, various social dynamics of the Republic of Turkey can be traced back to the Tanzimat (Reorganization) era. The Edict of Gülhane (1839) put an end to the “kul” (servant) system, and especially Ottoman intellectuals who received education in Europe at that time brought the “individual” idea to the fore.

Modernism, which was against all kinds of individualism, completed its development in the 1960s, and as a result of the social depression affecting Western and Turkish societies, it led to various reactionary social movements, especially student movements.⁴ On the other hand, emerging as an effective political force in the 1960s together with unionism activities, youth movements suffered from globalization, ideological conflicts, overconsumption tendencies, and the difficulties brought about by neoliberalism over time.⁵

Social Classes in the Ottoman Empire:

The Ottoman State, which was founded by the Turks, who were the founding element of the state, gradually expanded to include other ethnic and religious communities and adopted a state structure based on tolerance. The

⁴ Eda Çorakçı, *Modern ve Postmodern Kimlikler Bağlamında Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Gazi University (GU), Institute of Social Sciences, Ankara, 2008, pp.88–89.

⁵ Fikret Şenses, “*Neoliberal Küreselleşme Kalkınma için Bir Fırsat mı, Engel mi?*”, ERC Working Paper in Economic 04/09, 2004, pp.9–10.

Ottoman society was divided into two major classes: the ⁶ruling class (administrative and military class*) and the subject (ruled) class (Reaya**) ⁷. The subject class consisted of three groups, by settlement, as urbanites, peasants, and nomads. ⁸ Since the Ottoman economy was mainly based on agriculture, the majority of the population lived in rural areas ⁹. Nomads, also known as Yörüks***, enjoyed being partially away from the control of the central state authority, but they lived within a certain legal order that had to be followed. ¹⁰

From the classical period, two types of social mobility were observed in the Ottoman social stratification. ¹¹

• *Horizontal mobility*: Country-wide regional migration, which was regulated by laws.

⁶ Bilal Eryılmaz, Osmanlı Devleti'nde Millet Sistemi, Ağaç Yay., İstanbul, 1992, pp.18-19; Mehmet A. Aydın, "Osmanlıda Hukuk", Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi, V.1 Ed. E. İhsanoğlu, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) Yay., İstanbul 1994, pp.422-423; Yavuz Ercan "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Müslüman Olmayan Topluluklar (Millet Sistemi)", Osmanlı, V.4 Ed. G. Eren. Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 1999, pp.91-92; İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Millet Sistemi" Türkler, V.10 (Ed. H. S. Güzel), Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 2002, pp.393-395.

* The Ottoman ruling class consisted of social classes called palace people, seyfiye (ehl-i örf), ilmiye, and kalemiye. See Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Osmanlı Toplumu", Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi, V.1 Ed. E. İhsanoğlu, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) Yay., İstanbul 1994, pp.444-464.

** The word reaya, which literally means "people" and is the plural of the word raiyyet, refers to the tax-paying lower class of Ottoman society, See Ferit Develioğlu, Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat, Aydın Kitabevi, Ankara, 2003, p.880;

⁷ Âdem Çaylak, Osmanlı'da Yöneten ve Yönetilen: Bir Şerif Mardin Çözümlemesi, Kadim Yay., Ankara 2005, pp.1-6; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Klasik Dönemde Osmanlı Toplumu", Türkler, V.10 (Ed. H. S. Güzel). Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 2002, pp.344-367; Ahmet Tabakoğlu "Osmanlı İçtimai Yapısının Ana Hatları", Osmanlı, V.4 (Ed. G. Eren). Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 1999, pp.21-23.

⁸ M. Feridun Emecan "Osmanlılarda Yerleşik Hayat, Şehirliler ve Köylüler", Osmanlı, V.4 (Ed. G. Eren). Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 1999, pp.91-97; Yunus Koç, "Osmanlıda Toplumsal Dinamizmden Celali İsyanlarına Giden Yol ya da İki Belgeye Tek Yorum", Bilig, Güz 2005, p.240.

⁹ İsmail Doğan, Osmanlı Ailesi, Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara, 2001, p.59; F. Emecan, ibid., p.94.

