

AN AYAN FAMILY IN UŐAK: PAŐAOĐLULLARI HANEDANI

A Master's Thesis

by

TUĐĐE KANCI

Department of History
İhsan Dođramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
January 2017

To the memory of Fikriye and Bedia and to my parents Tülin and Tuncay



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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Dođramacı Bilkent University

by

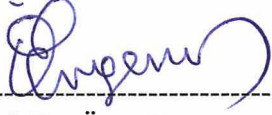
TUĐĐE KANCI

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

THE DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
İHSAN DOĐRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

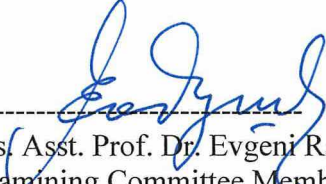
January 2017

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Vis. Asst. Prof. Dr. Evgeni Radushev
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Prof. Dr. Mehmet Veli Seyitdanlıoğlu
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan
Director

ABSTRACT

AN AYAN FAMILY IN UŐAK: PAŐAOĐULLARI HANEDANI

Kancı, TuĐçe

MA., Department of History

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Őzer Ergenç

January 2017

The purpose of this research is to investigate the history of the Paőaođulları family; a medium-scale local family that lived and flourished in Uőak in Western Anatolia. It can be said that investigating the history of the Paőaođulları family could expand the state of our current knowledge on local powers known as notables (*ayan*) in the Ottoman Empire. The Paőaođulları family was one of the *ayan* families that emerged in different regions and cities of the Ottoman Empire. The main argument of the present research is that Paőaođlu Ahmed Ađa, the first member of this family, moved into the governmental positions and brought his family to an outstanding point in Uőak, which resembled the general trends of the process of *ayanship*. However, the position he found for himself was not in close connections with political decision-making mechanisms.

Keywords: Local Notables, Nineteenth Century, Ottoman Empire, Paőaođulları, Uőak,

ÖZET

UŞAK'TA BİR AYAN AİLESİ: PAŞAOĞULLARI HANEDANI

Kancı, Tuğçe

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç

Ocak 2017

Bu araştırmanın amacı, Uşaklı Paşaoğulları ailesinin tarihini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Böylelikle Paşaoğulları ailesi örneğinde, Osmanlı'da 18. yüzyıldan itibaren ortaya çıkan ve genellikle ayan olarak bilinen yerel güçlerin durumu hakkındaki bilgilerimize katkı sağlanacağı düşünülmüştür. Paşaoğulları ailesi Osmanlı ülkesinin çeşitli bölge ve şehirlerinde ortaya çıkan ayan ailelerinden biridir. Araştırmanın temel argümanı, orta ölçekli büyüklükte olan Paşaoğulları'nın hakkında bilgi edinebildiğimiz ilk üyesinin ayanlık sürecinin genel eğilimlerine uygun olarak devlet kadrolarına katılması ve bu yolla elde ettiği güçle Uşak'ta ailesini dikkate değer bir noktaya getirmesidir. Ancak kendine yer bulduğu kadro, siyasal karar mekanizmalarıyla çok yakın ilişkide değildir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 19. Yüzyıl, Ayan Aileleri, Osmanlı Devleti, Paşaoğulları, Uşak

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç for his guidance and continuous support throughout the writing of the thesis. In addition to these, I am deeply grateful to him for everything he thought me about Ottoman history. I also thank Asst. Prof. Dr. Evgeni Radushev and Prof. Dr. Mehmet Veli Seyitdanlıođlu, two members of the examining committee, for their valuable comments.

Some members of the Pařaođulları family provided indispensable information for this thesis, especially for the oral history part. I would like to thank Latife Çolak, Namık Gökçay, Münevver Okur, and Altuđ Tahtakılıç for giving me details of the genealogy of the family. I am also thankful for my relatives, Özcan Dalkılıç, Ayfer Dalkılıç, Fatih Seyhan, Sadık Seyhan for their support throughout the thesis. I owe special thanks to my grandaunt Ayla Yađcı for the time she spent with me while I was doing my research. Our talks on memories of our family and the lunches we had together were the best times I spent while I was doing my research in Istanbul.

My dearest friends, Burcu Bařaran and Eser Bakdur, deserve special appreciation for their moral support throughout this study. Similar to them, I owe thanks to my beloved friends Emine Meltem Bařtan, Bilgi Atalan and Çisil Oksay for their friendship. I am such a happy person to have such good friends.

I would like to express my sincerest thanks to my parents, Tlin and Tuncay Kanc, for their support and encouragement throughout my life. This thesis is a kind of way to thank my mother who made this thesis possible by giving me the Prayer's book she inherited. I also thank Tuba Kanc Dođan, Erkan Dođan and Deniz AyŒe Dođan who puts a smile on my face every time I see her. I am also thankful to Cevriye Yađcı and Nimet akmakođlu for their moral support.

I would especially like to thank Prof. Dr. Seil Karal Akgn. It was at their house where I decided to do history after witnessing a passionate conversation on various history topics between Seil Hoca and her students. Their door has always been open for a bit of chitchats over a couple of "Bloody Mary." Thank you Hocam.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank Grer Karagedikli for his never-ending patience, invaluable insights and encouragement. His enthusiasm for Ottoman History is a source of inspiration for me. This thesis would not have been possible without his support.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objective of the Thesis

The purpose of this research is to investigate the history of the Paşaoğulları family; a local family lived and flourished in Uşak in Western Anatolia. It can be said that investigating the history of the Paşaoğlu family could expand the state of our current knowledge on local powers known as notables (*ayan*) in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century. Although there were no changes in the legal structure of the Ottoman Empire and society in the eighteenth century, there occurred substantial changes in the general appearance of the empire. In that period, although these families were the members of the tax-paying population (*reaya*), due to the period's unique circumstances, some local families in different parts of the Ottoman Empire stepped forward and they influenced period while being influenced by the process. Prior to that, those notables were regarded as the representatives of local people.

However, in the period under scrutiny, notable families became subsidiary assistants of the empire, along with their duty as representatives of local people.

It is an important task for the historian to understand *ayan* families, who shouldered important functions in this process of change the Ottoman Empire faced. When we looked at European history, following the foundation of nation-states, with the help of trade and the capital obtained from it, a new class emerged. This class was bourgeoisie that came into being on the side of aristocracy, which was formed by the land-based wealth of the medieval period. Particularly in the eighteenth century, bourgeoisie was a class that comprised of people who had commercial and industrial capital. The bourgeoisie class – having political, social, economic and legislative demands – played a significant role in changing the structure of the state in Europe. Furthermore, it also played a role in transforming the absolute monarchy system into a constitutional monarchy by strengthening its essence with participation; as well as it affected the social structure and the way of life deeply.

Although the phenomenon of *ayanship* in the Ottoman Empire somehow resembled how the bourgeoisie acquired power in Europe, the period did not follow the same direction as it did in Europe. Those notable families, having their own unique identities, did not propose to change the political structure of the Ottoman Empire with new demands. On the contrary, those notables, who gained prestige through military and fiscal roles, preferred to forsake the *reaya* status and became members of the society with military status (*askeri*). In this respect, unlike a newly emerging bourgeoisie class in Europe, members of those notable families, who managed to penetrate into positions at the governmental level from the *reaya* status, emerged as a new phenomenon. Thus, the constitutional period, which initially began with the The Deed of Alliance (*Sened-i İttifak*) and later with the Ottoman constitution (*Kanun-ı*

Esasi) in the nineteenth century, could not be associated with the pressures coming from notables in the Ottoman Empire. Having said so, local notable families occupied places in the Ottoman parliament, as well as in all other local parliaments in the nineteenth century. Moreover, even though their roles altered, they managed to keep their influences in the Republican era after 1923.

In a similar vein, the scope of the thesis, the Paşaoğulları family, was one of the ayan families that emerged in different regions and cities of the Ottoman Empire. There are two dimensions in this thesis. Firstly, as a member of the family who was born in the period of the Turkish Republic, I try to investigate and understand the history of the family with personal interest. In this respect, I will try to trace the general lines of the process of change the family faced. Secondly, I attempt to contribute to the current state of our knowledge on ayanship.

The main argument of the research is that Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa, the first member of this medium-sized family as we learn from documents, moved into the governmental positions and brought his family to an outstanding point in Uşak, which resembled the general trends of the process of ayanship. However, the position he found for himself was not in close connections with political decision-making mechanisms. Even so, he succeeded. Why was that?

The structure of chapters in this thesis is as follows: In Chapter 2, the genealogy of the Paşaoğulları family is given in detail beginning with its founder, Ahmed Ağa, down to other members of the family who lived in the Ottoman and Republican eras. In Chapter 3, we give a detailed account of the activities of the Paşaoğulları family in Uşak where it established concrete ties both with the agents of the central government and other local figures. Finally, Chapter 4 concludes.

1.2 Literature Review

In order to answer the above question, it is wise to have the knowledge that we gather based on the studies on the Paşaoğlu and other families of the same sort. The first to mention is the study on the Tahtakılıç family that was originally a part of the Paşaoğulları family and yet later became a separate group succeeding. In their book on the Tahtakılıç family, Tekeli and İlkin state that it is necessary to analyze how the Turkish War of Independence developed based on “civil society organization.” In so doing, they further assert, the materials that reveal information on civil organizations are some documents such as decision books, correspondences, budgets, and account books. In their book, Tekeli and İlkin used these kinds of documents kept about this organization. Because the Turkish army ordered to destroy these documents when the Greek Army’s advance began on 22 June 1920, the surviving documents used in Tekeli and İlkin’s book are essential to understand the Turkish National Struggle.¹

Based on the above stated surviving documents used, the book covers the matters that were written on the functioning of the Central Committee (*Heyet-i Merkeziye*), the scope of the their decisions, the internal conflicts of the resistance organization, and the like between 4 September 1919 and 26 June 1920.² In addition to how the documents written by the Central Committee could be used, in their book, Tekeli and İlkin also made an analysis about the Alaşehir Congress. Furthermore, having taken into consideration the developments on the Salihli battlefield and the Alaşehir-Uşak Central Committee’s works, Tekeli and İlkin analyzed the starting movements of the Turkish War of Independence prior to the foundation of regular armies. Finally, they

¹ İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na Geçerken Uşak Heyet-i Merkeziyesi ve İbrahim (Tahtakılıç) Bey* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), 1.

² Ibid., 3.

provide a detailed account of Turkish resistance in Western Anatolia following the Greek Army's march towards inner Anatolia on 22 June 1920.³ One of the appendices of their book that concerns the present thesis is on the life story of İbrahim Bey (later Tahtakılıç), the president of the Uşak Central Committee. The authors compiled İbrahim Bey's life based on the documents and information provided by Ahmet Tahtakılıç, İbrahim Bey's son.⁴

Tekeli and İlkin's book provides very interesting opinions pertaining to the phenomenon of local notable families in Anatolia. While these local notables attempted to insert into the governmental positions when the central state was powerful, they retained their original duties and statuses when the state authority lacked or completely vanished. During the Turkish War of Independence (*Türk İstiklâl Harbi*), they were these families that initiated the civil organizations of local groups against the invading forces and the central government in Istanbul by becoming the leaders of local people. Further elaborations about these changes will be given in the concerning chapters of the present thesis.

Similarly, we see another example on the on the same matter. In his book entitled *Uşak'ta Kuvâ-yı Millîye*, Mehmet Karayaman researched the movements of National forces that were active in Uşak and its environs in the period between the Greek occupation of İzmir and the end of the occupation.⁵ In the book, the author provides a good deal of information on various stages of the movement, the units of the National forces founded in Uşak, those who contributed to the formation of the

³ Ibid., 3-6.

⁴ Tekeli ve İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, 364.

⁵ Mehmet Karayaman, *Uşak'ta Kuvâ-yı Millîye*, 2nd ed. (İzmir: Uşak Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayını, 2010).

movement, and the Greek occupation of Uşak and its independence from the Greek Army.⁶ The book reserves a separate chapter on the families that led the resistance against the Greek occupation of Uşak including İbrahim Bey (Tahtakılıç) by compiling other sorts of archival documents.⁷ In the concerned section, it is stated that the Paşaoğulları family is described as a family that had the tax farming (*iltizâm*) of collecting tithe (*öşür*).⁸

There is a long list of articles, books and theses in Turkish focusing on Uşak during and after the Turkish War of Independence. However, concerning the family, a great majority of these researches focuses on İbrahim Bey (Tahtakılıç) and his role in the National Struggle. Some of these works were compiled in the proceedings of a symposium entitled *21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Uşak Sempozyumu*.⁹ The articles of Bekir Semerci, Ali Sarıkoyuncu, and Bahattin Can deserve attention due to their special emphasis on İbrahim Bey and his role in organizing the local resistance groups against the Greek forces occupied Uşak.¹⁰ In addition to these, there are some masters' theses written on the activities of İbrahim Bey and his son, Ahmet Tahtakılıç, in politics in the Republican Era.¹¹

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 75-86.

⁸ Mehmet Karayaman, *Uşak'ta Kuvâ-yı Milliye*, 76.

⁹ 25-27 Ekim 2001 *21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Uşak Sempozyumu, Vol. 1* (İstanbul: Uşaklılar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 2001).

¹⁰ Bekir Semerci, "Uşak'ta Yazılan Destan," in *21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Uşak Sempozyumu, Vol. 1* (İstanbul: Uşaklılar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 309-312. Ali Sarıkoyuncu, "Milli Mücadelede Uşak ve Din Adamları (İbrahim Tahtakılıç, Ali Rıza Bodur ve Ahmet Nafiz Efendi)," in *21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Uşak Sempozyumu, Vol. 1* (İstanbul: Uşaklılar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 331-345. Bahattin Can "Uşak'ta Kuva-yı Milliye ve Atatürk'ün Uşak'ı Ziyaretleri," in *21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Uşak Sempozyumu, Vol. 1* (İstanbul: Uşaklılar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 2001), 367-386.

¹¹ Buğra İnal, "*Cumhuriyet Döneminde Uşak'ta Siyaset ve Siyasetçiler (1923-1980)*," Masters thesis, Uşak Üniversitesi: Uşak, 2011. See also the book with same name. Sadettin Şimşek, "*Türk Siyasi*

In addition to the above-mentioned works on the Paşaoğulları Family and some of its members, there are a few articles on other prominent families and their members of Uşak. Biray Çakmak, who has extensively published articles on Uşak and the local politics there in the nineteenth century, deserves attention. He studied in detail the Acemzâde family, another important local notable family in Uşak by using various archival sources.¹² In this article, Biray Çakmak, analyzing the history of the Acemzade family as reflected in the archival documents, focuses on the local societal relations vis-à-vis the state. Besides writing the history of the Acemzade family in detail, the article especially deals with the complaints of ordinary and prominent people regarding Acemzade Ahmed Ağa's mistreatments of local people. Furthermore, making observations on Acemzade Ahmed Ağa's wealth and debts, in the article, Biray Çakmak informs us that the transformation of the administrative system to the Province system triggered the diminishing of the family's influence in the region.¹³ Another contribution to the history of the Acemzade family is written by Ayhan Ürkündağ who focuses on the family regarding its activities in the eighteenth century. In this article, by using archival documents and other examples in the literature, the author researches the rebellious activities of Acemzade Ahmed Ağa. The article analyzes the historical process of the family from an "oppressor"

Hayatında Ahmet Tahtakılıç," Unpublished Masters thesis, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, Afyonkarahisar, 2008.

¹² Biray Çakmak, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet-Eşraf-Toplum İlişkileri: Uşak Eşrafından Acemzâdelerin Tarihine Katkı," *Journal of Faculty of Letters* 32, no. 2 (December 2015): 63-80.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 78.

(*mütegallibe*) to a local notable family that provided soldiers for the army, and finally becoming an unwanted power from the state's point of view.¹⁴

Besides the history of the Acemzade family, Biray Çakmak studied another well-known local family in Uşak, the Tiridzade family. In this article, Çakmak scrutinizes the role of prominent local families (*eşrâf*) in the Ottoman Empire. The most known member of the family was Mehmed, who eventually became a "paşa." Having given a shorter historical background on the family of Tiridzade Mehmed Paşa, Çakmak focuses on the reasons that located Mehmed Paşa in the history of Uşak. His wealth derived from trade and tax farming that consolidated his power in the region. Consequently, he became very active and influential in Ottoman economic life at the beginning of the twentieth century when a rope factory was founded in Uşak.¹⁵ This rope factory gave an opportunity to other local families in Uşak such as Yılandzade, Hamzazade, Tiridzade, Hacı Gedikzade and Bacakza families, who later established such factories in the early twentieth century.¹⁶

Biray Çakmak also studied the general history of the district of Uşak in his doctoral thesis. After providing information on Uşak's demographic and administrative specifications, he in detail analyzed the sectors of agriculture, industry, forestry, textile, husbandry, and mining in order to understand the economic sides of the *kaza*

¹⁴ Ayhan Ürkündağ, "Uşaklı Bir Eşkiya: Acemoğlu Ahmet," *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 17, no. 2 (2015): 49-65.

¹⁵ Biray Çakmak, "Geç Dönem Osmanlı Taşra Toplumunda Eşrâfin Mahalli İşlevleri Üzerine: Uşaklı Tiridzâde Mehmed Paşa." *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi (CTAD)* 7, no. 13 (2011): 3-29.

¹⁶ Biray Çakmak, "XX. Yüzyıl Başında Uşak'ta Kurulan İp Fabrikaları" *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (2008): 41-58.

of Uşak in the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The most relevant part of his thesis for the present study is the textile sector (especially carpet production) in Uşak.

