

In the memory of

Hüseyin Namık ORKUN

THE *YAYA* AND *MÜSELLEM* CORPS IN THE OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
(Early Centuries)

A Thesis Presented
By

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TO

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History

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October 2001

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ABSTRACT

The *yaya* corps who were originally the Turcoman peasants constituted the first regular army of the Ottoman state established in the age of Orhan Gazi. Acting as the *hassa* soldiery of the sovereign, the status of the corps had changed upon the establishment of the janissary garisons. Hence they were organized under a particular system called the *ocak* where they cultivated the land granted to them in compensation for their military service. The system shared certain similarities with the Byzantine organization of the *stratiotes* and the organization of the *voynuks* who were a group of soldiery preexisting in the Balkans before the Ottoman conquest of the area. Thus the study will mostly be concentrating on the particular condition of the *yayas* who served either as the peasants or the soldiers. On the other hand the *müsellem* corps who were a group of mounted troops of *yaya* origin appeared to be founded probably first in Rumelia. Both corps were reorganized as the auxiliary troops within the provincial soldiery by the second half of the fourteenth century. However, though they were no longer the *hassa* soldiery of the sovereign they continued to act as the active combatants in the major campaigns of the age. They appeared as the so called emergency troops recruited in times of *nefir-i 'am*, general call to arms in the first half of the fifteenth century. However, the corps began to be employed in the rear services by the second half of the fifteenth century until the dissolution of their institution in 1582. Thus the study attempts to examine the corps in two successive stages. In the first stage the military importance of the *yaya* corps will be examined where in the latter the development of both corps as the auxiliary troops will be examined.

Consequently the general aim of this study is to reveal the early stages of the corps.

ÖZET

Türkmen köylülerinden meydana gelen yaya müfrezeleri Orhan Gazi devrinde teşkil edilmiş ve Osmanlı ordusunun ilk düzenli birliklerini oluşturmuşlardır. Orhan Gazi'nin hassa askerleri olarak hizmet eden yayalar , yeniçeri bölüklerinin teşkili ile bu statülerini kaybetmiş ve özel bir sistem olan *ocak* sistemi üzerine teşkilatlandırılmışlardır. Yayalara askeri hizmet karşılığında toprak verilmiş ve böylece hem çiftçi olarak hemde asker olarak hizmet etmeleri sağlanmıştır. *Ocak* sistemi Bizans devletindeki *stratiotes* sistemi ve Balkanlarda Osmanlılardan önce mevcut olan *voynukların* teşkilatı ile benzerlik göstermektedir.Bu çerçeve içinde bu çalışma yayaların *ocak* sistemi üzerine teşkilatlandırılmaları üzerinde yoğunlaşacaktır.Diğer taraftan bir grup atlı yaya olan müsellemler muhtemelen ilk kez Rumeli'de teşkil edilerek XIV. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren yayalar ile birlikte yardımcı asker sıfatı ile eyalet askerleri arasında sayılmışlardır. Müfrezeler hassa asker olmadıkları halde aynı yüzyılın sonuna kadar bilfiil askerî hizmet vermişlerdir.XV. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren nefir-i 'am durumlarında askere alınan müfrezeler olarak kalmışlar ve aynı yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren 1582 yılında teşkilatlarının dağıtılmasına kadar Osmanlı ordusunun geri hizmetlerinde görevlendirilmişlerdir.Bu çerçeve içinde bu çalışma müfrezeleri birbirini takip eden bu iki süreç içinde inceleyecektir. İlk kısımda yayaların askeri önemi , ikinci kısımda ise her iki müfrezelerin geri hizmetlerde yardımcı askerler olarak teşkilatlandırılmaları ve dağılmaları incelenecektir. Genel olarak bu çalışmada müfrezelerin pek fazla bilinmeyen erken dönemleri aydınlatılmaya çalışılacaktır.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof.Dr.Halil İnalçık for his guidance throughout the composing process of thesis and aid in securing source material. I wish to acknowledge Dr.Oktay Özel, Dr.Necdet Gök and Dr.Ahmet Simin for their special interests in reading the documents. I would also like to express my formal thanks to the professors of the thesis committee, Prof.Dr.Halil İnalçık, Prof.Dr.Özer Ergenç and Ass.Prof. Mehmet Kalpaklı for their approval of my work.

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INTRODUCTION

The *yayas* who were originally the Turcoman peasants, constituted the first regular military organization of the Ottoman state established in the reign of Orhan Gazi (1324-1362). They were organized into a corps as his *hasa* soldiery, that is the soldiery who were under the direct command of the sovereign as his retinue.

Upon the establishment of the janissary garrisons , the *yaya* corps were to pass on their *hasa* status to this newly established soldiery in the reign of Murad I, hence they were redeployed among the auxiliary troops within the provincial soldiery. However, though they were no longer the *hasa* soldiery of the sovereign they continued to act as the active combatants in the age of Murad I and Bayezid I.

The corps appeared as the so called emergency troops in the ages of Murad II and Mehmed II who were recruited in the cases of *nefir-i 'am*, that is in times of the proclamation of a general call to arms. However, they were not only employed as the active combatants but also as the 'supportive troops' responsible for various rear services for the army by the end of the fifteenth century. According to the chronicles and certain *mühimme* registers, the corps appeared to be employed in the rear services until the dissolution of their organization in 1582.

The *yaya* corps were organized under a specific unit called the *ocak*, hearth where a group of *yaya* cultivated a piece of land granted to them by the state in return for the military service together with their *yamaks*, the 'assistants'. The cadastral registers or the *tahrir defters* of the *yayas* thoroughly show the way in which the *yayas* were organized.

On the other hand the *müsellem* corps who were basically of *yaya* origin were organized as the ‘mounted troops’ as the counterpart of the *yaya* corps. The *müsellems* appear to be founded at a later date, probably first in Rumelia on the onset of the reign of Murad II. The *müsellem* corps were also employed as the supportive troops by the sixteenth century together with the *yayas*.

Thus we shall examine the *yaya* and *müsellem* corps within two successive stages in this specific study. In the first part , the period when the *yayas* were employed as active combatants whereas in the latter the period when they served as the supportive forces will be examined.

On the other hand , the aim of this study is essentially to concentrate on the evaluation of the corps under the *ocak* system, an organization of which was probably modelled on the Byzantine organization of the *stratiotes* and the organization of the *voynuks* who were a group of soldiery preexisting in the Balkans before the Ottoman conquest of the area.

In the second stage, the study will mostly be concentrating on either the origins and the process of the establishment of the corps or the origins of the *ocak* system with reference to the earliest documents since the earliest stages of the organization is rather vague.

Finally, the study aims at discussing the military importance of the corps within the Ottoman army in order to indicate their role as the active combatants which was totally overshadowed since the establishment of the janissary garrisons.

Thus in the first part of the study (*Chapter I*) the etymology of the word of *yaya* will be discussed by the help of the various lexicons and certain early historical documents in order to reveal the origin of the word. The texts of the *Orhun* inscriptions and the *Düstûrnâme-i Enverî*, the epic history of Enverî will be used in this part since there exists an intimate relation between the literal meaning and the connotation of the word itself.

Secondly, the process of the establishment of the *yaya* corps will be analyzed on the basis of the original text of Aşıkpaşazâde (Hereafter Aşıkî) in his *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* since the *yayas* were first mentioned in the Ottoman sources by Aşıkî who had composed his work in 1474.

Regarding that Aşıkî had used a *menâkıb*, a religio-heroic source by Yahşi Fakih who had received the information from his father, an *imam* of Orhan Gazi hence his information was considered as the earliest account relating the deeds of the first Ottoman sultans.

Moreover, regarding the fact that the other chroniclers (Neşri, Oruc Beğ, and the Anonymous *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*) had all rephrased the original text of Aşıkî and added certain information of their time, references will be made to the works of those chroniclers in order to ascertain certain interpolations made by their authors.

In the third part of the Chapter I, the development of the corps will be examined. Thus, firstly the origins of the *yaya* corps either ethnic or social will be tried to be revealed mainly with reference to the earliest chronic of Aşıkî and the epic history of Enverî.

Moreover , the earliest document regarding the early centuries of the Ottoman history, the *vakfiye* of Süleyman Paşa dated H.760 (1358) which was copied in 1914 will be used in order to reveal the social origins of the first *yayas*. The earliest *yaya* register dated H.859 (1454) of Karahisar-i Sâhib will also be referenced in order to identify the origins of the *yayas* of a later period.

In the final part of Chapter I , the organization of the *yayas* under the *ocak* system will be analyzed using the earliest *yaya* register in comparison to a later detailed register dated H.959 (1551) of Biga in order to indicate the evaluation of the *ocak* system.

Moreover, the Byzantine organization of the *stratiotes* will be examined with reference to certain secondary sources about Byzantine military organization in order to point out to what extent the system is original to the Ottomans or adopted from the Byzantines. Furthermore, a comparison will be made to the organization of the *voynuks* and the *yayas* since they shared certain similarities in terms of their organization.

In the Chapter II , the *müsellems* will be examined with reference to the chronicles and certain *kanunnâmes*, the code of laws. Regarding that the *müsellems* were a group of *yaya* who were established at a later time than the *yaya* corps , the emphasis will be put on the origins and the establishment the corps.

Secondly, the development of the corps within the auxiliary troops as the counterparts of the *yayas* will be examined to indicate the duties the corps were employed in the rear services.

In the Chapter III , the period when the *yayas* were acting as the active combatants in the military operations will be analyzed with reference to the chronicles of Neşrî, Oruc Beğ, Kemalpaşazâde and Tursun Beğ since they present certain information of their time regarding either the number of the corps in various battles or the services they were responsible of in the successive centuries.

Moreover for the particular age of Murad II, the published manuscript of *Gazâvât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehemmed Hân* by Halil İnalçık and Mevlûd Oğuz will be used.

In the second part of the chapter a comparison will be made between the *yayas* and the two other auxiliary troops, namely the *'azeb*s and the *cerehors* since they all performed their services to the state in return for the extraordinary tax, the *avârız-ı divâniye* by the second half of the fifteenth century.

Finally in the Chapter IV , the condition of the corps as the supportive troops and the dissolution of the institution will be examined. Considering that the time when the corps were started to be employed in the rear services by the second half of the fifteenth century was regarded as one of the reasons which led to the dissolution of their organization, thus, the two stages were regarded as the consecutive stages. So their analysis will be made within the individual chapter.

The published documents from the *mühimme* registers which covers the period between H.966-1200 (1558-1785) by Ahmed Refik will be used to indicate the duties the corps were responsible of when they were employed in the rear services and the pamphlet called as the *Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman der Hülâsa-i Mezâmin-i Defter-i Dîvân* which was composed by Aynî Ali at the beginning of the seventeenth century will be referenced to indicate the status of the corps by the end of the sixteenth century.

References will also be made to the later *yaya* register of Biga dated H.959 in order to indicate the changes in the organization of the corps in the second half of the sixteenth century. Moreover, in the last part of the Chapter IV , the dissolution of the institution will be discussed on the basis of the particular firman dated 1582 which was published by A.Refik.

It would be useful to state certain studies made regarding the *yaya* and *müsellem* corps. Among the contemporary authors , the *yaya* corps was first mentioned by Mehmed Ârif in a seperate issue of *Tarih-i Osmânî Encümeni Mecmu'ası* in 1910¹.

Later , İ.H.Uzunçarşılı² and Z.Pakalın³ mentioned about the corps consecutively.

As far as a specific study is concerned a detailed analysis was first made by Muzaffer Arıkan.⁴ He concentrated his study basically on the land possession of the *yaya* and *müsellems* and on the nature of the tax exemption of the corps in the fifteenth century. Arıkan used the *yaya* and *müsellem* registers of the provinces of Anatolia and Rumelia and complementary to them used the *kanunnâmes* of the sixteenth century.

An other detailed study was made by Halime Doğru⁵ who analyzed the particular region of Sultanönü where the institution was first established.

¹ *Kânunnâme-i 'Al-i Osman*, (Mehmed Arif ed.), İstanbul: 1329, p.10 For the *kanunnâme* about the *yaya* and *müsellems* see pp.47-49

² İ.H.Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları I*, Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., 1943, pp.1-4

³ Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Vol.III , İstanbul : Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yay. , 1946, pp.608-611

⁴ Muzaffer Arıkan, "XV. Asırda *Yaya* ve *Müsellem* Ocakları (Toprak Tasarrufu, Vergi Muâfiyetleri ve Hizmet)" (Doçentlik Tezi , Ankara Üniversitesi , 1966)

⁵ Halime Doğru, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yaya-Müsellem-Taycı Teşkilatı (XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü Sancağı)* İstanbul : Eren Yay., 1990

Dođru used the registers of the *yayas* , *müsellems* and the *taycıs* of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which stated in her preface , cover the eighty percent of the registers of the province of Anatolia. She gave a brief outline of the institution and made schemes indicating the number of the corps in each village of Sultanönü. References will be made to her study in the related chapters of this study.

Moreover there are certain individual articles which are directly related to the *yaya* and *müsellems* of a particular area. Among them , the study of Fikret Yılmaz⁶ and the study of Turan Gökçe⁷ can be cited.

F.Yılmaz focused his study on the *yayas* of Edremit within the *sancak* of Karesi. He used the oldest *yaya* registers of Edremit in the early sixteenth century. Yılmaz further concentrated his study on the dissolution of the *yaya* institution in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The study of T.Gökçe focused on the *yaya* farms of Nif within the *sancak* of Saruhan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Gökçe used four registers , the oldest of which dated 1487 while the other three dated to sixteenth century.

An other study regarding the corps was done by Gy.Káldy-Nagy⁸ who had given an outline about the status of the corps when they were reorganized within the auxiliary soldiery. Káldy-Nagy mentions a specific conscription order dated 1540 which implied that the corps were gradually dissolving.

⁶ Fikret Yılmaz, "Edremit *Yayaları* ve *Yaya* Teşkilâtının Kaldırılması Hakkında Bilgiler", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* XIX (İstanbul 1999) :149-180

⁷ Turan Gökçe, "XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Nif Kazâsı Piyâde Teşkilâtı ve *Yaya* Çiftlikleri", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* XV (İzmir 2000) :137-155

⁸ Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "The Conscription of *Müsellems* and *Yaya* Corps in 1540", *Studies in honour of Julius Nemeth* , (Lorand Eötvös University Budapest 1976) : 275-281

However , the text of Káldy-Nagy was rectified by M.İlhan⁹. He translated the text into Turkish and presented the correct transcription of the text from its original copy.

Though not directly related , certain pieces of studies regarding the corps can be found in the various *sancak* studies.

Among them the studies of Feridun Emecan¹⁰ and Halime Doğru¹¹ can be cited. In his analysis of the *yayas* of Manisa in the *sancak* of Saruhan , Emecan analyzed four registers dated to sixteenth century.

H.Doğru , analyzed the registers of mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries regarding the *sancak* of Sultanönü.

References will also be made to certain points of the all the mentioned studies in the related parts of this study.

⁹ Mehdi İlhan, “1540’da Müsellem ve Yaya Ocaklarına Yazılma” , *Şerafettin Turan Armağanı* , (Antakya 1996): 95-105

¹⁰ Feridun M.Emecan, *XVI.Asırda Manisa Kazâsı*,Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay. , 1989

¹¹ Halime Doğru, *XVI.Yüzyılda Eskişehir ve Sultanönü Sancağı* , İstanbul : Afa Yay. ,1992

CHAPTER I

THE *YAYA* CORPS

I- The Etymology and the Connotations of the term *yaya*

The word *yaya* in its literal meaning, denotes somebody who goes on-foot.¹² With regards to its literal meaning the word has been used with a military connotation as the ‘*yaya* soldier’, that is, the soldier who fights on foot, in military history. The word is originally derived from the ancient Turkish word *yadağ*,¹³ where as a general rule the consonant ‘*d*’ was altered to ‘*y*’ in the new Turkish grammar. As an earliest example, the term *yadag sü* connotes to the soldier who fights on foot in the earliest Turkish inscriptions, namely the *Orhun* inscriptions of the sixth century.¹⁴

Various archaic versions of the word *yaya* as the *yadağ(in)* , *yayak* or *yayan* are determined in some of the early Turkish historical documents, all of which referring to the ‘infantryman’. Initially the word *yadag* is found written on one of the oldest Turkic inscriptions referring to the group of soldiers who were fighting on-foot.¹⁵

¹² *Türk Dil Kurumu Türkçe Sözlük* , Vol.2 , 1998 ed. , p.2414

¹³ S.Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford:1972,p.887

See also A.Von Gabain, *Eski Türkçenin Grameri*,(Trans.Mehmet Akalın) Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu Yay., 2000, p.64 and p.307

¹⁴ Hüseyin Namık Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları* , Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu Yay. , 1987 , p.881

¹⁵ *ibid* , pp.100-101. On the inscription of the Tonyukuk erected around 725s , Tonyukuk himself declared that he personally adhered to the independence movement of the Turkish nation and stated that the two thirds of the Turkish tribes were mounted where one third were on-foot (...*Bod kalmadı ıda taşda kalmışi kubranıp yeti yüz boldı eki ülüğü atlıg erti , bir ülügi yadag erti...*)

Thus the appearance of the term in the historical stage with its military connotation was determined as early as the sixth century.

The usage of the word as the *yayan* was also determined in a thirteenth-century historical record namely the *Düstûrnâme-i Enverî*, the epic history of Enveri which related the deeds of Umur Gazi of Aydın Principality. In the epic Umurs' soldiers were described as either being the 'mounted' or 'on-foot'¹⁶. Thus, in both cases the term *yaya* referred to a simple infantryman.

The term *yaya*, as the *yayağ* was first mentioned in the Ottoman sources by the first chronicler of the Ottoman history Aşıkpaşazâde (Hereafter Aşıkî) in his *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* connoting to the soldiery of Osman Gazi in the siege of İnegöl.¹⁷

On the other hand an other point of view regarding the etymology of the word of *yaya* is asserted by certain linguists. As suggested by the linguist Korsch, the word of *yaya* could be derived from the Persian word of *piyâdag* or *piyâda* where the prefix *pi-* is omitted in the Turkish grammar.¹⁸ The assumption of Korsch is also shared by his colleague Doerfer who also suggests that the word of *yadağ* might have been taken from the Persian as a result of the cultural impact of both nations¹⁹.

However, regarding the fact that that the word was determined in the oldest Turkish inscriptions, as early as the sixth century, Persian impact on the etymology of the word sounds rather vague.

