



Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi

The Journal of International Social Research

Cilt: 7 Sayı: 29 Volume: 7 Issue: 29

www.sosyalarastirmalar.com Issn: 1307-9581

## THE JANISSARIES IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF RUM (SIVAS) PROVINCE IN THE MIDDLES OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Zafer KARADEMİR\*

### Abstract

As in the other provinces the Ottoman sultans' servant soldiers, janissaries, had been living in the Sivas province in their last times. In this article, in lieu of explaining their military effects and experiments their social and economic situations and relations in the civil life of the empire in the middles of the eighteen century were investigated. As well as their military roles and duties, the janissaries had got serious and forceful economic ties in the capital and the other provinces since very early times. So what were they doing in economic life in towards their last times? What were their second jobs rather than being a soldier? Were they using their mentioned ties for their benefits illegally? What were the officials and the people thinking about them? The aim of this article is to find some solutions for these questions with the help of archive documents from Rum (Sivas) province of the Ottoman Empire from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the other secondary sources. The main archive sources were chosen as Sivas Ahkâm (Complaint) Defters.

**Keywords:** Ottoman Empire, Sivas, Janissaries, Economics, Social Life.

### Prologue

As their predecessors and rivals, the Ottoman officials established some military groups who had not got any blood ties with the central administrators and with the people under their administrations. One of the main groups of them was the janissary corps. As very early date as the fourteenth century namely after establishing the state, this group emerged with the other main institutions<sup>1</sup>. So their occurring in such an early time gave them an important position in the state organization. Then the janissaries who had being established as a mainly military group had to have different (non-combatant) duties and rights in socio-economic life in the future. Firstly the sultans, like Sultan Murad III gave them some lands to cultivate and some rights to be craftsman both in the capital and in all other province (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 478). But giving those lands and rights brought unexpected results for the central administration in war subjects. Because these soldiers and their commanders had been winning more money in non-military fields than on war<sup>2</sup> and they had not any dangerous duties during the fighting. As a result of those developments nearly by the turn of the seventeenth century, the janissary corps had lost its strictly military character (Kafadar, 1981: 86).

---

\*Assistant Professor (Yrd. Doç.Dr), Cumhuriyet University, History Department, Sivas, Turkey.

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear when the janissary group were established in the Ottoman Empire. But there are some traces that they were organized in the second sultan Orhan's time. See (Pakalın 1983, 618). But Uzunçarşılı says that there is no suspect that this institution was founded in the Murad I era in the second half of the fourteenth century. (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 144)

<sup>2</sup> Of course the wars were among the events which would bring economic earns for janissaries like Bekir Aga who had taken some booties included carpets from Iran but it was not enough for them contrary to old times. (Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive (PMOA), Sivas Ahkâm Defters, A-DVN-ŞKT, Numbers: 3, Page: 310, Range: 5) Abridged like then: (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/310-5.*)

The Ottoman people were aware of those developments. So this “non-militarization” of this group attracted the civil people. One of the other attractive aspects of becoming a janissary was the permission about wedding since the era of the Sultan Selim I. (McGowan, 2004: 762). Living with janissaries very closely in all parts of the life, the ordinary Turkish people had also wanted to be a janissary even though it was not possible legally. So the state could not control of registering new soldiers from Turkish (Muslim) people sometimes with bribe. Finally mainly Turkish origin people were the janissaries anymore in the end of the sixteenth century<sup>3</sup>. In the second half of the eighteenth century which is the main investigated era of this article, the non-Turkish and non-Muslim origins (*devshirme*)<sup>4</sup> of the janissaries nearly disappeared in this military organization (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 68). Even Sultan Mahmud I (1730-1754) permitted for ordinary people to buy the janissaries’ salary papers (*esâme*) with which the civil Ottomans were to be accepted janissary any more (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 618).<sup>5</sup>

Certainly these changing in the janissary history affected also the Rum province deeply. Before the investigation of the province’s janissaries it is necessary to look at the territories of the study in terms of spatial and temporal borders and archive sources. The center of the province was Sivas city and it included many cities like Amasya, Çorum, Bozok, Divriği, Canik and Arapkir until the second half of the nineteenth century (Darkot, 1965: 574). The investigation era of this study is from 1743 to 1765 which meant a prolonged peace time for the Ottoman army<sup>6</sup>. The main archive sources of this study are the *Ahkâm (Şikâyet) Defters* of Rum Province provided from the Prime Ministry’s Ottoman Archive (PMOA) in Istanbul. These registers contain the complaints of people about certain problems between the janissaries and the other ordinary people and officials in the province. The first 10 *Sivas Ahkâm Defters* were investigated in this study which includes 162 different registers about the janissaries<sup>7</sup>.

### Janissary’s Social Situation

Before starting to investigate the economic situations of the janissaries in the province it should be necessary to look at the origins of them closely. Knowing of their family origin or business history may be helpful for analyzing of some aspects of life conditions of these men. First of all it is well known that the Ottoman people had an aptitude to follow their father’s job. Like that, the janissaries’ sons used to want to be a janissary in general. In fact that was not a surprise development in another aspect. So in 1651 the Grand Vezir was able to put down a janissary uprising by promising that “only the sons of janissaries would be admitted to the corps in the future” (Itzkowitz, 1962: 92). Natural result of this trend some families had more than one janissary person in their homes. Even it is too hard to say that there were certain janissary clan families in the late Ottoman society it is possible to see some small signs about that at least<sup>8</sup>. And the names of the janissaries whose fathers were also janissaries recorded in the sources explains this tendency<sup>9</sup>.

---

<sup>3</sup>Especially after the rebel of Bayezid in 1559 this process gained speed in Anatolia. After the rebel the janissaries got some civil effective duties like tax collectors. (Yücel, 1988: XIII).

<sup>4</sup>The source of janissaries was non-Turkish or non-Muslim children in early times and they would call as *devshirme*. For the details see: (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a:13-30); (Ménage, 2002: 210- 213); (Witteck, 1955: 271-278).

<sup>5</sup>In fact becoming a janissary via buying those papers continued in the further times in the province as in the other places. The officials of the central administration were to criticize the situation that some people were becoming janissary some of whom were unknown and some of whom were labourers (*ırgad*) even after giving some little coffee as bribe. (*Sivas Şeriye Sicili, Defter 2, Page 30, Date: April 22, 1783*). In the end of the eighteenth century the figure of those papers was 400.000. According to Aksan, only ten percent of them were “real soldiers”. (Aksan, 2006: 98).

<sup>6</sup> The Ottomans lived a peace era between 1740 and 1768 with their rivals in the region. See the details of this peace era: (Afyoncu, 2011: 434-441).