*** The word "yörük" means "nomad" and refers to a member of a community without a fixed residence, who move from one place to another to find suitable places for animal husbandry, their major livelihood. See Anıl Yılmaz, Cahit Telci, "Türk Kültür Terminolojisinde Göç Kavramı Üzerine" Journal of Modern Turkish Studies, Ankara University Faculty of Language, History and Geography (DTCF), Volume 7, Issue 2, June 2010, pp.15-22

¹⁰ İlhan Şahin, "Göçebeler", Osmanlı, V.4 (Ed. G. Eren). Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 1999, p.134; Latif Armağan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nda Konar-Göçerler", Osmanlı, V.4 (Ed. G. Eren). Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 1999, p.142.

¹¹ Y. Koç, ibid., p.235.

• *Vertical mobility*: Movement from one social class to a higher one or a lower one. Unlike the social classes separated by insurmountable boundaries in Europe, it was possible in the Ottoman social system to move from a lower social class to a higher one with one's skills, abilities, and efforts.

One of the issues related to the history of the Ottoman Empire on which historians agree is that all the imperial institutions reached their limits in the middle of the 16th century, and after this date, they declined and deterioration began in the entire administrative system.¹² Towards the end of the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire faced a serious financial crisis as a result of inflationary pressure¹³ in the world.¹⁴ Inadequate agricultural production despite the efforts to improve and increase agricultural production¹⁵, especially due to the large population increase in Europe, caused an increase in the prices of agricultural products and lands, which, in turn, led to significant changes to the benefit of landowners and to the detriment of tenants in rural areas.

The global inflation crisis, as well as the pressure exerted on other economies by mass and cheap production in Europe¹⁶, naturally affected the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the practice called "tağşiş"**** (debasement-lowering the value of a currency by adding metal of inferior value) was followed in order

¹² Ahmet Elibol, "Yeniçeriler ve İktidar Bağlamında Osmanlı Sisteminin Dönüşümü", Akademik Bakış, Volume:3, Issue:5, 2009, pp.21–40.

¹³ Ömer L. Barkan, "XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Türkiye'de Fiyat Hareketleri", Belleten, XXXIV/136, TTK Basımevi, Ankara 1970, pp.583-584; Şevket Pamuk, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., İstanbul 2000, p.122; Ahmet Tabakoğlu, ibid., p.15.

¹⁴ Reşat Kasaba, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Ekonomisi, Belge Yay., İstanbul 1993, p.18; The following have been suggested as the reasons why the Ottoman Empire entered a financial crisis gradually starting from the 17th century: 1- The emergence of the necessity to have a fully equipped and strong army due to political developments in Europe and technological and tactical changes in the military field, 2- Continuous increase in military subsistence and salary costs due to changes in the military field and a steady increase in the number of soldiers due to the need for a standing army, 3- The failure to provide additional income to the country's finances due to the inability to conquer new lands despite the continuous increase in military expenditures, 4- Budget deficits caused by the fact that the taxes such as Cizye and Avarız, which constituted the most important income items for the state, were not increased in parallel with the inflation; the collapse of the landholding system due to frequent tax increases. For detailed information see Aslan Eren, "Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Kurumsal Gelişmeler". Osmanlı, V.4 Ed. G. Eren. Yeni Türkiye Yay., Ankara 1999, p.239.

¹⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848, Dost Kitabevi Yay., Ankara, 2003, pp.27-29.

¹⁶ Ömer Açiksöz, "Osmanlı Para Politikalarında Reform Çabaları 1800–1844 Dönemi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", Zonguldak Karaelmas University (ZKU), Journal of Social Sciences, Volume 6, Issue 12, 2012, p.373.

to maintain the financial order for public financing and to close the budget deficits caused by domestic rebellions and wars.¹⁷ This situation, which deeply affected the state order, caused social turmoil: especially the janissaries demanded the cessation of the debasement practice, which caused a great financial loss for them, and from time to time, they rebelled due to the fact that their demands were not met.¹⁸

The idea of forming a standing army like the janissary corps, carrying the title of “kul,” emerged as a necessity during the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ In the Ottoman classical order, which was based on a powerful ruler and a centralized rule, the army consisted of two wings, namely the janissary corps²⁰ and the sipahi²¹(cavalrymen) corps. Since the 17th century, the understanding of “sultan with absolute power” changed, and some of the power was transferred to the imperial household. In addition, the allegiance of the janissaries to the sultan, who increased in number and whose importance increased with firearms, decreased. The janissaries collaborated with forces outside the palace and put pressure on the Ottoman dynasty. Moreover, with the deterioration of the state’s income-expenditure table, they suffered a significant loss of income and rebelled by organizing and drawing the people to their side.²² Guilds, who faced hard times due to substantial tax increases, felt the need to

**** Tağşiş, which means debasement, adulteration, mixing something valuable with something less valuable, is the method most frequently used by the Ottoman Empire to increase its financial incomes: it is the process of reducing the value of money by mixing less precious metals into coins made from precious metals. F. Develioğlu, *ibid.*, p.1015.