¹⁶ *Düsturnâme-i Enverî*, (Ed.M.Halil Bey) İstanbul : 1928, p.27 “*Mîr İlyas ile bir bölük güzât
Gİtdi yayan kimisi binerdi at*”
“*Türk otuz bin varidi atlu yayan
Kurudan tekfûra oldılar revân*” p.49

¹⁷ ‘Aşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed ‘Aşıkî. *Tevârih-i ‘Âl-i ‘Osman* (Ed.Çiftçioğlu N.Atsız), İstanbul : Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949, p.94 (...*Gaziler dahi Hakka sığındılar. Doğru pusya yürüdiler. Cemi’si yayağidi...*)

¹⁸ Hasan Eren, *Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü*, Ankara : 1999, p.445

¹⁹ *ibid*, p.335 H.Eren suggests that both words (*piyâda-yaya*) are under the analogical impact of each other.

Though the word is originally a turkish word it has been used synonymous to the word of *piyâde* which means a ‘footman’ or a ‘foot-soldier’.²⁰ G.Clauson also states that the word *yaya* has been used as opposed to the mounted in certain languages of the pre-thirteenth-century turkish.²¹

So regarding the fact that the etymology of the word suggests an intimate relation between its literal meaning and its connotation as referring to the soldiers fighting on foot, hence the word of *yaya* began to be used synonymous to the word of *piyâde*, ‘infantryman’ either in the lexicology or in the historiography in the futher stages.²²

The usage of both words synonymous to each other in the Ottoman historiography was first mentioned by M.Arif in a seperate issue of *Tarih-i ‘Osmânî Encümeni Mecmu’ası* in 1910.²³ Further in the *kanunnâme* of Sultan Süleyman in the mentioned issue, the section about the *yayas* were compiled under the general title of the codes of the *piyâdes*, *ahvâl-i piyâdegân*.²⁴ So it can be inferred that the term of *piyâde* stands as the general title of a certain infantry who perform their services on foot.

However, the meaning which the *yaya* soldiery covered broadened in the reign of Orhan Gazi. Though still represented the ‘soldiers fighting on- foot’ , the term of *yaya* was attributed to the specific corps organized in the time of Orhan Gazi.²⁵ (See the text below)

²⁰ F.Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London:1957,p.262

²¹ Clauson, p.887

²² Ahmet Vefik Paşa. *Lehce-i Osmanî* , (Ed.Recep Toparlı) , Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu Yay. , 2000 , pp.418-419 *yaya* denotes to *piyâde*. See *Tarama Sözlüğü VI* , Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu Yay. , 1996 , p.4436 *yaya* stands for *piyâde*.

²³ *Kanunnâme-i Al-i Osman* , p.10 (*Yaya*) Bunlara “*piyâde*” dahi dirlerdi. *Devlet-i ‘Osmânîyenin evvelinde Türklerden piyâde olarak teşkil idilmiş bir sınıf ulufeli asker idi*.

²⁴ *ibid*,pp.46-49

²⁵ Atsız , pp.117-118 (*Bâb 31*) The establishment of the *yaya* corps as the *hassa* soldiery will be discussed in the second part of Chapter I.

Hence , the term of *yaya* connoted the *hassa* soldiery of Orhan Gazi that is, the soldiery who was under the direct command of the sovereign as his retinue.

However serving as the *hassa* soldiery of Orhan Gazi when the janissary garrisons were established the *yayas* were to leave their *hassa* status to the janissaries and were reorganized among the provincial soldiery as a separate institution.

Thus the connotation of the word changed in the second half of the fourteenth century. Hence the *yaya* corps were mentioned among the auxiliary troops within the provincial soldiery until the dissolution of their institution in 1582.

In conclusion the word of *yaya* being originally a Turkish word has been used with a military connotation since the earliest stages of the Turkish history whose meaning was broadened in the Ottoman usage by the time of Orhan Gazi.

II.THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE *YAYA* CORPS as the *HASSA* **SOLDIERY**

The first original statement in the Ottoman sources about the establishment of the *yaya* corps which would be used by the later chroniclers was mentioned by Aşıkî in his *Tevârih-i Âli Osman*²⁶. The passage regarding the establishment of the *yaya* corps is as follows²⁷ :

31 inci Bâb

Bu Bâb Anı Beyân Eder kim Orhan Gazi Padişah Oldukdan Sonra

Ne Geydi Ve Ne İhdâs Etdi kim O Atası Zamanında Olmamış İdi , Orhan Gazi

Zamanında Olındı.

Nazım

*Bu âdem düzdi âlemde düzenler
Ya kendünün ve yâ gayrının ola
Ne düzsen eseri kalur cihanda*

*Bilür misin niçün düzdi düzenler
Bu niyyetlen düzer düzgün düzenler
Velî âsar kalur kanı düzenler*

Orhan Gazi'ye kardaşı Alâaddin Paşa eyidür : “Hanum ! Elhamdülillâh kim seni padişâh gördüm.İmdi senün dahı bir bölük (Atsız : birlevük) leşkerün yevmen feyevmen ziyâde olsa gerekdür. İmdi senün askeründe bir nişan ko kim gayrı askerde olmasun” dedi. Orhan Gazi eyidür:”Kardaş! Her ne kim sen eyidürsen,ben anı kabul ederin”dedi. Ol eyitdi : “İmdi , etrafdağı beglerün börkleri kızıldur. Senün ağ olsun” dedi. Orhan Gazi emr etdi. Bilecükde ak börk işledeler (Atsız : işlediler). Orhan Gazi geydi. Ve cemi' tevâbii bile ak börk geydiler. Andan Orhan Gazi leşkerin ziyâde etmek diledi kim ol vilâyetden (Atsız : vilâyetde) ola. Kardaşı

²⁶ Atsız , pp.117-118 (*Bâb 31*)

²⁷ The text is corrected as suggested by Prof.Halil İnalçık at a seminar.

eyidür: "Anı kadılara danış" der. Ve ol zamanda Çandarlı Karaca Halil Bilecik kadısı olmuş idi. Kadılığı ana Osman Gazi vermiş idi.

Ve Orhan Gazi zamanında dahı İznik'e (Atsız: İznige) kadı oldu. Ve dahı İznik'den sonra Bursa'ya kadı oldu. Orhan oğlu Gazi Hünkâr zamanında kadı-asker oldu. Ve hem vezir oldu. Ve beglerbegi dahı oldu. Ve bâki tafsil aşığa bâblarda gele inşaallâhu ta'âla. Ve hem Ede Bali'nün dahı kavmiydi. Ona dahı danışdı.

Emretdür (Atsız : eyidür): "Elden yaya çıkar" dedi. Ol vakit adamlarun çoğı kadıya rüşvet (Atsız: rişvet) iletdi kim beni yaya yazdurun deyü. Ve hem anlara da ak börk geydürdiler.

Sual : Ya enük adını yayaya niçün dediler ?

Cevab : Sultan Mehmed Han oğlu Sultan Murad zamanında sefere gider iken bir yaya bir it enigin oğurlamış. Enük ıssı enüğini bulmuş. Yayaya eyitmiş: "Enüğimi sen mi doğurdun kim oğurlarsın bire enük yaya" deyüben söğmiş. Bir gavgâ etmişler. Halk ol sebebden ötürü enük yaya derler ...

The following is the translation of the full text of Aşıkî :

Chapter 31

The following passage relates what Orhan Gazi had worn and had established when he had become the *sultan*

Alaaddin Paşa called his brother Orhan Gazi as saying : "My lord ! Glory be to God that you became a sovereign. Now that you became a sovereign your soldiery are growing day by day. Hence you are to put a symbol for them distinct from the rest of the soldiery of the other *bey*s. Orhan Gazi states: My brother ! Whatever you suggest I accept it. Alaaddin Paşa states: "The soldiers of the other *bey*s are wearing red caps. Let yours be white". Hence Orhan Gazi ordered that white caps would be made in Bilecik.

Then Orhan Gazi puts on the white cap so that his retinue also put it on. Later Orhan Gazi wanted to increase the number of his soldiery from his own territory.

His brother states : “I would suggest that you consult the matter with the judges.” The judge of the time was Çandarlu Karaca Halil. He was the judge of Bilecik at that time who was assigned to the post by Osman Gazi. And he was the judge of İznik in the age of Orhan. And then he became the judge of Bursa. He was the *kadıasker*, the military chief of justice in the age of Gazi Hünkar , the son of Orhan Gazi. And then he became the vizier. He even became the *beylerbeyi* , the governor general. Let the remaining explanation about him be mentioned in the further chapters. He was also the relative of Ede Bali. Orhan even consulted him and ordered to register *yayas* from his territory. Many people offered bribes to the judge in order to be registered as the *yayas*. Hence they were permitted to wear white caps and called as the *yayas*.

Question : So why did they call the *yayas* as *enük* (the whelp of a dog) ?

Response : One day a *yaya* had stolen the whelp of a dog on his way to the campaign in the age of Sultan Murad , the son of Sultan Mehmed Han. Then the owner of the dog found the whelp and stated him cursing as : “Why did you steal my whelp , you the *enük yaya* !” Then they fought. Hence the *yayas* were named as the *enük*.

Before the examination of the text of Aşıkî , the source of his work is to be mentioned in order to check its authenticity. Being the first chronicler of the Ottoman history Aşıkî based his work for the period until the age of Bayezid I on a *menâkibnâme* by Yahşi Fakih. The *menâkibnâme* of Yahşi Fakih is regarded as the oldest account of Ottoman history together with the Ahmedî's chapter on the Ottomans in his *İskendernâme*.²⁸

The relation between Yahşi Fakih and the members of the Ottoman dynasty is noteworthy. Yahşi Fakih was the son of İshak Fakı, the *imam* to Orhan and he had transmitted what he had heard from his father to his own work.²⁹ So the original tradition goes to the time of Orhan Gazi.

As Aşıkî stated in his work he had personally met Yahşi Fakih in 1413 at Geyve where he had stayed ill at his house and there Yahşi Fakih gave him the *menâkib* relating the accounts of the Ottoman sultans down to the reign of Bayezid I³⁰. Aşıkî further indicated that he had transmitted the *menâkib* into his own history.³¹ In a *vakf* register of Sultanönü Yahşi appeared as enjoying a certain farm granted by Mehmed I (1413-1421).

²⁸ Halil İnalçık. "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography", *Historians of the Middle East*, London : Oxford University Press, 1962, p.152

²⁹ Halil İnalçık. "How to Read 'Âşık Pasha-zâde's History" , *Essays in Ottoman History* , İstanbul : 1988 , p.32

³⁰ Atsız, p.148(... *Fakîr Geyvede kaldum.Orhan Begün imamı oğlu Yahşi Fakınun evinde hasta oldum.Menâkib-ı Âl-i Osmanı tâ Yıldırım Hana gelince imam oğlundan nakl ederin...*)

³¹ Atsız, p.91(... *Nagâh bir cemaat azizlerden , Âl-i Osmanun tevârihinden ve menâkıbından zikr etdiler. Ve bu fakirden dahı sual etdiler. Fakir dahı cevap verdüm ki Orhan Gazinün imamı İshak Fakı oğlu Yahşi Fakıdan kim ol Sultan Bayazid Hana gelince bu menâkıbı ol Yahşi Fakıda yazılmış buldum kim Yahşi Fakı Orhan Gazinün imamı oğlyidi , fakir dahı bilübişitdügümden bazı hallarından ve makallerinden ihtisar edüb kalem diline verdüm...*)However H.N.Orkun in his article "Yahşi Fakihe Dâ'ir", *Dergâh V* (1337):106 questions the existence of the ' *menakibnâme* ' by Yahşi Fakih. He states that Yahşi only related what he had witnessed in his time to Aşıkî rather than directly giving him a written *menâkib*. Orkun bases his assertion on the meaning of the expression of Aşıkî as ' *menâkib-i tevârih-i ihsâr itdim* ' (Ali ed.p.40) which he asserts connotes to *ezmine-i sâlife menâkıbı*, that is, the 'accounts of the preceeding events' rather than its direct connotation of a piece of written work. Regarding that as suggested by O.Köprülü, the word *menâkib* in the fifteenth-century Turkish connotes for 'deeds' (İnalçık, "The Rise",p.35) Orkun's assertion is worth considering in that sense.

This can be regarded as a proof that he was living in that age³². The expression in the *vakf* register coincides with the expression of Aşıkî who stated that he had met him in 1413.

Moreover, considering that Aşıkî also added his personal observations and the oral information which he gathered from Yahşi Fakih into his work , his work can be regarded as authentic.

On the other hand it is apparent that the other chroniclers (*Neşrî, Oruc Beğ and the Anonymous Tevârih-i Al-i Osman*) followed Aşıkî in quoting the passage about the *yayas*. The passage appears in all three before the conquest of İznik (1331) and after the conquest of İzmit (1337) as appeared in the text of Aşıkî. This can be regarded as a proof that they all copied Aşıkî's text.

However regarding that the other chroniclers had reflected the current situation of their age, Thus the analysis of the text of Aşıkî complementary with the other chronics would probably reveal the correct text in a more complete form.

³² Hüseyin Namık. "Jahsy Fakih", *Mitteilungen Z. Osmanischan Geschichte* II:317-321 Moreover Yahşi also inherited a vakf land originally granted by Sultan Orhan at Geyve which was later approved by Bayezid I and Mehmed I. İnalçık, "Ashik Pasha-zade", p.32

The Analysis of the passage in Âşıkpaşazâde

In the establishment of the *yaya* corps Alaaddin Paşa appears as the stimulus, who advises Orhan to build up an army of his own with a distinctive symbol of their own. Though Alaaddin Paşa was thought to be the brother of Orhan Bey by Aşıkî and the other chroniclers³³ who followed him, the identity of Alaaddin Paşa is rather a controversial issue. There exists an uncertainty within the historical records of whether Alaaddin was the brother or the vizier of Orhan Bey.

However the rather vague identity of Alaaddin Paşa is clarified by H.Hüsameddin. Hüsameddin states that there exists two people bearing name Alaaddin in the age of Orhan. One of them was the son of Osman Bey , *şehzâde* Alaaddin Bey while the other was the vizier to Osman and Orhan Beys , *vezir* Alaaddin Paşa.³⁴

Alaaddin Bey , Orhan's brother , was never attributed with the title of the '*paşa*' either in his *vakfiye* or in the *tapu* registers.³⁵

³³ Mehmed Neşri. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ* Vol.II (Ed.Faik Reşit Unat and M.A.Köymen), Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay.,1995 pp.152-153 "Orhan Gazi 'ye karındaşı Ali Paşa eytdi". Oruc b.'Adil Elkazzaz .*Tevârih-i Al-i Osman*. (Ed.Fr.Babinger) Hannover:1925 p15. "Bir gün Ali Paşa karındaşı Orhana didikim" Anonim *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* (F.Giese neşri) , İstanbul : 1992, p.16 "Bir gün Ali Paşa karındaşı Orhan'a eytdi". As stated by İ.H.Uzunçarşılı the names Alaaddin, Ali and Erden Ali connote to the same person referring to the brother of Orhan Bey. İ.H.Uzunçarşılı. "Alaeddin Paşa", *İA* , Vol.I , 1988, p.282

³⁴ Hüseyin Hüsameddin "Alaaddin Bey", *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, XIV/8, p.128 (... *Osman Gazi, herhalde (723) senesinde hasta ve muhtac-i vekâletidi. Alaaddin paşanın evsâf-i mezkuresi ve 'ünvânı delâlet idiyorki şehzâde (Alaaddin bey)den başka bir zâtdır... Sultan Osman ve Orhan beylerin vezâreti makâmında türklere pek büyük hizmetleri sebk itmiş bir (Alaaddin Paşa) varidi...*) p.308 (...*Müverrihlerimiz mücerred lakâb müşâbehetinden devleti bu vezîr-i fâzıl (Alaaddin Paşa)yı şehzade tanıtmışlar , şehzâde (Alaaddin Paşa) dimişlerdir. Halbuki kuyûd-i şer 'iyye, emîr-i kebir olan (Alaaddin bey)in başka, vezir olan (Alaaddin Paşa)nında başka bir zât olduklarını göstermektedir...*)

³⁵ Uzunçarşılı , "Alaaddin Paşa", pp.282-28 Morevoer Uzunçarşılı states that though Çandarlı Halil was thought to be the first vizier of the Ottoman state, it was Alaaddin Paşa who became the first vizier. "Osmanlılarda ilk vezirlere dair müteala, *Belleten* IX/9 (1945), p.207

Moreover , the death of Alaaddin Bey was assumed to be in the year 1333 and the expressions in his *vakfiye* of the same year as *amîr kabîr mucâhid fi sabil illâh... 'avn al-guzât va 'l-mucâhidin* indicates that he was not a vizier from the *ulema* but a commander or a *beylerbeyi*.³⁶

On the other hand Alaaddin the *paşa* was mentioned as a ‘vizier’ in the *vakfiye* of Asporça Hatun dated 1323.³⁷ So H.Hüsameddin proved that Alaaddin with his title of the *paşa* was someone from the *ulema* and was vizier to Orhan.

Thus it can be inferred that Aşıkî might have attempted to attribute the role in establishing the *yaya* corps , not to a vizier from the *ulemâ* but to someone who was a descendant of the Ottoman family and therefore thought Alaaddin Paşa as the brother of Orhan Bey. It can be assumed that the author might have tried to indicate his favor for the Ottoman dynasty who had always extended favors to him as a descendant of a *şeyh* family. Thus attributed the essential role in establishing the first regular army of the emerging Ottoman state to a member of the Ottoman dynasty. However the work of Aşıkî here contradicts with the other historical sources. So, apparently it was Alaaddin, the first vizier of the Ottoman state to whom Orhan Bey asked for his advise initially.

In the second stage an examination of the dialogue between Orhan Bey and his vizier Alaaddin Paşa would probably help to reveal when and how the corps were established.

First of all Alaaddin Paşa still addressed to Orhan Bey as the ‘*han*’, a turkic title given to the *beys*.

³⁶ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlılarda İlk Vezirler", p.207 However, Prof.İnalçık states that the first viziers could be attributed with the title of the *gâzi*.