<sup>7</sup>The dates of the *defters* determined the temporal borders of the study. So the first date of the first register is 1743 and the date of last one is 1765 in the twelfth *defter*.

<sup>8</sup> According to a document from Tokat three brothers were janissaries and their family’s members had been doing this “job” for more than sixty years. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 2/440-1*). In another sample a janissary explained that his family had been a janissary and cultivator since old times. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 9/300-3*).

<sup>9</sup> In this study six janissaries’ fathers were also janissary. It is important to remember here that many of the janissaries’ fathers’ name or jobs are not mentioned in the Ahkâm records. So that figure must be more than this number.

It is so interesting to see that some janissaries investigated in this study had *seyyyid*<sup>10</sup> origin even there were no good relations of the janissaries and their mainly integrated Shiite-Alewite origin Islamic group *Bektaşis*<sup>11</sup> with the *seyyids* who had strong ties with Sunnis<sup>12</sup>. This flexibility is may be an indication of the two groups' expanding of the figures of the members legally or illegally. Absorbing many more people in their structure because of their social and economic advantages, these groups got into each other's fields naturally. At the end of this process it is possible to see some men who were janissaries as well as a *seyyyid*<sup>13</sup>. It is more interesting to encounter two *seyyyid* janissaries one of them was not only a janissary but also a commander and a cultivating big lands having big economic power(*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/351-1, 3*) and the other had got a coffeehouse (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 7/122-2*).

### Why did janissaries and civil people mix in the economic life?

The janissaries as servant soldiers of the sultans had been taking salaries and some other money<sup>14</sup>per three months from the central treasury. But as mentioned before the janissaries were not only soldiers since very early times. When they come into the palace for education as a child they had also been learning many other jobs like bread making, coppersmith, boot maker, tentmaker and jewelry etc..(Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 71) among the other servant soldiers. Some of them were also being sent to the Turkish families' homes in Anatolia to learn Turkish and a craft. Therefore some of them had other jobs in their hands when they went into the other territories of the empire. It is clear that this system was a state's intentional politics. Teaching some civil businesses to soldiers, the government would want to save its treasury's sources. Thereby the cash money was standing in the hands of the officials and the janissary soldiers whose figure had been accruing in the course of time could have won money in other places when they went into provinces except than their salaries. Besides so the inflation and some irregularities about paying cash that they tried to find other financial sources (Raymond, 1995: 40). Using their influence in the civil life they get many fields to win extra money even more than salary amounts. Living in the limited financial conditions and slogging to find cash money to pay their salaries the officials permitted to this process especially after the second half of the sixteenth century even though there were some traces about criticizing of that development by the sultans<sup>15</sup>.As a natural result of this process janissaries had many roles anymore in the economic life from craftsmen to merchant<sup>16</sup>and from tax collector to agriculturist etc...all in the empire's borders.

In the other aspect of the medallion many civil people among which there were more businessmen like merchants or agriculturist started to become a janissary. Then it is known that all janissaries had not salary right. Some of them, if not many, were voluntaries and they were becoming soldiers namely officials (*askerîs*) to use their concessions by being registered in their commander's (*serdar's*) records. (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 330).This flexibility between the military and civilsides revealed some new groups who had both military and civil titles before their

<sup>10</sup> A word used for descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. (Bosworth, 2002: 115).

<sup>11</sup> It is well known story of the early times of the Ottomans that the founder of the Bektashi sect, HacıBektashVeli supported the establishing of janissary garrisons with his prayer spiritually. (Purgstall, 2010: 58). According to Irene Melikoff, the janissaries had sympathy for Bektashi sect as Christians did for Bektashi dervishes. The more open-minded structure of this sect than the other Sunni sects attracted the janissaries. (Goodwin, 1997: 267).But there are not many documents about the relatives of the two groups except the similarities of their thoughts. (Faroqhi, 2003: 158). Beside see little samples about the Bektashi-Janissary connections: (Faroqhi, 1976: 183-208).

<sup>12</sup>See the *seyyyid*- janissary problems: (*Sivas Ahkam Record 2/8-5; 3/36-1*).

<sup>13</sup>See *seyyyid* janissariesfrom Divriği (*Sivas Ahkâm Record, 2/114-3*), from Tokat *Sivas Ahkâm Record 9/110-1*; from Eğin (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 10/171-2*).

<sup>14</sup> One of them was called as *postalbahası* (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-b, :262). It was being performed via *iltizam* system by a janissary at least in 1757 in Tokat. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/278-2*).See the other payments: (Murphey, 2001: 85).

<sup>15</sup> For example, in 1570-1571, Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent complained the janissaries who had been doing irrelevant businesses different from military duties as saying that "It is forbidden for our slaves being a craftsman and they had to care for practising of shooting with their guns. (*PMOA, Muhimme Defter, No: 12, 37/77*). And then the sultan banned of capturing of the untenanted lands by the janissaries. (Emecen, 1988: p.122). See the other complaints: (Yücel, 1988: 74); (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 696).

<sup>16</sup>In 1630, the state permitted to trade for janissaries. (Tekeli-İlkin, 1993: 27). As a sample result of this process the rations trade was under the control of the main janissary commander. McGowan, 2004: 830. See the special merchant janissaries: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/273-4; 8/146-2; 9/88-2*).

name. Therefore it might possible to encounter to some people who were soldiers but had no military duty or equipment in the streets of the empire.

Rum Province (*Eyalet-i Rum*) as one of the most important regions of the Ottoman Empire was also under the effects of these changes. First of all in the investigation era there had not more need for janissary's military force and the corps' existing members either retired or lapsed into varying degrees of inactivity (Murphey, 2002: 328). This meant that these soldiers could not take any military duty and during this time they felt needlessness. Feeling like that they lost energy for being a soldier and then their disquiets started to become a problem for themselves and the people. Even the salary they used to take per three month they consider themselves *de facto* unemployed person in the daily life if they had no other job in this process. This was not only for their thought but the officials and the ordinary people would also think that the janissaries were "real problem" of the social and economic life. So the janissaries who had generally not any military actions tried to do other job sand looked for more economic sources in Sivas province same as the other places.

It is understood from the registers investigated in this study that there were some second jobs that janissaries had. Despite the general acceptance about the density of janissaries' second business in pastry cook, porter and green-grocer (Mustafa Nuri Paşa, 1992: 150), the soldiers were not doing those jobs in Sivas province. In the other aspect it can also be said that the people preferred to become janissary were intensified in other businesses.

