

Local Gentry in Mid-19th Century Turkey: The Case of the Karaosmanoğlu Family of Manisa

NAGATA Yuzo

Setting the Problem

Within the research done to date on the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire, the 18th century has been called the “age of the *ayans*” [İnalçık & Quataert 1994: 637–758], “*ayan*” referring to local prominent figures who acted as intermediaries between the state and their local societies. The *ayans* who appeared throughout the Empire in Anatolia, the Balkans and Arab territories from the mid-18th to the early 19th century were able to bring their local communities under their control and from time to time even exert a great deal of influence on the central administration. After bringing the Ottoman-Russian War to an end in 1812, Mahmut II (r. 1808–39) turned his attention towards reviving centralized rule through the suppression of the *ayan* class, making possible an era of reform between 1839 and 1876, which in Ottoman history is referred to as “Tanzimat” (reorganization). In this writer’s opinion, what the *ayan* class lost as a result of Mahmut II’s oppressive policies was their political influence stemming from tax farming rights that were indispensably linked to local bureaucratic appointments, while they managed, even after Tanzimat, to retain their social and economic power based on landownership and the establishment of religious foundations (*vakıf*).¹⁾ On the other hand, the turn of the 18th century saw the expansion of trade relations between the Empire and the countries of Europe, in particular Great Britain, which culminated in the signing of the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838. According to the research done by Turkish economic historian T. Güran [1998: 58] on western Anatolia, a region very responsive to foreign market demand, agricultural production there quadrupled between 1845 and 1876, while exports increased five-fold.

The aim of the present article is to describe the real situation of regional society which was changing both politically under Tanzimat and economically in the midst of foreign trade expansion, in particular, the cir-

cumstances of one *ayan* family of the Manisa region, the Karaosmanoğlu Family, through an analysis of a document called the “Temettuat (Income) Register” that was compiled based on income surveys conducted by the central government in 1845 among both urban and rural residents as one part of its reform programs. The research is meant not only to contribute to the area of *ayan* studies, which has been a major focus in the study of Ottoman history, but also to offer a global comparative perspective on the ranks of all people and families of local distinction and esteem—the English gentry, Japanese *gono* and Chinese *xiangshen*—all of whom played very important roles in the history of the world during its transition to modernity.

1. The Manisa Region and the Karaosmanoğlu Family Up to the Middle of the 19th Century

The Manisa region of Anatolia is conducive to the cultivation of various agricultural crops and animal husbandry due to its two different ecological habitats of rich plains and surrounding hills. These products have led to the development of such cottage industries as textile weaving, leather-craft and dying. Administratively, the region, which in Ottoman times was located in the district (*sancak*) of Saruhan within the province (*eyalet*) of Anadolu, was called Şehzade Sancağı (the district of princes), because during the 16th century, princes of the House of Ottoman were appointed governors (*sancakbeyi*) of the district; and the district capital of Manisa proper was the home of a palace (*saray*), mosques, schools (*medrese*), public baths (*hamam*) and bazaars. In 1571, the city was divided in 34 quarters (*mahalle*) and boasted a population of between 7 and 8 thousand inhabitants.²⁾ However, from 1592 on, royal princes were no longer dispatched to Manisa, as Saruhan became a normal district whose governor was dispatched from Istanbul. Then beginning in 1627, the position of governor of Saruhan District became what could be called a title of honor for members of the Ottoman Court with local taxes awarded to them as stipends (*arpalık*). For this reason, the administration of Saruhan was entrusted to a deputy governor (*mütesellim*) dispatched by the title holder. Finally, from the 18th century on, deputy governors were no longer dispatched, but rather appointed from among the members of the local elite [Nagata 1997: 41].

This last development arose from fact that Manisa had become a bed of political unrest throughout the 17th century [Uluçay 1944], and

it was under these conditions that the Karaosmanoğlu Family first rose to fame. From the appointment of Hacı Mustafa Ağa as deputy-governor of Saruhan in 1743 until the death of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa in 1816, the Karaosmanoğlu Family was able to expand its authority beyond Saruhan into Aydın District to the south and Karası District to the north, becoming the leading *ayans* of the Empire, establishing control over the eastern coastal region of the Aegean Sea. During this golden age the foundations of the Karaosmanoğlu Family's power and fortune were formed from tax-farming rights over the majority of the taxes collected from the inhabitants of Saruhan, large-scale farms (*çiftlik*) planted on Manisa's fertile plains³⁾ and the development of a regional infrastructure based on the Islamic system of religious foundations (*vakıf*).⁴⁾

Although the family suffered a great setback upon the death of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa in 1816 with the confiscation (*müsâdere*) of its property, as the Kel Mehmed rebellion, which broke out in 1829, spread throughout western Anatolia, the Ottoman government was forced to rely on the Karaosmanoğlu Family to govern the region and maintain law and order, resulting in the successive deputy-governorships of Yetim Ahmed Ağa, Hacı Eyüb Ağa and Küçük Mehmed Ağa. In 1840, the year after the implementation of the first Tanzimat reforms, the tax-farming system was abolished in favor of tax collectors (*muhassıl*) dispatched directly from the central bureaucracy, which resulted in cadastres of the wealth and incomes of all villagers and urbanites and the compilation of the Temetuat Register (hereafter Register). However, the experiment was doomed to failure due to both local opposition and a dearth of personnel able to do the collection work, resulting in only a few Registers being compiled and a return to tax-farming in 1842; therefore, the compilation of a new Register in 1845 for that purpose was made possible through the cooperation of local leaders.⁵⁾

The Register for the Manisa region was compiled between July 1845 and March 1846 [Gökmen 2008: 73]. Since this Register is a source providing us with detailed hard data concerning such facets of regional life as demography, social organization, occupational structure and agricultural production, it has already appeared several times in the research to date on the Manisa region⁶⁾ dealing with the economy and society of certain sub-districts (*kaza*). However, in order to place the Karaosmanoğlu Family within the context of social change occurring during the period, it is necessary to investigate and analyze the content of all 66 volumes of the Register dealing with Manisa proper and the surrounding villages of

Manisa Kaza.⁷⁾ It should be mentioned here that the Register provides us with detailed data, but covers a very limited time, the one year of 1845, and therefore is not a source for time series analysis of the whole period in question. Therefore, in order to supplement the Register data, documents recorded by the Islamic Law Courts located in the major cities of the Empire will be used, and in the case of the Manisa Court, they are very plentiful and excellent sources for studying the Karaosmanoğlu Family.

2. The Capital City of Manisa and the Karaosmanoğlu Family as Seen in the Register

1) The Ethnic Distribution of the Population of 44 Quarters of the City

The city of Manisa possesses a landscape of dwellings stretching from the mid-slope of Mt. Manisa in the west into the flatland bordering Manisa Plain, and in its upper part there is a castle wall that has stood since antiquity. Looking down on Manisa from this wall, there is the Great Mosque (Cami-i kebîr) in the foreground, and one can discern how the Turks who conquered the city gradually moved from the mountain slope to settle in the area around its foot and beyond. Turkish cities are usually composed of communal living spaces, called *mahalle*, with mosques in their centers. As of 1845, exactly how many of these quarters existed in Manisa is unclear, but the Register records at least forty-four. However, a traveler to the region in the mid-17th century by the name of Evliya Çelebi tells us that at that time, there were 60 quarters in the city of Manisa, the district capital of Saruhan [Evliya Çelebi 1935: 69], which means that the sources at our disposal do not provide data for all of Manisa's quarters. With this in mind, let us look at the quarters for which there are data as of 1845.

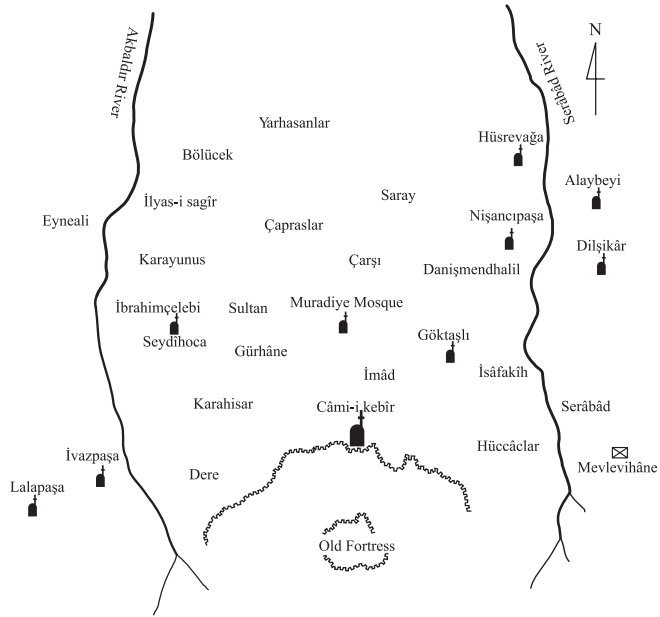
To begin with, according to F. Emecen [1989: 55] the population of Manisa in 1832 was around 25,000; however, French traveler B. Poujoulat [1840: 92] tells us that the city was populated by 70,000 Muslims, 1,000 Rum (Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire), 1,000 Armenians and about 400 Jewish households. On the other hand, E. Gökmen, who has calculated the amount of money and time spent compiling the 1845 Register of Saruhan District, estimates the population of Manisa at 25,629, which is almost identical to Emecen's figure, leading us to conclude that Poujoulat's figure was grossly overestimated.