³⁷ I.Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Legs Pieux d'Aspurtcha Khatun", *Recherches Sur Les Actes Des Règnes Des Sultans Osman, Orkhan Et Murad I*, Monachii : Sociates Academica Dacoromana, 1967 , pp. 78-85

Thus it can be assumed that the last Ilhanid ruler Ebu Said Bahadır Han (d.1336) was still living on that date since as long as he was living nobody could dare to assert the sultanate³⁸. Thus, it can be assumed that the establishment of corps could have taken place before the death of Ebu Said Bahadır Han , that is , before the year 1336.

Secondly Alaaddin Paşa further remarked that Orhan has become a *padişâh* and must have a bigger army. His sovereignty might have been related to his ascending the throne from his father and his minting of the first coinage on his name. Considering that Orhan had ascended the throne upon the death of his father in 1324 as indicated in his *vakfiye* of 1324³⁹ and the first coinage was minted in the year 1327⁴⁰ it can be assumed that the dialogue between the two might have taken place after Orhan had become the *padişah*.

Moreover, considering that Aşıkî devoted a specific chapter regarding the establishment of the corps under the subtitle of ‘this chapter relates what Orhan Gazi had worn and established when he had become the *padişah*’ (See above the original text) it can be assumed that the dialogue had taken place after Orhan had become the *padişah*.

However, it is hard to reach to a definite conclusion and give exact dates since there did not exist any particular expression in the original text regarding the time of the establishment of the corps .

³⁸ Halil İncalcık. “Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış”, *Osmanlı* , Vol.I , p.45 İncalcık states that Orhan’s becoming the *sultan* was upon the death of Abusaid Han (d.1336).

³⁹ İ.H.Uzunçarşılı.”Gazi Orhan Beğ Vakfiyesi”,*Bellekten* V/19 (1941), pp.277-288

⁴⁰ İ.H.Uzunçarşılı.”Orhan Beğ’in Hükümdar Olduğu Tarih ve İlk Sikkesi”, *Bellekten* IX/34 (1945) , p.208-209 Uzunçarşılı states that the number three on the one side of the coin might indicate that Orhan has been on the throne for three years.

However, it is safe to state that when Orhan became the *padişah* the number of his soldiers increased either. The increase in the number of Orhan's soldiery might have resulted from the conquest of Bursa (1326). So it can be assumed that the corps might have been established after the conquest of Bursa.

Then Alaaddin Paşa suggested that Orhan's soldiers should be distinguished from the rest of the soldiery of the other *beys* and offered that they were to wear 'white caps', *ak börk* as their distinctive symbol. The expression of Aşıkî clearly suggests that the soldiery of the other *beys* were wearing red caps. So it is apparent that the suggestion of the 'white caps' is to differentiate the soldiery of Orhan from the soldiers of the other *beys*. So the group who were to be enrolled as the *yayas* were to carry a special headgear, *ak börk* and thus would be specialized as the *hasa* soldiery of the sovereign.

Then Orhan Gazi ordered that white caps would be made in Bilecik. When Orhan put on the white cap his retinue followed him. Regarding that 'white' has been the colour of nobility and the symbol of dependence to the sovereign since the earliest stages of the Turkish history⁴¹, the establishment of a group of soldiery carrying white caps signified that they were to be the first noble *hasa* soldiery under the command of a noble sovereign. This suggests that the traditions of the middle-Asian Turks have so far survived in the first period of the Ottoman state.

On the other hand Çandarlı Karaca Halil stands as an other important figure in the establishment of the *yaya* corps. As suggested by Aşıkî when Orhan decided to increase the number of his soldiers from his own territory, Alaaddin Paşa suggested to consult the situation to the judges, *kadıs*.

⁴¹ Ziya Gökalp. *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi*, (Ed. Kazım Yaşar Koprıman), İstanbul : 1976, p.154

The judge of the time was Çandarlı Karaca Halil. He was the judge of Bilecik in the age of Orhan.⁴² As suggested by Aşıkî he was assigned as the judge of Bilecik by Osman Gazi and then to the judge of İznik by Orhan Gazi. However it is hard to determine when exactly Çandarlı was appointed to the judge of Bilecik. Therefore it is also hard to determine when he was involved in the process of the establishment of the corps. İ.H.Uzunçarşılı states that though Aşıkî stated in his chronicle that Çandarlı was the judge of Bilecik when the corps were established, with regards to his age the situation sounds rather vague.⁴³

Moreover there exists an indirect stress on the *şeyh* Ede Bali signifying his kinship with Çandarlı Halil. So though Çandarlı Halil, being a judge appeared as the final authority according to the sharia to decide on such affairs, the stress on the *şeyh* Ede Bali thoroughly signifies the important role of the *şeyhs* in the establishment of the first institutions of the Ottoman state.

Ede Bali himself a *şeyh* of *vefai* order was portrayed as such an authority by Aşıkî that even the judges consulted him. Considering that Aşıkî himself was a descendant of a family of *vefâi* order he might have attempted to attribute the role on the establishment of the *yaya* corps to a *şeyh* of the *vefâi* order. As suggested by H.İnalçık⁴⁴, the *vefâi* *şeyhs* being the supporters of the *şeria* were the important figures to whom the Ottoman sultans has always been seek for their aidance and ratification for the legitimazion of crucial matters. Moreover, the ancient Central Asiatic Turcu-Mongol tradition that God favors a man for sovereignty and reveals it through a holy man, was fulfilled by Ede-Bali.⁴⁵

⁴² Atsız, p.239 (...Hayreddin Paşa : Kim ol Orhan zamanında Bilecük kadısıydı...) Çandarlı was attributed with the name 'Hayreddin' since he became the vizier. İ.H.Uzunçarşılı. "Çandarlı Kara Halil Paşa", *Bellekten* XXIII (89) : 458

⁴³ İ.H.Uzunçarşılı. "Çandarlı Kara Halil Paşa", p.463

⁴⁴ İnalçık, "Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu bir Bakış", p.48

⁴⁵ İnalçık, "Aşıkpaşazade", p.39-40

So in this particular passage the role of Ede Bali demonstrates that Orhan sought the confirmation of a *şeyh* in establishing his first formal military organization. Hence the passage also signifies that the white caps which would be carried by the *hassa* soldiery of Orhan are to be legitimized by a *şeyh*. Moreover, as indicated by H.İnalcık one of the main purposes of Aşıkî was to demonstrate how a *şeyh* of *vefâi* order played a crucial role on the establishment of the Ottoman state.⁴⁶ Consequently Çandarlı Halil decides to enroll certain people from the territory of Orhan as the ‘*yayas*’.

The situation is indicated by the expression of ‘*elden yaya çıkar*’, the word of ‘*el*’ (*il*) either connotes to the ‘territory’ or might have connoted to the ‘*reaya*’, ‘*halk*’.⁴⁷ So the soldiery of Orhan were to be gathered from his own territory and were to be among his own *reaya*. Thus it can be inferred that the first *yayas* were registered among the Turkish *reaya*, that is the Turcomans. So the occasional Turcoman militia with red caps were replaced by a *hassa* soldiery with white caps. This suggests that the other Turcoman soldiery from the other *beyliks* would no longer be conscripted but only the ones from the territory of Orhan would be enrolled as the *yayas*. Thus those enrolling *yayas* would be the *hassa* soldiery of Orhan whose distinctive symbol was the white caps.

Hence the Turcomans showed great interest in being enrolled as the *yayas* so that they were even tried to offer bribes to Çandarlı Halil. This suggests the privileged condition the *yayas* were in in the initial stages since being enrolled as a *yaya* meant to become the retinue of the bey, that is to be the *hassa* soldiery.

⁴⁶ İnalcık, “Aşıkpaşazâde”, p.36

⁴⁷ Gökalp, p.154

In the second part of the text, in which the *yayas* were branded as the *enük*, can be regarded as a kind of folk tale in order to signify the lesser importance of the *yayas* in the later stages. After all, the *enük yaya* does imply that the *yayas* were of secondary importance whose status was replaced by the janissaries. Considering that the word *enük* (*enik*) literally means the whelp of a carnivorous animal, this can be interpreted to mean that, upon the establishment of the janissary garrisons the *yayas* were their ‘whelps’ occupying a lower status.

Considering the fact that Aşıkî had composed his work in the age of Mehmed II their attribution with the name of the *enük* is simply to indicate the secondary position of the *yayas* in the age of Mehmed II.

In conclusion, what can be inferred from the analysis of the passage is that, it is hard to determine when exactly the corps were established. However, it can be assumed that the corps would probably be established when Orhan Gazi became the sultan and after the conquest of Bursa (1326). The role of the *ulemâ* and the *şeyhs* in the establishment of the corps is a theme mentioned in detail by Aşıkî.

On the other hand Aşıkî placed the chapter regarding the establishment of the corps in between the passages related to the conquests of İzmit (1337) and İznik (1331). Moreover, when the other assumptions mentioned above were also taken into consideration the chronological course of the events became contradictory. So it can be assumed that the chronology in Aşıkî’s work is not thoroughly dependable.

When the passages regarding the establishment of the *yayas* in the later chroniclers (Neşrî, Oruc Beğ and the *Anonymous Tevârih-i Âli Osman*) who followed Aşıkî at the end of fifteenth century are analyzed, it is apparent that they simply rephrased Aşıkî’s text with different stylistic expressions.

However, there observed certain interpolations made by the authors themselves reflecting the current situation of their age.

In the chronicle of Neşrî⁴⁸ who composed his work under Bayezid II, the stress on Hacı Bektaş is noteworthy. Neşrî states that before Orhan put on the ‘white cap’ he first asked for the approval of Hacı Bektaş⁴⁹. However, as suggested by Aşıkî Hacı Bektaş had no relation with the Ottoman dynasty⁵⁰. This statement is apparently the misunderstanding of the original text of Aşıkî. Here Oruc Bey⁵¹ and the anonymous Tevârih-i Al-i Osman⁵² follows Neşri.

In the chronicle of Neşrî the statement regarding the *yamaks*, the assistants of the *yayas* is also worth mentioning. In the original text of Aşıkî, there was no mention of the *yamaks*. This is definitely the interpolation of the author indicating the current situation of his age. The author states that because of the excessive demand to be registered as the *yayas*, some were registered as the ‘assistants’ to the *yayas*.⁵³

In conclusion it can be inferred that all the mentioned three chronics follow and complete the original text of Aşıkî in one way or the other with certain distortions and interpolations.

⁴⁸ Neşri I, pp.153-157

⁴⁹ Neşri I,pp.154-155(...*Bilecük’de ak börkler бүkdürüb, âdem gönderüb, Amasya’da Hacı Bektaş Horasâni’den icazet alub, evvel kendü giyüb, andan tevâbi’i giydile(...*

⁵⁰ Atsız,p.237 (...*Bu Hacı Bektaş Âl-i Osman neslinden hiç kimse ile musâhabet etmedi...*)

⁵¹ Oruc b.’Adil, pp.15-16(...*Orhan Gazi bu sözü kabul idib âdem gönderdi Amasya’da Hacı Bektaş Horasâni’den rahmetullah icâzet alub ak börk götürüb evvel kendi giydi andan sonra kendiye mute’allik kulları ak börk giydiler...*)Oruc Bey composed his work under Mehmed II and dedicated it to Bayezid II. The anonymous Tevârih was an other version of it. Halil İnalçık. “The Rise”,p.154

⁵² Giese,p.16(... *Eyle olcuk Orhan Gâzi vardı Hacı Bektaş Hünkâr’dan dest-i tevbe idüp ak börk geydi...*)

⁵³ Neşri,pp.154-156 (...*Hattâ yaya temâm oldıktan sonra gelenler dahi yalvarub bizi bari yamak yazun! Sefere bir yıl anlar ve bir yıl biz varalum” didiler...*) The relation between the *yayas* and *yamaks* will be discussed in the fourth part of Chapter I, under the *Ocak* System.

III- THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *YAYA* CORPS

The Origins of the *Yaya* Corps

With regards to the scarcity of the sources concerning the early centuries of the Ottoman state it is hard to follow the process of the development of the *yaya* corps. Moreover regarding that the earliest *yaya* register was dated H.859 (1454), approximately a century after the corps were considered to be established , it becomes harder to determine the ethnic character of the first *yayas* in the time of Orhan Gazi.

However, the earliest chronic of Aşıkî and the epic history of Enverî present certain information regarding either the ethnic or the social origins of the first *yayas*. Moreover, the earliest document regarding the early centuries of the Ottoman history, the *vakfiye* of Süleyman Paşa, the son of Orhan Gazi dated H.760 (1358) indicates certain clues about the ethnicity of the first *yayas*.

On the other hand the earliest *yaya* register of *Karahisar-ı Sâhib* dated H.859 presents certain information regarding either the social origins or the ethnicity of the *yayas* of a later period.

Before the examination of the historical documents mentioned above it would be contributory to mention certain information regarding the condition of the Anatolia in the thirteenth century.

Itself a Turcoman principality the principality of Osman *Bey* had no doubt used the Turcomans as a source for its military power.

Considering the fact that Anatolia had witnessed the mass migration of the Turcomans mainly after the Mongol invasion in 1243 it was no doubt that the Turcomans constituted the greater part of the population of Anatolia in huge quantities either as the settlers or as the nomads.

Having been settled mostly in the frontier regions by the Seljukid state those Turcoman tribes could easily gather around the leading *gazis*, as in the case of Osman Gazi and hence named after their new leaders.⁵⁴ Hence they participated the *gazâ*, holy war activities with great zeal as militant groups.

The earliest description of a Turcoman warrior was first mentioned in the epic history of Enverî. In the epic the '*azeb*s who were in essence light footman and collected from the militant Turcomans who lived in the coastal villages as the peasants, in quest of *gazâ* and booty⁵⁵ were described as performing their activities in their 'red caps' on the sea.⁵⁶ Thus we have an early description of a Turcoman warrior dated thirteenth century.

While on the one hand the militant Turcomans who were collected from the coastal villages of western Anatolia were performing their activities on the sea with the name '*azeb*' under the command of Umur *Bey*, the rest in the hinterland were probably eager to join Osman and Orhan *Beys*.

So when the expressions in the earliest chronic of Aşıkî are considered Thus it becomes apparent why Orhan would like to put a distinctive symbol to the

⁵⁴ Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlı Tarihine Toplu Bir Bakış", p.40

⁵⁵ Halil İnalçık."The Rise of Maritime Principalities", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, USA: 1993 p.325

⁵⁶ Enveri,p.91 "*Yürüyib anda 'azebler çekdi saf p.74 "Cümle çibuk borkileydi 'azeb Hasm oldi tîr-i gazayîçün hedef" Gerçi yaya cümlesinde var seleb"* Enveri dedicated his *Düsturname* to the grandvizier of Mehmed II, Mahmud Paşa in the year H.869. His source for the second part of his epic was a work probably written between the years 749-760, a work of which constructed upon the oral expressions of Hoca Selman who had built a navy upon Umur's command. Considering that Enveri directly transmitted what he had read in the source into his epic, either the language or the historical information which the epic presents can be regarded as authentic reflecting the military circumstances of a Turcoman principality.

soldiery of his own. Alaaddin Paşa's suggestion to Orhan *Bey* stating that his soldiery should have a distinctive symbol of their own so that they were to wear 'white caps' apart from the soldiery of the other *beys* who were wearing 'red caps' indicates that Orhan would like to differentiate his own soldiery of the Turcomans from the rest of the Turcoman soldiery in Anatolia.

Thus the occasional Turcoman militia with red caps were replaced by the *hassa* soldiery with a distinctive symbol peculiar to their own. Therefore the expression of Aşıkî suggests that the soldiery of Orhan Gazi were of the militant Turcomans specialized in a military art.

Moreover, as asserted by H. İnalcık based on the statistical survey of Ö.L. Barkan, "*Yaya and müselleme militia were particularly strong in the areas of Turcoman-Yörük pastoralists*"⁵⁷ indicates that the first *yayas* would probably be the Turcoman warriors of Anatolia in the first stages of the newly emerging Ottoman state. Considering that the first *yayas* were mostly considered to be gathered from the various villages and the tribes of Anatolia, especially from the regions of Söğüt, Karahisar and Bilecik,⁵⁸ the places where the Turcoman settlement heavily took place, it can be inferred that the first *yayas* would probably be the militant Turcomans who were either settled as the peasants or lead a nomadic way of life.

Furthermore, the earliest document regarding the early centuries of Ottoman history, the *vakfiyye* of Süleyman Paşa also indicates that it was mostly the Turcomans who were settled in Bolayır in 1360s.

⁵⁷ Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.92

⁵⁸ Doğru, p.3 Moreover Doğru states that the *yaya* and *müselleme* sancaks in the province of Anatolia were mostly located in Kütahya, Saruhan, Aydın, Hüdavendigar, Kastamonu, Menteşe, Afyonkarahisar, Teke, Çankırı, Hamidili, Sultanönü and Karesi p.50

The *vakfiye* of Süleyman Paşa is regarded as the oldest document regarding the early centuries of the Ottoman history which was copied in 1914.⁵⁹ The *vakf* land which comprised three villages in Bolayır was dedicated to Süleyman Paşa in 1360.

The existence of certain peasants working on the *vakf* land of Bolayır who were exempted from the extraordinary tax was determined in the *vakfiye*.⁶⁰ The names of certain villages like *Tuğrul Arslan*, *Saruhanlu*, *Tatarlar* and *Babailer* suggest that it was mostly the Turcomans who were settled in Bolayır.

So it can be inferred that the Turcomans as the peasants cultivating the *vakf* land, having been exempted from the extraordinary tax can be regarded as the first *yayas*.

On the other hand the expressions in the first *yaya* register of H.859 *Karahisar-ı Sâhib* indicates that the *yayas* had been living in the villages and were registered among the villagers.⁶¹ When the names of the *yayas* and the *yamaks* are examined in the earliest *yaya* register, it can be inferred that there existed certain Turcoman names. The existence of such names which were frequently found in the Turcoman principalities like; *Turahan*, *Saruhan*, *Alihan*, *Oğuzhan*, *Elvan*, *Eyne Bey*, *Bâli* and *Sevündük* suggests that the *yayas* mostly bear Turcoman names. Moreover, the names such as *Selçuk veled-i Salur*⁶² and *Aydoğmuş* and *Gündoğmuş*⁶³ suggest that the *yayas* could ethnically be the Turcomans.