**Table 1: The Second Jobs of the Janissaries of the Rum Province**

Figures of Records	The Other Job of Janissary
26	Cultivator
4	Animal Husbandry
3	Merchant
2	Saddler ( <i>serrâc</i> )
1	Tax collector, water way controller ( <i>suyolcu</i> ) <sup>17</sup> , head messenger ( <i>dellalbaşı</i> ), coffehouse owner, tax collector, blacksmith ( <i>nalband</i> ), servant

As it seen from the figures the second jobs of janissaries of Rum provinces were mainly intensified on the cultivation activities. Of course that result is not surprise for the Ottoman society. Because becoming janissary was an extra economic source for the people. The people who were living under the average stipulations normally preferred to be a janissary in two ways legally or illegally. One of the most prevalent and strong causes of preferring of agriculture for the janissaries or preferring of becoming janissary for the agriculturists might have been to use the privileges of janissaries about tax subjects as explained above deeply. The second cause of course was to be able to receive the three-monthly salaries from the central treasury if they achieved to register their names in the official records as "real janissary".

Opposite to the general view it is also seen from the table which prepared with the help of the archive sources used in this study that there were no strong relation between the janissaries and craftsmen. Only two janissaries mentioned with craft and three with trade. Even there is no certain cause of that situation something can be said about this weakness. Firstly the janissaries might have been stayed in certain place in case there would be necessity for any war situation although their role was not important in the era<sup>18</sup>. So they should not leave the duty place when they want independently as the other civil merchants trading in the territories of the

<sup>17</sup>See: *Sivas Ahkâm Record 7/64-2*.

<sup>18</sup> In fact by the eighteenth century, the janissary crops had become militarily ineffectualbut they stillwent to war. (Quataert, 2005: 45).

empire. Secondly while becoming a janissary was an “extra business” for the people it can be said that that choosing was generally poor or under the average people’s preference<sup>19</sup>. The craftsmen or merchants, if they could enough money, must not prefer to become a janissary practically.

### The Agriculturist Janissaries

Even though it was not an ideal process<sup>20</sup>, as happened in other economic fields, the janissaries hugely joined agricultural life getting many lands in the villages of the empire especially after the *Celali* Rebels in the second half of the sixteenth century. (İnalçık, 1969: 129). In fact as mentioned before that process was sometimes a choice of the officials. Because by giving some new conquered territories to janissaries the central administration was controlling of the agricultural lands and their taxes under its hands. With the help of this politics, the fertile domains of the provinces of the empire were not being seized by the people as their own places. (Pamuk, 2009: 23). The central government was also controlling the janissaries’ lands via both writing their names and borders of their fields in the official records and distributing the big fields by dividing among them<sup>21</sup>. Because of these kinds of measurements the central government could keep the biggest economic field in its hegemony and could block any economic and political rivals to its authority both in the capital and even in the provinces.

One of the other measurements of the state was also while using some lands as its own estate giving half of them to the people to use. The last janissaries were also among that people and they were using both the official (*divani*) and the special (*malikâne*) lands for agricultural activities. Furthermore if they had a strong links with officials or had a big economic heritage from his father and family they had been controlling big places as *çiftlik*s<sup>22</sup>. The cultivator soldiers of the official lands who had called as “*sefere şer sahih dirliğe mutasarıfı*” had been using the lands in *timar* system that had not been working regularly as its early times<sup>23</sup>. Besides the strong economic and political ties of especially janissary commanders’ in the capital and in the provinces<sup>24</sup> had an advantage for them not only in their working times but also during the retired life. Especially the institutes like waqfs that they had needed like those ties with officials should have wanted to employ the working and retired janissary commanders or soldiers in their structure to use their effective political ties<sup>25</sup>.

If they had like these lands they were not only cultivating cereals but also feeding animals for trade them and their products. The janissaries who had many more animals and whose names recorded on Ahkâm registers were usually adducing that they were feeding them for only their necessities even the figure of animals were 100 or 150. Besides according to the archive documents the state would want sheep tax (*adet-i ağnam*) more than 150 sheep. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 2/58-3*). That should be a politics of the central government to embolden the janissaries to feed people with the product of the animals. Furthermore it was very big figure for a janissary to foster hundreds of sheep for only his own family if he had not a big *çiftlik* and many servants work in. Their relatives with the officials and their ascendancy in the civil life should have been eliciting easiness for the janissaries to sell their productions.

---

<sup>19</sup> But it must not be forgotten that if someone needed to be a janissary he also needed some economic force to buy janissary papers at least. So the voluntary janissaries mightn’t very rich men but they also were not the poorest layer of the society.

<sup>20</sup> Truly during the classical age in which the salaries of janissaries were high, sending for the lands to cultivate was a punishment for the janissaries. See an edict about that punishment from the Sultan Ahmed I era (1603-1617): (*Kavanin-i Yeniçeriyan Yeniçeri Kanunları*, 2011: 204).

<sup>21</sup> The register on which those records would be written called as “*kuldefterleri*” (slave accounts). See: (*PMOA, Mühimme Defter No: 10, 97/151*). The other sources were *Tahrir* Accounts in which the janissary lands can be followed. See the samples: (Barkan-Meriçli 1988: 98, 202, 204, 213, 222, 225, 239, 241).

<sup>22</sup> One of them was Abdurrahman. He was a janissary in Tokat and his father had left a big *çiftlik* with his animals, cereals and buildings in 1743. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 1/145-1*). See another sample: (*Sivas Ahkam Record 4/304-5*).

<sup>23</sup> See for the samples: (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/134-3; 4/205-3; 5/82-4; 6/161-2; 8/194; 2. 10/133-1*).

<sup>24</sup> The *ayans*, often with the support of the local *ulema* and the janissaries, helped strengthen local autonomy and thus weakened the hold of the central authority over provinces. (Karpaz, 2002: 37). Interestingly some of the former janissary commanders were to become *ayan* then. (Karpaz, 2002: 337).

<sup>25</sup> See a sample from Tokat: (*Sivas Ahkam Record, 2/179-2*).

Many of Rum janissaries would need also to earn cash money to buy something include vegetables they could not produce with their capacities. But if they had any garden they could cultivate vegetables as much as they need. So the soldiers who had lively energies in the other cultivation activities used to buy gardens(*Sivas Ahkâm Record, 3/99-1*)and some of them had orchards or vineyards. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record, 8/133-1; 8/230-4; 8/269-3*).The state officials permitted those developments thinking its tax earnings and according the “sufficiency economy” politics<sup>26</sup>and supported to produce more food in this way indirectly. But as it is understood from the archive sources the janissaries’ orchards were sometimes becoming problems between the soldiers and the people. Especially if the gardens had big territories it was so normal to skirmish for them<sup>27</sup>.

