

TÜRKMEN VOYVODASI, TRIBESMEN AND THE OTTOMAN STATE
(1590-1690)

A Master's Thesis

by

ONUR USTA

Department of History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara December 2011

To my parents

TÜRKMEN VOYVODASI, TRIBESMEN AND THE OTTOMAN STATE

(1590-1690)

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by
ONUR USTA

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

in
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

December 2011

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

Asst. Prof. Oktay Özel
Supervisor

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

Asst. Prof. Evgeni Radushev
Examining Committee Member

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

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Öz
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

Türkmen Voyvodası, Tribesmen and the Ottoman State (1590-1690)

Usta, Onur.

M.A., Department of History.

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Oktay Özel.

The Turcomans were one of the most dynamic elements in the Ottoman history. The Ottomans had to cope with those forceful nomads, while consolidating their dominance over Anatolia. Although there was a clear tendency towards sedentarization during sixteenth century, a visible revival of nomadism is observed in Anatolia during the seventeenth century. According to the contemporary chronicles, the Turcomans tend to have maintained their dynamism throughout the seventeenth century. On the other hand, in this period the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* appeared as a new desirable post over which there were great struggles, especially led by the *kapıkulu sipahs*. The office of the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* played a key role in many rebellions of the seventeenth century. This thesis attempts to deal with the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* in the period between 1590-1690. Basing on understanding what the *Türkmen voyvodası* was, it tries to shed light upon the nomadic groups generally, particularly the Turcomans, in the seventeenth century.

Key Words: *Türkmen voyvodası*, Turcomans, Nomadism, Celâlis, *Kapıkulu sipahs*, the Ottoman rule.

ÖZET

Türkmen Voyvodası, Aşiretler ve Osmanlı Devleti (1590-1690)

Usta, Onur.
Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü.
Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Oktay Özel

Türkmenler Osmanlı Tarihi'nin en dinamik unsurlarından birisiydiler. Osmanlı'lar egemenliğini Anadolu'ya doğru genişletirken bu çetin göçebelerle uğraşmak zorunda kalmıştı. On altıncı yüzyılda yerleşikleşmeye doğru bir eğilim olsa da, Anadolu'da göçebeliğin on yedinci yüzyıl boyunca gözle görülür biçimde yeniden canlandığı gözlemlenmektedir. Dönemin kroniklerine göre, Türkmenler sahip oldukları dinamizmi onyedinci yüzyıl boyunca sürdürmüş benzemektedirler. Öte yandan, Türkmen voyvodalığı, üzerinde büyük mücadeleler sergilenen, özellikle kapıkulu sipahileri tarafından, dönemin revaçta yeni bir mansıbı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Türkmen voyvodalığı makamı özellikle onyedinci yüzyılın pek çok ayaklanmasında anahtar role sahiptir. Bu tez 1590 ve 1690 arası bir dönemdeki Türkmen voyvodalığını ele alma çabasıdır. Türkmen voyvodalığının ne olduğunu anlamaya çalışarak, genel olarak onyedinci yüzyıldaki göçebe gruplara özellikle de Türkmenler'e ışık tutmaya çalışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkmen voyvodası, Türkmenler, Göçebelik, Celâliler, Kapıkulu sipahileri, Osmanlı yönetimi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study has not been possible unless the supervision of Asst. Prof. Oktay Özel. I would frankly like to thank him for his valuable guidance and contribution throughout my work. Introducing me with the intricacies of the area, he helped me to be able to cope with a study on social-economic history .

I would also like to thank Prof. Evgeni Radushev and Prof. Mehmet Öz for their valuable comments as jury members. Prof. Özer Ergenç, Assoc. Prof. Evgenia Kermeli, Kudret Emiroğlu have been very supportive in helping me to improve in Ottoman paleography and to develop an outlook in Ottoman historiography. Asst. Prof. Hülya Canbakal at Sabancı University and Assoc. Prof. Tufan Gündüz at Gazi University allocated their valuable time and provided significant recommendations. For their endless tolerance and support throughout this study, I am also grateful to Prof. Okan Yaşar and Asst. Prof. Şerif Korkmaz at Çanakkale Onsekizmart University.

For their constructive remarks and assistance, Muhsin Soyudoğan and Can Eyüp Çekiç are really worth to be appreciative. I would also like to thank Kamil Erdem Güler, Naim Atabağsoy, Suat Dede, Evren Yüzügüzel, Metin Batıhan, Bahattin İpek, Yalçın Murgul, Erdem Sönmez, Fatih Durgun, Erol Tanrıbuyurdu, Alican Ergür, Mesut Yazıcı, Nergiz Nazlar, Zeynep Gül Erel, Nimet Kaya, Eser Sunar and Hakan Arslan for their friendship and support.

Finally, I appreciate Ayşe, Cemil, Akgül, Dođuş and Hilary Usta, and Ülkü Eldeş. Needless to say, Aslı Eldeş Usta deserves best regards for her encouragement whenever I need.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES.....	ix
ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II: TRIBES AND TRIBESMEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.....	14
2.1. Nomads and Militarization of Countryside.....	14
2.2. "Kişi Kaldır Tarlanı Koyun Geçsin".....	34
2.3. "Türkân Haklamak".....	43
2.4. Nomads and <i>Türkmen Voyvodas</i>	47
CHAPTER III: FUNCTIONS OF THE <i>TÜRKMEN VOYVODAS</i> IN THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION.....	64
3.1. Logistic Support (Camel and Sheep).....	64
3.2. Public Order.....	79
3.3. Keeping Tribes within Unit.....	81
3.4. Registering Tribes.....	83
CHAPTER IV: THE <i>TÜRKMEN VOYVODAS</i> AND <i>KAPIKULU SİPAHS</i> WITHIN THE POWER STRUGGLES OVER REVENUE RESOURCES.....	89

4.1. <i>Kapıkulu Sipâhs</i>	90
4.2. The Celâli <i>Türkmen Voyvodas</i>	94
4.2.1. Abaza Hasan Pasha.....	94
4.2.2. Hasan, the brother of Konyalı Hadım Ali Agha.....	96
4.2.3. Kürd Mehmed.....	98
4.2.4. Dasnik Mirza.....	99
4.2.5. Gürcü Nebî.....	100
4.2.6. Kazzaz Ahmed.....	101
4.2.7. Çomar Bölükbaşı.....	101
4.2.8. Dilaver Pasha.....	102
4.2.9. Koçur Bey.....	103
4.2.10. Küçük Ahmed Pasha.....	104
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....	106
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	113
APPENDICES.....	122
APPENDIX A: The Connection Between <i>Türkmen Voyvodas</i> and Tribes...122	
APPENDIX B: The List of Some <i>Türkmen Voyvodas</i>123	
APPENDIX C: The Main Turcoman Areas in Anatolia in the Seventeenth Century.....	124

LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES

Maps

Map-1 The Turcoman zone of the southeastern Anatolia.....	21
Map-2 The area where Yeğen Osman was powerful.....	34
Map-3 The raids of the Beğdili Turcomans.....	37
Map-4 The district of Yeni-il.....	54
Map-5 Sheep trade in Anatolia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.....	77

Figures

Figure-1 Tribal administrative hierarchy.....	57
Figure-2 The interrelated links of the <i>Türkmen voyvodası</i> in the seventeenth century.....	87

ABBREVIATIONS

- EI²** : Encyclopedia of Islam (Leiden-Brill)
- D.BŞM.d** : Divan-I Hümayun Baş Muhasebe Defterleri
- İE DH** : İbnü'l Emin Dahiliye Arşivi
- İE ML** : İbnü'l Emin Maliye Arşivi
- İE SM** : İbnü'l Emin Saray Muhasebesi Arşivi
- İE ŞRKT** : İbnü'l Emin Şikayet Arşivi
- MAD** : Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler
- TS. MA.d** : Topkapı Sarayı Maliye Arşivi Defterleri

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"The leading camel's bell tings: My lord is brave,
my lord is brave.
Why? Why?
Because of hardness! Because of hardness!
The bell of the camel going in the middle tings:
My lord is rich, my lord is rich.
Why? Why?
Because of that and this! Because of orphans and
widows!
The last camel's tings: I've taken order from your
subject.
I'll go on my way
There is no subject in this world who becomes
rich through the cruelty.¹"

Contrary to the experience in Balkans, the main response to the Ottoman expansion over Anatolia came from the nomadic and semi-nomadic elements. Indeed, the Ottomans encountered many defiant principalities and states which were

¹ "Önde giden devenin çanı:
Benim ağam yiğittir, benim ağam yiğittir.
Neden? Neden?
Zordan zurdan! Zordan zurdan!
Ortadan giden devenin çanı:
Benim ağam zengindir, benim ağam zengindir.
Neden? Neden?
Ondan bundan! Yetim ile duldan!
Arkadan giden devenin çanı:
Emir aldım kulundan
Giderim ben yolumdan
Dünyada bir kul yoktur
Âbâd olmuş zulümdan."

(Devenin Çanı Türküsü), an anonymous folksong; Baki Yaşar Altınok, *Öyküleriyle Kırşehir Türküleri, Destanları, Ağıtları* (Ankara: Oba Yayıncılık, 2003), 57.

of pastoralist Turcoman origins just like themselves, while expanding their territories towards Anatolia. Among them, the Akkoyunlus and the Karamanids were the most powerful and challenging ones. Nevertheless, the Ottoman authority succeeded in eliminating the former in 1473 in the battle of Otlukbeli and the latter in 1487. Moreover, with the battle of Çaldıran in 1514 culminated in the defeat of the Safavids, who were the chief protector of the Turcomans in Anatolia, the Ottomans consolidated its power over the Turcomans who were opponent of its centralization policy. Even though the Ottoman state seems to have removed the possible threats derived from the Turcomans, there were still some medium-scale reactions against its authority in Anatolia during the decades following 1514.²

However, from the early centuries onwards, the Ottoman government gave particular importance to controlling the nomadic groups in parallel to its centralization. The Ottoman government had several methods in its hand to keep the nomads under control. State officers were assigned to monitor the pasture routes of nomads, restraining strictly any deviation from their old route. Besides, nomads were turned into taxpayers through state's comprehensive land registers recording their revenues scrupulously into a *defter*.³ By and large, the government appears to have been successful in developing new methods for monitoring nomads. In this context, Isenbike Togan makes a comparison between the Mongolian state and the Ottoman state in terms of tribal policies.⁴ She suggests three phases related to tribal policies

² Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler) Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilatı Destanları* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1999), 190-192.

³ Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Phoenix, 2000), 32; See also the chapter of "the Ottoman Regulations and Nomad Custom" in Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1983), 51-75.

⁴ İsenbike Togan, "Ottoman History by Inner Asian Norms", *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, editors Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi (London: Frank Cass&Co.Ltd., 1992), 185-211.

which the states of anti-tribal character such as the Seljukids, the Mongols and the Ottomans were likely to experience. These are:

a) infiltration of people of tribal backgrounds into a new 'frontier' zone (Seljuks into Asia Minor, Mongols into North China);

b) colonisation and settlement on the new 'frontier', undertaken first by military and then by bureaucratic means;

c) subordination of pastoral nomadic people and tribal groups to the state administration and the establishment of bonds between center and periphery.⁵

She marked the last phase, which indicates that institutional subordination is a unique Ottoman practice, on the other side what the Mongolians could not do was to institutionalise nomads.⁶ However, in terms of institutionalization, she emphasizes only on the incorporation of tribal leaders into the Ottoman administrative system, thus the tribal leaders relinquished their hold on their own tribes, recognizing the state's upper hand.⁷ To put differently, the government lessened the role of tribal leader to a middlemen between the tribe and the state representatives (such as *sancak beyi*, *voyvoda*, *subashi*).⁸ On the other hand, the Ottoman government implemented other methods from the seventeenth century onwards when there was an increasing 'nomadization' in the countryside of Anatolia which was a new situation compared to the previous century⁹, putting its own agents forward at the tribal stage representing the state's interest, in order to establish a firmer bond between center and the tribes in periphery. These agents were the *Türkmen voyvodas* furnished with fiscal and

⁵ Togan, *ibid.*, 189.

⁶ Togan, *ibid.*, 189.

⁷ Togan, *ibid.*, 201-202.

⁸ Philip Carl Salzman, "Tribal Chiefs as Middlemen: The Politics of Encapsulation in the Middle East", *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (April, 1974), 203-210.

⁹ Xavier de Planhol "Geography, Politics and Nomadism in Anatolia", *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 9, No. 4 (1959), 527.

administrative authorities over tribes. As will be shown, many prominent *Türkmen voyvodas* were the members of six cavalry corps (*altı bölük halkı*) who became rooted in the provincial society.¹⁰ Their military capacity and effective social network web in the provincial society makes them cut out for handling the tribes which are difficult to control due to their mobility.

'*Voyvoda*' is a word of Slavic origin. It means chief, leader (*ağa, reis*) in Turkish.¹¹ In English, the word 'steward' is used as the closest mean to '*voyvoda*'. It generally refers to "a person who manages another's property or financial affairs; one who administers anything as the agent of another or others."¹² The office of *voyvoda* is known to appear in the seventeenth century. The provincial governors assigned a *voyvoda* either from among their own servants or from the candidates of local people to administer their districts which set aside for themselves as revenue.¹³ This is the essential function of *voyvodas* in the Ottoman administrative system. However, *voyvoda* has also many other different functions. Apart from administering districts, towns and provinces allocated to the state's high officers as *hāss*, *voyvoda* was also charged with their financial affairs, such as tax collection. He was accountable to the *kadis* and the governors for his acts towards people as well.¹⁴

The appearance of *voyvoda* was due to the new fiscal policy of the Ottoman state based on the gradual abandonment of the *timar* system. From the seventeenth century onwards, the Ottoman government began to include the revenues, which were no longer allocated for the *timars*, into the crown lands (*havāss-ı hümayun*),

¹⁰ Halil İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980), 291.

¹¹ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, "Voyvoda", *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 3 vols. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983), vol.III, 598; Fikret Adanır, "Woywoda", *EF*², vol.XI.

¹² <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/steward>.

¹³ Pakalın, "Voyvoda", 598; Adanır, "Woywoda".

¹⁴ Nejat Göyünç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 53-54.

and farmed them out in order to supply cash to the treasury.¹⁵ The principal reason behind this shift was the ever-increasing military expenses which put a heavy burden on the resources of the state. The advent of new military technology based on firearms brought about a profound change in the military organization and finance in the Ottoman empire.¹⁶ The provincial cavalry (*timarlı sipahis*) whose traditional weapons were composed mainly of bow and arrow was no longer powerful against the Austrian musketeers. Their inefficiency and the importance of recruiting as many troops using muskets as the rivals put on the battlefield were realized by the Ottoman statesmen as early as 1590's.¹⁷ Thus, the size of the *kapıkulu* army who used firearms increased exponentially over the course of the seventeenth century. While the size of the army varied from 10.000 to 12.000 including both *kapıkulu sipahs* and janissaries during the reign of Mehmed II (1451-1481), it reached some 60.000 men in 1630's.¹⁸ In parallel to the growth of the *kapıkulu* army, there was also an increase in the size of the mercenary troops called *sarıca* and *sekbân* who were in the service of pashas and local governors in the countryside. Since those mercenaries demanded cash payment in return for their services, not only was the state in financial difficulty, but the local governors too needed cash as much as possible in order to maintain their small armies and retainues.¹⁹ For instance; Dervis Mehmed Pasha, who

¹⁵ Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi* (İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 1986), 34-36; Adanır, "Woywoda".

¹⁶ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", 286-287.

¹⁷ İnalçık, *ibid.*, 287.

¹⁸ İnalçık, *ibid.*, 289; İnalçık estimates the size of the army by using the data given in *Kitâb-ı Mustetâb* and Ayn-i Ali; see also, Rhoads Murphey, "The Functioning of the Ottoman Army Under Murad IV (1623-1639/1032-1049): Key to the Understanding of the Relationship Between Center and Periphery in the Seventeenth Century Turkey", PhD dissertation The University of Chicago (1979), 48-49.

¹⁹ Murphey, *ibid.*, 292-297; See also Metin Kunt, "Derviş Mehmed Paşa, *Vezir* and Entrepreneur: A Study in Ottoman Political-Economic Theory and Practice", *Turcica*, 9 (I), 197-214.

was the grand vizier in 1653 and 1654, had over 2000 infantries and cavalries as well as 7.000 horses in the countryside, furthermore his ammunition was in full.²⁰

The growing concern of the state for supplying cash to the treasury led to the extension of the role of *defterdars* (chief treasury officer) in the provincial administration from the last decade of the sixteenth century onwards.²¹ The offices belonging to the *defterdars* were charged with the transactions of taxfarms and sending the revenue derived from taxfarming to the treasury.²² The extension of the role of the *defterdars* and the gradual replacement of the *timar* system for the application of taxfarming increased the importance of the *voyvodas* in the provincial administration.²³ The *beys* and *pashas* entrusted the *voyvodas* to collect the revenues of their *hâsses* which spread over large territories. They also farmed out their revenues to the *voyvodas* in return for a certain amount of money.²⁴ In due course, *voyvodas* became a district administrator who could exercise the state authority beyond a financial agent. It was made out that the *defterdars* were inadequate to collect the tax and deliver it to the treasury.²⁵ Therefore, the state farmed out all revenues subjected to the treasury office to a *voyvoda* by wholesale, instead of farming out them separately. Thanks to this, the state addressed the task of tax collection to only one person.²⁶

²⁰ Mustafa Naîmâ Efendi, *Târih-i Na'îmâ (Ravzatü'l- Hüseyin Fî Hulâsati Ahbârî'l- Hâfikayn)*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, 4 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007), vol.III., 1424.

²¹ Murphey, "The Functioning of the Ottoman Army Under Murad IV (1623-1639/1032-1049)", 266-268; Erol Özvar, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra Maliyesinde Değişme: Diyarbakır'da Hazine Defterdarlığından Voyvodalığa Geçiş", *IX International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*, Dubrovnik-Croatia, (20-23 August, 2002) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), 75-93.

²² Özvar, *ibid.*, 104.

²³ Murphey, "The Functioning of the Ottoman Army Under Murad IV (1623-1639/1032-1049)", 268.

²⁴ İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", 304.

²⁵ Özvar, "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra Maliyesinde Değişme: Diyarbakır'da Hazine Defterdarlığından Voyvodalığa Geçiş", 103-104.

²⁶ Özvar, *ibid.*, 105.

In general, the *Türkmen voyvodası* was similar to the other *voyvodas* of the seventeenth century in terms of financial and administrative duties. What made him different from the others is that he was in charge of tribes. He was collecting taxes and carrying out administrative affairs of tribes.²⁷ Because of his relation to nomads, undoubtedly there might be some features peculiar to himself, which enables us to distinguish him from the others. However, it is hard to find those features in a single source. The clues on the matter unfortunately are scattered in a number of different archival sources and chronicles. On the other hand, in chronicles, the *Türkmen voyvodası* appears noticeably in the rebellion of Abaza Hasan Pasha. In the framework of this event, it is seen how the office of *Türkmen voyvodası* became a desirable post in the seventeenth century. There was a fierce struggle for the post. Thus, curiosity on who the *Türkmen voyvodası* was led me to begin conducting the research towards the present thesis; by doing this, I also hoped to throw some light on the peculiarities of the Ottoman history of the seventeenth century.

There is no clear date on when the office of the *Türkmen voyvodası* was introduced. The earliest record I could find about the *Türkmen voyvodası* is dated 3 July 1559. This record was related to a dispute between the tribe of Beğdili and the *voyvoda* of the Yeni-il Turcomans.²⁸ Considering that Yeni-il was the first administrative unit belonging to the Turcomans established by the state in 1548²⁹, the *voyvoda* of Yeni-il is probably the first *Türkmen voyvodası* we know. Yet, the references on the *Türkmen voyvodası* are concentrated in the seventeenth and

²⁷ In archival documents, *Türkmen voyvodası* and *Türkmen Ağası* are used interchangeably. However, to prevent any confusion, I prefer to use the first one in this study. Tufan Gündüz also indicates that the titles of 'Bey' and 'Melik' are scarcely used for *Türkmen voyvodası*. Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri (Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640)*, 2th edition (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2007) 48.

²⁸ Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 2th edition (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1987), 1 (doc. 1).

²⁹ İlhan Şahin, "Yeni-il Kazası ve Yeni-il Türkmenleri (1548-1653)", PhD dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1980, 10-14.

eighteenth centuries, because the office of *voyvodalık* became widespread in the Ottoman provincial administration in these centuries. Particularly, large tribal confederations such as Bozulus, Karaulus, Danişmendli, and At-çeken were ruled by the *Türkmen voyvodas* in the seventeenth century.³⁰ Besides, since the Turcomans at the center of the thesis are mainly from Bozulus, Danişmendli and Yeni-il hence the *Türkmen voyvodas* of these units have been analyzed in this study.

On the other hand, this thesis is not a case study, therefore it will not focus on a specific tribe and *voyvoda*. Studying a specific tribe and *Türkmen voyvodası* might have presented a restricted work confining *Türkmen voyvodası* to a well-defined tribe. What is more, such a in-depth study may have exceeded the scope of an M.A dissertation. It would simply lay on a long period of 200-300 years. It is necessary, therefore, to limit the period for the present study in the name of conciseness. Hence, this study examines the office of the *Türkmen voyvodası* in the years between 1590 and 1690. 1590 is chosen, because one of the goals of thesis is to assess the Turcomans in the context of the Celâli rebellions (1590-1611). In addition, the period that the thesis has been confined to 1690. From this date onwards, the state implemented a new sedentarization policy on nomads; therefore, the *Türkmen voyvodası* after 1690 deserves to be the subject of another study. The other reason behind such a periodization is the fact that the chronicles of that period in question provide us with valuable insights on the tribes and the *Türkmen voyvodası*. Even only the materials that they present are enough to build the main body of thesis. Certainly, the archival documents also prove to be important supports to those materials.

³⁰ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1987) 19-20.

The main target of this study is to evaluate the general situation of tribes and to clarify the position of *Türkmen voyvodası* in that period. In the first chapter "Tribes and Tribesmen in the Seventeenth Century", nomads and semi-nomads in the context of the changes that the Ottoman state went through in the seventeenth century will be outlined. Thereby, it would be easier to understand in what kind of environment the institution of *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* developed. Among the subchapters, the situation of nomads in the Celali rebellion will be dealt with analytically; this, will enable us to see the position of the nomads and semi-nomads in the militarized provincial society. In the second chapter "Functions of the *Türkmen voyvodası* in the Ottoman Provincial Administration", the roles of the *Türkmen voyvodas* will be examined in the light of archival documents and chronicles. Through this chapter, the question of what the *Türkmen voyvodası* was will be addressed as well. In addition, chapter three "The *Türkmen voyvodas* and *Kapıkulu Sipahs* within the Power Struggles Over Resources" provides us with a framework to grasp better the nature of the *Türkmen voyvodas*. This chapter also will shed light on the backgrounds of some prominent *Türkmen voyvodas*, particularly by pointing to the close link between *altı bölük halkı* (six cavalry corps) and the *Türkmen voyvodas* in question.

As regards to literature, there is not any monographic study on the issue of *Türkmen voyvodası*, though there are a plenty of works concerning the subject of nomadism in Ottoman history. Nevertheless, a limited number of studies touch briefly on the issue. Interestingly enough, the first one who pointed to the issue is a Russian historian, Vladimir Gordlevski. In his study dealing with the Anatolian

Seljukids from the marxist perspective,³¹ he sets aside a short part to the organization of Anatolian tribes between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.³² He states that "the centralization in the administration came about, as the state mechanism became stronger. In parallel to this, the *voyvoda* went from the center to rule and control the nomads."³³ He convinces that the *voyvoda* was superior to the *kethüdas* and the *boybeyis* of tribes, however, he falsely argues that this development occurred at the beginning of the eighteenth century.³⁴ Furthermore, he does not go beyond touching the topic very shortly. On the other hand, among the Ottoman historians, Cengiz Orhonlu is the first to refer to the subject in itself. In his systematical work on the sedentarization process of tribes in the Ottoman empire, he gives a brief information about the *Türkmen voyvodası*, while dealing with the administrative and legal positions that the nomads subjected to.³⁵ However, due to the scope of his work on the sedentarization process, the issue of *Türkmen voyvodası* did not seem to preoccupy him. By the same token, his students Yusuf Halaçoğlu³⁶ and İlhan Şahin³⁷, who follow the paths of their professor by spending times on the subjects regarding nomadism in Ottoman Anatolia, make mention of *Türkmen voyvodası* as well.

³¹ Vladimir Gordlevski, *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, translated from Russian to Turkish by Azer Yaran (Ankara: Onur Yayıncılık, 1988)-V.Gordlevski, *Gosudarstvo Selçukidov Maloy Azii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941)

³² Gordlevski, *ibid.*, 111-120.

³³ Gordlevski, *ibid.*, 115.

³⁴ Gordlevski, *ibid.*, 115; He refers to two transcribed documents in Ahmet Refik Altınay's work which is a compilation of state decrees on the Turcomans. Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*.

³⁵ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*; Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü (1691-1696)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1963).

³⁶ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyâseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988).

