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Ayanlık Olgusu ve Oluşum Sürecindeki Dinamikler: Kayseri Sancağı Örneği

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**THE PHENOMENON OF AYANLIK AND THE DYNAMICS IN THE
FORMATION PROCESS: THE CASE OF KAYSERİ SANJAK ***

Ayanlık Olgusu ve Oluşum Sürecindeki Dinamikler: Kayseri Sancağı Örneği

Dr. Arş. Gör. Nejla Doğan

Öz

Ayanlık konusu Khoury'nin belirttiği gibi “köşeleri en belirsiz grup”¹ olarak tarihçilerin araştırma ajandasında uzun süre yerini almıştır. Yapılan literatür taramasında göze çarpan en önemli konu ayanlığın henüz bir netlik kazanmamış olmasıdır. Bu çalışma ile ayanlık konusunda merak edilen ve açıklanmaya muhtaç hususların Kayseri sancağı ayanları üzerinden tekrar değerlendirilerek literatüre katkıda bulunulması hedeflenmiştir. İmparatorluğun idari, mali ve sosyal düzenini derinden etkileyen ayanlığı daha iyi anlayabilmek ve açıklayabilmek için öncelikle kim oldukları ve nasıl seçildikleri gibi kritik hususların yanı sıra nasıl güçlenerek yüzyıla damgalarını vurdukları sorusuna cevap verilmesi gerekmektedir. Ayan ailelerinin detaylı monografilerine değinilmeden ayanlık kavramına ve ilgili tartışmalara odaklanılmıştır. Ardından, Kayseri sancağında ayanlığın gelişimini etkileyen siyasi, içtimai, askeri ve idari temeller ele alınmıştır. Merkez-Taşra ilişkileri kapsamında Kayseri ayanlarının henüz detaylı olarak incelenmemiş alan olması bölgeyi örneklem olarak seçmenin en temel nedenlerindedir. 17. yüzyılda meydana gelen Celali isyanları ve beraberindeki eşkıyalık gibi birtakım toplumsal çalkantıların yoğun yaşandığı sancaklardan biri olmasının yanı sıra coğrafi konumu sayesinde elde ettiği ticaret merkezlerinden olması bölgenin seçilmesindeki önemli diğer

Abstract

The concept of the local notables, as Khoury puts it, “groups with the most uncertain corners”, has been discussed by historians for a long time. The most notable issue in the literature review is that ayanship has not yet been clarified. Therefore, it is the general aim of the paper to reconsider and analyze the local notables that need to be explained through Kayseri sanjak. In order to better understand and explain the ayanlık that deeply influences the administrative, financial and social order of the empire, it is necessary to address some issues such as who they were and how they were chosen, and then to answer the question of how they got stronger and left their mark on the century. Without revealing the detailed monographs of the notables, the concept of local notables and related discussions were focused. After giving information about Kayseri local notables, the political, social, military, and administrative foundations that affect the development of the local notables in Kayseri sanjak are discussed. One of the main reasons for choosing the region as a sample is the fact that Kayseri notables have not been studied in detail within the context of center-rural relations. In addition to this, being one of the sanjaks where there was intense social turmoil such as the Celali

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¹ Dina Rizk Khoury, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Merkez ile Taşradaki Güç Sahipleri Arasındaki İlişkiler: Bir Tarih Yazımı Çözümlemesi”, *Türkiye Tarihi 1603-1839*, Ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, Kitap Publishing, İstanbul 2016, p. 186.

etkenlerdir. Böylece, ayanlığın ictimai ve mali temellerini daha iyi analiz etme şansı doğmuştur. Ayanlık üzerine genel bir değerlendirme yapmaya imkân sağlayan bu çalışmanın temel kaynağı Kayseri şer'iyeye sicillerine dayanmaktadır. Kayseri sancağı özelindeki ayanlık hususu birincil kaynakların yanı sıra ikincil kaynaklar kullanılarak tartışılmıştır.

rebellions and banditry that took place in the 17th century and being one of the trade centers it has acquired thanks to its geographical location are crucial reasons for choosing the region. Thus, we have a better chance for analyzing the social and financial foundations of local notables that affect their development in Kayseri sanjak. This study mainly based upon Kayseri court registers (şer'iyeye sicilleri) provided an opportunity to make a general evaluation and discussions on ayanlık. Besides, some of the problems specific to Kayseri sanjak were discussed in the light of primary (Ottoman archival sources) and secondary sources.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 18. Yüzyıl, Sosyal Tarih, Ayan, Kayseri Sancağı,

Keywords: 18th Century, Social History, Local Notable, Kayseri Sanjak

1. The Phenomenon of Ayanlık in Kayseri Sanjak and Some Related Discussions

As a result of the developments in the political, financial, administrative, and military fields which appeared across the empire since the end of the 16th century, a class called as *ayan* emerged. There has been an increasing concern in local notables and numerous studies have been published by foreign and domestic historians, however, ayanlık could not be clearly defined yet. With this research, which is focused on Kayseri ayans, some research questions revealed in the discussions specific to ayanlık were revisited. As a result of the research, it was found that Kayseri ayans had an original characteristic depending on settlement geography, demographic quantity, and economic structure of the sanjak. However, it is noteworthy that Kayseri ayans openly reflect the political, administrative, financial, and social transformation of the Ottoman State which could be observed since the 17th century.

1.1. General Definition of Ayanlık and the Characteristic of Kayseri Ayans

Ayanlık issue, which has gained an important place among those holding power between center-rural relations, is one of the primary topics discussed by historians and has not yet been fully clarified. Term of a'yân with Arabic origin is plural of the word ayn, has the same meaning as the words *vücûh*, *eşraf* (notables) and *erkan* (dignitaries)². In other words, until the 18th century, the notables in the city and town or some influential families who had excelled in reputation were called notable or ayan in Ottomans.³ Özer Ergenç describes the term of local notable/ayan as a group who regulates relations between state and reaya in the classical period of the Ottoman and assistant of officials in the implementation of state order.⁴

In addition to the general definitions mentioned above, different explanations concerning ayanlık have been encountered in academic studies.⁵ One of these views belongs to Robert Zen,

² Özcan Mert, "Ayan", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C. 4, İstanbul 1990, p. 195. Also look at: Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, "Ayan", *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, C. 1, Milli Eğitim Publishing, İstanbul 1993, pp. 120-122.

³ M. Fuad Köprülü, "Ayan", *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İ.A.), C. II, İstanbul 1944, pp. 40-41.

⁴ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klasik Dönemindeki Eşraf ve Ayan Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, S. III, İstanbul 1982, p. 108.

⁵ According to Emecen, in addition to having local power and wealth, local notables have both local and official identities by gaining a prestigious position in the state. Feridun M. Emecen, "Ayan ve Muhallefatı: Karaosmanoğlu Hacı Mustafa Ağa", *Ciepo Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Publishing, Ankara 2004, p. 141; Mustafa Cezar claims that the Ottoman authors took

who divided ayans into two different groups. According to Zens, the first group is small local notables called “lesser local notables” who separate from local population thanks to their wealth and local influence. The second group, on the other hand, is great ayans he described as “grand ayans”, who are officially recognized by the state and take the entire rural province under its influence.⁶ The notables of the Kayseri Sanjak, inspired by Zens’ definition of ayan, were handled in two different groups.⁷ According to this definition, lesser ayans of Kayseri sanjak are, Ayan Bektaşzade Mehmet⁸, Ayan Kığılmazzade Seyyid Sadık Efendi⁹, Ayan Beyzade Seyyid Yakup Beg¹⁰, Ayan Mollazade Seyyid Osman Efendi¹¹, Ayan Bağçecizade el-Hac Mehmed Efendi¹² Ayan Abbaszade es- Seyyid Mehmet Salih Ağa¹³; grand ayan families are Zennecizades, Kalaycıoğulları and Emirağazades.¹⁴ Three large families are included in the category of powerful and grand ayan families because they have the right to collect taxes in the sanjak of Kayseri and its surrounding areas, have military units called household people, and play an intermediary role between the center and the province.

It can be said that the traces of ayanlık can be seen in the Kayseri sanjak at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. While Kalaycızades, one of the notables of Kayseri, were active in the sanjak until the 1740s, later Zennecizadeler and Emirağazadeler came to the fore. Since the 1780s, Cabbarzades have been encountered frequently. From the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century, it can be said that Güpgübzades, as well as the Cabbarzades, started to gain influence in the sanjak.