Janissaries had to pay their tax emanated from their agricultural activities as the other people did. (Barkan, 1966: 436).For example if they had been using some lands as an owner estate of someone like waqf-land they had to pay *öşür* tax regularly. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 3/48-2*). But they had some dispensation different from ordinary people like they could transform their products to their village’s granary without carrying to the nearest bazaar. (Barkan, 1966: 439). So the tax collectors or any other officials could not coerce them to carry the products where they want. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 5/236-2; 8/27-4*). Meanwhile even there were some illegal requests<sup>28</sup> the janissaries were exempt to pay wedding tax (*resm-i gerdek*). (Barkan, 1966: 439). At the same time the janissaries who were not ordinary citizenship (*raiyyet*) did not need to pay some Islamic (*şeri*) taxes like married man tax (*bennak*).

But everything was not going on as the janissaries want. The cultivator janissaries were not safe in their economic actions. May be as a sign of the confusion of the *timar* system and authority of the central government the tax collectors would not left alone these soldiers. The big tax sources that janissaries had aroused the collectors’ appetite. So they would want illegal taxes from them under legal names<sup>29</sup>. So the janissaries had been losing their heaviness at the social and economic life that situation had been causing disagreements between their commanders and the land owners or other official tax collectors. The owner of the lands at which janissaries had been cultivating would want more taxes usually and illegally from the soldiers<sup>30</sup>.Normally the commanders of soldiers or themselves had been rejecting that situation of course showing the edicts in favor of them. At these disagreements the courts would look at the state registers (*deFTER-I hakani*) and would verdict to how much money they would pay<sup>31</sup>. But the voivodes(*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/231-2*), *zabits*<sup>32</sup>, the special tax collectors (*mültezims*)<sup>33</sup> and the land owners (*sipahis*) would want those taxes illegally adducing that “the janissaries were also normal *raiyyet* and there were no extra immunity for them about paying Islamic or traditional taxes”. If the janissaries did not want to pay them the *sipahis* were trying to get rid of them from their lands. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 4/205-3*). In such problems the central and local officials were carrying out the law and would not give permission for illegal requests of *sipahis* with after

---

<sup>26</sup> The aim of this economic thought was to produce enough food and other materials as much as the people need in all territories of the empire. See the details of the system: (Genç, 2010: 70).

<sup>27</sup> See: (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/99-1; 8/194-2*).

<sup>28</sup> When some *sipahis* wanted illegal wedding tax (*resm-i iarusane*) from the janissaries living in Divriği district the state did not permit it. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 9/84-4*. See another sample: *Sivas Ahkâm Record 10/223-1*).

<sup>29</sup> A tax collector wanted two  *pares* for every sheep and 10  *pares* from every 100 sheep from a janissary who had more than 150 sheep under the name of the money of clerk and servant etc... in 1745. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 2/58-3*).See the other samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 5/2709-1; 8/194-3*).

<sup>30</sup>See a sample: (*Sivas Ahkam Record, 1/197-1*).

<sup>31</sup> For example in DivriğiSanjak, a land owner wanted some more money from certain janissaries who were cultivating special and official lands but the court applied the old records and hindered that unlawful request of the land owner. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/ 65-3*).

<sup>32</sup> One of them from Tokat district had wanted some illegal request from four janissaries adducing that they were shepherd people or old slaves. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/283-3*).

<sup>33</sup> A *mültezim* who was an official at a waqf’s lands from Gümüş district said some janissaries in the waqf’s area that “it is not possible to set for janissaries in a waqf’s land”. The goal of the collector was of course to depart the janissaries who had some immunity for certain taxes from his lands. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 9/79-2*).Meanwhile some people who must have been collector’s compradors also supported him in this decision actively. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 9/83-1*).

investigating the problem in the area and looking for its official records. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/134-3*).

Furthermore not only the exterior officials but also the janissary commanders were among the men who wanted illegal taxes from the janissaries calling them ordinary payments without any legal basis. For example an ex-commander (*serdar*) of Amasya collected 10 or 15 guruş from every janissary as a crime (*cerime*) tax. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record, 1/199-2*). They had been adducing that the janissaries had been living in the regions under their control. So in their opinion the soldiers had better to pay all taxes same as the other people under their authority. But there was no legal base about this claim too. Therefore the state had been taking position near the janissaries who had been also bearing official verdict in their hand either from the court or from the old registers which were to support them<sup>34</sup>. More worse for the soldiers that the ordinary people would also want to pay taxes from them. The real aim of the villagers was to lessen the tax amount of their village's share. One of the most important taxes the villagers had been paying was the *avarız* and they would have been imposing to janissaries to pay it with them. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/24-1*). Besides some villagers could want extra taxes from janissaries some war taxes like *nüzul* and *imdâd-ı hazeriyye*<sup>35</sup> even after they had paid it.

The janissaries from whose illegal taxes were being wanted did not stand silence about this illegality. They had been complaining of this situation and suing the faulty people. Some of them would go to Istanbul but some of them who did not take to the trouble to go to the capital would go to the local courts with official documents in their hands<sup>36</sup>. One of the most effective legal supports of them was the judgement of old courts or any chief religious official (*sheikulislam*) (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 2/444-2*). The normal procedure of the state officials was to look at the last registers which generally supported the janissaries' requests. At the end of this investigation many problems used to be solved in favour of the janissaries.

### The Janissaries' Economic Force as Cash

One of the other aspects in order to follow the economic situation of the empire's last janissaries is to investigate their financial force. It is so normal to think that they should had forceful cash wealthy because of their salaries and extra economic activities and finally strong relationships with the central and local financial officials. It is understood from the archive sources that some janissaries especially the commanders had more cash accumulation in the Rum province. This can be seen from the debt relations of them with the other people. The average figure of the debt amounts investigated in this study is 1.185 guruş<sup>37</sup>. So this amount is really big in those times in which the piece of a normal home was 1.000 guruş.<sup>38</sup> In this regard the janissaries had debt relations with Muslim or non-Muslim people. Although there are some signs<sup>39</sup>, it is not always clear what was the aim of those money relations of the janissaries who had been signing serious debt agreements in the economic life<sup>40</sup>. But it can be said easily that the soldiers had been playing important roles in the financial life of the province.

In this context the janissaries had been sometimes selling their lands for the other people in payment for cash (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/174-1*). Some others also were selling their assets like mills (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 7/289-3*). In those agreements if one of the both sides had

---

<sup>34</sup>See for some other samples: (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/5-1; 5/318-2; 8/15-2*).

<sup>35</sup>See a sample from Tokat: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 10/339-1*) and another sample (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/285-1*)

<sup>36</sup>The janissaries would go to the capital especially when they could not solve the problem in the local courts. See the samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 2/58-3; 3/5-1; 5/318-2; 10/352-3*).