In this part of his thesis, as well as analyzing the development and sustainability of carpet production in Uşak, Çakmak reports the investments and regulations undertaken by the state considering the foreign demand for carpet that accelerated in the nineteenth century. Moreover, as Çakmak displays, the agricultural councils (*ziraat meclisi*) and the appointment of the deputy director of agriculture (*ziraat müdür vekili*) elected by the local people in districts in the Tanzimat period were two means that aimed at solving problems regarding the agriculture, industry, and trade.¹⁸ The carpet industry in Uşak also benefited from these regulations undertaken during the Tanzimat era for developing industry and trade sectors.¹⁹ In this respect, one of the appointees, who would help to enhance the regulations for developing the carpet sector in Uşak that would meet the demand for carpet, was from the Paşaoğulları family. Biray Çakmak, in his thesis, mentions families and their members who contributed to the development of the carpet sector in Uşak as reflected in archival sources. Similarly, the above stated Acemzade and Tiridzade families were also involved in shouldering responsibilities in the carpet and textile sectors.

Additionally, there are also various studies on the history of Uşak.²⁰ Haşim Tümer's book entitled *Uşak Tarihi*, for instance, is a very important reference book providing

¹⁷ Biray Çakmak, "*Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Bağlamında Bir Batı Anadolu Kazasında Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapı: Uşak (1876-1908)*," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Hacettepe University, Ankara, 2008.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁹ Biray Çakmak, "*Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Bağlamında Bir Batı Anadolu Kazasında Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapı: Uşak*," 82.

²⁰ For studies on Uşak see Biray Çakmak, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Yönetme ve Yönetilme Kaygıları: Uşak Kazasında Mülkî-İdarî Değişim Talepleri ve Teşebbüsleri (1908-1919)," *OTAM* 36, (2014): 45-65. Biray Çakmak, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Yönetilme Kaygıları: Karahallı Mülkî Nahiyesi'nin

detailed information on different aspects of economic, social, educational, political, architectural and municipal life. The book also contains the names of government officers, the members of the municipal council, and governors as seen in the Yearbooks of the Hüdâvendigar Province (*Hüdâvendigar Vilâyeti Salnâmesi*). Moreover, Tümer compiles the prominent names who became important in the history of Uşak.²¹ These mentioned families were well known among the local people in Uşak. Yet, there is no sufficient information on the Paşaoğulları family that is my thesis' main concern. Only İbrahim Tahtakılıç's name is given in relation to the members of the parliament elected from Uşak.²²

There are also other reference books on the history of Uşak in the twentieth century. Erdoğan Solak's book called *XX. Yüzyılda Uşak* and Sadiye Tutsak's book entitled *Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Uşak* offer detailed information about the general history of Uşak. In addition to the general history of Uşak, Solak's study focuses on the period of the National Struggle, an important part of Uşak's history. Similarly, Sadiye Tutsak begins her book with an introduction to the National Struggle, yet analyzes in detail the economic life in Uşak between 1923 and 1933.²³ This period is

Kuruluşu,” *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10, no. 19 (Spring 2014): 3-25. Biray Çakmak, “Uşak Kazası'nda Mekânın Mülkî-İdarî-Askerî-Adlî-Ticarî Organizasyonu ve Mülkî Nahiyelerin Yönetimi (1870-1908),” *Journal of Faculty of Letters* 31, no. 2 (December 2014): 47-76. Biray Çakmak, “Geç Dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Afet Tönetimi: Büyük Uşak Yangını,” *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15, (2011): 63-90. İbrahim Etem Çakır, “Uşak Kazası (1676 Tarihli Avârız Defterine Göre),” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi: OTAM* 28 (2010): 27-47. Mehtap Özdeğer, “Uşak,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 42, (2012): 222-226. Mehtap Özdeğer, “19. Yüzyılda Uşak Şehrinde Ekonomik ve Sosyal Hayat,” in *21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Uşak Sempozyumu, Vol. 1* (İstanbul: Uşaklılar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 2001): 231-258. Sadiye Tutsak, “Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası,” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. 16 (2001): 175-192.

²¹ Haşim Tümer, *Uşak Tarihi* (İstanbul: Uşak Halk Eğitimine Yardım Derneği, 1971), 217-238.

²² Haşim Tümer, *Uşak Tarihi*, 281-82.

²³ Erdoğan Solak, *XX. Yüzyılda Uşak* (Uşak: Uşak Valiliği, 2002). Sadiye Tutsak, *Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Uşak (1923-1933)* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, 1990). Also see Erdoğan Solak, “20. Yüzyılda Uşak Kazası” Masters thesis, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2001.

imperative for the present thesis in order to understand the activities of İbrahim Tahtakılıç, a member of the Paşaoğulları family, in the history of Uşak and of the Turkish War of Independence.

Besides these studies that exclusively used archival sources, there is one important contribution to the history of National Forces (*kuva-yı milliye*) deriving its findings not through printed sources but rather through interviews.²⁴ In this important study, the authors, three history teachers, interviewed 41 men and 10 women, some of whom witnessed the period of National Struggle.

1.3 Sources and Method

The main sources on which this thesis is based can be classified into three groups: i) archival documents ii) documents obtained from the family iii) oral history materials.

The main source igniting the start of this study was a prayer's book I inherited from my family, whose front and rare empty pages contain some information written in Ottoman Turkish. At this point, though its recorder is unknown, the paragraph recording the death of Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa, the eldest and the most important person in the family, showed that the research could be deepened based on the documents in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul. The reason for bringing to mind the use of Ottoman archival documents was that Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa was recorded in the prayer's book as the "chief imperial gate-keeper" (*dergâh-ı Ali kapucubaşısı*). The information written in the empty pages of the prayer's book

²⁴ Şakir Özdemir et al., "Uşak'ta Kuva-yı Milliye Hakkında Sözlü Tarih Çalışmaları" in Mehmet Karayaman, *Uşak'ta Kuvâ-yı Milliye*, 2nd ed. (İzmir: Uşak Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayını, 2010): 175-187.

mostly included the names of the newly born children and grandchildren of the Paşaoğulları family members. Ahmed Ağa had also written his sons' names in the prayer's book. Furthermore, other information gathered from this book included other notes that must have been written because of daily practices. I benefited from this prayer's book and other documents written by various family members to create the family tree of the Paşaoğulları family.

The information in the prayer's book regarding the duty or pseudo-duty of Ahmed Ağa provided an opportunity to trace the footmarks of my family, the Paşaoğulları or Paşazâdeler, in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul.²⁵ My archival research was based on tracing the names of the family's known members and family titles in various catalogues in the Başbakanlık archive. The catalogue names where I was able to find documents about the Paşaoğulları family were i) Divan (Beylikçi) Kalemî Defterleri ii) Sadâret Mektubî Kalemî Belgeleri (A.MKT) iii) Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Deavi Evrakı iv) Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Nezaret ve Deva'ir Evrakı v) Sadaret Mektubi Kalemî Umum Vilayat Evrakı vi) Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyâseti Belgeleri (MVL) and vii) İrade Meclis-i Vala. These documents contain various information about the family members roughly between the 1840s and 1870s, a period that could be regarded as the "heyday" of the Paşaoğulları family. If classified, these documents provide information on a wide range of matters such as Ahmed Ağa's appointment to the chief gatekeeper position, his debts, the struggle between the Paşaoğulları family and other influential local families in Uşak, and so on.

²⁵ Even though Ottoman archival sources use Paşazâde when referring to the family and its members, I use Paşaoğulları and Paşaoğlu when I refer to the family and Ahmed Ağa respectively. In quite a few archival documents, Ahmed Ağa appears as Paşalıoğlu Ahmed Ağa or Beşezade Ahmed Ağa. These names with minor vernacular differences must refer to Paşazade Ahmed Ağa, since related posts and other names in the documents strongly associate with Paşazade Ahmed Ağa.

Among the archival documents, one register is of great importance: *Temettüat* registers, which contain invaluable information about the family. These income registers, begun to be recorded in the forties of the nineteenth century, are the documents allowing us to understand demographic and social structure of the time and space of a specific locale. These registers recorded the head of families as well as other family members who had immovable property and were liable to pay taxes. As they recorded the names and soubriquets of people, they allow us to see family connections. From the economic historian's point of view, these registers provide important information about the immovable property of the registered person such as houses, lands, plots, vineyards, meadows, and so on. Their annual income was also recorded.²⁶ Fortunately, besides the documents in the above mentioned catalogues, I was able to find the temettüat register of the village where the founder of the Paşaoğulları family was originally from. This register belongs to the village of Bozkuş, a village in the district of Uşak. This register dated 1844, which was catalogued under the Maliye Varidat Muhasebesi Temettuat Defterleri, is one of the archival documents I use in the present thesis.

In addition to the above stated written documents, I attempted to gather as much information as possible based on the method of oral history. Oral history brings together memories of historical importance recorded via interviews and personal interpretations. Oral history part of this thesis is done by a well-prepared interviewer with the interviewed who answers various questions. During the interview, all the stories told are recorded with a tape recorder or a video. Later, these interviews

²⁶ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri," *Bellekten* 225, (August, 1995): 395-412. Also see İsmet Demir, "Temettuat Defterlerinin Önemi ve Hazırlanış Sebepleri" *Osmanlı* 6. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999): 315-321; Nuri, Adıyeke, "Temettuat Sayımları ve Bu Sayımları Düzenleyen Nizamname Örnekleri," *OTAM* 1, (2000): 769-807.

recorded are transcribed, summarized and archived.²⁷ The reliability of oral history is the first problem coming to mind. However, “[o]ral history is as reliable or unreliable as other research sources.”²⁸ As is the case for any historical sources, information gathered from the interviewed should not be taken for granted and should be verified with other sources. As oral history is rather subjective facing personal changes through time, studies based on orally obtained data raise doubts. Moreover, another problem is the accuracy of the story told.²⁹ Historians do not treat memory as a mere subject. What they wish to evidence is not only “what is remembered” but also “how and why the past is remembered in one way and not another”.³⁰ In other words, historians working with orally obtained data do not see oral expressions as a window to one’s direct personal experiences lived. On the contrary, they treat these expressions as complex personal questions and the remembrance of the past with lived experiences told in a way of story.³¹ In various studies, it is shown that memory is not a storage archiving the events happened in the past. In fact, it is stated that memory is reconstructed whenever it is remembered. In other words, what is remembered is the meaning of the first experience for the person, and the social and psychological situations for remembering the event.³²

²⁷ Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History A practical Guide*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 19.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

³⁰ Joan Tumblety, “Introduction Working with memory as source and subject” in *Memory and History Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*, ed. Joan Tumblety (London: Routledge, 2013), 1-16. Joan Tumblety, “Introduction” in *Memory and History Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*, ed. Joan Tumblety (London: Routledge, 2013), 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³² *Ibid.*, 7.

Even though oral history has some limits and problems as mentioned above, it gives an opportunity to take into consideration the emotions of people about how they felt on matters important to them.³³ For this thesis, the oldest members of the family were interviewed and what they told was recorded. Doubtlessly, the orally transmitted information gathered from these interviews has problems. The most obvious of them is that as people age, their memory weakens, what they remember becomes blurred, and some of the memories turn to be nostalgic.

For the oral study part of the thesis, I interviewed the oldest family members and asked them unambiguous questions about the Paşaoğlu family.³⁴ Their answers were then recorded that is in my possession. Before recording, I asked for the consent of the interviewed elderly, and if there was any objection the talk was not recorded. In the case of the latter situation, what was told was written down. During the process of interviewing, the interviewed people were not directed; what they told was listened and recorded only. As the people interviewed were quite old, it was necessary to confirm what they told. Hence, during the research of this thesis, Ottoman archival sources were used to verify the stories told by the people I interviewed. Concerning the interviews I did for my research, the most obvious observation was that every person I interviewed began their story from the same time period. Keeping in mind that the interviewed persons were all seventy-five years of age and above, the position of Uşak during the Turkish War of Independence occupies a significant place in their memory. This also creates a problem, as it

³³ Michael Bosworth, “‘Let me tell you ...’,” in *Memory and History Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*, ed. Joan Tumblety (London: Routledge, 2013): 31-32.

³⁴ Latife Hanım, Münevver Okur, Ayla Yağcı, Altuğ Tahtakılıç, and my own family members were the ones who I interviewed. These interviews were recorded in various dates during the Summer, 2015 and 2016.

caused the places and names limited in their memory. Apart from that, only in one interview, the interviewed told a story from the period.

Finally, a last word should be said about the conceptual frame of family. Family has different meanings and kinds. In our case, while family in the Ottoman period refers to a rather large unit, it refers to nuclear one during the Republican era. Large family contains three generations with relatives and brothers/sisters living together in the same house.³⁵ This large unit is imperative to understand Ottoman social and economic life, especially regarding the agricultural and industrial conditions and developments in which family played an important role.³⁶ As Christiane Klapisch-Zuber states, “[l]ike a tree, a family is born, flourishes, branches out, and withers.”³⁷

Hence, family history can be done by two ways: First is to draw a family tree by building up the genealogy of the family. Second is to work on one single family and to link it to other families in general.³⁸ This thesis is an attempt to combine these two methods by analyzing the documents by their content.

³⁵ İlber Ortaylı, “Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile” in *Türkiye’de Ailenin Değişimi Toplumbilimsel İncelemeler*, ed. Necat Erder (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1984), 79.

³⁶ Donald Quataert, “The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914,” in *An Economic and Social History Of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge,: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 784.

³⁷ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “The Genesis of the Family Tree,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 4, (1991): 105-129.

³⁸ Ruth Finegan and Michael Drake, eds., *From Family Tree to Family History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, The Open University, 1994), 1.

CHAPTER II

THE GENEALOGY OF THE PAŞAOĞULLARI FAMILY

In evaluating the historical background of the Paşaoğulları Family, in this section, the genealogy of the family is analyzed. The Paşaoğulları family, comprising two different lines one being the Tahtakılıçlar, was a deep-rooted family in Uşak similar to other famous families there such as the Acemoğulları, the Banazlızadeler and the Tiridzadeler. Ottoman archival documents use the term “dynasty” (hânedâdan) for the family, which established ties with other dynasties via arranging marriages. Moreover, it was enlarged in the same way. Evidently, starting with Ahmed Ağa (? - 2 March 1859), the first member of the family we know of, the entire family established strong ties in Uşak involving in various activities throughout the nineteenth century. Throughout the period of long wars that began with the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) continuing with the First World War (1914-1918) and the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922), some of the family members physically went to war and more importantly they headed the local population in Uşak during the times of chaos and crisis.

2.1 The Ottoman Period

According to the legend transmitted from one generation to another within the family, it is said that the Paşaoğulları migrated from Karaman to Uşak, Kula and the vicinity of İzmir during the reign of Mehmed II (the Conquerer).³⁹ It is more likely that we can link the name of one line of the family, the Karamanlılar, to this information.⁴⁰ In Uşak, it was the village of Bozkuş where the family emigrated to and located in. I gathered this information orally from the family members. Furthermore, income tax registers (*temettüat*), one of the registers of the time, supports this detail that is orally obtained from various family members.⁴¹ Tekeli and İlkin state that the family also had a *timar* including the village of Avgan where a water mill was called the “Paşaoğlu mill”.⁴² The *temettüat* register reads: “*mumaileyh [Paşaoğlu] Ahmed Ağa'nın Kütahya Sancağı'nda Uşak Kazasında Avgan ve ...'da mutasarrıf olduğu ...*”⁴³

The first member of the Paşaoğlu family, about whom we have meaningful knowledge, was Paşazade or Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa. Ahmed Ağa, who appears in Ottoman documents, as member of a “notable dynasty in the District of Uşak” (*Uşak*

³⁹ I inherited this orally transmitted information from my uncle, Fatih, who can also be seen in the family tree (See appendices). He told me this when I interviewed him. The same information is also available in the book of Tekeli and İlkin on the Tahtakılıç Family. See İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na Geçerken Uşak Heyet-i Merkeziyesi ve İbrahim (Tahtakılıç) Bey* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), 365. The authors say that “İbrahim Bey'in ailesinin, Fatih Sultan Mehmet döneminde Karaman'dan İzmir, Kula ve Uşak yöresine göçederak yerleştikleri bilinmektedir.”

⁴⁰ “Nitekim ailenin bir bölümü Karaman soyadını taşımaktadır. Bir bölümü de Paşaoğulları diye anılmaktadır.” Tekeli ve İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, 365.

⁴¹ According to ML.VRD.TMT.d. 9450 doc. 28 (H. 1261), “*karye-i mezbur [Bozkuş] sekenesinden Paşalıoğlu Ahmed Ağa bin Hacı İbrahim ve Ali Bey bin Ömer'in emlak ve arazi ve temettü'ü*”

⁴² Tekeli ve İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, 365. The *temettüat* register mentions this mill, yet gives no name. ML.VRD.TMT.d. 9450, doc. 28.

⁴³ ML.VRD.TMT.d. 9450, doc. 28.

kazası hanedânından Paşalioğlu Ahmed Ağa) is also the person we have a great deal of documents and information about. Even though we have no information about his birth of date⁴⁴, the date of his death was recorded on a rare page of a book I inherited from my family. According to this book that I possess in my private collection, he passed away on 2 March 1859. The note that must have been written by one of his sons is as follows:

*İşbu 1275 senesi mâh-ı Recebü'ş-şerîfinin yedinci günü yevm-i
Çarşamba – leyleti'l Mîrâc-ı nübüvvet Aleyhüsselâm – leylen sa'at 10
sularında pederimiz cennet mekân Dergâh-ı âli kapucubaşlarından
ref'etlü Paşazâde Ahmed Ağa dâr-ı dünyâdan dâr-ı bekâya teşrîf idüb
Allah^u Te'ala Hazretleri kabrini pür nur eylesün ravzeten cinân
buyursun yakınlarına tül 'ömleriyle mu'ammer buyursun amin.
Bicah-ı seyyidü'l-mürselîn mâh-ı Mart fî sene 27 Receb 1275.*

A similar note supporting this information is provided in the aforementioned temettüat register. In this register, it was recorded that Ağmed Ağa's father was a certain Hacı İbrahim. Moreover, the same register reveals that Ahmed Ağa jointly owned some property and other income means with Ali Bey son of Ömer.⁴⁵ Ali Bey appears in a later dated document as Ahmed Ağa's nephew and son-in-law.⁴⁶ So, if

⁴⁴ By using family notes recording the birth dates of Ahmed Ağa's sons and grandsons, we can infer that he was probably born in the very early years of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁵ ML.VRD.TMT.d. 9450, doc. 28.