The first record about *Kalaycıoğulları* was encountered in the event of rebellion and plunder dated 1694 and the first known person of the family was Kalaycıoğlu Mustafa who was appointed as mütesellim in the 1720s but he abused his duty and therefore he was removed from the position.¹⁵ However, he took over the duty again in 1738.¹⁶ According to the document,

the word ayan in a broader sense and generally refers to the owners of high administrative and military positions of the state. Some phrases were used such as: “*âyân-ı devlet, âyân-ı devlet ve erkân-ı saltanat, âyân-ı asakirî, ekâbir-i âyân-ı devlet*”. Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2013, pp. 220-221; According to Mutajçieva who disregarding the view that the European feudal reality and the notables are similar, supported A.F. Miller’s view. According to him, local notables should be identified as “outstanding and considerable citizen; city manager and kaza chief” (“*üstün ve hatırı sayılır vatandaş; şehir yöneticisi ve kaza şefi*”). Vera P. Mutafçieva, “XVIII. Yüzyılın Son On Yılında Ayanlık Müessesesi”, trans. Bayram Kodaman, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, S. 31, 1978, pp. 164-165; McGowan, called the 18th century as “Age of the Ayans” and defined local notables as “merchants, moneylenders, military-class members, or local entities who can own land”. Bruce McGowan, “Ayanlar Çağı 1699-1812”. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarih*, ed. Halil İnalçık ve Donald Quataert, Eren Publishing, İstanbul 2004, p. 785.

⁶ Robert W. Zens, *The Ayanlık and Pazvantıoğlu Osman Paşa of Vidin in the Age of Ottoman Social Change 1791-1815*, (University of Winconsin, Unpublished Phd Thesis), Medison 2004, p. 49.

⁷ Beside Zens’ definition, Halil İnalçık, classified the ayan and eşraf under the following categories: ulema, kapıkulları, those who traded in precious goods and leading guildsmen. Halil İnalçık, “Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration”, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. Thmoas Naff and Roger Owen, Londra 1977, pp. 37-38. Another definition is written by Donald Quataert. He categorised ayans in different groups according to their origins. Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*, İletişim Publishing, İstanbul 2009, pp. 86-87.

⁸ BOA (Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi/Ottoman State Archives), Kayseri Şer’iye Register (KŞS) 158, p.56, h.115. KŞS 161, p. 52, h.1.; KŞS 173, p. 129, h. 215. h. is abbreviation of hukum based on the clauses reflected in the books.

⁹ BOA, KŞS 171, p. 194, h. 261

¹⁰ BOA, KŞS 171, p. 241, h.234.

¹¹ BOA, KŞS 172, p 38, h. 47.

¹² BOA, KŞS 173, p. 119, h. 142. KŞS 176, h. 33.

¹³ BOA, KŞS 176, p. 214, h. 2. p. 56, h.124. KŞS 177, p. 125, h.179.

¹⁴ BOA, KŞS 162, p. 22, h. 57.

¹⁵ Yücel Özkaya, “XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Yerli Ailelerin Ayanlıkları Ele Geçirileri ve Büyük Hanedanlıkların Kuruluşu”, *Belleten*, C. 168, Ankara 1978, pp. 675-676

¹⁶ Özen Tok, “130 Numaralı Kayseri Şer’iye Sicili (H.1151/M. 1738-39) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme” (M.A. Thesis, Kayseri Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü), Kayseri 1996, p. 392.



when he died in 1742, he again performed this duty.¹⁷ After his death, his son Kalaycızade Mehmet Agha was appointed to the position in the year 1748 and 1750. Then his son Ahmed Agha was brought to the positions such as ayan and mütesellim in the sanjak.¹⁸ However, in the second half of the century, their influence and power began to decrease in the sanjak.

Another ayan family in Kayseri was *Emiragazades*. The first known and recorded member of the family was Emir Agha who was appointed as a mütesellim in the year 1746¹⁹, but the most popular member of the family was Emiragazade Mustafa Agha who was appointed as mütesellim in the year 1762, 1780 and 1781. Apart from these two persons, another member of the family written in the archival sources was Mehmed Emin who was active and struggled for ayanlık in the last quarter of the century.²⁰

Zennecizade family was the most important and active ayan family in Kayseri sanjak during the 18th century. The name Zenne is defined as “female kind, taife-i nisâ, inas” and Zenneci means the person who sells clothes (women’s shoes) for women. This family name is thought to be connected to the family profession. Another meaning is “the male actor that dresses in drag in theatre-in-the-round (traditional improvised theatre)”²¹. It is worth noting that it is more reasonable to think that Zennecizade family name comes from the family profession, as according to the waqfiyya we have, they were engaged in trade and had shops in a central market, indicating that they were most likely selling women’s items.

Özkaya states that no judgment or information about the Zennecizades was found in the kadi registers of the 17th century.²² In the registers, Ahmed Ağa was the first person known to strengthen the Zennecizades. In the early 18th century, after the muqata’ah was sold as a malikane, Zennecizade Ahmed added the village of Enderlik to his family and thus they became stronger.²³

After Ahmed, his sons Osman (between 1730-1731) and Mustafa obtained the office of mütesellim (trusteeship) in Kayseri, as the family had been pursuing being one of the ayan since the second half of the 18th century and struggling to achieve it. In 1742, since Murtaza Pasha, the governor of Kayseri sanjak was in the guard of Van, Zennecizade Seyyid Mustafa was appointed as the ruler of the sanjak and Zennecizade Mustafa Ağa was mentioned as the mütesellim, it can be concluded that this ayan family held this title between 1742-1744.²⁴

In 1746, we see another member of the family named Zennecizade Mehmet Agha as a mütesellim.²⁵ Zennecizade Seyyit Mehmet Agha made illegal attempts, just as his father Osman Agha, his uncle Mustafa, and grandfather Ahmet Agha before him. Zennecizade Seyyit Mehmed Agha was both mütesellim and ayan in Kayseri sanjak. Zennecioğlu Seyyit Mehmet was the confident of Eşkun mukataas that was in the state of Karaman in 1755. He jointly acquired the Ergun malikane. Zennecioğlu Mehmet Agha, who participated Ottoman-Russian war in 1768-1774, passed away in 1773 while he was the fiduciary of provisions (*nüzul emini*) in the army.

After Seyyit Mehmet Agha, Zennecioğlu Seyyit Mustafa Agha was appointed as mütesellim of the sanjak between the years 1768-1771. Then Zennecizade Seyyid Ahmed Agha took his

¹⁷ KAD 1, s. 5, h. 2-3.

¹⁸ Ahmed Nazif, *Mirat-ı Kayseriyye (Kayseri Tarihi)*, trans. Mehmet Palamutoğlu, Kayseri Özel İdaresi Müdürlüğü ve Kayseri Belediyesi Birliği, Kayseri 1987), pp. 152-154.

¹⁹ BOA, KŞS 126, p. 137, h.1. KŞS 126, p. 63, h. 3.

²⁰ BOA, KŞS 176, p. 183, h.333. KŞS 176, p. 179-180, h. 322.

²¹ Şemsettin Sami, *Kamûs-ı Türkî*, Dersaadet: İkdam Matbaası, 131), p. 689.

²² Yücel Özkaya, “XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Yerli Aileler”, p. 678.

²³ Ibid, pp. 678-79.

²⁴ Ibid, pp. 677-681.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 682.

position, however, Mustafa Agha continued to be ayan in the sanjak.²⁶ Ahmed Agha who held the position in the years 1778- 79 and 1783-84 played important role in strengthening the family. After him, Zennecizade Seyyid Mehmed Sadık Agha took over his position and he fulfilled the duty of *beytülmal*, who was responsible for the treasury of the state.²⁷ Then, no one has been appointed as mütesellim but it can be said that two members of the family, Seyyid Hacı Ahmed Agha and Mehmed Sadık Agha, were written as ayan or deputy of mütesellim in the court registers.²⁸ The importance of the family in the sanjak decreased at the end of century and Zennecizade was appointed as a member of the council (meclis azalığı) at the beginning of 19th century.²⁹

It is necessary to consider some ayans encountered in the last quarter of the 18th century separately from these families mentioned above. For example, Güpgübzades, first encountered in the list of *şühudul hal*³⁰ in the sanjak records, were considered in the category of sanjak dignitaries. In the archival records, we could not see the names of this ayan family in any administrative position in the sanjak. They did not take any official duties such as mütesellim or mutasarrıf. They were only involved in the judicial affairs of the region in which they were located.³¹ Unlike Zennecizades, this ayan family did not have administrative appointments, however they are considered in the ayan category, since they have an influence in the sanjak due to their economic power. Besides, this ayan family did not have the household people like the Zennecizades.