Table 1 Male Population of 44 Quarters According to Ethnic Origin

Quarter	Muslim	Rum	Armenian	Jewish	Total
Alaybeyi	494	1	—	—	495
Baba Kuyusu	79	—	—	—	79
Bektaş-ı kebîr	126	40	—	—	166
Bektaş-ı sagîr	216	31	1	—	248
Bölücek-i cedîd	84	26	—	—	110
Cami-i kebîr	98	41	—	19	158
Çapraslar-ı kebîr	116	182	—	—	298
Çapraslar-ı sagîr	97	77	—	—	174
Çarşı	73	—	—	—	73
Çengi-zâde	28	27	—	57	112
Danışmendhalil	160	12	—	—	172
Dere	47	—	—	—	47
Derbişali	147	125	—	—	272
Deveciyân	192	15	—	—	207
Dilşikâr	249	—	—	—	249
Ermeniyân-ı bâlâ	—	—	158	—	158
Eyneali	145	42	51	—	238
Göktaşlı	80	—	—	—	80
Gürhâne	178	45	—	7	230
Hâkibaba	156	—	—	—	156
Hüccâclar	51	—	—	—	51
Hüsrevâğa	175	1	—	—	176
İbrahim Çelebi	143	21	—	—	164
İlyas-ı kebîr	101	13	17	—	131
İlyaslar-ı sagîr	103	20	—	—	123
İmâd	59	—	—	—	59
İsâ Fakîh	51	—	—	—	51
İvazpaşa	135	—	—	5	140
Karahisâr	45	1	—	—	46
Karayunus	135	16	—	—	151
Lalapaşa	149	—	—	—	149
Nasırlı	22	—	—	—	22
Nifli-zâde	87	—	—	—	87
Nişancıpaşa	109	5	—	—	114
Recaî	56	—	—	—	56
Rumiyân	—	70	—	—	70
Sâkiler	45	3	—	18	66
Saray	70	309	—	—	379
Saz	164	—	—	—	164
Serâbâd	81	—	—	—	81
Seydihoca	46	—	—	—	46
Sultan	93	3	—	—	96
Yahudiyân	—	—	—	153	153
Yarhasanlar	264	115	—	—	379
Toplam	4,949	1,241	227	259	6,676

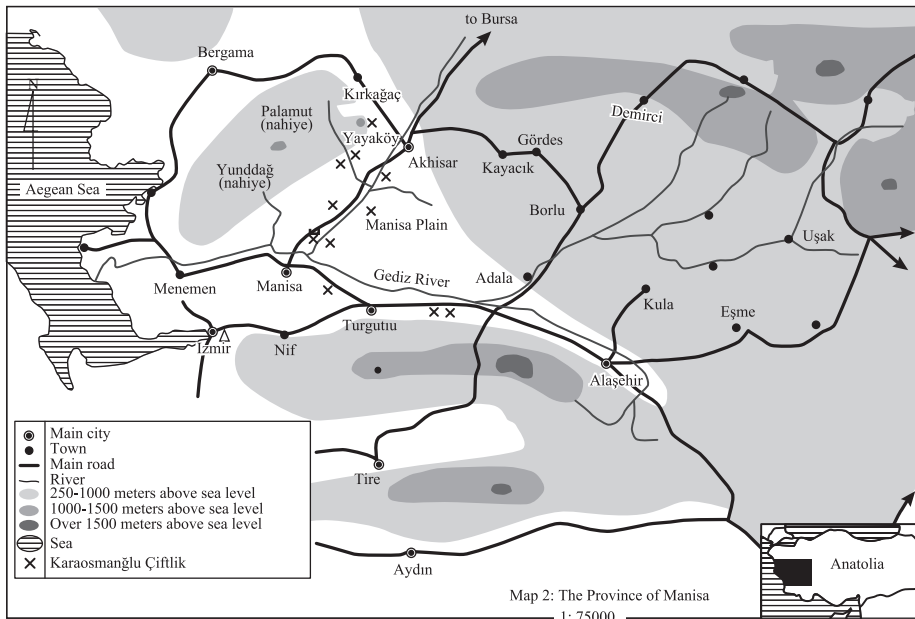
All the research to date analyzing the Register agrees that the standard for estimating population in the city's quarters is the numbered address given to each household (*hâne*). However, the Register records no household numbers for 9 out of the 44 quarters, making that standard virtually useless to us. On the other hand, the Register does contain all of the numbers (*numara*) given to the individuals surveyed. With a few exceptions, all of the numbered individuals are males, hence the results of Table 1. Estimating the average yearly income of the residents of each quarter based on these population figures, we find that in only 17 out of 44 quarters did individuals, regardless of religio-ethnic affiliation, earn more than 1,000 *kuruş* (piastres). The real value of the *kuruş* at that time was 12.5 *kuruş* = 1 *kile* (25.65 kg) of wheat, 70 *kuruş* = 1 head of sheep [Nagata 1997: 166]. Table 1 also tells us that the Rum, none of whom resided in Manisa in the 16th century, were widely distributed throughout the city in 1845 and lived together with Muslims. They had long inhabited Morea (Peloponnesos) under the Ottoman rule, but attained independence in 1829 and formed a Greek monarchy in 1832. Nevertheless, many Rum continued to live in regions under Ottoman control. According to Manisa Law Court documents [MŞS 256: 24], in 1821, the year that the war of independence broke out in Morea, there were riots in Manisa, in which several people were killed, including a Muslim judge (*kadı*). It seems that the rioting was not directly related to the Greek fight for independence in Morea [Uluçay 1955: 94–95]; however, among the Rum who had moved to Manisa from Morea and were hired to work on the Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftlik* [Nagata 1997: 125–128; Gürpınarlı 2004: 524], several were executed (or possibly murdered) and others fled the city [MŞS 257: 93, 113; 258: 56, 143].

It warrants interest that despite such outbreaks of social unrest, many Rum and Muslims coexisted in the quarters of Manisa. For example, much later on in 1856 the gentry of Manisa submitted a letter (*mazbata*) to the governor of İzmir Province promising to guarantee the safety of non-Muslim residents. The letter [MŞS 314: 38] dated 25 April had 25 signators, at the top of which we find the names Yahya Ağa and İzzet Bey, both members of the Karaosmanoğlu Family. They were both appointed to the post of *kapıcıbaşı* (chief door keeper of Topkapı Palace), a bureaucratic post which the central government often utilized to coopt *ayans* into the system [Uzunçarşılı 1945: 406]. Among the signatures are the names of two Rum bishops, a representative of the Armenian community (*millet*) and a Jewish community leader (*hahambaşı*) bearing witness to the fact



*Not all of the quarters of Manisa as of 1845 could be located due to a lack of geographical sources.

Map 1 Location of 27 of the 44 Quarters to Manisa Listed in Table 1*



Map 2 The Province of Manisa

that non-Muslims were indeed being protected [MŞS 314: 38].