⁵⁹ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Legs Pieux Concernant La Fondation Pieuse De Bolayır Érigée Á La Mémoire De Süleyman Pacha", p.135

⁶⁰ *ibid*, p.139

⁶¹ Başbakanlık Arşiv Umum Müdürlüğü, Maliye Defteri Nr.4, *Karahisâr-ı Sâhib Sancağı Piyâdeleri Defteri*, Varak I, "Mezkur Ali geru bu köyden alındı yeni yayadır" "Hoca ve Habib geru bu köyden alındı yeni yayadır"

⁶² *ibid*, Varak 2

⁶³ *ibid*, Varak 13

Furthermore, the names of the well-known *yayabaşıs*, the head of the *yayas*, such as; *Saruca*, *Pazarlu-Toğan* and *Balaban*⁶⁴ also suggest that they were mostly the of Turcoman origin. So it can be inferred that the first *yayas* could ethnically be the Turcomans who were socially the peasants.

In conclusion, the assimilation of the Turcomans into the Ottoman society either as the peasants or the soldiers, as in the case of the *yaya* soldiery, well coincides with the theory of H.İnalçık who stated that it was the result of the migration and the expanding population of the Turcomans in the frontiers which caused the Ottoman principality to its developing into a form of state.⁶⁵

It can also be inferred that the Turcomans were probably be the source of manpower for the states' colonization and the settlement policy in the Balkan territories since most were settled in Bolayır and established villages there.

So it was the Turcomans who played the role in the formation of Osman's principality by gathering under his command and who played the role in the establishment of the first regular military organization of Orhan Gazi which contributed his transferring the principality into a form of a state.

⁶⁴ Neşri I, p.243

⁶⁵ Halil İnalçık. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Doğuşu Meselesi", *Söğüt'ten İstanbul'a*, (Ed.Oktay Özel and M.Öz), Ankara: 2000,pp.226-227

The Organization of the *Yaya* Corps under the *Ocak* system

As suggested by the earliest *yaya* register dated H.859, the corps had been living in the villages. They were organized into a unit called the *ocak*, hearth. The system probably derives from the organization of the peasantry into a special militia groups. Though it is a common practice to gather able-bodied peasants and employ them as soldiers, their organization into a particular system is a special matter which was previously applied by the Byzantine state. Thus, it can be assumed that the system shared certain similarities with the Byzantine organization of the *stratiotes*⁶⁶. (See p.42) In all likelihood, a close examination of the *ocak* system and the Byzantine *stratiotes* would probably help to reveal the common characteristics of each organization.

It is hard to determine when exactly the *yayas* were organized under the *ocak* system. There did not exist any mention about the system in the earliest chronicle of Aşıkî. However, in the late chronicle of Hoca Sadettin written under the age of Bayezid II, it was indicated that upon the establishment of the janissary garisons the *yayas* were given a piece of land to cultivate in order to subsist themselves in return for their salaries and the state did not require them to pay the taxes which the ordinary reaya had to pay.⁶⁷

So the expression of Hoca Sadettin indicates that the *yayas* were used to given an amount of salary, *ulûfe* in return for their military service in the early stages however, upon the establishment of the janissary garisons they were granted

⁶⁶ İnalçık, *Economic and Social History*”, p.91

⁶⁷ Hoca Sadettin Efendi , *Tacü't-Tevarih I* , (Ed.İsmet Parmaksızoğlu) , Ankara:Kültür Bakanlığı Yay. , 1999 , p.70 (... yeniçeri ordusu kurulduktan sonra yayalara ulûfe karşılığı tarla ve toprak verilerek, bunların savaştan döndüklerinde çiftleriyle uğraşmaları ve ayrıca her çeşit geçici vergilerden muaf tutulmaları kararlaştırıldı...)

land (farms) instead of their salaries and exempted from the taxes which the ordinary had to pay, the *raiyyet rüsûmu*. So it can be assumed that the *yayas* were organized under the *ocak* system by 1361.⁶⁸

Before the examination of the *ocak* system it is worth mentioning that though the emphasis will be put on the analysis of the earliest *yaya* register dated H.859, considering that the system was not thoroughly established in the fifteenth century the information regarding the condition of the corps within the fifteenth century *kanunnâmes* were either missing or unsatisfactory.

However, in the later *kanunnâme* of Sultan Süleyman there existed thorough information about the condition of the *ocak* system. So the mentioned *kanunnâme* will be referenced in giving certain general information like the duties of the *yayabaşıs* or the punishments applied to the corps. It is noteworthy that the basic scheme of the system hasn't changed but there existed certain changes within the unit, that is the constituents of the *ocak* varied.

The Ocak System

The registers, *defters* of the *yayas* thoroughly displays the way the corps were organized. The term of *ocak* was not frequently mentioned in the registers but though it covers a broader meaning, its connotation to a household, *hâne* was determined within the registers⁶⁹. So a unit referred to a household. However, the *yayas* were registered under the term of the *çiftlik*, farm.

⁶⁸ For the establishment of the janisaries and the reorganization of the *yayas* see Chapter III.

⁶⁹ Arıkan, p.12

Thus the term of *ocak* can be regarded as the general name of the system since the corps were identified on the basis of their households, where the farm of an individual household is the basic unit.

According to the organization each household constituted one unit where one of them was distinguished as the ‘campaigner’, *eşküncü*. The rest were called as the *yamaks*, the ‘assistants’ who were responsible of the maintenance of the one going on the campaign. Since the corps went on the campaign alternately the *eşküncü* was also called as the *növbetlü*, ‘the one on-duty’. The members of the *ocak* varied between 2-5 in the early stages. Every *ocak (hâne)*, household was given a piece of land that is, a ‘farm’ to cultivate.

According to the earliest *yaya* register dated H.859 (1454) of Karahisâr-ı Sâhib the organization of the *ocak* system was stated as follows⁷⁰:

Sûret-i defter-i (...Karahisâr Sancağın yayaların beyân ider
Hâssa-i yaya sancak beyine müte’âllik yayaları beyân ider
Karye-i Deper
Çiftlik-i Yaya Oğul Beği

The above scheme indicates that the farm of a *yaya* was within the boundaries of an ordinary village, *karye* in a certain *sancak*, sub-province which was reserved as the *hâss* of a *sancak beyi*, namely the *yaya sancak beyi* who was the representative of the central administration within the *sancak*⁷¹.

The place of the *yayas* could be within the boundaries of a *sancak* of a *sipâhi’s tımar*. In such cases, they were noted as the *yayalık yer*, the place of the

⁷⁰ Maliye Defteri No.4, Varak 1

⁷¹ Doğru, p.33

yayas. The *sipâhi* interference of the *yayas çiftlik* was absolutely forbidden and such places were regarded as the free *timars*, the *serbest timars*.

So it can be inferred that the *yayas* occupied an autonomous position under their own *sancak beyis* within the boundaries of a certain land reserved for themselves.

The farm was registered with the name of the *yayabaşı*, the head of the *yayas*, where the *yaya* and the *yamaks* were registered under their *yayabaşıs*. So the hierarchy is mentioned as follows:

Yaya Sancak Beyi

Yaya Başı

Yaya and yamaks

As the above scheme indicated the *yayas* had their own commanders namely the *yaya başıs* who were under the control of the *yaya sancak beyis*. The *yayabaşı* was given a *timar* which indicates that he is considered the member of the military, *askerî* class. Underneath the *yayabaşıs* there was the *yaya* and his *yamaks*, ‘assistants’. The *yayas* were given farms, *çiftlik*s to cultivate⁷². A *yaya* was not to sell or give it under the *tapu* to somebodyelse.

Though was not indicated so frequently in the registers there was a commander called the *mukdim*⁷³ between the *yayabaşıs* and the *yayas*. Their status was defined as the deputy, *nâib* of the *yaya sancak beyis*.⁷⁴

⁷³ Ahmet Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri(966-1200)*, İstanbul : 1989 (...*Sancağına müteallik olan evvelki nöbetli piyadeleri vakti ile oligelan âdet ve kanun üzere yaya başıları ve mukdimleri ve altışar aylık zad ü zevadelerile ihrac edüb mahalli me'mure götürüb hizmete mübaşeret eyleyesin. ...*)

⁷⁴ Arıkan, p.222

The *kanunnâme* of Sultan Süleyman presents thorough information regarding the responsibilities of the *yaya sancak beyis* and *yayabaşıs*. As suggested by the *kanunnâme* certain *yayas* were directly under the control of the *sancak beyis* where some were under the *yayabaşıs* within a certain *sancak*⁷⁵

In the earliest register the position of the farms were indicated as follows⁷⁶:

“*Cem'an sancak beyine mütea'llik Tamam çiftlik 67, Yayabaşı çiftliği 1*”

The *yayas* who were under the direct control of the *yaya sancak beyis* were discerned as the *hâs yayas* or the *yerlu yayas*.⁷⁷

The *yayabaşıs* were appointed by a decree, *berat* from the *sancakbeyi* , *mir-i mirân*.

They were to join the campaigns by commanding the *yayas*. The *yaya sancak beyis* were mainly responsible of the unity of the *ocak*. He was to determine the deceased *yayas* and find those who were missing by any reason , *gâibler*⁷⁸. Hence he was the responsibility of taking them back to his duty. However, if the *yayas* were under the control of the *yayabaşıs*, it was the responsibility of the *yayabaşı* to find them. Moreover, the *sancak beyi* was also to gather the *yayas* in the presence of the clerk, *il yazıcısı* before the censuses had taken place.

In the last scale the *yaya* and the *yamaks* who constituted the quintessence of the unit were registered.

⁷⁵ M.Arif ed. P.47 (See note 77)

⁷⁶ Maliye Defteri, No.4 Varak 7

⁷⁷ M. Arif ed, p.47 (See note 77)

⁷⁸ *ibid*, (...*Ammâ (yayanın) vefâtı veyâhud gıybet-i munkatia ile gâib olduğu ma'lum olmayub bulunmak ihtimâli olsa eğer hâs yayalardan ise bulmak ve növbetinde ana teklif-i hizmet idiüb eşdürmek yaya sancağı beyi üzerinedir Ve eğer hâs yayalardan olmayub yayabaşına (müte'allik yaya) ise madâmki gıybet-i munkatia ile gâib olduğu veyâ vefâtı ma'lum olmayıcak bulmak növbetinde sürmek yayabaşının üzerine lâzımdır. Ve yerlu yayalardan her kangısı ki çiftliklerin koyub kaçsa sancak beyine vâcibdirki ol kaçan yayayı her kanda ise bulub tutub geru yerine götür...*)

In the earliest register of Karahisâr-ı Sâhib the organization of the *yaya* and the *yamaks* were indicated as follows:

Çiftlik-i Yaya Oğul Beyi

Elvan veled-i İvaz Yaya

Hoca veled-i Musa Yamak Habib veled-i Hasan Yamak

Somebody who was registered as a *yaya* meant that he was to join the campaign that year as the campaigner, *eşküncü*. Then the *yamaks* were to stay in the farm and cultivate the land. By that way they were to maintain the unit and supply the necessary provisions for the *eşküncü*. However, the position of the *yayas* and *yamaks* changed alternately. Somebody who was registered as a *yamak* later became the *yaya*.

It is noteworthy that in the mentioned register the *ocaks* were completed by various new *yayas* taken from other villages.⁷⁹ Their status was indicated as the *yeni yaya*, ‘the new *yaya*’ and were registered as the *yamak* in the initial stage. In the mentioned register almost all the farms were completed by such new *yayas* who were taken from other villages. Thus a unit was completed with such *yamaks*.

On the other hand certain *yamaks* were taken from their farms which had an exceeding number and registered to an other. They were called as the *ziyâde yayalar* and their status was indicated in the registers as the *ayurma yayalar*, the separated *yayas*.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Maliye Defteri no.4 Varak 1. “Hoca ve Habib geru bu köyden alındı yeni yayadır”

⁸⁰ *ibid*, Varak 5 “Mezkur Muhammedi ve Hacı Ahmed ve Oğuz Han Hacı... adlu kişi çiftliğinde ziyâde bulunduğu sebebden ayırub bu çiftlikde yamak yazılıb ayurma yayadır”

It was suggested that the stipulation in order to be registered as a *yaya* was to be a son or the brother of a previously registered *yaya*.⁸¹ So a unit was constituted by the relatives of the *yaya*. In the mentioned register the brother of a *yaya* was registered as the *yamak*.⁸²

The expressions in the mentioned register suggested that the sons of the *yayas* were registered with the indication of their age so that when they were grown-up they would become the *yayas*.⁸³ An other indication is also noteworthy in order to indicate the importance given to the sons of the *yayas*;

“*Ve mezkurun [çiftliğin] yayaların ve yamakların bâlik olmadık oğulları vardır esâmi-i deftere kayd olunmuş amma bu cem’iyle yine kayd olunmadı*”

The expression suggests that the *yayas* had a number of sons who were not already grown-up however, their names were registered despite of their age.

The immunities of the *yayas*

As mentioned above the *yayas* were exempted from certain taxation and services in return for their military service. Hence they were named as the *muaf ve müselleme reâya*, that is the ‘exempted *reâya*’. They were considered within the special category in the Ottoman society in terms of their immunities. The corps were exempted from the taxes which the ordinary *reaya* had to pay, *raiyyet rüsûmu* and certain services, *kulluk* in compensation for their military service.⁸⁴

⁸¹ M.Arif ed., p.46 (...*Bir yamak yazılan yayanın birden ikiden hıdmete yarar oğlanları ve karındaşları vardır kendu ile bile olurlar anlar dahi yamak yazılıb növbetlerinde hıdmet iderler...*)

⁸² Maliye Defteri no.4, Varak “*Bayezid birâder-i Timur Yamak*”

⁸³ *ibid*, varak 5 “*Hamza veled-i Mehmed sekiz yaşında*”

⁸⁴ Halil İnalcık, “Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rüsûmu”, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul: 1996, pp.50-53

Regarding that the corps were granted land to cultivate, they were not to pay the tithe, 'öşr from the corn grown in his own farm. Moreover, he was not to pay the sheep tax and the millers' tax.⁸⁵The incomes from the fines of *cürm-i cinâyet ve bâd-ı hevâ* was collected by the *yaya* sancak beyis.⁸⁶

Moreover the *yamaks* of the *ocak* were exempted from the extraordinary tax of *avâriz-ı divâniye*⁸⁷. They were obliged to give 50 *akças* to the *eşküncüs* going on the campaigns as the counterpart of the *avâriz*.

If a *yaya* is old and poor and therefore could not join the campaign he is to give a certain amount of momey, *harçlık* to the one going for himself. On the other if a *yaya* is old and feeble but wealthy he is to keep a subsist, *bedel tutabilir*.⁸⁸ The status of the old *yayas* were indicated as the *pîr* in the registers.⁸⁹

Consequently it can be inferred that the *yayas* occupied a privileged position in the society when compared to the ordinary reaya. Though the state levied them military service they were exempted from the burdensome services and the taxes levied on the ordinary *reaya*.

⁸⁵ ⁸⁵ M.Arif ed.,p.46 (...*Yayalık kanun-ı kadim üzre bir çiftlik yerleri vardır Ol yerde olan gallenin ve bağın ve değirmen öşrine ve resmine kimesne dahl itmeyub kenduler tasarruf iderler amma ol yerin satulması ve tapuya virilmesi kat'a câ'iz değildir ve koyunları 'adetin dahi vermezler...*)

⁸⁶ M.Arif ed.,p.47(... *Yayanın bâd-ı hevâsına yayabaşılarının dahli yokdur ve yayanın resm-i cürm ü cinâyeti sancak beyinindir ol mutasarrıf ola...*)

⁸⁷ İnalçık, "Raiyyet Rüsûmu", p.53 See the chapter on the *Müselleme Corps* (Chapter III) for further information on the *avâriz*.

⁸⁸ M.Arif ed., p46.(...*Bir yayaki pîr ü fâni ve müflis olub sefere iktidârı olmasa 'âli kadre gidene harçlık verir ve âlâ pîr veya ma'zur olub ganî olub kendu varmağa kâdir olmasa yerine bedel dutar...*)

⁸⁹Maliye Defteri no.4, Varak 19 "Muhammed veled-i Yakub pirdir"

When the organization of the corps was compared to the later register of H.959 of Biga it is apparent that there existed certain changes within the organization of the *ocak* by the sixteenth century. The organization of the *ocak* system was indicated as follows⁹⁰ :

Nahiye-i Biga an hassa-i mirlivâ

Karye-i Eğripınar tabi-i mezkur

Çiftlik-i Bayram yeri deyu mukayyed der defter-i köhne

haliyâ Hacı Bayram çiftliği dimekle ma'rufdur

The term of *mir livâ* began to be used for the term of the *sancak beyi* by the sixteenth century. The name of the *yaya* who was previously holding the farm was mentioned in the first stage then the other *yaya* who have recently possessed it was mentioned.

The *yamaks* were registered within two categories as the 'old yamaks', *yamak-ı 'atik* and the new yamaks '*yamak-ı cedid*'⁹¹.

It is noteworthy that the three generations of a certain household was registered as the *yamak*. The expression in the register is as noteworthy in order to indicate the statuses of them⁹² :

"mezkurun dedesi Yakub ahar vilayetden gelub karye-i Denizlide hariç ez-defter haymana iken fevt olub ba'dehu oğlu Yusuf perakende mukabelesi amillerine hilaf-ı deftere ahz olmağla haymane oldukları zahir olub işbu zikr olunun Emirşah

⁹⁰ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Tapu Tahrir Defteri, No.278, H.959, Piyâdegân-ı Biga Defteri, Varak 37

⁹¹ *ibid*

⁹² Tapu Tahrir 278, Varak 38

haliya karye-i... hariç ez-defter haymana olmağın ber mucebi emr yaya ve yamak kayd olındı.”

The above expression also indicates that the *haymanas*, nomads were registered as the *yayas*. Then the mentioned Yusuf, the son of Yakub was determined as being the *hariç ez-defter haymana*, that is, a nomad who was not registered to anybody as the *raiyyet* hence his son Emirşah was registered as the *yaya* or the *yamak* to the particular *ocak*.

Regarding the fact that the corps began to be employed in the rear services by the second half of the fifteenth century, the *yayas* abandoned their place and ran away.

So the number of the *yamaks* began to be completed by certain *haymanas*, nomads from outside. The status of the *haymanas* were indicated as⁹³ ,”*mezkur Rumelinden göçüb haliya karye-i mezburede hariç-ez defter haymana olmağın ber mucebi emr yaya ve yamak kayd olındı”* or “*Cafer damad-ı Danişmend haymana – yamak”*”.

It is also noteworthy that the son-in-law of a *yaya* was registered as the *yamak*.