Cabbarzades, another ayan family, within the scope of the study encountered in the late 18th century sources, should also be excluded from this definition, because some historians consider this family as ayan,³² while others consider it in the dynastic category. Yücel Özkaya defines the Cabbarzades as “feudal lords/derebeyi belonging to local dynasties who have received great ranks”.³³ Özkaya, who does not consider Cabbarzades and Karaosmanoğulları as ayan group, emphasizes that it is impossible for these families to be ayan because they have duties in other places besides the sanjaks where they are located.³⁴ Özcan Mert, on the other hand, considered and studied Cabbarzades as ayan in his doctoral dissertation.³⁵

1.2. Date of Emergence of Ayanlık in Kayseri Sanjak

One of the issues that has been the subject of debate among historians working on ayanlık and cannot be reached a conclusion is the time of the emergence of ayanlık. The main reason for the debate is trying to place ayanlık in the context of an institution or an organization. According to Özcan Mert, who stated that Mustafa Akdağ started it in 1730, Bruce McGowan in 1699 and Mustafa Cezar and Yuzo Nagata pointed to the last quarter of the 17th century, ayanlık started in the last twenty years of the 17th century.³⁶ The main reason why Mert

²⁶ BOA, KŞS 155, h.112. Number of image in the sicil register is 22.

²⁷ BOA, KŞS 174, p. 29. KŞS 176, p. 96, h. 3

²⁸ BOA, KŞS 176, p. 79.

²⁹ BOA, C. DH. 269/13412.

³⁰ BOA, KŞS 179, p. 268, h.499. In one of the case concerned property dispute, we see that their names as a witness in the Kayseri court register numbered 171 (year 1795).

³¹ BOA, KŞS 171, p. 186, h. 245. KŞS 176, p. 30, h.2. KŞS 179, p. 136, h. 256. It was not seen that the family had any official duties at least between 1700-1808.

³² For example; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı “ÇAPAN OĞULLARI”, *Belleten*, C. XXXVII, S. 150, Ankara 1974, pp. 215-261. Yücel Özkaya, also, claims this point in his work titled “Merkezi Devlet Yapısının Zayıflaması Sonuçları: Ayanlık Sistemi ve Büyük Hanedanlıklar”, *Osmanlı*, C. 6, ed. Güler Eren, Yeni Türkiye Publishing, Ankara 1999, p. 171.

³³ Özkaya, “Merkezi Devlet Yapısının Zayıflaması Sonuçları”, p. 171.

³⁴ Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, TTK Publishing, Ankara 2014, p. 6.

³⁵ Özcan Mert, *XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Çapanoulları*, Kültür Bakanlığı Publishing, Ankara 1980.

³⁶ Özcan Mert, “Osmanlı Devleti Tarihinde Ayanlık Dönemi”, *Osmanlı*, ed. Güler Eren, C. VI, Yeni Türkiye Publishing, Ankara 1999, p. 175



attributes ayanlık to these years is that malikane system and official choice of ayan, which are the characteristic features of ayanlık, emerged approximately in the last years of the 17th century.³⁷ While Mustafa Cezar emphasized that the prototype of ayanlık was formed in the last quarter of the 17th century,³⁸ V.P. Mutafçieva has stated that ayanlık may have formed before the 1780s.³⁹ According to Özkaya, there was ayanlık system in Anatolia before 1726, but its official date based on the year 1726, indicating that the dynasty owners were appointed as governors.⁴⁰

Considering the date of emergence of notables in the context of Kayseri, although they did not have a very strong influence in the 15th and 16th centuries, the existence of the group called “ayân-ı vilayet” existed in Kayseri. The influence of the notables reflected in the records as the notables and ayan in Kayseri increased in the 18th century, the most important indicator of this is the appointment of Sayyid İshak as an mutasarrıf naib in 1710. Also, he was mentioned as an ayan in Kayseri records.⁴¹ In fact, according to the document dated 1125 (18 November 1713), the claims of ayanlık by Burhaneddin and İshak Efendi, Mehmet Beg and Yusuf, who were residents of Kayseri⁴², support the date. According to this, it can be said that the ayanlık in the Kayseri sanjak existed before the date of 1726, which Özkaya took as the criterion. However, as Emecen stated, “it is a futile attempt to search for an exact date when it emerged” because it is not an official institution.⁴³

1.2. Evaluation of Kayseri Ayans in Terms of Title and Class

Ottoman ayans generally have military characteristics. Nagata, who held this view, stated that the timarlı (timar- holders) and ocaklı soldiers who had gained great economic power as mukataa and malikane owners, were the first candidates of ayan.⁴⁴ Another historian, İnalçık, who mentioned the military origin of the ayan, also emphasized that there had been a group of Janissaries who were ayans since the classical period.⁴⁵ Looking at the origin of Kayseri ayans, it usually turns out that they had generally merchant and soldier origin. For example, Ahmed, who was the first family member of Zennecizades appeared in the records, is usually referred to as Agha in the documents and due to the title, it can be said that the origin of Zennecizades belongs to the military class.⁴⁶ In another record, the person is mentioned as “...fahrulayan Zennecizade Sayyid Ahmed...”⁴⁷

In addition to being rich and wealthy families of the region, it is obvious that there were well-known people engaged in trade in the sanjak of Kayseri. The notables of Kayseri, with their shops in the important bazaars and markets, played an active role for the development of the commercial activity. As far as can be determined from the waqfiyya documents of ayans, there

³⁷ Mert, “Ayanlık Dönemi”, p. 175

³⁸ Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler*, pp. 230- 231.

³⁹ Mutafçieva, “XVIII. Yüzyılın Son On Yılında”, p. 166.

⁴⁰ Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, p. 149.

⁴¹ Mehmet Karagöz, *XVIII. Asrın Başlarında Kayseri*, (Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished thesis), Kayseri 1993, pp. 196-198.

⁴² BOA, C. ZB. 59/ 2926, 1125 L 29.

⁴³ Feridun Emecen, “Osmanlı Taşrasında Yerel Güçlerin Yükselişi, Kethudazadeler Örneği”, *Osmanlı Klasik Çağında Hanedan, Devlet ve Toplum*, Timaş Publishing, İstanbul 2011, p. 364.

⁴⁴ Yuzo Nagata, *Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa ve Ayanlık Müessesesi*, Akademik Publishing, İzmir 1999, pp. 9-11.

⁴⁵ Halil İnalçık, *Devlet-i Aliyye, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar-IV*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Publishing, İstanbul 2016, p. 83.

⁴⁶ Hamit Karasu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ayanlık: Kayseri Sancağı Örneği (1730-1774)*, (Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, Unpublished M.A. Thesis), Ankara 2014, pp. 56-57. The researcher attributes that Zennecizade Osman Ağa is a janissary member because of his “*agha*” title. Also, his brother Mustafa, was not mentioned as an agha in the document regarding a court record, it was inferred that the title was not used in ordinary and belonged to a special class.

⁴⁷ BOA, KŞS 176, p. 79.

were their shops in those places such as At Pazar, Araba Pazar, Penbeciler Pazar, Haffaf Pazar, Odun Pazar, Un Pazar, Bit Pazar, Pastırma Pazar, located in the center of the sanjak. Ayan families especially Zennecizades who were the merchant- origin, were quite influential in commercial activities.⁴⁸ These shops were the biggest evidence that the ayan family engaged in trade.

Güçlü Tülüveli argues that titles distinguish people from each other at the micro level, while at the macro level they give clues about the person's social position.⁴⁹ He claims that although the title of *Çelebi* generally belongs to ulema origin, it is also used among merchants. The title of *Efendi* is usually used for high-level ulama and *ehl-i kalem*; the title of *agha* is rather for those of military origin, the title of *beşe* is also related to soldiers.⁵⁰ When Kayseri ayans were examined in the light of the information given above, many of these titles were found in the documents. Ayan, called "...*agha*" in one clause is referred to as "...*çelebi*" or "...*efendi*" in another clauses. Apart from this, Mehmed Emin, one of the important members of Emiragazades, was named *çelebi* in the document.⁵¹

One of the issues used by the ayans and in need of explanation is the title of *sayyid*, which is a religious affiliation. Ayans carry administrative titles such as *serbevaban-ı ali* or *kapıcıbaşı*, as well as religious titles such as *sayyid*, *haji* or *sadat*. The term *sharif* or *sayyid* was used for the descendants of Muhammad's grandson Hussein and Hasan. Hz. Ali's children from other wives, on the other hand, have not been attributed such a sacred importance.⁵² When court records of Kayseri (şer'iyye sicil) were examined, it is obviously seen that the ayans were referred to as *sayyid/sadat* in general. Halil İncalık states that *sayyids* of ulema origin were at the forefront of the Ottoman provinces and that most of the people who filled the ayan class were of the ulema class, especially in the 18th century. İncalık, clearly emphasized the economic and social advantages of being in this class.⁵³ Besides, Karen Barkey mentioned, such religious and scholarly titles strengthened the status of the ayans in the society.⁵⁴ It should be highlighted that looking at these short examples, "A title-based class stratification"⁵⁵ may give us incorrect results. However, when a general assessment specific to Kayseri province is taken into consideration, it is an undeniable fact that ayans are influential and wealthy people.