¹⁷ The tağşiş process, which was first practiced in 1444 during the reign of Mehmet II, was terminated in 1844 during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecit; For detailed information see Halil İncelik, *Makaleler I*, 3rd Edition, Doğu Batı, Yay. Ankara, September 2006, pp.169-179; A. Tabakoğlu, *ibid.*, pp.15-25.

¹⁸ Janissaries, with a fixed salary, were the social class most affected by tağşiş. Janissaries revolted against the tağşiş process for the first time in 1544, which went down in history as the “*Buçuktepe Vak’ası*.” See Şevket Pamuk, *100 Soruda Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, 4th Edition, İletişim Yay., İstanbul, 2007, pp.97-190.

¹⁹ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman World and Europe 1300-1700*, Translated by Ü. Tansel, İstanbul, 2004, pp.68-69.

²⁰ Janissaries, who formed the core of the Ottoman army as a product of the devshirme practice, were located mostly in the center and received a salary from the state. Godfrey Goodwin, *Janissaries*, Translated by D. Türkömer, Doğan Kitap Yay., İstanbul 2011; İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi I*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 1988, pp.508-518.

²¹ The Sipahi army was positioned in rural areas as part of the tımar (landholding) system. Cengiz Eroğlu, Hülya Yazar, *Osmanlı Ordu Teşkilatı*, Millî Savunma Bakanlığı Yay., Ankara 1999; Yılmaz Öztuna, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi, C II*, Ötüken Yay., İstanbul, 2004, pp.80-114.

²² Ş. Pamuk, *ibid.*, pp.106-116.

convey their complaints to the state center through the janissaries.²³ During this period, the janissaries, whose number reached 200,000, were involved in various civil conflicts in different parts of the country: although they were expected to remain loyal to the central government, they often took part in revolts against the administration.²⁴ The development of the uprisings in the Ottoman era that emerged when the public's complaints against the government increased, generally went through the following stages:²⁵

- The public begins to complain about the existing social order,
- The administrative failures of the sultan or other rulers spread as rumors,
- The ulama (Islamic scholars) step in with their sermons, spreads these general complaints with harsh criticism and intensifies the campaign,
- The people and janissaries siding with people often harshly warn the administration in accordance with their own methods.

Major social movements/uprisings that erupted in the Ottoman Empire from its foundation to its fall can be listed as follows: *****

- Sheikh Bedreddin Rebellion: Sheikh Bedreddin, born in 1359,²⁶ was recorded as a mystic, theologian, and kazasker (military judge) who produced important works on Islamic law and religious sciences.²⁷ The period of crisis, which emerged as a result of the great defeat in the 1402 Battle of Ankara with

²³ K. H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi...*, p.58.

²⁴ K. H. Karpat, *ibid.*, p.61.

²⁵ Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, Makaleler 4, 14th Edition, Der. M. Türköne, T. Önder, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004, pp.114–115.

***** Major uprisings in the Ottoman Empire are as follows: Sheikh Bedrettin Rebellion (1413), Şahkulu or Şeytankulu Rebellion (1511), Nur Ali Halife Rebellion (1512), Bozuklu Celal Rebellion (1518), Baba Zünnun Rebellion (1521), Domuz Oğlan and Yenicebey Rebellion (1526), Kalender Şah Rebellion (1527), Veli Halife Rebellion (1527), Şeyh Şeydi Rebellion (1530), Karayazıcı Abdülhalim Rebellion (1598), Deli Hasan Rebellion (1600), Tavil Ahmed Rebellion (1605), Kalenderoğlu Mehmet Rebellion (1606), Yusuf Pasha Rebellion (1607), Canbuladoğlu Rebellion (1607), Mehmed Pasha Rebellion (1625), Cennetoğlu Rebellion (1625), İlyas Paşa Rebellion (1632), Katırceoğlu Rebellion (1646), Kara Haydaroğlu Rebellion (1647), Vardar Ali Pasha Rebellion (1647), Gürcü Abdünnebi Rebellion (1649), Abaza Hasan Pasha Rebellion (1659), Patrona Halil Rebellion (1730), Şer Himmet Rebellion (1750), Kabakçı Mustafa Rebellion (1807), Tuzcuoğlu Memiş Rebellion (1816), Atçalı Kel Mehmet Rebellion (1826). *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 5, pp.1766–1767.