On the other hand a group of *yörüks*, nomads were also registered as the *yamak* to a particular unit ,⁹⁴ “ *Bali damad-ı Bazarlu yamak – mezkur karye-i... de Beylerbeyi yörüklerinden olub haliya karye-i... hariç ez-defter haymana olmağın ber mucebi emr yaya ve yamak kayd olındı”*

The liberated kuls, *mutaks* were also registered as the *yamaks* in order to complete the unit.⁹⁵ The existence of the *maluls*, the handicappeds is also

⁹³ Tapu Tahrir 278, Varak 37

⁹⁴ *ibid*

⁹⁵ *ibid*

noteworthy.⁹⁶ However they were not registered as the *yamaks* but under a separate category.

Regarding the condition of the farms in the second half of the sixteenth century the following expression is noteworthy⁹⁷ :

“*Mezkur çiftlik az olub ve alt yanında mukayyed olan Hamza çiftliği kanun üzere olmağın birikdirülüb iki çiftlik alessiva tasarruf olunub iki eşkün vireler deyu defter-i cedide kayd olundu.*”

The above expression suggests that the farms which were small in size were added to an other and cultivated by two *yayas*. Hence they were to supply two campaigners to the state.

Consequently, both registers indicate the state's efforts to complete the unit. Considering that the quintessence of the *ocak* were the *yayas* and the *yamaks*, the main aim of the state was probably to maintain the unity of the *ocak* so that they could provide the sufficient campaigners to the state.

The *yayas* who did not join the campaigns for three times were even punished with the death penalty by the *kadis*. The ones who used to escape from the campaign service were punished by cutting off their ears or curling their noses.⁹⁸

In conclusion, it can be inferred that the *yayas* who were originally the Turcomans were organized under a particular system called the *ocak* where they either served as the peasants or the soldiers. It can be inferred that the peasants were specialized as the active campaigners.

⁹⁶ Tapu Tahrir 278, Varak 37

⁹⁷ *ibid*

⁹⁸ M.Arif ed.,pp.48-49 (*Siyâset-i Piyâdegân*)(... *Sefere varmıyan yayanın yasağı kudât marifetiyle teftiş olunub şol yayaki sefere geldikten sonra hıdmeti tamam olmadın destursuz (kaçub gitmiş) ola veyahud sefere gideriken dönüb (kaçub) gide ve bunun gibi işi âdet idüb bir iki (üç) defa itmiş ola anı salbedeler...Ve şol yaya...bunu gibi iş (müteaddid vâki'olub) âdet edinmiş olmiya anun gibilerin dahi kadı marifetiyle kimin burnunu yirib ve kiminin kulağın keseler...*)

The organization of such peasant troops into a special militia had its early examples in the Byzantine state. The *ocak* system shared certain similarities with the Byzantine organization of the *stratiotes*. Moreover the system also shared certain similarities with the organization of the *voynuks*⁹⁹ who were a group of soldiery preexisting in the Balkans before the Ottoman conquest of the area.

A close examination of the Byzantine *stratiotes* and the *voynuks* with the *yayas* would probably reveal to what extent the organization is original to the Ottomans or adopted from the above mentioned institutions.

The Ottoman system of the *Ocak* and the Byzantine system of the *Stratiotes*

There existed a certain group within the Byzantine state who were called as the *stratiotes*, a word of which literally means the ‘soldiers’. The *stratiotes* were distinguished from the rest of the soldiery namely from the ‘mercenary’ and the ‘*pronoiai* soldier’ by the fact that they were the ‘peasant soldiers’ who were granted land in compensation for their military service to the state.¹⁰⁰ Thus they were named the *stratiotes* or the ‘smallholding soldiers’ since they were either farming or performing military service.

The *stratiotes* as a separate group within the Byzantine society made their first appearance by the tenth century.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Halil Halil İnalçık, “Stefan Duşan ‘dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna XV. Asırda Rumeli’de Hıristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri”, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi*, İstanbul : Eren Yay., 1996, p.101

¹⁰⁰ Marc C. Bartusis, “On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44 (1990), p.1

¹⁰¹ P. Moutavtchiev, “Organisation Militaire et fiefs militaires dans l’empire Byzantin”, *Revue de l’Academie Bulgare des Sciences*, XXXVII classe d’histoire XV, Sofia (1923), p.5-10 He further stated that there did not exist any information about them in the ninth century records.

They were mentioned in the tenth-century codes as a particular group who were granted land in return for a certain military work.

Similarly the *yayas* who had lost their *hassa* status were specialized into a certain militia under a system called the *ocak* where they engaged in agriculture on the land granted to them and in return performed military service to the state. Thus Çandarlı Halil would probably had a model which was previously applied by the Byzantine state.

The ordinary citizens of the Byzantine state (the peasants) would become the member of the military class upon holding certain lands on the condition of military service.¹⁰² Similarly the *yayas* who were originally the peasants could become the member of the military class in return for the military vocation to the state.

Regarding the origins of the *stratiotes*, it was suggested that none of them were of Greek origin but of several nations gathered among the various tribes either in the Balkans or Anatolia.¹⁰³ They were chosen among the 'free peasants'. Similarly the first *yayas* were also gathered from the various tribes of Anatolia who were either the settled peasants or the nomads and were employed as the soldiers.

So the essential theme is identical. In both cases we have the specialization of the peasantry into a certain militia.

On the other hand Moutavtchiev mentions certain considerable accounts regarding the *stratiotes* of the fourteenth-century Byzantine state. He states that the *Kumans* who fled from the Tatar invasion was granted land by Vatatzes so

¹⁰² Moutavtchiev, pp.5-12

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp.75-92

that they were settled as the so called peasants and enlisted to the Byzantine army. They were later specialized as the *stratiotes*.¹⁰⁴

Moreover Andronicus II and Paleolog V granted land to the people who had lost their land on the condition of military vocation as a result of the Turkish invasion on the onset of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁵

Thus it can be assumed that the organization of certain peasants and such people who had lost their land late in the fourteenth century either as the soldiers proved to be obligatory probably upon the Turkish invasion of the Byzantine territory.

The Land of the *stratiotes*

The state-owned land was granted upon the order of the emperor to the *stratiotes*. It was actually a piece of 'farm' that was indeed granted to them.¹⁰⁶ Each grant consisted of land suitable for farming. Thus the *stratiotes* were to engage in agriculture in their farms until they were called up for the campaigns, as in the case of the *yayas*. The *stratiotes* were expected to provide their own equipment like the horses and arms. It is noteworthy that some of the *stratiotes* were not infantry but cavalry like *müsellems* who were the mounted troops of *yaya* origin.

The dimensions of the land was suitable enough to compensate the necessary provisions of the *stratiotes*. As in the case of the *yayas*, the *stratiotes* was not to sell, bestow it to someone and expropriate the land or change its dimensions.

¹⁰⁴ Moutavtchiev, pp.5-12

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, pp.5-12

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*, pp.5-12

They had only to usufruct it. The land and the liability of the military service was considered inseparable.¹⁰⁷ Thus the land could be inherited with its liability to the relatives of the *stratiotes*. The eldest son had the right to hold the land in the first place. Similarly the land of a deceased *yaya* was inherited by his relatives, initially by his sons.

A *stratiotes* had to join the campaign personally. However, they could send a deputy *bedel tutma*, like the *yayas*, early in the tenth century but they were not allowed in the further stages.¹⁰⁸

So it is apparent there existed certain similarities in terms of the land possession of the *yayas* and the *stratiotes*.

The Taxes of the *stratiotes*

The *stratiotes* were obliged to pay the taxes which the ordinary citizens of the Byzantine state was paying. In the book of *Taktika* of Emperor Leo it was stated that the *stratiotes* were obliged to pay all the state taxes and the *bâd-ı hevâ*.¹⁰⁹ Their military vocation only exempted them from certain responsibilities to the state like certain rear services. However, the *yayas* were exempted from the taxes which the ordinary *reaya* had to pay and in the further stages, the most burdensome tax, the *avâriz*.

Thus they were differentiated from the *stratiotes*. This can be regarded as the Ottoman policy of relieving its subjects from the heavy taxes who performed military service to its army.

¹⁰⁷ Moutavtchiev, pp.13-19

¹⁰⁸ *ibid* pp. 61-75

On the other hand the state rewarded the *stratiotes* by increasing the dimensions of their land. The pretenders who tried to take them to their own sides would be giving certain gifts to them in order to indicate their favors.

In conclusion, though we do not have any detailed information regarding the organization of the *stratiotes* the essential theme is identical to the Ottoman *yayas*.

In both cases the state establishes a system where certain troops subsistd themselves without being inconvenienced for itself. Having been granted land , they were required to perform military service to the state. Thus the state had supplied the necessary manpower for itself recruited whenever there was a need.

However, it cannot be absolutely assumed that the Ottomans had directly adopted the system into their own organization. Though the main theme proved to be common, it is apparent that the Ottomans had applied certain changes in the system according to their own policy .So it can be concluded that it was the idea that was transferred from the Byzantine *stratiotes* but the Ottomans updated the system according to their own policy.

There existed an other group of soldiery apart from the *stratiotes* in the Byzantine state who were called as the *Thelematarioi* sharing certain similarities with the *yayas*.¹¹⁰ They were made ‘smallholding soldiers’ by Michael VIII (1259-1282) immidiately after the reconquest of Constantinople. They were thought to be established because of the economic necessities. Thus they served as the middleman between the Nikean and Latin territories.

The *thelematarioi* were known as the free farmers who were granted land on a hereditary basis on the obligation of military service . They were described as being mostly the foot troops and were holding lands which were relatively small.

¹⁰⁹ Moutavtchiev, pp.61-75

¹¹⁰ Bartisus, pp.13-15 (Pacimeres, Bonn ed.I, pp.110-120, Failler ed. I, pp.1,157)

On the other hand the *thelematarioi* also appeared as the family name within the documents. A certain *thelematarioi* appeared to be inheriting a certain land for two generations¹¹¹.

Thus, it is hard to infer whether the *thelematarioi* existed as a distinctive group who served military vocation to the Byzantine state in compensation for a certain land or a particular family who served as a buffer between the Byzantine and Latin interface.

Moreover, there existed an other group of peasant soldiers called as the *chôritai* which came to mean the ‘warrior’ who lived in the villages nearby the borders of İznik.¹¹² They were described as the peasants who engaged in agriculture in their villages and participated in the campaigns under Michael VIII. However, they were not the ordinary peasants but a well-organized militia. Pacymeres described them as being the brave warriors who could overcome the Turks.¹¹³

Consequently the examples of the peasant soldiers could be found within the Byzantine state which stood as a model for the Ottomans.

The Yayas and the Voynuks

On the other hand the *ocak* system also shared certain similarities with the organization of the *voynuks* who were a group of soldiery preexisting in the Balkans (Serbia and Macedonia) before the Ottoman conquests.

¹¹¹ Bartisus, p.15

¹¹² Jacques Lefot, “13.Yüzyılda Bitinya”, *Osmanlı Beyliđi*, (ed.E.Zachariadou), İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., 2000, p.112

¹¹³ Georges Pacymeres, *Relations Historiques I*, Livres I-IV, Paris : 1984, p.276

The *voynuks* were determined as being the former nobleman, *kadîmi sipahi* holding *baştinâs* in S.Dushan's empire.¹¹⁴ They appeared as the auxiliary troops who were mostly employed in the service of *istabl-i 'amire*, the general name given to the barn of the palace and they were responsible of supplying *eşküncüs* for the campaigners.

The existence of the *voynuks* in the Ottoman records traced back to the age of Murad II. They were mentioned as a group who were participating the campaigns alternately in the *sancak* of Arvanid.¹¹⁵

The organization of the *voynuks* shared certain similarities with that of the *yayas*. For one thing, the *voynuks* were holding *baştinâs* which were similar to the *müsellem çiftlik*¹¹⁶. The term of *baştinâ* is defined in the *kanunnâme* of Ali Çavuş¹¹⁷ as a piece of ground, that is a *çiftlik* where the *voynuks* cultivated it without the obligation of paying the *rüsûm-i örfiyye*, *avâriz-ı divâniye* and the taxes which the Christian *reaya* had to pay, namely the *harac* and *ispençe*. The *voynuks* had been enjoying certain exemptions and a certain piece of land in return for their military service like the *yayas* and the *müsellems*. So the above definition of the *baştinâ* indicates how its connotation had changed by the Ottomans.

¹¹⁴ İnalçık, "Stefan Duşan", pp.96-98 *Baştinâ* can be regarded as the counterpart of the Ottoman *temlik*. However, the term also connoted to the land of the *voynuks* in Bosnia.

¹¹⁵ Halil İnalçık. *H.835 Tarihli Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., 1987, p.168 "Karye-i Giracice, içindeki voynuklar tasarrufundadır, kadîmilerdir, dört kardaştır, yılda birisi nöbetçe eşerler deyu ellerinde Sultanımız berâti vardır"

¹¹⁶ İnalçık, "Stefan Duşan", p.101

¹¹⁷ *ibid*, p.99

The *voynuks* were organized under a unit called the *gönder* similar to the *ocak* of the *yayas*.¹¹⁸ where out of three, one of them participated the campaigns alternately.¹¹⁹

The expression in the *kanunnâme* indicates that the *voynuks* were organized on the same manner with the *yayas*. Though they were actually the non-muslim troops they enjoyed same immunities like the muslim auxiliary troops.

The *voynuks* also had their own commanders namely the *lagator* or the *primkür* who were under the control of the *çeri-başı*s. Their status was considered as the status of the *yayabaşı*s. The lagators were also holding timars¹²⁰. They participated the campaigns by commanding the *voynuks*.¹²¹

Consequently, the terms of the *baştina* and the *lagator* clearly indicates that such an organization was preexisting before the Ottomans' adopted them to their own system with some changes.¹²²

In conclusion, it is apparent that Ottomans had discovered either the organization of the *stratiotes* or the organization of the *voynuks* upon crossing the Balkans in the 1360s. It can be inferred that various parts of the either organization were adopted by the Ottomans and that the *ocak* system can be regarded as an example of how Byzantine and Serbian institutions were assimilated into the Ottoman administration after being adopted to the Ottoman policy.

¹¹⁸ Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., 1989, p.70

¹¹⁹ Galab Galabov, *Osmanisch-Türkische Quellen Zur Bulgarischen Geschichte*, Heft III, Sofia: 1943, p.20 (...*cebelü voynukların dört neferi bir gönder olub yılda biri benevbet eşüb ellerinde olan baştinaları ile istabl-ı 'amireye hizmet iderler haracdan ve ispençeden ve 'öşr-i şer'i ve rüsüm-u 'örfiden ve tekâlif-i divâniyeden ve yüz re's koyunları 'adet-i ağnamdan mu'aflardır Ve'lhasıl 'avârız-ı divâniyeden bilkülliye mu'af ve müsellemlerdir...*)

¹²⁰ İnalçık, "Stefan Duşan", p.102

¹²¹ Galabov, p.20 (...*Voynukların lagatorları ve pirümkürleri varub sa'ir voynuklar mu'af oldukları gibi mu'af olub yılda biri voynukla eşüb istabl-ı 'amireye hizmet iderler...*)

¹²² İnalçık, "Stefan Duşan", p.101

CHAPTER II

THE *MÜSELLEM* CORPS

The term of *müsellem* which derives from the arabic root of *selm* is a word used for one who enjoys exemption. Hence the name of *müsellem* is attributed to a specific group who had an exempted status within the Ottoman society.

The term indicates a certain group within the Ottoman society who were exempted from some of the taxes that is, the taxes which the ordinary *reaya* had to pay, *raiyyet rüsûmu* and certain services, *kulluk* in return for various services, mainly the military service for the state but enjoyed full exemption of the extraordinary tax, '*avâriz-i divâniyye*'¹²³. Hence their status is indicated in the *kanunnâmes* with the statement of *muâf ve müsellem*.

On the other hand it refers to those soldiers who were exempted from certain taxation in return for their military service and organized under the system of the *ocak* as the counterparts of the *yayas*.¹²⁴

So on the one hand *müsellem* is a general title indicating the status of certain groups who enjoyed exemption from certain taxation in return for their service to the state, *muâf ve müsellem*, on the other it is the name of a particular institution.

¹²³ İnalçık, pp.52-53

¹²⁴ Pakalın, Cilt III, p.627

The following examples are noteworthy in order to indicate the two usages of the term. The existence of the statement of *muâf ve müselleme* indicating ones' exempted status was determined as early as in the chronicle of Aşıkî.¹²⁵ It is suggested that the state in order to reconstruct the deserted land exempted the peasants of a certain village from the extraordinary tax. Moreover the indication in the *kanunnâme* of the *sancak* of Silistre of the age of Süleyman II, it was stated that in return for the guardianship of the mountain passes, *derbendcilik* a certain group was exempted from the extraordinary tax.¹²⁶

On the other hand certain *yayas* were organized as the 'mounted troops' who enjoyed exemption in return for the maintenance of the horses to the state. They were named as the *müsellems* who were organized under a specific institution under the *ocak* system apart from the *yayas*. The following *kanunnâme* of Gelibolu dated 1518¹²⁷ clarifies either the origins or the status of the *müsellems* thoroughly :

...Nevâhi-i mezkûrede olan müselleme tâyifesi atları ve tonları ve yat ve yarakları ile hizmet ederler...Ve müselleme olanlar atları ile hizmet itdikleri mukabelesinde yayadan fark olunub tereke virmezler...Ve dutdukları çiftliklerde yaya ve müselleme çiftliği fark olunmaz. Olan müsellemeân asılda piyade olub kâdimden ellerinde olan çiftlikleri ile cümlesi sonradan müselleme olmuşdır. Piyâdegândan hizmete yarar olub ata ve tona kadir olanları mutasarrıf oldukları çiftlikleri ile müselleme olmak dahi kadîmî kanunlarıdır...

¹²⁵ Atsız, p.171(*...Bu Ergene köprisinin yeri evvel ormanlığ idi. Çamur ve çökel idi. Ve haramılar durağıydi... Sultan Murad Han Gazi hazine ve meblâğlar harc etdi. Ol ormanlarıkırdurdu. Pâk etdüdü...Çiftlik yerleri verdi. Ol şehriün halkını cem'i 'avâızdan mu'âf ve müselleme etdi...*)

¹²⁶ Ö.L.Barkan. "XV ve XVI ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirâi ve Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları Kanunlar", I.Cilt, İstanbul : 1943 , p.276(*...Ve muhafazat-ı derbend idenler defterde kaydolunduğı üzere vireler tebdil olunmayub 'avâız-ı divâniye den mu'âf ve müselleme olalar...*)

¹²⁷ Barkan, p.241 *Gelibolu Müselleme ve Piyadelerine Mahsus Kanun (LXVII)*

As indicated by the *kanunnâme* the *müsellems* were originally a group of *yaya*. A certain group among the *yayas* who were mighty of horses and equipment were registered as the *müsellems* with the farms they were already holding. Since they appeared to be performing their services as the mounted troops they differentiated from the *yayas*.