³⁷ His articles are collected in *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2006); Some articles related to the issue are; "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Konar-Göçer Aşiretlerin Hukuki Nizamları", *Türk Kültürü*, XX/227, (Ankara 1982), 285-294.; "XVI. Asırda Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no:12 (1982), 687-712; "XVI. Yüzyılda Halep ve Yeniil Türkmenleri", *Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, (Tarsus/4 Mayıs 2000), Ankara 2000, 63-75; "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadolu'su Göçebelerinde Kethüdalık ve Boybeylik Müessesesi", *The 12th CIEPO Symposium on pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies* (9-13 September 1996, Prague, Czech Republic); "1638 Bağdat Seferinde Zahir Nakline Memur Edilen Yeniil ve Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Dergisi*, no:33 (1982), 227-236; see also İlhan Şahin's PhD dissertation, "Yeni-il Kazası ve Yeniil Türkmenleri".

Especially, İlhan Şahin's works should be considered a valuable contribution on the issue. However, in none of his works, the matter of *Türkmen voyvodası* does represent a primary concern. On the other hand, Tufan Gündüz has recently dealt with the issue in his studies on the Bozulus confederation³⁸ and the Danişmendli Turcomans³⁹. He tends to tackle the matter in a much broader scope than the others. By using archival documents, he sheds some light to the matter, though he gives less than three pages to the matter. Besides, some references on the *Türkmen voyvodası* can be found in Faruk Söylemez's case study on the Rişvan tribe.⁴⁰ He analyzes in detail the social and economic conditions of the Rişvan tribe and their relations with state, focusing mainly on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this context, he makes references on the *Türkmen voyvodası* in different parts of his study, in so far as it involves the social and economic issues of the tribe. Similarly, there is an M.A dissertation mentioning about *Türkmen voyvodası*, written by Aysel Danacı on the relation between the Ottoman government and the Anatolian tribes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴¹ Yet she briefly touches on the *Türkmen voyvodası*, only in the context of the taxation matters.

As is seen, all those works cited appear to be far from dealing with the issue in its own right. Therefore, there are still many unanswered questions left regarding the issue. On the other hand, this thesis does not aim at tackling the matter fully. It leaves the episode of the *Türkmen voyvodası* after 1690 to another study, and of course it would be possible to run across some methodological deficiencies through

³⁸ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri (Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640)*

³⁹ Tufan Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005)

⁴⁰ Faruk Söylemez, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Aşiret Yönetimi: Rişvan Aşireti Örneği* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007)

⁴¹ Aysel Danacı, "The Ottoman Empire and the Anatolian Tribes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", M.A thesis, Boğaziçi University, (1998).

the thesis. Notwithstanding its probable shortcomings, it is hoped that it will fill a gap in the Ottoman historiography concerning nomadism.

One of the most important problems encountered during the thesis was the scattered nature of historical evidence in a variety of sources. To complete the puzzle, finding suitable parts is like looking for a needle in a haystack. But again, the connection of Abaza Hasan Pasha's rebellion with the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* encouraged me to look more closely at the chronicles, and in turn it led me to notice the political aspect of the matter. On the other hand, because of the subject interests the pastoral groups in Anatolia as a matter of course, the chronicles which include a number of references about the provincial society are very useful for this study. Among them, the foremost is Naima's chronicle.⁴² Since he grew up in the environment of Haleb, he might have had ample opportunities to closely acquaint himself with pastoral groups.⁴³ He offers vivid narration on the relations between nomads and the state. His account concerning the *Türkmen voyvodası* is of particular importance for this study. The other one who was familiar to the provincial society is, of course, Evliya Çelebi.⁴⁴ During his travel, he visited so many places in Anatolia and came across the Turcomans and bandits related to the subject as well. Evliya who noted his experiences wittily enables us to have knowledge of many details concerning the subject. Similarly, Topçular Katibi Abdulkadir Efendi⁴⁵ provides us with some valuable details on the Turcomans and the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı*, recording important events of the campaigns in which he participated. In addition,

⁴² Naîmâ, *Tarih*, 4 vols.

⁴³ Lewis Thomas, *A Study of Naîmâ*, ed. Norman Itzkowitz (New York: New York University Press, 1972), 11.

⁴⁴ Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zıllı, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, 10 vols., editors: Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman ve Yücel Dađlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999-2000)

⁴⁵ Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi, 2 vols., ed. Doç. Dr. Ziya Yılmaz (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003).

Katib Çelebi's *Fezleke*⁴⁶, *İsazâde Tarihi*⁴⁷ have also proved to be useful. Apart from these sources, Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa's *Zübde-i Vekayiât*⁴⁸ and Fındıklılı Silahdar Mehmed Ağa's chronicle called *Silâhdar Tarihi*⁴⁹ also give significant clues related to the subject particularly for the second half of the seventeenth century.

As for the archival material, the Ottoman archives offer a great amount of documents concerning the issue. For this thesis, I have used various documents. Among these, firstly *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler* provide a number of valuable details on the matter. These sources have been used as much as possible. Likewise, *Topkapı Sarayı Maliye Defterleri* contain crucial material particularly on the Yeni-il Turcomans subjected to the endowment of Valide Sultan. I also used several documents dispersed in the catalogue of *İbnü'l Emin*.

⁴⁶ Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 2 vols (İstanbul: 1286-1287)

⁴⁷ İsazâde, *İsâ-zâde Tarihi: Metin ve Tahlil*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1996)

⁴⁸ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, ed. Dr. Abdulkadir Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995)

⁴⁹ Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silâhdar Tarihi*, 2 vols. (İstanbul: İstanbul Devlet Matbaası, 1928)

CHAPTER II

TRIBES AND TRIBESMEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

2.1. Nomads and Militarization of Countryside

In his work named "Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis Fî-Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis"⁵⁰, Gelibolulu Mustafa' Âlî mentions the deeds of rebels and bandits in the countryside which resulted in spilling the blood of innocent people. He talks about who those rebels were, rather than the reasons behind their terror. He states that most of them were either Turks or Tartars, furthermore the *boybeyis* of the Turks who commanded at least two hundred Turks mainly led up to such a terror in the countryside.⁵¹ On the other hand, when Gelibolulu wrote his work, the state was already in trouble with the Celâli rebels in Anatolia.⁵² At first glance, his narration sounds as if only the Turks or the Turcomans had been the bad guys of the story, however, it will be seen in the

⁵⁰ Gelibolulu Mustafa' Âlî, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis Fî-Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis*, ed. Prof.Dr. Mehmet Şeker (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997)

⁵¹ ".Şöyle sanurlar ki birkaç erâzili yanlarına uydurup hareket etmekle va ba'zı köylere ve kasâbata salgûnlar salup hükümlerini yürütmekle gerçekten ilerü geliüp zuhûr eyliyeler. Ansuzın sâhib-i sikke ve hutbe olup kendüleri kuvvet-i iktidârla meşhûr eyleyenler ki beyt-i ... Nesr: Bu hevâ ve heves ile nicesi etrâk ü tâtârdan ekseri kuttâ'-ı tarîk olan reh-zenân-ı ziyânkârdan gâh u bî-gâh bir haram-zâde zuhûr ider. Celâlî nâmı ile mazhar-ı mihter ü halâl olup memleket memleket gezer. Agniyânun mâl ü menâllerin gâret eyler. Re'âyânun ebkâr u 'iyâllerini hasâret eyler. Taht-ı yedlerindeki levendler fukarâ derd-mendlere musallat olurlar. Sâde-rû oğullarını ve kızlarınınun husni ve makhûllerini taht-ı tasarrufa getürüp bevş ü âgûşına koyalar. Ya'ni ki gencînelerine sü'bânlar ve havz-ı simînlerine mâr-ı mâhî sıfatında yılanlar dühül kılur.... Garâbet bundadır ki bu güne küstâhlıklar ve serbâzlıklar ve kendüsi edâniden iken arzûy-ı saltanat idüb ser-endâzlıklar ekseriyyâ etrâkun boy beglerinden olup bir iki yüz türkû mahkûm edinenlerden olur..." Mustafa' Âlî, *ibid.*, 295-296 and 137-138.

⁵² It is known that Gelibolulu completed *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis Fî-Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis* probably in 1599. Mustafa' Âlî, *ibid.*, 63.

following parts of this chapter that many tribes also suffered from banditry and oppression like other *re'aya* during the Celâli movement. Nonetheless, even though his narration reflects a state-centered view, it still throws some significant light on who the Celâlis were.

Addressing the question of from where the human source of the Celâli rebellions and other revolts in Anatolia in the seventeenth century derived may help us understand the dynamics of the provincial society in Anatolia to some extent. The generals who were playing the leading role are well-known, however, there is another question to be asked; who did play the walker-on as soldier? In this part, the role of the nomads and semi-nomads in the militarization of countrysides during the Celâli rebellions will be dealt with. Not only the first wave of the Celâli rebellion (1591-1611) will be focused on, but also the paths of the nomadic and semi-nomadic elements will be tracked in the other waves of the rebellion until 1690.⁵³

Many scholars have so far pondered on the human source of the Celâli movement which lasted throughout the seventeenth century. Most of them are of the opinion that the nomads and semi-nomads might provide the Celâlis in Anatolia with manpower. One of them is Cengiz Orhonlu, who devoted most of his time to the subject of nomadism in the Ottoman history, suggests that a part of the *sarucas* and the *sekbâns* which comprised the Celâli bands consisted of nomadic elements. He points out that uprooted peasants, farm laborers (*rençber*) and nomads served as the

⁵³ Oktay Özel, "The Reign of Violence: the Celalis (c.1550-1570)", *Contribution to the Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge) forthcoming. He draws attention to the fact that the Celali rebellion did not end in 1608, it lasted at intervals in forms of banditry and occasional rebellions throughout the seventeenth century. According to him, in order to understand the general picture of profoundly transformed rural society, economy and ecological environment, one should focus on the longevity of the Celali rebellions as a movement spreading throughout the seventeenth century.

principal human sources of the Celâli bands.⁵⁴ Likewise, Çağatay Uluçay, who made a study on the banditry and the social movements in the district of Saruhan through the Manisa court records of the seventeenth century, concludes that the territory covering the Mount Yund seems to have been the most troublesome area of Manisa in terms of banditry, because the nomadic elements such as *Yürüks* and Turcomans densely populated the environs of the Mount Yund.⁵⁵ Archival sources also indicate that some clans in Anatolia provided with support for the bandit bachelors (*suhte*) during the Celâli turbulence. According to an edict dated 1583 May, the governor of Alâiye province (today's Alanya) was requested to tackle with the clan of Kara Yürük who supplied the bachelor bandits with food and shelter.⁵⁶ Similarly, it was reported that such bandits were in cooperation with the clans of Harezmi and Kalburcu in the province of Menteşe in 1574.⁵⁷

On the other hand, Suraiya Faroqhi claims that there is no evidence that the human source of the Celâli rebellions derived from nomadic elements, and therefore it would not be true to ascribe all Celâli uprisings in Anatolia to the activities of nomads and semi-nomads.⁵⁸ Her argument is likely to disregard their probable role in Celâli rebellions. Similarly, Karen Barkey seems to ignore the possible role of the nomads and semi-nomads in the Celâli movement.⁵⁹ Since she seeks to compare the peasant uprisings in Europe with those in the Ottoman Empire, she constructs all her argument on the basis of sedentary society. Therefore, she does exclude the nomads

⁵⁴ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretlerin İskan Teşebbüsü (1691-1696)*, 7-8.

⁵⁵ Çağatay Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketeleri* (Manisa: CHP Manisa Halkevi, 1944), 74. He also cites many examples related to the banditry in which the Yürüks or the Turcomans got involved somehow.

⁵⁶ Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 49 (doc.92).

⁵⁷ Mustafa Akdağ, *Büyük Celâli Karışıklıklarının Başlaması* (Erzurum: 1963), 60.

⁵⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Political Tensions in the Anatolian Countryside Around 1600 - An Attempt at Interpretation," *Türkische Miszellen. Robert Anhegger Festschrift. Armağanı, Melanges*, ed. J.L Bacque Grammont, Barbara Flemming, Macit Gökberk, İlber Ortaylı (İstanbul, 1987), 122

⁵⁹ Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats, The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), 115-123.

from the rebellions for the sake of reaching a more coherent comparison between two. Furthermore, she regards the nomads as one of the reasons behind the lack of rural rebellions in the Ottoman Empire, because different way of lifes and organizations hindered a rural cooperation between sedentary society and nomads.⁶⁰ However, such a coaction was not necessary. Most villages in different regions which are classified in sedentary population had already been established by nomads during the 1580's.⁶¹ Therefore, most of the rebels lived in the villages can be named as 'peasants of nomadic origins'. For example; it is seen through the *tahrir* of 1584 of Kayseri that nearly every clans which had been recorded as *yörükân* before 1580's became settled by establishing villages.⁶² In addition, the economic situation of many of these new villages does not seem to have been satisfactory. Thus, during the turbulence years, they might have become a pool which provided necessary human source for the militarization of countrysides, producing *sekbâns* and *sarucas*.⁶³

Attributing whole Celâli movements in Anatolia to nomads and semi-nomads with a reductionist approach, on the other hand, would lead us to regard them as ubiquitous hostile elements.⁶⁴ As we will see in the other parts of this chapter, they appeared to have been aggrieved by both the state officials and their counterparts in many cases. Yet one can easily notice that the Celâli rebellions were more widespread and effective in the parts of the empire such as Anatolia and the northern Syria in which nomadic and semi-nomadic ways of life were predominant. If

⁶⁰ Barkey, *ibid.*, 115-123.

⁶¹ Onur Usta-Oktay Özel, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans in 16th Century Cappadocia: Kayseri, 1480-1584", *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, (*Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi: 48*) ed. Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2010), 167-178.

⁶² Usta-Özel, *ibid.*, 178-186.

⁶³ Usta-Özel, *ibid.*, 178-186.

⁶⁴ Similarly, Aysel Danacı draws attention to a fault which modern historians did, while looking at the Anatolian nomads. They are inclined to see the nomads from the perspective of the Ottoman bureaucrats who considered them as troublesome and disloyal groups of herdsmen always prone to banditry and theft; Danacı, "The Ottoman Empire and the Anatolian Tribes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", 3.

Anatolia was to be compared with the Balkans in terms of nomadism, one would also reach a conclusion that tribal ties in the Balkans were not as strong as Anatolia. Apart from some low level banditry and highway robbery, the Balkans were free from a large-scale rebellion while the Celâli movement was devastating Anatolia.⁶⁵ Mustafa Cezar firstly associates the reason that the *levend* and the Celâli movements were more prevalent in Anatolia rather than the Balkans with the fact that the nomads and semi-nomads of Anatolia outnumbered their counterparts in the Balkans.⁶⁶ By the same token, Oktay Özel has recently developed an argument on the reason behind that difference, emphasizing on the Turcoman characteristics of Anatolian and northern Syrian provinces of the empire. He also has stated that the centralizing policies of the Ottoman state clashed with the distinct way of life of the Turcomans, Kurdish and Arabic semi-nomadic tribes of the region.⁶⁷ At this point, correspondingly, it is obvious that an imminent conflict between the mobile nomadic groups and the centralist state was inevitable. Furthermore, not only the Ottoman state encountered such a conflict, but also the Russian state had to cope with a number of semi-nomadic hunting tribes from the thirteenth century onwards.⁶⁸

The images of the Celâli bands described by Naima also strengthens the assumption that the Celâlis might be composed of the nomads and the semi-nomads. William Griswold points to Naima's portrayal of the Celâlis, which drew attention to

⁶⁵ Özel, "The Reign of Violence: the Celalis (c.1550-1570)", 14-15.

⁶⁶ Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler* (İstanbul:1965), 85.

⁶⁷ Özel, *ibid.*, p.14.

⁶⁸ Roland Mousnier, *Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth Century France, Russia and China*, translated from the French by Brian Pearce (London: 1971), 161-162. "Those tribes were the Mordvinians, in the loop of the Volga, between the Sura and the Moshka; the Cheremisses on the Vyatka; south of them, the Chuvashes; farther eastward, on the Kama, the Bashkirs, nomadic stock breeders. The Mordvinians had become sedentary agriculturists in the sixteenth century, following the Russian example, but they retained a sense of their individuality and had rebelled as recently as 1580. The others were also ready for revolt, especially the Bashkirs, who had never been fully subjected."

the social differences between the Celâlis and the Ottoman soldiers.⁶⁹ According to Naima, the *sekbâns* of Deli Hasan, the chief rebel, were naked, and wore chain and amulet around their necks. Most of them were also long-haired and looked like women.⁷⁰ Similarly, Topçular Katibi Abdulkadir Efendi presents that *sekbâns* of Deli Hasan were *havâric ü revâfiz*, namely heterodox, and wore coat made of tiger hide.⁷¹ On the other hand, he states that the *sekbâns* of well-known Celâli, Karayazıcı, had been recruited from the bandits of the Turcomans of Kilis and Az'az as well as the Kurds.⁷² He also expresses that another rebel Canboladoğlu Hüseyin Paşa had recruited *Türkmân* and *sekbân* in Kilis and Az'az. In addition, the Turcomans of the Arab had joined his army.⁷³ As is already known, since the family of Canbolad were a powerful Kurdish tribe, they could easily mobilize the Kurds, the Turcomans and the Arabs of the region, employing them as *sekbân*.⁷⁴

Besides, it can be seen that the area where Karayazıcı's and Canboladoğlu's forces were recruited was within the boundaries of "the Turcoman zone of the southeastern Anatolia", which is a term propounded by Mustafa Akdağ.⁷⁵ The area covered Maraş and Elbistan in the north and Tarsus, Kilis, Az'az and Haleb in the south. The sancak of Birecik included Suruş, Siverek and Ruha was lying between the north and the south of the area. This area also warmly welcomed the remnants of some confederations of tribes such as the Akkoyunlu, the Karakoyunlu and the Dulkadirids retreated to the mountainous terrain of the southeastern Anatolia, when

⁶⁹ William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983) 252, see the endnote 85.

⁷⁰ Griswold, *ibid.*, 252.

⁷¹ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; I, 323.

⁷² Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; I, 321.

⁷³ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; I, 349.

⁷⁴ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 329; Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion*, 89.

⁷⁵ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadî ve İçtimai Tarihi* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010), 72-74; He categorizes the Anatolia after the collapse of the Seljukid dominance into four distinct areas (Rum, Karaman, the *Uç* zone). One of these areas is "Güneydoğu Anadolu Türkmen Çevresi" where nomadic way of life was predominant.

they could not compromise with the central state authority after the Ottomanization of Anatolia.⁷⁶ Abdul-Karim Rafeq indicates that the Celâli groups appeared in southeastern Anatolia, particularly the human source of those bandit groups was derived from the Turcomans and Kurdish tribes of the region.⁷⁷ It was also known that those Kurdish tribes served as the *sekbân* bands in the Ottoman army, causing disorders in the countrysides of Musul and Şehrîzor in the last decades of the sixteenth century.⁷⁸ On the other hand, Mustafa Akdağ shows that the Turcoman tribes of the area generally gave support to the rebellions that occurred in the region.⁷⁹ In 1587, dismissed *sancakbeyis* Abdurrahman and Suhrap revolted against the state in the region of Ruha and Rakka. The state was aware of that their rebellion was supported by the tribes of Beydili and Afşar. Therefore, the government sent a firman to the *boybeyis* and *kethüdas* of those tribes, warning them not to provide those rebels with soldiers and support.⁸⁰ However, the tribe of Beydili maintained plundering the countryside of Ruha and robbing the villages of the crown lands (*havâss-ı hümmâyün*) despite all warnings of the government.⁸¹ It is also noteworthy that the Beydili tribe appeared almost every nomads' raids in the region during the first Celâli period. In May 1603, the *kadi* and the *Türkmen voyvodası* of Haleb were ordered to handle those mounted bandits of the clan of *Bozkoyunlu* from the Beydili Turcomans who devastated the villages in 'Birecik İskelesi' during the harvest

⁷⁶ Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "The Revolt of Ali Pasha Janbulad (1605-1607) in the Contemporary Arabic Sources and its Significance", *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, (Ankara 11-15 Ekim 1976), vol.III, 1530; John Woods also states that the Turcoman clans in the northern Syria and in the southern Turkey were an important source of manpower for the Aqqoyunlu confederation. Among them, the clans of Bayad and Afşar were the leading ones. John E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu (Clan, Confederation, Empire)*, revised and expanded edition, (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999), 13.

⁷⁷ Rafeq, *ibid.*, 1530.

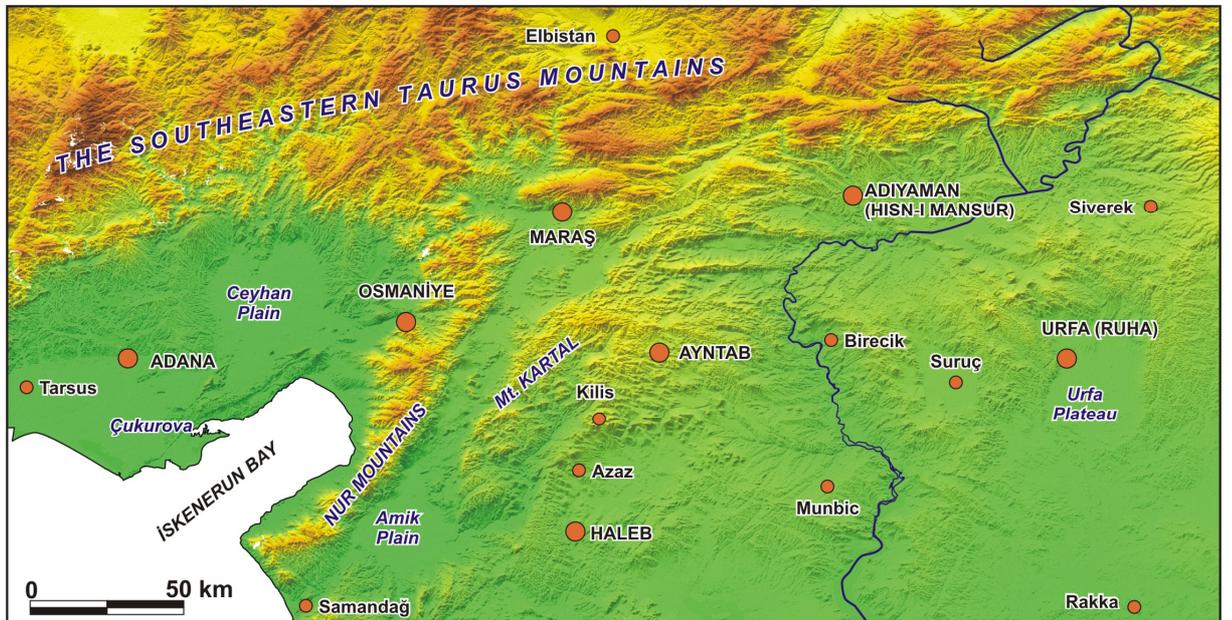
⁷⁸ Dina Rızk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire (Mosul, 1540-1834)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 39-40.

⁷⁹ Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâli İsyânları (1550-1603)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963), 143.

⁸⁰ Akdağ, *ibid.*, 143.

⁸¹ Akdağ, *ibid.*, 143.

period.⁸² One year later, in February 1604, the clan of *Bozkoyunlu* reappeared in the environs of 'Birecik İskelesi'.⁸³ At that time, in company with the clan of *Kızık*, they attacked the Christian merchant caravan in the village of Kolca which was subject to the *hâs* of Valide Sultan. The *boybeyi* of the clan of *Bozkoyunlu* named Kılıç Beğ and *kethüdas* of the clan of *Kızık* led the assault band composed of more than 15 men. They plundered all properties and goods in the caravan. Thereupon, the merchants called *Türkman-ı Haleb voyvodası*, Hayreddin Çavuş, for saving their stuff from those bandit Turcomans.⁸⁴



Map 1. The Turcoman zone of the southeastern Anatolia

The possible link between the "*Celâlîlik*" and nomads lies certainly in the revolts of the sixteenth century Anatolia. It is clear that nomads and semi-nomads were the backbone of nearly every uprisings occurred in Anatolia against the Ottoman authority in the sixteenth century. One of them was the revolt of Şahkulu in 1511 which had been supported by the heterodox Turcoman groups of the Teke

⁸² İ.E.SM. 12/1235.

⁸³ İ.E.DH. 5/473.

⁸⁴ İ.E.DH. 5/473.

district.⁸⁵ Another rebel, Bozoklu Şeyh Celal, who would lend his name to other rebellions in the seventeenth century, was also a Turcoman from Bozok region. He mobilized the Turcomans from Bozok to Tokat by declaring himself *mahdi* in 1519.⁸⁶ Ironically, the man who quashed his rebellion was also of Turcoman origin, Şehsuvar Oğlu Ali Bey from the Dulkadirids.⁸⁷ Moreover, of all the revolts up to that time, his was so hard-hitting that the state kept his name alive in its memory to call those rebellions in the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ Of course, there were much more revolts triggered by the Turcoman groups in the sixteenth century, but they exceed the scope of this study. What was significant in these revolts is that the nomads and semi-nomads, that is to say the Turcomans and the Kurds, demonstrated their potential military capacity under the leadership of their *boybeyis*.