²⁶ Baki Öz, *Anadoluda Alevi Ayaklanmaları*, Ant Yay., İstanbul, 1992, p.152; Durali Yılmaz, Şeyh Bedrettin, Ozan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2002, p.7; İbrahim Aslanoğlu, “*Aleviliğin Tarihsel-Sosyal Temelleri*”, GU. Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektas Veli Research Quarterly, Issue 23, 2001, p.128.

²⁷ Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, YKY, İstanbul, 2005, p.84; Çetin Yetkin, *Başlangıçtan Atatürk’e Türk Halk Eylemleri ve Devrimler*, Ümit Yay., Ankara, 1996, p.99; B. Öz, *ibid.*, pp.152-153.

Timur, led to the emergence of various groups in the Ottoman Empire who wanted to take control of the power.²⁸ One of the rebellions in this period was the revolt of Sheikh Bedreddin and his adherents Borkluje Mustafa and Torlak Kemal, which took place during the period when Sultan Mehmet I was trying to reestablish political authority. The rebellion started in Western Anatolia and ended in Rumelia.²⁹

- Şahkulu Rebellion: The rebellion was started in 1511 by the Alevi Turkmen tribes, who saw Shah Ismail of the Safavid Empire as their savior, during the last years of Sultan Bayezid II, when the fight over the throne between the princes caused a serious authority gap in the state administration³⁰ despite the danger coming from the Safavid Empire.³¹

- Kalender Çelebi Rebellion: Kalender Çelebi, one of the followers of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, and thousands of people rebelled in 1527 due to the troubles caused by local rulers. With the support of Dulkadirli Sipahis, whose timars (lands) were appropriated, the size of the rebellion grew even more. The Dulkadirli Sipahis withdrew from the rebellion upon the promise that their rights and lands would be given back³². Kalender Çelebi and his supporters, who were left alone, were defeated in the war.³³

- Celali Rebellions: The first revolt took place in 1519, against Sultan Selim I's reign, under the leadership of Sheikh Celal from Yozgat³⁴, who claimed to be the Mahdi, followed by Anatolian Alevi and nomad groups. Similar uprisings that took place in the 16th century and after were all called the Celali

²⁸ Çetin Yetkin, Türk Halk Hareketleri ve Devrimler, Milliyet Yay., İstanbul, May 1980, pp.105-107.

²⁹ İ. Uzunçarşılı, ibid., pp.360–367; Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi, Volume 5, pp.1740–1743.

³⁰ B. Öz, ibid., p.168; İ. Aslanoğlu, ibid., p.129.

³¹ Solak-Zade Mehmed Hemdemi Çelebi, Solak-Zade Tarihi, C I, Prepared by V. Çabuk, Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., Ankara, 1989, pp.454-455; İ. Uzunçarşılı, ibid., pp.224-225; Hasan Onat, "Kızılbaşlık Farklılaşması Üzerine", Journal of Islamic Studies, Volume VI, Issue: 3, 2003, pp.111-126.

³² İ. Uzunçarşılı, ibid., pp.327-329.

³³ Alaaddin Aköz, İbrahim Solak, "Dulkadirli Eyaletine Ait Bir Kanunname (1533-1546)", Manas Journal of Social Sciences, Volume: 5, Issue: 9, 2004, pp.9-29; Ç. Yetkin, ibid., pp.194-200; İ. Arslanoğlu, ibid., pp.138-140.

³⁴ Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi, Volume 5, p.1762.