⁴⁶ İ.MVL. 508/22957 (H. 1280). The document reads: “*Bu câriyeleri Kütahya Sancağı'nda Uşak Kazası hânedânından dergâh-ı ali kapucubaşlarından müteveffâ Paşazade Ahmed Ağa'nın halilesi olub müteveffânın yeğeni ve damadı merhum Ali Bey....*”

Ali Bey was not Ahmed Ağa's sister's son, Ali Bey's father, Ömer, must be Ahmed Ağa's brother.⁴⁷

When Ahmed Ağa's son penned his father's death in the book that is now in my possession, he overtly stated that Ahmed Ağa was a chief gatekeeper (*dergah-ı âli kapucubaşlarından*) in the Imperial Palace. It can be inferred from the documents analyzed that this post was the basis for the formation of Ahmed Ağa's "dynasty". As will be further detailed in the concerned section below, local notable families attempted to strengthen their ties with the state following the consolidation of their influence in their region. Furthermore, many of them succeeded in becoming state officials (*ehl-i örf*) by acquiring the title of "chief gate keeper."⁴⁸ This information, provided by one of Ahmed Ağa's sons in the prayer's book, is confirmed by Ottoman official documents. According to an official document dated 1851-52, this position was given to Ahmed Ağa due to supervising the production of rugs, carpets and textiles in Uşak.⁴⁹

Furthermore, we receive further details about Ahmed Ağa's other state-granted local duties in the district of Uşak during the 1840s. A few years earlier than his reception of the imperial gatekeeper position, Ottoman documents shed further light on Ahmed Ağa's career path. It seems that Ahmed Ağa was undertook the position of the Agricultural Directorate Deputy (*Zirâ'at Müdürü Vekîli*) in Uşak between 1845 and

⁴⁷ ML.VRD.TMT.d. 9450, doc. 28.

⁴⁸ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klâsik Dönemindeki Eşrâf ve A'yân Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler," in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012): 383-395 and Özer Ergenç, "'A'yân ve Eşrâf" diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine," *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012): 396-416.

⁴⁹ İ.MVL. 240/8615 (H. 1268). The document reads: "... 'imâlat-ı mezkure nezaretine bu defa' ta'yîn kılınan Paşazade Ahmed Ağa kullarına bi'l-icâb kapucubaşılık rütbesi tevcihi istida'sına dair mezkur kalıçe ve kilimler memuru Hacı Ahmed Ağa tarafından takdim olunan tezkere..."

1847, being finally dismissed in 1849.⁵⁰ Shortly after, it seems that he was promoted with the position of the Agricultural Directorate in the district of Uşak (*Kaza Zirâ'at Müdürü*). However, due to some accusations directed to him, based on archival documents, we can say that he was dismissed from that position too.⁵¹

The documents produced between 1845 and 1847 supply information of complaints about Paşazade Ahmed Ağa. These complaints were generally about some maltreatment in trade.⁵² Additionally, the contentions surfaced between the Paşaoğulları and the Acemzadeler that was another well-established local family in Uşak in the nineteenth century.⁵³

By 1856, Ahmed Ağa had become a man who requested a suitable position for himself from the state authorities. In a petition he sent to Istanbul, because of his unemployed status, Ahmed Ağa implored that he be appointed as a member of the district council.⁵⁴ It can be said that the “decline” of Ahmed Ağa had already begun by the sixties of the nineteenth century. What brings us to this conclusion is that his debtors began collecting their money remained in Ahmed Ağa’s possession towards

⁵⁰ MVL. 252/70 (H. 1268), four documents.

⁵¹ MVL. 250/33 nine documents (H. 1268). The third document reads: “*Kütahya Sancağına tâbi Uşak kazası zirâa't müdürü Paşazade Ahmed Ağa kullarının azliyle...*” A.} MKT.DV.49/95 (H. 1268). A.} MKT.NZD 53/82 (H. 1268). The document reads: “*Uşak Kazası ziraat müdürü Beşezade [Paşazade] Ahmed Ağa...*”.

⁵² A.}MKT.UM.176/88 (H. 1271) and MVL.294/62 (H. 1272). The pile of documents also includes a petition sent from a certain “*hayriyye tüccarı*”, Hacı Mehmed Ağa who claimed that Ahmed Ağa’s dismissal from the post would cause problems in rug and carpet production, and hence he be kept in the position.

⁵³ MVL. 283/45 (H. 1271).

⁵⁴ A.}MKT.NZD.176/81 (H. 1272). “*... Dergâh-ı âli kapucubaşlarından ve Uşak Kazası hanedanından Ahmed Bey bu aralık boşda kaldığından kaza-i mezkur meclis azalığında istihdamı husus istida olunmuş...*” A.}MKT.UM 224/47 (H. 1272).

his death.⁵⁵ In addition to that, there are quite a few documents pertaining to the financial surety of Ahmed Ağa and his nephew, Ali Bey, for an Armenian *sandık emini*. It seems that Ahmed Ağa passed away with an important amount of debt that was collected from his sons later on.

Additionally, Ahmed Ağa's decline from power can also be seen from a note (*şukka*) regarding his appointment to a suitable position because he had been unemployed for a while. This *şukka* written to the *kaimmakam* of Kütahya says that the Kapucubaşı Ahmed Ağa be appointed as a member of the district council. The document reads:⁵⁶

Dergah-ı Ali kapucubaşlarından ve Uşak Kazası hanedanından Ahmed Bey bu aralık boşda kaldığından kaza-yı mezkûr meclis azalığında istihdamı hususu istid'a olunmuş olmağla mumaileyhin liyakatına göre bir işde istihdamıyla istihsâl-i mesruriyyeti hususuna himmet eylemeniz siyâkında şukka

Meanwhile, Ahmed Ağa also sent a petition to the Sultan requesting a position for himself. He deliberately underlined that he was one of the old dynasties in the district (*hanedan-ı kadîm*). His petition reads:⁵⁷

Çâker-i kemîneleri: Kütahya Sancağı dahilinde vaki' Uşak Kazası hanedan-ı kadîminden ve bendegândan bulunduğum şeref-behâya mebnî sâye-i Şâhanede ve sâye-i âsafânelerinde bir me'muriyetde istihdâm buyurulub sadakat-i kemterânemi îras itmek iftihâr-ı çâkerânemi mûcib bir keyfiyyet olmağla şimdiki halde vilayet-i çâkerânemce hâl-i 'âcizâneme cesbân bir me'muriyet yoğsa da kaza-i mezbûr meclis-i âzâlarından birinin yeri açık olmağla sâye-i seniyyelerinizde şimdilik açıkda bulunmamak üzere bendegândan ve hanedân-ı kadimden bulunduğuma hürmeten kaza-i mezbûr meclis â'zâlığına ithâl buyurulmaklığım husuna müsâ'ade-i 'âli-i cenâb-ı hazret-i âsafâneleri mebzul buyurularak ol babda bu sancağı mezbûr kâ'immakamı sa'adetlü Paşa hazretleri bendelerine hitaben bir kıt'a

⁵⁵ A.} MKT.DV. 131/32 (H. 1275); İ.MVL. 508/22957 (H. 1280).

⁵⁶ AMKT UM 224/47

⁵⁷ AMKT UM 224/47, doc. 2

emrnâme-i sâmi-i vekâlet-penâhileri tastîr ve ihsânî niyazım babında her halde emr-ü fermân inâyet ve ihsan-ı hazreti men lehü'l-emrindir.

Bende-i

Paşazâde Ahmed Ağa avfi anhü

Ser Bevvâbîn-i Dergâh-ı 'Alî ve hanedân-ı kaza-i mezbûr

In addition to the aforementioned information, we have detected that Ahmed Ağa must have lived in Uşak prior to 1859. He seems to have had two wives. It is not certain whether he was married to the two women at the same time or married the second after he lost the first one. It is unknown what his first wife's name was; however, his second wife's name, Halime, reaches us through a petition she sent to the Istanbul authorities in 1870.⁵⁸ In the light of the documents in hand, we can say that Ahmed Ağa had six sons. The first three were from his first wife. They were Mehmed, Hüseyin and Ülfet. Other three sons were from Halime and they were İsmail, Hasan and Yusuf.⁵⁹ The details of Ali Bey, Ahmed Ağa's son-in-law, that appear in the temettüat registers and other documents reveal that Ahmed Ağa must have had at least one daughter. This girl was most likely Ali Bey's wife who was Ahmed Ağa's daughter. Her name did not appear in any document analyzed. Furthermore, Ali Bey and his wife had four children in total.⁶⁰

After providing a general picture of Ahmed Ağa's life in the light of archival and family documents, it is meaningful to go to details of his family. In the prayer's book that I possess, Ahmed Ağa himself wrote that his son, Mehmed Ağa, was born on 26 June 1833. His second son, Hüseyin Ağa, Ahmed Ağa later recorded, was born on 10 October 1837. 3 April 1841 was written in the same book as Ülfet Ağa's date of

⁵⁸ İ.MVL. 508/22957 (H. 1280).

⁵⁹ İ.MVL. 508/22957 (H. 1280). Halime's petition states "... üç nefer öz evladım İsmail ve Hasan ve Yusuf kulları..."

⁶⁰ İ.MVL. 508/22957.

birth. After these dates of births, the first birth recorded in the book (most probably by Ahmed Ağa himself) was of Hasan Efendi who was born on 4 February 1849. Furthermore, two years after, Ahmed Ağa recorded his newly born son's birth in the book that is İsmail Ağa was born on 18 January 1851.⁶¹ As stated above, these three sons were most likely from his above stated first wife whose name is unknown. By looking at the gap between Ülfet's date of birth (1841) and Hasan Efendi's (1849), we can infer that Ahmed Ağa's wife passed away, and he probably got married to Halime who gave birth to İsmail, Hasan and Yusuf.⁶² The latter's name does not present in the prayer's book.

In addition to the names mentioned above, the prayer book's rare pages contain the names of other family members. It was recorded in the prayer book that İbrahim was born on 3 August 1843, Alim Ağa was born on 1845, and finally Osman Ağa was born on 12 November 1848. However, what is interesting here is that these three newly born boys were the grandsons of the person who recorded those births. So, these boys might be the sons of Ahmed Ağa's daughters whom we know of nothing. Additionally, it is likely that these boys might be Ali Bey's sons as well. Due to the impossibility of verifying the boys' dates of births written in the prayer book with archival documents, these names could not be placed on the family tree. Other than Ahmed Ağa's one daughter, the wife of Ali Bey who was Ahmed Ağa's nephew, we have no clues about other daughters – if any. In the book in my personal collection, no girl was recorded until the beginning of the 1880s.

⁶¹ İ.MVL.508/22957 (H. 1280) reads: “16 yaşında oğlum Hüseyin, Ülfet altı seneden berü....” There are certain discrepancies between the dates provided in the family prayer's book and those we encountered in archival documents. These differences were 5-11 years.

⁶² See footnote 19.

Ahmed Ağa's eldest sons, Mehmed and Hüseyin Ağas, formed two lines of a family known in Uşak as the Paşaoğulları to which I belong. There is no sufficient information about Mehmed Ağa. It can be seen from a petition, Mehmed Ağa, like his father Ahmed Ağa, lived in Uşak and became an influential member of the society. The petition he sent to the Governor of the Hüdâvendigar (*Hüdâvendigâr Mutasarrıflığı*) was about two men, who used to be members of the Uşak District Council. He demanded that these men were never appointed as members of the same council.⁶³

Hüseyin Ağa, another son of Ahmed Ağa's, was one of the brothers staying in the village of Bozkuş where he undertook the family businesses.⁶⁴ The other sons, with the encouragement of their grandmother, were sent to a palace in Istanbul to get educated. One of these brothers in Istanbul later returned to his village in Uşak, where he used the practical knowledge he had learned in Istanbul.⁶⁵ Furthermore, we have no detailed information about Ülfet Ağa. During the interviews done in 2015, I was able to trace four names that are thought to be Ülfet Ağa's children. These names were Karaman, Muzaffer, Yusuf and Refahat. Unfortunately, none of the interviewed people had met these four people. As I had no chance to confirm these names with other sorts of documents, I could not show these names in the family tree.

⁶³ MVL. 522.122 (H. 1283).

⁶⁴ Tekeli and İlkin state that he was "one of the five sons of the family". Tekeli ve İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, 365. However, as shown in the genealogy, there were six sons of the family.

⁶⁵ Tekeli ve İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, 365. It is uncertain whether they were sent to the Topkapı Palace or to a palace (saray) of a high official.

Yusuf, Hasan and Ismail born by Halime, the second wife of Ahmed Ağa, went to Istanbul in 1857, and were registered to the military unit of Yusuf İzzeddin⁶⁶ Efendi.⁶⁷ Another document reveals that they were in the service of Yusuf Ziyaüddin Efendi and they were voluntarily registered.⁶⁸ It is likely that these two men names (Yusuf İzzeddin and Yusuf Ziyaüddin) in fact refer to the same man. Yet, due to different writing practices, his name appeared in the documents differently. According to one story told in the family, one of the grandmothers of the children sent a boy to a palace in Istanbul. It is told in the family that this boy was Yusuf Ağa, who later told that he had been educated with Yusuf İzzettin Efendi (1857-1916).⁶⁹

Returning our attention to Ahmed Ağa's eldest son, Mehmed Ağa, a personal note written by my grand grandmother Fikriye allows us to get information about Mehmed Ağa and his children's names.⁷⁰ In this note, Fikriye, in her own handwriting, recorded all the names she remembered in the family starting from her father down to her own children. She learned writing in Latin script on her own; hence the note carries some typos.⁷¹

Mehmed Ağa, my grand grandmother Fikriye's grandfather, had three children: Sıdıka, Fatma and Kazım. Kazım, Fikriye's father, is the only one we have information about. His first wife was the mother of my grand grandmother.

⁶⁶ He was one of the sons of Sultan Abdülaziz. For further information about Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi see Ali Akyıldız, "Yusûf İzzeddin Efendi," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 44, (Istanbul, Türk Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2013): 13-16.

⁶⁷ A.}DVN 184/52 (H. 1278).

⁶⁸ İ.MVL. 508/22957

⁶⁹ A story told during one of the interviews I did in 2016.

⁷⁰ My mother, the granddaughter of Fikriye, asked her about the family tree of the family. As requested from her granddaughter Fikriye wrote that note. See the appendices.

⁷¹ See Appendices.

However, because Fikriye lost her mother when she was a little girl, she remembered no details about her mother including her name. Fikriye's memories about her sister were also scanty. Her sister Mürşide (born 1898), who was three years older than Fikriye, passed away at a very young age. Hence there is no information of Mürşide transmitted within the family. More importantly, as her daughter Bedia, who was my mother's mother, had passed away before Fikriye died, the information about her daughter is based on what she remembered at a very late age. This compels us to use cautiously Fikriye's stories as well as her notes. For instance, when asked about her father Kazım, Fikriye told that Kazım married four or five times. Fikriye did not even remember Kazım's other wives talking about them as only "the other women". Most likely discontent of Kazım's too many marriages, it can be inferred that Fikriye was deeply touched by her mother's very early loss.

Despite all these, it is told that Kazım had three sons from her other wives. The above stated prayer's book that contains the boys' dates of births is illuminating in this regard. The book, following the birth date of Fikriye, mentions the names of Mehmed Nail, Mehmed Reşid (1908) and Mehmed Nahid (1912-13). By looking at the dates of birth of these males, it can be inferred that they were Kazım's sons from "the other women."⁷² Fikriye, when interviewed by my sister Tuba, told she had two brothers. Perhaps she could not remember one of her brothers as Mehmed Nahid was born at a very late date. Or, alternatively, she did not count all of her brothers because of her aging. It is also likely that Fikriye was perhaps angry with her father's wives; hence erasing some names from her memory.

⁷² These birth years were gathered from the book in my personal archive. See the appendices.

Fikriye was the only child of Kazım we have concrete information of.⁷³ Following her mother's death, she lived in Uşak with her sister, half-brothers and stepmothers. Her sister was taken away from school to look after her and her half brothers. She stated that her father loved them very much and sent them to school. Fikriye continued her education; however, due to a contention surfaced regarding a new class, she was taken away from school also. Apparently, she wanted to enroll a lute (*ud*) class, yet her father objected to this, as he believed girls could not play a lute. Consequently, he took her away from school. Had continued school one more year, she would have become a primary school teacher.⁷⁴ Fikriye told my sister that she had always stayed in her room and from the window looked at trains coming from Izmir and Afyon.⁷⁵

At the age of eighteen, Fikriye was married to Ulvi, a man she had never seen before. Apparently, Ulvi liked Fikriye after seeing her somewhere; hence they were allowed to marry. Fikriye told that she knew Ulvi only from a photo he sent. He was neither tall nor handsome. Ulvi was not from the same town and he was traveling a lot because of his job as a railway employee. Fikriye and Ulvi changed locations many times because of his job. Until he got retired, they lived in Hereke, and then finally moving to Istanbul. Fikriye was regularly traveling to Uşak every year to collect the

⁷³ Most of the details are obtained from a book my sister kept after interviewing my grand grandmother Fikriye in 1991. As Tuba did this interview with Fikriye for her school project at the Robert College, she transcribed what Fikriye told in English. For an example of page, see appendices.