<sup>37</sup>In this study 15 debt relations evaluated and the minimum amount is 72 guruş and the maximum amount is 3.000 guruş.

<sup>38</sup>See for samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 1/214-4; 2/38-2*).

<sup>39</sup>In more obvious registers it is understood that some janissaries had been acting in trading even in the other provinces. For example Janissary Mustafa Beşe who was living in Tokat city had been trading silk in Bursa with his partner. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/273-4*).

<sup>40</sup>For example Paşaoğlu Bekir Janissary from Tokat had given more money as a debt for some influence people among which there were an *aga*, a castle-commander, a city-*kethüda* and some merchants. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/ 293-2*). See another sample: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 8/233-1*).

not enough money they had been mortgaging their assets without hesitating<sup>41</sup>. Sometimes the janissaries did not want to pay their debts using their influence illegally even they were so high amount. If a man could not take his money from them, they would go to the capital to sue and a man in charge from the official janissary organization (*ocak*) was being sent to the province to bring the janissary to the court<sup>42</sup>.

One of the other ways to see the economic situations of the janissaries is to follow the heritage of them.<sup>43</sup> At first the janissary commanders should normally get the heritages of a janissary who died in the province to send to the capital. (Özkaya, 1994: 24). This law was valid only for the janissaries who had not got any relatives. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record, 1/265-1*). The assets of died janissary would be captured by his *serdar* and would be recorded in a register book (*deftter-ikassam*) to be sent to the central treasury (*beytülmal*). During this processing the bailiffs (*mübaşir*) were also being warranted with an official letter to help the *serdar*. If someone would adduce that he/she was an heir of died janissary, he/she should had gone to the capital to sue to the *beytülmal* (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 2/394-2*) or had better to find some witnesses to prove that he/she was the real heir of him (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 5/132-3*).

But these legal processes had not always gone on like that. The heritages of the janissaries had becoming serious problem among their heirs and the other people who had got not any legal right. In this study in the Sivas Ahkâm records 21 registers are investigated about the heritages of the janissaries. Most of the prevalent problem of these registers was sharing of the estates. When it turned into a serious matter the state officials would get them quickly but some people would also try to capture them illegally. Especially if died janissary was a commander that problem was bigger than the others. So both sides were becoming more enthusiasts to get the big estates completely (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 4/372-1*). But the state had been sending of course his officials to the place at which the janissary died and had been giving edicts them to deliver to the local administrators especially to the *kadis* and *serdars*. If the assets of the janissary had big value the sides of the problems were expanding. Furthermore if the soldier died without retake his money owed to the people the matter was becoming harder. The heirs and the officials had been spending more time and energy to receive them from the debtors (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/293-1; 6/351-3*).

### Janissaries and the Crimes in the Social Life

The explanations and the samples mentioned up to hill are reflected generally the positive sides of the janissaries in the province. But the big photograph was not says the same things. It is well known that especially after the *esâm* papers captured by the civil people, the janissary order completely went downhill. The rich and forceful men were taking those papers and then using of the benefits of them illegally (Özkaya, 1994: 42). This process became nearly as a normal development all in the territories of the empire in the investigated era. The janissary commanders were neither soldier nor servant origin but some of them were despots (*müteğallibe*) any more. The *müteğallibes* were using their force to become a janissary or a commander and they had been achieving this aim easily. As a remarkable change the janissary commanders could have been controlling their groups without any civil authority especially in the provinces (Levy, 1982: 244). This change gave a big effect area for the commanders who

---

<sup>41</sup>A non-Muslim man had mortgaged his home and some other assets for his debt to a janissary, called Bayrakdar Elhac Ahmed, in Niksar province. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 5/98-2*).

<sup>42</sup>When Seyyid Yahya could not receive back his 2000 gurus from a janissary named Zülfikar, he went to the capital to sue him. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/116-4*).

<sup>43</sup>It is not obvious usually the real figures of died janissaries' economic wealth wholly from the records but it is possible to see some clues. For example see a janissary who left as heritage big farms, mills and more animals: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 1/100-4*).



were amongst the most important local administrators<sup>44</sup>to use their force illegally on the ordinary people and their staff who were under their responsibility<sup>45</sup>.

In contrary to the aims of the early times<sup>46</sup>,they were becoming the rival powers against the official authorities especially in the provinces.Parallel of the general trends of the "ayanlarçağı"<sup>47</sup>some of them had been hurting and grabbing innocent people often. The janissary commanders some of whom had been living in big houses and had servants had been appointed for three months (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/12-2*)After this time their appointments should have being renewed by the letter of the main commander (*serdar*) the Janissary Aga, in the capital. (Özkaya, 1994: 40).Although they would not wish, at the end of their time, the commanders could not be appointed. Because of that danger some of them made other businesses like agriculture(*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/ 351-1*) or some of them had been using all their energy to use the advantages of becoming a *serdar* again. And this attributes were carrying them and their cohorts into a new process in which they were sometimes committing many offenses. So the janissary commanders and members were sometimes behaving as bandits with invading ordinary people's homes and hurting them hardly<sup>48</sup>. Besides they could have been grabbing the heritage of people(*Sivas Ahkâm Record 6/267-1*) or could have been imprisoning them without any evidence about a crime (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 3/360-1*). As be seen at this study some commanders also interfered in ordinary crimes like hurting civil people (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 2/8-5*) or invite the people to become quasi-janissary (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 2/469-1*) etc...Some commanders would enlarge their target and tried to earn more money illegally from other big economic sources as the commander of Osmanlık did<sup>49</sup>. All of those negative developments did not brought profits for the janissary groups except for enlarging the janissary problem and fastening of destroying of the organization.

The janissaries were also amongst the security forces in the provinces of the empire in their old times even some negative changes that mentioned above. They were protecting of people from anarchy and with the help of that service daily live were going on safely (Murphey, 2002: 328). Nevertheless contrary to their foundation aim, the janissaries were sometimes becoming problem in the social security order of the Ottoman Empire in many regions as well as in Rum province. They sometimes would use the blanks of authority in their region for their illegal requests or sometimes becoming organized crime groups. But contrary to the general believe that the eighteenth century was a golden age of popular politics in many Ottoman cities orchestrated by the Janissaries (Quatert, 2005: 46), the janissaries did not appear in any political rebels in the provinces in the era at least. The peace process mentioned above must have played the biggest role in this situation. Besides the diversity of the origins of these soldiers and their commanders was a hindrance in the way of union of them in the empires territories for the political targets. Because of these debilities they could have been only gathering in some banditry events as small gang groups as explained below.