1.4. System of Election in Kayseri Sanjak

The election of ayan is one of the controversial issues. According to some researchers, they were chosen by the public; according to some, they were chosen by the elders of the district or by notables. The only definitive conclusion drawn from the debates is that the appointments were made as a result of the election. To be ayan, being chosen by local notables as a representative of the district and being approved by the center are considered one of the most important points of the election.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ BOA, KŞS 146, s. 93-96.

⁴⁹ Güçlü Tülüveli, "Şer'iyye Sicillerinin Işığında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Askeri- Reaya Ayrışması Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler", *Ciepo Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi XIV. Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Publishing, Ankara 2004), p. 765- 768. The author refers to the military class of a person from social status.

⁵⁰ Tülüveli, "Şer'iyye Sicillerinin Işığında", p.768.

⁵¹ BOA, KŞS 176, p. 183, h.333

⁵² Ahmet Rıf'at, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Sadat-ı Kiram ve Nakibüleşrafar*, *Devhatü'n-Nukaba*, haz.: Hasan Yüksel- M. Fatih Köksal, Dilek Matbaası, Sivas 1998, p. 3.

⁵³ Halil İncalık, *Devlet-i Aliyye*, pp. 81-82.

⁵⁴ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference; The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, pp. 244-245.

⁵⁵ Güçlü Tülüveli, "Şer'iyye Sicillerinin Işığında", p. 769.

⁵⁶ İncalık, "Centralization and Decentralization", pp. 46-48.

An elected ayan was given an official document called *ayanlık buyruldu* by the governor, but during the 18th century especially after the second half of the century, complaints concerned illegal elections and appointments of ayan, were reflected in the records. It had not escaped the center's notice that governors gave buyruldu to those who give more money and ignore the choices of poll. As a result of their abuse of duties, these powers were taken from the hands of the governors in 1765 and transferred to the grand viziers.⁵⁷ But after a while, the edict issued in 1765 became invalid, and the edict issued in 1769 confirmed that the previous *hatt-ı humayun* had been abandoned. After that, the person who would like to be ayan will be chosen by the people of the district.⁵⁸ However, ayanlık claims and confliction among ayans had been continued and they got a decree (ayanlık buyruldu) from provincial governors who requested a favour in return. Therefore, Sublime Porte, took a decision in May 1784 that it was not possible to become a *reis-i ayan* (head ayan) without a letter taken from the grand vizier.⁵⁹ In 1786, as in Rumeli, an edict was sent all over Anatolia stating that the word ayanship would be abolished and *şehir kethuda* (city or urban kethüda) was replaced. In other words, they performed duties of ayans.⁶⁰

Looking at the background of how Kayseri ayans was elected, it can be said that there is a different implementation from the mentioned above. In other words, Kayseri ayans were not affected by changes in the electoral system during the century. As mentioned above, although the copies of edicts stating that several changes have been made in the election of ayanlık by the central government have been processed in Kayseri court registers, it was not observed that they were implemented. For example, an edict issued in 1786 stated that ayanlık was completely abolished and replaced by a şehir kethudalık, and it was emphasized that those who claim ayanlık would be tackled. But despite all these warnings, other district ayans, such as Zennecizades, continued to be recorded as "ayan".⁶¹ Looking at the fact that the şehir kethudalığı was unable to settle in the sanjak of Kayseri, as in the most parts of Anatolia, the most important reason that stands out may be the presence of powerful and influential ayan families such as the Zennecizades. Kayseri ayan families have been performing the necessary work of districts since before now. In other words, ayan families already performed all the tasks specified in the edict on the implementation of the şehir kethudalığı.⁶²

In the sanjak of Kayseri, ayan appointment by the order of the governor or grand vizier was not encountered. Zennecizades, Emiragazades and Kalaycıoğulları, who are among the grand ayans of the sanjak, were the ayans of the district of Kayseri and were determined to be the ayan families chosen by the people and carrying out the district works. As Özkaya said, these elected ayan families of Kayseri were not appointed by order, but were always appointed by the will of the people.⁶³ Furthermore, since ayanlık is not an official institution, it is a natural result that ayan appointments are not registered in the qadi registers, which are official documents.

⁵⁷ BOA, MD. 164, p. 244, h. 973.

⁵⁸ Nagata, *Muhsinzade Mehmed Paşa*, p. 53.

⁵⁹ Özcan Mert, "Ayan", pp. 195-198.

⁶⁰ BOA, KŞS 164, p. 102, h. 1.

⁶¹ For example; the term ayan was used when requesting a soldier in a judgment that was recorded in the court registries during and after the ferman was sent. BOA, KŞS 167, p. 12, h. 26. Another example, Zennecizades and other notables of the sanjak were addressed by their names, and it was stated that they were forgiven for a crime they committed. BOA, KŞS 167, p. 47, h. 80. The term ayan was also used in the registers of the following years. For example, it was mentioned that Zennecizade Seyyid Mustafa collected the jizye of Karaman eyalet as a local notable/ayan. BOA, KŞS 171, p. 233, h. 282.

⁶² Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, p. 351. Özkaya states that şehir kethudalığı can not hold on to most parts of Anatolia

⁶³ Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, pp. 343-344.

2. Administrative, Military, Social and Economic Developments Affecting the Formation Process of Ayanlık in Kayseri Sanjak

In Ottoman historiography, while some interpret the 18th century as a problematic era⁶⁴ and some interpret it as an untouched area, Mehmet Genç states that the perception of this century as a blind spot is misleading.⁶⁵ One of the greatest and debatable issues characterized by this period is ayanship. The changing in the military and territorial system that occurred on the imperial borders since the end of the 16th century led to the strengthening of the ayans in the province. Long-lasting wars, economic depression, and dissolution in the social and administrative order that occurred in the province are also developments that explain the rise of the ayans, who took an important place in the Ottoman Empire. The effects of these factors on the empowerment of Kayseri sanjak ayans will be analyzed and an attempt will be made to contribute to the field and the century.

2.1. Changes in the Administrative Structure

Several administrative changes that occurred on the imperial borders from the 16th century have been influential in the emergence of ayanlık. Various administrative tasks, such as muhassil, voivode, mütesellim and mütezim, have begun to be fulfilled by the ayans of the region. Some ayan families in the Empire, especially in Anatolia, gained power by taking on the role of voyvodalık or muhasıllık.⁶⁶ However, no ayan families have been existed in the sanjak of Kayseri, performing voyvodeship/voyvodalık or muhasıllık duty. Sanjaks such as Kayseri were administered by mutasarrıf and mütesellim; sanjaks such as Bozok, Tokad by voivode and the sanjaks such as Aydın, Saruhan by muhasıllık were administered.⁶⁷ However, it was ruled by mutasarrıf and their deputy mütesellim, because the sanjak of Kayseri was not a region transformed into *hass-ı hümayun* (imperial demesne). Besides, conferring arpalık on sanjak is of great importance in gaining popularity of mütesellims in Kayseri.⁶⁸

Many high-ranking people, such as the pashas and viziers residing in the center, did not go to the sanjak given to them as arpalık and appointed the ayans of the region as a mütesellim. The affairs of the sanjaks were now carried out by the deputies they appointed or a mütesellim was appointed to carry out the works during the time until they arrived at the sanjak where they were appointed. There are many documents on the appointment of a mütesellim to govern the region in the time that will pass until the governor or sanjakkbeyi arrives at the place of their appointed position.⁶⁹ For example, according to a document dated 19 June 1779, Çerkez Hasan Pasha who was Ohrid mutasarrıf was appointed to Kayseri sanjak as a governor. It was requested that a mütesellim would be appointed to the sanjak until the Pasha arrive and therefore Zennecizade Ahmed Agha had been appointed as a mütesellim.⁷⁰ In addition to these, if the sanjak beys left the region for war, mütesellims again acted for them. It should be noted that

⁶⁴ Jane Hathaway, "Rewriting Eighteenth- Century Ottoman History", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, ed. Amy Singer, C. 19, S. 1, Tel Aviv University A Frank Cass Journal, Tel Aviv 2004, p. 29.

⁶⁵ Kahraman Şakul- Ayşe Çiçek, "Bir Çalıştayın Ardından, 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Süreklilik ve Değişim", *Toplumsal Tarih*, S. 237, İstanbul 2013, p. 59.

⁶⁶ For example some local notables such as ayan in Antakya sanjak, Tavaslızades in Menteşe Sanjak, Karaosmanoğulları in Manisa Sanjak gained power because of their administrative tasks such as voyvoda. Also, some local notables take over administrative duties such as Canik Muhasıllığı by Caniklizades, Bozok Voyvodalığı by Cabbarzades, Malatya Voyvodalığı by Rışvanzades. Karasu, *Ayanlık*, p. 97.

⁶⁷ Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, pp. 20-22. Özkaya, emphasizes that the sancaks are governed by *muhassil, voyvoda, mütesellim*. Some researchers also used the term similar to Özkaya's statement. However, these people were obliged to collect taxation.