Concerning Manisa's Armenian inhabitants, they were also absent from the city in the 16th century, but in 1845, many were concentrated mainly in the exclusively Armenian quarter of Ermeniyân-ı bâlâ [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02291]. The majority of the inhabitants were weavers (*çulha*) earning an average yearly income of 541 *kuruş*. Another 51 Armenians were residing in Eyneali Quarter with an average yearly income of 900 *kuruş* and 17 in İlyas-ı kebîr Quarter (940 *kuruş*), mixed in with Muslim and Rum households. Jewish households are found in six different quarters, not only in the exclusively Jewish quarter of Yahudi-yân (949 *kuruş*), but also 57 in Çengizâde (731 *kuruş*), 19 in Cami-i kebîr (1,049 *kuruş*), 18 in Sâkiler (1,008 *kuruş*), 7 in Gürhâne (607 *kuruş*) and 5 in İvazpaşa (506 *kuruş*) [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16179]. More detailed research on the Jewish community using the Register has been done by F. Emecen.⁸⁾

2) Occupational Structure

First, let us look at the industries and ethnicity of people earning incomes of more than 2,000 *kuruş*, an amount well over the less than 1,000 *kuruş* average for Manisa as a whole. This is because in order to consider the kind of society that was evolving in the mid-19th century, it would probably be most effective to try and understand the kind of people who were becoming wealthy by being able to take advantage of the current situation. Table 2 lists only those occupations from the register earning over 2,000 *kuruş* that were characteristic of the times. The Muslim textile merchants and Jewish drapers and silk manufacturers in Table 2 were in the traditional high end goods occupations indigenous to Manisa. Incidentally, Muslim and Armenian weavers, the workforce that formed the base of this industry, with average incomes of 500–700 *kuruş*, were concentrated in the Lalapaşa and Ermeniyân-ı bâlâ Quarters, respectively [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 2277]. Deeply involved in this industry from cotton planting to finished goods was none other than the Karaosmanoğlu Family, whose member Hacı Mustafa Ağa owned a total of 73 weaving shops, 16 in Sultan Quarter [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16178], 18 in Lalapaşa, and 39 in Nasırlı Quarter [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02288], in addition to 46 raw cotton warehouses [Nagata & Emecen 2004: 29]. However, Hacı Mustafa Ağa's two *çiftlik*s did not grow cotton; rather the raw cotton was levied in kind from cultivators through

his tax farming rights and then marketed for cash [Nagata & Emecen 2004: 29–32; Veinstein 1976: 76].

The occupations of tanner (*debbag*), blacksmith (*demirci*), farrier (*nalband*) and saddler (*saraç*) found in the ranks of the wealthiest citizens were monopolized by Muslims with nomadic roots who formed guild-like associations.⁹⁾ The tanners, many of whose incomes exceeded 1,000 *kuruş*, were congregated in Serâbâd Quarter on the banks of the river of the same name and in Hüccâclar Quarter [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 2277]. Those who earned over 2,000 *kuruş* were also earning additional income from the arable land they owned. The Rum dyers (*boyacı*), who belonged to another traditional industry of Manisa, were concentrated in Cami-i kebîr Quarter. Many member of the city's Jewish community were involved in commerce, as wealthy drapers and silk manufacturers, but also as peddlars (*çerçi*). One member in particular, Avram from Khios living in Yahudiyân Quarter, deserves attention for the *çiftlik* that he owned in Kırkağaç (Karâsi District). The importance of Kırkağaç will be touched upon later on, but Avram seems to have been earning 8,400 *kuruş* on just "trade" (*ticâret*) alone [Emecen 1997: List 4]. The only Armenians that we know of from the Register who were in the 2,000 and above income category were the bishop of the local Armenian Orthodox Church and Sadık Bey's money changer in Table 2.

The above facts constitute ample proof that at the stage of the mid-19th century, the city of Manisa, an industrial and commercial center dating back to the 16th century, was blessed by prosperous traditional businesses and thriving social organization. In contrast, there is data of a geopolitical nature that places Manisa within the context of the hinterland of İzmir, the port of trade which was the gateway for agricultural products grown in various fertile plains of Turkey to be transported both domestically throughout the Empire and overseas. The occupation related to this fact is none other than cultivator (*erbâb-ı zirâat*) listed in Table 2. The 73 cultivators listed there were widely diffused throughout the 44 different quarters. Many of the cultivators were employed in other occupations, like our tanner above, who also owned agricultural land, income from which reflected the relative size of total income. This was the same in the town of Aydın, where there was no clear boundary between its urban and agrarian sectors [Hayashi & Aydın 2004: 219]. The cultivators of Manisa tended to concentrate in the city's lowest lying quarters touching the surrounding plains; for example, Alaybeyi, Nişancıpaşa and Dilşikâr, which also had large populations of day laborers (*urgat*) and servants (*hizmetkâr*)

who worked in the fields. There is a record dated 1685 mentioning a quarter of the city named “Deveciyân,” which is not seen during the 16th century. Although we do not know the specific location of this quarter, its appearance from the mid-17th century is no doubt related to the rise of İzmir as a port town. In 1845, instead of Deveciyân Quarter, the camel drivers of Manisa tended to reside in quarters bordering on the plains like Alaybeyi, Dervişali, Bölücek-i cedîd, Hüsrevâğa and Yarhasanlar.¹⁰⁾

Table 2 Occupational Structure and 2,000 *kuruş* and Above Income Earners According to Religio-ethnic Origin

Occupation	Muslim	Rum	Armenian	Jewish	Total
Abacı (Seller of woolen goods)	—	2	—	—	2
Ağıl kâhyası (Butler)	—	6	—	—	6
Bahçevân (Gardener)	—	5	—	—	5
Bakkal (Grocer)	1	21	—	—	22
Bezzâz (Textile merchant)	28	—	—	—	28
Boyacı (Dyer)	—	2	—	—	2
Çuhacı (Draper)	—	2	—	—	2
Çulha (Weaver)	4	—	—	—	4
Debbağ (Tanner)	12	—	—	—	12
Demirci (Blacksmith)	3	—	—	—	3
Deveci (Camel driver)	10	—	—	—	10
Duhancı (Tabacconist)	2	5	—	—	7
Duhan rençberi (Tobacco grower)	—	5	—	—	5
Erbâb-ı zirâat (Cultivator)	68	5	—	—	73
Haffâf (Shoemaker)	5	—	—	—	5
Hancı (Inn-keeper)	6	—	—	—	6
Kahveci (Coffee seller)	2	—	—	—	2
Kazzâz (Silk manufacturer)	—	—	—	5	5
Keresteci (Woodsmen)	5	3	—	—	8
Manifaturacı (Draper)	5	1	—	12	18
Meyhâneci (Tavern-keeper)	—	11	—	—	11
Nalband (Farrier)	5	—	—	—	5
Sarrâf (Money changer)	—	—	1	—	1
Sisam yağcı (Seame oil merchant)	—	6	—	—	6
Tüccâr (Merchant)	8	3	—	2	13
Total	164	77	1	19	261

Before the Karaosmanoğlu Family made Manisa its base of political activities in 1743, when Hacı Mustafa Ağa was appointed to the post of *mütesellim*, it was settled from a life of nomadism in the village of Yayaköy in the northeastern part of the region, and was occupied in agriculture and animal husbandry, in particular camel raising [Nagata 1997: 25–26].

Incidentally, family members Osman Ağa-zâde Ahmed Ağa, his mother, Yahya Ağa, the 15 year old son of his brother Ali Ağa and one Ataullah Ağa were all living in Deveciyân Quarter.

The year 1845, in which the Register was compiled, marked a time when the Ottoman Empire was experiencing an expanding market economy seven years after the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention (*Baltalimanı Muahedesi*). Of course, the occupations that would be most sensitive to an expansion in foreign trade would be inn-keepers (*hancı*), merchants (*tüccâr*) and grocers (*bakkal*), who provided accommodations, commodities and storage facilities to caravans. All of Manisa's wealthier inn-keepers were Muslims. For example, Hancı Hacı Mehmed Ağa of Sâkiler Quarter not only managed an inn, from which he earned a yearly income of 5,000 *kuruş*, but also earned an additional 15,000 *kuruş* from 233 *dönüm* (1 *dönüm* \doteq 940m²) of fields producing grain and another 9 *dönüm* producing madder (*kökboya*), bringing his total income to 21,144 [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02288: 10]. Here is one example of a person who lived in town, while earning the largest portion of his income in the rural agrarian sector. At this time, madder was one of the top items of merchandise on the list of agricultural products being exported from Turkey to Great Britain [Kasaba 1988: 122–123, Table A.2; Bailey 1942: Table 8], and one Mustafa Efendi of Gürhâne Quarter, a purveyor of European goods, was earning 3,000 *kuruş* selling madder alone [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16178: 35]. We will return later to the subject of madder, which is a crop that was widely grown throughout the Manisa region.

The city's grocery business, which Table 2 reveals was overwhelmingly dominated by members of the Rum community, is one example of an occupation offering the opportunity to rise in society through the acquisition of land or commercial establishments due to dealing in cash on a daily basis. For example, one grocer, Bakkal Penako of Bölücek-i cedîd Quarter, a grocer making 5,000 *kuruş* per year from that business, raised his total earnings to 11,034 *kuruş* through the ownership of 149 *dönüm* of arable land [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02311: 67]. In the midst of the growth in demand for tobacco products during that time, the roles of tobacconists and tobacco growers were important. According to an edict sent to the Manisa Law Court dated 27 Şevvâl 1231 H (20 Sept. 1816), merchants carrying Manisa-grown tobacco were on the increase at the Tobacco Customs House in İzmir [MŞS 251: 7–8; 264: 49]. The Register counts a total of 12 residents involved in the tobacco business, which was

also dominated by the Rum community, with only 2 Muslims (10 Rum and 2 Muslims in Table 2). For example, one Rum tobacconist of Saray Quarter enjoyed a gross biennial income of 20,960 *kuruş* aided by 38 *dönüm* of tobacco fields, 9,432 *kuruş* of which he owed to a business partner, bringing him a net income of 7,702 *kuruş* [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02283: 11]. This example reflects a Rum joint venture investing in the bright prospects offered by the growing tobacco business, prospects which were noticed by other Rum businessmen in other cash occupations like groceries, sesame oil sales and tavern-keeping, who also invested in tobacco.¹¹⁾ Moreover, it was in this way that ethnic consciousness was being raised in Manisa's Rum community. The Law Court documents tell us that in 1844, the year before the Register was compiled, there was a sesame oil dealer of Çapraslar-ı kebîr Quarter who upon his death left 98,254 *kuruş* with a provision in his will to donate 6,000 *kuruş* for the relief of the poor in the Rum community [MŞS 282: 145].