It is understood from the sources investigated in this study that the janissaries were being used by the other people especially by the *agas* and the other notables for their illegal aims.<sup>50</sup>One of the most important causes of this situation must have been the on going influent

---

<sup>44</sup> This situation can be seen from the archive sources obviously. The *serdar's* names were always being added among the local official's name in the general edicts which had been sent from the central government to the province. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 2/270-3*).

<sup>45</sup> For example some of commanders wanted illegal taxes from the janissaries. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 10/339-1*). See the details "Janissaries and Tax Problems" part.

<sup>46</sup>In fact janissary corps was founded basically to constitute a balance against the potential threat of the provincial *beys*. (Kafadar, 1981: 68).

<sup>47</sup> This term is used by the historians for the seventeenth century of the Ottoman Empire and it mainly explains the weakness of the central authority in the provinces. See the details: (Akdağ, 1975: 51-61); (Özkaya, 1994.)

<sup>48</sup>In Iskilip, Alemdar Mustafa Beşe and Mehmed Janissary invaded a man's home and injured his wife. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 3/332-5*).

<sup>49</sup> For example Serdar Veli Aga took one gold from any parts (*yük*) of the gold and silver transportation coming from Gümüş, Keban and Ergani mines. After that attack the commander imprisoned in Samsun Castle. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record 7/109-3*).

<sup>50</sup> For a janissary who injured a man and robbed his money with an *aga* and his servant from Divriği see: (*Sivas Ahkam Record, 3/108-1*).

position of the janissaries as soldiers and officials (*askeris*) in the province. If the janissary groups needed also the social or economic forces of those notables it was easy for the soldiers to become "their men" in their crime organization<sup>51</sup>. Especially the janissaries who would be called as volunteers had been joining these crimes (Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 331). After that integration the janissaries were becoming harder problem than before in the security order. Feeling the support of the law in their back, as seen in this investigation, some of them could feel that they can do what they want whether legal or not. Carrying guns in their life may be the other cause of this thinking for janissaries.<sup>52</sup>

Aware of that alteration the state permitted some rights to the local janissary officials about the punishment of real or voluntary soldiers under their responsibility. For example as an official right the commanders of the janissaries could punish the guilty janissaries (Goodwin, 1997: 91). Except from the commander (*serdar*) any other official could not capture the janissaries so as to bring to the court and to imprison them<sup>53</sup>. This permission must have given a big force for the commanders to control the soldiers. However the goal of this state was to accelerate of decision and execution process. At this way the local soldier groups could discipline without long processes.

Nearly half of the complaints<sup>54</sup> investigated in this study were about the ordinary crimes some of which did by janissaries or in some of which the janissaries were wronged. This figure says something about the lifestyle and relations of the janissaries in the social life of the empire in their last times. It is obvious that those soldiers were among the problems of the empire as in the early eras. But at this time in Sivas, the janissaries lost their capability for attacking as a complete organ and they also needed the protection of the administration. Meanwhile losing of the imperial effect especially stemming from the education in the palace and heaviness in the wars and finally the variety of the origins of these soldiers reduced their social weight in the provinces<sup>55</sup>. As reflection of that change the unjust applications of janissary officials were not only hurting civil people but also the janissary members were being also injured by their commanders<sup>56</sup>. Many of the problems welt from officials who ignored the janissaries old statues were about the paying of the ordinary people's taxes.

As well as this ignorance there was a big social problem in the daily life. Even many ordinary people wanted to become janissary some villagers had been rejecting to live with the janissaries together in Sivas province. Some immunity of the janissaries especially about paying same taxes as an *askerî* group have been bothered the villagers<sup>57</sup>. The result of that economic anxiety the villagers had not been to work or to live with the soldiers in the same village any more. Unfortunately those new manners did not remain in that step. The ordinary people who had not strong ties with officials were able to hurt the janissaries<sup>58</sup>. The janissaries' wives were also attacked often by some bandits in Sivas province in the investigation area<sup>59</sup>. It is possible to think that some bandits wanted to hurt the janissaries as injuring his wife when they could not do anything them<sup>60</sup>. The girls and the sons of the janissaries had some problems like his fathers and mothers. These children were among the target of crime groups<sup>61</sup>.

---

<sup>51</sup>See the samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 1/238-1; 3/31-4; 3/332-5; 6/323-3).

<sup>52</sup>The guns of janissaries for whom some lands were given to cultivate in *timar* system would receive back and handed in the official ammunition.(Uzunçarşılı, 1988-a: 350).

<sup>53</sup>See the samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 3/247-1; 5/182-4; 10/285-4).

<sup>54</sup> Completely 162 registers were investigated in this study and 71 of them were about the "ordinary crimes".

<sup>55</sup>All janissaries had not got high statue in the social life as Mahmud Janissary who was the servant of an *aga* in Divriği. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 3/108-1).

<sup>56</sup> See a janissary commander's unlawful actions against a janissary from Çorum city:(*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 6/113-1).

<sup>57</sup> Saying "we are not to live together with *askeris*", the villagers of Gümüş were expecting this restlessness. (*Sivas Ahkâm Record*, 3/48-2). But interestingly the notables of the village included *imams* and oldest men said that "we are pleased for living them". See another sample from Amasya:(*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 9/324-1).

<sup>58</sup>See for samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 1/267-1; 3/47-5; 3/99-1).

<sup>59</sup>See for a sample: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 4/27-3).

<sup>60</sup>See for samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record*, 1/267-1; 3/47-5).

<sup>61</sup>See for samples: (*Sivas Ahkâm Record* 9/117-1; 10/63-3).

### The Quasi Janissaries

It is seen from the samples investigated in this study that being a janissary was an important status not only in the capital but also in the provinces even in their last times. If people could not become a janissary they would want to share the rights of them illegally as capturing their economic values via hurting them or their family members. So becoming a real or voluntary janissary had always been a target for ordinary people. But everyone had known that it was not so easy. That situation needed some strong ties with officials both in the capital and in the local provinces. Besides if a man can not enough economic force it was also too hard for him to become a real or voluntary janissary.