In most cases, the state does not seem to have hesitated to appeal for military support from the tribes. In June 1585, the state sent a firman to the *kadis* of Karaman, ordering that Ahmed, who was the son of the tribe leader Hindi (Hidayi), was to be assigned as the commander of the army which would be composed of the local forces. The firman also ordered that those who were mounted and armoured and knew how to fight had to join the armies of their tribe leaders.⁸⁹ Likewise, it is known that the tribes had offered their military capacity to the sons of the Süleyman the Magnificent during the civil war. The *boybeyis*, Aksak Seyfeddin, Turgutoğlu Pir Hüseyin, Şah Veli and Divane Yakub, all of them supported Şehzade Beyazıd. They probably were the leaders of tribes such as Bozkırlı, Turgudlu, Dukakinli, Darendeli and Dulkadirli, all of which were opposing the Ottoman rule all along. Moreover, he

⁸⁵ Çağatay Uluçay, "Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldu?", *Tarih Dergisi*, no:6-8

⁸⁶ Faruk Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), 73-74.

⁸⁷ Sümer, *ibid.*, 73-74.

⁸⁸ Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler) Tarihleri Boy Teşkilatı Destanları*, 191.

⁸⁹ Mustafa Akdağ, "Yeniçeri Ocak Nizamının Bozuluşu", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.5, No:3, (1947), 302-303.

was also supported by some Kurdish tribes.⁹⁰ On the other side, his rival şehzade Selim demanded support from some tribes as well. Upon the order of his father Süleyman the Magnificent, he assigned his man named Şemseddinoğlu from the Dulkadirids to Maraş in order to call some *boybeyis* and *zaims* for support, and sent another of his men to Teke-ili for the same purpose.⁹¹ Apart from Selim's efforts, after having defeated the forces of Şehzade Bayezid, the government also sent a firman to Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Şam, to capture Şehzade Bayezid who was bound to flee to Arabia. Ahmed Paşa was ordered immediately to recruit men from the tribes and clans in his administration who were able to use *tüfeng* as well as bow and arrow.⁹² Regarding this, Halil İnalçık shows that using *tüfeng* spread rapidly among populace in the countryside including nomads-Turcomans, Arabs and Kurds from the last decades of the sixteenth century.⁹³ This case is also seen through fire-armed assaults led by the Turcomans reflecting on the court records.⁹⁴

The military capacity of the nomads and semi-nomads became more apparent during the first half of the seventeenth century. It was the first time that the government aimed at replacing the central Jannissary army with a new one based on the nomads and semi-nomads of Anatolia and the northern Syria. This aim was a result of the sultan Osman II's so-called 'Turkification' policy on the palace and the Janissary corps in order to reduce the *devşirme* influence on the state, which led up to

⁹⁰ Şerafettin Turan, *Kanuni Süleyman Dönemi Taht Kavgaları* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1997), 83.

⁹¹ Turan, *ibid.*, 94.

⁹² Turan, *ibid.*, 185-186. (Başbakanlık Arşivi Mh. III, Vsk. 59; Matbu, TOEM, 36, s.712 vd.)

⁹³ Halil İnalçık, "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-Armes in the Middle East", *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J.Parry and M.E.Yapp (London: Oxford University Press,1975), 211.

⁹⁴ Ronald Jennings, "Firearms, Bandits, and Gun-Control: Some Evidence on Ottoman Policy Towards Firearms in the Possession of Reaya, From Judicial Records of Kayseri, 1600-1627", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980), 340.

nepotism, corruption and decentralization.⁹⁵ Tuğî, the writer of *Musîbetnâme*, revealed the plans of Osman II. According to him, on the pretext of going Hajj, the sultan Osman was to have passed Anatolia in order to recruit *sekbân*. For the same purpose, a man named Eski Yusuf was sent to the Arab lands, Damascus and Haleb, under the guise of collecting wheat (*zahire*). In fact, his real aim was to recruit *sekbân* and *cündî* from *Etrâk* and the Turcomans.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the plans of Osman II came out by the Janissaries, and all his attempts led to naught.⁹⁷ On the other hand, through an archival evidence Baki Tezcan sheds light upon the background of Eski Yusuf, the man who was sent to the Arab lands, which strenghtens to a great extent our assumption that there was a close link between the Turcomans and the state. According to Tezcan, Eski Yusuf who was a halberdier (*baltacı*) of the Old Palace had been promoted to the central cavalry corps as a reward for his services as the *voyvoda* of the Yeni-il and Haleb Turcomans in December 1621, before Osman II assigned him to recruit new troops.⁹⁸ He states that "Yusuf was a trusted man in court circles; as the revenue collector of Yeni-il, he was actually serving the sultan personall. He was a man trusted by the court and experienced in dealing both with money and with nomads, an obvious source for army recruitment."⁹⁹ In the light of these points, it is seen how a *Türkmen voyvodası* had a significant role in new policy of Osman II. In case of need, nomads or Turcomans might have been in the service of *Türkmen voyvodası*. Besides, Osman's purpose has an importance in terms of displaying how the military capacity of the local nomadic elements of Anatolia and

⁹⁵ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol:I Empire of the Gazis (The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 192-193.

⁹⁶ Hüseyin Tuğî, *Musibetnâme*, ed.Şevki Nezihi Aykut (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010), 17-18.

⁹⁷ Baki Tezcan, "The Military Rebellion in İstanbul: A Historiographical Journey", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol.8, (Spring; 2002), 25-45.

⁹⁸ Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 159; He used the document in the catalogue of Kamil Kepeci, (no:257), 60-62.

⁹⁹ Tezcan, *ibid.*, 159.

the northern Syria reached a point where the state could not overlook. In addition, nomads and semi-nomads participated in the army of Abaza Mehmed Paşa who took action in order to take the revenge of the murdered sultan. Naima reported that Abaza Mehmed had recruited numerous men from the Turcomans, the Kurds and the Turks who would be able to fight against the Ottoman soldier.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, before attacking to the Ottoman forces in Konya, he asked the Turcoman tribes in the environs of Kayseri and Sivas and their *boybeyis* to give support himself. However, those tribes did not take part in the battle due to their reservations about the outcome.¹⁰¹

As one of the major characters of the seventeenth century's politics, the *kapıkulu sipahs* struggled against the alliance between janissaries and ulemas at the center, basing their power on Anatolia.¹⁰² As will be seen in the third chapter, most of the rebel pashas in the seventeenth century appeared both as fellows of *kapıkulu sipahs* and as a *Türkman voyvodası*. At this point, one can wonder whether nomads and semi-nomads in Anatolia might be the pillars of the strength of *Türkmen voyvodası*, who was a *kapıkulu sipah* as well. The chronicles help us shed some light on the point at issue. Evliya Çelebi offers more evidence that the Turcomans had provided support for the rebel pashas of the seventeenth century. He narrates that Varvar Ali Paşa had praised İbşir Mustafa Paşa for his large army composed of the whole Karaman province and so many Turks and Turcomans.¹⁰³ In next pages, he

¹⁰⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 550. The tribes of Recebli, Çöplü, Sırkıntılı, Mumalı, Pehlivanlı, Kozanlı gave support to Abaza Mehmed; see also Efkân Uzun, "XVII. Yüzyıl Anadolu İsyanlarının Şehirlere Yayılması; Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayata Etkisi (1630-1655)", PhD dissertation, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, (2008), 133.

¹⁰¹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 553.

¹⁰² Mustafa Akdağ, "Genel Çizgileriyle XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 4, no: 6-7, 217-218.

¹⁰³ Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, editors Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman ve Yücel Dağlı, second edition, (İstanbul:Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), vol. II, 224.

also recorded that İbşir's army had been full of soldiers, equipped with flintlocks, from the lands of the Turcomans, the Kurds and the Arabs.¹⁰⁴ Besides, Naima stated that Abaza Hasan, another rebel pasha, was accompanied by numerous bandit Turcomans, while he was approaching İstanbul in 1653.¹⁰⁵ An order sent by the Sultan to Murtaza Pasha, who was assigned to suppress the revolt of Abaza Hasan, also revealed that there were Turcomans in Abaza's army.¹⁰⁶ It bolstered Murtaza Pasha's morale by informing him about how his forces startled the Turcomans.¹⁰⁷ Silahdar Tarihi also records that the Beğdili Turcomans reinforced Abaza Hasan's army.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, Naima accounts that Hasan, brother of Konyalı Hadım Hasan, had enlisted soldiers from the Turcomans during his struggle for the post of *Türkman voyvodalıđı*.¹⁰⁹

The ongoing wars with the Safavids which lasted throughout the seventeenth century had contributed to the increase in the militarization of Anatolia, including to the recruitment of rural population into the military class as janissaries or *kapıkulu sipahs*. There is evidence that most of *kapıkulu sipahs* were already recruited from the native elements of Anatolia, including nomads. For instance; a document related to *mukata'a* records dated 1600/1601 reveals that a man named Mansur from the Danişmendli Turcomans, who made a commitment to provide sheep for the imperial kitchen, was a *çavuş* and his two sons were also from the cavalry corps (*bölük halkı*).¹¹⁰ Likewise, the Kurds, the Turks and other people had joined in *kapıkulu sipahs* in the seventeenth century. Likewise, Abdul Karim Rafeq demonstrates that

¹⁰⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; II, 266.

¹⁰⁵ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1487-1488.

¹⁰⁶ Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, 363-365, (doc.168).

¹⁰⁷ Uluçay, *ibid.*, 363, (doc. 168).

¹⁰⁸ Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*; I, 150-151. Those Beğdili Turcomans gave support to Abaza Hasan's forces in the area of Konya-Ilgın.

¹⁰⁹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1442-1443.

¹¹⁰ MAD. 6185, 9.

even in the southern provinces of the empire, janissary corps began to be controlled by local forces. For example; Damascus was under the influence of a Turcoman leader named Hasan in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹¹¹ Together with members and subordinates of his family comprised about one-quarter of the total number of the Janissaries in the city.¹¹² Before him, a Kurd named Hamza also had been the leader of janissary regiments in Damascus during the first decades of seventeenth century.¹¹³ Rafeq also establishes that the janissary chiefs in Syria in the first half of the seventeenth century were mainly of Kurdish or Turcoman origins. Moreover, the Janissaries of Damascus composed of these local elements also participated in the revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha in 1659.¹¹⁴ By the same token, Hülya Canbakal draws attention to such a similar relation between nomadic elements and janissaries through Ayntab court records. She reveals that the settled tribes in Ayntab were protected by the janissary commander of the town in the middle of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁵ She clarifies this relation by means of a court document indicating that there were large groups of Janissary pretenders among tribesmen, and some of them were successful in proving their claim.¹¹⁶ In 1659, the Turcomans of Haleb and Yeni-il refused to pay their personal taxes (*rüsum u râ'iyyet*) and the sheep tax, claiming that they had "now become janissaries, cavalrymen and timariots."¹¹⁷ The Janissary commander of the town also affirmed their claims.¹¹⁸ She also presents

¹¹¹ Abdul Karim-Rafeq, "Changes in the Relationship between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Syrian Provinces from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries", *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 56.

¹¹² Rafeq, *ibid.*, 56

¹¹³ Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1576-1650* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985), 117-122.

¹¹⁴ Rafeq, "Changes in the Relationship between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Syrian Provinces from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries", 60.

¹¹⁵ Hülya Canbakal, *Ayntab: Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007), 85.

¹¹⁶ Canbakal, *ibid.*, 85.

¹¹⁷ Canbakal, *ibid.*, 85.

¹¹⁸ Canbakal, *ibid.*, 85-86.

another court document related to a murder case showing how tribesmen wanted to be incorporated into military class. According to the document, settled tribesmen attacked on a man whose identity was uncertain, accusing him of not helping them to obtain a position in the retinue of the governor of Maraş.¹¹⁹ It is seen that the militarization of nomadic and semi-nomadic elements in the countryside of Anatolia was well in progress during the seventeenth century. Considering all these examples related to those nomadic janissaries and *sipahs*, it can be easily argued that Abaza Hasan Pasha, as a *Türkmen voyvodası*, was supported by these local nomadic elements during his revolt.¹²⁰ The history of İisâ-zâde also confirms that the people of Kilis and Haleb had supported Hasan Pasha against Murteza Pasha.¹²¹ Furthermore, he also pointed to a Turcoman army among the forces of Hasan Pasha.¹²² Nevertheless, he did not give any information on it. Similarly, Silahdar Tarihi cites a man named *Türkmân ağası Bekrizâde* among the fellows of Abaza Hasan.¹²³

The military power of nomadic and semi-nomadic elements composed of the Turcomans and the Kurds became more visible in the Anatolian-based revolts in the seventeenth century. These elements served as human source for the mercenary forces called *sekbân* and *saruca* in the countryside. Their potential power was at such

¹¹⁹ Canbakal, *ibid.*, 86.

¹²⁰ On the other hand, some archival documents do not prove that the Turcomans supported him. For example; BOA YB. 04.d. (Defter-i Muhallefat-ı Celaliyan tabi Abaza Hasan Paşa) This inventory register do not show anyone of Turcoman origin among the fellows of Abaza Hasan Pasha. Besides, Havva Selçuk argues that nomadic Turcomans in Kayseri did not support the revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha, although their properties were confiscated by the state officials as if they had taken part in uprisings. However; she seems to try to acquit the Turcomans of fighting against the state. She also does not appear to look at the chronicles; see Havva Selçuk, "The Jelali Abaza Hasan Rebellion and Its Reflection on Kayseri", *Turkish Studies*, vol:3/4, Summer 2008; see also Hatice Cırık, "XVII. Yüzyıl Askeri Seferleri Esnasında Anadolu'dan Yapılan Hazırlıklar (1644-1660)", unpublished M.A. thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, Ankara, 2006. She is of the opinion that Abaza Mehmed and Abaza Hasan obtained their power from the Turcomans in Anatolia, however, she does not deepen the argument. 98.

¹²¹ İisâzâde, *Tarih*, 53. "...Hasan Paşa Kilis'e doğru ve Murtezâ Paşa Haleb'e müteveccih olup, halk beyninde: "Ceng ü cidâl bizim nemize yarar. İki harîf biri birine düşmüş". *Mecmû' halk Hasan Paşalı olup, gayretin gösterdiler...*"

¹²² İisâzâde, *Tarih*, 54 "...*Türkmen Ordusu Yeniçeri Ağası Engüri Kethüdâ-yeri Mir Ali...*"

¹²³ Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*;I, 156.

a remarkable level even in the 1620's that the sultan Osman II could intend to replace its central army with those Anatolian mercenary forces. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the state gradually rested on the human source of Anatolia in parallel with ever-increasing need of troops in the front of Habsburgs, recruiting more *sekbân* and *saruca* from countryside. This tendency in turn allowed the Turcomans and the Kurds to continue their military prominence as *sekbân* and *saruca* soldiers even throughout the last decades of the seventeenth century.¹²⁴ However, their power put the Ottoman government into a plight again. In 1680's, the Ottoman state had to tackle with a central Anatolian-based revolt which started as a rising of *sekbân* and *saruca* under the leadership of Yeğen Osman Pasha and spread over a large area covering even the Balkans, perplexing the state which was in a great struggle against the 'Holly alliance'.¹²⁵

Yeğen Osman was the *bölükbaşı* (captain of *sekbâns*) of the vizier İbrahim Pasha who was the commander-in-chief of the Hungary campaign in 1685. It is stated in *Zübde-i Vekâiyat* that Yeğen Osman escaped from the campaign and headed for Anatolia with his companion Yadigaroğlu who was from the Kurds, and engaged in a vast-scale banditry, including highway robbery and assaulting on villages as well as towns.¹²⁶ Silahdar Tarihi also records under the title of 'the appearance of celalis in Anatolia' that after the defeat of Austria, the *bölükbaşıs* named Akkaş, Kara Mahmud, Yadigaroğlu and Yeğen Osman rallied some one thousand of *sekbâns* and

¹²⁴ Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, II, 271. 2000 troops from the Turcomans of Cidem, Receb an Çinit tribes joined in the army in 1686.; İlber Ortaylı also draws attention through a *mühimme* record dated 1688 to the fact that after the firmans were sent to mobilize the Egyptian forces (Mısır kulları) or the navy of the Maghreb or *eskincü yürükler* or Turcoman and Kurdish tribes of Kilis (*Türkmen ve Ekrad aşâirinden sefere memur olan süvari asker*) after the war of 1686. İlber Ortaylı, "The Ottoman Empire at the end of the Seventeenth Century", in *Ottoman Studies*, second edition (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2007), 86.; see also Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream* (London: John Murray, 2006), 307.

¹²⁵ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 289.

¹²⁶ Defterdar Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekâiyat*, 228-229.

sarucas and devastated villages and towns from Sivas to Bolu in 1685.¹²⁷ However, in spite of all his unruliness, the state could not discard him, because he could mobilize a considerable amount of *sekbâns* and *sarucas* at a time when the state needed as much troops as possible. This made Yeğen Osman important in the eyes of the Ottoman government. Therefore, the statesmen did not hesitate to grant him with the governorship (*sancakbeyliği*) of Karahisar (Afyon) province and the office of *serçeşmelik* (commander of *sekbân* and *saruca* forces).¹²⁸

Yeğen Osman seems to have dominated the central Anatolia, particularly Konya and its environs. This is understood through the fact that he tried to control Konya by appointing his close relatives to the office of *müsellim* of Konya. Besides, it is also known that he had a palace in Konya-Ilgın.¹²⁹ These details would lead us to consider that Yeğen Osman might have been active in places where the tribal elements were widespread. Ilgın where Yeğen Osman's palace, or his possible center, stood was located in the line of Karahisar-Bolvadin-Akşehir in which many Bozulus tribes existed.¹³⁰ Besides, as we know, he also had been assigned as the governor (*sancakbeyi*) of Karahisar province. Interestingly enough, Hüseyin Pasha, who was appointed as *müfettiş paşa* in 1688 to suppress Yeğen Osman's forces, held formerly the office of the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* as well as the governorship of Maraş.¹³¹ Probably, the government might have wanted to assign a person who knew Anatolia as well as tribes very well to cope with those Anatolian rebels. In addition, it is also seen in *Silahdar Tarihi* that Hüseyin Pasha subdued some unruly Turcoman tribes in

¹²⁷ *Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi*;II, 228.

¹²⁸ *Defterdar Mehmed Paşa, Zübde-i Vekâiyat*, 229.

¹²⁹ *Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, Silahdar Tarihi*; II, 312.

¹³⁰ *Gündüz, Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 87-92.

¹³¹ "... *Ve eğerçi bundan akdem paşa-yı mümaileyh âsîtanede Mar'aş eyâletiyle Anadolunun teftiş emri ve büyük ve küçük Türkmân ağalılıyla muhasıl-ı emvâl ta'yin ve irsâl olunmuş idi...*" *Silahdar Tarihi*; II, 312. ; On the other hand, what *Büyük ve Küçük Türkmân ağalığı* means is not clear. Probably, it might be intended to indicate the size of tribes which were farmed out.

Anatolia, while he was on the road. When he arrived at Karahisar, he collected the tax of the Turcomans (*mâl-ı mîrî*), and then went to Sivrihisar in the north to again collect the tax of another Turcoman group called 'Pürnek'.¹³² After that, he turned his route towards east. He came to Kırşehir, passing through Beypazarı and Engürü, to demand the tax from a Turcoman bandit named Hacı Ahmedoğlu. Yet Hacıahmedoğlu refused to pay the tax and sent 600 Turcoman troops against the pasha. After the encounter, Hüseyin Pasha's forces gained a clear victory over the Turcomans.¹³³

On the other hand, unfortunately there is no evidence that those tribes had a direct relation with Yeğen Osman. Nevertheless, it is clear that some of Yeğen Osman's companions were of Turcoman origin. Silahdar Tarihi cites two Turcoman names among killed fellows of Yeğen Osman; besides, Ceridoğlu, Turcoman bandit and the ex-governor of Çorum province, was also one of his fellows.¹³⁴ As a matter of fact, in this period both state and rebels benefited from the Turcomans and the Kurds as military power either in the form of *nefir-i amm* (call for armament) troops or *sekbân* and *saruca*. For instance; Ceridoğlu was supported by the tribe of Cerid. He could escape from the pursuit of the Ottoman forces in 1688 by taking refuge in the Cerid Turcomans.¹³⁵ On the other side, again in 1688, the Ottoman government charged the Turcomans from the tribes of 'Barak', 'Bozkoyunlu', 'Cerid', 'Pürnek' and

¹³² "...kalkıb Karahisarda Muslu çayı üzerinde olan Türkmân üstüne varub mîrî mâli tahsil eyledi. Ve andan Sivrihisara ve andan Pürnek Türkmânı üzerine varub Çanakçı köyüne konub mâl-ı mîrî tahsil olundu..." Silahdar Tarihi; II, 312.

¹³³ "...ve andan Kırşehre kabâil-i Türkmândan Hacı Ahmedoğlu nam şakîye tiz mîr-i mâli tahsil idüb göndermek üzere buyuruldu gönderdikde sen bu hıdmete me'mûr değılsin deyü kâğıd gönderüb isyânın i'lâm ve hemen altıyüz mikdârı Türkmân hizelesin yanına cem' idüb köyden köye getirüb kura'-i fukârasın rencide itdüğün işidüb ol sâ'at kethüdâsın mükemmel kapusuyla mezkûrun üzerine ta'yin ve irsâl ve Türkmân haber alub karşı gelüb mukâbil oldu. Esnâ-i mukâbeledede eşkıyâ' hezîmet bulub iki yüz kadar Türkmân başı kesilüb bakıyyetü's-süyûf olan perâkende ve perişân oldular..." Silahdar Tarihi; II, 312.

¹³⁴ Silahdar Tarihi; II, 465. "...Yüğrük bayrakdârı Türkmân Davud and Türkmân İsmâil...". Besides, as we know, killed Yedigâröğlü was also Kurd.

¹³⁵ Silahdar Tarihi; II, 451.

'Beğdili' and the Kurds from 'Kılıçlı', 'Millü' and 'Canbeğli' tribes with helping vizier Ahmed Pasha as *nefir-i amm* troops capture rebel Gedik Mehmed Pasha, the ex-governor of Sivas and companion of Yeğen Osman as well.¹³⁶ Presumably, the decision of Süleyman II in 1688 to call for the whole Anatolian subjects against the forces of Yeğen Osman Pasha was efficient in mobilizing those Turcomans.¹³⁷

There is still one thing left to be considered about Yeğen Osman's rebellion, which confirms the view that nomads might have been the major human source of the rebellions in question. Cengiz Orhonlu draws attention to the fact that the Turcoman attacks on villages and towns became more frequent in between 1687 and 1689 when the forces of Yeğen Osman were very active in Anatolia. Orhonlu stresses that there was a remarkable increase in the complaints about the assaults of Turcomans in these two years. It is also seen that the Turcoman and Kurdish tribes were effective around the inner and the southeastern Anatolia. Those tribes laid attacks along with *sekbân* and *saruca* troops on settled population and even on nomads.¹³⁸ It should not be surprising that Yeğen Osman and his fellows' actions coincided with that tribal aggression. There was no obstacle for Yeğen Osman to recruit troops from those aggressive tribesmen in Anatolia. However, it would be oversimplifying to see Yeğen Osman's uprising as merely a tribal movement. It should be kept in mind that Yeğen Osman's uprising was already on the way, before this tribal movement began. But then again, nomads and semi-nomads should be

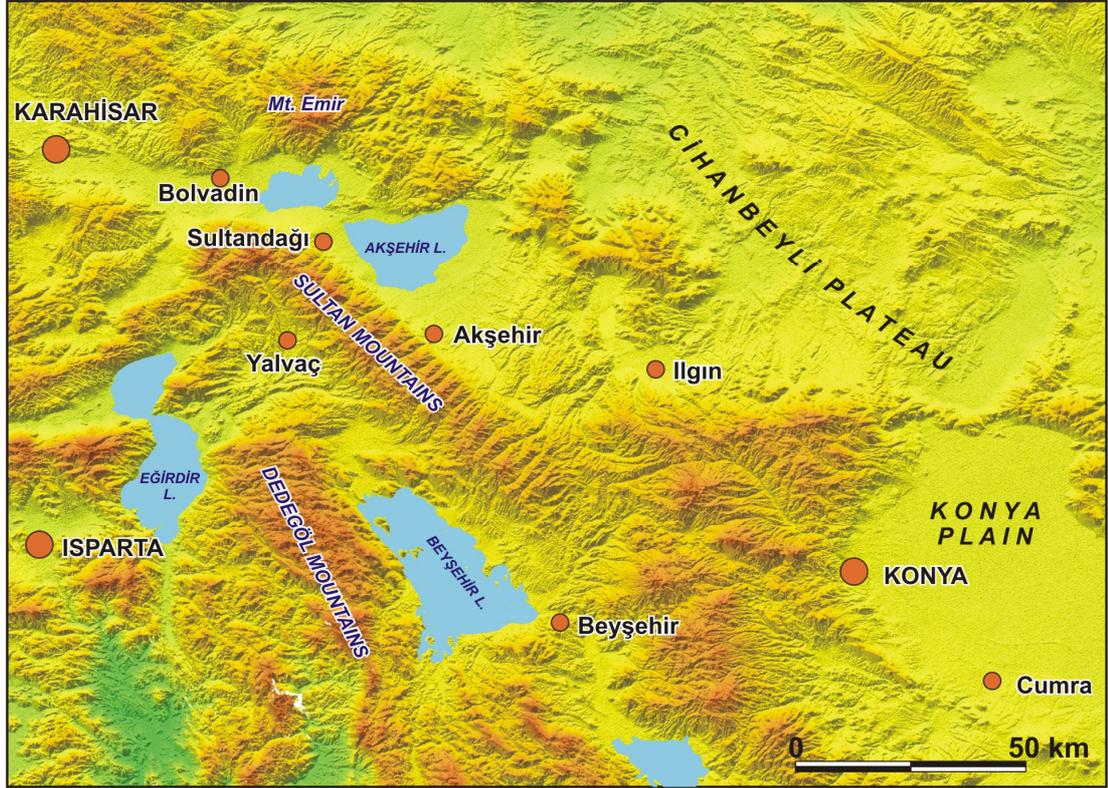
¹³⁶ "...Diyârbakır beğlerbeğisi Osman Paşa oğlu vezir Ahmed Paşanın yanında ise Ekrâd tâ'ifesinden Kılıçlı, Millü ve Canbeğlü ve Türkmân tâ'ifesinden Barak ve Bozkoyunlu ve Beğdili ve Yabaltın (one of the clans of the Cerid tribe) ve Pürnek kabâ'illerin bir mikdâr güzide nefir-i 'âmm askeri tâ'yin idiüb kendüden bir gün mukaddem ibrâ gönderdi..." *Silahdar Tarihi*; II, 451; As a result, the forces of boybeyi 'Atmaca' from the Beğdili Turcomans defeated Gedik Mehmed Pasha in Turgudlu. *Zübde-i Vekâiyat*, 319-120.