3) Mehmed Sadık Bey, Head of the Karaosmanoğlu Family

At the time of the survey leading up to the compilation of the Register, the governor of the district of Saruhan was Mehmed Sadık Bey of the Karaosmanoğlu Family [Uluçay & Gökçen 1939: 57; Nagata 1997: 56–57], who was residing in Göktaşlı Quarter, near the center of Manisa proper [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02288] with his wife, mother and paternal uncle, Yakub Paşa. In other words, the Göktaşlı residence was the Family's headquarters and the political center of Manisa at that time. As indicated by his name, Yakub Paşa was a figure who was serving in a ministerial position and boasted a record of several provincial governorships (*valilik*).¹²⁾ On the occasion of the death of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa in 1816, he went to Istanbul to facilitate the procedures involved in the confiscation of the deceased's estate and became involved in the central government. One of the methods the government adopted in order to weaken the power of *ayans* in local society was to appoint them to central government posts and thus sever their relationships with their hometowns.¹³⁾ This is why Yakub Paşa was not a prominent figure in the Manisa region, owned no *çiftlik*, but holding only a few pieces of real estate, like commercial establishments.

Due to the nature of the information that it provides, the Register does not enable one to grasp the whole picture of the Göktaşlı residence or the Family's wealth. However, that information can be supplemented

by an estate inventory (*muhallefât defteri*) for Sadık Bey compiled in 1862 upon his death [MŞS 314: 33–43; 320: 148–150]. According to this document, the Göktaşlı residence was equipped with an assembly hall (*meclis odası*), an interrogation room (*istintâk odası*), a courtroom (*zabt-ı dâvâ odası*) and a guest room (*misâfirhâne*), meaning that it functioned as the Manisa city hall. Other assets listed included two large clocks that announced the time (worth 1,000 *kuruş* and 3,000 *kuruş*, respectively), a two-horse riding coach (1,500 *kuruş*), a pair of mares (2,000 *kuruş*) and another coach for the harem (500 *kuruş*). The estate's financial liabilities included debts of 18,282 *kuruş* owed to architect Mimar Anton, 88,640 *kuruş* to a physician by the name of Kalnor (?), who resided in İzmir, 135,780 *kuruş* to an İzmir merchant, 18,338 *kuruş* to a European tailor and 3,839 *kuruş* to Jovani, a pharmacist. With the exception of the İzmir merchant, all the creditors were European nationals. All of the items in the estate inventory indicate the extent to which Sadık Bey was entrenched in a westernized lifestyle that was being imported from Europe through the gates of İzmir. There was a stable within the confines of the Göktaşlı residence for keeping 7 riding horses, 15 pack horses, 5 mules for hauling, 11 donkeys and 8 camels, the last of which indicates that the Family managed a caravan.

From the time of Hacı Mustafa Ağa, the Family developed an especially close relationship with the port of İzmir, to and from which its caravan transported agricultural and animal commodities to two large inns located in the port's central district [Nagata 1997: 155–158]. The net worth of Sadık Bey's estate came to 3,660,297 *kuruş*, an amount greatly surpassing the approximately 2.5 million *kuruş* that had been confiscated in 1816 from Hacı Hüseyin Ağa at the height of the Family's career.¹⁴ However, we must also take into account changes in the cost of living that occurred over that 45-year period between the deaths of the two Family heads. One *kile* of wheat in Hacı Hüseyin Ağa's time cost 6 *kuruş* and a head of sheep 15 *kuruş*, while during the time of Sadık Bey the price had risen sharply to 12.5 and 70 *kuruş*, respectively [Nagata 1997: 166].

Returning to the Register, there Sadık Bey is recorded as earning 8,653 *kuruş* per year from 810 *dönüm* of cropland and 19 commercial establishments. In addition, he owned real estate in the town of Turgutlu expected to earn an annual income of 8,665 *kuruş*, bringing his total income for that year to 17,318 *kuruş*. However, this amount is merely based on the record concerning Göktaşlı Quarter and thus does not account for any income earned from his *çiftlik*s in rural Manisa. The Register tells us that while managing the above property, Sadık Bey was also supporting

a number of followers (*tabaası*) who conducted the administrative affairs of his household, three of whom were residing in Göktaşlı Quarter and employed as a secretary (*kâtib*) earning a yearly salary of 1,200 *kuruş*, an accountant (*vekîl-i harc*) earning 1,179 *kuruş*, and a coffee server earning 600 *kuruş*. Five more persons described merely as *tabaası* were residing in Karayunus and Sâkiler Quarters earning annual salaries of 720 *kuruş* [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02273]. Finally, he employed an Armenian money changer (*sarrâf*) who resided in İlyas-ı kebîr Quarter and was paid 3,500 *kuruş* per year. Since the task of a money changer was to lend “advances” (*muaccele*) to prospective tax farmers to pay the levies required in obtaining tax farming rights, it was an occupation central to the tax farming system; and upon the death of any *ayan*, his estate would inevitably owe a large debt to a money changer [Nagata 1997: 200–201]. In the case of this particular money changer, being on Sadık Bey’s payroll, he probably had no other clients.

The Karaosmanoğlu Family traditionally held the post of deputy-governor (*mütesellim*) of Saruhan district, which entitled the holder to enjoy the very profitable rights of tax farming [Nagata 1997: 72–73]. Although the research to date cites such rights as a major factor in the acquisition of wealth and power by *ayans* in general [e.g., İncik 1983: 126], between 1811 and 1839, the government limited those rights regarding every kind of levy solely to governors, deputy-governors and tax collectors (*voyvoda*) appointed by the central authorities, thus closing such opportunities to the *ayan* class as a whole. As a matter of fact, this move proved to be a powerful tool in the government’s centralization efforts [Genç 2000: 157–158]. In the case of the Karaosmanoğlu Family, in 1830 Küçük Mehmed Ağa, then deputy-governor of Saruhan had contracted with the Imperial Mint (*Darphâne-i âmiri*) to collect 38 different kinds of tax and consequently earned a profit of 243,377 *kuruş* [Nagata 1997: 79–86]. To this writer’s knowledge, this was the last time that the Karaosmanoğlu Family tax farming activities were recorded.

As mentioned previously, the tax farming system was abolished in 1840, but due to opposition on the local level and a lack of tax collecting personnel, but more than that, due to the difficulty involved in collecting tithes in kind, converting them to cash and then delivering the money to the state treasury, the tax farming system was re-instituted just two years later in 1842. Therefore, there is a distinct possibility that Sadık Bey as the governor (*kaymakam*) of Saruhan was granted tax farming rights and earning profits from them, but our Register does not contain any information

about him earning that kind of income. However, there must have been residents of Manisa proper earning income from tax farming. For example, one Halil Ağa of Göktaşlı Quarter was earning 4,500 *kuruş* per year as a “professional tax farmer,” a certain resident of Karayunus Quarter had taken on the collection of the inland customs tax (*ihtisâb*) for the amount of 1,700 *kurş*, and one Ali Efendi of Danişmendhalil Quarter was earning 5,000 *kurş* from tax farming and retailing [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02300: 2]. These examples indicate that as of 1845 there were at least a few residents of Manisa earning incomes from tax farming. Therefore, we must conclude that if Sadık Bey had been involved in tax farming, his earnings would have been recorded, since as the most prominent public official in the region it would have been impossible to conceal such activities. We cannot but think that even if tax farming did continue during the Tanzimat era, the practice would have come under stricter state control than previously, making it impossible for the *ayan* class to monopolize it any longer.