⁷⁴ In nineteenth century, it was the modern education idea that opened floor to women in the social arena. In this period the education of women took place in two separate ways. One of these was to train women for specific jobs such midwives, teachers etc. in the in order to fullfill the practical needs of the society. The other way was home schooling which was mostly preferred by the high level Ottoman families. Ekrem Işın, "Tanzimat ailesi ve Modern Âdâb-ı Muâşeret" in ed. Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012): 558-574.

⁷⁵ "*Bu trenlerden biriyle seyahat etmezsem gözüm açık gider.*" Obtained from the interview my sister Tuba did with Fikriye in 1991.

revenues extracted from their lands that they left to sharecroppers. They sold some land in Uşak for building a house in Istanbul. Fikriye and Ulvi had three daughters and one son.

We have already stated above that Hüseyin Ağa, Ahmed Ağa's another son, stayed in the village of Bozkuş in Uşak to manage the family's business there. It is clear from the Ottoman documents that the family had considerable landed property in the said village.⁷⁶ Additionally, based on the information provided by the living family members I interviewed, it is understood that he was married twice. Similar to his father Ahmed Ağa, we have no solid knowledge whether Hüseyin Ağa was married to the both women at the same time, or he was married to one after the other passed away. The name of one of his wives is Zeliha, while the second's name is unknown. What is certain is that the two women gave Hüseyin Ağa eight children. Ibrahim, Zekiye, Güldane and Hatice were born by Zeliha; while Atike, Niyazi, Hafize and Hilmi were from the second wife whose name is unknown to us.⁷⁷

Hüseyin Ağa's eldest son Ibrahim would receive the surname of Taktakılıç during the Republican era.⁷⁸ Ibrahim Tahtakılıç was born in the village of Bozkuş in 1870. He initially began his education in the village under the mentorship of a private teacher; however, as his uncle opposed him "wearing turban", he was directed to other interests.⁷⁹ When Ibrahim Tahtakılıç was 13 years of age, Hüseyin Ağa told him that he should give up "to become a nobleman" and should get education and

⁷⁶ ML.VRD.TMT.d. 9450 (H. 1261).

⁷⁷ Due to aging problem, sometimes the interviewed people had difficulties in remembering these names.

⁷⁸ He initially had Dalkılıç as his surname. However, following his death, his children changed it to Taktakılıç as Ibrahim had wished. Some members of the family still have Dalkılıç as their surname.

⁷⁹ Tekeli ve İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, 365.

become a “şeyhülislam.” Ibrahim Tahtakılıç was sent to Uşak and later to Istanbul to receive religious education. Nonetheless, soon after, he became ill and returned back to his village. When recovered, he wanted to go back to Istanbul, yet his father fenced his way. In 1894, Ibrahim Tahtakılıç left Alaşehir for Istanbul without the consent of his family.⁸⁰ In Istanbul, along with his religious education, he had an opportunity learn the ideas of Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, and Şinasi – the most famous Turkish intellectuals of the time.⁸¹ Later, he became a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*).⁸²

Following the completion of his religious education, Ibrahim Tahtakılıç became a man of religion as well as an important figure involved in political fight. He was appointed as the *Müfti* of Uşak. In 1908, he became the Inspector of Uşak. Two years later, in 1910, he was appointed to the Inspectorate of Primary School Education in the Sub-Province of Kütahya (*Kütahya Livası Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Müfettişliği*), yet he resigned in 1911.⁸³ In the same year, he became the deputy of the district governor of Uşak (*Uşak kaymakam vekili*), yet he joined the army when people were called to war for homeland in the Balkan Wars. In 1918, he became the member of Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) from Kütahya. When the Rejection of the Annexation Committee in Uşak (*Uşak Redd-i İlhak Cemiyeti*) was founded, he was elected as the president. On 16-25 August 1919, he joined the Alaşehir Congress as the Uşak delegate. This congress regularized the organizations at the Salihli-Bozdoğan war front and its behind. Furthermore, it gave the fight in Western Anatolia as a “civil

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 366.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Tekeli ve İlkin, *Ege'deki Sivil Direnişten Kurtuluş Savaşı'na*, 366-67.

society organization”.⁸⁴ On 1 December 1927, Ibrahim Tahtakılıç became the member of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi or TBMM.) parliament from Kütahya. In the following two terms, also, he was in the Turkish Parliament as an MP from Kütahya. In 1937, he sank into depression and committed suicide.⁸⁵

Ibrahim Bey was married to Emine, the daughter of Banazlızade Mehmet that was one of the very well established families in Uşak, and had five children named Cahit, Ahmet, Uğur, Orhan and Altuğ. Among his sons, the most known is Ahmet Tahtakılıç, who was born in 1909. He graduated from the Law School of Istanbul University. Like his father, Ahmed Tahtakılıç played an active role in politics and became an MP from Kütahya in the Eight Term, from Uşak in the Twelfth Term, and from Istanbul in the Thirteenth Term. He became the Minister of Labor and the Minister of Education.

Among the members Paşaoğulları family, Ibrahim Tahtakılıç is the most known figure we have substantial information on. We have no information about Zekiye, Hatice and Güldane whom are his sisters from the same mother. According to a scanty of knowledge, Zekiye was married to Cemal, the son of another well-known family in Uşak, the Acemoğulları or Acemzâdeler. The Ottoman Archive provides a good number of documents showing the contention between these two famous families of Uşak. These families may have wanted to blockade such problems by arranging marriages between family members. Zekiye had two daughters and one

⁸⁴ Ibid., 368.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 381.

son. They were Pakize, İrfan and Nesibe.⁸⁶ We have obtained the information that Pakize had three children. Likewise, İrfan had three children named Cemal, Namık and Zekiye. Additionally, we know that Hatice had three sons. Other than this, we have no solid information about Hatice. Güldane has two children named Emin and Hesna, and seven grandchildren. Hesna's father was Adanalızade Mehmed Bey who was a teacher in the Adanalı Religious School in Uşak.⁸⁷ Hesna's husband, Hacı Ahmet Efendi, became a teacher in a *medrese* by getting married to Hesna.

Hacı Ahmet Efendi was involved in the National Struggle during the Greek occupation of Uşak. As a preacher giving sermons in a mosque, he encouraged people to join the Turkish War of Independence. Apparently, when the Greek forces figured out his sermons, they exiled him to Athens with a group of people. When becoming ill, Hacı Ahmet Ağa was sent to Manisa and jailed. Later on, he returned back to Uşak. Hacı Ahmet Efendi was awarded with a National Liberty Medal because of his contributions to the Turkish War of Independence. Hesna Hanım and Hacı Ahmet Efendi had three children. These are Tahsin, Mustafa and Münevver.⁸⁸ Münevver (later Münevver Okur), following the completion of her primary school education in Uşak, continued her education at the Istanbul Erenköy Girls' High School. Then, she went Istanbul University's Literature Department.

Unfortunately, we have no information about Atike, Niyazi, Hafize and Hilmi born by Hüseyin Ağa's second wife. It is believed that Atike was married to Sadık, who

⁸⁶ This information comes from the family tree generated by Namık Gökçay about seventeen years ago. His work of the family genealogy is based on the interviews he undertook with family members. Hence, the genealogy he provides is not conclusive as there may be missing names and other information.

⁸⁷ For more details on Adanalı Medresesi see Haşim Tümer, *Uşak Tarihi* (İstanbul: Uşak Halk Eğitimine Yardım Derneği, 1971), 68-69.

⁸⁸ Hacı Ahmet Efendi's daughter, Münevver Okur, told me this story when I interviewed her. She said her mother had told these stories as part of family conversations.

was originally from Adana and died during the Balkan Wars, in which he joined voluntarily.

2.2 The Republican Period

The Paşaoğulları family was further enlarged during the Republican period. This caused the difficulty of tracing the entire family, some of whose members had more than one marriage due to deaths and other inducements. Ahmed Ağa the Chief Gatekeeper's grandchildren's children were raised in the Turkish Republic. Ahmet was one of the grandsons of Hüseyin Ağa, who was one of the six sons of Ahmed Ağa the Chief Gatekeeper. Ahmet was born in Uşak in 1913. His mother was Atike and his father was Sadık. Sadık had died in war before Ahmet was born. During the Greek occupation, he was living in Uşak with his mother, Atike. Following his education in the Necati Teachers' School (*Necati Öğretmen Okulu*) in Balıkesir, Ahmet went to the Gazi Elementary Teachers' School (*Gazi Orta Muallim Mektebi*) and then continuing his studies at the Education Institute (*Terbiye Enstitüsü*). After working as a teaching for a short time, Ahmet went on doing his undergraduate studies at the Law School in Ankara (*Ankara Hukuk Fakültesi*) graduating in 1940. We worked as a lawyer in Uşak and then in İzmir. Ahmet was married to Bedia, daughter of Fikriye who was the granchild of Mehmed Ağa, son of Ahmed Ağa the Chief Gatekeeper. In 1961, he participated in the elections to become an MP and a member of the Republican Senate (*Cumhuriyet Senatosu*). He became a candidate for

the Senate from the Republican Peasants' Nation Party (*Cunhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi*) with the votes of the delegates.⁸⁹

As mentioned in the section of Family in the Ottoman period, Fikriye and Ulvi had four children named Bedia, Bedriye, Ayhan and Ayla. Bedia was born in Uşak in 1924. During the following years, she was educated in sewing at the “girls’ art institute” in Moda, Istanbul. Getting married to Ahmet, one of her relatives, she began living in Uşak. Bedia and Ahmet had three children: Tülin, Sadık and Fatih.

Tülin was born in Uşak, and grew up in İzmir. She went to the İzmir Girls’ School, and then studied medicine at the Medical School of Ege University, where she received her specialization in Physical Treatment and Rehabilitation. Even though Tülin began her academic career as a research assistant at Ege University, she relinquished this and chose to move to another city following her marriage to Ahmet Tuncay, a doctor from the same school. Ahmet Tuncay, Tülin’s husband, was born in the district of Elmalı in Antalya. He completed his entire early school life in Elmalı, Adapazarı and Antalya respectively. Later, he graduated from the Medical School of Ege University where he completed his specialization as an internist. Initially in İzmir and later in Adapazarı, he worked as a medical doctor with Tülin. Ahmet Tuncay’s parents, Ayşe and Ahmet, grew up in Elmalı. While his father earning his life as a farmer had landed property in Elmalı, his mother did not possess any land or property. Ahmet Tuncay has one brother and one sister. Tülin and Tuncay have two daughters and one granddaughter. This is the point at which my sister and I are included to the family. My sister Tuba was born in Adapazarı. After going to the

⁸⁹ Buğra İnal, “*Cumhuriyet Döneminde Uşak’ta Siyaset ve Siyasetçiler 1923-1980*,” Masters Thesis (Uşak: Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2011), 111. Also the book with the same name Buğra İnal, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Uşak’ta Siyaset ve Siyasetçiler (1923-1980)* (İzmir: AKY Yayınları, 2011).

primary school in Adapazarı, she continued her education at the Robert College as a boarding student. Furthermore, she completed her undergraduate studies at Koç University, her postgraduate studies at Boğaziçi University, and her doctoral studies at Sabancı University respectively. She is married to Erkan, an academic like herself. Tuba and Erkan have a daughter named Ayşe Deniz. I, Tuğçe, was born in Adapazarı. After going to primary and secondary schools in Adapazarı, I went to a called Özel Seymen Fen Lisesi in İzmit. Following this, I earned my undergraduate degree in Biology from Middle East Technical University.

Sadık, one of the two sons of Bedia and Ahmet, was born in Uşak, yet raised in İzmir. He went to the Atatürk High School in Izmir, and then completed his undergraduate degree at the Buca Civil Engineering Faculty. He has a son named Bertan. Finally, Fatih, the other son of Bedia and Ahmet, was born in Izmir and raised there as well. He graduated from the Electric and Electronic Engineering Department of Middle East Technical University. He got married to Dilek who graduated from the Mathematics Department of the same university. Fatih and Dilek have two children, Özgür and Ceren, who were both born and raised in Izmir. Like their parents, they both graduated from Middle East Technical University.

Going back to the children of Fikriye and Ulvi, Bedriye was born in Konya in 1926. Following her graduation from the Erenköy Girls' High School, she was married to Cihat, a military man. Bedriye and Cihat had two children and three grandchildren. One of their children, Ayhan, was born in Sarıkamış, Erzurum, in 1930. He completed his pre-tertiary education at Galatasaray, and earned a graduate degree in Mechanic engineering from Istanbul Technical University in the 1950s. He made two marriages, having one daughter from the first and two sons from the second. Ayla, daughter of Bedriye and Cihat, was born in Hereke in 1936. She received her

education from the Erenköy Girls' School. For her university education, she began doing a degree in French philology at Istanbul University, yet did not continue her studies when married to Metin, a medical doctor. Ayla and Metin had two daughters and three grandchildren.

When we come to the grandchildren of Hüseyin Ağa, son of Ahmed Ağa the Chief Gatekeeper, we know that his son Ibrahim had five children. One of these passed away at a very early age. Cahit, one of the sons of Ibrahim, had three children and four grandchildren. Ahmet, Ibrahim's son also, had four children and three grandchildren. Unfortunately, we have no information about the other two children. As for Hatice, the other child of Hüseyin Ağa, we are certain that she had three children, yet we know of nothing about them. Furthermore, Güldane, one of the two daughters of Hüseyin Ağa from his marriage to Zeliha, had two children, Emin and Hesna. Emin had four children. We have already stated above the details of Hesna. Finally, above we have also written the details of children of Hüseyin Ağa's daughter Zekiye.

Among Hüseyin Ağa's children (Atike, Niyazi, Hatice and Hilmi) born by his second wife, Atike is the one we have the information most because she is my mother's father's mother (i.e., grandmother). Niyazi had four children and two grandchildren. We have information about Demir, one of Niyazi's children, who had two children and three grandchildren. Hüseyin Ağa's another daughter, Hafize, had five children. Finally, we have no information about the other son of Hüseyin Ağa, Hilmi.

The above-written people, the members of the Paşaoğulları family that we were able to trace down from Ahmed Ağa the Gatekeeper, are the ones in the family tree given at the appendix of this thesis. Other than these names, it is obvious that the family

has many other members, yet as the family was further enlarged through marriages, it is almost impossible to reach all those men and women. This enlargement makes it hard to find the new people joining the family. Another problem arising from this is that as the family was further enlarged brothers and sisters and their children mostly establish close ties with each other. This makes whether or not they do not know other members of the family at all or only by their names. Another problem in tracing all family members is that people move from one place to another. As many relocated in other cities decreasing the number of family members in Uşak, it becomes more difficult to find people who know each other. Physical propinquity is a focal factor for people to know each other that can be seen in the case of the Paşaoğulları family. For instance, the grandchildren of Hüseyin Ağa and Mehmed Ağa, Ahmed Ağa the Gatekeeper's two sons, know each other better than they know Ahmet, who was also a grandson of Hüseyin Ağa from another woman, because they live in different places.

Finally, what the eldest people in the family could remember goes back to Ibrahim Tahtakılıç, not having any idea about other lines of the family. What we have provided so far comes from the information gathered from stories told from one generation to another, as well as Ottoman archival sources, which provide sufficient information about the “rise” and “decline” of the Paşaoğulları Family in the nineteenth century. This is elaborated in the next section.

CHAPTER III

LOCAL NOTABLES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE PAŞAOĞULLARI DYNASTY

In order to evaluate the Paşaoğulları dynasty that was an *ayan* family of medium scale in Uşak, it is necessary to briefly talk about the roles these families played in historical processes within Ottoman social and economic history. During the Ottoman classical period, there were two main systems in the administrative schema of the state, in which state officials took part, representing the authority of the Sultan. These systems were the *devşirme* or *kul* system and the timar system. During the classical period, because the appointed people were determined through a method of election and reference, the participation of ordinary people from *reaya* status in these systems was very limited. However, due to the changing conditions in the world and Ottoman internal dynamics' moving into new processes, by the late seventeenth century, these two systems began to change, also. Prior to this period, the representatives of Ottoman society were elites and the leaders of religious, occupational, and spatial communities. These men had the function of mediating the

relations between the state and society. Also, they were representing the *reaya* and informing the state authorities about ordinary people's demands. However, by the end of the seventeenth century, there occurred significant changes in the number of officials in the *kul* and *timar* systems. Hence, people with *reaya* status began to place in these two systems, as employment resources were not sufficient due to various reasons. During the very same period, some people among this group called local elites or notables, who had various posts from the state authority especially regarding tax collection as tax-farmers (*mültezim*) or life-long tax-farmer (*malikanaci*), came forward and began to be called as "dynasty" (*hânedan*). It became easier for these people to find places among state posts during the nineteenth century; because the main task of the Ottoman Empire that was dissolving and fragmenting in the nineteenth century was to blockade this process. As a result of the policy called the "unity of people" (*ittihâd-ı anâsır*), during the reform period of Tanzimat, it became widespread to establish councils where all segments of society would be represented. Especially, at the province, sub-province and district levels, these councils had representatives, half of which was formed by the elites of local society. The other half of the representatives was sent from the centre. The majority of these local representatives was members of local families. These two processes mentioned above put forward various families. Some of them became state officials by receiving titles from the Sultan such as gatekeeper (*kapucubaşılık*) on one hand; some of them became members of local councils on the other. Thus, it is imperative to briefly talk about these developments in order to understand this process of local families.

3.1 Ottoman Society and Local Elites

Researches on *ayan* families in the Ottoman Empire focused on notable families in Anatolia and Rumelia, mainly mentioning the structure of *ayan* organization in the second half of the eighteenth century and later.⁹⁰ These works dealt mainly with the issue during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. However, families who managed to become *ayan* in the second half of the eighteenth century were known to be powerful and were already well-known families way before that period.⁹¹ However, some students of Ottoman history have analyzed local families and their involvement in historical processes of earlier periods.