Rebellions. These rebellions were started by people of all classes, both against the state and each other, due to harsh economic conditions^{35,36}

- The Great Escape Period (1603-1607): In order to protect its citizens, the Ottoman Empire set fixed prices for foodstuffs. As a result of this approach that contradicted the market mechanism, double pricing occurred. Black marketing and smuggling began in this period as European merchants set higher prices for grain. Also, the fact that Anatolian peasants had to leave their lands and take shelter in mountains led to unprecedented food shortages.³⁷

- Patrona Halil Rebellion: Patrona Halil Rebellion took place in 1730 as a result of public reaction against the lifestyle of the palace and the surrounding groups, as well as heavy taxes imposed on the public and especially on tradesmen due to the possible war³⁸ with Iran.³⁹

- Kabakçı Mustafa Rebellion: As a result of the investigations carried out in Europe and commissioned by the Ottoman Sultan Selim III,⁴⁰ an efficient tax system open to inspection and a series of military, civil, administrative, commercial, social, and political reform initiatives were brought to the agenda.⁴¹ For this purpose, the modernly equipped Nizam-i Djedid (New Order) army was established in 1793.⁴² However, the new army caused great disturbance especially

³⁵ Mustafa Akdağ, “*Celali İsyânlarının Başlaması*”, DTCF Journal of History Studies, Volume 4, Issue 1, Ankara 1946, pp.29-30; İ. Ortaylı, *Türkiye Teşkilat ve İdare Tarihi*, Cedit Neşriyat, Ankara, 2007, p.155; Ç. Yetkin, *Başlangıçtan...*, pp.138-166.

³⁶ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: Celali İsyânları*, Yapı Kredi Yay., İstanbul, 2009, pp.13-15; Fatma Acun, “*Celali İsyânları 1591-1611*”, *Türkler V.9*, Yeni Türkiye Yay., ((Ed. H. S. Güzel)), Ankara, 2002, p.1293; *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 5, pp.1762-1765.

³⁷ Mustafa Akdağ, “*Celali İsyânlarından Büyük Kaçgunluk*”, DTCF Journal of History Studies, II/2, 1964, pp.36-41; F.Acun, *ibid.*, p.705.

³⁸ Erdoğan Tokmakçıoğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İsyânlar*, Geçit Kitabevi Yay., İstanbul, 2006, p.212; Erhan Afyoncu, Uğur Demir, Ahmet Önal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Askeri İsyânlar ve Darbeler*, Yeditepe Yay., İstanbul 2010, p.189.

³⁹ Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, C III-IV, Prepared by N. Çağatay, TTK Yay., Ankara, 1980, pp.38-39; İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi V*, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, 1988, pp.203-207; *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 5, p.1767; Songül Çolak, “*Patrona Halil Ayaklanması’nı Hazırlayan Şartlar ve İsyânın Pay-ı Tahttaki Etkileri*”, *Türkler V.12*, Yeni Türkiye Yay., (Ed. H. S. Güzel), Ankara, 2002, pp.525-528.

⁴⁰ İshak Bey was commissioned by Selim III to travel to Paris in order to make various investigations with the help of the French ambassador. See: Enver Ziya Karal, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, C I, TTK Yay., Ankara 1999, p.60.

⁴¹ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, (Prepared by A. Kuyaş), 9th Edition, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006, p.92; Roderic H. Davison, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Reform 1856-1876*, Translated by O. Akınhay, Agora Kitaplığı Yay., İstanbul 2005, pp.24-25.

⁴² Besim Özcan, “*Sultan III. Selim Devri Islahat Hareketleri (Nizam-ı Cedid)*”, *Türkler V.12*, Yeni Türkiye Yay., (Ed. H. S. Güzel), Ankara, 2002, pp.676-677.

among merchants, ayan (local notables), artisans, and janissaries.⁴³ The Kabakçı Mustafa Rebellion, which emerged in 1807 with the support of these groups, put an end to the reform initiatives called ⁴⁴Nizam-i Djedid.⁴⁵ However, Sultan Mahmud II tried to re-establish this army, as a result of which the janissaries rebelled.⁴⁶ In the end, the Sultan, who received the support of the people, completely disbanded the janissary corps.⁴⁷

Social movements in the early Republican period

The territories of the Ottoman Empire, which suffered defeat in World War I, began to be occupied shortly after. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was assigned to the Ninth Army as the Inspector,⁴⁸ was charged with stopping the bandits and maintaining the public order and security in the Black Sea Region.⁴⁹ Setting foot in Samsun with this task on 15 May 1919, 4 days after the occupation of Izmir, Mustafa Kemal Pasha ⁵⁰did not confine himself to this task: he traveled to Anatolia and started a resistance there for the integrity of the country and the independence of the nation.⁵¹ After the War of Independence was won, the foundations of today's modern Turkey started to be laid. Immediately after

⁴³ N. Berkes, *ibid.*, pp.108-119; The public opposed the Nizam-i Djedid practices so much that the expression, "*I would rather be a Muscovite than be Nizam-i Djedid*" was popular among the people and soldiers. See: Ahmet Akgündüz, Said Öztürk, *Bilinmeyen Osmanlı, Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı Yay.*, İstanbul 1999, p.232; E. Z. Karal, *ibid.*, p.79.