One more important cornerstone of the Karaosmanoğlu Family’s influence and authority in Manisa society was provided by the *vakıf* system of religious foundations, based on philanthropic activities. According to the 17 *vakıf* documents (*vakfiyyes*) for nine members of the Family available to this writer, the Karaosmanoğlu Family had constructed 6 mosques, 9 schools (*medrese*), 33 fountains (*çeşme*) and 4 bridges; and in order to maintain and manage these structures, had donated 574 real estate assets in İzmir, Manisa, Turgutlu, Kırkağaç, Bergama and throughout the rural areas, including inns (*han*), apartments (*hâne*) for Europeans, Rum and Jews, and grocery shops (*bakkal*) [Nagata 2005: 294]. Consequently, parts of infrastructure of İzmir, Bergama and Kırkağaç had been prepared by Karaosmanoğlu *vakıf* activities [Nagata 1997: 155–163]. Of the nine *donars* (*vâkıf*), the earliest included Hacı Mustafa Ağa (d. 1755), Polad Mehmet Ağa (d. 1806) and Hacı Osman Ağa (d. 1800), while the last was Küçük Mehmed Ağa (d. 1843).¹⁵ In the background to such huge generosity using privately acquired wealth lay the distinct possibility of personal property being confiscated by the Ottoman central government. For example, Hacı Osman Ağa, whose father Ataullah Ağa, former deputy governor of Saruhan, became a fugitive pursued by the government and died on the run in 1766, fearing his property would be confiscated, made two donations in 1793 and 1798 comprising the greater part of his wealth to the maintenance of the schools, libraries, fountains and bridges that he had built. After the death of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa in 1816, Küçük Mehmed Ağa

made large donations the following year in the midst of serious efforts to crack down on the Karaosmanoğlu Family under Sultan II Mahmud's centralization policy.¹⁶⁾

The sudden end to the Karaosmanoğlu Family *vakıf* activities with Küçük Mehmed Ağa was probably related to the central government deciding to cease the practice of confiscating the property of the *ayan* class, which was the subject of an edict dated 11 Muharrem 1242 H (15 Aug. 1826) and sent to the Manisa Law Court [MŞS 262: 58]. While it is unclear whether or not the government kept its word, as far as the members of the Karaosmanoğlu Family are concerned, its property would never again be subjected to the threat of confiscation.¹⁷⁾ It should be added that under the *vakıf* system, donated assets were theoretically to be held in perpetuity in the stewardship of the *vakıf* managers (*mütevelli*) in accordance with the conditions stipulated by the donator (*vâkıf*). Therefore, all the mosques and other facilities constructed, maintained and managed by the Karaosmanoğlu Family continued to be guaranteed thereafter as amenities to be enjoyed by the local populace. Charles MacFarlane, who visited the town of Kırkağaç in 1828, describes the prosperous condition of the local cotton markets, mentions the Karaosmanoğlu Family home there as a "veritable royal palace," and comments on the inn (*han*), where he stayed, and the local mosque, hospital and public fountains as "attesting to the [Family's] wealth and their munificence" [MacFarlane 1829: 173]. As a matter of fact, from the time of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa, the Karaosmanoğlu Family had built many shops in Kırkağaç and made a huge contribution to the town's infrastructure through their *vakıf* activities there [Nagata 1997: 160–161].

The items related to *vakıf* recorded in our Register are limited to naming Yakub Paşa as the administrator (*mütevelli*) of the real estate donated by the late Polad Mehmed Ağa and that donated by Sarı Ahmed Paşa, worth 36,803 *kuruş*. From the turn of the 20th century, the *vakıf* institution would be placed under state control, then abandoned altogether, but the fruits of the system continue even today to provide convenience and accommodations to both the traveler and the local populace.

The Register records a total of 17 people in the 44 quarters earning over 10,000 *kuruş*, excluding Sadık Bey, who we have seen made 17,318 *kuruş* in Manisa and Turgutlu. Of them there were four owners of *çiftlik*s, six cultivators (*erbâb-ı zirâat*), two inn-keepers (*hancı*), one grocer (*bakkal*), one merchant (*tüccâr*), one tobacco seller (*duhancı*) and two clerks (*kâtib*). For example, upon his death just after the Register was compiled, the

estate inventory of Müderris-zâde Mehmed Bey of İbrahim Çelebi Quarter, who earned 39,177.5 *kuruş* from 1,610 *dönüm* of cropland [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16179: 55], relates that he owned fields, a total of 59 *dönüm* in size, growing 2 to 5 year old madder worth an estimated 55,000 *kuruş*. The total worth of his estate is put at 106,238 *kuruş* [MŞS 294: 204–210]. Hacı İbrahim Ağa-zâde İsmail Efendi recorded as residing in Çarşı Quarter [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16178] was the owner of 2,859 *dönüm* of land, 750 of which was pasture and 8 given over to madder that had been planted in 1260 H. His name tells us that he was a descendent of İbrahim Ağa who served as the agent of the Karaosmanoğlu Family in the village of Yayaköy from the time of Hacı Mustafa Ağa. His annual income is estimated at 13,319 *kuruş*, while that of his brother Ahmed Efendi came to 12,049 *kuruş* from 2,757 *dönüm* of fields and 750 *dönüm* of pasture. The tobacco seller was a member of the Rum community living in Saray Quarter, cultivating 38 *dönüm* of tobacco and earning a total of 12,418 *kuruş*, including 2,500 *kuruş* in retail tobacco sales. The existence of such wealthy citizens reflects a situation in which the power and influence of the largest landowner in the region, the Karaosmanoğlu Family, is being gradually neutralized by the appearance of rivals.

3. The Karaosmanoğlu Çiftliks and Agrarian Conditions Described by the Register

1) The Çiftliks

The Register covers only a total of 98 villages in the rural areas of Manisa Kaza. A yearbook (*salname*) of Aydın Province for 1308 H states that there are 223 villages in the Manisa region [İbrahim Cavid 2010: 577], meaning that either there was not enough time to survey much of the agrarian region before the submission deadline of end of March 1846, or else this writer's data collection was insufficient. However, fortunately for our purposes here, the Register does include data from many of the villages on the Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftliks*. Let us begin there, and then move on to other villages.

The Karaosmanoğlu Family owned eight *çiftliks*, named Mütevelli, Koldere, Harmandalı, Hamzabeyli, Yazıcı Çullusu, Hacıhaliller, Çobanisa and Papashı, respectively.¹⁸⁾ Let us begin our analysis with in what way the expansive fields (*tarla*) making up the *çiftliks* were used. The Register divides fields into two categories: those directly managed by the owner,

called *mezru tarla* (sown field) and those rented to others by the owner, called *kiraya verdiği tarla*.¹⁹⁾ Although there was also pasture (*mera*) and fallow (*gayr-ı mezru tarla*) in a *çiftlik*, we will confine the analysis to the Register's two categories of field, taking up the case of Sadık Bey's Çobanisa Çiftliği [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16177]. Çobanisa Çiftliği was comprised of 780 *dönüm* of sown fields and 1,654 *dönüm* of rented fields, and the former generated 17,604 *kuruş* of income, 12,204 in 1260 H and 5,400 in 1261. All of the Register's income figures concerning sown fields are biennial, meaning that the survey records the 1260 H harvest, which had already been concluded and the tithe paid, and an estimate of the 1261 harvest. The reason for the large discrepancy in the incomes for the two years is probably due to the Turkish dual field rotation system, which alternated between cultivation and fallow every other year. From the fact that the tithe on the 1260 income of 12,204 *kuruş* was levied at 1,516 *kuruş*, we know that the tax rate was 12%. The income from the 1,654 *dönüm* of rented fields came to a mere 2,481 *kuruş*, one-fifth the income for double the acreage; in other words, 16 *kuruş* per *dönüm* of sown fields vs. 1.5 *kuruş* per *dönüm* of rented fields. These sown fields were managed by four Muslim "servants (*hizmetkâr*)," who were paid 300 *kuruş* a piece per year, the only income which they received. What exactly the "service" that these four men performed is unclear, since they could not have cultivated fields totaling about 73 hectares by themselves. We can only conclude that the sown fields were cultivated by peasants residing within Çobanisa Çiftliği, because if they had come from the outside they would have been recorded in the Register as such along with the income they earned there, like the four "servants." Therefore, in addition to the four servants, the sown fields were possibly being cultivated by men from among the 21 day laborers (*ırgat*) and 29 servants who were recorded as residing in Çobanisa Çiftliği in possibly some kind of wage labor arrangement.