⁶⁸ Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, pp. 21-22.

⁶⁹ Following sources were referred: BOA, KŞS 142, p. 53, BOA, KŞS 144 p. 17, BOA, KŞS 145 p. 43. BOA, KŞS 146 p. 27.

⁷⁰ BOA, KŞS 160, s. 4, h. 1

mütesellims have always been at the forefront because governors of Kayseri often leave the sanjak or are busy with tasks assigned by the central government.

In the 18th century, mutasarrıf of the sanjak changed very frequently throughout the Empire. The fact that appointments and dismissals were very frequent gained importance in the strengthening of the ayans. For example, in the sanjak of Kayseri, sixty governors were changed in 36 years between 1756-1792. During the years 1764-1765 (H.1178)- 1768-1769 (H. 1182)-1775-1776 (H.1189), there was a change of governor three times a year and four times in 1779-1780 (H. 1193). Considering the time of a governor departing from the center to reach the sanjak of Kayseri, it is better understood how the ayans who perform the duty of mütesellimlik in the sanjak, where there are changes four times a year, have the power. With so many governor changes in a 36-year period, it is a natural outcome for the ayans to be strengthened further by taking advantage of the authority gap.⁷¹

Although the majority of the mütesellimlik duty, which caused great conflicts among the ayans, was given to local families, there are documents indicating that there were also external appointments. But it is known that the persons appointed from outside could not hold on the sanjak for a long time, and even that ayan and eşraf allied and caused non-local people to leave their posts with various intrigues. As can be seen in the example of Rustem Pasha⁷², who was assigned to the sanjak from outside, the ayans of the district, especially the Zennecizades, united and caused various difficulties for the mütesellim to leave his post. So why was this position important to the ayans? As Ozkaya stated, what is the importance of the mütesellimlik position for Kayseri ayans, which he claims has a great factor on the prominence of ayans?⁷³ In other words, the role of mütesellimlik duty in the acquisition of power and wealth of ayans is one of the issues that need to be questioned.

Mütesellims had the powers because they were the deputies of the sanjak beys, and were appointed by the command taken from the center at the request of the governor.⁷⁴ The person elected as a deputy was not any ordinary person. When researching in the context of Kayseri, the deputy mutasarrıf was chosen from among the well-known, powerful and generally indigenous people of the region. Thus, the ayans were appointed to the mütesellimlik position in the sense of deputy mutasarrıf would have a social influence.

Another great advantage besides the social influence brought by the mütesellimlik authority is that it is seen as a way to increase wealth or as a source of income. It is still a contentious issue whether those who perform mütesellimlik duty receive any salary from the state. Ozkaya claimed that mütesellims do not have a salary, while according to a doctoral dissertation prepared by Simsek, it was found that in some places, mütesellims receive a salary.⁷⁵ Neither in

⁷¹ XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Bürokrasisi Merkez ve Taşra Yönetimi 1756-1792, 16 Numaralı Tahvil Defteri, Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, İstanbul 2019, pp. 187-190. For similar interpretations that frequent changes in governor appointments lead to empowerment of the local notables, see: book review by Yılmaz Kurt "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Bürokrasisi Merkez ve Taşra Yönetimi 1756-1792".

⁷² BOA, MD 164, p. 23, h.81. Also look at: Muhammet Karakaş, "XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Ayan ve Mütegalibeler", II. Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Sempozyumu Bildirileri, Kayseri 1998, p. 261. The struggle between Rustem Pasha and the Zennecizades to appoint a subordinate occupied the sanjak for a long time. As a result of the investigations, it was decided to appoint Rustem Pasha as a mütesellim.

⁷³ Yücel Özkaya, "Mütesellimlik", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, C. 32, İstanbul 2006, pp. 203-204.

⁷⁴ BOA, KŞS 160, p. 137 h.3; "...Kıdvetül emâcid vel-ayân Zennecizade saadetlû es-seyyid Ahmed Ağa tarafımızdan mütesellim nasb ve tayin olunub her bir umûr ve hususumuz uhdesine ihale kılınmağın işbu buyruldu ..."

⁷⁵ Fatma Şimşek, Anadolu Sancaklarında Mütesellimlik Kurumu, (Akdeniz Üniversitesi SBE, Unpublished Phd Thesis), Antalya 2010, pp. 59-66. According to Şimşek, some of the mütesellim within the borders of the Empire received a salary under the name of "mütesellimlik şehriyesi" in return for duties, Şimşek states that "the economic resources and structure of the sanjak" are important criteria in this regard. The reason for the difference in the monthly salaries paid under the name of Şehriye is attributed to the various tax revenues of the sancaks. Therefore, the salaries of some of the mütesellims who received as a salary were different.

the Kayseri court registries nor in the ahkam, mühimme and maliye müdevver books belonging to the Kayseri Sanjak, there was no information or complaint document that ayans who were mütesellim received any fees in exchange for these duties. However, in the doctoral dissertation, it is stated that “750 guruh harç-ı bab and 3-month şehriye of 1250 guruh” was given to a non-ayan mütesellim from Kayseri sanjak. The author also states that harç-ı bab is not common in Kayseri.⁷⁶ Some clauses claim that Kayseri ayans did not receive mütesellimlik şehriye, but were received depending on their agreements with mutasarrifs.⁷⁷ Because of its economic advantages, the ayans who obtained this position have become economically stronger.

It is obvious that the position, which gained an important place in Ottoman Anatolia, played an important role in further strengthening the local powers called ayan. But here a problematic issue is encountered in the subject of mütesellimlik: it is the question of whether ayanlık opens the door to the mütesellimlik authority or whether the mütesellimlik authority leads to ayanlık. In the sanjak of Kayseri, it was determined that the majority of the mütesellims were chosen from among the ayan families. After being dismissed from mütesellimlik service, some of them were reassigned back to office of mütesellimlik, although they continued as an ayan of the district. In short, it can be said that there is a cyclical cause -and-effect relationship in the issue of ayan-mütesellimlik.

2.2. Changes in the Military System

Since the end of the 16th century, significant transformations and changes that took place in the military field in the imperial territory have been influential in the emergence of ayanlık. In the 18th century, instead of janissaries and timar holders in the army of the Ottoman Empire, military units called sekbans and levent came to the fore. Like the ayans in Anatolia, the ayans of Kayseri sanjak employed these military groups at their gates. In addition, this military force caused trouble to the people in peacetime, causing the peasants to leave their land and take refuge in the ayans of the region. Landless peasants who took refuge caused the ayans to become stronger and therefore they have military powers.

The central government was trying to solve the problem of military needs by applying to ayans. Kayseri ayans tried to respond with these sekbans and levants that they gathered around them. For example, Anatolian ayans were demanded to send soldiers for the Ottoman- Persian war of 1742-1746 and Kalaycızades participated with 100 soldiers (Recep 1156-August 1748).⁷⁸ Ayans were often called for help especially during the Russian War of 1768-74 and even participated in this war together with the soldiers under the auspices of the ayans. In the year 1771, 150 men were commanded by Zennecizade es- Seyyid Mehmed Agha for Russian war⁷⁹ and he died in 1773 while he had continued his duty as *nüzul eminlik*. Because of this support from a military point of view, some complaints about ayans were ignored and even forgiven. For example the central administration, which had problems with Kayseri ayans about taxes, ignored their flaws due to the wars. As it is seen in the letter written to the ayans of Kayseri, “you are famous for your effort and care and manhood, it is reserved for those who are zealous like you to serve the state and Islam in the event of such a wartime, I love the brave no matter who they are, all those who have fault and flaw are forgiven ...” all their mistakes were forgiven in order to benefit from their services and assistance (15 C. 1204/3 March 1790).⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Şimşek, “Anadolu Sancaklarında Mütesellimlik Kurumu”, p. 61.

⁷⁷ BOA, KŞS 126, p. 219, h. 1.

⁷⁸ BOA, MD 150, p. 102, h. 363.

⁷⁹ BOA, MD 171, p. 60, h. 186.

⁸⁰ BOA, KŞS 167, p. 47, h. 80. “siz gayret ve himmet ve mertlik ile meşhur olup böyle sefer vuku 'unda devlete ve İslam'a hizmet eylemek için sizin gibi gayretlü kimesnelere mahsus olmağla her kim olursa yiğit olanı severim, kusuru ve kabahati olanların cümlesi afv olunmuş...”



This situation led to an increase in the power and influence of the ayans in the sanjak. Therefore, with this collaboration their legitimacy was strengthened.