⁴⁴ Yılmaz Öztuna, *Osmanlı Devleti Tarihi, C I, Ötüken Yay.*, İstanbul, 2004, pp.436-437; E. Z. Karal, *ibid.*, pp.81-83

⁴⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, "*The Origins of Ottoman Military Reform: The Nizam-ı Cedid Army of Sultan Selim III*", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol 37, No 3, September 1965, p.304; N. Berkes, *ibid.*, p.133.

⁴⁶ Ahmet Yaramış, "*Yeniçeri Ocağının Kaldırılması ve Yerine Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye'nin Kurulması*", *Türkler V.12, Yeni Türkiye Yay.*, (Ed. H. S. Güzel), Ankara, 2002, pp.699-700; E. Z. Karal, *ibid.*, pp.147-149.

⁴⁷ Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries*, Translated by D. Türkömer, Doğan Kitap Yay., İstanbul, 2011, p.244; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey II*, E Yayınları, İstanbul, 1983, pp.26-27; R. H. Davison, *ibid.*, p.27; Y. Öztuna, *ibid.*, pp.41-452.

⁴⁸ Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün Hayatı, Kolektif, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yay., Ankara, 2003, p.142.

⁴⁹ BAO, DH. ŞFR, 99/137 as cited in: Belgelerle Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Yay., Publication No 62, Ankara 2003, p.6; Sabahattin Selek, *Anadolu İhtilali*, 4th Edition, Burçak Yayınevi, İstanbul 1968, p.55; Abdurrahman Çaycı, Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yay., Ankara, 2002, p.69.

⁵⁰ Mustafa K. Atatürk, Nutuk, C I, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul 1934, p.1; Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu, *Atatürk Yolunda 1919-1921*, Kent Basımevi, Ankara 1981, p.35.

⁵¹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi; Sosyal, Kültürel, Ekonomik Temeller*, Timaş Yay., İstanbul, 2010, p.120.

gaining independence and proclaiming the republic, efforts to establish a centralized and unitary state model, equivalent to those in Turkey's western counterparts, began. One of the fundamental principles that this new state was based on and could not give up was Republicanism and the other was Secularism. Secularism has been accepted as a must-have component of the republic⁵². On the other hand, social movements against this new system also began in regions that had enjoyed autonomy for centuries. Although these movements generally voiced religion-oriented or ethnicity-oriented discourses, they actually developed against the nation-state system and practices. In the Eastern Anatolia Region, which wanted to return to the old autonomous system, first the Nestorian rebellion and then other Kurdish uprisings broke out. Some of the major ones are as follows:

- Sheikh Said Rebellion: Opposing the centralist reforms that weakened the feudal order,⁵³ some tribes in the Eastern Anatolia Region revolted under the leadership of Sheikh Said on February 13, 1925, in order to restore the caliphate^{54,55}. The uprising that first started in Ergani spread to Diyarbakır and Elazığ in a short time. The revolt was suppressed in a short time with the Law on the Maintenance of Order (Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu) ***** and the military measures taken.⁵⁶

- Eastern Anatolian Rebellions: In the newly established Republic of Turkey, reforms started to be implemented immediately to overcome economic

⁵² Mustafa M. Çay, “İnkılâpların Hayata Geçirilmesinde Yerel Gazeteciliğin Önemi ve Konya’da Ekekon Örneği (1935-1942)”, Selçuk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (ATAM) Dergisi, Konya 2004, Issue 12, p.13.

⁵³ K. H. Karpat, ibid., p.133.

⁵⁴ Uğur Mumcu, Kürt-İslam Ayaklanması, 11th Edition, Tekin Yay., İstanbul 1993, pp.63-64; Terör Örgütleri ve Tunceli’deki Yapılanması, Tunceli Valiliği Emniyet Müdürlüğü, Hizmete Özel Yayın, Tunceli, April 1997, p.6

⁵⁵ K. H. Karpat, ibid., p.133.