However, there is another possibility, stemming from the fact of the extremely low cost of renting the other fields on the *çiftlik*. Rather than a wage labor arrangement, it is clearly possible that the sown fields were being cultivated free of charge by the *çiftlik*'s 26 professional cultivators (*erbâb-ı zirâat*) in exchange for the use of cheaply rented fields. The Register is silent on this subject, but the research done by this writer indicates the existence of unpaid labor on the Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftlik* managed by Hacı Hüseyin Ağa. In an report sent in 1801 by Francis Werry, the British consul-general of the Levant Company stationed in İzmir to the home office in London, we find the statement, "tenant farmers, who,

after working the *ayan*'s field for a certain number of days each week, were then free to cultivate their own plots" [Frangakis-Syrett 1992: 6–7]. In support of this statement, there is another document pertaining to Karaosmanoğlu Family member Hüseyin Efendi from the late 19th century regarding land which he sold to one J.B. Paterson. The document states that the residents on the land in question, who customarily worked 6 days per person a year for the landlord—i.e., two days plowing with a team of oxen, two days sowing and two days harvesting—insisted that they were not obliged to perform the same service for a foreigner [Nagata 1997: 125–128]. Our Register records this same Hüseyin Efendi as a resident of Manisa's Çapraslar-ı kebîr Quarter and the owner of Yazıcı Çullusu Çiftliği, earning 30,577 *kuruş* in 1260 from 1,200 *dönüm* of sown fields (25 *kuruş* per *dönüm*) and 2,500 *kuruş* from 1,000 *dönüm* of rented land. We assume that the sown fields at that time were still subject to the six days of unpaid labor by the cultivators of the rented land, and according to the research done by Gürpınarlı on this particular *çiftlik*, the names of the cultivators indicate that they were Rum who had immigrated from such places as the Morea (Peloponnesos) and the Balkans [Gürpınarlı 2004: 514]. Therefore, there is the distinct possibility that the same arrangement existed on the six of the eight Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftlik*s, including the above-mentioned Çobanisa Çiftliği and Yazıcı Çullusu Çiftliği, and Sadık Bey's Mütevelli Çiftliği, Yahya Tevfik Ağa's Papashı Çiftliği, İzzet Efendi's Hamzabeyli Çiftliği and the 320 *dönüm* of sown fields owned by the mother of Ahmed Ağa located on Hacıhaliller Çiftliği.²⁰⁾ However, the situation was different on İzzet Efendi's Harmandalı Çiftliği and Sadık Bey's Koldere Çiftliği.

Turning to what crops were grown on the Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftlik*s, those that Gürpınarlı has studied [Gürpınarlı 2004: 525] mostly consisted of wheat, barley and beans, with only a small amount of cotton, concluding that these estates were not cultivating marketable commodities. This mix of crops was the custom for all the wealthy cultivators throughout the Manisa Plain [Nagata 1979: 752], and the cotton made up the raw material for Manisa's cottage weaving industry [Emecen 1989: 72–82]. While Gürpınarlı does not mention Çobanisa Çiftliği specifically, wheat and barley were the main crops there, as well; however, we also find a total of 18 *dönüm* of madder fields. Seedlings were planted in 1259 and 1261 in anticipation of harvest four or five years in the future.²¹⁾ Therefore, the Register of 1845 reports no income from that crop, but we do know that one *kantar* (56.4 kg) of madder, the top export item to Great Britain, would

bring about 300 *kuruş* on the market at that time. Other Karaosmanoğlu Family madder holdings included the 2,439 *dönüm* of sown fields owned by Ataullah Ağa of Deveciyân Quarter, cultivated in one unknown location by 38 residents of Manisa proper and an additional 3 *dönüm* in another [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02300: 40–42]. Since these fields were planted in 1260, the Register records no income from them; however, according to the estate inventory dated 21 March 1848 on the occasion of Ataullah Ağa's death [MŞS 289: 185; 292: 191–199; 293: 109–111], 45 *kantar* (2.5 tons) of madder that he planted on Hacıhaliller Çiftliği had brought in 6,300 *kuruş*. This document finally reveals the location of the above-mentioned sown fields. The best known madder plantation is Papaslı Çiftliği located in the present day village of Halitpaşa, where after World War I, Karaosmanoğlu Family member Halit Paşa made a last stand against the Greek troops occupying Manisa and was eventually “martyred.”²²⁾ According to the Register, this Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftlik* owned by Yahya Tefvik Ağa consisted of 1,700 *dönüm* of sown fields and 1,500 *dönüm* of rented fields, in addition to 35 *dönüm* of madder, 5 of which was planted in 1259 and expected to be harvested in 1264, 15 of which was planted in 1260 to be harvested in 1265 and another 15 of which was to be planted in 1261 and harvested in 1266 [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02284: 17–18]. Although no income was recorded during survey of 1261, large amounts of revenue were expected from 1262 on. The above three examples indicate that the Karaosmanoğlu Family was managing its *çiftlik*s to a certain extent within the scope of cash crops and market economy [Nagata 1997: 130–136; İncalcık 1983: 114–119] and that cultivators in the Manisa region had finally realized that planting madder was very profitable.

Next let us turn to conditions under which the residents of these *çiftlik*s lived. At Burunören, Hamzabeyli, Yazıcı Çullusu and Hacıhaliller, the residents were of a religio-ethnic mix of Muslim and Rum, while at Mütevelli, Koldere, Harmandalı, Çobanisa and Papaslı they were solely of Rum descent, there being no purely Muslim *çiftlik* among any of the estates. The occupations of most of the residents were agricultural and divided among cultivator (*erbâb-ı zirâat*), tenant (*şerik*), day laborer and servant, the first of which is the most important for the purposes of this article. However, the Register divides them further into three types: 1) owners deriving their income from sown fields only, on the average around 60 *dönüm* in size, 2) tenants deriving their income solely from fields rented from the Karaosmanoğlu Family and 3) owner-tenants deriving their income from

both sown and rented fields. For example at Çobanisa Çiftliği, which was inhabited only by Rum, in addition to the 780 *dönüm* of sown fields “managed” directly by Sadık Bey, there were 1,642 *dönüm* of sown fields in the hands of 26 other cultivators, 21 in category 1) and 5 in category 3). It is those in category 1) who are of interest here, one of whom owned sown fields exceeding 100 *dönüm* in size. This group of 21 cultivators had successfully advanced his position from tenant (*serik*) into the class of independent landowners. We know this because all the Rum residents had immigrated from Morea and the Balkans to western Anatolia to work on the Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftliks* [Nagata 1997: 127–128] and therefore could not have owned any land on their arrival. The transition of cultivators from tenant to owner was a phenomenon most notable on Karaağaçlı Çiftliği, the most important of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa’s *çiftliks*. Although this *çiftlik* is listed in the Register, no member of the Karaosmanoğlu Family is associated with it [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02285: 2–16]; rather, from the information provided by the Register [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02285: 22], we find that the *çiftlik* came into the possession of one Mehmed Ağa bin Ahmed Ağa, the treasurer (*hazinedâr*) of a military commander-in-chief (*serasker paşa*). However, it would later come into the possession of Sadık Bey by some unknown means, since it is listed on his estate inventory dated 1862.

Karaağaçlı Çiftliği was occupied solely by Rum peasants, one of which was the steward (*kâhya*) of a sheep corral (*ağıl*) who owned 830 *dönüm* of sown fields and 800 *dönüm* of pasture land, while employing five tenants [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02285: 15]. The *çiftlik*’s acreage was divided into large plots of sown and rented fields; for example, 337, 330, 310, 293, 201, 198 and 143 *dönüm* in size. Of them, there was 130 *dönüm* of sown fields that were purchased and put into cultivation in 1262 [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02285: 4]. Unlike the corral steward, they did not employ tenants, but rather workers from among the 23 day laborers and 8 servants who resided on the *çiftlik*. These facts indicate a rather well stratified community of Rum residing in what the Register refers to as the “*çiftlik* village,” meaning that the community had gained administrative autonomy and had gone through an administrative transition from “*çiftlik*” to “village” on the taxpayer rolls.

Turning to the Muslim residents of the *çiftliks*, first, the 15 Muslims living at aforementioned Yazıcı Çullusu were all tenants renting their fields from the owner Hüseyin Efendi, while its 75 Rum were living and working under the same conditions described above for Çobanisa and Karaağaçlı

[Gürpınarlı 2004: 513–517; BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02304]. The most important *çiftlik* Muslim population was the 43 residents of Hacıhaliller Çiftliği with names like İfraz, Gündeşli and Kuşçu, which indicate nomadic affiliations. The headman of the İfraz tribe owned 60 *dönüm* of sown fields and rented another 70 *dönüm* from the Karaosmanoğlu Family, employing two tenants. The members of the Gündeşli tribe, who were more concentrated in the camel transport business than agriculture, also made up an old 110 household community around the village of Selendi under headman Hasan Bey, in addition to a 51 household community around Burunören Çiftliği, a 73 household community in the vicinity the Karaosmanoğlu Family's Mihaili Çiftliği and another 321 household community around the Village of Alibeyli [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02316]. The fact that the Gündeşlis had settled in the environs of the two *çiftliks* of Burunören and Mihaili suggests some kind of connection to the Karaosmanoğlu Family. According to a Law Court document dated 5 Zilhicce 1235 H (13 Sep. 1820), the tax revenue collected from the Gündeşlis was originally allocated to the maintenance of Haremeyn, (i.e., the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina), which were governed directly by the Ottoman Sultanate. However, due to the oppressive tactics of tax farmers, the tribe had been disbanded and forced to take up such occupations as *çiftlik* tenant farmers and soldiers (*levend*) in the private militias of provincial governors [MŞS 254: 161–159]. This information suggests that the Karaosmanoğlu Family played an important role in the settlement of nomadic peoples and their subjection and assimilation under Ottoman state rule [Uluçay 1955: 80–85].