Moreover, İdris Bitlisî (?-1521) in his *Heşt Bihişt* presents certain information regarding the origins of the *müsellems*¹²⁸. Bitlisî indicates that when the *yayas* were no more performing their military services some of them were registered as the *müsellem süvâri*, that is, the ‘exempted cavalryman’. So it is apparent that the *müsellems* were a group of *yaya* who enjoyed exemption since they maintain horses. There were also certain cases where the term was used in place of the *yayas*.¹²⁹

Regarding that the oldest *müsellem* register is dated H.879 (1474 Gelibolu) it can be assumed that they were first organized in Rumelia. The existence of the *müsellem* corps was determined as early as in a *vakf* register of a *zâviye* in Gelibolu in the age of Murad II.¹³⁰ It is noteworthy that the *müsellems* were already holding certain farms in the age of Mehmed II.

So it can be inferred that the *müsellems* as a ‘separate institution’ could be established as early as in the age of Murad II initially in Rumelia.

¹²⁸ Mustafa Akdağ. *Türkiye'nin İktisâdî ve İçtimâî Tarihi*, Cilt I, İstanbul : 1977, pp.412-413. (...evvelce *müsellemlik olmayıp, yayalar muhariplikten düşerlerken, bir kısmına müsellem süvari kaydıyla tamarlar verildi...*)

¹²⁹ Feridun Emecan. *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası*, Ankara : TTK Yay., 1989, p.143 Emecan in his analysis of the *yayas* of Saruhan mentions that *müsellem* was used synonymous to the *yaya* in the *sancak* of Saruhan in the sixteenth century.

¹³⁰ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar*, İstanbul : 1952, p.234 (...*çiflik-i müsellem Eydin(?) der kurb-i Migalkara der karye-i Köse Yusuf mezkur yer aslında müsellem Yakub oğlu müsellem 'Ali yeri dimekle meşhurdur..... yılında merhum mağfur Sultan Mehmed Han zamanında Ahmed Beye hibe ve temlik olunub mülknâme sadaka olunmuş...*)

It can be assumed that the *müsellems* were organized first in Rumelia and the state used them as its source of manpower and colonization process in Rumelia.

The Organization of the Corps

The *müsellems* were also organized under the *ocak* system. Some of them were distinguished as the campaigners, *eşkınci* who went on the campaign alternately and the rest were the assistants, *yamaks* responsible of the maintenance of the *eşkıncis*.

As suggested by the *kanunnâme* the assistants were compelled to give 50 *akças* to the campaigners.¹³¹ Therefore they were also named as the *elliciler*, the ‘fifties’ (See the firman below) The 50 *akças* were regarded as the counterpart of the extraordinary tax paid by the ordinary *reaya*. Thus the corps supported one another without being inconvenienced for the treasury. Moreover, the treasury compensate its *avâriz* expenses by obliging it to the *yamak*.

According to the *kanunnâme* of Süleyman II¹³² the *müsellems* were given a piece of land where they were not supposed to pay the tithe and the taxes from the corn grown in it to the treasury. Moreover any interference to their sheeps and its tax, *ağnam resmi* was absolutely forbidden. The *müsellem* was not to sell and rent the piece of land he was cultivating.

The piece of land where certain farms were located within was granted as a fief to the head of the *müsellems*. The head of the *müsellems* within the *ocak* were the *çeribaşıs* or *alaybeyis*.

¹³¹ M.Arif ed.,p.43 (...*Ve müselleme eşkıncülerine bazı yamaklarından ellişer akça harçlık vaz’ olunmuş...*)

¹³² M.Arif ed.,p.45 (...*Ve (bir) ocakda müsellemin kanûn-i kadîm üzerine birer çiftlik yerleri vardır ol çiftlikde vâki’ olan gallâtdan ve bağdan ve bağçeden ve değirmenden kimseye ‘öşr ve rüsûm virmez. Ve ol yer satılmak ve tapuya virilmek câ’iz değildir ve koyunları ‘adetine ve bâkî rüsûmlarına kimesne dahl itmez...*)

However, certain *müsellem sancak beyis* were appointed in time peculiar to them.¹³³ The *hassa* of the *alaybeyi* was granted to the *sancak beyi* himself.

So the hiyerarchy becomes as, the *müsellems* and their *yamaks* were under the command of their *çeribaşıs* and the *çeribaşıs* were under the command of the *sancak beyi* namely the *müsellem sancak beyi*. The *müsellem sancak beyi* was mainly responsible of the unity of the *ocak* on the same manner with the *yaya sancak beyi*.

The *çeribaşıs* also get fiefs like the *yayabaşıs* as the status of *serbest timars* which meant that the timariot cavalryman could not interfere the village. So it is apparent that a *müsellem ocak* enjoyed an autonomous status within the land he was holding.

Moreover in the *kanunnâme* dated 1531¹³⁴ it was indicated that the obligation of giving 50 akçes was obligetory for every year in the reign of Mehmed II whether there was a campaign or not however since there occurred a dispute between the *müsellems* and their *yamaks* Bayezid II make it obligetory only for the years of campaign.

As suggested by an undated *kanunnâme*¹³⁵ the sons of the decessed *müsellems* who were combatant in nature were registered as the *müsellems* unless they were registred as the ordinary reaya.

So it can be inferred that though the relatinoship between the members within an *ocak* was considered as hereditary , it was indeed on the condition of ones

¹³³ M.Arif ed.,p.45 (...ve müsellemîn bâd-i hevâsın alaybeyi ve çeribaşıları bitarîki'l munâsafâ tasarruf iderlerimiş şimdiki halde müselleme müstakill sancak beyi nasb olunub alaybeyi hassasın sancak beyi tasarruf ider...)

¹³⁴ Barkan,p.259 (LXXV) Kanunnâme-i Eşkinciyan-ı Müsellemân(...merhum sultan Mehmed han aleyh-ir-rahmetü velgufran zamanında Mahmud Paşanın vezâreti eyyâmında sefer olsun olmasun müsellem eşkincileri yamaklarından ellişer akça harçlık her yıl alurlar imiş. Ba'dehu merhum Sultan Bayezid han tâbeserah zamanında eşküncülerle yamaklar arasında münaza'a olduğu ecilden yamaklardan ellişer akçeyi sefer olmayıcak alınmayub sefer olıycak alına diyü emrolunmuş hâliya girü ol veç üzere sefer olmayıcak alınmayub sefer olıycak alınmak mukarrer kıldı...)

¹³⁵ Barkan,p.129 *Bozok Kanunnâmesi* ,(... Ve bir müsellem fevt olsa müte'addid oğulları kalsa darbe harbe kadir olan oğlu yerine müsellem olub sefere eşer darbe harbe kadir olmayan sâyir reaya silkinde münselik olur..)

military capability. So the expression in the *kanunnâme* thoroughly indicates the aim of the organization. It implies that the aim of the institution is to supply able combatants to the army.

The *müsellems* appeared as the auxiliary troops as the counterparts of the *yayas* by the sixteenth century. The number of *müsellems* within the provinces of Anatolia and Rumelia in 1530 numbered 19010 where 3018 of them were the active campaigners and the 15922 the *yamaks* to them¹³⁶.

The following order dated 1574¹³⁷ can be regarded as an example indicating what kind of services the *müsellems* were responsible with as the auxiliary troops :

Kütahya müsellimlerinin Ayasofya tamirine tayin olduklarına dair.

Kütahya müsellimleri beğine hüküm ki Sancağın müsellimlerinin ellicileri ile bir

nöbetlüsü ki sekiz yüz yirmi bir neferdir senei âtiyede ihrac olunmamak üzere hâlâ

İstanbul'da Ayasofya meremmet hidmetine tayin olunub şimdiden ihrac olunub

getürülmesin emir idüb buyurdum ki varıcak te'hir etmeyüb sancağın

müsellimlerinin ellicileri ile bir nöbetlüsün senei âtiyede ihrac olunmamak üzere hâlâ

adet ve kanun üzere altışar aylık zad ü zevadeleri ve çeri başları ile ihrac idüb

mahalli me'murda hidmete mübâşeret eyleyesin...Fi selhi şaban 982

As the firman suggested the *ellicis*, the assistants together with the ones on-duty *nöbetliler* were employed in the service of the construction of Ayasofya under their *çeribaşıs*. So it is apparent that not only the ones who were on-duty but also the assistants were ordered to be in the presence of the mentioned service with their *çeribaşıs*.

¹³⁶ Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yay no.13, 438 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530) I, p.6

It is also noteworthy that they had their own provisions *zad ü zevâidleri* sufficient to subsist themselves for a six month period. The *müsellems* were mostly employed in such rear services together with the *yayas*¹³⁷. Both corps were probably dissatisfied with their new condition so that they were unwilling to perform their services. Thus the state found the solution in abolishing the *yaya* and *müsellems* institution in 1582. (See the firman in p.62)

¹³⁷ Refik, pp.23-24

¹³⁸ The dissolution of the *müsellems* will be discussed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF IMPORTANCE OF THE *YAYA* CORPS IN THE OTTOMAN ARMY : *YAYAS* AS WARRIORS

The military role of the *yaya* corps has been overshadowed since the establishment of the janissary garisons. However, though they were no longer the *hassa* soldiery of the sovereign, they continued to act as the active combatants in the fourteenth century, especially in the campaigns of Murad I and Bayezid I.

However, their role as the active combatants had changed by the mid-fifteenth century. They were then recruited only for the major campaigns as the active combatants in times of *nefir-i 'am*. Thus they appeared as the so called 'emergency troops', especially in the battle of Varna and in the battle with Uzun Hasan.

As suggested by the chronicles and certain *mühimme* registers the *yayas* appeared to be employed in the rear services by the mid-fifteenth century performing heavy logistic services to the regular army, like the construction of the passages so that the regular army could better proceed.

The reason of the change in the status of the corps could be searched within the policy to form a fully centralist administration with an army made of the *kuls* of the sultan in the age of Mehmed II. Hence their role as the active combatants was transferred to the janissaries. Thus the *yayas* were relegated to rear services as the auxiliary troops.

Regarding the fact that they were conscripted as the active combatants for the major campaigns in time, it would be troublesome for them either to perform active

military service or to perform rear services by the second half of the fifteenth century.

Moreover regarding that they were also engaging in agriculture in their own land in order to subsist themselves , it would be troublesome for them to carry out all the work. Therefore they abandoned their farms and ran away. A conscription order from 1540¹³⁹ clearly describes the condition of the corps in the second half of the sixteenth century. The order indicated that the *yayas* and the *müsellems* were to be inspected explicitly and their condition to be determined in the registers in detail because many *ocaks* had vanished. Thus, although the state made a great effort to continue the organization, the solution to the problem of the vanishing *ocaks* was found in the abolishment of the organization in 1582.

Thus a thorough examination of the chronicles and certain *mühimme* registers will reveal the roles and services *yayas* performed in the military operations by the end of the fifteenth century.

On the other hand the *yayas* appeared to be fighting together with the *azebes* in most of the campaigns.As the chronicles suggested the *yayas* were replaced by the *azebes* who were in essence light footman and the janissaries by the age of Mehmed II.Though their organization was different , the *yayas* shared certain similarities with the *azebes* and the *cerehors*, who were an other group of auxiliary troops of Christian origin. They were all assessed within the system of the *avâriz* by the second half of the fifteenth century.

So the examination of the *azebes* and *cerehors* together with the *yayas* would probably reveal the condition of the auxiliary troops within the Ottoman army.

¹³⁹ Mehdi İlhan. “1540’da *Müsellem* ve *Yaya Ocaklarına* Yazılma”, *Prof.Dr.Şerafettin Turan Armağanı*,Elazığ: 1996, pp.91-103 İlhan rectifies the original text which was published by Gy.Káldy-Nagy in 1976, “The Conscription of *Müsellem* and *Yaya* Corps in 1540”,*Hungaro-Turcica: Studies in honour of Julius Nemeth*, Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University, 1976 : 275-281

The *yaya* corps in the 14th Century

The ages of Murad I and Bayezid I

Serving as the *hassa* soldiery of Orhan Gazi, the status of the *yaya* corps had changed in the reign of Murad I (1362-1389). Their *hassa* status was replaced by a group of new soldiery called the ‘janissaries’, *yeni-çeriler*, after the conquest of Edirne (1361).

According to the organization which found its basis on the old Islamic tradition of the *gulâm* system one fifth of the prisoners- of-war were taken as the captives and upon the suggestion of Çandarlı Kara Halil they were experienced a lengthy training by the Turks.¹⁴⁰ Then those who proved to be well-trained were brought to the Porte and garmented with ‘white caps’¹⁴¹ as the symbol of their *hassa* status. Thus they were named as the janissaries and became the *hassa* soldiery of the sovereign.

According to the *Kavânin-i Yeniçeriyân* written in the age of Ahmed I (1603-1617) the establishment of the janissaries can be traced back to the time of Süleyman I upon the conquests in Rumelia¹⁴². This suggests that as the Ottoman territory expanded the need for a regular and standing army in the Porte became essential.

It is also noteworthy that the Ottomans would have probably felt the need to establish a new military organization after the conquests of big cities like Bursa and Edirne, which later to become their capitals, in order to maintain their military strength in the newly conquered area.

¹⁴⁰ Atsız, p.128

¹⁴¹ *ibid* (... *Andan kapuya getürdiler. Ak börk geydürdiler. Adın ezel çeri iken Yeniçeri kodılar...*)

The establishment of the *yaya* corps had probably taken place after the conquest of Bursa and the establishment of the janissary garisons had taken place after the conquest of Edirne.

Moreover, regarding that the *yayas* were not in essence professional troops and only recruited when a campaign was ordered , the establishment of a standing army in the Porte was inevitable. So the *yayas* were reorganized among the auxiliary troops within the provincial soldiery.

However , the corps continued to act as the active combatants in the major campaigns of the age. The accounts of Neşrî suggests that, the *yayas* under the command of their *yayabaşıs* occupied the essential role within the soldiery of Murad I in the battle field.

In the campaign against Karamanoğlu in 1387 the *yayas* were standing ahead of the army under their *yayabaşıs* of Saruca Paşa , İncecük Balaban , Torica Balaban and İlyas Beğ¹⁴³. The account suggests that the sultan took his position in the center of the battle field with his *havâss*, that is, the janissaries and the *yayabaşıs* were placed on the left and right wings, thus they constituted the typical battle formation of the Ottoman army ; forming a crescent which allowed them to encircle the enemy in the initial stage.

Regarding that the *yayas* were in essence light footman they could easily and rapidly encircle the enemy. So the preliminary role of the *yayas* in the military operations by standing ahead of the army suggests that the Ottomans had utilized from the swiftness of light cavalry in a wise manner.

¹⁴² Mücteba İlgürel. “Yeniçeriler”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* Vol.13 , p.386(...yeniçeri yoldaşların mukaddemâ kâfir evlâdından cem' olunması tâtihi Bolayır Süleyman zamanında vâki' olmuştur...)

¹⁴³ Neşri I , p.224-226 (...Murad Han Gazi dahi kendü havassıyla kalbe turub yayayı önüne , atlıyı girüye kodı...Yayabaşıları Saruca Paşa ve İncecük Balaban ve Torica Balaban ve İlyas Beğ ve Müstecâb subaşı,bunları cümle sağa sola kodı...) Regarding that Neşri had used a certain *gazavatnâme* for this particular campaign the account is to be regarded authentic.

However, one might overshadow the role of the *yaya* corps in the Ottoman army upon considering their location in the battle field.

Regarding that they were standing in front of the either wings , one can assume that the Ottoman army might have disregarded the corps by placing them ahead of the army.

It is apparent that the *yayabaşıs* personally participated in the campaigns by commanding their *yayas*. Saruca Paşa, who was known as the *yayabaşı* of Rumili¹⁴⁴ was among the major commanders of Murad I and Yıldırım Bayezid. Regarding that either Saruca Paşa or his son Umur Beğ were attributed with the title of *iftihâr ül-mücâhidin* and *şeref ül-guzzât* in their *vakfiyyes*¹⁴⁵, it can be inferred that the *yayabaşıs* have been attributed with the title of the ‘*gazi*’ and occupied the quintessence of the Ottoman army in the age of Murad I and Bayezid I.

The accounts also suggest that the *yaya-başıs* were responsible of the organization of the troops and participated in the campaigns in the fore hand. When Murad I was informed that Şehir-köy would be captured by Yundoğlu Dimitri, he informed Saruca Paşa about the situation and Saruca Paşa was seen participating in the capture of Şehir-Köy with his great amount of troops.¹⁴⁶

The *yayabaşıs* were also in the presence of the sultan in his campaign to Bulgaria in 1388.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, when the *tekmur* of Kös-Ova did not subdue the sultan, Murad I ordered Pazarlı-Toğan Beğ to capture Kös-Ova.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Neşri I , p.243 (... *Rum-İliniün yayabaşısı Ulu Beğ subaşı ki Saruca Paşa dimekle ma'rûfdur...*)

¹⁴⁵ İnalçık , *Arvanid Defteri* , p.XVI İnalçık states that Saruca Paşa could have been a frontier bey, *uc beyi* in Rumeli.