¹³⁷ Özel, "The Reign of Violence: the Celâlis (c.1550-1700)", 25.

¹³⁸ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*, 42-43; On the other hand, for now, the reason behind that tribal movement seems famine occurred in between 1685 and 1687. *Silahdar Tarihi* talks about a sharp soar in wheat and bread prices; therefore, in some places of Anatolia people used oak gull (*mazı*), couch roots (*ayrık kökü*) and nutshell to cook bread. *Silahdar Tarihi*; II, 243.

accepted as dynamic forces behind his rebellion, at least in terms of providing human source. If the line of Karahisar-Ilgın was to be taken into consideration, one would realize that the line in question was a corridor connecting the inner Anatolia with the west; thus, it was used by many tribes of Bozulus and Danişmendli coming from the east to reach the western Anatolia. Due to its feature, it can also be likened to a vein through which nomads passed. It will be seen in next part that Bolvadin particularly appears as a place where tribal aggression was prevalent.¹³⁹ It was highly likely that Yeğen Osman gained the advantages of that line, especially in terms of human source. On the other hand, examining Yeğen Osman's rebellion in full detail will be beyond the scope of this study. What is aimed is to reveal the possible relation of nomads and semi-nomads with Celâli movements. Yeğen Osman's action shows that the nomadic military power was still powerful even in the last Celâli rebellion of the seventeenth century. In next part of this chapter, the effect of that power will be analyzed in its another dimension.

¹³⁹ That line was also a part of the busy route between Bursa and Haleb both for the Ottoman army and the merchant caravans. Therefore, it might have attracted the bandit Turcomans to rob the caravans.



Map 2. The area where Yeğen Osman was powerful

2.2. Kişi Kaldır Tarlanı Koyun Geçsin !!

In March 1672, Boşnak Mustafa who lived in the village of Tekeli in Manisa went to his 40 decarees of grain field near the village. When he came to the field, he saw the Turcomans grazing their flock on his field, and then he warned them not to graze their flock. Thereupon, a man from the Turcomans named Ahmed, who was a shepherd, injured Boşnak Mustafa by hitting his head with a crook.¹⁴⁰

The archival sources and chroniclers of the seventeenth century are quite rich in such examples concerning nomadic assaults. They indicate that the relation between nomads and sedentary society in the seventeenth century was not at peace at all. Encroachment of nomads on the fields of settled peasants, and devastating

¹⁴⁰ Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, 397-398, (doc. 199).

attacks on the villages launched by the nomads became the ordinary affairs of the countrysides in Anatolia throughout the seventeenth century. In addition, the so-called hostility between shepherd and farmer was more visible in the seventeenth century than the previous periods.

Among chroniclers, Mustafa Naima was the one who illustrated vividly the nomadic assaults in the seventeenth century. Since he was closely acquainted with the provincial society, particularly of Haleb which was a city on the route of nomads,¹⁴¹ he frequently talks about the Turcomans and also their attacks in the countryside. One of them was the Beğdili Turcomans who moved around Haleb, Rakka and Diyar-ı Bekir under the leadership of Koçur Bey in 1620's.¹⁴² Naima recorded that their leader Koçur Bey was also the brother of Minnet Bey who was the *boybeyi* of the Bozulus confederation. At first sight, one come across a tribal family which governed different tribes. However, one thing Naima overlooked is that the Beğdili had been one of the largest tribes comprised the confederation of Bozulus. Therefore, the tribe that Naima talked about was a part of the Bozulus.¹⁴³ As far as Naima narrated, on the other hand, it is understood that the wealth of the Beğdili was quite conspicuous. According to him:

they lived in tents made of mohair and had numerous herd of cattle,
all beautiful pastures were also in their possession.¹⁴⁴

Naima also noted that Koçur Bey had been reluctant to pay the tax *mâl-ı mirî*, because he had depended on his large tribal power.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, his tribesmen

¹⁴¹ Thomas, *A Study of Naîmâ*, 11-12.

¹⁴² Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 648.

¹⁴³ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 119-120.

¹⁴⁴ "Tafsîli bu ki, Haleb ve Rakka ve Diyarbekir mâbeyninde yurt tutan aşâ'ir-i Terâkime'den Beydili tâ'fesi demekle ma'ruf gürûh ki 'add u hadlerine nihâyet olmayıp mevâşi ü efrâsı ve emvâli bi-nihâye idi ve cümlesi ahbiye ile zibâ yaylamlarda ve lâtif kışlamlarda yaylayıp ve kışlayıp müreffehü'l-hâl idiler." Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 649.

acted freely, relying on his power and ascendancy. They illegally grazed their herds on the fields belonged to the villagers. When the villagers grumbled about the trampling on their fields, the tribesmen intimidated them by saying that "remove your field, let the sheep pass" ("..ya kişi kaldır tarlanı koyun geçsin..").¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, another chronicler, Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir Efendi, also records the assaults of Koçur's tribesmen. He states that "*Koçurlu nâm Türkman*" had raided the villages in Çorum, Engürü and Kangırı as well as the environs of the Kızılırmak river in 1628 and plundered the flocks of the villagers. They also disobeyed the *voyvodas* of *mirlivas*.¹⁴⁷ The dwellers of the countryside between Engürü and Ayaş complained that the Turcomans had become Celâli, because of that they had abducted and raped women and boys.¹⁴⁸ They also stated that if those Celâli Turcomans were not to be subdued, they would never be controlled again. Thereupon, the commander of Anadolu was assigned by the *Serdâr* to suppress them. He launched a sudden attack over their dispersed tents on the highland, and caught 74 *nefer* Celâli Turcomans who looked like a bandit, and then they were immediately executed.¹⁴⁹ Naima recorded that all their herds and properties were looted by the army after they had been suppressed. He also noted that thanks to their numerous booties, abundance and cheapness appeared in the army.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 649.

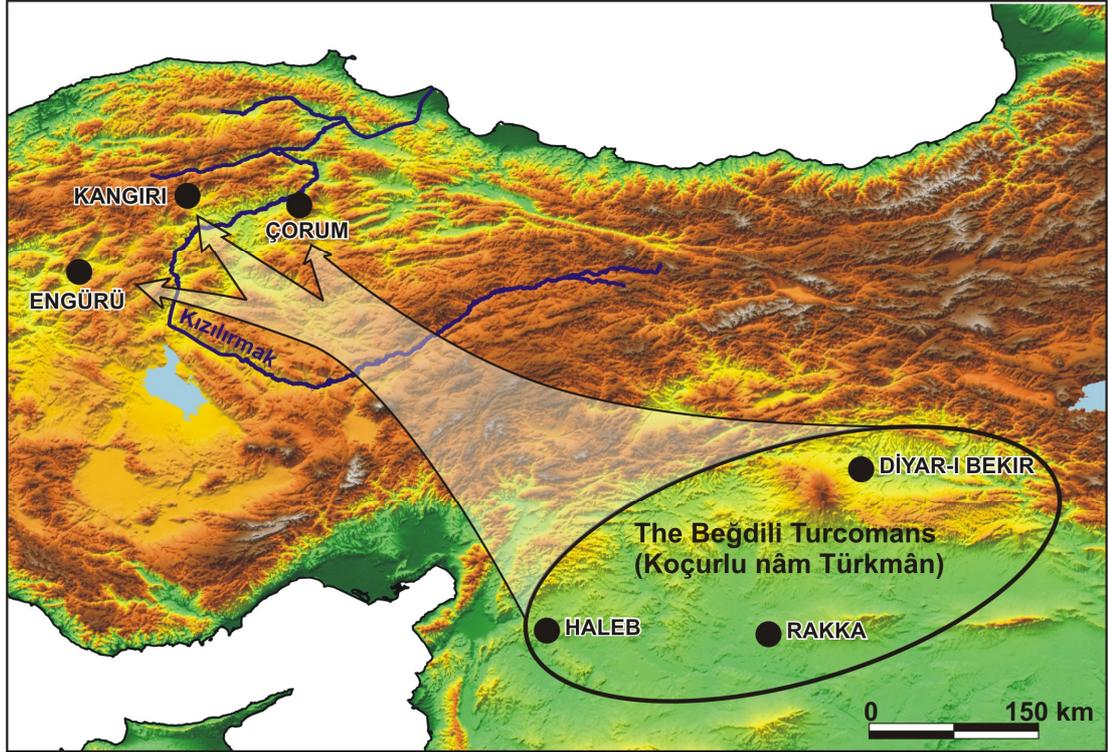
¹⁴⁶ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 649.

¹⁴⁷ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 881.

¹⁴⁸ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 881.

¹⁴⁹ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 881.

¹⁵⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 649.



Map 3. The raids of the Beğdili Turcomans

Abdulkadir Efendi also allows us to visualize such tribal aggression, providing with more valuable materials about the Turcomans. However, he only recorded the rebel Turcomans that the army encountered during the campaign of Baghdad in 1629. "*Koçurlu nâm Türkman*" mentioned in previous paragraph was one of them. Another group that the army confronted was in Bolvadin.¹⁵¹ He noted that although that nomadic group (which tribe he did not talk about) grazed their herds in valleys in summers, they objected to pay their pasture tax (*resm-i yaylak*) to their governors.¹⁵² In addition, they raided the villages and caravans, abducting women and boys. Therefore, the villagers demanded the *Serdâr* to be saved from those brutal Turcomans. He again assigned the commander of Anadolu in order to suppress them.¹⁵³ When the commander visited their tents in summer pasture in order to make a negotiation with their chiefs, the Turcomans kept disobeying. Thus, the commander

¹⁵¹ See also map 2. in page 33.

¹⁵² Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 894-895.

¹⁵³ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 895.

caught the chiefs and took some 100 rebels to the army and executed them. He also confiscated their sheep and camels on behalf of the state.¹⁵⁴ Besides, similar problems in countryside resulted from the Turcomans were also seen in other regions of Anatolia. When the army wintered in Birecik, the statesmen said the sadrazam Hüsrev Paşa that they could not find a solution for the bandit Turcomans in Kangal (it was the center of the district of *Yeniil Türkmân-ı Haleb*), despite of all their efforts.¹⁵⁵ They harassed the dwellers of the valley and plundered the caravans, robbing the merchants. Nevertheless, Hüsrev Paşa stated that those Turcomans would be dealt with hopefully after the campaign of Baghdad.¹⁵⁶

It appears that such tribal aggressions in the seventeenth century cannot be understood without considering the fact of "the nomadic invasion" occurred in Anatolia after the first wave of the Celâlî movement suppressed. This term is propounded by Sam White in his PhD dissertation.¹⁵⁷ He realizes that the imperial orders related to the tribal attacks began to be seen explicitly as soon as the state wiped out the great Celâlî armies in Anatolia by 1610. Thus, he establishes that "the wave of nomad incursions had turned into a flood which engulfed the Ottoman countryside in 1610's."¹⁵⁸ On the one hand, this movement might be an opportunity for them to take the lands which became desolate due to the depopulation of the countryside during the Celâlî turbulence.¹⁵⁹ As for the reasons, he states that there were two possible causes behind that invasion. Firstly, the worsening climate conditions might have prompted nomads to leave their usual pastures and search for

¹⁵⁴ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 895.

¹⁵⁵ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 903.

¹⁵⁶ Topçular Kâtibi, *Tarih*; II, 903.

¹⁵⁷ Sam White, "Ecology, Climate and Crisis in the Ottoman Near East", PhD dissertation, University of Colombia, (2008), 285-302. Sam White terms the nomadic movement towards Anatolia from the east as 'nomadic invasion'.

¹⁵⁸ White, *ibid.*, 287.

¹⁵⁹ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 84; White, *ibid.*, 285.

better new ones.¹⁶⁰ In this context, drought might be a cause which decreases the fertility of pastures. The tree rings from 1608 to 1621 from southern Jordan pointed to a severe drought. Similarly, such a drought can be seen in southern Anatolia through tree rings from 1612 to 1613.¹⁶¹ However, he is wary of the necessity of much more tree rings records to reach an exact decision on whether the climate conditions might have played a role in that nomadic invasion.¹⁶² Secondly, the centralization policy of the Safavids during the reign of Shah Abbas (1588-1629) which aimed at eliminating the tribes power might have led nomads to turn their face towards Anatolia. The tribes in the border region, in turn, triggered a movement to Anatolia and northern Syria, pushing each other.¹⁶³ Besides, this situation was different from previous century. Contrary to the sixteenth century when nomadic elements were withdrawing to the east, towards the Safavid territories; the seventeenth century witnessed that they advanced westwards and refreshed the nomadic stock in Anatolia.¹⁶⁴ This trend, in turn, accelerated the movability of nomadic and semi-nomadic elements in Anatolia. It is also seen throughout the seventeenth century that the clans separated from their main tribal units, scattering over Anatolia.¹⁶⁵

The dissolution of tribal units prompted the breakdown of ancient pasture routes which the nomads used for a long time. This also means an ebb in the principle of 'traditionalism' which was one of the main grounds of the Ottoman

¹⁶⁰ White, *ibid.*, 292.

¹⁶¹ White, *ibid.*, 292.

¹⁶² White, *ibid.*, 293. On the other hand, in the first part, I have argued that the food shortage caused by climatic conditions might have been a factor behind the tribal movement occurred in 1686-1688. I have based my argument on the materials given by *Silahdar Tarihi* about the famine took place in 1685-1687 in Anatolia. See page 33.

¹⁶³ White, *ibid.*, 293-294.

¹⁶⁴ De Planhol, "Geography, Politics and Nomadism in Anatolia", 525-532.

¹⁶⁵ De Planhol, *ibid.*, 527.

state.¹⁶⁶ Mehmet Genç defines briefly the 'traditionalism' as a tendency to protect existing economic and social dynamics and prevent any changes which would disrupt these dynamics.¹⁶⁷ In the context of traditionalism, if the state was sure of the functionality of the ancient order inherited from its predecessors, it would seek to maintain that order.¹⁶⁸ This motto was also formulated in the sentence of "*kadîmden olagelene aykırı iş yapılmaması.*" *Kadîm* was defined in the kanunnames as "from the time immemorial" (*kadîm odur ki, onun öncesini kimse hatırlamaz.*)¹⁶⁹ In the framework of traditionalism, the most urgent necessity for the state was to keep the components of the society in situ. As for the nomads, the Ottoman government expected them to act in harmony with the principle of such traditionalism. Therefore, they were expected to use their traditional pasture route. As long as they complied with the ancient order, they would not be exposed to any state intervention. On the other hand, those who violated that principle were blamed for not using their ancient pasture route, and the sentence of "...*kadîmden yürüye geldikleri yerde yürümeyüb...*" shows their unruliness.¹⁷⁰ The *mühimme* records indicate that many clans refused to use the existing pasture routes, violating the rules. As opponent to the prevalent order (*olagelene muhalif*), they wintered and summered unusually in different regions, damaging crops of the settled villagers.¹⁷¹ In some cases they claimed that the pastures which they occupied had already been in their possession. For instance; in March 1613, the *kadi* of Kütahya was ordered to check whether the pasture in his district really belonged to the Turcomans.¹⁷² On the one hand, it is unreasonable to expect from a pre-modern state to take various factors such as fertility of pasture and

¹⁶⁶ Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri", *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, vol. 3, No:1 (1988-1989), İ.Ü.E.F. Yayınları, İstanbul,(1989), 175-185

¹⁶⁷ Genç, *ibid.*, 180.

¹⁶⁸ Genç, *ibid.*, 180.

¹⁶⁹ Genç, *ibid.*, 181.

¹⁷⁰ Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 66-67,(doc. 122).

¹⁷¹ Altınay, *ibid.*, 67-70, (doc. 124).

¹⁷² Altınay, *ibid.*, 67, (doc. 123).

population increase which would completely affect pastoral way of life into consideration. The main concern of the state was certainly to keep tribes and clans as a whole, namely as one tax unit. Changing place impeded to collect tax, because the personal taxes of those who left the clan were usually burdened on the remainders. Most of the orders sent by the center to the local governors seem to have necessitated sending clans and tribes back to their ancient places.¹⁷³ A document dating as early as September 1602 reveals how the dispersed nomads resisted to pay their personal taxes. According to the document, the Turcomans of Haleb, Maraş and Erzurum left their places and came to the provinces of Anatolia and Karaman.¹⁷⁴ When they were asked to pay their personal taxes, they claimed that there were their special superintendants (*emins*) in their former places who collected the taxes from their relatives in there.¹⁷⁵ Interestingly enough, they also stated that they could not pay their taxes without becoming a community in a place.¹⁷⁶ At this point, by dispersing the community, they seem to have known the methods of how to evade tax. Nevertheless, the *kadis* of Anatolian and Karaman provinces were ordered to be deaf to their claims and collect the taxes in arrears.¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, this example is significant of showing how the nomads perceived themselves as a unit.¹⁷⁸ The relation between those dispersed Turcomans and their relatives who remained in their original place seems to have continued. This also indicates that the nomads knew well how the basic principles of the Ottoman administrative concerning their positions.

¹⁷³ Altınay, *ibid.*, 76, (doc. 131); Kamil Su, *Balıkesir Civarında Yürük ve Türkmenler* (İstanbul: Balıkesir Halkevi Yayınları, 1938), 29, (doc. 40).

¹⁷⁴ İbrahim Gökçen, *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine göre Saruhan'da Yörük ve Türkmenler* (İstanbul: Maarifet Basımevi, 1946), 68-70, (doc. 52).

¹⁷⁵ Gökçen, *ibid.*, 69, (doc. 52)

¹⁷⁶ Gökçen, *ibid.*, 70, (doc. 52).

¹⁷⁷ Gökçen, *ibid.*, 70, (doc. 52).

¹⁷⁸ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devencilik ve Anadolu Göçebeleri (Danişmedli Mukataası)", *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Vol. II, Ankara, (21-25 Eylül 1981), 929-930.

The fragmentation of large tribal units such as Bozulus, *Yeni-il Türkman-ı Haleb* and Danişmendli continued even during the second half of the seventeenth century. The clans abandoned their units and moved generally westward in Anatolia. Particularly, the clans which comprised the Bozulus confederation dispersed over six different regions in Anatolia.¹⁷⁹ In their new places, conflicts unavoidably arose between sedentary population and themselves.¹⁸⁰ Correspondingly, the Danişmendli Turcomans were divided into two parts from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.¹⁸¹ The clans which wintered and summered in the environs of Amasya, Tokat and Sivas were called 'Rum Evi'; the other group which began to move around Aydın, Kütahya and Afyon was also called 'Aydın Evi'.¹⁸² This movability ultimately brought about difficulties in collecting tax from the clans. For example; according to a firman dated 1665 sent to the *kadis* of Aydın, Saruhan, Menteşe, Alaiye, Hamid and Teke, some nomads from *Yeni-il Türkman-ı Haleb* abandoned their places and moved to the districts of those *kadis*, on the contrary to the ancient custom.¹⁸³ The document specifically points to a clan called 'Kürd Mihmadlu'. It is understood that they built dwellings in Kuşadası and also refused to pay the tax of three years recorded in the *defter* of Yeni-il, asserting that their tax status was different from other clans.¹⁸⁴ As tax payment, they gave one sheep from each flock consisted of 100 sheep to the state.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, they also claimed that they had not been recorded in the *defter*. However, in spite of all their claims, the firman strictly states that they existed definitely in the *defter* of Yeni-il as registered *re'aya*.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, if the claims of both sides were to be taken into consideration from an objective

¹⁷⁹ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 85-92.

¹⁸⁰ Faroqhi, *ibid.*, 85-87.

¹⁸¹ Gündüz, *XVII.ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 51.

¹⁸² Gündüz, *ibid.*, 51.

¹⁸³ Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketeleri*, 384, (doc. 186).

¹⁸⁴ Uluçay, *ibid.*, 384, (doc. 186) "biz yüzdenci Kürd Mihmadlıyuz" deyü taallül itmeleri ile...

¹⁸⁵ Gündüz, *XVII.ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 41.

¹⁸⁶ Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketeleri*, 384, (doc. 186).

perspective, it would be rather hard to determine which side was right. All the documents at hand is produced by the state, therefore we can only hear the voice of the nomads through their complaints as far as reflected in the official documentation. Hence, it can be concluded that the nomads of Kürd Mihmadlu might have laid claims in order not to pay the tax; or the state might have pushed them to get more tax, denying their claims.

2.3."Türkmân Haklamak"

Mustafa Naima often used the statement of "Türkmân haklamak", while referring to the Turcomans. This statement may help us illuminate to some extent the attitude of the state towards the Turcomans. The verb "haklamak" has several meanings in Turkish. *Kamus-ı Türki* defines it as 'galebe çalmak', that is 'to overwhelm' in English.¹⁸⁷ In *Redhouse Dictionary*, it means 'to beat', 'to overcome', 'to crush' and 'to suppress'.¹⁸⁸ *Tarama Sözlüğü* of the Turkish Language Society (TDK) also gives several meanings. These are in Turkish 'hakkından gelmek' (to eliminate), 'hınç çıkarmak', 'intikam almak' (to revenge), and as the most important, 'haksız para ve cereme almak' (to take money and penalty fine insupportably).¹⁸⁹ Even though it can be argued that Naima used it in its all senses, he seems to have preferred to use it in its last sense predominantly (haksız para ve cereme almak). This usage is clearly seen in the case of Hacı Ahmedoğlu Ömer given by Naima.

¹⁸⁷ Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ı Türki* (İstanbul: İkdâm matbaası, H.1318), 553.

¹⁸⁸ James Redhouse, *Redhouse Dictionary*, 7th edition, (İstanbul: 1984), 437.

¹⁸⁹ *Tanıklarıyla Tarama Sözlüğü I*, Türk Dil Kurumu (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Basımevi, 1943), 342; Example: "Cüha'ya muhtesiplik vermişler evvelâ atasın haklamış."

Hacı Ahmedođlu Ömer was the *boybeyi* of 'Boynuincelü' Turcomans moving around the environs of the Mount Erciyes circa 1630's.¹⁹⁰ Naima drew attention to his power, stressing that his wealth, livestock and tribesmen were immeasurable. Thanks to this, he did not to hesitate to display his disobedience to the state.¹⁹¹ In addition, his tribesmen followed their leader's footsteps, terrorizing the countryside of Kayseri. Hence, most people had to leave their homeland and migrate to Bursa.¹⁹²

According to Naima's vivid description of him:

After having dismounted from his horse, he would stick his spear into the ground and carry his shield even he was on sleep. While sleeping, his horse and hawk would keep watching him. No one could dare to get close to him. His fearsomeness was known by all people in those lands.¹⁹³

Apart from that, the most important thing about him Naima recorded is that he forced the *voyvoda* out of his territory and did not pay the tax (*mal-ı mîrî*) for many years, due to the fact that he was ashamed that his tribe was suppressed by the state. In this context, Naima used the verb of "haklamak" in referring him:

Apart from his similar acts, he prevented the *voyvoda* from collecting tax for a few years, since he was ashamed that his tribe was suppressed.¹⁹⁴

On the other side, Küçük Ahmed Pasha, the governor of Damascus, came to the surroundings of Kayseri in order to chase Hacı Ahmedođlu Ömer. By concealing

¹⁹⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 742-743; The history of Hasan bey-zâde also records that bandits from the Danişmendli Turcomans harassed the settled Kurds in the environs of Kayseri in 1635. Ahmed Hasanbeyzade, *Hasan Bey-zâde Târîhi*, ed. Şevki Nezihi Aykut, 3 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004), 1053.

¹⁹¹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 742.

¹⁹² Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 742.

¹⁹³ "Gâhice atından inip nîzesin yere sancıp elinde olan doğanın yere koyup havrânisi ile tenhâ yatup uyurdu. Atı ve doğanı kendiye bekçilik ederdi. Kimse yanına varmağa cür'et edemeyip mehâbet-i kâzîbesi ol diyârlarda kulüb-ı nâsda câygir bir vâcibü't-tedmîr idi."; Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 742.