The ayans did not use this military force at their side only for the army and war. They also took advantage of the military force for security of the region. Kayseri sanjak has been dealing with the bandits who have appeared in Anatolia and Balkan for a long time. For example, in order to suppress the Dağlı rebellion occurred in Rumelia, an edict was sent to Cabbarzade to organize 300 soldiers.⁸¹ In addition, as a result of the involvement of some non-resettled tribal members in bullying incidents, the central government, which had difficulty in ensuring peace in the sanjak, again resorted to the ayans. The prominent ones among these tribes are Mamalu and Receptu. At the beginning of the 17th century they were involved in tribal revolts and bandit attacks in Anatolia. Then they were settled around Kayseri and its surroundings but they continued banditry and they posed a threat to the sanjak. Therefore, the central government ordered ayans (Zennecizade, Kalaycızada and Emiragazade) to recruit their soldiers in order to secure their region from them (5 Ra 1155/ 10 May 1742).⁸² The fact that the state took advantage of Kayseri ayans in this regard led to their increased authority in the sanjak.

Presence of crowded household forces /kapu halkı led them to increase their power and influence in the region, as well as to maintain their administrative positions (ayanlık - mütesellimlik) for a long time. Those who did not have enough military power could find it difficult to hold administrative duties. Because of this, the Kayseri ayans had to feed a certain amount of soldiers both to fulfill the center's wishes to supply military power and eliminate the bandits, as well as to maintain their influence in the region. As can be seen, the ayans thus continued their presence and authority with these military units.

It is quite difficult to determine the number of household people under the auspices of Kayseri ayans, but since they are known to fulfill what is requested by the center, it can be said that they have at least some constant military forces. In addition, Kayseri ayan families, especially Zennecizades ancestors, were also members of the military class. The change made in the military system, combined with their military experience, led to a further increase in their forces in the sanjak, assuming and performing services in the military field.

The central government also sought help from the ayans in the face of difficulties in supplying animals, grain, ammunition necessary for the war and army.⁸³ Kayseri ayans complied with the orders given, and even Zennecizade is known to take the duty named *nüzul eminlik* in this regard. They fulfilled logistic services on time as well as providing the grains required for the army.⁸⁴ For example, there was an edict addressed to Cabbarzade and ayans demanding to send the cost of 15000 bushels/kile barley in order to meet soldiers' needs. However, the central government took 7 thousand out of 15 thousand gurush and they sent another edict to be collected and sent the remaining gurush as soon as possible.⁸⁵ In addition, ayans were asked to help meet the need for saltpeter/güherçile, which was quite important for the army, and there were examples showing that Zennecizades supplied saltpeter to the state.⁸⁶ The amount of saltpeter to be supplied was determined previously and therefore ayans tried to meet the quantities demanded by the central government. For the year 1777-78, totally 380 scale saltpeter ordered for gunpowder, but due to shortage of workers, they did not fulfill the requests. They asked for

⁸¹ BOA, KŞS 172, p. 27, h. 32.

⁸² Sevda Yıldırım, *133/3 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyeye Sicili Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirilmesi*, (Kayseri Erciyes Üniversitesi, Unpublished M.A. Thesis), Kayseri 2011, pp. 160-162.

⁸³ BOA, KŞS 166, p. 34, h. 45; p. 35, h. 46. BOA, KŞS 166, p. 33, h. 44. MD 170, p. 47, h. 89.

⁸⁴ BOA, KŞS 166, p. 32, h. 43. BOA, KŞS 167, p. 118, h. 88-89.

⁸⁵ BOA, KŞS 178, p. 56, h. 89.

⁸⁶ BOA, KŞS 159, p. 37, h.2. BOA, KŞS 159, p. 50, h. 202.

their forgiveness and their faults were accepted by the government (Recep 1193/ 1779).⁸⁷ Such usefulness they showed in times of war also contributed to the continuation of the legitimacy of the ayan families.

2.3. Changes in the Social Sphere

Only military and administrative changes were not effective in gaining the power of the ayans in the sanjak of Kayseri. The social and communal upheavals that Kayseri has experienced since the 16th century have undoubtedly been of great importance for the ayans to gain power. Changes in the administrative and military order and the social events that came with caused the ayans to come to the fore.

There are records in the history of Naima stating that the effects of the Celali and Abaza Pasha rebellions in Kayseri sanjak.⁸⁸ In a doctoral thesis, the main damage caused by the Celali riots was that the people left their villages and migrated to the city center or the western parts of the country.⁸⁹ While trying to suppress the Celali riots, another rebellion took place in and around Kayseri: the Abaza Mehmet Pasha rebellion. This rebellion, which they started by moving from the Kayseri plain, caused the sanjak to be even more uncomfortable.⁹⁰ As a result of a number of socio-economic irregularities and undermining state authority, many illegal initiatives and events occurred in the sanjak of Kayseri. The most important of these are the events of banditry.

It is known that in the events of banditry, which are mentioned in the edicts such as “celali, türedi, kapusuz levendat, haramzade, eşkiya”, the old power and capability of the state did not remain and it received help from the notables in the region in order to suppress it. In other words, towards the middle of the 18th century, as a result of the increasing complaints about the bandits from all over the empire to the center⁹¹, the support of the region’s mütesellim⁹² and ayans were sought to prevent the banditry movements.

One of the best examples that can be given that the central government’s demand from the local notables in suppressing the banditry incidents caused them to increase their power and influence in the region is the *Deli Emir* incident. It is an important case that ended with the assignment of mutasarrıf Çerkes Hasan Pasha for the treatment of the bandit, the outbursts of the bandit known as Deli Emir, who disturbed the sanjak with his bandits for a long time. This bandit attacked the court with 30 people in 1194 (1780). Kadı İsmail and former mutasarrıf of Kayseri Osman reported the situation to the center. As a result of the investigation, it was

⁸⁷ BOA, KŞS 160, p. 8, h. 2.

⁸⁸ Naimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Na'imâ*, C. 1, haz.: Mehmet İpşirli, Türk Tarih Kurumu Publishing, Ankara 2007, p. 173.

⁸⁹ Emine Güldüoğlu, *Osmanlı Merkez- Taşra İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVII. Yüzyılda Kayseri Sancağı*, (Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Phd Thesis), Kayseri 2011, pp 179-181. Besides, another study claims that two-thirds of Kayseri villages are evacuated. Hüseyin Cömert, *19. yüzyılda Kayseri*, Mazaka Publishing, Kayseri 2007, pp. 18-19.

⁹⁰ Mücteba İlgürel, “Celali İsyanları”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C. 7, İstanbul 1993, pp. 252-257.

⁹¹ For details look at: BOA, *A.DVN. ŞKT.*, d. 1007, p. 20, h.1. (The clause includes the complaint of bandits by Derviş Beşe in Ordu sanjak). Another example is written to Anatolian governor. BOA, *A.DVN. ŞKT.* d. 1008, p. 3, h.1.

⁹² For example: “*Kastamonu sancağında Taşköprü kazâsi sâkinlerinden Bayraktaroğlu Hüseyin ve Gümüşlüoğlu Mustafa ve Şerif ve Korfuluoğlu Hacı Mustafa ve Deli Hasan nâm şakilerin kendü hâllerinde olmayup ser-cem'iyet ve hevâlarına tâbi' nice eşkiyâyı başlarına cem' ve bin yüz elli beş senesinden berü ehl-i ırz makûlelerinin ırzların hetk ve bi gayr-ı hakk emvâl ve eşyâların cebren gasb ve gâret ve ibâd-ı müslimîne gadr ve te'addi ve tecâvüz etmek âdet-i müstemirreleri olmağla bâ fermân-ı âli tahsilî lâzım gelen nice teklifin ta'tiline bâ'is ve kendüleri dahi vermeyüp nice dürlü illet ve bahâne ile avk ve te'hîr eylediklerinden mâ'adâ medîne-i Kastamonu'da sâkin kassâb tüccârından üç beş nefer kimesneler âhar mahallerden yedi yüz mikdarı koyun bey' ve mübâya'a ve medîne-i mezbûrede ibâdullâha bey' için getirirler iken esnâ-yı râhda Taşköprü kurbunda mahalde önlerine iniüp şakî-i mezbûrlar yüzden mütecâviz koyuların cebren alıp sonra çobanların dahi başlarını darb etmiştir.*”. BOA, A. DVN. ŞKT, d. 1006, p. 6, h.2.



revealed that the bandits were in the vicinity of Göz, which is 7 hours away from Kayseri, and they attacked the poor with their rifles and seized 1233 guruh with the intention of *tarik-i sedd-i katl*. The center ordered these people to be captured and given the money back to their owners.⁹³ For identification of the bandits who escaped from the incident, an assembly was consisted from the important ayans and notables of the sanjak such as Gürcü Hasan Pasha, ayan Zennecizade Mustafa Ağa, Kığılmazzade Hacı Ali Efendi, ayan Bektaşzade Mehmed Ağa, and ayan Bağçecizade Feyzullah Efendi.⁹⁴ The fact that the chosen ayans were addressed in the document and demanded support in the established assembly show that their power and influence are officially recognized by the central government.