In spite of those blocks all the ways for achieving this goal was not only these alternatives. It is well known that clothing laws since the early times served as important indicators of social mobility and marked out the differences among official and the subject classes in the Ottoman Empire. These laws were intended to divide people into separate groups, and created a social order in which all knew their limits and gave respect to the notables. (Quataert, 2005: 144). But as a general attitude in the Ottoman society some people used to change their clothes so as to be accepted a privileged group illegally. For example some ordinary people, especially unemployed men wearing student (*suhte*) clothes to take some advantages like immune from the taxes or to take shelter in the schools. Like that some people were going to Istanbul to take janissary clothes<sup>62</sup> and an official (probably fake) letters and they were returning their province saying that "we become a janissary". (Özkaya, 1994: 103). But finding of those clothes was not only possible in the capital. The people in the provinces were finding some janissary clothes same as the others. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 4/216-1*). As it is understood from the complaint sources that the real aim of these men were not only to immune from some taxes but also to grab people and take some financial acquisition with their false *askeri* status<sup>63</sup>. It is so interesting that sometimes the commanders of janissaries had been pressing on the people to say they were janissaries illegally. The main aim of them was, like the Merzifon's commander<sup>64</sup>, to use those men for their unlawful requests. The physical existence of quasi janissaries would give extra force the commanders in the socio-economic life. The more janissaries they had under their rule the more forceful administration they could have. The quasi-janissaries would also know well how they could use the advantages of being a janissary. For example they used to attack to the rich cultivated lands especially under the big waqfs which had ties with the capital like the Köprülü waqfs. These groups had been raiding the lands and homes of the villagers of these institutes frequently. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 2/83-1*).

The state was aware also these developments and gave some rights to the central and local officials in order to obstruct of these illegal records. So the controlling and blocking of those groups were among the charges of the commanders either in the capital (*yeniçeriağası*) or in the province (*serdar*). They had better to find the people who had been claiming that they were janissary without any official decree. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 2/83-1*). But same as in the other problems sending of edicts with effective sentences was not everything to the provinces. Because of the changing of the dynamics of the empire and its social structures solving of "janissary problem" was not possible except for "to get rid of them" till eternity.

### Result

The janissaries had been losing the central position in big military victories in the empire till the second half of the eighteenth century. But they had been controlling some of the effective places especially in the provinces as security forces, administrators and economic actors then. Fortunately at the same time, that is to say, while the janissaries had been losing

---

<sup>62</sup> See the fine samples from different centuries of janissary clothes: (Nicole- Hook, 1995: 33-44).

<sup>63</sup> One of them was SarracOsman from Eğin district. He attacked some people's fruits in their orchards shortly after he adduced that he was a janissary any more. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 4/112-1*).

<sup>64</sup> The commander's aim was to capture some lands of Köprülüwaqf or to take extra taxes from the villagers of the waqf. (*Sivas Ahkam Record 2/469-1*).

their old energies the state was also losing its central authority in the further provinces like Rum. So it is understood from the archive sources that the janissaries of the Rum province whether real or voluntary and especially their commanders were still effective group in the socio-economic life throughout the ends of their times. The commanders had still big role in the local administration components as in the other places of the emperorship. They had not only responsibility for their soldiers but also the people with whom they lived together. The general edicts sent to the province by the sultans would also address to them among the other main local officials. This effective role in the province provided them expanded area in which they were to be able to act legally or illegally. If a commander did his job as the palace wanted they were not problem for the central and local authorities and the people. But when they did not act legally and wanted to use the advantages of their duty then they would become a serious problem.

Not only the commanders but also the soldiers had those relationships with the other classes of the society. Their strong ties reached over to the local administrators and even to the local bandit groups and that situation enlarged the "janissary problem" which had been felt since too early times. Nevertheless the relations with notables were not always an advantage for themselves especially for the ordinary janissaries in the province. Many effective local forces as *müteğallibes* and *agas* injured the janissaries and their families especially when they could not use the force of them for their illegal activities. So if the janissaries had not enough support in their back from their commanders or any other officials that was a harder situation for the soldiers.

The effective role of the janissaries and their commanders could have easily seen from the *Şikayet defter*s of the Rum province. With the help of these records it can be said easily that the economic positions of the janissaries were not too bad in the Rum province in the investigated times as well as their social positions. Some of them had another jobs in their civil life even though it was not clear sometimes whether they were real soldiers or voluntaries. But most of the janissaries who had second job had generally lands to cultivate in the *timar* system. So those janissaries would also go to the wars when the state needed them. It can be said that the agriculturist janissaries of the Rum province investigated in this study were real janissaries. Meanwhile the debt relations and heritage values say many important things about the life of the soldiers. While some janissaries were pasturing their animals a little of them were going to other cities to trade for their needs or to trade of the husbandry products. Even though they were not as much as the cultivators some janissaries had other businesses in the craft sector. Besides these soldiers could have been using their force to expand their economic roles in the provinces while the central and local administrators losing their control in the province.

Even though it is not new developments having a second job for the soldiers become more prevalent in the middles of the eighteenth century in the Rum province parallels to the other places. Changing dynamics of the empire gave the soldiers that chance. Especially after the openings of janissary *ocak* for the Turkish people it was not an interesting event to see many people who was both a soldier or had any other civil businesses any more. It is obvious that becoming a janissary was a good job for the people because of its spiritual and economic advantages. Therefore becoming a janissary for ordinary people were a valued job in the Rum province as in the other times and places. That can be seen from about the quasi janissary complaints who want to use to advantages of being janissary in the archive sources.

The expanded economic effectiveness and activities of the janissaries must have not been acceptable by some local officials and peoples. Natural result of that expansion the soldiers lived too many problems in the economic life. One of the most of the prevalent matter of janissaries in the province was the tax problem. In spite of some tax exemptions some officials and people would want illegal taxes like *avarız*, *nüzul*, *agnam* and *gerdek* taxes from these soldiers. But they did not wait without doing anything opposite to these presses. When they were being injured about illegal payments they prefer to go to the capital or local courts to sue the unjust people. While the janissaries doing that one of the strongest support of them was the

law which used to explain that the janissaries were excused from those taxes. But in spite of those official supports the soldiers were the targets of the bandits or officials' illegal tax requests. Furthermore they were also attacking some innocent people's lands or other economic fields. All of those problems were explaining that the janissaries were not old janissaries who had been winning respectful victories and exalting the glory of the sultans. So it might have been felt that the end of this military group was approaching any more.

## REFERENCES

### Archive Sources

Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive (PMOA), Muhimme Defter, No: 10, 97/151; No: 12, 37/77.

Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archive (PMOA), Sivas Ahkâm Defterleri, A-DVN-ŞKT, Numbers: 1-10.

Sivas Şer'iye Sicili, Defter 2, Page 30, Date: April 22, 1783.

### Primary Sources

MUSTAFA NURİ PAŞA, (1992). *Netayicül-vukuat Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, V: III- IV, Simplified by: Neşet Çağatay, Ankara.

*Kavânin-i Yeniçeriyan Yeniçeri Kanunları*, (2011). Published by: Tayfun Torosar, İstanbul.