¹⁹⁴ "Bu makûle nice fezâyihî olduğundan mâ'adâ ulusun haklatmağa âr edip voyvodayı uğratmayıp bir kaç senedir mal-ı mîrîyi verdirmemiş idi." Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 742.

his real purpose, he tried to persuade him to obey the state. Nevertheless, Hacı Ahmedođlu refused to meet Küçük Ahmed Pasha, instead he sent his sons to negotiate with him. Küçük Ahmed Paşa kindly asked his sons why their father was hiding from him. Thereupon, Hacı Ahmedođlu went down from the pasture, however, Küçük Ahmed Pasha imprisoned him and sent to Haleb.¹⁹⁵ He again ensured his sons in the same kind manner that their father would never be harmed as long as they gave the unpaid tax of past few years. Although they paid the tax amounted over 20.000 guruh in the hope of releasing their father, however, Küçük Ahmed Pasha did not keep his word. Their father was crucified on a camel, and wax was stucked in his shoulder.¹⁹⁶

On the other hand, apart from being a rebel against the state, Hacı Ahmedođlu Ömer also appears through the Kayseri court records to have been a place of refuge for nomadic bandits. For instance; a group of Kurds from the village of Küçük Süleymanlı in the district of Bozok submitted a petition to İstanbul, complaining the attacks of the bandits from the clans of Ali and Şeyhlü. Those bandits had assaulted the village in order to get new recruits and punish the murderers of their man named İbrahim. They also had stolen 31 camels and abducted the girls and boys from the village;thereupon, the governors of Sivas and the *kadis* of Kayseri, and also the *voyvoda* of Yeni-il were ordered by the center to investigate the incidence. However, in spite of all calls to the court, the bandits refused to go the court thanks to the protection of Hacı Ahmedođlu.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, a group of highway robbers in the district of Develi had been under the protection of Hacı Ahmedođlu as well.¹⁹⁸ In this

¹⁹⁵ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 742.

¹⁹⁶ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 743.

¹⁹⁷ Efkan Uzun, "XVII. Yüzyıl Anadolu İsyânlarının Şehirlere Yayılması; Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayata Etkisi (1630-1635)", 136.

¹⁹⁸ Uzun., *ibid.*, 136-137.

context, he seems to have been an influential local nomadic magnate of Turcoman origin in the countryside of Kayseri. These features cited above are also enough for the state to see him as a Celâli leader. What is more, his stance against the state authority can also be regarded as the attempts of a tribe's leader to become autonomous. As a leader, he did not want to share his tribes' wealth with anyone from the outside the tribe. On the other hand, his act can be evaluated in the category of other local rebellions of the seventeenth century, such as Canbuladođlu and Ma'an Fahreddin. As long as the state authority failed to subdue him, there would be no reason for him to declare his own principality. However, the Ottoman state mechanism was so determined in the seventeenth century to neutralize any internal threat.

Naima gives another similar example in which he used the verb "haklamak" while talking about the Turcomans. He states that every year the *Türkmen voyvodası* went to Ayntab to suppress or to collect tax of the Turcomans (*haklamađa*), and that duty was assumed by the *voyvoda* named Çomar Bölükbaşı for the year (H.1060/1650). However, Çomar Bölükbaşı recruited some 700 riflemen from Ayntab, turning themselves into robbers, and started grabbing the stuff of people, robbing the highways.¹⁹⁹

The term "haklamak" in Turkish is in active form. Thus, in Naima's chronicle the state appears as the one doing the action, that is to say 'suppressor'(*haklayan*), on the other side the Turcomans appear as the one affected by the action, namely 'suppressed' (*haklanan*). This may also help us understand the attitude of the

¹⁹⁹ "Ve bu mâh havâdisindendir ki her sene *Türkman haklamađa*, *Türkman voyvodası Ayıntab'a vardıkda ol diyarda yedi yüz tüfeng-endâz levend ki sarıca nâmiyle meşhurdur, Çomar bölük-başı nâm voyvodaya koşulup ba'de edâ'i'l-hidme ve ahzi'l-ücret kurâ vü kasabâtta hâssaten Ayıntab'de oturup mezâlim bi-pâyân edip kimse men'lerine kâdir olamayıp bölük bölük kat'-ı tarık ve gâret-i emvâl dahi ederlerdi."* Nâimâ, *Tarih*, III, 1262. The details about Çomar Bölükbaşı will be seen in the third chapter.

Ottoman rule towards the Turcomans in the seventeenth century. The state sent its agents to Anatolia in order to suppress the Turcomans. From the eyes of the state, it was important to keep the tribal elements neutral. Indeed, it can be thought that the Ottoman statesmen were aware of their potential powers, considering the old struggles with the Turcoman principalities throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, the Turcomans in the seventeenth century appear to have been far away from posing a political internal threat to the Ottoman authority. Besides, the main target of the 'suppressors' (*haklayanlar*) was to obtain a substantial wealth for themselves from the Turcomans. Establishing the Ottoman dominance over the Turcomans probably remained of secondary importance for them. They were basically tax collectors took insupportably money and penalty fine ('haksız para ve cereme almak') from those desirable revenue sources. Hacı Ahmedoğlu Ömer's reaction as suppressed (*haklanan*) against the state can be understood more clearly in this sense.

2.4. Nomads and *Türkmen Voyvodas*

As shown in the previous sections of this chapter, nomadic and semi-nomadic elements took a considerable part in the militarization of countryside, resulting mostly in the victimization of sedentary population. However, it has also been emphasized that the identification of nomads with violence and banditry may wrongly lead us to categorically regard them relentless hostile elements. It will be seen in this section how the nomads were vulnerable to attacks either from their counterparts or the state officers in most cases. Even though they played a part in the Celâli rebellions as human source, this did not entail a collective uprising of nomads. They had their share of terror in the countrysides during the Celâli movement. Chronicles offer ample evidence to illuminate that case. Naima records that the

forces of Celâli Kalenderoğlu had moved from Karaman to Elbistan with some 20.000 soldiers, damaging crops and pillaging the Turcoman tents near the Göksun highland in 1608.²⁰⁰ It is possible to replicate the samples. Other Celâlis Meymun and his *kethüda* Hüseyin, for instance, also plundered the villages in the environs of Kırşehir as well as the Turcomans that they run across on the road.²⁰¹ Besides, in September 1659, the governor of Konya received a compliant from the tribesmen of the Tabanlı tribe about the assault of bandit Çürükoğlu Hüseyin, who was one of the fellows of Abaza Hasan Pasha. He attacked a village belonging to the tribe and seized 16 female camels (*maya deve*) and 60 guruh of them.²⁰² Correspondingly, upon his visit the southern regions of Anatolia in 1671, Evliya Çelebi also talks about a Turcoman bandit named Topaçoğlu who controlled the Seki plateau which is situated in the Menteşe mountains.²⁰³ According to him, while his caravan made a stopover on the Seki plateau where the Karakeçili tribe pastured. However, some old tribesmen warned Evliya that their caravan might attract the attention of bandit Topaçoğlu. They said that:

Leave this place, otherwise you may trouble us. Before you, five cavalries and five infantries [Topaçoğlu's fellows] came to take some breads and foddors and said that 'they would drop in to take sheep after the evening'. Topaçoğlu is a gallows bird Turcoman. He had one hundred mounted men. For seven or eight years, he was attacking the caravans passing through the Kaş plateau. One day, one of his men who came us to take bread was injured. No *müsellem* has been able to capture him so far, we are afraid of him.

²⁰⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 344-345.

²⁰¹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 348; Gökçen, *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine göre Saruhan'da Yörük ve Türkmenler*, 76, (doc. 63) A tribesman reported to the *kadi* that his young female horse (*kısrak*) was lost during the Celâli turbulence. .. *benim yundum nitacıdır Celâli perişanlığında zâyi oldu.*

²⁰² İE. DH. 6/547.

²⁰³ Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 306, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Pertev Paşa 462, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşir Ağa 452 Numaralı Yazmalarının Mukayeseli Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, editors Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff, vol. IX (İstanbul:Yapı Kredi Yayınları, Mart 2006), 129; See also Vehbi Günay, " Evliya Çelebi'nin Gözlemlerine Göre Anadolu'da Eşkîyalık ve Celâliler", *Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Nuran Tezcan- Kadir Atlansoy (Mersin: Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002), 151.

It is possible that they will see you, while coming to take sheep.
This would not be good for us.²⁰⁴

On the other hand, the nomads had more disadvantages than sedentary society in terms of being subjected to the onslaughts, though they could use their mobility to avoid from the threats. Due to the pastoralist way of life, not only were they struggling with harsh natural conditions, but they also had to protect their tents as well as flock on open lands from bandits. By contrast, the sedentary society living in the towns was able to take measures to defend themselves. For instance; the inhabitants of Ankara had built a defence wall surrounding the city by their own efforts in between 1602 and 1606.²⁰⁵ The inhabitants of Kayseri were also able to free from the Celâlis by leaving their homelands in order to move to the well-protected cities.²⁰⁶ However, the places for the nomads to go were limited. Settling on a land and building a defence wall were not reasonable options for them during a period when the villages became empty due to the banditry.²⁰⁷ After all, newly settled nomads were more susceptible to attacks, particularly of still nomadics owing to their fragile economy.²⁰⁸ Because of the fact that they generally settled in small clusters on the marginal lands which were not used primarily for agriculture, they

²⁰⁴ ... *Buradan yer deęiřtirin, yohsa bizim başımıza belâ olursunuz, zîrâ sizden evvel beř atlı beř yaya gelüp yigirmi ekmek yigirmi yem aldılar ve 'ařşamdan sonra koyun almaęa gelirez' dediler. Topaçoęlu nâm bir Türkmân asılacaęıdır. Yüz atlıya mâlikdir. Yedi sekiz yıldır gündür bugün Kař yaylasında bir kârbân bozup hayli âdem kırıp bizden ekmek almaęa gelen bir âdemlerinin bir dâhi yaralı idi. Bu kadar yıldan beri bir müsellemin anı ele getiremedi, biz andan korkarız. İhtimâldir koyun almaęa gelüp sizi bunda göreler, hâlimiz mükedder olur. İşte ahvâl-i pürmelâl budur...* (Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; IX, 129.)

²⁰⁵ Hülya Tař, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2006), 108.

²⁰⁶ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 809.

²⁰⁷ Hrand D. Andreasyan, *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi 1608-1619* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1964), 87-88, 158.

²⁰⁸ Ronald Jennings, "The Population, Society, and Economy of the Region of Erciyeř Daęı in the Sixteenth Century", in *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries* (İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 1999), 36.

were unlikely to resist the shock attacks.²⁰⁹ Yet, unfortunately it is not known what happened to them during 1590's and 1610's during the first wave of the great Celâli rebellions.²¹⁰ On the other hand, the necessities of easy access of water for the herds and moving on mountainous terrain also restricted their mobility.²¹¹ Therefore, their route was known by the state officers as well as bandits. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were attacked more often than not while moving seasonally between pasture zones.

There are a number of archival documents indicating that the nomads or the Turcomans, were subjected to the harassments by their own *voyvodas*. By and large, the most widespread friction between the *voyvodas* and the tribesmen resulted from the matters of taxation. The *voyvodas* were generally inclined to extort much higher tax than normal from the Turcomans. The subject of overtaxation due to the *Türkmen voyvodası* was not *sui generis*, on the one hand, it was a result of taxation policy of the seventeenth century based on tax-farming. Therefore, the other *voyvodas* who did not have to do with the tribes acted similarly as well, putting pressure on the taxpayers to get maximum profit. In the seventeenth century, the peasants were also complaining about the *voyvodas* for the same reasons. These were stated in the imperial decrees of justice (*adâletnâme*) frequently issued by the sultan. As far as the unruliness of the *voyvodas* was reflected in such decrees, they appear to have patrolled with mounted men in the places where peasants (*re'âya*) lived and seized not only food, but also horses, mules, camels, slaves and many properties belonging

²⁰⁹ Usta-Özel, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans in Sixteenth Century Cappadocia: Kayseri, 1480-1584", 167-179.

²¹⁰ Usta-Özel, *ibid.*, 25.

²¹¹ Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009), 26.

to the peasants. They were also demanding much more tax than that fixed in *defter*.²¹²

A document belonging to the *vakıf defters* of the Topkapı Palace Archive dated January 1610 enables us to see vividly the problems of the Turcomans with their *voyvodas*. The clans of Akçakoyunlu and Neccarlı from the Yeni-il Turcomans who were subjected to the *vākıf* of Valide Sultan submitted a petition uttering some demands to Mustafa Agha (*darüssaâde ağası*), who was the administrator of Valide Sultan's *vākıfs*.²¹³ The document can be analyzed in three parts. In the first part, they stated that they had been taxed inaccurately. Whilst they had 500.000 sheep in 1609, they were erroneously taxed on the value of 700.000 sheep according to the register of the last year (1608). However, they had surprisingly accepted to pay the tax on the value of 700.000 sheep for two years 1610 and 1611 respectively, in order not to cause a loss in the revenue of the *vākıf*. They stated that they had have sufficient sheep for these two years due to the *istimâlet* policy.²¹⁴

²¹² Halil İnalçık, "Adaletnameler", *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, II-3/4 (TTK, 1965), 76.

²¹³ TS.MA.d / 1328, doc.44; This Mustafa Agha must be the one who was the *darüssaâde ağası* during the reigns of Ahmed I, Mustafa I and Osman II. He was very powerful figure who commanded the state authority. İ.H.Uzun Çarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 174-175.

²¹⁴ "Merhûme ve mağfurülhâ Vâlide Sultan tâbe't-serâha evkâfından olub vilâyet-i Anadolu'da vâki Yeni-il kazâsı ahâlisinden Türkmân tâ'ifesinden Akçakoyunlu cemâ'atinden olan Bayram kethüda ibn Abdullâtif ve Köçeli Ali bin Danyal ve El-hac Hasan ibn-i El-hac Mustafa ve Abdülhan kethüda ibn-i Emirhan ve Mehmed Efendi el-kadı ve Molla Süleyman bin Timurhan ve El-hac Mehmed ibn-i El-hac Seydi Ali ve El-hac Hasan bin Murad ve üstad Ali bin Ahmed ve El-hac Ramazan ibn-i El-hac Hasan ve El-hac Pir Ali ve Hacı Hüseyin ve Neccarlı cemâ'atinden Zekeriya bin Mustafa ve Kasım Kethüda ibn-i Horasan ve Himmet fakir ibn-i El-hac Ali ibn-i İskender bin Şaban ve Durduhan beğ ibn-i Osman ve Durmuş fakir ibn-i Sündük ve sâ'irleri bâ-serham meclis-i şerr-i mâbeyn şâfihü'l ahmed ve mâhfil-i dîn-i müteyyîn râsnih'ül [sic] bi'l fiil dârüssaâde ağası olub haremeyn-i şerîfeyn ve evkâf-ı salâtin nâzirı olan iftihârü'l havâss ve'l musarratin muhtar' ül eshâb el ferd ül mûkin el-cenâb-ı er-refî ül celil sahib ül kadîr [sic] El-hac Mustafa Ağa ibn-i Abdurrahim hazretleri mahzâr-ı sa'adet eserlerinde bi't-tâvi es-sâf ül kırâd ve itirâf idüb bin onyedı senesinde mevcud olan koyunlarımızı beş yüz bin iken defter-i atikde yedi yüz bin koyun mestûrdur deyü bizden yedi yüz bin koyunun resmi bî-kusûr alınmak ile gadr olmuşdur mevcûdundan alındığı takdire iki yük akçe âdet-i ağnâmdan ve altmış altı bin akçe şâh' ül merâdan vakfa noksan ve zarar tertib ider tekmil noksan mezbûr için bin on sekiz ve pin on dokuz senelerinden vakfa kesrû'z-zarar gelmemek için cümlemizin rızâsıyla yüz koyundan yüz kırkar akçe ve şâh'ül merrî için mevcûdundan kırkar akçeye virmeye bi't-tâvi tâahhüd eyledik zikir olunan iki senede istimâlet sebebiyle koyunlarımız ziyâde olub defter-i atik-i hâkanîye muvaffik oldukda üslûb-ı kâdim üzere her bir koyundan bir akçe alınub..." TS.MA.d / 1328, doc. 44.

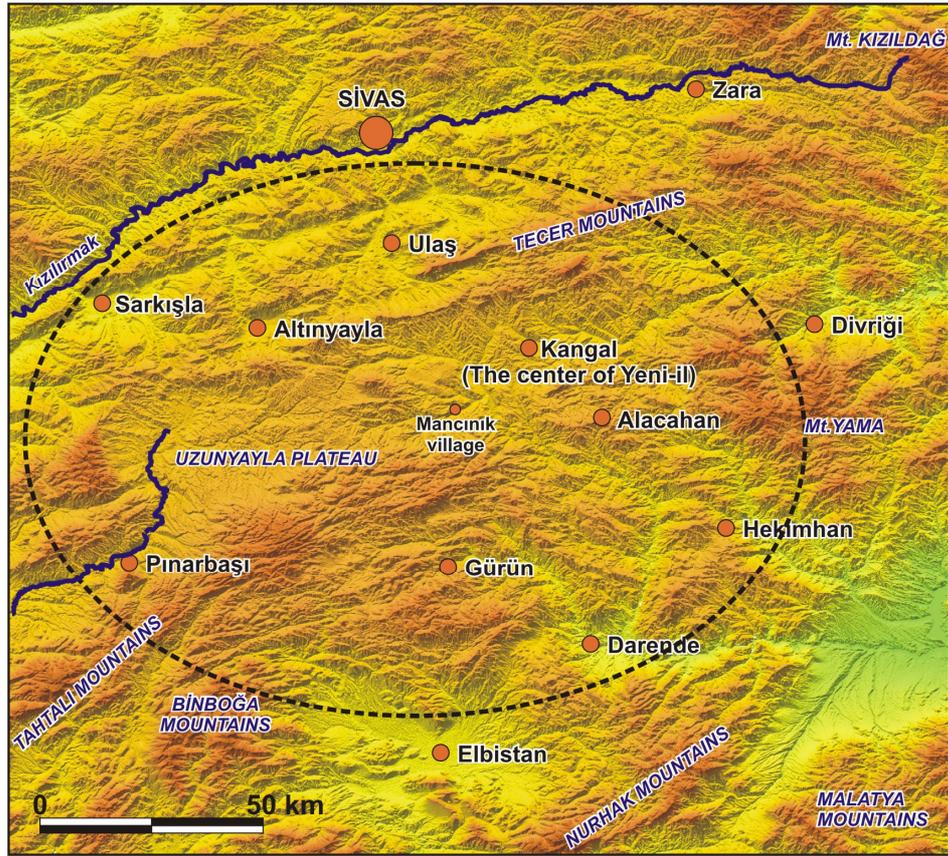
In the second part, they articulated some complaints about the *voyvodas*. According to the complaints, the *voyvodas* seem to have been in an attempt to usurp the surplus product of the clans. They were illegally taking the best sheep of the flock without payment and tribesmen's any consent. Besides, the tribesmen also wanted to pay the land tax (*resm-i çift* and *bennak*) as they had paid in accordance with the ancient rule (22 *akçes* for the *resm-i çift* and 14 *akçes* for *bennak*). On the contrary to the ancient rule, the *voyvodas* also took 3 *kiles* wheat for each *müd* from the farmers (*ekinci tâifesi*). Apart from that, hosting of the *voyvodas* and their fellows in the tents was a common trouble for tribesmen. After having hosted in the tents, they also demanded a few hundred of guruh in the name of service charge (*hidmet nâmina*) from tribesmen. Interestingly enough, it was stated that a camp (*oba*) which had been dispersed because of the turbulence of the Celâlis in Sivas was more vulnerable to the pressure of the *voyvodas* than the others which remained within unit. While that camp had been composed of 50-60 households before the Celâlis, only 2-3 households were left after the assaults of bandits. However, the *voyvodas* and the subashis demanded from these small cluster to pay the tax of the whole camp, claiming that "this camp had consisted of 50-60 households." In addition, the *voyvodas* and the subashis also stayed in the tents of that small cluster. The tribesmen who gave the petition asked them for staying in large camps which were more suitable for accomodation.²¹⁵ This part clearly shows that nomads were suffered from the Celâli terrors like other sedentary villagers.

²¹⁵ " ... *voyvodalar koyunlarımızı gâdr eylediklerinden içinden ziyâde âlâsını müft ve meccânen almasunlar rızamızla alsunlar voyvodalar obalarımıza konub mekânladıkdan sonra kendü yâhud âdemisi hidmet nâmina birkaç yüz guruh taleb itmeyeler voyvodalara koyun ve semiz ve keçi lâzım oldukda zâh-ı rûzî üzere akçeleri ile alsunlar ve subaşları beşer atlıdan ziyâde ile gezmeyüb bî-vech-i şerrî te'âddi itmesünler ve pâdişah kulunu subaşlık hidmetinde istihdâm itmeyüb Türk tâ'ifesini ve şehirliyi istihdâm eylesünler ve Türkmân tâ'ifesinin içinde hünkâr kulu sâkin olmayub fukarâyı rencide itmeyeler voyvodalar altmış atlıdan ziyâde istihdâm itmeyeler ve kânun-ı kâdim üzere çift*

In the last part, the tribesmen enounced that they were disturbed by such patrols of the *voyvodas* and the subashis with mounted men. According to the suggestions of the tribesmen, the subashis should patrol with less than 60 men, and similarly the *voyvodas* also should not take more than 60 men into his service. What is intriguing here is that the tribesmen demanded from the *voyvoda* not to employ the sultan's slave as subashi, instead to recruit the subashi from among the Turks and the townsmen. Moreover, they also required from the *voyvodas* not to torment the poor tribesmen, because there was no sultan's slave among the Turcomans.²¹⁶ That is to say, they did not have any state officer inside the tribe who would represent and protect their interests. This is very important in terms of pointing to the efforts of the Turcomans to participating in the administration of both their own tribe and matters of taxation. Thanks to this, they would lessen the pressure imposed by the *voyvoda* on the tribe to some extent.

hakki yirmi ikişer akçe ve resm-i bennâk ondörder akçe alına ve vakfın buğdayı re'âyaya iki bahasına dökmeyüb Sivasda câri olan [sic] üzereler koyunlar ve bir oba kâdimü'l-eyyâmdan elli altmış hâne iken celâli ve eşkiyâ istilâsı ile perâkende olub iki üç hâne kaldıkda voyvodalar ve subaşılar mukâddemâ bu oba elli altmış hâne idi deyü elli konak taleb eylesünler ve iki evli obaya konmayub mütehâmmil olan obaya konalar ve ikinci tâ'îfesinin öşrü kânun üzere alınub müd başına üçer kile buğday alınmaya dediklerinden makrû-ı mezbûrunu gibbe't-taleb sebt olundu tâhriren fî-el yevmü's-sâmin min aşere şevvâl ül mükerrerem lî sene semâne aşere ve elf. 14 January 1610" TS.MA.d / 1328, doc. 44.

²¹⁶ *"..ve subaşıları beşer atlıdan ziyâde ile gezmeyüb bî-vech-i şerrî te'âddi itmesünler ve pâdişah kulumu subaşılık hıdmetinde istihdâm itmeyüb Türk tâ'îfesini ve şehirliyi istihdâm eylesünler ve Türkmân tâ'îfesinin içinde hünkâr kulu sâkin olmayub fukarâyı rencide itmeyeler.." TS.MA.d / 1328, doc. 44.*



Map 4. The district of Yeni-il

The *voyvodas* were seeking to get as much wealth as they could in order to reimburse their expenditures which they spent for their assignment. For the post, there were several ways, one of these was of course to levy the tax of non-existent nomads on the others. In 1603, the nomads of Kangal complained about the *voyvodas* who collected the tax of non-existing peasants from those who existed in the register.²¹⁷ Such cases might appear due to the possible changes occurred between two registers. The *voyvoda* was collecting the tax according to the *defter* in his hand, whereas the tax-farm might devolve into a situation where estimated profit would not be obtained, or vice versa. The peasants on the tax-farm might be dispersed because of the natural disasters or banditry. Thus, the *voyvoda* might act, taking the *defter* as a

²¹⁷ İE ŞRKT 2/110.

reference, as if nothing had happened to the tax-farm, or could increase the tax arbitrarily. For instance; Yusuf, the taxfarmer of the province of Maraş, took 8 *akçes* for each sheep of the İlbeğli tribe, though 1 *akçe* was collected for two sheep as a general rule of the state.²¹⁸

In view of the unlawful activities of the *Türkmen voyvodas*, they can be regarded as nothing sort of a Celâli. At this stage, not only the Turcomans maintaining a semi-nomadic life had their share of the tyranny of the *voyvodas*, but the sedentary population might have also been subjected to the oppression led by the *Türkmen Voyvodası*. In 1645 the inhabitants of the village of Alibeyli in the environs of Manisa went to the *kadi* in order to make a complaint about Kazzaz Ahmed who was the *voyvoda* of the dispersed Turcoman clans (*perakende-i Türkmen Voyvodası*). The claimants stated that "Kazzaz Ahmed had assaulted our village with more than 50 mounted men, while we had not been at home, though there had been no Turcoman in the village."²¹⁹ As far as what the villagers claimed, Kazzaz Ahmed had requested from the women to join the 'table of vine and kebab'; when the women refused Kazzaz Ahmed, his fellows had tortured them.²²⁰

The pressure imposed by the *voyvoda* upon the Turcomans in the matter of taxation is also suggestive of a conflict between the *voyvodas* and the tribe leaders. At this point, one should remind the case of Hacı Ahmedoğlu Ömer mentioned in the previous section, which revealed the concern of a tribe leader about his own tribe's interests against the *voyvoda*, namely the state. Of course, overcharging of tax by the *voyvodas* was denoted a threat to the wealth of the tribe leaders. Since the *voyvoda*,

²¹⁸Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 75-76, (doc. 130).