In addition to individual or small group bandits, it is known that *başiboş* (stray) and *kapusuz levents* also caused confusion and destruction in the Kayseri sanjak. The center also sent the edicts to Kayseri in order to eliminate this kind of banditry. An edict was written addressing the mütesellims and ayans of the sanjak regarding the elimination of the levend bandits who were persecuting the people in Kayseri.⁹⁵ Orders were sent to summon those who were stray bandits in Anatolia and Rumelia to their gate and maintained their service. If not, those who objected to this would be punished (H.23/11/1198- M. 8 October 1784).⁹⁶

It is known that the levends who attempted to become bandits in Anatolia undoubtedly did not act individually; they were in cooperation with any ruler of the region.⁹⁷ It was even witnessed that some ayans cooperated with the levend and protected them. For example, Osman Bey and other tribal ayans from the Karabağı tribe, who protected the stray levend bandit, were in cooperation with the notables. As it can be seen that if the same incident occurs again, they would be punished severely and the center tried to follow the events thoroughly (H. 29/04/1172- M. 30 December 1758).⁹⁸

As a result of the outbursts of the bandits and the pressure they applied, migrations occurred, and in order to prevent this, edicts were frequently sent to all parts of Anatolia by the center in the 18th century. The decrees of justice were sent to the viziers, judges, beylerbeyi, ayan and others regarding the fact that the bandits were not allowed to offend the people and that they were captured and handed over to the soldiers.⁹⁹ In addition, in the edicts published, it was stated that the ulama, voivode and the elders of the region and the people should act together to capture *erazil* and the bandits.¹⁰⁰ However, it is noticeable that the bandits and unattended levends in Kayseri from time to time cooperated with the rulers of the region, the people and their tribes. The bandits seemed to share the spoils they had gained from the looting with the ayans, notables and officers of the cities, thus ensuring their lives, albeit for a while. In addition, the ayans tried to increase their influence by creating their own household people from the stray levends they took under their protection.

In addition to individual or small group bandits and stray levends as well as some tribes that were not inhabited in any way also caused social order problems in the sanjak. Kayseri sanjak has been one of the places preferred by different tribes. In history, two hundred and eighty-four

⁹³ BOA, KŞS 161, p. 35, h.1.

⁹⁴ Ahmed Nazif, *Mirat-ı Kayseriyye* (Kayseri Tarihi), trans. Mehmet Palamutoğlu, Kayseri Özel İdaresi Müdürlüğü ve Kayseri Belediyesi Birliği, Kayseri 1987, p. 154.

⁹⁵ BOA, KŞS 156, p. 97. There many examples concerned the issue: BOA, KŞS 151, p. 98; BOA, KŞS 153, p. 103, BOA, KŞS 152, p. 213-214.

⁹⁶ BOA, C. AS., 909/39235.

⁹⁷ For detail examples: BOA, C.DH. 66/3297./BOA, C.ZB. 78/3864/BOA, C.DH., 19/903.

⁹⁸ BOA, C.DH., 281/14034.

⁹⁹ BOA, KŞS 126, pp. 141-142.

¹⁰⁰ BOA, KŞS 164, p. 55, h.1.

tribes and congregations settled in the Kayseri sanjak and its surroundings.¹⁰¹ Such intense population mobility had led to a deterioration of public order and peace in Kayseri and its environs. Due to the social discomfort caused by the problem of the inability of tribes to settle, the villagers who left their places either migrated to other cities or came under the protection of powerful and influential people in the region.¹⁰² These people later met the military forces needed by the ayans. On the one hand, the ayans who eliminated the banditry of the tribes, on the other hand, took them under their protection to increase the military power at their gates. Thus, the group that profited most from this mobility was again the ayans of the region.

In parallel with the banditry incidents and the settlement problems of the tribes, bullying movements/*mütegallibelik* in the sanjak had also increased. The vast majority of recorded incidents consist of complaints such as the tax problem, the illegal act of the administrators and local notables and the seizure of the peasants' property. Although the leading roles in the incidents of bullying increasing in the 18th century were generally undertaken by rulers such as sancakbeyi, voivode or qadi, the number of ayans is too many and not be underestimated.

The ayans increased their wealth with illegality by engaging in bullying activities. Since the middle of the 18th century, when the internal turmoil in Anatolia increased considerably, the number of people who were members of the ayan, involved in bullying activities was increasing. They personally appointed themselves as kethüda and collected unfair taxes. For example, according to the edict of 1748, it has been recorded that some ayans in Kayseri have appointed 3 people who have been bandits as kethüda for 5-10 years. These kethüdas traveled and collected 40-50 pouches (kese) of akçe from the public and received signature books from the qadı in order to take 100 akçe from the singles. Since no one interfered with these bullies, they continued their violence freely.¹⁰³ Even at the end of the 18th century, it was seen that the notables and ayans in the Kayseri region took unjustly excessive taxes from the people by resorting to the path of bullying.¹⁰⁴

2.4. Changes in the Economic System

There are comments that the ayans emerged by taking advantage of the depression and authority gap that the Ottomans were in and reconciling with a fairly thoughtful game of balance.¹⁰⁵ In addition to all these factors mentioned above, Keyder, on the other hand, attributes that the biggest effect in the emergence of ayanlık is the tax farming system and that ayans who were the owner of tax farming gained the right to collect taxes throughout the 18th century, just like in France. Thus, “a dangerous status was created in which a legitimate position that allowed the collection of the agricultural surplus could be turned into political power”:¹⁰⁶ Ayanlık.

¹⁰¹ Mustafa Keskin ve Metin Hülagü, *Geçmişteki İzleriyle Kayseri*, Erciyes Üniversitesi Publishing, Erciyes 2007, p. 141.

¹⁰² Muhammet Karakaş, *XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Kayseri (1750-1775)*, (Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Phd Thesis), Kayseri 1997, pp. 142-150.

¹⁰³ Yücel Özkaya, “XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında”, p. 670.

¹⁰⁴ BOA, *C.ML*, 269 / 11021. According to the archive document dated March 27, 1791, after some of the bandits in Kayseri collected money from the people by force, they were complained to the court. Then, it was decided to return the money for the people. However, finding the owners of this money is a troublesome and difficult situation, thus a letter was sent to Cabbarzade, mutasarrıf of Bozok sanjak, after the prices of the camels that were previously purchased from the money were paid, remaining money were sent to the treasury. In addition, according to letter, Cabbarzade was assigned to suppress banditries not only in Kayseri but also in other regions. *BOA, MD* 201, s. 69, h. 187; s. 111, h. 349. (Mutasarrıf of Bozok sanjak was asked to eliminate the social problems caused by the bandits and the tribe in the Adana region.) *BOA, MD* 204, s.21, h. 26. (The head of Turnacı Seyyid Ömer and Serdar Ahmed and Karındaşı İsmail, who had led to social turmoil in Konya for a while. Thus, they were asked to be punished.)

¹⁰⁵ Bruce Masters, “Arap Vilayetlerinde Yarı Özerklik Güçler”, *Türkiye Tarihi 1603-1839*, Ed. Suraiya Faroqhi Kitap Publishing, İstanbul 2016, p. 230.

¹⁰⁶ Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar*, İletişim Publishing, İstanbul 2017, p. 25.

As a result of the events that occurred in the classical land system, land management started to be operated the first with tax farming and then with malikane system. Considering the wealth of the ayan families¹⁰⁷ in Anatolia, it is seen that tax farming and malikane system have a very important place. However, it cannot be said that these practices are the primary factor in the economic development of Kayseri ayan families like Ankara ayans.¹⁰⁸ The main reason for the fact that these practices are not the primary factor in the economic development of Kayseri notables is that the rate of other administrators of the sanjak is high among those who receive mukataa in the Kayseri sanjak when compared to ayans.¹⁰⁹ In addition, it has been determined that the most mukataa owners among the Kayseri ayan families are the Zennecizades, which is the most basic indicator of this is the complaint documents sent to the center about them.

The administrative duties they undertook in the Kayseri sanjak also played a crucial role in their economic enrichment. The task of collecting taxes brought by the duty of mütesellimlik also caused the ayans to stand out. In addition, the notables, resorted to some illegal ways by collecting extra funds other than the tax amounts determined by the state. For example, Zennecioglu Mehmed Agha, one of the rulers appointed as a mütesellim to the Kayseri sanjak, took more than 500 pouches (kese) akçe from the public by force while collecting taxes (H. 29/08/1175- M. 25 March 1762).¹¹⁰ Although this situation was tried to be prevented in the center, the problem was not solved and thus the ayans increased their wealth with unfair gains.