¹⁴⁶ Neşri I , p.263 (... *Padişah işidüb , Yahşi Beğe, Eyne Bey subaşıya ve Saruca Paşaya on bir er koşub Şehir-köyüne gönderdi...*)

¹⁴⁷ Neşri I , p.242-243 (...*Rumilinden leşker cem' olunca karar tutdı...Andan Temurtaş oğlu Yahşi Beğ ve Rumiliniün yayabaşısı Ulu Beğ subaşıki Saruca Paşa dimekle ma'rûfdur ve Kara Mukbil ve Pazarlı Toğan ve İncecük Balaban ki yayabaşıdur...*)

¹⁴⁸ Neşri I , p.255 (... *Paşa dahi Pazarlı-Toğan Beğ'i bin kişiyle viribiyüb, eytdi: "var, Kös-ovayı urub, yık, yak ve gâret idüb, 'avretin, oğlanın esir eyle" didi. Ve Pazarlı-Toğan dahi gelüb, Kös-ovayı vurub 'avretin ve oğlanın esir itdi...*)

It is suggested by Oruc Bey that , Murad I had gathered 10.000 *yayas* from the province of Anatolia and 10.000 *azebs* from Rumelia and marched to the plain of Kosova.¹⁴⁹ Then in the plain of Kosova the *yayabaşıs* took their positions on either the wings as usual.¹⁵⁰

In Bayezıd's clash with Timur the *yaya-başıs* of Saruca and Balaban were also appeared in participating the battle of Ankara. (1402)¹⁵¹

What can be inferred from the accounts is that, the *yaya* corps appeared as the active combatants in the fourteenth century whose participation contributed to the success of the campaigns so that the Ottomans could well establish themselves in Rumelia.

Moreover, the appearance of the *yaya* corps as the active warriors in the fourteenth century suggests that the establishment of a new regular salaried army in the Porte by Murad I and the attempts of Bayezıd I in order to reinforce a centralist administration had not yet been fully adopted. The *yaya* corps still appeared as performing an essential role having been part of the regular army.

¹⁴⁹ Oruc Bey , p.20 (... *Murad Han Gazi dahi her tarafa nâmeler perâkende itdi çeriler cem' itdi Anadolu ve Rum ili gazilerden cem' idüb Anadoludan on bin yaya ve Rumilinden on bin 'azeb hazır idüb ve yirmi bin mikdarı akıncı elli altmış bin âdem cem' idüb Kos ovaya varub çıkıdı...*)

¹⁵⁰ Neşri I , p.291 (... *Saruca Paşa ki yayabaşıdır, anunla meyserede turdılar ve 'azab ağası Kurd meymenede turdı ve İncecük Balabanla Tovuca Balaban ve Sırf Hamza bunlar dahi sağa ve sola durdılar...*)

¹⁵¹ Nizamüddin Şâmî , *Zafernâme* , (trans.Necati Lugal) , Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay. , 1949 , p.305

The *yaya* Corps in the 15th Century

The age of Murad II

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century which was defined as the period of interregnum(1403-1413) the *yayas* sided with the pretenders opposed to the central government. Considering that the *yayas* have no longer been the *hassa* soldiery their reaction to the central authority can be regarded as natural.

In the first years of his reign Murad II had to strive against his brother Mustafa Çelebi. When Mustafa the Çelebi had attempted to come to Bursa, the vizier Hacı İvaz Paşa executed the *yaya* soldiery and the *azabs* of Mustafa. This suggests that Mustafa had a number of *yayas* with him against his brother Murad II. So it is likely that the corps were tried to be used as a source of military power by Mustafa Çelebi against the central authority.

Moreover, it was at that time that Mustafa Çelebi and his vizier İzmiroğlu Cüneyd Bey granted the corps certain privileges in order to reinforce their faithfulness to Mustafa Çelebi. Cüneyd Bey had made the *yayas* of Rumili exempt from taxation that is, made them the ‘exempters’, *müsellems* and introduced an obligation of giving 50 akças to the campaigners by the *yamaks*.¹⁵² The 50 akças was the counterpart of the *avarız* tax paid by the ordinary reaya.

So it can be assumed that first half of the fifteenth century was a kind of transition period for the corps where their status was reorganized within the *avarız* system.

¹⁵² Neşri II, p.556-557(...*Andan İzmir oğlu Cüneyd Bey vardı. Anı dahi vezir kıldı. İzmir oğlu tedbiriyle Rumeli'nin yayasını müselleme kıldı. Ba'zını ba'zına harçlıkçı etti. Şimdi dahi çeriye giden kişiye ellişer akçe harçlık verirler. Bu âdet Düzme Mustafa'dan kaldı...*)

Regarding the new condition of the *yayas* P.Fodor gives the date as 1421 on the onset of the reign of Murad II and he considers it as the ‘*yaya reform*’.¹⁵³ Then on the *yamaks* were obliged to give 50 akçes to the ones going on the campaign, *eşküncü* so that in return the state exempted them from paying the extraordinary tax.

The *yaya* corps appeared as the so called ‘emergency troops’ conscripted in cases of *nefir-i amm* by the second half of the reign of Murad II. As suggested by an anonymous source written in the form of a *menâkibnâme* , *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehemed Hân*¹⁵⁴ when the Sultan declared *nefir-i amm* for the siege of the castle of Varna he ordered that all his companions were to be in his presence¹⁵⁵.

What can be inferred from the account is that the *yaya-başı*s began to be conscripted to participate in the campaigns in the cases of emergency by the second half of the fifteenth century. Regarding the fact that it was a common practice to call anyone in cases of *nefir-i amm* the above expression suggests that the *yaya* corps were then on considered as a kind of supportive troops or the so called emergency troops recruited in cases of emergency.

¹⁵³ Pál Fodor. “The Way of a Seljuq Institution to Hungary : The *Cerehor*”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungary Tomus*, XXXVIII (3), 1984 : 367-399

¹⁵⁴ Halil İnalçık and Mevlûd Oğuz , *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehemed Hân* , Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay , 1989,p.57

¹⁵⁵ *ibid*, p.57 (...*Amma padişah emr eyledi , cümle yeniçeri ve yaya-başları ve ‘azablar bi’l-küllîye karşusuna geldiklerinde cümlesinin hâtırların ele alub ve hayr du’âlar edüb eyitti kim , her gazâda siz benim yoldaşlarımsınız...*)

The age of Mehmed II

The *yaya* corps actually appeared to be employed in the auxiliary services by age of Mehmed II. Though the corps appeared to be fighting along side the *azebs* in most of the campaigns until the age of Mehmed II, the number and the position of the *azebs* in the battle field indicate that they were then replaced by the *yayas*. The *azebs* appeared as active combatants with their red caps¹⁵⁶ where the *yayas* were relegated to rear services like the transportation of the cannons in the age of Mehmed II.

As mentioned by Tursun Beğ who was the chronicler of the age of Mehmed II, the *yayas* were employed in the hauling of the cannons in the siege of Constantinople¹⁵⁷. Neşrî also states that the corps were used to transport the cannons and to pillage the castle in the siege of Constantinople.¹⁵⁸

However they appeared as the active combatants when Mehmed II was fighting against Uzun Hasan in Otlukbeli. As indicated by Kemalpaşazâde who was another chronicler of the age of Mehmed II, the corps were described as the *enük yayas* equipped with arms. The description of the Ottoman army in this particular battle is noteworthy in order to signify the status and the number of the corps:

Rum-ili kişveriniün 'asker-i zafer-eseri otuz bin vardı, âlât-ı gîr-ü-dârda birinün eksüği yok; Anadolu diyârının da süvâr-ı nîzedârı leşker-i düşmen-şikârı ol mîkdârdı, belki dahi artuk. Mülâzim-i dergâh-ı cihân-penâh olan leşkerle şâhzâdeler

¹⁵⁶ İbni Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, IIV.Deftter(Yay.Şerafettin Turan), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay.,1991, p.43 (...Geliboli'da dört yüz pâre küh-şükûh geşti hazır olub içlerine kürekçiden gayri yirmi bin pür-sâz ı seleb 'azab toldı; Akdeniz'ün yüzi serâsker 'azabun kızıl börkiyle büründi...)

¹⁵⁷ Tursun Beg. The History of Mehmed the Conqueror. (Trans.by Halil İnalçık and R.Murphey.) Chicago:1978, v.38a(...bu sıfatlu topları yayalara çekdirdi ve gümüş ma'denlerinden üstâd nakkâblar tîz minkâr mârkindâr külünglerle niçe yüz nefer bile getürdi...)

¹⁵⁸ Neşri , p.691 , (... Ve Edirne'de ejderhâ-peyker toplar döktürüp , yayadan ve müsellemeden ve 'azeften ve sipâhi tayifesinden üşüp , getirip , İstanbul'un her tarafına kurup , kaleyi dövmeğe başladılar ...)

hizmetinde turan 'asker-i kâh-peyker ü sipâh-ı düşmen-kâh kırk bin vardı , belki dahi çok. Çeri 'adedine[idâdına] gelmiyen ceng-eri defterinde anılmayan çoğidi,ol fırak-ı müte'adedeye hadd ü 'aded yoğidi, kimi "Orducı", kimi "Sürgün", kimi "Voynuk" ammâ salt atla, yarağ u yâtla alaya binen yüz binden ziyâdeydi. Altmış bin dahi sipâhi adına Defter-i Şâhî'de yazılmış piyâdeydi; on bin yeniçeriydi, âlât-ı zarb u harbi mükemmel ve müretteb yirmi bin enük yaya ; otuz bin 'azab , on bini Rum-ili'nden yirmi bini Anadolu'dan , cümlesi âheng-i cenge hâzır ve nâzır pür-sâz u seleb ...¹⁵⁹

So it was suggested that out of 60.000 soldiery registered in the *defters*, 20.000 were the *yayas*. They were called as the *enük*, probably an indication of their lower status. This suggests that though the *yayas* were described as well equipped warriors they were no longer the essential troops but regarded as the supportive forces of secondary importance who were only conscripted as the active combatants for the major campaigns. Hence the *azebs* appeared to be fighting in the front line as the *yayas* have previously been.¹⁶⁰

It is noteworthy that the number of well-equipped *azebs* either from Rumelia or Anatolia (30.000) were more than the number of the *yayas*. The reason of the decrease in the number of the *yayas* as the active combatants could be searched within the change of their status. Regarding the fact that they were no longer the *hassa* soldiery they would probably be displeased with their new status. Moreover, either performing military service or engaging in agriculture in order to subsist themselves would be troublesome for them.

¹⁵⁹ İbn-i Kemal ,pp.338-339

¹⁶⁰ İbni Kemal, pp.348 (... 'azab askeri atılınun önüne geçüb fevc fevc turdı, başlarında kızıl bürk deryây-ı hünîn gibi mevc urdı...See also TursunBeğ p.114 (100b) (...tertib-i alay u sufûf idüp, önüne azebin tutup, te'kid-i cenâhayn itti...)

The *yaya* register of H. 859 *Karahisar-ı Sâhib* which was composed probably after the conquest of Constantinople in 1454 indicates that the *ocaks* were completed by many new *yamaks*. This suggests that the *yayas* probably ran away from their *ocaks* so that the *ocaks* were completed by certain new *yamaks* taken from other villages.

In conclusion it can be inferred that the military role of the *yaya* corps had changed as early as the second half of the fifteenth century. Hence as suggested by the chronicles the janissaries and the *azebs* played the essential role as the active combatants where the *yayas* were relegated to rear services.

YAYAS and the other Auxiliary Troops (Azebs and Cerehors)

As mentioned earlier the name of the *azeb* was first mentioned as early as in the thirteenth century in Enverî's *Düsturnâme* where they were described as fighting in their 'red caps'. However, it is hard to determine whether the *azebs* of the thirteenth-century in the principality of Aydınöglu were the predecessors of the same *azebs* who later appeared in the Ottoman army initially by the battle of Kosova in 1389.¹⁶¹

However, either in the thirteenth-century records or in the age of Murad I the *azebs* appeared as the warriors equipped with arches¹⁶².

¹⁶¹ See note 115

¹⁶² *Düsturnâme*, p.23 “*Yürüyub anda 'azebler çekdi saf
Hasm oldı tır-i gazayıçün hedef*”

The archers, *tîr-endâzlar* who fought under their commanders namely the *reis* were actually the *azebs* placed in the right and left wings. Thus the *azebs* could probably be the same group of soldiery who first displayed themselves in the historical stage by the thirteenth century. Both being light infantry the *azebs* were also mostly placed ahead of the army in the battle field on the either wings¹⁶³

As argued by P.Fodor the *azebs* were further enlisted regularly to the Ottoman army on the onset of the reign of Murad II in 1421, that is, what he calls after the *yaya* reform. Therefore it can be assumed that the military role of the *yayas* were then gradually replaced by the *azebs* in 1421 onwards.

However, their organization and the way they were conscripted was quite different from the *yayas*. The *azebs* were conscripted from among the reaya where every twentieth household was obliged to sent one *azep* troop to the army and obliged to give him 300 akças and were thus exempted from paying the *avârız* tax¹⁶⁴.

So while on the one hand the state was compensated for its *avarız* expenses by passing them on it to the *yamaks*, as in the case of the *yaya* corps, on the other hand, every household was obliged to send one *azep* troop to the army instead of paying the *avarız* tax.

¹⁶³ Neşri II, pp. 294-295(...*Andan Sultan Murad buyurdu ki, bin okçı dahi sol kola turdu ki, reisleri Hamidoğlu'nın oğlu Mustafa Çelebi idi. Sağ ve sola bu tîr-endâzları kodılar...*)

¹⁶⁴ M.Arif ed.(*Azeb için ta'yin olunan kanunu beyan ider*) p.60 (...*Ve hem azeb yazılmak aded-i hâne itibâriyle olub farazâ yirmi hâneye bir azeb düşse ol mahalde ol yirmi aded kimesnenin bir yararın için azebliğe yazub bâki on dokuzundan ona harçlık cem' idüb ol on dokuz kimesneden ne mikdâr akça alınmalu (olursa) alub ve kendu avârız akçasın dahi mahsub dutub azeb çıkmalu...*)p.59(...*Ve yazılacak azeb bâbında dahi her yıl mahalde azeb buyuruldukca yoklanub mahalle imamı ve kethüdâsı marifetiyle idüb ve her birinin kudretin ma'lûm idüb kapudan-ı akçadan gayri harçlık virilecek akçaki (her) azeb için nihâtı üç yüz akçadır...*)

Similarly, the *cerehors* who were in essence Christian mercenaries were assessed within the *avâriz* system. Every ten household were to supply one *cerehor* to the campaigns thus were exempted from paying the *avâriz*.¹⁶⁵

In a diploma dated 1447 it was stated that a number of dervishes were exempted from *ulak, suhra, yağ, tuz production, cerehor, hisar yapması, gerdek kulluğu*, that is all the *avâriz-ı divâni* in return for the cultivation of a certain land.¹⁶⁶ So it is apparent that the *cerehor* service was considered as a liability within the *avâriz* system which could be compensated in return for certain service.

An other expression in a *vakf* register of the age of Murad II is noteworthy which indicated the exemption of the inhabitants of the *vakf* from either *cerehor* or 'yaya' service¹⁶⁷ :

Vakf-ı Murad Beğ veled-i Malkoç Beğ

Mezkûr Malkoç oğlu Murad Beğ'in Hasköy tevâbiinde Kutluca ve mezkûr köye tabi' Osum Beğ yerine ve Eskiköy yerine ve Hacı Şeyh yerine fi'lcümle mezkûrda olanlara tevki'-i şerif verilmiş evlâda suhrada ve cerehorda salgundan hisar yapmasından doğancıdan sekbandan konakdan yaya yazmasından fi'lcümle cem'i avâriz tekâlif-i divâniyeden mu'af ve müsellemler olalar deyu ...

So it can be inferred that the *yaya* service was also considered within the liabilities of the *avarız* by the age of Murad II.

On the other hand the account of Yazıcızâde is also noteworthy in order to indicate the existence of the *cerehors* as the foot troops in the Seljukid army.

It was mentioned that 5.000 *yaya cerehors* were enlisted to the Seljukid army in the age of Alaaddin Keykubat I(1220-1237). So the enlisting of various infantry can be regared as a common practice tracing back to the time of the Seljukids.

¹⁶⁵ P.Fodor, p.374

¹⁶⁶ *ibid*,P.374

In conclusion, it is apparent that the *yayas* together with the *azebs* and *cerehors* were reorganized within the *avâriz* system by the second half of the fifteenth century.

Considering that the essential policy of the state was to supply a number of active campaigners to the army and to compensate its *avâriz* expenses, the *yayas* , *azebs* and *cerehors* can be regarded as the so called instruments which displayed the policy of the state.

Chapter IV

The *Yayas* as the Auxiliary Troops and the Dissolution of the Corps

What can be inferred from the chronicles is that the corps began to be employed in the rear services by the end of the fifteenth century. Hence they appeared to perform their services as the auxiliary troops. Their employment in the rear services must have had a direct impact on the corruption of their organization, a condition of which led to the dissolution of their institution in 1582. There exists an intimate relation between the new status of the corps and the reasons of their dissolution.

However, there were certain cases where they were conscripted as the active combatants for certain campaigns in time. As stated by Kaldy-Nagy¹⁶⁸, though the corps during the Süleyman's campaigns did not actually promote the success of the operations, their assistance in increasing the mass of the advancing troops along with others not handling the weapons was enough to frighten Western Europe. However, they were so loosely organized in the campaign to Vienna in 1529 that their assistance as the active combatants proved to be unsuccessful.¹⁶⁹

So it can be assumed that the corps who were recruited for the campaigns of the sixteenth-century did nothing more than to increase the number of manpower of the army.

¹⁶⁸ Kaldy-Nagy, p.280

¹⁶⁹ *ibid*

The loosely organization of the corps in the campaigns suggests that they were no longer stationed as the organized garrisons under their *yayabaşıs* in the battle field as they had been previously.

Certain *mühimme* registers of the sixteenth-century indicate the new condition of the corps in the rear services. The following register dated 1578¹⁷⁰ is noteworthy in order to indicate the services which the corps were responsible with in the sixteenth century :

Hamid eli piyâdelerinin İstanköy limanının tatrîrine me'mûr olduklarına dâ'ir

Hamid İli piyâdeleri beğine hüküm ki

Sancağına müteallik piyâdelerin evvelki nöbetlüsü ki beş yüz doksan iki neferdir

İş bu sene 987 Nevruz'unda İstanköy'de liman tatrîri hizmetine emir edüb

buyurdum ki vusûl buldukda te'ahhür etmeyüb sancağına müteallik olan evvelki

nöbetlü piyâdeleri vakti ile olıgelen âdet ve kanun üzere yaya başıları ve mukdimleri

ve altışar aylık zad ü zevâdelerile ihrâc edüb mahalli me'mure getürüb hidmete

mübâşeret eyleyesin Fi 12 za 986

The above register indicates that the corps were employed in the cleaning of the harbor of İstanköy. The ones who were on duty, *növbetlü* were to be on the service under their *mukdims*, commanders and *yayabaşıs* as the code had required. They were also to provide their own provisions, *zad ü zevâdeleri* sufficient to subsist themselves for a six month period.