***** The Law on the Maintenance of Order (Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu), which was enacted by the Assembly for a period of two years on March 4, 1925, was later extended for two years. It was abolished on March 4, 1929. Articles of the Law: 1- The Government, with the approval of the President, is by itself and administratively permitted to prohibit all kinds of organization and provocation and encouragement and publications aimed at reaction and rebellion and violating the social order and peace and security and order of the country. The Government may entrust those who committed these acts to the Independence Tribunal. 2- This law shall be in effect for a period of two years from the date of its publication. 3- The cabinet of the Executive Ministers shall be responsible for the implementation of this law.

⁵⁶ Mete Tunçay, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Tek-Parti Yönetimi’nin Kurulması (1923-1931), Yurt Yay., Ankara 1981, p.128.

underdevelopment and to improve the people's living conditions.⁵⁷ However, some regions that were accustomed to the order that had been ongoing for centuries and that did not want this order to change, put up resistance against some of these reforms.⁵⁸ This resistance sometimes resulted in revolts that pitted government forces and local people against each other. These revolts are as follows in chronological order: ⁵⁹Nestorian Revolt (12-28 September 1924), Sheikh Said Rebellion (13 February – 31 May 1925), Raçkotan and Raman Chastisement Operation (9-12 August 1925), First Sason Uprising (1925-1937), First Ağrı Revolt (16 May – 17 June 1926), Koçuşağı Revolt (7 October - 30 November 1926), Mutki Revolt (26 May - 25 August 1927), Second Ağrı Operation (13-20 September 1927), Biçar Military Operation (7 October – 17 November 1927), Asi Resul Revolt (22 May – 3 August 1929), Tendürek Operation (14-27 September 1929), Savur Military Operation (26 May - 9 June 1930), Zeylan Revolt (20 June – Beginning of September 1930), Oramar Revolt (16 July -10 October 1930), Third Ağrı Operation (7-14 September 1930), Pülümür Operation (8 October -14 November 1930), Second Sason Uprising (1937), Tunceli (Dersim) Chastisement Operation (1937-1938). Some extensions that refer to the reasons behind these uprisings continue to constitute today's terror agenda with the support of some foreign countries.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Eric. J. Zürcher, Turkey: A Modern History, 24th Edition, İletişim Yay., İstanbul, 2009, pp.255-256.

⁵⁸ Sait Aşgın “Atatürk Döneminde Doğu Anadolu (1923–1938)”, Journal of Atatürk Research Center (ATAM), Volume XVII, Issue 50, July 2001 <http://atam.gov.tr/ataturk-doneminde-dogu-anadolu-1923-1938/> (10.09.2011).

⁵⁹ Reşat Hallı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Ayaklanmalar (1924-1938), Genel Kurmay Harp Tarihi Yay., Ankara 1972, As cited in: M. Tunçay, ibid., pp.127-128; Tefik Çavdar, Türkiye’nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1839-1950, 2nd Edition, Ankara, 2008, p.274; For detailed information, see: Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları, C I-II, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992.

⁶⁰ A. Hatipoğlu, ibid., pp.29-32; Abdülhaluk Çay, Kürt Dosyası, İlgi Yay., İstanbul, 2010, pp.458-488; Ahmet Kahraman, Kürt İsyanları: Tedip ve Tenkil, 2nd Edition, Evrensel Basım Yayın, İstanbul 2004; Kurşat Kurtulgan, “PKK Terrorist Organization and Harmful Activities”, Social, Political, Economic And Other Developments occurred In Turkey Between The Years Of 1980-2000, ISRES Publishing, Konya, 2020, p.73.

CONCLUSION

Social movements are defined as collective, organized efforts undertaken to bring about or prevent social changes or developments. In order for social movements to succeed, problems that cause discomfort among society members must reach a certain point. With the Industrial Revolution in Europe, an intense migration wave from the countryside to the production centers began to meet the increasing demand for the labor force. Lacking job security, social justice, and trying to integrate into urban life under very bad living conditions, lower social classes revolted many times against the existing social order. Social movements against the rulers or the existing system have also taken place in Anatolia since the first age. In the Ottoman Empire, too, social campaigns occurred from time to time, which we can put into the category of social movements. As a result of the deterioration of the Ottoman system of landholding, especially from the 17th century, the number of social movements increased. In the atmosphere of discontent created by tax increases along with the deterioration in the landholding system, public order problems also began due to prolonged wars.