²¹⁹ Uluçay, *XVII. Yüzyılda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, 294-295, (doc.113).

²²⁰ Uluçay, *ibid.*, 294-295, (doc. 113); See also third chapter, interestingly enough, Kazzaz Ahmed was one of the companions of Gürcü Nebî.

as an agent of the state, was at the top of the hierarchy of the tribal organization as tax units, he played a considerable part in the assignments of the *boybeyis* and the *kethüdas*.²²¹ In the matters regarding tax collection, the *voyvoda* was helped by the *boybeyis* and the *kethüdas*. He also notified the *boybeyis* and the *kethüdas* who gave misinformation about the potential tax sources of the clans and did not assist in collecting tax.²²² In this context, both sides sought to protect their interests against each other, particularly over the issue of taxation. In other words, there was a competition over the wealth of the tribe between the representatives inside the tribe and the state agents. In most cases, it is seen that the *kethüdas* and the *boybeyis* went to Istanbul in order to complain about the unduly collected tax by the *voyvodas*.²²³ On the other side, the *voyvodas* might report those *kethüdas* and *boybeyis* who imposed redundant tax on the nomads to the *kadi* as well.²²⁴ This implicit struggle over the welfare of the tribe might cause an unlawful double-taxation resulted in the grievances of the tribesmen. After the *voyvoda* had collected the tax of the tribe, the *boybeyi* or *kethüda* might have demanded one more tax. For instance; in 1678, although the Bozkoyunlu clan from the Yeni-il Turcomans had paid the tax belonging to the year of 1676 to their *voyvoda* Ömer Agha, the *boybeyis* of the clan collected a new tax from them.²²⁵ In addition, those *boybeyis* seem to have collected tax in kind, seizing 6 oxen, 2 carpets, 2 furs, a muslin, and 50 *tulum* cheese. They also plundered the flocks, taking over 1500 sheep.²²⁶ The tribesmen informed the *kadi* about the case, but the document does not mention as to whether the *voyvoda* took a stand against the *boybeyis*. But then again, it is clear in this case that the

²²¹ İlhan Şahin, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadolu'su Göçebelerinde Kethüdalık ve Boybeylik Müessesesi", *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler*, İlhan Şahin (İstanbul: Eren, 2006), 177.

²²² Şahin, *ibid.*, 177; Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 50-54; Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 64-67.

²²³ Şahin, *ibid.*, 178.

²²⁴ Şahin, *ibid.*, 177.

²²⁵ İE ŞRKT 1/74.

²²⁶ İE ŞRKT 1/74.

boybeyis attempted at sharing in the profit of the *voyvoda*. In essence, no one was allowed to impose tax other than the *voyvoda*. By the same token, for instance; in 1612, a man named "Arzıman" from the Danişmendli Turcomans improperly collected tax from some clans of the Yeni-il Turcomans, though they paid their tax to their *voyvoda*. A strict firman was sent to the *kadis*, ordering them to prevent such unlawful acts.²²⁷ Likewise, *kethüdas* also collected unduly tax from tribesmen. For instance; a man named Küçük Ali Türkmân from the Tabanlı tribe complained that the *kethüda* had levied his death cousin's tax, named Veysi, on himself, even though Küçük Ali Türkmân had paid the tax belonging to himself and his son completely.²²⁸

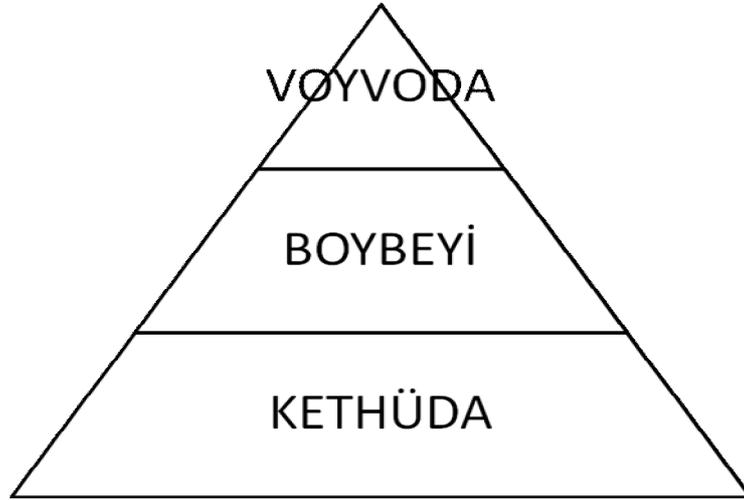


Figure 1. Tribal administrative hierarchy

In the same way, Gürcü Nebî appears as a good and typical example that can be cited for the issues of overtaxation related to the *Türkmen voyvodası*. He was appointed as the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus confederation at value of nearly three

²²⁷ Gökçen, 16 ve 17. *Asır Sicillerine göre Saruhan'da Yörük ve Türkmenler*, 86-87, (doc. 77).

²²⁸ İE DH 6/547, 3; "Bu fukara kulların Tabanlı cemâ'atinden Türkmen fukârası olub oğlum Ömer Mehmedin caba bennâk virüb bu fukâra dâhi bennâk virüb fevt olan emmim oğlu Veysi nâm kimesnenin aslâ bir nesnesi kalmamış iken kethüdâımız kendümün ve oğlanın bennâkini verdiğimizden sonra fevt olan emmim oğlu Veysi'nin bennâki için rencide olunmamak bâbında emr-i şerifiniz ricâ olunur."

millions aspers in 1642, while he was serving as *kapucubashi*.²²⁹ In his appointment license (*tevcihât bera'âtı*), the Turcomans belonged to the Bozulus confederation were admonished by the state to obey their new *voyvoda* Gürcü Nebî, and the newly-appointed *voyvoda* was also warned to protect the Turcomans and not to burden extra tax.²³⁰ However, three years later, Gürcü Nebî turned out to be a tyranny oppressing the Turcomans of Bozulus. According to a petition submitted to the *kadi* of Konya in 1645, he collected two-fold tax from the Turcomans than it was fixed in the *defter*. When the tribesmen stated that they could not afford to pay, he attacked them with more than 200 mounted men and killed a man named Kara Yazıcı by spear.²³¹ Furthermore, he imprisoned some leaders of the tribe and assaulted the Tabanlı tribe, looting some 40 houses. He also invaded the house of the *boybeyi* of the Bozulus confederation, Mehmed Bey, and seized his properties. In the end, Gürcü Nebî made a *naib* sign a quasi peace contract in return for a bribe of some 200 guruh in order to pour oil on troubled waters.²³²

Through the documents, it is seen that the state took the complaints of the tribesmen about overtaxation into consideration. However, was the actual situation as it seems to be ? Did the discourse of the state, reflecting through the documents, on protecting the nomads against the heavy hand of the *voyvodas* remain unfulfilled ? A detail in Naima's history helps us clarify the issue. In 1653, a group of Turcomans from Sivas came to Istanbul to complain about the *kethüda* Satılmış who was a man of Tekelü Pasha. They stated that:

²²⁹ Murphey, PhD dissertation, 269-270.

²³⁰ Murphey, *ibid.*, 482; MAD 6415.

²³¹ Uzun, "XVII. Yüzyıl Anadolu İsyancılarının Şehirlere Yayılması; Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayata Etkisi (1630-1655)", 252.

²³² Uzun, *ibid.*, 252.

We are seven hundred Turcoman households living in Sivas; Satılmış *kethüda* bought the grain at fifteen gurush from us, and collected much more tax than it should be. We are aggrieved by him.²³³

After having articulated their complaints, they also went to the *vezir* council, however, they were told that they should have come with their adversary, and in turn ejected from the council. Naima noted that Tekelü Pasha was in Istanbul and Satılmış was hidden at the same time. Thereupon, the Turcomans replied angrily: " *Hey statesman ! How can we find where Satılmış is ? His Pasha is in Istanbul, tell him to come into sight!*"²³⁴ As a result of the reply, they were repelled again. Although they went to the mufti to restate their case, the mufti's promises too turned out to be hot air.²³⁵

As is known, the nomads were mostly subjected to the *vākf* and *hāss* lands on account of their tax paying format based on cash. The laws did not allow anyone from outside to intervene with the lands in the status of *vākf* and *hāss*.²³⁶ Furthermore, in some *vākf* and *hāss* lands the peasants were exempted from the extraordinary tax levies such as *avâriz-ı divaniyye* and *tekâlif-i örfiyye*. This privilege might lay the way open for them to prosper, thanks to saving up the cash in their hands instead of giving it as tax to the state. It was not surprising that the places where this desirable privilege was in apply, such as the Yeni-il district, might attract newcomers in an environment which the Celâli bands were terrorizing the countryside. The unknown writer of "Hırzû'l Mülûk" bemoaned such a similar case,

²³³ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1482.

²³⁴ "Behey devletlü! Biz Satılmış'ı şimdi kande bulalım, paşası bundadır siz tenbih eylen ihzâr olunsun", Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1482.

²³⁵ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1482.

²³⁶ This rule is formulated as "Mefrûzü 'l-kalem ve maktû 'ü 'l-kadem min külli 'l-vücûh serbest" İlhan Şahin, "XVI. Asırda Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no:12 (1982), 692; See also, Abdullah Saydam, "Sultanın Özel Statüye Sahip Tebaası: Konar-Göçerler", *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no:20, (December 2009), 9-31.

stressing out that the villages belonging to *hāss* lands had much more revenue than it was thought.²³⁷ The writer explained the reason behind that fact. The peasants who fled from the oppression settled in the village which was subjected to the *hāss* of *vezîr-i a'zam*, as soon as they heard that those village was free from tax and outside interference. Thanks to this, that small village evolved into a larger one, like a town which was valued at 50.000 *akçes* or more, only in few years; whereas, it was written in the *defter* with a revenue varying between 1000 and 1500 *akçes*. The writer also pointed out that the other villages and arable lands (*mezra'a*) belonging to the *hāss* lands were in similar situation.²³⁸

It is reasonable to suppose that such a situation concerning the *hāss* lands might have been valid in the tax-farms of the Turcoman tribes which were generally subjected to the *havāss-ı hümayun*. As is known, the nomadic groups were allotted either to the *vākf* of Valide Sultan or to the *hāss* of the state officers.²³⁹ On the one hand, the nomads under the *hāss* status seem to have known well their privileges. They were immediately reminding the *kadi* of their situations, when their private status was in peril due to the outside interferences.²⁴⁰ Yet that private status might

²³⁷ Hırzû'l-Mülûk, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar (Kitab-ı Müstetab, Kitabu Mesâlihi'l Müslimîn ve Menâfi'i'l Mü'minîn, Hırzû'l Mülûk)*, ed. Yaşar Yücel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 178; ... "*Falan nâm karye vezîr-i a'zama temlik olunmuştur. Karye-i mezbûre re'âyâsi ve sonradan gelüb karye-i mezkûrede mütemekkin hâric re'âyâ dahi cemî-i avâriz-ı divaniyye ve tekâlîf-i örfiyyeden mu'âf ve müsellemler olmuşlardır. Ünenâ ve ummâlden ve gayrıdan kimesne dahl itmeye*" diyü kayd olunmağla ve kâdiya dahi mü'ekked mektûb gitmeğle kâdi olduğıün neylesün emr-i şerîfe imtisâlen ve hem hidmet yanaşturmak ümidiyle muhkem tenbih ve nidâ ittirdükte re'âyâ dahi zulumden kaçub, vezîr-i a'zam karyesine varub sâkin olursak cemî-i belâdan halâs oluruz, diyü eger havāss-ı hümayün re'âyâsıdır ve eğer beğlerbeğî ve sancakbeğî ve zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı timâr ra'ıyyetleridir, cemî-i tekâlîfden mu'âf ve müsellemler oldukları için ekseri temlik olunan karyeye gelüb mütemekkin olup, iki-üç yılın içinde ol karye bir kasaba gibi olub defterde yazusu bin veya bin beşyüz akça iken elli altmış bin belki dahi ziyâde mahsûl virür bir a'lâ karye olur. "

²³⁸ Hırzû'l-Mülûk, 178; ... *Sâyir karyeler ve mezra'alar dahi bu minvâl üzeredir ve hâsları dahi zâhîren on iki kerre yüz bindir. Ammâ elli-altmış yüke belki dahi ziyâdeye mütehammildir...*

²³⁹ See Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*, 16-21; İlhan Şahin, "Anadolu'da Oğuzlar", *Türkler VI*, 246-259.

²⁴⁰ Gökçen, 16 ve 17. *Asır Sicillerine göre Saruhan'da Yörük ve Türkmenler*, 90, (doc. 82); İE SM 1258/1; "... *hazretlerinin paşmaklık haslarından Türkmân-ı Haleb ve Birecik ve Zile ve Suğla hâsları için feragat eyledüler deyü haber şâyî itmekle voyvodaların hıfz ü hirâsetine ve re'ayasının zabt u himâyetine hükkâm mani oldukların istimâ' olunmağın zikr olunan havāss-ı şerîfe kemâkan*

also open a few doors for the bandits searching a place of refuge. For instance; as early as 1576, bandit Ramazan from the clan of Köselü refused to surrender to the the *sancakbeyi*, claiming that his clan had been on the *hāss* land of the *beylerbeyi*. He also warned that if the prosecution on them still was to continue, they would move to another *hāss* land.²⁴¹

As is seen through the examples of the clans of 'Akçakoyunlu' and 'Neccarlı', the nomadic economy was at a capacity which would yield surplus product even in a period when the terrors of Celâli bands continued.²⁴² In this context, Suraiya Faroqhi emphasizes on "the autarchical situation" of nomads with reference to the economy of the Danişmendli Turcomans during the second half of the seventeenth century, in her article.²⁴³ By using *tahrir defters* related to the tax-farm of the Danişmendli tribe, she has demonstrated that there was a proportional resource allocation among the tribesmen of Danişmendli. Approximately 100-200 sheep and 1.5 camel was falling to each nomadic household.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, they seem to have been able to make a living from raising livestock, assuming that there was no threats to their flocks, such as plague which would inflict on the flock, and no increase of tax which would put a heavy burden on their shoulders. She has stressed that such a 'autarchical situation' based on the Danişmendli case might have appeared as an attractive way of life in an

müşarünileyh paşmaklık hāsslarıdır fimâbad ferâgat olunmuş değüldür öyle olsa üslûb-ı sâbık üzere voyvodalarına havâss-ı mezbûreye zabt u tasarruf itdiriüb ve ... kimesne karışmayub re'aya ve ber'ayası himâyet ve siyânet olunmayub dahl ve ta'arruz idenlerin haklarından gelünüb... beğlerbeği, umena ve kuzât ve gayriler dahl olunmayub voyvodalarından gayri kimesne karışmamak için zikrolunan yerlerin beğlerbeği, ümerâsına ve kuzâtına hitâben mükesser hükm-ü şerif buyurulmak ricâsına pâye serîr a'rz olundu."

²⁴¹ Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 26, (doc. 50); ...*sancakbeği tarafından âdem varır ise beylerbeği hāssiyuz ve beğlerbeği tarafından meclis-i şer'e davet olunursa ahar beylerbeği toprağında oluruz deyü...*

²⁴² TS.MA.d / 1328, doc.44.

²⁴³ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devencilik ve Anadolu Göçebeleri (Danişmendli Mukataası)", *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, vol.2, Ankara, (21-25 Eylül 1981), 923-932.

²⁴⁴ Faroqhi, *ibid.*, 930.

era of the seventeenth century crisis.²⁴⁵ Correspondingly, Rhoads Murphey has challenged the concept of 'pastoral poverty' which is associated more often than not with nomadism.²⁴⁶ He has revealed through the *kānunname* of Yeni-il that herdsmen were in a better position than the cultivators in terms of tax paying ability. Even the poorest herdsman was obliged to pay 33 *akçes*, which was equal to a peasant cultivating a full *çift* of 60-100 *dönüms*.²⁴⁷ In addition, he has established that the investment in agricultural economy is for the short-term, because the farmer must convert his products into cash in the market without delay, due to they are perishable, whereas the pastoralist invests for the long term, increasing his reserve while his herd is growing. Meanwhile, he can sell the dairy and other by-products. When the price in the market is satisfactory, he can sell his animals for cash.²⁴⁸ Thus, his wealth can be accepted as 'instant liquidity'. By the same token, Sam White argues that the "push" factor of population growth of the sixteenth century on limited land probably encouraged more pastoralism, because it would be more lucrative to invest in livestock rather than in the grain market in a period when there was a visible fall in per capita annual grain production.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, the price of sheep was also high in comparison to prices of grain during the period especially after the advent of thirty long years of war on two fronts against Iran and Austria. For instance; from 1585 to 1595 in Kayseri and Ankara, a *kile* wheat (a *kile* is 30.790 kg in Karaman) was priced at 12 *akçes*, but a sheep could be sold at as much as 60 *akçes*.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Faroqhi, *ibid.*, 931.

²⁴⁶ Rhoads Murphey, "Some Features of Nomadism in the Ottoman Empire: A Survey Based on Tribal Census and Judicial Appeal Documentation From Archives in Istanbul And Damascus", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol.8, (1984), 189-197.

²⁴⁷ Murphey, *ibid.*, 192.

²⁴⁸ Murphey, *ibid.*, 190-191.

²⁴⁹ White, "Ecology, Climate and Crisis in the Ottoman Near East", 93; See also Usta- Özel, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans in 16th Century Cappadocia: Kayseri, 1480-1584". 170-171.

²⁵⁰ Akdağ, *Celali İsyamları*, 22.

All these factors mentioned above can partly explain the reason why there was a fierce struggle over the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* in the seventeenth century. Investment in the tribes seems to be profitable, especially for the members of the six cavalry corps who sought to find a firm mainstay for their struggles against their rivals at the center. The Turcomans might provided them with camel for the transportation, men for the army and wealth for maintaining of their fight. As regards to the wealth, even though the *Türkmen voyvodası* was not the richest one among the Ottoman elites, he could get a small fortune through holding that post as well as a fighting power with tribal forces at hand. Naima recorded that Dilaver Pasha had earned substantial wealth through the post of *Türkmen voyvodalıđı*.²⁵¹ Besides, the revenue derived from pastoral nomads was also noteworthy. The treasury of the Yeni-il Turcomans kept in the castle of Kayseri, which Abaza Hasan and his companions were pursuing, amounted to almost 4 million *akçes*.²⁵²

To sum up, the tribesmen assessed in the tax-farm did not directly suffer from the pressure of the state. On the contrary, they do not appear to refuse the legitimacy of the state; they were willing to be tax-paying subjects of the state. Nevertheless, the actual pressure came from the mediary classes or state agents in charge of tax collection, such as voyvoda or *umenâ* and *ummâl*. They often posed their own pressure on the tribesmen, exercising the state authority. At this point, the state reflex was always bound to protect the "tax unit", if not the nomads in principle. The state interfered with that class, only when they put the tax unit unnecessarily at risk.

²⁵¹ See also the chapter III.

²⁵² Havva Selçuk, "1651 Yılında Kayseri Kalesinin Kuşatılması ve Kürd Mehmed Ağa", *SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no.17, (May 2008), 33-40.

CHAPTER III

FUNCTIONS OF THE *TÜRKMEN VOYVODAS* IN THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION

3.1. Logistic Support:

Camel:

Throughout its history, the Ottoman state tended to prefer land to sea for the transportation. Even though there were many seaports in the empire which were located on the coasts of Anatolia and Balkans, such as İzmir and Salonica, the goods were generally being transported through the land route.²⁵³ Thus, as one of the necessities of the pre-industrial ages, the Ottoman state certainly harnessed animals to transport the goods from one place to another, just as did its contemporaries. On the other hand, for the Ottomans, of all the pack animals which were used for the land transportation, camel was the most preferable one, because camel is physically more resistant to harsh climatic conditions than other pack animals such as horse and mule. It can go hungry for days even in the temperature of 50 centigrade.²⁵⁴ In 1894, British transport officer Major Arthur Glyn Leonard, stressed the physical superiority of camel in his reports by comparing it with oxen and mules. He stated that:

²⁵³ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Camels, Wagons, and the Ottoman State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 14 (1982), 524.

²⁵⁴ Mehmet Eröz, *Yörükler* (İstanbul:Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1991), 145-146.

...Now as to the camel: he has greater powers of abstinence from food and water [as compared to the mule], carries double, is faster, requires fewer drivers, is never shod, has no trouble fording rivers where ox wagens would have to be unloaded, and is procurable in greater numbers and easily.²⁵⁵

Likewise, J.B. Tavernier was amazed at the strenght of camels, while he was travelling to Iran with a caravan. He noted that:

Camel is a rather contented animal and resists to thirst outstandingly. In my recent travel which our caravan could not pass the desert less than sixty days, our camels kept moving without water for nine days, because we did not manage to find any water in these nine days. More surprisingly, camel can survive without eating and drinking for forty days, while it is standing under the torrid sun. However, it becomes so angry in such a situation.²⁵⁶

The camels in Anatolia are hybrids of Asian and African species. Therefore, they are accustomed both to hot weather and to moving on the mountainous terrain.²⁵⁷ These Turcoman camels also are able to carry much more baggage than their other species. Each one can be loaded up to 200 kg.²⁵⁸ Likewise, it is calculated through the archival datas on the campaign of Erivan in 1635 that the load-carrying capacity of a camel is more or less 70 per cent higher than a horse.²⁵⁹ On the other hand, according to a historian, a horse wheel could transport as much load as 3 or 4 camels could carry. However, cost of shoeing, high prices of horse and poor road conditions increased the cost of horse wheel transportation. Therefore, horse was usually preferred for the short-distance transportation.²⁶⁰ The features related to camel

²⁵⁵ Richard Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 22-23.

²⁵⁶ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Tavernier Seyahatnamesi*, trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 152-153.

²⁵⁷ Eröz, *Yörükler*, 146.

²⁵⁸ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*, 22.

²⁵⁹ Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 76.

²⁶⁰ İlber Ortaylı, "Devenin Taşıma Maliyeti Eğrisi Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.28, no:1 (1973), 188-189.

specified by British transport officer and also J.B. Tavernier explain why camel was chosen for the long-distance transportation (particularly inter-continents).

The camel transportation was rather familiar to the Ottomans since the early periods. In the fourteenth century, it is known that the Arab camel drivers in Karesi were charged with transporting salt by their camels.²⁶¹ Bayezid the Thunderbolt (1389-1402) also had thousands camels prepared for the transport of army baggage and provisions.²⁶² However, the demand of the Ottoman government to camel increased gradually in direct proportion to the expansion of the territories of the empire in due course. From the last decades of the sixteenth century onwards, the Ottoman state concurrently had to struggle with their rivals both beyond Danube and Euphrate in many times. Thus, in terms of logistic, provisioning and transportation gained a vital importance for the armies on the battle fields. The archival documents also indicate how the Ottoman government paid a substantial attention to such logistic affairs. At this point, the Ottoman administration sought to benefit efficiently from all sources of the empire. One of those sources was undoubtedly the Turcoman tribes. For instance; the Turcomans of Bozulus confederation supplied camel wagons for the army. During the campaign of Safavids in 1585, the Bozulus tribes were required to provide 1500 camels.²⁶³ In relation to this, in terms of the land transportation, the armies in Anatolia had more advantage than their counterparts in the Balkans, because nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes of Anatolia were of the assistance to the army on the campaign of the Safavids.²⁶⁴ Necessary arms and food, particularly cereal, were being transported by means of the camels belonging to the

²⁶¹ Halil İnalçık, "Arab Camel Drivers in Western Anatolia in the Fifteenth Century", *Essays in Ottoman History* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998), 394-395.

²⁶² İnalçık, *ibid.*, 405.

²⁶³ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 60.

²⁶⁴ Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700*, 71-72.

Turcomans, and the *Türkmen voyvodası* appears as the contractor of supplying camels in this process.

On the other hand, chronicles and archival documents show how the *Türkmen voyvodası* played an important role in this supply process. He was an agent between the state and the tribes in providing camel. He was ordered by the state to purchase or hire camel from the Turcoman tribes, particularly when the army was on the campaign. Naima and Topçular Katibi Abdulkadir Efendi offer us several examples with regard to that camel service of the *Türkmen Voyvodası*. Especially, since Abdulkadir Efendi participated in many campaigns occurred between 1593 and 1638, he vividly witnessed how the state was assisted by the Turcoman tribes in terms of provisioning and transportation. For the campaign of Eğri, the *Türkmen voyvodas* were ordered to purchase camel and prepare camel wagons for the army in 1595.²⁶⁵ Similarly, the *Türkmen voyvodas* in A'zaz and Kilis purchased 225 camel wagons for the army in 1624.²⁶⁶ In some cases, it is seen that other state officers also were charged with providing camel for the army. In between 1620 and 1621, *zagarcıbaşı* Ali Ağa was appointed to purchase camel from the *Türkmen voyvodas* in Anatolia.²⁶⁷ Again in the same years, *kapucubashi* Kara Ali Ağa was assigned to collect camels from the Turcomans.²⁶⁸ The *Türkmen voyvodas* also were to provide camel for the stable of the state (*mirahur*) in İstanbul. A document dated 1639/1640 shows that the *Türkmen voyvodası* of Bozulus, Kuşçu Mehmed, delivered 32 camel wagons to the master of the stable, *mirahur* Siyavuş.²⁶⁹ On the other hand, the camel drivers of the sultan called *hassâ sarbanı* derived camels from the *Türkmen*

²⁶⁵ Topçular Kâtibi ', *Tarih*; I, 99.