2) Rural Agrarian Conditions

Let us depart momentarily from the Karaosmanoğlu Family *çiftliks* to take a broader look at conditions in the agrarian region of Manisa in the context of this article's main problematic. To begin with, the Manisa plain, where the Karaosmanoğlu *çiftliks* were concentrated, is one of the most fertile regions in Turkey and was home to residents of such prosperous villages as Saruhanlı, Kepenekli, Mahfiller, Doğanhisarı and Alibeyli, earning incomes exceeding the 1,000 *kuruş* average for the region. The most typical of such villages, Saruhanlı, was established through the settlement of the nomadic tribe of the same name. As of 1845, the village was populated by 170 Muslim households and boasted an average yearly income of 1,431 *kuruş*. There were a total of 32 wealthy cultivators

earning over 2,000 *kuruş* by virtue of 640 *dönüm* of sown fields owned jointly by Karaosmanoğlu Family members Yakub Paşa and Sadık Bey and earning 7,200 *kuruş* annually [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02292: 40]. The average income of Kepenekli village was 1,403 *kuruş* with 9 residents earning 2,000 *kuruş* or more, while Alibeyli averaged 1,646 *kuruş* and boasted 20 residents in the 2,000 *kuruş* and above bracket [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02293, 02294]. While the Muslim cultivators of these prosperous villages planted mainly wheat and barley, an examination of the content of the tithe paid the year before the register in 1260 H reveals that wealthier cultivators with incomes exceeding 1,000 *kuruş* had planted small amounts of cotton, which marked a common pattern throughout the Manisa plain. We also find 15 Rum residents of Saruhanlı with a cultivator heading the tithe list paying 529 *kuruş*, including a cotton tax of 84 *kuruş* and a madder tax of 108 *kuruş*. The madder tax was paid on an income of 972 *kuruş*, revealing an 11% rate, which was the same rate as the grain tax. We are also informed that this particular cultivator owned an additional 4 *dönüm* of unharvested madder and expected a total income of 3,577 *kuruş* that year [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02292: 41]. He was the only resident of the village who had invested in the madder cash crop, but there were 3 Rum grocers earning over 1,000 *kuruş* solely from their commercial establishments. This particular aptitude for the grocery business among the Rum suggests the presence of an important opportunity to realize upward mobility in the agrarian region [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02292: 43–44].

Let us turn next to the uplands located to the northeast of the Manisa plain. Compared to the plain, the uplands villages were smaller and more numerous, where nomadic peoples had recently settled, some still residing in tents. Looking beyond Manisa Kaza, the uplands of the whole Saruhan district are seen to be located on the border with inland Anatolia and form a mountain region consisting of such *kaza* as Uşak, Kula, Demirci and Gördes, whose most thriving industries are traditional rug making, leather-craft and dying.

Keeping such topography in mind, let us look at Manisa Kaza's Palamut Nahiyesi, on whose northern edge sits the village of Yayaköy, the hometown of the Karaosmanoğlu Family, which unfortunately is not recorded in the Register. In Palamut Nahiyesi, whose climate and soil are well suited to madder growing and thus abounded in it, there was the village of Üçhavlı, whose headman (*muhtar*) earned an income of 3,000 *kuruş* from madder sales [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02287: 31]. On

the other hand, the village *muhtar* of İlyas, a medium-scale cultivator with fields totaling 41 *dönüm*, harvested 4 *kantar* of madder, which earned him 1,200 *kuruş* out of his total income of 2,641 [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02287: 38]. This data enables us to reconfirm that the price of one *kantar* (56.4 kg) of madder was indeed 300 *kuruş*. In this village resided wealthy Muslim cultivators growing a balanced crop mix of madder and grain, together with seven Rum residents, four of whom earned their living from the grocery business. The wealthiest of the four, who actually resided in Kırkağaç, owned madder fields in İlyas with a harvest of 92 *kantar*, and earned 27,600 *kuruş* [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02287: 58]. It seems that madder cultivation was very popular among the residents of Palamud Nahiyesi, as local, probably Kırkağaç-based, Muslim, Rum and Armenians, numbering 203, 23 and 6, respectively, were acquiring land and planting it with that profitable cash crop.²³⁾ The town of Kırkağaç had already developed into one of Manisa's most prosperous commercial centers thanks to the aforementioned efforts of the Karaosmanoğlu Family.

As the result of the expansion of trade with the countries of Europe, in addition to the rapid rise in demand for madder (called "Turkey red"), valonia (*palamud*), used as a catalyst in dying and tanning, had also drawn attention as an important commodity being exported out of İzmir [Kasaba 1988: 122–123, Table A; Bailey 1942: Table 8]. There is an edict sent to a *kadı* of Manisa in November 1826 emphasizing the importance of valonia in Istanbul's leather industry (2 million kg. per year were being consumed by the ship building, arms and saddle industries) and permitting export of only surplus supplies of the raw material [MŞS, Def. 262: 100]. According to the research done by F. Çolak [2004: 89–90], 73% of the world's supply of valonia, tannines from the calyx of which were widely used in the leather, dying and pharmaceutical industries, was being provided by the coastal region stretching from the Büyük Menderes River basin of western Anatolia to the Marmara Sea. Moreover, while valonia became an important raw material for the thriving Ottoman leather industry during the 17th and 18th centuries, with the decline of that industry at the beginning of the 19th century, valonia was converted into one of the Empire's most important export goods.

The Register records one Şerif Ağa, the father of the headman of Pelitalanı village in the uplands of Yunddağı Nahiyesi southwest of Palamud Nahiyesi around Mt. Sultan, who in addition to 344 *dönüm* of sown fields, managed a 10 *dönüm* valonia oak grove, earning a total of 4,069.5 *kuruş* from these holdings [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 2281: 13]. While

valonia did not generate a great amount of income for those cultivators who planted groves, it was still an important source of cash in a mountainous region with limited space for field crops. Most of the data on valonia provided by the Register concerns Borlu Kazası, located in the southeastern hill region of Saruhan District. Borlu was the location of as many as 40 settlements (577 households) populated by small groups of the former nomadic Şeyhlü people, many of whom owned valonia oak groves, each about 5 *dönüm* in size [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16031: 5–111], one *dönüm* being able to accommodate about 25 trees [Çolak 2004: 89–90], which no doubt turned Borlu into a veritable valonia forest. The Register records one Şeyh-zade Abdülhalim Bey, the headman (*müdür*) of Borlu cited as a member of “a very old and respected family,” and from his name probably the chieftain of the Şeyhlü tribe. Abdülhalim Bey held 730 *dönüm* of sown fields and also raised animals, including 13 camels, from which he earned 2,600 *kuruş* in caravan fees. In addition he was the owner of 6 *çiftlik*s, consisting of 2,665 *dönüm* of sown fields, 4,850 *dönüm* of fallow, 2,450 *dönüm* of pasture and a 1,700 *dönüm* of valonia oak groves, from which he earned a total of 26,082 *kuruş*, 6,950 of which came from valonia [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 16033: 4–12]. There is a Manisa Law Court document regarding the Şeyh-zade Family dated Şaban 1239 H (Apr. 1824) concerning a complaint filed by an Armenian merchant residing in İzmir, claiming that a debt of 80,535 *kuruş* was incurred by the late Şeyh-zade Mehmed Bey, the former tax-collector (*voyvoda*) of Borlu and resident of an inn owned by Karaosmanoğlu Family member Küçük Mehmed Ağa in Turgutlu. The merchant demanded that the debt be paid by Durmuş Ali Kethüda, the reigning chieftain of the Şeyhlü tribe. Since the debt included a loan to cover the tax (*masraf*) owed by the residents of Borlu, it was interpreted as a debt incurred by the former tax-collector, and the merchant demanded that the residence of the deceased, five of his water mills and a 100 *dönüm* vineyard be handed over as payment [MŞS 260: 143–142]. This document also suggests that Şeyh-zade Mehmed Bey was probably exporting valonia through this İzmir-based merchant.

Conclusion

This article has been an attempt to shed light upon the fate of the Karaosmanoğlu Family, a member of the *ayan* (local gentry) class that wielded tremendous influence on Aegean Coast society between the mid-18th and first quarter of the 19th century, through an analysis of the Te-

mettuat Register, which was compiled for the Manisa region in 1845. The intent had been to place the Family within the context of social change stimulated by the Ottoman Empire's modernization policy and the expansion of international trade.