In the sixteenth century, local elites (*eşraf* and *ayan*) were regarded as a group mediating the relations between the state and reaya. Furthermore, they were seen a group representing the reaya and helping the state officials who were to realize the state's orders.⁹² Known as the "city's leading figures" or notables, this group of people seem to have been formed by "rich merchants, the old and the wise of various guilds, well known religious leaders, as well as famous sheiks of religious orders".⁹³

The roles of these people called *eşraf* and *ayan* in urban society were as follows.

Firstly, the person appointed as "*şehir kethüdası*" was one of the local notables.

⁹⁰ Fikret Adanir, "Semi-autonomous Provincial Forces in the Balkans and Anatolia," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. III. The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. S. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 157-187. Dina Rizk Khoury, "The Ottoman centre versus provincial power-holders: an analysis of the historiography," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. III. The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. S. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 135. Özer Ergenç, "A'yân ve Eşrâf" diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine," *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012): 396-416.

⁹¹ Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Âyânlık* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1994), 1.

⁹² Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klâsik Dönemindeki Eşrâf ve A'yân Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler," in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 383.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 384.

These men were among local notables who had duties to meet the needs of people lived in neighborhoods and to look after and manage the endowments founded (especially those founded for *mahalle avarızı*) through which household (*avarız*) tax would be paid. Furthermore, these people who were among the elites of cities worked together with local judges (*kadı*) and market inspectors (*muhtesib*) for determining the market price of goods, which were brought to cities from somewhere else. This was done for the seller's and the buyer's well being that would cause no harm to either of them. The local notables also helped to sustain the relations between people and state officials especially regarding public matters. These people had a very significant place in society where money had prime importance especially pertaining to economic life and social relations. The establishment of justice, protection of cities, the dismissal of local official who misused their duties, local people's demands from the Sultan, and those who did not behave according to law were some matters realized with the petitions of these people to Istanbul.⁹⁴

These people are also very important for us to understand various social classes in society. Various titles used in Ottoman parlance help us to understand these classes. For example, the title *çelebi* used for local notables refers to nobility and worthiness.⁹⁵ During the eighteenth century, these notables known as respected people in society became tax farmers, collected taxes, assembled military units at war times, met the logistics of the army, made profits from credit and usury, and established large farms.⁹⁶ The changes occurred during the eighteenth century made

⁹⁴ Ergenç, "Osmanlı Klâsik Dönemindeki Eşrâf ve A'yân Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler," 385-389.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 391.

⁹⁶ Özer Ergenç, "A'yân ve Eşrâf" diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine," *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 397.

the eşraf and ayan occupy more important places.⁹⁷ With the creation of benefice (*arpalık*) in the eighteenth century, standby governors (*mütesellim*) governed provinces and sub-provinces. With this system of benefice, those pashas who did not physically govern their provinces (*eyalet*) or sub-provinces (*sancak*) issued *buyuruldu*s through which they appointed standby governors to administer on their behalf. At the beginning, these standby governors were from the members of *kapıkulu* corps, yet it changed later on giving way to pashas and viziers to choose these standby governors from among the local notables. This transformation was mainly caused by a series of changes such as from individual to lamp sum (*maktū'*) taxes, from limited tax farming to life-long tax farming (*malikane*).⁹⁸ This new practice of choosing standby governors from among local notables brought about the increasing influence of elites in local politics and administration. Furthermore, they became more enthusiastic in attempting to get among high-level officials in the centre, which made them to be more powerful than local officials in time. The main reason for the latter was that while viziers and pashas were being replaced after a short time, these notables who became the standby governors of their regions where they occupied very important places in collecting taxes.⁹⁹ When a notable became the standby governor of a province or a sub-province, they used their wealth to hire private soldiers (*levend* and *sekban*) in order to suppress bandits. In this way, they

⁹⁷ Yuzo Nagata, *Muhsin-zâde Mehmed Paşa ve Âyânlık Müessesesi* (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1999), 1-12. Also see Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte Âyânlar: Karaosmanoğulları Üzerine Bir İnceleme*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997).

⁹⁸ Ergenç, “‘A’yân ve Eşrâf’ diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine,” 398.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

succeeded in guaranteeing their authority and in influencing other local elites and local judges who would behave in the same direction as notables did.¹⁰⁰

As wealth and power in the periphery came as a result of acquiring this position of standby governorship in the end of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth, various local notables contested with each other in order to get this position. In order to become the sole influential notable family in their region, well-known families began to challenge each other. They used various ways such as bribery and deception to get support for their aim.¹⁰¹ Throughout the eighteenth century, standby governor positions remained in the hands of those local dynasties that had the power to collect taxes completely, as they knew the region and people there, and to direct people accordingly.¹⁰²

During the eighteenth century, we encounter so many local “*mütegallibe*” who had standby governor positions in various sub-provinces in their hands for a long time. Even if they were dismissed from that position, many local notables repossessed that later, and received some governmental positions such as “chief gatekeeper of the Sultanate” (*Dergâh-ı âlî Kapucubaşıcılığı*) and/or “*küçük mirahorluk*”, which made these notables to become state officials in the centre.¹⁰³

Immediately following the foundation of the state, as part of institutionalization, different structures had been established. One of these was the position of “chief gatekeeper”, a post in the palace organization. The position of chief gatekeeper had a

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 399.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 400.

¹⁰² Ergenç, “‘A’yân ve Eşrâf’ diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine,” 407.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

continuous change from the formation of the state through the nineteenth century. The number of people with this title increased steadily during the eighteenth century. By the second half of the eighteenth century, it began to be given to those men who provided various services for the state in the periphery. In the very same period, the position of gatekeeper was to be given to local notables as a title. Additionally, in order to increase their influence in their region, this position was given to those men who received important posts.¹⁰⁴

Local notables, as influential people in their regions, were around those men who became standby governors. The latter had to take into consideration the opinions of those local elites who were known as the “faces of region” (*vücûh-ı memleket*).¹⁰⁵ These local notables continued to realize their functions in the eighteenth century as they did in the sixteenth century. However, with the changes occurred in the eighteenth century, most of the taxes were collected from districts as lump sum, which created some problems such as the collection of taxes in due time and the distribution of these taxes lawfully among local people (*reaya*). In order to overcome these problems, among local elites, an influential person who had a significant wealth began to be elected. This brought about a further increase in their influence in their regions.¹⁰⁶

Ottoman state authorities used various definitions for these men elected such as “chief notable” (*baş a’yan*), “head of notables” (*reis-i a’yan*), and “notable of

¹⁰⁴ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1984), 406-407.

¹⁰⁵ Ergenç, “‘A’yân ve Eşrâf’ diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine,” 408.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

notables” (*aynū'l-a'yan*).¹⁰⁷ As the position of chief notable was a step towards becoming a standby governor, in order to show their power, notable families of a region as influential and wealthy groups attempted to employ many ways such as collecting taxes and establishing military groups loyal to them. During the eighteenth century, local notables, who had fiscal, administrative, and military duties, succeeded to bring the Ottoman state under the influence of notable regime. The Ottoman State had to benefit from these notables not only due to their mediating position between the reaya and the state, but also due to their financial and military support.¹⁰⁸

In other words, the intense centralization policies of the state established in the sixteenth century was dissolute and ineffective in the eighteenth century. In the ‘classical period’, the viziers and provincial governors directly represented the authority of the sultan in the provinces. Furthermore, *kadıs* did the same with their judicial authority. But in the seventeenth century, during which the Empire was facing a number of economic, social, and military difficulties, this structure began to change. In the eighteenth century, there surfaced a totally different picture as decentralization that “paved the way for local autonomy.”¹⁰⁹ In the first half of the eighteenth century, the central government attempted to regularize provincial administrative organization in the provinces via tax farming. In the second half of the eighteenth century, though, a fairly steady relationship between the center and the provinces “began to fray.” With the problem occurring during the War with Russia

¹⁰⁷ Halil, İnalçık, “Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration,” in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. T. Naff and R. Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 44.

¹⁰⁸ Ergenç, “‘A’yân ve Eşrâf’ diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine,” 410.

¹⁰⁹ Halil, İnalçık, “Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration,” in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. T. Naff and R. Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977): 27-52.

(1767-74), royalty and support of these provincial power holders became problematic issues especially in the Balkan and Arab provinces.¹¹⁰ These alterations in the attitude of provincial notables (i.e., how they got their titles, the tyranny they caused in the provinces, their semi-autonomous nature, and the like) have been well studied by students of Ottoman history; *ayan* families being in the center of their attention.

Apart from this situation stated above, the term of *ayan* is used as if it had a fixed meaning that represents a group of powerful people who were legitimately recognized with political authorities in provinces throughout centuries.¹¹¹ However, it was not the case in all centuries. In the “Classical Age”, the titles of *ayan* and *eşraf* were used to express the notables of the specific region. These people were “loose and bind” allowing to establish a bridge between the local population and the government.¹¹² In addition to this, besides the changes occurred in the meaning and representation of the term *ayan*, there were two major groups that were called *ayan* within the state. Zens states that the prevalent numbers of *ayans* were minor local notables. And they differentiated from the rest of their population because of their different prosperity and local influence. However, the second group was consisted of “grand ayans” who were officially recognized and given titles and had influence on whole provinces. “The lesser *ayan*”, termed by Zens, were in the service of powerful

¹¹⁰ Dina Rizk Khoury, “The Ottoman Centre versus Provincial Power-holders: an Analysis of the Historiography,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. III. The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. S. Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 135.

¹¹¹ Robert Zens, “Provincial Powers: The Rise of Ottoman Local Notables (*Ayan*),” *History Studies* 3, no. 3 (2011): 434.

¹¹² Albert Hourani, “Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables,” in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. W. R. Polk and R. L. Chambers (Chicago, 1968): 41–65.

“grand *ayans*” and they were the middlemen between the flock and the state officials who located in cities and towns.¹¹³

As mentioned above, because being a notable gave way to becoming a standby governor or life-long tax farmer, serious contentions and contestations among local notables surfaced. In his extensive studies about the *ayanship*, Yücel Özkaya examines the main reasons behind the emergence of *ayans* in Anatolia.¹¹⁴ In his works, he analyzed the obligations that were given to *ayans* by the State. However, he mainly focused on the bad effects and disorder created by these *ayans*. Furthermore, they had bad behaviors and tyranny towards the herds (*reaya*) and other big families living in the same place. Özkaya stated that when these people officially became *ayans*, they established coalitions with the local powerful groups (i.e., men of military and men of law). Thus, significant portion of complaints sent to Istanbul was about this major issue.¹¹⁵ Another important reason for the disorder caused by *ayans* occurred because of rivalry in order to become *ayans*. People, who wanted to become *ayan* by force, gathered their men around themselves and with the support of *levends* caused grim times. As a result, the power that they gathered abstained the *kadıs* from this problem them, and they made a deal with those *ayans*.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Zens, “Provincial Powers: The Rise of Ottoman Local Notables (Ayan),” 435.

¹¹⁴ Some of the works of Yücel Özkaya on the *ayanship* as follows: Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Âyanlık* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1994); Yücel Özkaya, “XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Yerli Ailelerin Âyanlıkları Ele Geçirilişleri ve Büyük Hânedânlıkların Kuruluşu,” *Bellekten* XLII, no. 168 (October 1978): 667-723; Yücel Özkaya, “Rumeli'de Ayanlık ile İlgili Bazı Bilgiler,” in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Vol. II*, (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1981): 407-1416; Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Dağlı İsyancıları (1791-1808)* (Ankara: Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Basımevi, 1983).

¹¹⁵ Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Âyanlık*, 169.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

At the beginning, Özkaya asserts, the organization of *ayanship* had a little influence over people and caused no harm to the positions of state officials.¹¹⁷ According to him, ayans were seen as people who were mediators between the central government and subject people, *reaya*, and they fulfilled the duties given by the central government. With the changing situations in the Ottoman Empire (i.e. the long wars, changes in the land-holding system etc.) the government began to loose power and these ayans consolidated their influence and power.¹¹⁸ The most important complaint done about ayans was in the area of taxation. *Reaya* was under the heavy loads of taxes that were higher than the actual amount in the tax books.¹¹⁹ In the second half of the eighteenth century, there was an increase in becoming ayans by force. One of the methods used for this purpose was organizing tax registers. As they were official ayans, putting a share for themselves considerably increased the taxes *reaya* had to pay. In some cases that upset the current situation in towns was caused by struggle between be seated ayan of kaza and the newly appointed ayan.¹²⁰ People who were in the allegation of becoming ayan had farms and they were all well-known families in the towns or they were civil servants who gathered pile of money during their services.¹²¹ According to Özkaya, although the ayan institution never became a tenancy, central state gave importance to their role in representing the public. In villages and towns, ayans were important mediators between the government and

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 171.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 207.

¹²⁰ Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Âyânlık*, 209.

¹²¹ Ibid., 210.

people in organizing and collecting taxes. Moreover, they had a focal role in gathering soldiers, collecting foods, and doing required works, for which they took “*ayanlık*” salaries.¹²²

In the most recent study on the subject, Ali Yaycıoğlu offers a very convincing interpretation. According to him, for a long time, scholars of Ottoman history assumed that due to the pressure of centralization and decentralization processes there was a conflict between the central government and the provincial power-holders.¹²³ By the help of the modernist theories, centralization embodied “the state, the rule of law, bureaucracy, reform, progress and modernity”.¹²⁴ In contrast, the decentralization represented “disintegration, decline, anarchy, resistance to reform, reaction and backwardness.”¹²⁵ According to Yaycıoğlu, the interpretation of the central government and the provincial power-holders as two separate incompatible groups bares some problems. Firstly, thinking about the center and the provincial-power holders as “two monolithic blocks” is deceptive.¹²⁶ Some of the people in the center tried to make alliances with people who were in the provinces. Likewise, the competing families in the provinces tried to establish connections with the center. Secondly, rather than appointing agents from the center, the state expected the provincial power-holders to fulfill much of the financial, administrative and military facilities in the provinces. Provincial power-holders in exchange of their services

¹²² Ibid., 272.

¹²³ Ali Yaycıoğlu, “Provincial Power-holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World: Conflict or Partnership?” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. C. Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 446. Also see Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

¹²⁴ Yaycıoğlu, “Provincial Power-holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World,” 446.

¹²⁵ Yaycıoğlu, “Provincial Power-holders and the Empire in the Late Ottoman World,” 446.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 447.

negotiated the terms to maximize their profits. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, provincial power-holders were linked to the Ottoman Empire horizontally not vertically. These horizontal bonds involved in establishing political relations, making contracts and negotiations. Performing these necessary and important tasks in the horizontal level (not in the vertical order imposed by the state) showed a common ground for the state and the local power-holders, as they were acting mutually like partners.¹²⁷ However, the hierarchical top to down relations based on the loyalties were also operating in some of these processes.¹²⁸ Although these provincial power-holders were eliminated in the nineteenth century, their influence and noticeable roles in the Ottoman social life did not vanish.¹²⁹

Despite this, the notable, who was chosen from among influential people and was responsible for local affairs, was a necessary tool for government officials. Due to the effects of changes in the eighteenth century on the traditional structure of the Ottoman state, notables could not meet what the state wanted from them. Hence, the state abolished the system in 1786. However, even this state decision was not completely successful to abolish notables, as they continued to have power well into the nineteenth century.¹³⁰ As mentioned above, it became a widespread phenomenon to provide the title of “chief gatekeeper” throughout time. In fact, those who received important posts were given this title. The subject of the present thesis, Ahmed Ağa, the founder and/or the oldest member of the Paşaoğulları family, was given the title of “*kapucubaşılık*” as a result of the very same process. In a document from the

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 450.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 447.

¹³⁰ Ergenç, “‘A’yân ve Eşrâf’ diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine,” 416.

Ottoman archives, we see how Ahmed Ağa was given this title. He received the title of “*kapucubaşı*” when the state considered him as the figure that would manage the affairs of rugs and textiles in Uşak. The document reads:¹³¹

Uşak kazâsında nesc ve îmâl olunmakda olan kaliçe ve kilimler nezâretine ta'yîn olunan Ahmed Ağa'ya kapucubaşılık rütbesi tevcîhi isti'dâsıyla kaliçe me'mûru Mehmed Ağa tarafından verilen tezkere üzerine Meclis-i Va'la'dan yazılan bir kıt'a mazbata evrak-ı müteferria'sıyla manzûr-ı âli buyurulmak üzere takdîm olunmağla me'al-i mazbataya nazar^{an} ol bâbda her ne vechle emr-i fermân-ı Hazret-i Şehinşâhî şeref-sudûr buyurulur ise âna göre hareket olunacağı beyânıyla tezkere-i senâveri terkîm kılındı efendim” fî 16 [Ş]aban sene [12]68.

3.2 Representation and Councils after the *Tanzimat*

The institutional regulations during the nineteenth century were mainly undertaken with an intention to catch the then developments. Governmental organization and imperial understanding being the first, in order to converge to the periods last developments; military, fiscal, economic and administrative reforms were initiated.¹³² These changes brought about other general reforms. Keeping the Sultan's authority intact, the re-organization of central institutions was prioritized.

In this period, we encounter many developments to reform the central state, such as the formation of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye*) in 1838, the establishment of ministries, the foundation of specialized councils and boards in various matters. The new system, with the establishment of ministries, for instance, put an end to the grand vizier's authority as a sole decision maker on behalf of the Sultan. Alternatively, it turned to be an office

¹³¹ İ.MVL. 240/8615, docs.1-6.