²⁶⁶ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 568.

²⁶⁷ Topçular Kâtibi ', *Tarih*; II, 702.

²⁶⁸ Topçular Kâtibi ', *Tarih*; II, 703.

²⁶⁹ MAD 6268, 4.

voyvodas. A document dated 1668 indicates that the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcomans not only supplied camels to the state, but also met the whole expenses of the camel drivers and the cost of camel harnesses (*raht*).²⁷⁰ Correspondingly, in 1672, Yusuf Ağa from the camel drivers of the sultan was assigned to receive 100 purchased camel wagons from the *Türkmen voyvodası* of Yeni-il and Haleb, Şeyhzade Ahmed Ağa. The *voyvoda* was also obliged to defray all the cost of camel harnesses and the expenses of the camel drivers.²⁷¹

The state could not rent the camels from the tribes arbitrarily.²⁷² On the part of the state, it was essential to make a negotiation with the representatives of the tribe. *Kethüdas* of each tribe tried to reach a bargain with the state's officer over the price of the camels and the conditions of transportation as well.²⁷³ In 1638, *voyvoda* Mustafa was assigned to transfer grain from Birecik to Baghdad for the campaign. To fulfill his duty, he hired camels from the Turcomans of Yeni-il and Haleb. After the bargain with tribesmen, he collected 720 camels and paid 3000 *akçes* for each one.²⁷⁴ Two prominent persons from the clans gave their assurance that the camels would be given back to their owners in good form.²⁷⁵ The camels were used particularly for transporting victuals. In order not to damage the camels, only 2 bags were loaded on their humps.²⁷⁶ Otherwise, the state had to make up for the loss.²⁷⁷ On the other hand, the capability of the camels to carry enough load was an

²⁷⁰ İE ML 5/331, 1.

²⁷¹ İE ML 3210, 1.

²⁷² In case of need, the state was likely to encounter the difficulty in providing suitable animals for transportation. The reason behind was that the state paid low prices to the owners of camels. Lütfi Göçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1964), 30-32.

²⁷³ İlhan Şahin, "1638 Bağdat Seferinde Zahir Nakline Memur Edilen Yeniil ve Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Dergisi*, no: 33 (1982), 233.

²⁷⁴ Şahin, *ibid.*, 231.

²⁷⁵ Şahin, *ibid.*, 234.

²⁷⁶ Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700*, 76.

²⁷⁷ Murphey, *ibid.*, 76.

important matter for the state. For example; Mehmed Beğ, who was the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcomans, was required to pay attention to delivering strong and healthy camels to the state.²⁷⁸

It is also seen in some cases that the *Türkmen voyvodas* might negotiate with the state over their service of camel supply. For instance; during the first period of the Celâli rebellions (1591-1611), Canboladoğlu Ali Pasha submitted a petition articulating their demands to the state in 1605/1606.²⁷⁹ He requested from the state to grant many posts to his family members and fellows. Interestingly enough, he stated that if the office of *Türkmen voyvodası* was to be given to his family, he guaranteed to provide 200 camel wagons for the state.²⁸⁰ Moreover, his fellow, Derviş Agha, ensured to supply 150 camel wagons more, if he was to be assigned as the *voyvoda* of the Haleb Turcomans.²⁸¹ Consequently, it can be concluded through the example of Canboladoğlu Ali Pasha's bid for furnishing camel in return for the office of *Türkmen Voyvodası* that supplying of camel was one of the distinguishing features of the *Türkmen voyvodası*.

Sheep:

In Ottoman's dietary, apart from grain, meat individually had a special place, and it is known that the Ottomans meat consumption was mainly composed of mutton and lamb rather than beef and chicken.²⁸² Of course, the largest demand for

²⁷⁸ MAD 7275, p. 4.

²⁷⁹ Muhsin Soyudoğan, "Aşiretlerin Ekonomi Politikası ya da Olağan Şiddet: Osmanlı Ayntâb'ında Aşiret Eşkîyalığı Üzerine", *Antep*, ed. Mehmet Gültekin (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011). A.DVN.d no:795 The document used and transcribed by Muhsin Soyudoğan in his article, before him William Griswold had published a copy of the document in his book. (Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611*, 240-242). However, Soyudoğan's transcription is better than Griswold. I am very grateful to Soyudoğan for his help in this document.

²⁸⁰ Soyudoğan, *ibid.*, 15-16, A.DVN.d no:795.

²⁸¹ Soyudoğan, *ibid.*, 15-16, A.DVN.d no:795.

²⁸² Antony W. Greenwood, "Istanbul's Meat Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System", PhD dissertation, the University of Chicago,(1988), 8.

sheep came from the big cities and the armies. Providing sheep for them was a matter of great importance to the Ottoman government. It is estimated that the capital of the empire consumed some 1.600.000 sheep per year in the seventeenth century.²⁸³ In between March 1638 and January 1640, during 21 months when the army moved to Baghdad and backed to Istanbul, 217.279 sheep were butchered only for the Sultan's standing regiments.²⁸⁴ The state generally derived the sheep from the Balkans, especially from the south of the Danube. Only when the Balkans did not meet the need, the Anatolian plateau served as the supplier of sheep.²⁸⁵ However, until the late eighteenth century the Balkans kept its chief position of supplying meat for Istanbul and the palace.²⁸⁶

The fact that the Turcoman tribes had large flocks was quite known by the state authorities. The wealth of the clans was assessed on the basis of their flocks. Although the flock size varied in each clan, it is seen that a tribal confederation might have almost 2 millions sheep in total. For instance; the register of 1540 indicates that the Bozulus confederation possessed 1.998.264 sheep.²⁸⁷ Therefore, the tribes in Anatolia were available productive reserves over which the state might have tapped in case of need. When the Balkans supply was impeded due to the military campaigns resulted from the Ottoman-Habsburg hostilities, the authorities turned their faces towards those tribes in Anatolia for the provision of Istanbul.²⁸⁸ On the other hand, particularly the tribes in Anatolia played a substantial role in supplying sheep for the army on the campaign of the Safavids.

²⁸³ Greenwood, *ibid.*, 15-16.

²⁸⁴ Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700*, 89; see also Ömer İşbilir, "Osmanlı Ordularının İaşe ve İkmalı: I. Ahmed Devri İran Seferleri Örneği", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (10), editors Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, Selim Koca, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları.

²⁸⁵ Greenwood, "Istanbul's Meat Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System", 20.

²⁸⁶ Greenwood, *ibid.*, 21.

²⁸⁷ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 56-57.

²⁸⁸ Greenwood, *ibid.*, 28-29.

Similarly, as seen through the examples regarding the supply of camel, there are many records in Topçular Katibi and Nâima concerning sheep purchasing from the Turcomans. Again, for the campaign of Eğri in 1595, some trustworthy men were assigned to collect sheep from the Turcomans.²⁸⁹ In 1618, the *Türkmen voyvodas* were ordered to purchase sheep from the Turcomans in the name of state, and their expenses had been paid by the treasury in advance.²⁹⁰ An order, sent to the *voyvoda* and the *begs* of the Bozulus Turcomans in 1635, revealed how the state gave a special importance to supplying sheep.²⁹¹ The *voyvoda* was charged with purchasing 15.000 sheep from the Bozulus Turcomans for the army on the campaign. He was to pay 1.5 guruh for each sheep, and the state also warned him that the sheep he would purchase had to be 3-4 years old, fatty and robust.²⁹² According to the order, for the payment, the *voyvoda* was to receive 5.000 guruh from Hüseyin Subaşı who collected the *bedel-i nüzul* of the *sancak* of Hüdavendigâr.²⁹³ After having made the payment, the *voyvoda* was to deliver the flock to the superintendant of sheep (*koyun emini*) named Şaban staying in the headquarter in Erzurum. The *voyvoda* was also firmly ordered to graze the flock in pastures where grass and water were abundant, until the feast of the sacrifice.²⁹⁴ The *voyvoda* and the *begs* of Bozulus had to fulfill their duty right on time before the feast of sacrifice, and to supply sheep in the best form. It was also strictly stated that they would be responsible for a potential shortage of sheep among the regiments of the janissaries and the six cavalry corps.²⁹⁵ Correspondingly, during the campaigns, the *Türkmen voyvodası* was charged with collecting the *sürsat* sheep, as a forced contribution to the army, from the

²⁸⁹ Topçular Kâtibi ', *Tarih*; I, 102. "...ve Türkmândan ganem cem 'i için yarar mu 'temed âdemler gönderüb..."

²⁹⁰ Topçular Kâtibi ', *Tarih*; I, 886.

²⁹¹ MAD 7275, 3.

²⁹² MAD 7275, 3.

²⁹³ MAD 7275, 3.

²⁹⁴ MAD 7275, 3.

²⁹⁵ MAD 7275, 3.

Turcomans. In June 1636, the *voyvoda* of the Turcomans of Yeniil and Haleb was assigned to collect the *sürsat* sheep for the preparations of Baghdad campaign.²⁹⁶ The *voyvoda* named Hüseyin was ordered to receive 10.000 *sürsat* sheep and 12 camel wagons from the tribe of Mamalu, and send them to the headquarter. He was to take half of the wagons in advance, and the other half later on.²⁹⁷

As far as it is understood through the archival documents, the Turcomans took part in the *celebkeşan* system. The Ottoman records indicated that *celepkeşan* was a person who assigned by the state to bring sheep to Istanbul. The term *celep* also refers to a merchant who brings and sells to butchers livestock, especially herds of sheep.²⁹⁸ Some criterias were necessary for the appointment as *celepkeşan*. The candidate should have flock or be involved in the livestock business. Enough wealth, in cash or in kind, was required from candidates.²⁹⁹ Apart from providing meat for Istanbul, they were also assigned to feed the army on campaign.³⁰⁰ The *celeps* were mostly registered from the Balkan provinces, particularly from the regions on the south of Danube.³⁰¹ However, just as the state used the Anatolian reserve when the Balkans did not meet the need, so *celeps* could be registered from the tribes in Anatolia. According to a document of the palace archive dated 1599/1600, 3 Turcomans whose names were Kadir Kulu, Toktemür, İsmail respectively were registered *celepkeşan*.³⁰² These *celeps* seem to have brought their sheep for the

²⁹⁶ MAD 7392, 1.

²⁹⁷ MAD 7392, 1.

²⁹⁸ Greenwood, "Istanbul's Meat Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System", 62.; Evliya also states that *celeps* had partnerships in Eflak, Boğdan, Selanik as well as Anatolia and Turcomans. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol.I, 266.

²⁹⁹ Greenwood, *ibid.*, 77.

³⁰⁰ Greenwood, *ibid.*, 69.

³⁰¹ Greenwood, *ibid.*, 95-107.

³⁰² TS.MA.d /10058.

quality control, before delivering to the palace kitchen.³⁰³ 3 sheep which were on high, middle and low qualities were selected from the flocks of each *celep*. The sheep were butchered, and it was measured how much mutton, suet, tail fat were derived from each sheep.³⁰⁴ In addition, their organs such as head, lung, spleen and skins were valued. Kadir Kulu brought 4177 sheep, and the average value of his sheep was 141 *kıymet*. Toktemür had 4000 sheep, and his sheep were 128 *kıymet*. İsmail's flock consisted of 5400 sheep, and their average value was 136 *kıymet*.³⁰⁵ Although the document did not shed light upon which tribe or clan these Turcomans belonged to, it can be speculated that they might be the members of the same tribe or clan. However, it is hard to determine whether they were *kethüda* or *voyvoda*.

In some cases, the act of sheep supplying could be farmed out. Undertakers were generally coming from inside the tribe which would provide sheep. A document dated 1600 showed that 2 tribesmen from the Danişmendli tribe had assumed collectively to provide sheep for the army kitchen in return for 90.000 *akçes*.³⁰⁶ Yet, due to a dispute between them, any sheep could not be sent to the kitchen in reasonable time. Therefore, the tax-farmer of the Danişmendli Turcomans named Hızır assumed the task for 3 years, instead of them.³⁰⁷ It is also understood that Hızır was the *voyvoda* of the tribe, considering he was the tax-farmer of the Danişmendli.

There is no clear evidence that the *Türkmen voyvodası* got involved in sheep trade, given that his middle position between the state and the tribe. As seen in the examples above, he provided state with support in benefiting from the resources of nomads, such as sheep and camel. His mediator function might have enabled him to

³⁰³ TS.MA.d/ 10058. "*vech-i tahrir oldur ki Kadir Kulu nam celepkeş türkmanın koyunu çaşni olunmak ferman olunmağın ala ve evsat ve edna üç aded ganem ... olunub tecrübe olundu.*"

³⁰⁴ TS.MA.d /10058

³⁰⁵ TS.MA.d /10058

³⁰⁶ MAD 6185, 9.

³⁰⁷ MAD 6185, 9.

have a control over the self-sufficient nomadic economy.³⁰⁸ He brought the dispersed resources of nomadic households into a unity from which the state could benefit. In this sense, Naima offers a good example regarding how a pasha made a profit by means of semi-nomadic economy. He recorded that Derviş Mehmed Pasha, the governor of Baghdad, had engaged in wheat cultivation by going into a partnership with the leaders of some Arab tribes.³⁰⁹ He had used the manpower of tribes in farming. Thanks to that corporation, he had obtained substantial crop. Besides, he had also gone into business with the Ulus tribes coming to Şehrizer's pastures from Iran in summers. He had assigned his man to purchase a few thousand sheep from them at low price. His flock grazed in lush pastures, until they arrived Baghdad. He was also selling mutton a bit below the fixed price in his butcher shops in Baghdad. Likewise, he was selling bread in his bakers as well.³¹⁰ This business network based on the corporation with nomads may lead us to consider the possibility of a similar relation of the *Türkmen voyvodası* with nomads. Dervis Mehmed Pasha was not a *Türkmen voyvodası*, however, he seems to have known well to profit from opportunities of the region where he ruled. A detail in Evliya Çelebi appears to confirm our assumption on *Türkmen voyvodası*. Interestingly enough, Evliya Çelebi stated that Abaza Hasan Pasha had left behind a remarkable assets related to pastoral economy.³¹¹ He noted that:

³⁰⁸ Faroqhi, "17.Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devencilik ve Anadolu Göçebeleri (Danişmendli Mukataası)"; Basing on the case of the Danişmendli Turcomans, she stressed that the nomadic economy during the second half of the seventeenth century was autarkic, the assets of many households were on modest level.

³⁰⁹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1569.; See also İ.Metin Kunt, "Derviş Mehmed Paşa, Vezir and Entrepreneur: A Study in Ottoman Political-Economic Theory and Practice", *Turcica Revue D'etudes Turques*, Tome IX/1,(1977), 197-214.

³¹⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1569.

³¹¹ Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdad 307 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol.V, editors Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, İbrahim Sezgin (İstanbul:Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 130-131.

a message from Kırşehir arrived to Melek Ahmed Pasha. It stated that the belongings in Melek Ahmed Pasha's çiftlik composed of 47.000 sheep, 300 mares, 370 camels and 17 mule wagons had been confiscated on behalf of the state on charges of they were Abaza Hasan Pasha's estates in reality. Therefore, Melek Ahmed Pasha went to Köprülü, and asked him why they confiscated their holdings. Köprülü said that [Brother Melek, you are a muslim man, do all those sheep belong to Hasan Pasha?] Melek Ahmed Pasha claimed that [when I was the chiefvizier, I appointed Hasan Pasha as *Türkmen Ağası* in the year of 1060. Thereupon, he gave me 10.000 *şakaki* and *beziki* sheep as a gift. But, the others are mine for ten years.] Despite all his efforts to take back his holdings, he could not convince Köprülü.³¹²

It is known that Abaza Hasan Pasha had been the *voyvoda* of Kilis and A'zaz Turcomans, before Melek Ahmed Pasha made his appointment as the *voyvoda* of Yeni-il.³¹³ On the other hand, the facts that his remainders are nearly equal to a large-scaled clan's wealth and he gave 10.000 sheep to Melek Ahmed Pasha can be regarded as the evidence that he was involved in pastoral economy to a great extent. To sum up, in view of these details which sheep is on the centre, the importance of the material value of sheep as well as nomadic economy becomes quite apparent. As will be seen through the case of Bektas Agha, who was the chief of the rival party opposed to the appointment of Abaza Hasan Pasha as the *Türkmen voyvodası* of Yeni-il, sheep came to the fore of the economic and political environment of the seventeenth century.

Chronicles surprisingly recorded that Bektaş Agha had engaged in sheep trade. In his work "*Fezleke*", Katib Çelebi revealed how the *Ocak* Aghas had taken the helm of the government.³¹⁴ Particularly, Bektaş Ağa, the chief of the janissaries, was controlling the whole trade in Istanbul. He was able to be entrusted with many

³¹² Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; V, 130-131.

³¹³ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; II, 197. It is understood that Abaza Hasan was already a *Türkmen voyvodası* before having been promoted to the *voyvoda* of the Yeni-il Turcomans.

³¹⁴ Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 2 vols. (İstanbul:1286-1287/1869-71), vol.II, 373; Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1317-1318.

commercial activities by bribe and corruption.³¹⁵ As far as Katib Çelebi states, Bektaş Agha had manipulated the sheep provisioning of Istanbul in his favor. He prevented people from bringing their sheep to the city, therefore he made the prices of mutton increased from 8 *akçes* to 30 *akçes* for a *kile* of mutton.³¹⁶ Likewise, it was also stated in Naima's history that the prices of mutton had soared to 15 *akçes* due to Bektaş Agha's sheep.³¹⁷ In this way of profiteering, he had sold his dead sheep at 30 *akçes*. Against the complaints of people, he bitterly stressed that "this city is the richest people's, not poor people's, if whoever is discontent, go out from the city."³¹⁸ However, discontents of people had been considered, so the prices had been brought down.³¹⁹ Naima sheds light upon Bektaş Agha and his career to a great extent. According to him, Bektaş Agha gained a considerable wealth through usury, when he was the Janissary agha. After having been retired, he entered the business of provisioning.³²⁰ He formed the partnership with *celebkeşans* and suppliers of grain, lending them capital. He also invested his capital on butchers, bakers and grocers. No one in Istanbul even the *kadis* dared to intervene with those shops without the permission of Bektaş Agha.³²¹ Naima enables us to visualize the matter:

If the grocer was ordered to go down, the infidel grocer
would say that [you cannot beat me my lord, the capital belongs to
Bektaş Agha].³²²

³¹⁵ Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*; II, 373.

³¹⁶ Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*; II, 373

³¹⁷ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1354.

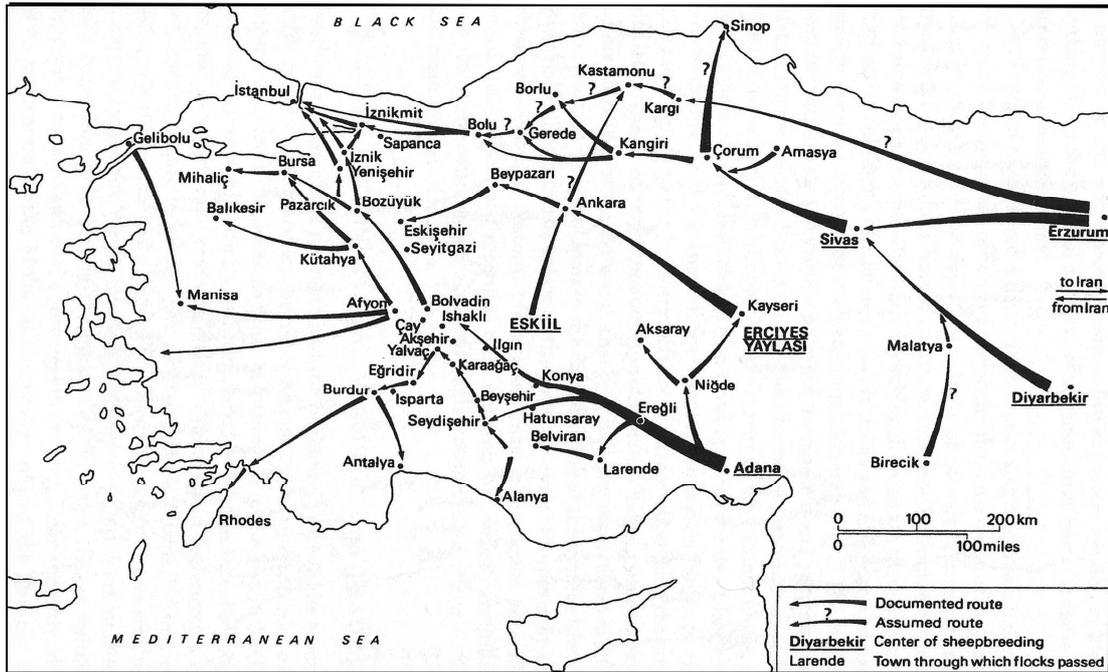
³¹⁸ Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*; II, 373. " *Bu şehir ağniyâ şehridir fukarâ şehri değildir.*" ; Naîmâ, *Tarih*, vol. III, 1318. " *Bu şehir ağniyâ şehridir fukarâ şehri değildir, harcından âciz olan varıp taşralarda sâkin olub bulgur, bulamaç yesin, deyü tenfir-i kulûb edecek çok türrahât söylerlerdi. Dahi havâdârları (of Bektaş Agha)'Sadaka'- emîr' mazmûnu üzre yârdâhlık edip, ' Behey sultanım! Bir alay etrâk çiftlerin bozup, gelip böyle nâzenin şehirde zevk edip, et ve sâ'ir şey ayaklarına gelip on beş akçeye almağa âr mı ederler? Hazzı olmayan eski yerine gitsin' "*

³¹⁹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1354. Upon the complaints, the superintendent of sheep and custom named Ermeni Hasan was sentenced to 200 birchs.

³²⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1345-1346.

³²¹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1346.

³²² Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1346.



Map 5. Sheep trade in Anatolia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries³²³

Naima also recorded some more important details about Bektaş Ağa, which would reveal how sheep and nomads had played a significant role in the conflict between the janissaries at the center under the leadership of *ocak aghas* and the *kapıkulu sipahs* at the provinces led by Abaza Hasan Pasha. As is known, after having been dismissed from the post of *Türkmen Voyvodalıđı*, Abaza Hasan Pasha had gone to Anatolia with his fellows. On the road, they had laid an ambush on the caravan of Ahmed Ağa in the environs of Bolu. Naima stated that Ahmed Ağa had been the *mirahur* of Bektaş Ağa and returning from suppressing the Turcomans of Kilis, bringing some 30.000 guruh as well as a few horses, mules and camels which belonged to Bektaş Ağa. Abaza Hasan had killed Ahmed Ağa and seized all those properties in 1651. On the other hand, Evliya Çelebi noted that Abaza Hasan had

³²³ Source: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting 1520-1650* (Cambridge University Press: 1984), 226.

been the *voyvoda* of Kilis and A'zaz in 1648.³²⁴ Unfortunately, there is no clear picture on what Bektaş Agha was doing in Kilis, but it is known that he made the assignment of Ak Ali Ağa to the *Yeni-il voyvodası*, instead of Abaza Hasan. Therefore, Bektaş Agha seems to have been involved in Turcomans and the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* as well. He was likely to have connections with the Turcoman zones such as Kilis and Yeni-il. At this point, it can be argued that there had already been a rivalry between Bektas Agha and Abaza Hasan, before the conflict arose over the *Yeniil Türkmen voyvodalıđı*. What is more, Bektas Agha's main investment area was the provisioning of Istanbul, so sheep and grain were his stockpile. Naima verifies this fact, pointing to the acts of Bektas Agha and his fellows. He states that:

By preventing the *celebkesans* from bringing sheep, they send their own men to Erzurum and other places of Anatolia as well as Rumeli, Eflak and Bođdan in order to bring sheep. The *akçes* of notables of those places belong to the *ocak aghas*. They manipulate the sheep prices at their wills.³²⁵

Thus, it can be assumed that Abaza Hasan's influence on the places where the Turcomans lived might trip up Bektas Agha's business. The sheep trade poses in turn another dimension of the conflict between the *kapıkulu sipahs* in the provinces and the janissaries at the center. Although those places where the Turcomans lived seem to be far from Istanbul, the state could bring sheep even from Yeni-il in case of

³²⁴ Evliya Çelebi; II, 197.