¹⁷⁰ Refik, p.34

So staying away from their farms and providing themselves with the necessary provisions for a long period would probably be burdensome for the *yayas*. Considering that the most of the corps were in essence settled peasants it would be hard for them to be away from their land for a long time.

So the reasons of their dissolution could be located within the hard conditions they were imposed on them in the rear services for long periods of time. An other firman dated 1582¹⁷¹ indicates that the corps were also employed in the construction services :

Karahisarı sahib piyadelerinin Ayasofya camii hareminin tathiri ile binası ferman olunan zaviyenin inşaat hizmetine tayin olunduklarına dair.

Karahisar sahib piyadeleri beğine hüküm ki Hâlâ sancağın piyadelerinin bir nöbetlüsü ki...neferdir işbu sene 990 tarihinde vaki olan Nevruz ibtidasında Ayasofyai Kebir hareminin tathiri ve binası ferman olunan zaviye hizmetinde tayin olunmuşdur Buyurdum ki...

Vardukda emri şerifim üzre sancağın piyadelerinin bir nöbetlüsünün kanun üzre çeri başıları ve mukdimleri ve altışar aylık zad ü zevadelerile ber vechi isticai ihrac idüb vakti ve mevsimi ile gelüb hizmetde bulunasın Hususu mezbur mühimdir Gec veya eksik getirmekten ziyada hazar idesin...Fi 19 m 990

The above firman indicates that the state took strict measures to prevent the disorganization of the *yayas* and required them to be in the service on time with the total number of the ones on-duty under their *çeribaşıs* and *mukdims*.

The corps also appeared to be in the service of the guardiance of the mountain passes, *derbencilik*, by the second half of the sixteenth century.

¹⁷¹ Refik, p.48

Certain *yayas* preferred to perform the duty at the mountain passes of their own will and registered themselves as the *derbendci*.¹⁷²

Aynî Ali¹⁷³ stated that the condition of the corps in the sixteenth century as follows:

...Anadolu'da piyâde ve müselleme tâ'ifesi var idi ki cümle sefer eşer benevbetlusu altı bin dokuz yüz nefer olub yamaklarıyla yirmi altı bin beş yüz neferdi. Beyleri növbetlülerin sefere ihrâç idüb top çekmeğe ve yol ayırtlamağa ve zâhire götürmekde hıdmet iderlerdi...

So the other services which the corps were responsible with were indicated as, the hauling of the cannons, the levelling of the roads and carrying provisions for the army. It is noteworthy that the *növbetli* who was one-time participating the campaigns as the active combatant was then responsible of such rear services.

When the total number of the corps in the second half of the sixteenth century are compared with the number in 1530 there exists a fifty percentage of decline in the number of the corps within a century. The total number of the either corps in 1530 was determined as 52.363¹⁷⁴ where it was determined as 26.500 at the second half of the sixteenth century.

Certain *mühimme* registers indicate the new condition of the *ocaks* in the second half of the sixteenth century.

¹⁷² Cengiz Orhonlu.pp.61-62 In a firman dated 1568 the corps appeared to be in the service of the guardianship of the mountain pass of Söğüt (*...reayadan bir ferd râğbet etmeyüb yaya ve müselleme tâ'ifesinden ba'zı kimesneler ihtiyar edüb derbend ortasından Tekfur mağarası dimekle meşhur yerde birleşip ikiyerde derbendi bekleyüp hizmetlerin uhdelelerinde alup kimler idüğü isimlerle yazılıp defter olunmuştur...*)

¹⁷³ Aynî Ali, p.45

¹⁷⁴ 438 no.lu Muhasebe Defteri I, p.6

The following firman dated 1578¹⁷⁵ orders that the *ocaks* which lacked in number are to be completed by certain *haymanas*, nomads :

Yaya ve Müsellemlerin tahririne dâir

Yaya ve müsellemler tahriri ferman olunan Hamze'ye hüküm ki

Mektub gönderüb yaya ve müsellemler tayifesinin tahririne mübâşeret idüb lâkin ocakları mevcut yaya ve müsellemler cüz'i olub hayli noksân üzre olduğundan gayri mevcut olan dahi fakıyrül hâl olmağın kanun üzre tekmîle mecâl olmıyub bazı kimesnenin müteayyin ve bazı kimesnenin yazılısu ve nizâ'lısu olmıyan haymana kimesneler olub kanun üzre münâsib olan ocaklara yazıldık deyu teallül etdiklerin ve şehirde üzerlerine rüsûm-u raiyyet takdîr olmuş olmıyub mücerred esâmi yazıldığıun bildirmişsin İmdi ol asıl kimesnenin yazılısu ve nizâ'lısu olmıyan mu'tak ve gayri kimesne mahal olan ocaklara yamak yazılmasın emir idüb buyurdum ki vardukda mukayyed olub göresin şol kimesne ki kimesnenin yazılısu ve nizâ'lısu olmıyub defter-i cedidî hâkânîde üzerlerine rüsûm-u raiyyet takdîr olunmuş olmıya anun gibileri hîyn-i tahrirde münâsib olan ocaklara yamak kayıd idüb yaya ve müsellemler ocakların tekmîl idüb mücerred şehirde esâmi yazılmak ile ol vechile teallül ve bahane etdirmiyesin...Fi 15 rebiülâhir 986

It is apparent that when the *ocaks* began to dissolve a new register was ordered by the state in 1578. Those *ocaks* which were complete were indeed weak and poor. Since the completion of the *ocaks* by the relatives of the *yayas* within a unit seemed infeasible, the state ordered them to be completed by the local nomads in the area who were not registered to anyone as the *raiyyet*. So the nomads were ordered to be registered as the *yamaks* to the deficient *ocaks*.

¹⁷⁵ Refik, pp.34-35

Moreover the *yaya* register of Biga dated 1551 also indicates that the *ocaks* were completed by various nomads.¹⁷⁶

The following order dated 1579¹⁷⁷ indicates how a certain *ocak* was attempted to be restored by certain *yayas* themselves :

Bolu müsellimlerle yayalarının tahririne dâir

Divân-ı hümayun kâtiblerinden olub Bolu sancağı yaya ve müsellimleri muharriri Hamze'ye hüküm ki Mektub gönderüb livâ-i mezburun yaya ve müsellimlerin tahririne mübâşeret olundukda haylı ocak söyünüb aslâ kimesnesi kalmıyub yerlerin mirî tarafından mevkufcular zabt ider bulunub ammâ Viranşehir kazasına tâbi Turdur ve Hamzedarı yer dinmekle maruf iki kıt'a zemin bundan akdem müstakil yaya ocağı olub lâkin iki tahrirden beru bazı raiyet cüz'i mukataa ile üzerlerine yazdırub tasarruf iderlermiş Hâlâ mutasarrıf olanlar gelüb mirî için bir miktar akçe virüb ber mucibi defteri atik ellerine tezkere virilmiş idi Şimdiki halde Gökçük nam piyade ocağının yayaları gelüb hini tahrirde ocağımızdan ziyade gelân kimesneleri zikrolunan iki kıt'a zeminin üzerine yamak yazdırub müstakil bir ocak olmak üzere mirî hıdmet etmek kabul ideriz didiklerin bildirmişsin Buyurdum ki vardukda anın gibi zikrolunan ocaktan hinî tahrirde kimesne ziyade gelürse zikrolunan iki kıt'a zeminin üzerine yazılmak kayd idüb müstakil bir ocak idüb hıdmet etdiresin... Fi 8 m 987

¹⁷⁶ TT.278 v.1 “mezkur Rumilinden göçüb haliya karye-i mezburede hariç-ez-defter haymana olmagın ber mucibi emr yaya ve yamak kayd olındı” “mezkur İznik kazasında Yalakabab canibinden göçüb haliye karye-i....hariç-ez-haymana olmagın ber mucibi emr yaya ve yamak kayd olındı”

¹⁷⁷ Refik, pp.35-36

It is noteworthy that the abandoned *ocaks* were kept by the state and given as a *mukataa* to certain *reaya* by a *tezkire* so that the state prevented the loss of income. However, upon the demand of a certain *yaya* the abandoned land was given back to the *yayas* and thus a new *ocak* was established. So it is apparent that the state wanted to continue the institution rather than giving the abandoned land to the *reaya*.

Moreover, the state also added land to certain farms which were needy ; *yaya ve müselleme tayifesinin kanun üzere kendülere tayin olunan birer çiftlik yerlerinden maada ziyade yerleri ve çiftlikleri zahir oldukda etrafında çiftliği ve yeri olmayub ihtiyacı olan zaif ocaklara zamime virilmesin emir idüb...*¹⁷⁸

The register of 1551 indicates that certain farms which did not have any revenue, *bihasil* was added to another. “*mezkur çiftlik bihasil olmagın nahiye-i ...karye-i Eğripınarda Yiğidyeri karye-i Çakırlar Ahmed İskender yeri deyu kayd olunan çiftliğe zamm olundu deyu kayd olunmuş der defter-i köhne*”¹⁷⁹

The above documents demonstrate the states' efforts for the continuation of the organization. However, despite the efforts of the state the lack in the number of *ocaks* suggests that the corps were no longer want to perform their services so they abandoned their farms and ran away.

Moreover the *bedel akçesi* which was one-time 30 *akças* was raised to 500 *akças* by the state so that the corps might rather prefer to perform their service than paying the determined sum. This can be regarded as an other reason why the corps was dissolved.

¹⁷⁷ TT 278 v.1

¹⁷⁸ Refik,p.33

¹⁷⁹ TT 278 v.1

However, the state had found the solution in abolishing the organization since the corps proved that the system was not functioning any more. Therefore the *ocaks* were registered as the *timars* and *zeamets* and the corps were relegated to the status of the ordinary reaya. Then they were employed in the naval service.

Ayn-ı Ali states that the corps were registered under the *zeamet* rather than on the basis of individual *sancaks* by the beginning of the seventeenth century. Hence they were relegated to the status of the ordinary reaya;

.... Şimdiki halde. yaya ve müselleme taifesi ref olunub cümlesi reaya kayd olunmuşdur. Ve çiftlikleri ze'amet ve timara bağlanub hala zuemâ ve erbâb-ı timarı kapıdan paşa ile derya seferine me'murlardır.¹⁸⁰

The following firman is worth mentioning in order to indicate where the *yaya* and *müselleme* corps were located when the organization was dissolved in 1582¹⁸¹ :

Piyade ve Müselleme taifesinin ref' edildiğine dair.

Yeniçeri ağasına hüküm ki Bundan akdem piyade ve müselleme taifesi ref' olunub geru raiyyet kayd olunmak fermanı şerifim olmagın piyade beğlerinden

6607 akçe zeametle Bolı ve Kastamonu ve Ankara ve Kangrı beği olan Ahmed

46.000 akçe zeametle Kütahya piyadeleri beği olan Mehmed

52.285 akçe zeametle Karahisarı Sahib piyadeleri beği olan Ali

45.000 akçe zeametle Saruhan sancağı piyadeleri beği olan Yusuf

6000 akçe zeametle Menteşe piyadeleri beği olan Hızır

40.299 akçe zeametle Hamid ili sancağı piyadeleri beği olan Mustafa

40.614 akçe zeametle Ankara piyadeleri beği olan Pervane

40.080 akçe zeametle Bolı piyadeleri beği olan Hasan

35.000 akçe zeametle Sultan Öni sancağı piyadeleri beği olan Bali

¹⁸⁰ Ayn-i Ali, p.44

¹⁸¹ Refik, p.45-46

46.336 akçe zeametle Hüdavendigâr sancağı piyadeleri beği olan Mehmed
41.500 akçe zeametle Karesi piyadeleri beği olan Ali
40.000 akçe zeametle Biga sancağı piyadeleri beği olan Mehmed
64.004 akçe zeametle Kütahya, Karahisar ve Hamid müsellimleri beği olan Yahya
dame mecdihunun haklarında mezid inayeti şahane ve müretteb avatfî padişahanem
zuhura getirilüb her birinin tasarruflarında olan zeametleri üzerine otuzar bin
terakki ile dergâh-ı muallâ müteferrikaları zümresine ilhak olunub min baad dahi bu
makule ve mutasarrıfa gedükleri bunlara mahsus olub anun gibi içlerinden biri ahar
mansıba çıkub ve ya vefat eyleyüb yeniçeri kullarımdan yolları ile gelüb piyade
beğliğine müstehak olanlara virilmek fermanım olmuştur Buyurdum ki... vusul
buldukda minbaad vechi meşruh üzre amel idüb zikrolunduğı üzre ferman olunan
müteferrika gedüklerinden biri mahlûl vaki oldukda geri yeniçeri ocağından
tarikiyle gelüb ol mertebeye müstahak olanlara arz idüb daima ferman-ı şerifim
mucibince amel idesin... Fi selhi z 990

The above firman indicates that the mentioned *piyade beğis* were to be in the presence of the sultan and their *zeamets* were transferred to the *müteferikas* with an increase of 30 *akçes*. Those *zeamets* would be given to the jannisaries who proved to be worthy. So the corps, whose one-time *hassa* status was previously replaced by the janisaries, now had to transfer their *zeamets* to them.

In conclusion , the corps who had been employed to various services for the state proved to be unsuccessful upon having been obliged to heavy logistic services by the second half the fifteenth century. Though the state tried hard in order to maintain their organization it was probably the corps themselves who were responsible of the dissolution of their own organization.

CONCLUSION

The establishment of a group of Turcoman soldiery as the *hassa* soldiery of the sovereign indicates how the Turcomans were assimilated into the Ottoman society in the early stages. There is no doubt that it was the Turcomans who constituted the first formal military organization of the emerging Ottoman state. It is apparent that the Turcomans were also used for the settlement process and the colonization policy of the Ottoman state upon the crossing the Balkan territories. The establishment of a group of *yaya* as the mounted troops, the *müsellems*, initially in Rumelia can be regarded as the proof to reinforce the state's colonization policy in the Balkans.

Regarding the fact that it was Çandarlı Kara Halil, the judge of the time, who played the essential role in the establishment of the corps, the role of *ulemâ* in establishing the first institutions of the emerging state can not be denied.

The corps have long been thought to act as the active combatants only in the age of Orhan Gazi but a thorough examination of the chronicles indicates that , though they were no longer the *hassa* soldiery of the sovereign they continued to act as the active combatants in the ages of Murad I and Bayezid I. This suggests that although the corps were considered among the auxiliary troops by the establishment of the janissary garrisons the state utilized the corps as swift light infantry throughout the fourteenth century.

It is also noteworthy that the corps have been regarded as the so called emergency troops recruited in times of *nefir-i 'am* in the fifteenth century. So it can be concluded that despite the establishment of a regular army in the Porte, the corps were still used as a source of military power in cases of emergency.

The organization of the corps along the lines of a system which had its early examples prevailing in the Byzantine state proved that the Ottomans adopted certain systems from the Byzantines into their own. The differences between the Byzantine organization of the *stratiotes* and the Ottoman system of the *ocak* indicates how a Byzantine organization had been updated by the Ottomans according to their own needs.

Regarding the fact that the *ocak* system also shared certain similarities with the organization of the *voynuks*, it is apparent that the Ottomans could assimilate a Serbian organization by various changes into its own. Consequently the *ocak* system can be regarded as an example how certain Byzantine and Serbian institutions were adopted to the 'Turcomans'.

On the other hand the organization of the corps under a system where they could subsist themselves without being a burden on the treasury shows that, the state established a system without any expense for itself. Apart from cultivating their own land the corps were also supplying campaigners to the army. Thus the corps were either employed as the peasants or as the soldiers.

The examination of the status of the corps in each stage displays the Ottoman system of classes. In the initial stage the corps were regarded as the *hassa* soldiery, that is they constituted the quintessence of the military class. Upon the establishment of the janissary garrisons they were relegated to the status of *muaf ve müselleme reaya* within the military class and in the last stage they were relegated to the status of the ordinary *reaya*. The frequent change of their status obviously had a direct impact on the dissolution of their institution.

In conclusion, the assimilation of the Turcomans either settled or nomadic, into the ranks of the army either as the *hassa* soldiery or as the auxiliary troops indicates how the Ottomans drew on the peasant Turcoman population into a special militia.

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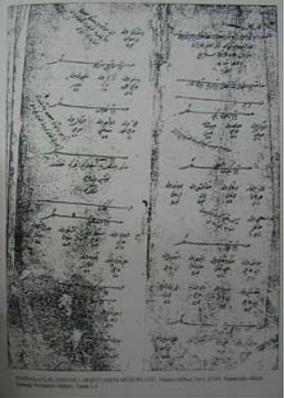
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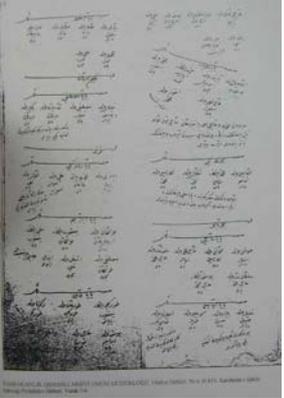
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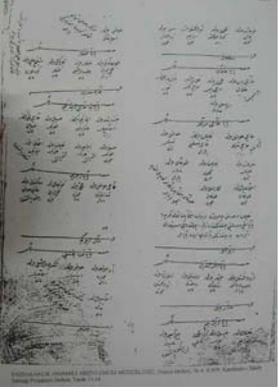
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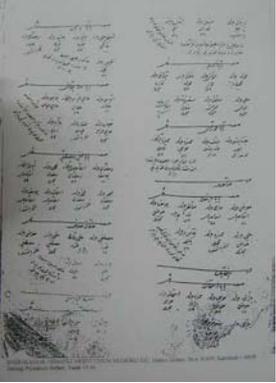


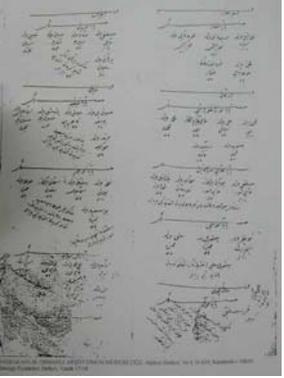


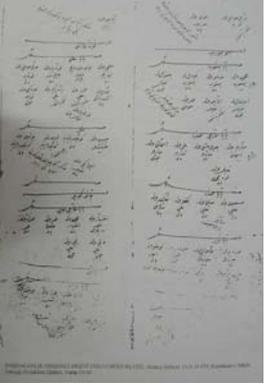


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