¹³² Musa Çadırcı, “Tanzimat'tan Sonra Merkez-Yerel Yönetim İlişkileri,” in *Tanzimat Sürecinde Türkiye Ülke Yönetimi* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007), 303.

that took the decisions to the Sultan for his approval.¹³³ The Supreme Council and the General Parliament (*Meclis-i Umûmî*) were as though parliamentary units. The Sultan directly appointed their members and presidents, who could also be non-Muslims.¹³⁴

Similar reforms undertaken in the centre were also applied to the local extensions of the central state. There happened a change in the provincial system, the name of *eyâlet* being replaced by *vilâyet*. In this way, various administrative units could be formed to cover smaller areas. Moreover, an administrative unit called *kaza* was established in the periphery.¹³⁵

With the Tanzimat, the number of members in the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances increased. Furthermore, its quality turned to be working like councils in parliamentary systems. Following this, similar councils began to be founded in the provincial and sub-provincial centers. In 1845, from all over the Ottoman country, two representatives (one Muslim and one non-Muslim) from each province, who would propose solutions to problems and realize the reforms in their province, were called to go to Istanbul. These men were wanted to supply their opinions following they met state officials in Istanbul.¹³⁶

Other than this, between 1841 and 1864, the “district managers” (*kaza müdürü*) began to be selected from among the local elites in those regions. In the same period, with the regulation, the *kaimmakam* appointed from the centre was made responsible

¹³³ Ibid., 305.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 306.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Çadırcı, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Merkez-Yerel Yönetim İlişkileri,” 308.

for the district's administration.¹³⁷ The elections done for choosing district managers created all sorts of contentions among local notable families. As a result of these fights, in many locales, the governors were wanted to appoint the district manager directly. Choosing district representatives was abolished in 1864 with the application of the Tuna Province.¹³⁸

By 1842, community representatives found seats in these local councils, and they had the opportunity to involve in decision making in such matters as administration, justice, education and taxation, all of which had direct implications on communities' lives.¹³⁹ The participation of the local people in administration – even if it was via the known people's representations – was important that eventually made local people conscious about local administration.

When looked at the relations between the central state and local power holders, there was no change or improve in the perception of the former for the latter. The powerful local notable families known as the “faces of region” (*vücûh-ı memleket*) continued to sustain their existence in their region as they did before. Sometimes, this included similar behaviors they had done before such as the appropriation of state revenues they collected as taxes, the pressure they made on the local people, and the evading from services to be provided.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, as they prioritized their family and personal benefits, it was not as successful as it was thought.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 308-309.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 309.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Çadırcı, “Tanzimat’tan Sonra Merkez-Yerel Yönetim İlişkileri,” 310.

With the promulgation of Tanzimat, the state undertook reform movements in the administration of the country. Because the administrative system employed between 1840 and 1842 did not give the results as hoped, from March 1842 onwards another regulation process began to be followed. The institution called *muhassıllık*, which was founded with Tanzimat, was abolished. However, the *muhassıllık* councils founded to help the *muhassıls* sustain their existence, now under a different name. Furthermore, another important institution of this period was the administrative unit called kaza, which was different from the judicial unit called with the same name in the classical period.¹⁴¹

As mentioned just above, the judicial-administrative unit was in fact existent in the classical period of the Ottoman Empire. What was new in 1840 was that there began a new phase of application which required collection of taxes from people who would pay taxes once or twice in accordance with their incomes. In this new administrative program, in addition to changes done at the sub-province and province levels, another administrative unit was created after the smallest unit, village (*karye*).

There were too many people the *muhassıls* hired in order to collect the tithe tax. Furthermore, the salaries that would be paid to them consisted of almost half of the tax collected. Sultan Abdülmecid had clearly stated these two problems in an imperial edict issued. Because of these people who were responsible for tithe taxes, it was a common complaint among people that the product could not be collected, which created all sorts of problems.¹⁴² Hence, in order to barricade this problem and to improve people's security along with their wealth, local people in each district and

¹⁴¹ Musa Çadırcı, "Türkiye'de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876)," in *Tanzimat Sürecinde Türkiye Ülke Yönetimi* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007), 231.

¹⁴² Çadırcı, "Türkiye'de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876)," 232.

sub-province elected someone who was among the elites of that region as the “district manager” (*kaza müdürü*). This was discussed and accepted in the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances unanimously, and approved by the Sultan.¹⁴³ According to the decision of the Supreme Council, the fiscal, administrative and security affairs of each province would be transferred to the governor (*vâli*). The latter had a deputy called the *deftardar*. In the sub-provincial level, this was transferred to *kaimmakams*. In the newly established administrative unit of *kaza*, moreover, this would be done by the *kaza müdürü*, who would be someone chosen from among local notables.¹⁴⁴

This practice began to be applied in every province. In districts as judicial units, elites in those regions would elect someone from among their own as a *müdür* within the rules applied in the elections of *muhtar* or notables. The specifications sought in these people were “well behaved who would seek the benefit of people and the state, talented, and efficient”.¹⁴⁵

Even though *müdürs* were salaried officials at the beginning, this practice was soon dropped taking a direction to monthly salaries to be paid by the people of the district depending on the district’s size. In larger districts, these *müdürs* were to be undertaken their duties with deputies whose salary varied from 200 to 300 kuruş.¹⁴⁶

In order to barricade the appropriation of state revenues by and corruption of *müdürs* and headmen of villages (*muhtars*), these men were demanded to provide trustworthy

¹⁴³ Ibid., 232-233.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 233.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Çadırcı, “Türkiye’de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876),” 233.

guarantors.¹⁴⁷ The latter was a long enduring system in the Ottoman Empire. Even though it was a necessity that district managers were to be elected from among the known families of those regions, *kaimmakams* were eager to provide this position to their relatives. The local people's protest in such circumstances would not change the situation. In addition to that, appointments of such men from the centre were only made if people with such required qualities were not available in the district or if the local people requested the central government to directly appoint a manager to the district.¹⁴⁸

Sometimes the elections of kaza *müdürs* could bring about a division among local people. Most of the time, the results were in the favor of the one who was the powerful side. Alternatively, the powerful side would give an end to the office of the existing one. Because the state did not desire the local people's involvement in quarrels, in such circumstances the central government would appoint the manager itself.¹⁴⁹

One of the prime duties of district managers was the timely collection of the tithe and some other taxes from villages within the district. Furthermore, helping people to securely sustain their livelihood and helping the application of the Tanzimat reforms were their other obligations granted to them with regulations.¹⁵⁰ The district manager would create local councils in their districts that would control tax distribution tables provided by headmen and priests of villages. If they saw any discrepancies between the previous and current tax distribution notes, they would search for the reasons and

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 234.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 235.

¹⁵⁰ Çadircı, "Türkiye'de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876)," 235.

would send them to the *kaimmakam* after approving.¹⁵¹ They were expected to be extremely vigilant for not putting tax on those villagers who had to leave their location due to hardship etc.¹⁵²

In the boards of sub-provinces presided over by the *kaimmakam*, the annual accounts of district managers were to be controlled in the beginning of each financial year. Especially, accountants sent the accounting registers to the provincial treasurer (*defterdar*) who would supply these registers to the provincial councils with the amendments necessary.¹⁵³

Like many state officials, district managers were also involved in appropriation of money and corruption that eventually brought about their dismissal or exile. The relations between these district managers and local people did not develop on mutual understanding. However, what they did in terms of putting money in their own pocket was not welcomed by local people; despite the fact that this sort of behavior was very common among state officials.¹⁵⁴

The prime duty of district managers was the collection of taxes. Hence, as Çadırcı states, it is possible to see them as mere collectors rather than as managers permanently sitting in district centers.¹⁵⁵ These *müdürs* were also in close connection with deputy judges and the members of local councils, which were composed of well-known local elites in order to undertake the necessary jobs. It is important to

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Sudi, *Defter-i muktesid* II (Dersaadet, 1307), in Çadırcı, “Türkiye’de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876),” 235.

¹⁵³ Çadırcı, “Türkiye’de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876),” 235-236.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 236.

¹⁵⁵ Çadırcı, “Türkiye’de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876),” 244.

note here that following the Tanzimat reforms; the district managers took over the obligations of the *voynodas* and local notables who were in charge prior to Tanzimat. In addition to that, the central state expected important responsibilities from these district managers such as security of the district and the like. However, as these managers were insufficient to provide these, the district manager unit was abolished and *kaimmakams* were appointed as district administrators.¹⁵⁶

With the regulations undertaken in 1858, the district manager began to be responsible from fiscal, administrative and security matters in the district. The matters under his responsibility were: security of the district; litigation cases to be adjudicated in the district council according to *şeriat* and laws and justly; state revenues to be collected timely and transferred to the concerned place; treating everyone from any communal group justly and protecting them.¹⁵⁷

For the disputes to be adjudicated in the district council, the district manager was expected that justice must be applied. Furthermore, if there was any homicide occurred in the district that should be interrogated in the sub-province or province level, they were expected to send the files to the sub-province centre after the initial interrogation done. They also acted as the responsible person who would guarantee the security in the district, choose the security personnel from trustworthy people, and work with the security officials to stop any banditry activity in the district. Besides these, the district manager was responsible to timely hand over the taxes collected to the central treasury. The keeper of the local community savings chest (*sandık emini*) was responsible to transfer the collected taxes to the central

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 245-246.

treasury.¹⁵⁸ The district manager was also responsible to let know the sub-province council about some matters. They that had to do so after making the district council see the matter before.

The reforms to regulate the administrative system continued from 1858 to 1862. On 8 November 1864, local administrative system was regulated with the “*Tuna Vilayeti Nizamnamesi*”. According to this *nizamname*, the district level administration was organized in such a way: each sub-province (*sancak*) was organized around various districts (*kazas*). These districts were to be known as directorates (*müdürlük*). Each district would consist of villages (*karye* or *köy*). In each district, there would be managers (*müdürs*) responsible for fiscal, administrative, and security matters. These *müdürs* were to be supervised by *kaimmakams* in sub-provinces. In necessary, these *müdürs*, with the assistance of the district deputy, would check the district’s financial position and inform the *kaimmakam* about the situation.¹⁵⁹

The district manager and other fiscal officials had to provide guarantors in order to barricade the appropriation of state revenues. In the occurrence of such corruptions, the guarators would act as surety and provide the missed money. Hence, district councils were to be careful in choosing these men from trustworthy people.¹⁶⁰

In districts, an Administration Council (*idare meclisi*) was to be essembled, which was presided over by the *kaza müdürü*. This council would be composed of the judge of the district, the mufti, the religious leaders (*reis-i ruhâni*) of non-Muslim groups, the district’s clerk (*kâtib*), and four other members. In order to allow non-Muslim

¹⁵⁸ Çadırcı, “Türkiye’de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876),” 246-246.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 249-250.

¹⁶⁰ Musa Çadırcı, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Eyalet ve Sancaklarda Meclislerin Oluşturulması (1840-1864),” in *Tanzimat Sürecinde Türkiye Ülke Yönetimi* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007), 283.

groups to be represented, two of these latter four men would be appointed. The District's Administration Council did not provide service for judicial cases. Instead of this, administration, education, finance, title deeds, and agriculture were its topics. Judicial cases were left to the council of lawsuits (*meclis-i de'avi*) presided over by the judge. However, in addition to these councils of lawsuits, şeriat courts still continued to exist. Muslims would go to the kadi's court for matters concerned şeriat law. Non-Muslims would go to their own communal means for such matters. The councils of lawsuits consisted of the judge and four men, two Muslims and two non-Muslims, elected at the kaza level elections.¹⁶¹ As stated before, in these councils, criminal, commercial, and religious cases were not solved. In other words, these councils were established for matters other than these cases. The manager had the last word for some cases, yet in others he had to transfer it to the *kaimmakam* of the sub-province.¹⁶²

How the elections would realize was also determined according to the "*Tuna Vilayeti Nizamnamesi*". The elections were to be repeated every two years. The election board was to be composed of the kaza müdürü, judge, mufti, lay and religious leaders of non-Muslim groups, and the district clerk. In these elections, people living in villages and in district centre would elect Muslim and non-Muslim board members who were over 30 years of age and who paid annual tax over 150 kuruş.¹⁶³ Some of these elected men would then be sent to the council of lawsuits by the *kaimmakam*, then let know the district managers.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Çadırcı, "Türkiye'de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876)," 250.

¹⁶² Ibid., 251.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Çadırcı, "Türkiye'de Kaza Yönetimi (1840-1876)," 251.

The district manager, along with the administration of the council, was responsible in managing the district's fiscal and administrative matters. The judicial matters, on the other hand, were left to another council that dealt with judicial cases. Hence, in practice, there were two councils. The administration council (*idare meclisi*) was in the management of the *kaza müdürü*, while the council of lawsuits (*meclis-i de'avi*) was under the rule of the judge.¹⁶⁵

In the administration of provinces, it is possible to regard these councils as a kind of “local management boards”. However, it should be noted that the central government had a significant position in these councils, and the locally representatives functioned as a board of consultation. Other than these councils founded within the administrative structure of the province, there were other boards having locally elected men. *Maarif*, *Nafia*, and *Ziraat* boards were of this sort. In these boards, the problems of the regions were mostly left to the locally elected representatives. Other than these, in judicial system (i.e., the court), there were locally elected members.

The *vilayet nizamnameleri* between 1864 and 1871 brought the systemic rules in the central government to provincial administration as well. The treasurer (*defterdar*), the trade manager (*ticaret müdürü*), the agricultural manager (*ziraat müdürü*), and the population manager (*nüfus müdürü*) were all under the supervision of the governor (*vali*), yet they all planned and practiced their own jobs.¹⁶⁶

The locally elected representatives in these administration councils were another problem of the governor and his deputy. However, whatever the general atmosphere

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 252.

¹⁶⁶ İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği* (İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1985), 67.

was, it would accelerate the participation process in the local level. In the centre of each province, the Provincial administration council (*Vilayet İdare Meclisi*), and other councils in sub-administration units were gathered under the management of the governor (*mutasarrıf*) and *kaimmakam*.¹⁶⁷

3.3 Trade and Agriculture

The first tangible set of data concerning Ottoman Uşak come from the tax surveys of the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁸ In this period, within the administrative structure of the Ottoman state, Uşak was a district (*kaza*) of the sub-province (*sancak*) in the Province of Anatolia (*Anadolu Eyaleti*). This continued for centuries until the nineteenth century, during which the Ottoman administrative structure had substantial changes. Following the abolishment of provinces in Anatolia in 1836, it became a district in the Kütahya sub-province of the Hüdavendigar Province.¹⁶⁹ By the second half of the nineteenth century, the people of Uşak recurrently requested

¹⁶⁷ Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneği*, 68.

¹⁶⁸ Some of the recent studies on Uşak are as follow: Sadiye Tutsak, “Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası,” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no: 16 (2001): 175-192. M. Murat Öntuğ and Erdoğan Solak, “Uşak Şer’iyye Sicillerinin Şekil ve Muhteva Açısından Değerlendirilmesi,” *AKÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* II, no. 2 (2001):11-25. Mehtap Özdeğer, “Uşak,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 42, (2012): 222-226. Mehtap Özdeğer, “19. Yüzyılda Uşak Şehrinde Ekonomik ve Sosyal Hayat,” in *21. Yüzyılın Eşiğinde Uşak Sempozyumu, Vol. 1* (İstanbul: Uşaklılar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 2001): 231-258. Biray Çakmak, “Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Bağlamında Bir Batı Anadolu Kazasında Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapı: Uşak (1876-1908),” Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2008). Biray Çakmak, “Geç Dönem Osmanlı Taşra Toplumunda Eşrafın Mahallî İşlevleri Üzerine: Uşaklı Tiridzâde Mehmed Paşa,” *Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi (CTAD)* 7, no. 13 (2011): 3-29. Biray Çakmak, “Mahallî Tarihî Demografi Araştırmalarında Vilâyet Salnâmelerinin Veri Değeri: Uşak Kazası Örneğinde Kısmî Zamanlı Bir İnceleme (1897-1898/1906-1907),” in *CIEPO Uluslararası Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmaları 6. Ara Dönem Sempozyum Bildirileri, Vol. 1* (İzmir: Uşak İli Kalkınma Vakfı Yayını, 2011): 359-394. Biray, Çakmak, “İktisadî Değişim ve Devlet: 19. Yüzyılda Uşak Halıcılığı,” *Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi (CTAD)* 5, no. 10 (2010): 139-163.

¹⁶⁹ Sadiye Tutsak, “Uşak Kazasında Mülkî Taksimatın Gelişimi,” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. IX (1994): 306-315.

that the kaza of Uşak be allocated to the İzmir sub-province of the Aydın Province; it was rejected due to the physical propinquity of Uşak to Kütahya.¹⁷⁰ The main reason for this was the increasing importance of İzmir developed as a port city in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and its linking role between Anatolia and the West in the nineteenth century as the most significant port city in the Ottoman Empire. The significant increase in İzmir's trade potential by 22 times between 1800 and 1914 is a direct proof for this.¹⁷¹

Uşak remained in the trade activities of İzmir in a way that half of the latter's exports were produced in the former. The most important revenue unit of people's subsistence included rugs and kilims produced in Uşak were transported to İzmir, from which they were exported to European countries. It is known that a significant amount of money was diverted to Anatolia via the rug production known as "İzmir rugs" in Europe. Uşak had extracted from export around 150.000 liras in the 1890s, which would increase to 300.000 liras in the 1905s.¹⁷²

Apart from rugs produced in Uşak, there were agricultural products sent to İzmir. They were mostly grain, opium, acorn, fresh grape, wool, and gallnuts. These produces were mostly sent to Russia and Italy. Furthermore, the textile industry in Uşak met the local demand. Uşak's relations with İzmir was not only coming from

¹⁷⁰ Sadiye Tutsak, "Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no: 16 (2001),175-176. Also see Biray Çakmak, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Yönetme ve Yönetilme Kaygıları: Uşak Kazasında Mülkî-İdarî Değişim Talepleri ve Teşebbüsleri (1908-1919)," *OTAM* 36, (2014): 45-65; Biray Çakmak, "Osmanlı Taşrasında Yönetilme Kaygıları: Karahallı Mülkî Nahiyesi'nin Kuruluşu," *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 10, no. 19 (2014): 3-25; Biray Çakmak, "Uşak Kazası'nda Mekânın Mülkî-İdarî-Askerî-Adlî-Ticarî Organizasyonu ve Mülkî Nahiyelerin Yönetimi (1870-1908)," *Journal of Faculty of Letters* 31, no. 2 (2014): 47-76.