### Articles- Books

AFYONCU, Erhan (2011). Sorularla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, İstanbul.

AKDAĞ, Mustafa (1975). Osmanlı Tarihinde Ayanlık Düzeni Devri 1730-1839", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, XIII (23), s. 51- 61.

AKSAN, Virginia (2006). "War and Peace", *Turkey The Later Ottoman Empire 1603-1839*, V. 3, Edited by: Suraiya N. Faroqhi, Cambridge, p. 81-117.

BARKAN, Ömer (1968). "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Âit Tereke Defterleri (1545- 1659) I", *Belgeler*, V. III, Number : 5- 6, 1966, Ankara, p. 1- 480.

BARKAN, Ömer Lütfü - Enver Meriçli (1988). (Prepared for publication), *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, I, Ankara: TTK Publishing.

BARKAN, Ömer Lütfü (1979). "Timar", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V. 12/1, İstanbul: M.E.B. Publishing, p. 286-333.

BOSWORTH, C. E (2002). "Sayyid", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V. XI, Brill, p. 115-116.

DARKOT, Besim (1965). "Sivas", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V.10, İstanbul: M.E.B. Publishing, p. 569-577.

EMECEN, Feridun (1988). "The Ottoman Legal System in The Reign Of Sultan Suleyman The Magnificent", *The Ottoman Empire in The Reign Of Süleyman The Magnificent I*, The Historical Research Foundation İstanbul Research Center, İstanbul, p. 111-126.

FAROQHI, Suraiya (2003). *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, Translated by: Nasuh Barın, İstanbul.

FAROQHI, Suraiya (1976). "The Tekke of Haci Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Apr., 1976), p. 183-208.

GENÇ, Mehmet (2010). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet Ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul.

GOODWIN, Godfrey (1997). *Yeniçeriler*, Translated by: Derin Türkömer, İstanbul.

İNALCIK, Halil (1969). "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire", *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 29, No. 1, The Tasks of Economic History, (Mar., 1969), Cambridge University Press, pp. 97- 140.

ITZKOWITZ, Norman (1962). "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities", *Studia Islamica*, No. 16, p. 73-94.

KAFADAR, Cemal (1981). *Yeniçeri- Esnaf Relations Solidarity and Conflict*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University.

KARPAT, Kemal. (2002) "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908", *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*, Leiden, p. 27-74.

LEVY, Avigdor, "Military Reform and the Problem of Centralization in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Jul., 1982), pp. 227-249.

Ménage, V. L (2002). "Devshirme", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V. XI, Brill, p. 210-213

McGOWAN, Bruce (2004). "Ayanlar Çağı 1699- 1812", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik Ve Sosyal Tarihi*, V. II, İstanbul.

MURPHEY, Rhoads (2001). *The Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700*, London 2001.

----- (2002). "Yeniçeri", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, V. XI, Brill, p. 322-331.

NICOLE, David -Christa Hook (1995). *The Janissaries*, London.

OSMAN NURİ (1922). *Mecelle-i Ummur-ı Belediye*, V. 1, İstanbul.

ÖZKAYA, Yücel (1994). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayanlık*, Ankara.

PAKALIN, Mehmet Zeki (1983). *Tarih Terimleri ve Deyimleri Sözlüğü*, V. III, İstanbul.

PAMUK, Şevket (2009). *Osmanlı- Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500- 1914*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

PURGSTALL, Joseph Von Hammer, (2010). *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, V. 1, Published by: Mümin Çevik, İstanbul.

QUATAERT, Donald (2005). *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*, Second Edition, Cambridge.

RAYMOND, Andre (1995). *Osmanlı Döneminde Arap Kentleri*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul. .

TEKELİ, İlhan-Selim İlkin (1993). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşum ve Dönüşümü*, 1993.

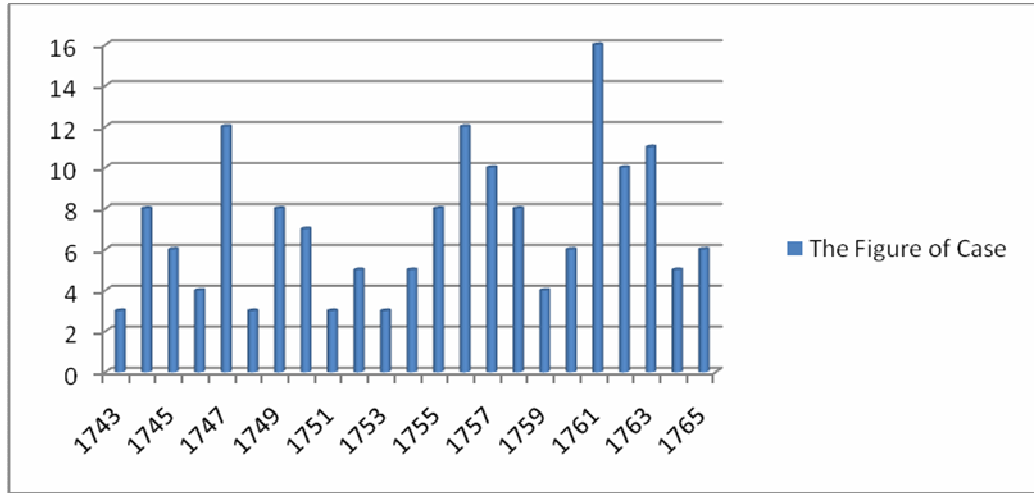
UZUNÇARŞILI, İsmail Hakkı (1988:a). *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, Third Edition, Ankara: TTK Publishing.

-----, İsmail Hakkı (1988:b). *Osmanlı Tarihi*, V. III, Part. I, Ankara.

Witteck, Paul (1955). "Devshirme and sharia", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 271-278

YÜCEL, Yaşar Yaşar Yücel (1988). *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar, Kitab-ı Mesalihi'l Müslimin ve Menaftül- Müminin*, Ankara.

Graphic 1: The Figure of the Cases about the Janissaries in the Şikayet Defters (1743 -1765)



Note: The case figures explain the verdicts of Rum courts or the edicts about the janissaries gathered from the 12 Ahkam records. According to the graphic it can be said that the janissaries had been going to the courts often. But what is the interesting and notable is that the case figures about the janissaries increased in the second half of the investigation era. In the first half of the time (1743-1754) totally 67 records were provided in the *defters* and the average of them was 5.5 events per year. But in the second half of the time (1755-1765) the number of the records about the janissaries was 96 and the average of them were 8.7 events per year. According to this figures it can be thought that the janissary problem was increasing year by year toward the end of their last year 1826.

Map 1: The Big Cities of the Rum Province (18<sup>th</sup> Century)