Kayseri is one of the sanjaks where the practice of arpalık, which is an important factor in the economic empowerment of ayans, is widespread. There are examples in Kayseri şeriyye registers that many arpalıks were allocated to castle guards, pashas and ayans from that region.¹¹¹ Since the arpalık owners in Kayseri were not in the region, the mutasarrıfs of the region (usually those who became ayan later) took their places. Murtaza Pasha had chosen a deputy to manage the province on his behalf and deal with tax revenues such as arpalık until he comes to power with the timar assigned to him as arpalık in the şeriyye registry; that person was Kalaycızade Mustafa, one of the residents of Kayseri, who was appointed as a mütesellim of the region.¹¹² Kalaycızade Mustafa would later be among the strongest ayans of the region. As can be seen, with the arpalık application, the ayans of the region had achieved certain tasks.

Another factor in the economic strengthening of ayans is that they were engaged in commercial activities. Immanuel Wallerstein, one of the important theorists, attributes the economic strengthening of the ayans to their involvement in commercial agriculture.¹¹³ Although Wallerstein's thesis is partially valid for Western Anatolia and the Balkans, the same

¹⁰⁷ In the doctoral dissertations concerned the sancaks of İçel and Konya, the malikane system plays a very important role in the economic empowerment of the local notables in these regions. Ensar Köse, “*Ayanlar Çağında İçel Sancağında Sosyal Hareketlilik*”, (Phd Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi), İstanbul 2013. Eşref Temel, “*Konya’da Ayanlık (1639-1839)*” (Phd Thesis, Selçuk University), Konya 2017.

¹⁰⁸ Mustafa Kaya, *18. Yüzyılda Ankara’da Ayanlık ve Ayan Aileleri*, (Hacettepe University Phd Thesis), Ankara 2008.

¹⁰⁹ For the detailed information, look at the thesis of the author: pages between 221-228.

¹¹⁰ BOA, C.DH. 214/10677. One of the clauses registered in the book that Abaza Mehmet Pasha demanded more money (app. 13 000 guruh) from the inhabitants during tax collection. (20 July 1746).

¹¹¹ Yıldırım, *133/3 Numaralı Kayseri Şer’iyye Sicili*, pp. 131-135. Document number in the sicil: BOA, KŞS 133, p. 249, h. 561; p. 249 h. 562 “...hâlâ ber vech-i arpalık Kayseriyye sancağına mutasarrıf olan emirü’l-ümerâil kirâm Mûrtazâ Paşa -edemâllahü teâlâ ikbâlihu-...” In 1742, Murtaza Pasha, who was the guardian of the Van fortress, was given arpalık from the Kayseri sanjak. According to the letter addressed to Kayseri kadı, local notables, the Pasha requested that the *imdad-ı seferiyye* (emergency expedition) had to be collected and then sent to him as he had a lot of expense during his duty. BOA, KŞS 133, p. 249, h.562. Another example, Ali Pasha who was Anapa guardian and mutasarrıf of Ankara sanjak, (BOA, *Cevdet Dahiliye*, 262/13064 (1218 M 27) then became mutasarrıf of Kayseri sanjak. Arpalık from Kayseri was given to him. BOA, KŞS 159, p. 28, h. 52.

¹¹² Yıldırım, *133/3 Şer’iyye Sicili*, pp.158-159. Origin number in the record: BOA, KŞS 133, s.264, h. 582.

¹¹³ Immanuel Wallerstein, “Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research”, *Research Foundation of SUNY, Review* (Fernand Braudel Center), vol. 2, No. 3, Kış 1979, pp. 389-398.

cannot be said for all Anatolia. It is known that some ayans, such as Karaosmanoğulları, grew stronger by getting rich through big farms/çiflik rather than tax farms and malikane system. Even the income of this ayan family from farms has outpaced the income of the tax farm-malikane. However, such large farms have never been encountered in the sanjak of Kayseri.

Although there are very few groups of the ayans engaged in trade within the borders of the Empire, it is seen in the records that the Kayseri ayans were active in the field of trade compared to other ayans, and even ayans of the sanjak established commercial relations with each other. Due to the commercial position brought by the sanjak, ayans have dozens of shops in the important bazaars and squares of the city. It has been revealed in the waqfiyya documents of the ayans that they deal with professions appropriate for the commercial opportunities and activities of the city, such as a bakery shop, a tin shop, a locksmith shop, a jewelry shop, a coffee shop, a blacksmith shop, and a barbershop.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

As Mehmet Genç points out, eighteenth century is worth researching on its own, and a great contribution has been made to this era by recent revisionist historians. The biggest contribution made is undoubtedly the end of the regression/collapse paradigm and the re-interpretation of events, institutions and actors with a different interpretation of history. One of the studies discussed in this context is the issue of ayanlık, which occupies an important place among the power holders in the center and the province. In order to better understand and explain the ayanlık that deeply influences the administrative, financial and social order of the empire, it is necessary to address some issues such as who they were and how they were chosen, and then to answer the question of how they got stronger and left their mark on the century. In other words, it is necessary to focus on how the ayans have seized socio-political supremacy and gained influence in the province.

In our research, a general assessment of the discussions on ayanlık was made and some of the problems specific to Kayseri sanjak were discussed again. One of the issues that could not be agreed upon between researchers on the subject is the selection of ayanlık. No official document has yet been found that Kayseri ayans were appointed by the order of governor or grand vizier. As ayanlık was seen as a defacto formation, the documents on the appointments were not official and it is a natural result that they were not recorded in the judicial registers when considered in this context. Kayseri ayan appointments did not occur with orders, and it was always seen that those who were elected depending on the will of the people were appointed without orders.

Another debatable point concerned ayanlık is the emergence of ayanlık in the Ottoman Empire. It can be said that the traces of ayanlık can be seen in the Kayseri sanjak in early dates, based on the claims of the mutasarrıf Burhaneddin and İshak Efendi at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. When we look at the social origin of the Kayseri ayans, it can be said that they were from the merchant and soldier classes. Titles such as sayyid /sadat were used in all the ayans of Kayseri and such religious and scholarly titles enhanced the status of the ayans in the society.

Changes in administrative, military, financial and social foundations have contributed to the formation and development of ayan in the sanjak of Kayseri. As a result of administrative problems occurring in the Empire since the end of the 16th century, the powers of governors were restricted and the ayans took on important roles under a number of administrative duties such as muhassil, voivode, mütesellim because of the gap that arose. In the sanjak of Kayseri, ayan appointed as muhassil or voivode was not encountered. Kayseri ayans, rather, increased

¹¹⁴ In detail you can look at the author doctoral thesis.

their influence in the sanjak by taking on mütesellimlik and mültezimlik duties. The frequent appointment and dismissal of mutasarrif in the Kayseri sanjak or their absence due to their duty, contributed to their autonomy and independence. Considering that more than four mutasarrifs were appointed in a year, the ayans, who became mütesellim due to the authority gap arisen in the sanjak, were strengthened by taking advantage of it.

The central government, which remained in a difficult position in the face of long wars and financial difficulties that followed in the 18th century, took advantage of the military power of the ayans when it became unable to meet the needs of soldiers, and recruiting soldiers in the province were largely carried out through the ayans. Especially after the second half of the century, supplying military labor by ayans became more frequent. The military power of the ayans was not demanded only in times of war. The military power of the ayans was also used to suppress the great social events that occurred in the Empire. This situation has shown that the ayans' power and influence in the local area have been accepted, and have paved the way for the ayans to become even stronger.

Social events resulting from changes in the military and administrative areas also directly affected the roles of the ayans in the province. As a result of social disorganization, the people of the district were subjected to bandit incidents for a long time. As a solution to the problems of public order caused by those who were bandits in the form of individual or group, as well as the bullying movements/mütegalibelik, kapusuz and stray levents and tribes that could not be inhabited in the sanjak, ayans were again resorted to. In order to respond to the demands of the central government to ensure administrative and social security, the ayans organized a military force who were largely composed of the levents, stray rebels and tribal members. Thus, on the one hand, the ayans who responded to the demand for the suppression of the bandits, on the other hand, cooperate with them, which means that their legitimacy is recognized by the central government in some way. Kayseri ayans, in addition to trying to prevent the unrest caused by the bandits, attempted to gain power in the region with the bandits they gathered under their patronage. This ambivalent situation has further increased the influence of the ayans.

One of the most important factors that increase the power and influence of Kayseri ayans is their role in financial and economic activities. In addition to the mültezimlik and mütesellimlik duty that opens the door to their economic strengthening, it can be shown that they acquire mukataas through tax farming and malikane system. This situation has also led to them being active in the commercial area as owners of any real estate, such as dozens of shops, houses, vineyards and mills in the center. The commercial advantage brought by the region is of great importance in the economic rise of Kayseri ayans.

Overall, as a result of research, it can be said that Kayseri ayans clearly reflect the social, political, administrative and financial transformation of the Empire that can be traced from the 17th century as a result of their social roles, administrative and military duties and regional powers they acquired. In addition, when the geography, demographic and economic structure of the sanjak take into consideration, it can be seen that they have a unique character.

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