¹⁷¹ Çağlar Keyder et al., "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 16, no. 4 (Fall, 1993): 519-558.

¹⁷² Sadiye Tutsak, "Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no: 16 (2001): 178.

selling its local produce; it also bought locally need produce such as sugar and soap from Izmir.¹⁷³

By the mid-nineteenth century, the relations between the Ottoman Empire and European states reached a new phase. Following the Crimean War of 1856, capital holders in Europe began to obtain various privileges from the Ottoman state for railway constructions.¹⁷⁴ With British capital, the first railway construction in Western Anatolia was completed in 1866. Having two lines, this railway's first direction was the Izmir-Aydın line, and the second one the İzmir-Kasaba (Turgutlu) line.¹⁷⁵ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Alaşehir-Afyon line, an extension of the Izmir-Kasaba line was finalized. Uşak became a more significant point with the completion of these railway lines. In fact, Uşak's position as the second trains stop after Izmir considerably increased the city's importance in trade. Uşak connected to other cities and towns via other railway lines established.¹⁷⁶

By the early years of the nineteenth century, Turkish rugs and kilims began to become a part of the cultural life style of the middle-class.¹⁷⁷ The Ottoman rug sector had a significant change between 1750 and 1914 following a considerable increase of

¹⁷³ Sadiye Tutsak, "Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no: 16 (2001): 177-178.

¹⁷⁴ Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara, 1991), 300-301 cited in Sadiye Tutsak, "Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası," 179.

¹⁷⁵ Donald Quataert, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Demir Yolları," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, VII, 1630-1631, 1633 cited in Sadiye Tutsak, "Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası," 179.

¹⁷⁶ Sadiye Tutsak, "Osmanlı Devletinin Son Devirlerinde Uşak Kazası," 179.

¹⁷⁷ For more information on the carpet production see: Donald Quataert, "Machine Breaking and the Changing Carpet Industry of Western Anatolia, 1860-1908," *Journal of Social History* 19, no. 3 (Spring, 1986): 473-489; Donald Quataert, "Some preliminary observations on silk and carpet workers in the Ottoman Empire, 1750-1914," *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (1984): 1-5. Also see Biray Çakmak, "XX. Yüzyıl Başında Uşak'ta Kurulan İp Fabrikaları," *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (2008): 41-58; Halil İnalçık, *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2008).

demand for Turkish rugs in the West.¹⁷⁸ As underlined by the late Donald Quataert, the increasing interest in “oriental rugs” became more noticeable in the London, Paris, Vienna and Philadelphia exhibitions gathered between 1851 and 1876.¹⁷⁹ By the early years of the twentieth century, the use of Turkish rugs in the houses of European middle class – and even the working class – members became a common consumption pattern.¹⁸⁰

In this increasing rug consumption in Europe, some Anatolian cities became prominent. The most important rug production centers in Western Anatolia, also close to the Izmir port, were Uşak, Kula, Gördes, and Demirci. Uşak, among these rug production centers, deserves a particular attention, as it considerably increased its rug production (almost doubling) between 1870 and 1890, even though it had been an important rug-producing city.¹⁸¹ Uşak was exporting 50-60 thousand square meters rugs to Europe during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Towards the last decade of the same century, this portion of rug export increased to 440 thousand square meters.¹⁸² This important because the total rug export to Europe from the entire Ottoman Empire increased from 17 million kuruş in the 1870s to almost 32 million kuruş in the 1890s.¹⁸³ The majority of these rugs was exported to Europe from Izmir, the most important port city in the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁸ Donald Quataert, “The Carpet-Makers of Western Anatolia, 1750-1914,” *The Textile Museum Journal* (1986): 25.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

In order to meet the increasing rug demand, it was necessary to make some adjustments in rug production. This gave way to some families to dominate the market in some parts of Anatolia. According to Quataert, the Yılandıođlu family was the earliest one establishing a rug factory in the 1770s that is an important example to show how increased the rug demand. Quataert further asserts, by the nineteenth century, a Turkish merchant, Hacı Ali Efendi, became a prominent trader having the facility of producing 3000 rugs.¹⁸⁴

Some of the producers, who wanted to make profit in a quicker way, made carpets and rugs without vigilance that caused damage in rug sector. In the 1840s, local producers from Uşak and experts sent from the center made some measurements in order to increase rug production in Uşak. One of these measures taken was to find someone from Uşak who would supervise the carpet production with local motifs. The second was “to import machines from Europe for the production of carpets.”¹⁸⁵

The rug sector in Uşak, too, well benefitted from the general improvement attempts of the Ottoman state in agriculture, trade and industry. One of these for the improvement of the rug industry in Uşak was the so-called *sermaye akçesi*, a cash support with very low interest given to producers to support their rug production. The support was to be given to the producer with someone’s surety.¹⁸⁶ The production of the carpets in Uşak and Gördes, by using sound textiles with modern press techniques, was increased in order to meet the demand coming from within and the West. In so doing, the *hayriye* merchant Hacı Mehmed Ağa from Uşak and a

¹⁸⁴ Donald Quataert, “The Carpet-Makers of Western Anatolia,” 26-27.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 27.

¹⁸⁶ Biray Çakmak, “Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Bağlamında Bir Batı Anadolu Kazasında Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapı: Uşak (1876-1908),” Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Ankara: Hacettepe University, 2008), 82.

certain Hacı Ahmed Ağa from Gördes were called to Istanbul to do some consultations in the Agricultural Council. These two men promised to produce the rugs and carpets in the way that was requested, i.e. according to printed pictures. They also stated that they wanted to benefit from state aid called the “*sermaye akçesi*.”¹⁸⁷

The person who helped Hacı Mehmed Ağa the hayriye merchant in helping him to oversee the carpet production in Uşak was Acemzade Ali Ağa. According to the contract between Hacı Mehmed Ağa and Acemzade Ali Ağa, the former would provide to the latter one fourth of the revenues from carpet production. This portion of revenues was to be given to Acemzade Ali Ağa for his management in the production. Upon the death of Acemzade Ali Ağa, his heirs petitioned Istanbul for getting the remainder of their father’s share, yet their demand was declined. Following Acemzade Ali Ağa’s death, his position was granted to Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa, founder of another prominent family in Uşak. The members of the Acemzade family continued to object this. Yet, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa was granted the title of chief gatekeeper (*Dergâh-ı Âli kapucubaşılığı*) in order to deactivate the objections coming from the Acemzades.¹⁸⁸ Hacı Mehmed Ağa, the appointed man who was responsible for the rug production, petitioned İstanbul to appoint Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa to the position overseeing rug production in Uşak. Hacı Mehmed Ağa’s petition reads:¹⁸⁹

Ma’rûz-ı çâkerleridir ki: Bâ-irâde-i seniyye Uşak kazâsında nesc ve i’âmâl kılınmakta olan nevresim kaliçe ve kilimlerin i’âmâlatına taraf-ı çâkeriden

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 83.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 84.

¹⁸⁹ İ.MVL 240/8615.

nezâretine bundan akdem me'mûr olan kaza-ı mezkûr sâkinlerinden Acemoğlu Ali Ağa kullarının vefâtı mülasebesiyle bu def'a nezâret-i mezkûra aharının ta'yini lâzım gelirse müteveffânın mahdûmları ve birâderinden devletçe rütbe bulunmuş olduğundan bu def'a nezâret-i mezkûra ta'yîn kılınan her ne kadar kaza-ı mezkûr eşraf-ı hânedânından ve gedüklü zü'emâlarından ve eshâb-ı dirayet ve ma'lûmât-nâmesi derece-i kemâlde olduğu beyne'l-ahâli müselleme ise de fakat müteveffânın familyalarında rütbe-i seniyye bulunmak cihetiyle i'mâlât nezâretinde rütbesiz zâtın istihdâmı bir nev' i'mâlata sekteyi mücib olacağı bi'l-îzâh tefhîm kılınmış idiğünden nezârete tevafuk iylediği halde savb-ı çâkeriden i'mâlât-ı mezkûra nezâretine bu def'a ta'yîn kılınan Paşazâde Ahmed Ağa kullarına bi'l-îcâb kapucubaşılık...

The appointment of Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa to this position by Hacı Mehmed Ağa accelerated the contentions between the Acemoğlu and Paşaoğlu families, even though the problems between these two prominent families in Uşak had started a few years earlier. Furthermore, these problems between the two families brought about a division between local people in the district of Uşak making the central authorities' involvement necessary in the matter.¹⁹⁰

The state's close attention to the rug production in Uşak can be clearly seen in the petition of Hacı Mehmed Ağa. As the appointed person who was responsible to manage the carpet production in the city, Hacı Mehmed was trying to increase production level through the supervision of a local man, Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa, who must have had close economic ties with Hacı Mehmed Ağa. Furthermore, in keeping the production level upward, various religious and state departments in the Ottoman Empire demanded carpets from Uşak. During the first years of the Tanzimat period, the Ministry of Endowments (*Evkaf Nezareti*) wanted to change the rugs in the Ayasofya Mosque of Istanbul with new carpets produced in Uşak. The Mosque was in a significant restoration at that time. The amount of carpet demanded by the

¹⁹⁰ There are a few documents pertaining to these contentions between the two families. See MVL.87/7; A.}DVN. 52/75; MVL.283/45.

Ministry for the Ayasofya Mosque was more than 8000 square meters. For this, Hacı Mehmed Ağa the hayriye merchant and Paşazade Ahmed Ağa, who was to assist Hacı Mehmed Ağa in this matter, promised to send the requested portion of carpets based on the sample.¹⁹¹ The carpets to be sent to the Ayasofya Mosque would be in single color and simple style. Hacı Mehmed Ağa, the appointee for the carpet production in Uşak, did this with the help of Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa who was helped in this matter by Ferdekzade Hacı Hüsyin Ağa and Bozoğlanzade İbrahim Efendi.¹⁹²

In addition to the above stated notes, at the time when he was granted the title of “the Chief Gatekeeper”, Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa was the deputy of the Agricultural Manager in Uşak. Later on, Halid Bey was promoted to the same position. However, believing that this change would harm the carpet production in Uşak, Hacı Mahmed Ağa the hayriyye merchant requested from the sub-provincial authorities to promote this position back to Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa. The local people also sent a petition wanting Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa to be the deputy again. However, the governor of the Hüdavendigâr Province, instead of the two men, appointed to this position a neutral man from the local elites in Uşak, İbrahim Kethüdazade Mehmed Ağa.¹⁹³

The most important manufactured and traded goods in Uşak in the nineteenth century were rugs and textiles. The central authorities were closely watching whether the production and management of these products were rightly done. Hence, even though there was someone appointed from the centre for this matter, a notable person that was influential in Uşak was chosen to oversee the production of rugs. Paşaoğlu

¹⁹¹ Biray Çakmak, “Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Bağlamında Bir Batı Anadolu Kazasında Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapı: Uşak,” 92.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 85.

Ahmed Ağa was indeed that person in the period under scrutiny. Why local prominent families were important for the state can be understood from Ottoman archival documents that provide a good deal of information regarding the carpet production in Uşak. As mentioned above, we see from an Ottoman document recorded in 1852 that Hacı Mehmed Ağa, the public servant for carpet production in Uşak, appointed Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa as his deputy. Furthermore, Ahmed Ağa's dismissal from this position caused a decrease in the production.¹⁹⁴ True or not, the decrease in carpet production in Uşak must have been used in Hacı Mehmed Ağa's petition as a means of grabbing the central authorities' attention. What is important here is that the relations between public servants and local notable families were further intensified in this period.

Furthermore, what we gather from Ottoman archival documents is that Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa also undertook the duty of being the Agricultural Manager of Uşak (*Uşak ziraat müdürlüğü*), which was also stated in the last part of the family's genealogy in this thesis. In a petition (*mazhar*) sent by the people of Uşak, it was stated that people complained that Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa, when he was the Agricultural Manager of Uşak, bought the goods from local people with lower prices, hence causing damage to people's well-being. Moreover, in a note (*şukka*) written to the treasurer of the Hüdavendigâr Province, we see that local people complained about Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa and Halid Bey, two members of the district council in Uşak, for purchasing opium with lower values and selling them to a foreign merchant. Hence, these two men were dismissed from the district council.¹⁹⁵ As a result, Ahmed Ağa was dismissed from this position being forced to relocate in his

¹⁹⁴ MVL 250. 33/8; MVL 250.33/1; MVL 250.33/9

¹⁹⁵ A. MKT 237/96

village. However, despite being enjoined, Ahmed Ağa distributed gossips in Istanbul that he would again be the Agricultural Manager of Uşak. Due to these gossips transmitted, the local people in Uşak requested from central state authorities to forewarn Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa to stay in his village, Bozkuş, and not to go back to Uşak.¹⁹⁶



¹⁹⁶ A.}DVN. 52/16

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The first and foremost feature of this study aiming at scrutinizing the history of a deep-rooted family – that is the Paşaoğulları family – in Uşak is that it is a study on family history. However, based on this case study, it is feasible to gather certain amount of information regarding the political, administrative, social, and cultural history of the Ottoman Empire. Ahmed Ağa, the first member of the family that we have information about was among the elites of local society like other families in Uşak. Being in a position of representing the local people at first, he later established close relations with the Ottoman administration and, by having the title of “gatekeeper”, he became a state official along with his classical role as a representative of local people. In fact, this title was not earned through a direct obligation fulfilled. By the eighteenth century, by giving this kind of or similar titles, the state authorities had already begun to include into state positions those people who would provide certain services in the centre and provinces. In other words, the “gatekeeper” position should be regarded as a nominal title. As explained in the

concerned section, it is possible to see those men as agents pursuing a way to get into governmental positions by getting such titles in various cities and towns of Anatolia and Rumelia.¹⁹⁷ Following his gain of the title of “gatekeeper”, Ahmed son of Hacı Ibrahim, the founder of the Paşaoğulları family, began to be called as “ağa” that was a soubriquet used for military people in the Ottoman Empire. Also, in line with the Ottoman administrative tradition, Ahmed Ağa’s sons were also called by the same title as of their birth. It was a right inherited from the father’s title.

Among the members of the Paşaoğulları family, we do not see anyone with a title of pasha, as there was no one reaching the office of vizierate. There are examples in Ottoman history showing that people in other regions got to the office of vizierate and had very important duties in the centre. The most important men in this respect were the Karaosmanoğulları in Manisa and the Çapanoğulları in Yozgat. These two families extended their activities beyond the place of their origin.

Almost all of the activities of the Paşaoğulları family were in Uşak. However, the sons of Ahmed Ağa from his second wife were involved in the Ottoman army as ranked soldiers. Other than them, there was no one who occupied an important position in Istanbul. However, my oral history works through interviews with later generations show that family members articulated some stories about their close connections with the palace in Istanbul. Furthermore, some of these stories include anecdotes that their ancestors received educated with some Ottoman princes in Istanbul. It is impossible to document these narratives. Most likely, these stories were the product of the inclination to mark the family’s self-esteem.

¹⁹⁷ Ergenç, “‘A’yân ve Eşrâf” diye Anılan Seçkinler Grubunun XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumundaki Rolü Üzerine,” 407.

Beginning with Ahmed Ağa, the members of the Paşaoğulları family became members of sub-province and district councils that were the fundamental institutions in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, they attempted to influence these councils to choose people close to them as representatives. Another tendency we see in the Paşaoğulları family that was similar to other elite local families elsewhere is that they acquired positions distributed from the centre. For instance, Ahmed Ağa performed the Deputy Director of Agriculture in the District of Uşak. When not at office, they did not hesitate to get involved in relations with those fulfilling such positions. For instance, Ahmed Ağa's son, Mehmed Ağa, was involved in these kinds of activities in Uşak very regularly. In this respect, the family's influence in the region can be seen in Ottoman archival documents.

The most remarkable role the family played was their involvement during the Turkish War of Independence following WWI to save the region from the occupation forces. As is well known, during the process of organization, the national forces led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) had utmost reliance on the members of these families forming a significant civil unit of power. Hence, it can be said that in this period the family had a role to lead local people rather than being a mere civil servant. As explained in the concerned section, the individuals from the Paşaoğulları family took active roles in mosques and in other meeting spots in order to explain the current situation to people.

As for the features of later generations of the family in the Turkish Republic, the inclinations of this period can be more vividly seen in the example of the Paşaoğulları family as a medium-scale ayan family. As can be seen in the genealogy, during the Ottoman period, the family sustained its existence via marriages with other family members or with other families at equal power. So, the family was

already well known not only as Paşaoğulları but also as the Tahtakılıç family. Besides, marriages with the Acemoğulları family formed another line in the family. This shows us that one of the most important features of the pre-modern period is that how old the values possessed determined the family's importance. At this point, it is important to see that the family is remembered with its roots that bring wealth, money and education. Furthermore, it is equally important that the family is also remembered with its roots when government position represents the state power.

The opposite is also true. In modern societies, the individual targets to be remembered and existed with her/his own values. Hence, the affinities lose their obligatory nature even though they are to an extent used as a surname. The Paşaoğlu surname was not used in the Republican period. The Tahtakılıç family, a line of the Paşaoğulları, is an exception in this regard.