At the time of the Register's compilation, the governor of the district of Saruhan, in which Manisa is located was Karaosmanoğlu Family member Mehmed Sadık Bey, meaning the Family had assumed the political leadership of Manisa at that point in time. However, due to an incident surrounding wheat sales on the Manisa grain exchange that occurred between 1854 and 55, Sadık Bey was removed from office [Gürpınarlı 2004: 525], the Family lost its traditional right of appointment to that office and Manisa began to be subjected to the kind of centralized government control promoted in the Tanzimat reform agenda.

On the other hand, local society was going through tremendous change, due in great part to the expansion of international trade brought about under the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838. Here also the Karaosmanoğlu Family played a leading role in the marketization of local products by utilizing its *ayan* influence in the port İzmir, on whose hinterland Manisa rests. At the same time, the region's population, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, was becoming more and more sensitive to a rising foreign demand for its products. For example, as of 1845, local investment in valonia and madder for the foreign market was more popular in the uplands than on the Manisa plain. Nevertheless, within all parts of Manisa society, urban and rural alike, new social strata were being formed through the wealth provided by the expansion of trade; that is to say, tenants on *çiflik* estates were becoming independent cultivators and nomadic peoples were turning to sedentary lives and occupations, resulting in a neutralization, or relativization, of the great influence that had been wielded by the Karaosmanoğlu Family on the local level. To widen our perspective past the framework of this article for a moment, although this neutralization trend would be accelerated by the sharp rise that occurred in international demand for Turkish raw cotton after the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, the Karaosmanoğlu Family was not about to disappear from the pages of history even on that account. The Family has continued to the present day as leaders beyond Manisa in Turkish society as a whole with such outstanding members as diplomat and leading literary figure Yakub Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889–1974) and former vice-governor of the World Bank Atilla Karaosmanoğlu (1931–).

Notes

- 1) For this writer's specific research on the Karaosmanoğlu Family, see Nagata 1989, 1997 and 2005.
- 2) Concerning 16th century Manisa, see Emecen 1989.
- 3) For an internationally focused discussion of *çiftlik*, see Veinstein 1991: 35–53.
- 4) On this point, it is this writer's opinion that the research to date tends to view tax farming rights as the sole basis of the wealth and power enjoyed by the *ayan* class.
- 5) Concerning the compilation process, documentary style and historical significance of the Register, see Hayashi & Aydın 2004 and Öztürk 2003.
- 6) Öztürk 2003, Bizbirlik & Atar 2009, Bilgi 2008 and Gürpınarlı 2004.
- 7) The Register is presently held by the The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives of Turkey (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, hereafter BOA), and this writer has been able to collect the follow items from it:
BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. Nos. 02266, 02267, 02268, 02269, 02270, 02271, 02272, 02273, 02276, 02277, 02278, 02280, 02281, 02283, 02284, 02285, 02286, 02287, 02288, 02290, 02291, 02292, 02293, 02294, 02295, 02296, 02297, 02298, 02299, 02300, 02301, 02302, 02303, 02304, 02305, 02306, 02307, 02308, 02309, 02310, 02311, 02312, 02313, 02314, 02315, 02316, 02317, 02318, 8285, 02760, 02761, 02762, 02763, 02764, 09388, 15993, 16031, 16032, 16033, 16056, 16115, 16116, 16128, 16177, 16178, 16179.
- 8) The quarters inhabited by these Jews are dealt with in BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02291, no. 02288 and no. 16179. Emecen [1997: 91–97, 138–151, 178–209] has transcribed all of the Register's information about the Jewish community and also provides photographs of the original Turkish.
- 9) Concerning the organization, occupational ethics and technology of tanner, shoemaker and saddler guilds, see Gökçen 1945.
- 10) An overall treatment of these quarters contained in BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02267, no. 02286, no. 02311, no. 02312 and no. 02313.
- 11) For example, a tavern keeper (*meyhâneci*) of Çapraslar-ı sagır Quarter [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02291: 65], a tobacco seller (*duhancı*) of Rumiyan Quarter [ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02291: 57], a sesame seller (*susamyacı*) of Çapraslar-ı kebîr Quarter [ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02273: 29], a tobacco seller of Dervişali Quarter [ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02286: 20], and a tobacco grower (*duhan rençberi*) and grocer of Bölücek-i cedid Quarter [ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02311: 67, 68].
- 12) Concerning the career of Yakub Paşa, see Nagata 1997: 55–56 and the great deal of information contained in the BOA, Hat-ı Hümayunlar collection.
- 13) For example, the opinion of the government is clearly represented in an edict sent to the Karaosmanoğlu Family and dated 4 March 1813, which states.

...devlet hademesi olduğunuzdan cümlemenizi Cabbar-zâde misillü Der-i aliyye'ye celb ve sipâhi ve silâhdâr ağalıkları gibi menâsıbdâ istihdâm ederler. Sonra Aydın ve Saruhan sizlere harâm olub iltizâmât ile temittü ve intifâ şöyle dursun, bu tarafta olan külliyyetlî emlak ve 'akarâtınız bile il elinde kalub telef olur [Nagata 2005: 276]

- 14) For the complete inventory of the property confiscated from Hacı Hüseyin Ağa, see Nagata 1997: 204–272.
- 15) Concerning the Karaosmanoğlu Family *vakıf*, see *ibid.*: 143–163 and Nagata 2005: 285–294.
- 16) For details on Karaosmanoğlu Family vakıf documents (*vakfiyye*), see Nagata 1997: 273–311.
- 17) Ebubekir Ağa died on his return to Manisa from the Imperial Corps (*Ordu-yu Hümayûn*) during Receb 1245 H (Dec. 1829–Jan. 1830). The edict sent to the Manisa Law Court after his death takes pains to point out that his estate was not to be confiscated, but rather distributed among his heirs. According to the inventory of his estate dated 15 Receb H. 1245 (10 Jan. 1930) [MŞS 265: 145], he owned four *çiftlik*s, including Papaslı, and the total assets were worth 118,225 *kuruş*, which after the payment of 103,581 *kuruş* in loans, netted 14,644 *kuruş*. According to the inventory of the estate of Yetim Ahmed Ağa dated 29 April 1841 [MŞS 280: 1–11], his total assets were worth 1,827,261 *kuruş*, which after the payment of 45,681.5 *kuruş*, netted 1,625,199.5 *kuruş*. For more details on his *çiftlik*s, see Nagata 1976: 56–63. Concerning the inventory of the estate (total 395,250 *kuruş*) of Küçük Mehmed Ağa dated Muharrem 1260 H (Jan. 1844), see MŞS 282: 112–118.
- 18) These *çiftlik*s are dealt with in BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 02271, no. 02272, no. 02296 and Gürpınarlı 2004.
- 19) Mütevellî, Koldere, Burunören, Harmandalı, Hamzabeyli, Yazıcı Çullusu and Hacıhaliller are treated in detail by Gürpınarlı 2004.
- 20) The details are as follows
 - Sadık Bey's Mütevellî Çiftliği
 - 776 *dönüm* of sown fields earning 11,241 *kuruş* (14.5 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*)
 - 2,160 *dönüm* of rented fields earning 2,310 *kuruş* (1 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*).
 - Yahya Tevfik Ağa's Papaslı Çiftliği
 - 1,700 *dönüm* of sown fields earning 35,960 *kuruş* (21 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*)
 - 1,500 *dönüm* of rented fields earning 2,250 *kuruş* (1.5 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*).
 - İzzet Efendi's Hamzabeyli Çiftliği
 - 1,200 *dönüm* of sown fields earning 30,577 *kuruş* (25 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*)
 - 2,160 *dönüm* of rented fields earning 2,310 *kuruş* (1 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*).
 - Ahmed Ağa's mother's (resident of Deveciyân Quarter) Hamzabeyli Çiftliği
 - 300 *dönüm* of sown fields earning 12,190 *kuruş* (38 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*)
 - 705 *dönüm* of rented fields earning 3,525 *kuruş* (5 *kuruş*/1 *dönüm*).
- From the figures, this last estate was probably only a portion of one *çiftlik*. This is also true of the management of Hacı Hüseyin Ağa's *çiftlik*s [Nagata 1997: 119–142].
- 21) Concerning how and where madder was grown and how it was exported,

see Baykara 1964: 221–226.

- 22) Biographical data on him can be found in Su 2002, and details about his murder are contained in BOA, DH. KMS., Dosya no. 52-53, and Gömlek no. 24 (9 July 1919).
- 23) In the Register [BOA, ML. VRD. TMT.d. no. 15993: 12–58], these people are described under the heading “*Ecnebi emlakı der-nâhiye-i Palamüd*” as “*Ma-halle-i Küçük Müsâ Âğa der-kasaba-ı Kırkağaç*,” etc.

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