After the Armistice of Mudros, occupations started in Anatolia, which in fact violated the Armistice, and thereupon the national resistance movement started. As a result of tough struggles, independence was gained with the Treaty of Lausanne. In the aftermath of the War of Independence, the centuries-old Ottoman state traditions and regime gave way to the effort to establish a state organization that modeled on the western institutions under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Tribes and tribal lords, who gained great power locally due to the weakening of the central authority during the decline and collapse of the Ottoman Empire, had a powerful, dominant position in their regions. Disturbed by the centralized and unitary structure of the newly established state and concerned that they were losing their positions, some tribes began to put up resistance against major reforms that were desired to be made. These tribes often hid their real motives so that they could get the support of other tribes, increase the participation of the people, and gain their legitimacy in the eyes of the local people. Their discourses against reforms usually included claims that the new unitary nation-state applied/would apply ethnic discrimination against them and that Sharia rules to which they had been subject for centuries and all religious practices would be prohibited. In short, the newly established Republic of Turkey not only put up struggles in the international arena to ensure its full independence but also had to deal with social movements originating from the tribes in Eastern Anatolia in its internal affairs.

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Purpose: Social movements are defined as collective, organized efforts undertaken to bring about or prevent social changes or developments. In order for social movements to succeed, problems that cause discomfort among society members must reach a certain point. With the Industrial Revolution in Europe, an intense migration wave from the countryside to the production centers began to meet the increasing demand for the labor force. Lacking job security, social justice, and trying to integrate into urban life under very bad living conditions, lower social classes revolted many times against the existing social order. Social movements against the rulers or the existing system have also taken place in Anatolia since the first age. In the Ottoman Empire, too, social campaigns occurred from time to time, which we can put into the category of social movements. As a result of the deterioration of the Ottoman system of landholding, especially from the 17th century, the number of social movements increased. In the atmosphere of discontent created by tax increases along with the deterioration in the landholding system, public order problems also began due to prolonged wars.

Findings: After the Armistice of Mudros, occupations started in Anatolia, which in fact violated the Armistice, and thereupon the national resistance movement started. As a result of tough struggles, independence was gained with the Treaty of Lausanne. In the aftermath of the War of Independence, the centuries-old Ottoman state traditions and regime gave way to the effort to establish a state organization that modeled on the western institutions under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Tribes and tribal lords, who gained great power locally due to the weakening of the central authority during the decline and collapse of the Ottoman Empire, had a powerful, dominant position in their regions. Disturbed by the centralized and unitary structure of the newly established state and concerned that they were losing their positions, some tribes began to put up resistance against major reforms that were desired to be made. These tribes often hid their real motives so that they could get the support of other tribes, increase the participation of the people, and gain their legitimacy in the eyes of the local people. Their discourses against reforms usually included claims that the new unitary nation-state applied/would apply ethnic discrimination against them and that Sharia rules to which they had been subject for centuries and all religious practices would be prohibited. In short, the newly established Republic of Turkey not only put up struggles in the international arena to ensure its full independence but also had to deal with social movements originating from the tribes in Eastern Anatolia in its internal affairs.

Results and Discussion: During the reign of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic of Turkey established after the War of Independence,

several social movements that generally gave rise to revolts emerged for various reasons. In the Ottoman Empire, social movements generally emerged based on religious or economic discontent, while, in the first years of the Republic, they generally emerged as a response to the new state system and practices. Aiming to prevent reforms, social movements that broke out in the early-republican period wanted to hide behind the arguments accepted as legitimate by the society in order to prevent the desired reforms. These baseless arguments, which were frequently voiced in the early years of the Republic of Turkey, were generally based on religious abuse, claiming that ethnic discrimination would be applied, centuries-old religious practices and traditions would be banned, Islamic law (sharia) would be prohibited, etc. During the Ottoman rule, tribes that were dominant in the Eastern Anatolia Region enjoyed partial autonomy due to the distance from the state center and geographical conditions making transportation and communication difficult. In order not to be deprived of this partial autonomy, some prominent tribes in the region started revolts at various times against the newly established republic, which was adopting a strictly centralized structure.