We do not have enough information about the founder of the Paşaoğulları dynasty, its male members, and their culture levels. Almost without exception, we have acquired no data about their education, which schools they went to, and so on. Furthermore, based on the birth registers, it is understood that male members of the family were not among the educated. Almost in every registration, the word "*mahdum*" was written as "*mahtum*" that cannot be a typo. Moreover, even in very short sentences, there are very basic grammar mistakes. This is related to the diminishing importance of learning the Arabic and Persian languages, despite the fact that education became widespread. However, when looking at the education levels of male and female members of the family, it can be said that the education level of family members increased considerably. Most of them are graduates from reputable universities and perform the professions in which high strata people are employed.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Paşaoğulları family, with its generations in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, is a typical medium scale ayan family that contain similarities with other ayan families.



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(A.} MKT.DV.)

No. 49/95; 131/32

d) Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Nezaret ve Deva'ir Evrakı (A.} MKT.NZD)

No. 53/82

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No. 176/88; 224/47

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No. 9450

g) Meclis-i Vala Evrakı (MVL)

No. 87/7; 250/33; 252/70; 283/45; 294/62; 522/122

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APPENDICES

A. A page from the *temettiât* register concerning Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa

Handwritten Ottoman Turkish text from a *temettiât* register, detailing land and tax records for Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa. The document is organized into several columns and rows, with headings and numerical entries. The text is written in a cursive script and includes various administrative notations and calculations.

Key sections and entries include:

- Top section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Second section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Third section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Fourth section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Fifth section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Sixth section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Seventh section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Eighth section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Ninth section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).
- Tenth section: **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa) and **Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa** (Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa).

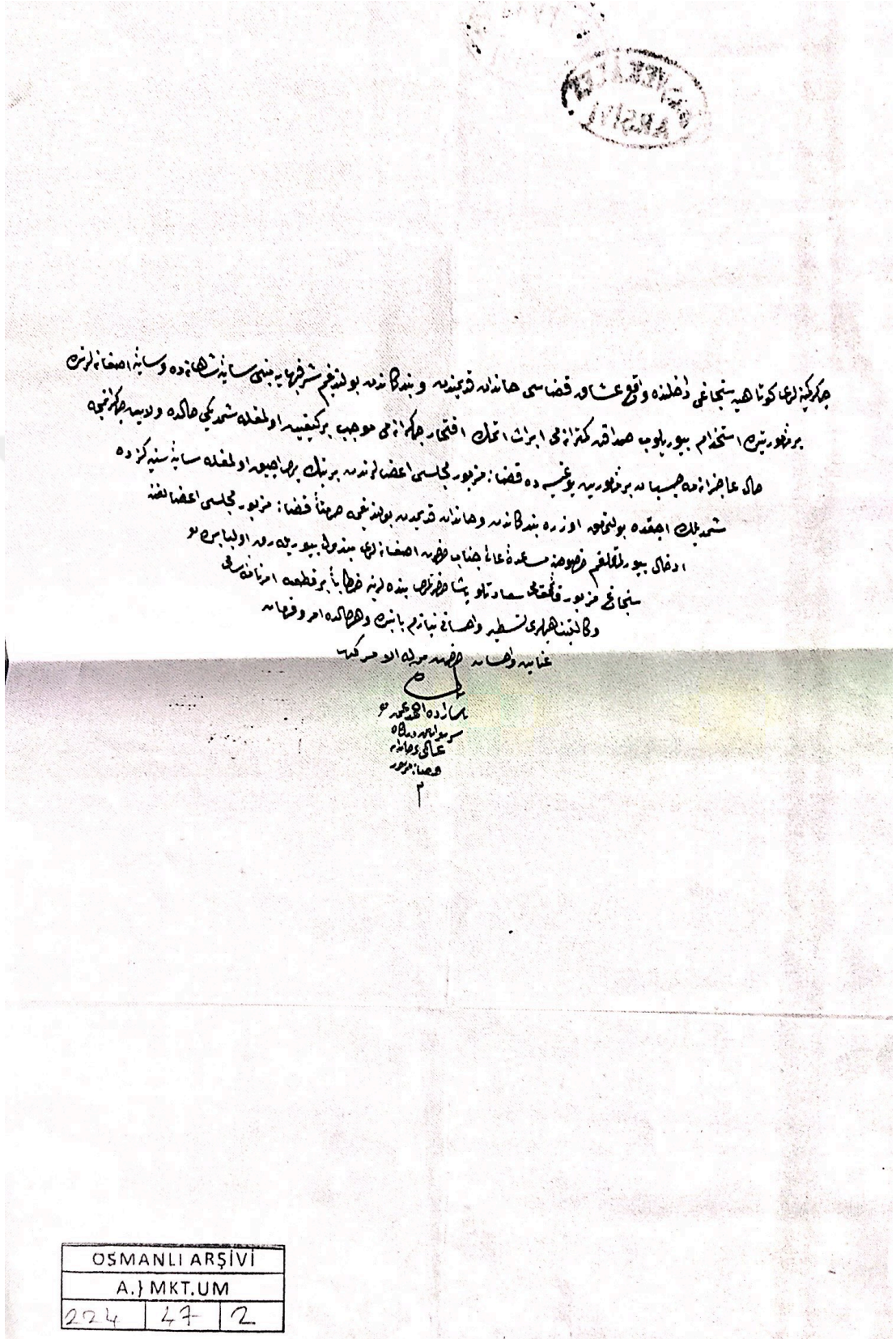
B. A document concerning the *kapucubaşılık* position granted to Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa

صورتیه حکمیه در که
با ارام سینه مشاهده فضا سنج و اعمال فضا در اوله نورسم فالایم و کلایم به اعماله طرف حکمیه نظارند بوند اضم طور اوله فضا
مذکور ساکنند عجم اوغان علی اقا قولایزاد و فانی ملا سببه بدفعه نظارنه مذکوره اخیزایک فیعی لوزمکانه و منوفایک محمد و ملری و برادر
دولای ریشه بزنی اوصافیه بدفعه نظارنه مذکوره فیعی فذیه هتقدر فضا مذکورن اشرف خاندانده و ککلا زعمارده و صهییب و زیاده
و معارطه فادس درین کاده اصفی بیه الهاز مسالمه حفظ منوفایک فامیلرین ربه سینه بوند بوند اعماله نظارند بزبس فایک استقامتی
برین اعماله سکزی موجب اطمنی بالادینای نفویم فذیه ایدوکنده نظارند نوافه ایلدیکین حالده صهییب حکمیه اعماله مذکوره نظارنه بوند
فیعی فذیه پشازام اهداغا قولایزاد بالاییب فیعی باشیله روس هرینایک احسانیه بوند بهر الاقصا صهییب جریغ و اجا بولسی یازمی باینده او و شرمه
لطف بی بایانه حضرت مه دالوسا کند

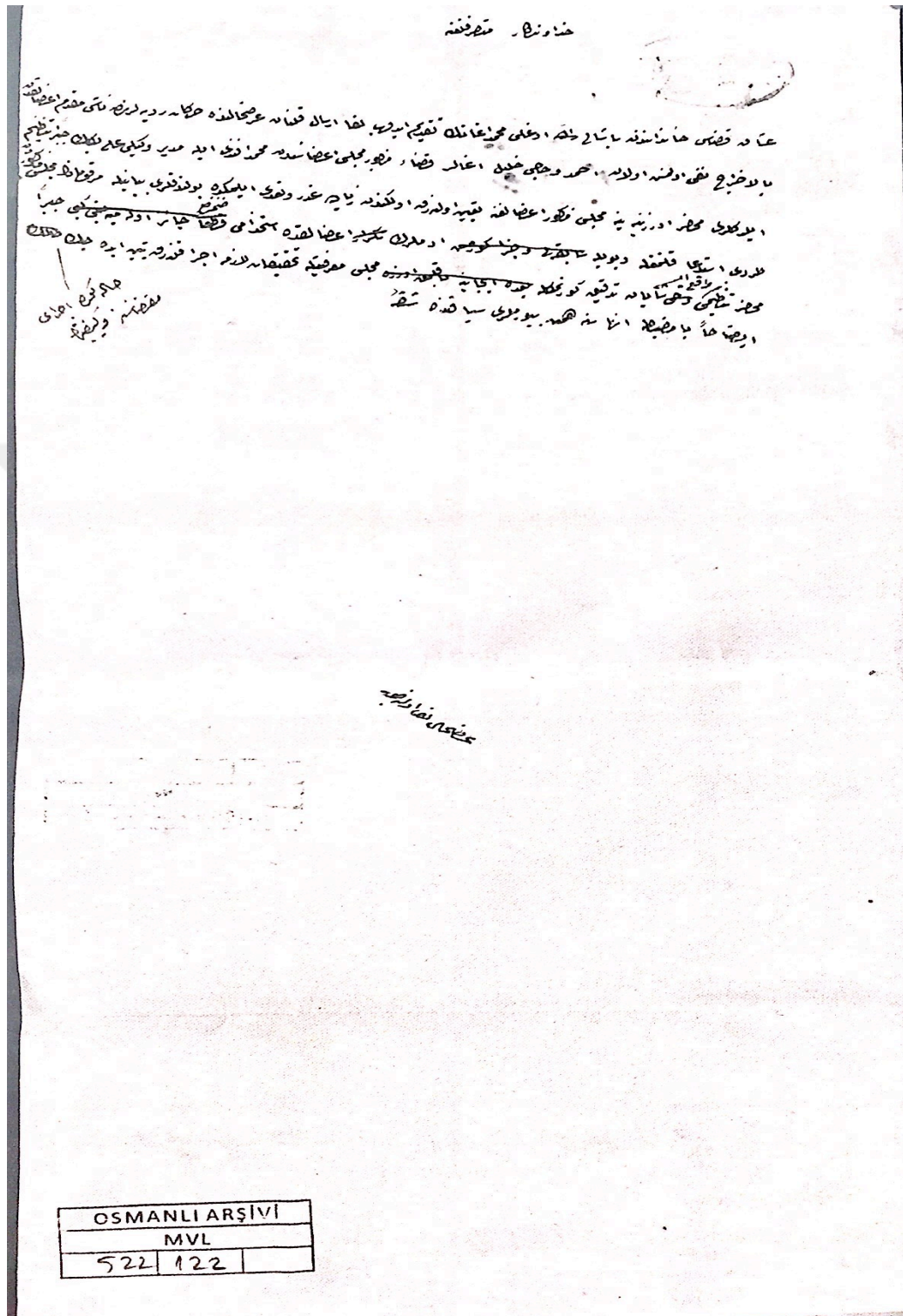
با
فا
او
در

imul 240/8615 1

C. A petition of Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa



F. A document about Paşaoğlu Ahmed Ağa's son, Mehmed Ağa



G. A page from the Prayer's book in the author's possession

۲۰
دشمنو بیک ایگوز تمشیش سنه سی ماه رجب
الشرفک پیکرمی بدی کون نوعه جرشنبه لیلته
عواج نبوت علیه السلام لیلته است ادره
صولیزه به رجز جنت مکان درگاه عشق فوجین
باشیزه زفقاباش زاده احمد اعادار
روینارنه رادقابه شرف ابد
الله تعالی قهرکلی قهرین پرلور اولی صوره
دروضه جنان بیورسونه یا بیلیم
طول عمر زامه عمر بیورسونه امین
بجاه سید المرسلین ماه مبارک
سید
آذخام محمد زنده و نیاید الله بکرمناج عارفه زلفه جی کونی سید
روی ایندلسه ایلی کونی سید

from the Prayer's book in the author's possession (continued)

بیت الیمین و حق صفور ستمی محترم محمد افانک
دو نیاید ظهوری الله طوری علی الله مؤید ایمنی
صفو الجبرک بی بی کون بی بی
بیت الیمین و الاوج ستمی رجب شرفک او بی کون
محترم حبیبی افانک دو نیاید ظهوری الله
طوری علی الله مؤید ایمنی بی بی
بیت الیمین و الاوج ستمی صفو الجبرک او بی کون
محترم اولفت افانک دو نیاید ظهوری الله طوری
محمد علی مؤید ایمنی بی بی
الله طوری ستمی فریب شرفک او بی بی کون
طوری ایمنی افانک دو نیاید ظهوری
الله طوری ستمی طوری ایمنی مؤید ایمنی
بی بی بی بی

from the Prayer's book in the author's possession (continued)

از اری
بیا از اری قلم جلد کون طای
در کلمه در کلمه در کلمه
کلمات مقداری زیت یا خیار و سدرن ابله قناد
سدر

بر فاقه شریفه اوج اطلاق شریف
۱

آفرینان نبیسی روضه وال از واجه و با صفا
حضرت نقشبند صفتی و حضرت مولانا انوری
صفتی روضه شریفه و بولند که قطعه
منه فی روضه و سائر انبیاء علی و مشایخ
عظام و وطنه
احل اوله

from the Prayer's book in the author's possession (continued)

۱۲۶۱
ظہور عالمی خانکہ دہلی
۱۲۶۲
مجمع اسماء خانکہ دہلی
۱۲۶۳
پیک ایکوڑا لکھنؤ سنہ ۱۲۶۳
عشا خانکہ دہلی
۱۲۶۴
اللہ تعالیٰ حضرت مری طور محمدیہ
۱۲۶۵
پیک ایکوڑا لکھنؤ سنہ ۱۲۶۵
اونہ برنجی کوئے اونوم صد افندی دہلی
۱۲۶۶
ظہور ایک افندی حضرت مری طور محمدیہ
۱۲۶۷
اپیلہ آسود بکر مریہ

۱۲۶۸
کریم محمدیہ خانکہ دہلی
۱۲۶۹
کریم قاریہ خانم امینہ دہلی
۱۲۷۰
اوٹام احمد ناکل دہلی
۱۲۷۱
اوٹام محمد ناھید دہلی

H. A page from the interview Tuba Kancı did with Fikriye (in the author's possession).



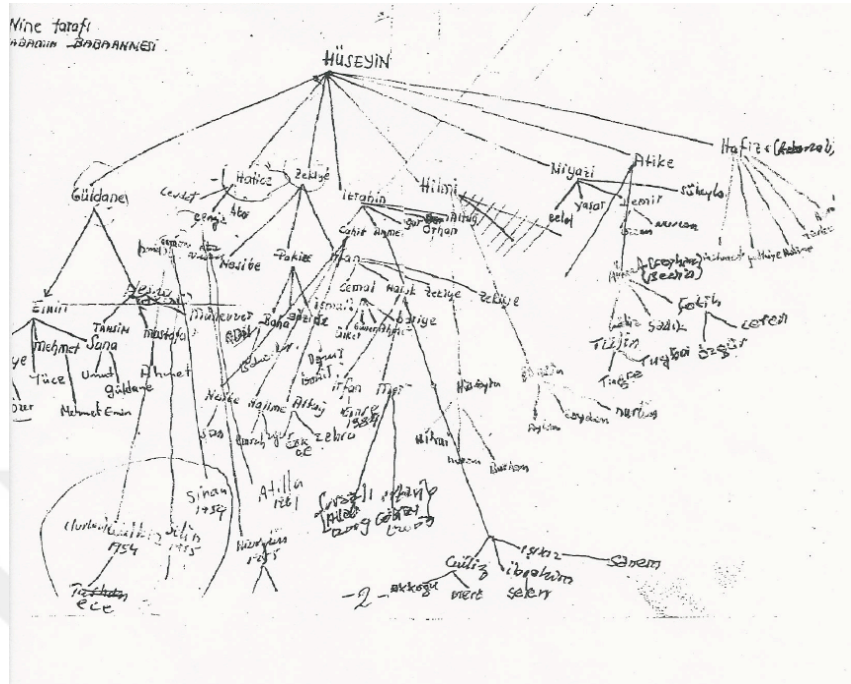
"There is no story of my life. My life is—There is lots to tell, but none of them will interest the others so why telling all of these? I was an ordinary woman, had a usual life, with nothing important to tell. Having no mother. Married before getting acquainted with love, and I never did.

Did I say I had no mother, I had, I had 3 or 4 — I cannot remember exactly — stepmothers. Do I remember them, or did I ever get to know them? Off, never mind. They never looked after us. My sister has taken out of the school in order to look after me and my two ~~the~~ brothers. And Dad — "

I. Fikriye's own hand-writing recorded in the early 1980s

ECMİS PAŞA OĞLU AİLESİ
BÜYÜK BABA - PAŞA - OĞLU MEMET VE KARDEŞLERİ
HÜSEYİN - ÜLFET - TAHSİN / İSMAIL - YUSUF - KIZ KARDEŞLERİ - GÜLDANE - AZİME - HATİCE - ZEKİYE - ATİKE - HAFİZE
MEHMET - ANANIN İKİ KIZI - SİDİKA - FATMA - OĞLU KAZIM ^{MERBEM}
TAHSİN VE İSMAIL - SARAYDA SUBAY OLARAK BÖYÜMÜŞLER TAHSİN BEYİN BİR OĞLU OLMUŞ DOKTOR NECATİ BALLI İSMAIL BEYİN BİR KIZ GÜL NAR BİR OĞLU YUSUF -
MEHMET BEYİN İKİ KIZI BİR OĞLU BÜYÜK KIZIN HİÇ ÇOCUĞU OLMAMIS İSMİ SİDİKA KÜÇÜK KIZI FATMANIN BEŞ OĞLU AHMET KADIR İSMAIL SADIK NURİ KIZI ÜMİĞÜLSUM OLMUŞ OĞLU KAZIM BEYİN İKİ KIZI BÜYÜK KIZININ BİR KIZI OLMUŞ MEVHİR KÜÇÜK KIZI FİKRİYE İSMİ MURŞİBE BİR OĞLU OLMUŞ NAİL VE ÇOCUKLARI İKİ OĞLU İKİ KIZ DÖRT ÇOCUĞU OLMUŞ ÜÇ KIZ BEDIA BEDRİYE AYLA) ^{KAZIM KIZI LARI AYHAN MURŞİBE DE}
BİR OĞLU OLMUŞ AYHAN

J. A family tree of the Paşaoğulları Family drawn by Namık Bey.



K. A family tree drawn by the author