³²⁵"*Devlet-i Aliyye'nin vücûh-ı menâfi'ine istilâ etmişler iken yine kanâ'at gelmeyip lokma-i fukarâya dahi tama' edip narh umûruna karışıp lahm-ı ganemîn vakıyyesi sekiz yüz akçeye iken on üçer akçeye çıkardıklarından mâ-adâ cümle celeb-keşâna yasak ettirip Erzurum'a ve sâ'ir Anadolu'dan kezâlik Rumili'nden ve Eflâk ve Bođdan semtlerinden koyun getirmeđe adamlar gönderip ol etrâfın hukkâmında ve erbâb-ı hizmetinde olan akçelerin cümlesi ağaların akçesi idi. Koyuna bozulup gelip zinde mürde her ne ise muradları üzre satılıp akçeleri fâ'ide-i zâidesiyle kendilere aid olurdu.... Halk lahm ve sâ'ir me'kulât gılâsından şikâyet ü arzihâl verdiklerince dinlemeyip 'Bu şehir ağniyâ şehridir fukarâ şehri deđildir, harcından âciz olan varıp taşralarda sâkin olub bulgur, bulamaç yesin' deyü tenfir-i kulûb edecek çok türrühât söylerlerdi'.." Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1318.*

need.³²⁶ Generally, it can be said that pastoral economy and its chief actors, namely the Turcomans, were a profitable investment in the seventeenth century.

3.2. Public order:

One of the duties of the *Türkmen voyvodası* was to secure the public order of the tribe that he tax farmed, due to being a member of the military class (*ehl-i örf*). He was charged with suppressing unruly tribes as well as bandits emanated from the tribe.³²⁷ He also provide support for the *kadi* in capturing the criminals. Considering the orders related to the unruliness of nomadic groups, in most cases the state charged the three pillars of the provincial government (*beylerbeyi*, *kadi* and *voyvoda*) with securing order. Particularly, if the disorder occurred in the crown lands (*havâss-ı hümayûn*) to which the Turcomans belonged, the state would give a free hand to *voyvoda* and requested other state officers to assist him. According to a document dated October 1596, a group of Turcomans laid an attack on two villages within the port of Birecik which was subjected to the *hâss* of Valide Sultan and grasped cereal as well as some money. The state firmly ordered the *kadis* of Haleb and the governors of Haleb, Rakka and Kilis to provide Mehmed Çavuş, who was the *Türkmen voyvodası*, with support until those rebel Turcomans were captured.³²⁸ By the same token, a few years later the *Türkmen voyvodası* and the *kadi* of Haleb were again required to handle the bandit Turcomans attacking the villages belonged to the

³²⁶ Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 32 (doc. 61).

³²⁷ See also chapter I.

³²⁸ Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 58-59, (doc. 111).

port of Birecik.³²⁹ After all, the state never gave permission to anyone to intervene with *hāsses* belonging to palace members, except for the *voyvoda*.³³⁰

The *Türkmen voyvodası* was in charge of investigating murder cases as well. In 1658, the *Türkmen voyvodası* Hasan Agha informed the court that a man named Mehmed from the Şeyhlü clan was murdered near the village of Tavlusun. He required the *kadi* to make a survey in the venue of murder.³³¹ When the outlaws were caught, the *Türkmen voyvodası* also had the right to imprison them.³³² Besides, the *Türkmen voyvodası* would settle the disputes among the clans. In 1615, the *voyvoda* of the Yeni-il Turcomans was assigned to resolve the conflict between the clans of İlbeğli and Kesmezli over the use of a summer pasture.³³³ The dispute arose because both clans commonly used the same pasture. Though the pasture was big enough to both previously, it is understood that it was no longer sufficient to meet the needs of them. The state ordered both to continue using the pasture as before. The *voyvoda* was also required to prevent them from opposing the rule.³³⁴ Likewise, in 1612/1613 the *voyvoda* of the Yeni-il Turcomans was assigned to protect the İlbeğlü clan against the infringements of the nomads coming from the northern Syria (*Şamlular*). He was asked to inform the unruly ones to the state.³³⁵

However, the *Türkmen voyvodası* might accuse tribesmen unjustly of different crimes for the purpose of handing out penalty fines. In 1670/1671, Ömer, the *voyvoda* of Danişmenli Turcomans, indicted two tribesmen for the incident

³²⁹ İE. SM 12/1235, 1-2.

³³⁰ İE. SM 12/1258, 1. Due to a misinformation mentioned that the *hāss* status of Türkmen, Birecik, Zile and Suğla were cancelled, the other provincial governors interfered with *voyvodas*. Thereupon, the governors were warned not to intervene with *voyvodas*.

³³¹ Havva Selçuk, "Kayseri ve Çevresinde Bulunan Türkmen Oymaklarının Yerleşik Halkla Münasebetleri", *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Yörükler ve Türkmenler*, editors Hayati Beşirli – İbrahim Erdal (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2008), 37.

³³² Selçuk, *ibid.*, 43.

³³³ Altınay, *ibid.*, 73-74, (doc. 128).

³³⁴ Altınay, *ibid.*, 73-74, (doc. 128).

³³⁵ Altınay, *ibid.*, 66. (doc. 121).

assault on a woman. Contrary to the rule and without any evidence (*bilâ isbat ve hilaf-ı şer*), he collected a mule, a camel, a carpet, a goat and 100 guruh as penalty fines from them. Similarly, he accused a man named Bekir of same act and forced him to give some pack animals and goats as well as 147 guruh; in addition, sentenced him to imprisonment for three months.³³⁶

3.3. Keeping Tribes within Unit:

One of the main concerns of the Ottoman state regarding the nomadic groups was to keep them in a unit and prevent them from dispersing in order to collect the tax safely.³³⁷ For this, the great mission falls, again, to the *Türkmen voyvodası*. Preserving the tribes was of paramount importance to the *Türkmen voyvodası*. Otherwise, collecting tax from a dispersed tribe would necessitate too much effort. Particularly, the state seems to have had an enormous effort to hold the tribes in an order during the first half of the seventeenth century when the nomads flew westward in Anatolia from the east.³³⁸ Over the course of the period, separation of large tribal units such as Yeni-il and Bozulus became explicit. At this point, the *Türkmen voyvodası* acted as a pin which it is used to holding the parts together, which he tried to gathering the dispersed clans. On the other hand, by means of farming the tribes out, the state vested the responsibilities related to the tribes in the *Türkmen voyvodası*, who would seek to protect his investment which he obtained in return for a high amount. Thus, farming out the tribes brought in two benefits to the state. Firstly, the state gained a sum of cash in advance without any expense and effort; secondly, it transferred the task of dealing with the unmanageable nomadic elements

³³⁶ Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyullarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 60.

³³⁷ Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire*, 20-29.

³³⁸ See also the section of "Kişi Kaldır Tarlanı Koyun Geçsin" in chapter I.

to one person who did have the military power and dominate the provincial society. Thanks to this, the state could preserve the tax units.³³⁹

When the tribes of the Bozulus confederation situated in Diyarbekir moved to different places of Anatolia, the Ottoman government sought help from the *voyvodas* of Yeni-il and Haleb Turcomans in order to support Mehmed Çavuş who was in charge of sending the dispersed tribes back to their own places.³⁴⁰ On the other hand, one should not forget that the vital concern of the *voyvoda* was to derive the revenue. Therefore, if sending the tribes back to their own places was not possible, the *voyvoda* was contented with collecting tax. For instance; in 1652, Abaza Hasan Pasha the *voyvoda* of the Yeni-il and Haleb Turcomans sent his *subashi* Vedad Ali Agha to collect the tax of the Turcomans who scattered over different regions of Anatolia. He demanded support to Vedad Ali Agha from the local governors and the *kadis* who were in the regions where the so-called Turcomans arrived.³⁴¹

The government might also put in charge the *sancak beys* and the *kadis* with sending the tribes back to their original places upon the demand of the tax-farmer of tribes. For instance; Abdülmümin, undertaker of the Bozulus *mukata'ası*, submitted a petition to the state, stating that *re'aya* of Bozulus scattered over several regions of the western Anatolia as well as islands such as Rhodes and İstanköy.³⁴² In addition, it states that most of them settled in the *hāss* lands and began to work on the farms, therefore collecting tax became nearly impossible.³⁴³ Thereupon, the *sancakbeys* and

³³⁹ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 47.; Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 59.

³⁴⁰ Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 67-70.

³⁴¹ Uluçay, *XVII. Yüzyılda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, 322, (doc. 135).

³⁴² Su, *Balıkesir ve Civarında Yürük ve Türkmenler*, 38, (doc. 46).

³⁴³ Su, *ibid.*, 38, (doc. 46).

the *kadis* of the regions where those *re'aya* of Bozulus came were ordered to find and send those tribesmen back to their own clans to which they were subjected.³⁴⁴

3.4. Registering tribes:

In the Ottoman provincial administration, each tribe which was allocated as a tax-farm was in the status of a province (*sancak*) or a judicial district (*kazâ*). Therefore, a similar process akin to land register which is known as *tahrir* was applied to tribes to determine how much revenue they would yield annually. This task was also assumed by the *voyvoda*. *Kadi*, *naib* and *kethüdas* of clans were all to help the *voyvoda* for carrying out the registering.³⁴⁵ The *kadi* might control whether the *voyvoda* imposed much more tax on tribesmen than it was recorded in *defter*.³⁴⁶ The *Türkmen voyvodası* was also responsible for the extra-ordinary tax. Some clans might have tax debts which remained from previous register. In this cases, *voyvoda* could conduct a new register concerning the clans which had tax arrears. In 1648, Ali Ağa the *voyvoda* of Yeni-il Turcomans and Haleb, made the register of 53 clans with *kethüdas* to determine their tax arrears belonging to 1647. In this register, there was 30.985 guruh arrears belonging to the clans.³⁴⁷

The revenues assigned to tribes recorded in *defter* also show from what kind of sources *voyvoda* earned his income. The major revenues of tribes were certainly sheep and camels. Sheep numbers of each clan under the rule of the *kethüda* were recorded carefully, and the amount of the revenue was added at the bottom of the

³⁴⁴ Su, *ibid.*, 39, (doc. 46).

³⁴⁵ Faroqhi, "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devencilik ve Anadolu Göçebelere (Danışmendli Mukataası)", 925.

³⁴⁶ Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danışmendli Türkmenleri*, 58.

³⁴⁷ TS.MA.d no: 4166; see also, İlhan Şahin, "Yeni-İl Kazası ve Yeni-İl Türkmenleri (1548-1653)", 152.

defter.³⁴⁸ Similar process was valid for camels. On the other hand, all the taxes collected for the animals were calculated on the value of sheep. Each camel was equal to 30 sheep.³⁴⁹ Considering that one *akçe* was collected for 2 sheep, each camel was at the value of 15 *akçes*. Moreover, 6 buffalos were also equal to one camel, therefore each buffalo was valued at 5 sheep.³⁵⁰

Each tribesman was a taxpayer as well. According to his economic situation, those who were married and had a certain amount of sheep were accepted as *hâne*, and the others who were married and had less than 24 sheep were recorded as *bennâk*.³⁵¹ However, there seems to be a confusion over the concept of *bennâk*. By analyzing the registers of the Danişmendli Turcomans in the second half of the seventeenth century, Suraiya Faroqhi claims that *bennâks* might be the ones who engaged in agriculture, because there is no clue on how they made a living.³⁵² On the other hand, Tufan Gündüz develops a counter-argument that *bennâks* point either to the ones whose herds wasted due to diseases, or to those who have not yet married, and remained in household, and did not have any sufficient flock.³⁵³ The reason causing a confusion is that the rate of *bennâks* in tribe differs for each clan. Gündüz is of the opinion that if a disease broke out, it would affect whole clans, not a single one. Therefore, he suggests that the tribesman kept sharing the wealth of the household, even though he was married; because, traditionally in Turcoman families,

³⁴⁸ TS.MA.d no:1328 (*vakıf defteri* of *hâsses* of Yeniil belonging to Nurbanu Sultan)

³⁴⁹ D.BŞM.d no:197; Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 66.

³⁵⁰ Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 80.

³⁵¹ Gündüz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçer Raiyyete Dair", *Bozkırın Efendileri-Türkmenler Üzerine Makaleler* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2009), 111-119.

³⁵² Faroqhi, "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devencilik ve Anadolu Göçebeleri (Danişmendli Mukataası)", 926-927.

³⁵³ Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 78-79.

the wealth, which was composed of herds, is counted as the common property of household.³⁵⁴

Nevertheless, the tax of *bennâk* does not seem to be collected at fixed amount. Generally, tribesmen recorded as *bennâk* were obliged to pay 12 *akçes*.³⁵⁵ However, the tribes of the Bozulus confederation paid 7 guruh *bennâk* tax in 1642. Later on in 1664, that amount decreased to 4 guruh.³⁵⁶ The Danişmendli Turcomans paid 4 guruh *bennâk* tax in 1656 as well. On the other hand, it is also seen that bachelor tax (*resm-i mücerred*) was collected at different value. According to an imperial license confirming the appointment of Gürcü Nebi as the Bozulus voyvodası in January 1643, while one *akçe* was taken for each bachelor, he was given a right to collect 3 *akçes resm-i mücerred*.³⁵⁷ Nonetheless, in some cases, one guruh was collected for 3 bachelors.³⁵⁸ Besides, the other tax in the status of *bâd-ı hevâ* whose amount and collection time were not predetermined were generally farmed out on an estimated value. These are bride tax (*resm-i arusâne*), penalty fine of murder (*cürm-i cinayet*), guard tax (*deştbâni*) and tax collected for unowned animals (*resm-i yava*).³⁵⁹

One of the common problems the tribes encountered was that they would fall into difficulty of fulfilling their tax obligations due to any imminent change in their economies. The population and the livelihood of nomads might be affected by animal diseases, epidemics and worsening climatic conditions. However, the voyvoda

³⁵⁴ Gündüz, *ibid.*, 79.

³⁵⁵ Gündüz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçer Raiyyete Dair", 114.

³⁵⁶ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 73.

³⁵⁷ MAD 6145, 153-154; See also Murphey's PhD dissertation.

³⁵⁸ Gündüz, *ibid.*, 73.

³⁵⁹ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 73.; Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'da Aşiretlerin İskanı*, 23-26.; İlhan Şahin, "Yeni-İl Kazası ve Yeni-İl Türkmenleri (1548-1653)", 297-318; Enver Çakar, *17. Yüzyılda Haleb Eyaleti ve Türkmenler* (Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi Ortadoğu Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, 2006), 174-176.

demanded the tax from tribesmen, according to the former register which was carried out, before such calamities broke out.³⁶⁰ For instance; a document indicates that some districts of Yeni-il suffered from the spread of plague (*taûn müstevli olub*) in 1641, thus so many inhabitants died and the survivors left their homelands.³⁶¹ However, it is understood that the plague occurred after the register had been carried out by Osman Agha.³⁶² As a result, a great difference might appear between the datas recorded in the *defter* and real situation, thus later on Abaza Hasan Pasha needed to conduct a new survey in order to see the real situation in 1652. Because, it was understood that while some villages recovered, some devolved.³⁶³

Tribesmen might apply the state for tax reduction, when their economic situation got worse. In such cases, the state generally took their special conditions into account in order to prevent them from dispersion.³⁶⁴ For instance; the Danişmendli Turcomans of Aydın stated that they could not afford to pay their tax belonging to the year of 1659-60. Therefore, the state decided to levy their tax amounted to 956 guruh on the Danişmendli Turcomans of Rum and Adana.³⁶⁵ However, the tribesmen of Rum and Adana articulated that they could not pay any extra-tax, because they had also lost a great deal of animals in recent years. Thereupon, the state made a reduction of 600 guruh for their tax and demanded 356 guruh.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁰ Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, p. 68; Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 61.

³⁶¹ MAD 6159

³⁶² MAD 6159

³⁶³ MAD 6159

³⁶⁴ Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 71.

³⁶⁵ Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 71; Faroqhi, "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devecilik ve Anadolu Göçebeleri (Danişmendli Mukataası)", 925-926; MAD 7574

³⁶⁶ Gündüz, *ibid.*, 71; Faroqhi, *ibid.*, 925-926; MAD 7574.

In 1661/1662, the Danişmendli Turcomans seem to have been again in difficulty in paying their tax. A complaint letter attached to the register of Danişmendli tribe points to the situation of tribesmen. Interestingly enough, those who submitted the complaint identified themselves in the letter with the appellative, 'Danişmendli poor' (*Yörükân-ı Danişmendli fukâraları*).³⁶⁷ It was stated in the letter that their *voyvodas* had been content with collecting 16.000 guruh, whereas they were originally demanded 25.000 guruh, more than their tax paying ability. They also expressed that 70-80 households of them were in poverty.³⁶⁸ On the other hand, the Danişmendli Turcomans were farmed out along with the tribe of Hacı Ahmedoğlu. It is understood through another document attached to the register that upon the request of the Danişmendli tribesmen, the tribe of Hacı Ahmedoğlu was separated from the Danişmendli tribe as a different tax-farm (*ifrâz olunub*) and paid the tax amounted to 16.000 guruh, instead of the Danişmendli Turcomans.³⁶⁹ The problems arouse in collecting tax of the Danişmendli Turcomans reflected on other documents as well. A document dated 1659/1660 confirmed that many problems had broken out in collecting tax of the Danişmendli Turcomans. Upon the request of tribesmen, their officer (*zâbit*) Mustafa Beg, who would later be appointed as the *sancakbeyi* of Ayntab, was assigned to carry out a new survey to see the actual situation.³⁷⁰

On the other hand, individual problems related to the registers would appear as well. Tribesmen might apply the court individually for the problems concerning taxation. Furthermore, it is also seen that 'tribeswomen' might also submit petition to the state for the matters of taxation. An interesting document shows a woman's effort

³⁶⁷ D.BŞM no:197, 3.; Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*, 72.

³⁶⁸ D.BŞM no:197, 3.; Gündüz, *ibid.*, 72.

³⁶⁹ D.BŞM no:197, 15.

³⁷⁰ D.BŞM no:207, 2.

in abating her tax burden.³⁷¹ It is understood that a woman named Yüzükutlu (?) from the tribe of Tabanlu submitted a petition to the Sultan directly. She stated that she had been forced to pay 20 gurush, though her 2 camels had died, after the register conducted by Mustafa Agha. In addition, she articulated that she was widow and had only one son, thus the tax levied on her was far beyond her ability of paying. She also articulated that she had come to Kayseri on foot in order to beg for mercy from the sultan.³⁷² Thereupon, the sultan sent a strict order to the *kadi* of Bozulus about protecting that woman against harassments of the tribe's aghas and lessening her tax burden as much as possible.³⁷³

Giving tax is a sign of recognizing the state's legitimacy. In this context, as is seen through the examples, tribesmen seem to have no trouble with the state in terms of paying tax. When their economic situation was far beyond meeting the expectation of the state, they did not hesitate to ask the state for their pardons. In such cases, the state show its flexibility, renewing the *tahrirs*, or abating the tax burden on them. Thanks to this, tribes could maintain their pastoral way of life under the protection of state. In addition, the receipt in tribesmen's hand also averted double-taxation imposed on them by other state officers, making them legitimate as loyal taxpayers in the eyes of the state.

³⁷¹ İE. DH. 6/547, 2.

³⁷² İE. DH. 6/547, 2. "...ol devenin cümlesi mürd olub bir dulca hatun olub kimesneciğim olmayub bir oğlum olub benden yirmişer guruş altun alub zulm iderler takatim kalmadı mal-ı erzağım hiç yoğdur sultanım hazretlerine Kayseriye ... yavancığ geldim..."

³⁷³ İE. DH. 6/547, 6.

CHAPTER IV

THE *TÜRKMEN VOYVODAS* AND *KAPIKULU SİPAHS* WITHIN THE POWER STRUGGLES OVER REVENUE RESOURCES

It appears that most of the *Türkmen voyvodası* during the first half of the seventeenth century were both a Celali leader and a *kapıkulu sipah* as well. This overlapping case is a reflection of the socio-political fabric of the period, beyond a coincidence. To disentangle the issue, it would be better to clarify the connection of the *Türkmen Voyvodası*-Celali leadership-*kapıkulu sipah*. Our starting point will be the *kapıkulu sipah*, so it would be easy to complete the other parts of the puzzle. However, dealing with the organization of the *kapıkulu sipah* and more broadly the six cavalry corps in detail is not our main aim. Instead, only the certain landmarks in the organization of the *kapıkulu sipahs* which would be related to the connection in question are significant for us.

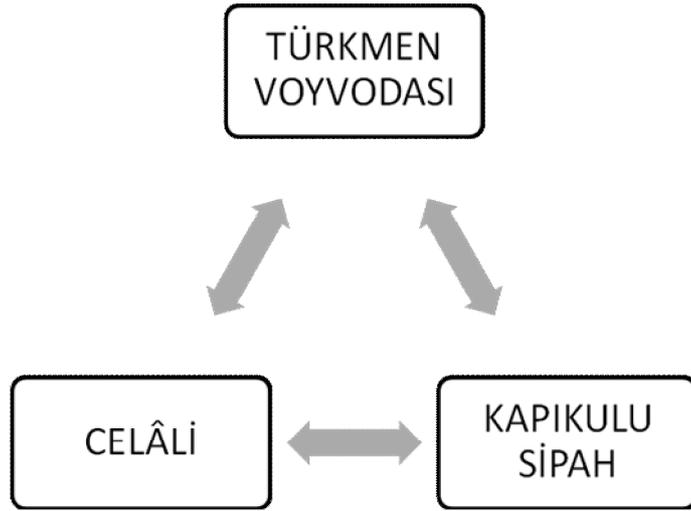


Figure 2. The interrelated links of the *Türkmen voyvodası* in the seventeenth century

4.1. The *Kapıkulu Sipahs*

The *kapıkulu* army was simply divided into two regiments consisting of infantry and cavalry. The former was called janissaries, and the latter was the *kapıkulu sipahs*.³⁷⁴ Compared to the janissaries, the *kapıkulu sipahs* were in a privileged position.³⁷⁵ Apart from receiving higher salary than the janissaries, the *kapıkulu sipahs* were also assigned as *mülâzım* to collect a variety of taxes belonged to the state, such as capitation tax (*cizye*) and sheep tax (*adet-i ağnam*), during peace times. In return for such duties, they received a share from the tax collected which was called *gulâmiye*.³⁷⁶ Similarly, they were promoted to the trusteeship of the pious foundations of the sultanate, or to the administrator of big tax-farms for one year.³⁷⁷ In addition, from the 1630's onwards, the *kapıkulu sipahs* began to collect *avarız*

³⁷⁴ Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1650* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 258-259.

³⁷⁵ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu Ocakları II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988), 137.

³⁷⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 157-158.

³⁷⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 157-158.

taxes as well.³⁷⁸ Their privileged positions strengthened gradually during the first half of the seventeenth century. The political struggles among the factions under the leadership of the viziers for power in Istanbul gave rise to prominence of both janissaries and *kapıkulu sipahs* at the center. Both provided support to the rival parties who were in search of a dependable alliance.³⁷⁹ For instance, Merre Hüseyin Pasha got the post of head vizier (*baş vezir*) by means of giving several promises to the *kapıkulu sipahs*. In return for their support, he bestowed them many stewardships (*voyvodalık*) of pious foundations and *hâss* of viziers.³⁸⁰ From the course of the reign of Murad IV and his successors onwards, the *kapıkulu sipahs* seem to have definitely monopolized the stewardships of *havâss-ı hümayûn* and the positions related to the pious foundations.³⁸¹ Naima noted that this ascendance had resulted in the impoverishment of the peasants, because the *kapıkulu sipahs* had been continuously imposing excessive taxes.³⁸² Furthermore, Sultan Murad was disturbed from the rising dominance of the *kapıkulu sipahs* over the state authority. He complained about the imbalance between the ever-increasing number of the *sipahs* and the present tax collecting assignments, *mülâzimet*.³⁸³ In his edict dated 1632, he stated that only 300 *sipahs* were assigned as *mülâzım* in return for the campaign service previously, whereas 10.000 *sipahs* were recorded in the *mülâzım defteri* without any campaign service, on the contrary to the ancient rule.³⁸⁴ He went on saying that if this plague was to continue, it would be no longer possible to obtain any revenue for the treasury. He ordered the *aghas* of the six cavalry corps and *sipahs* to obey ancient

³⁷⁸ Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy (Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660)* (New York-Köln: E.J.Brill,1996), 174.

³⁷⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 191-192; Mustafa Akdağ, "Genel Çizgileriyle XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 218.

³⁸⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 192.

³⁸¹ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 160.

³⁸² Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 722-723.

³⁸³ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 719-720.

³⁸⁴ Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, ed. Prof.Dr. Seyyid Muhammed es-Seyyid (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2009), 528-529.

rule, not enroll any person in the *mülâzım defteri*. Thereupon, they asserted their obedience to the sultan.³⁸⁵ Interestingly enough, the sultan got support of the Janissary aghas against the *kapıkulu sipahs*. At the end of the edict, the Janissary aghas vowed that they would punish anyone from the six cavalry regiments who would disobey the order of the sultan.³⁸⁶ Nonetheless, the cavalry regiments did not hesitate to show their discontent in a reactive demonstration in the Hippodrome (8 June 1632).³⁸⁷ After the murder of Osman II (1622), the janissaries gained the control of the state and their supremacy continued until 1640, from then on the pashas from the six cavalry corps dominated both the center and the provinces, especially Anatolia. However, their dominance was ended by the iron hand of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1656-1661).³⁸⁸ Köprülü Mehmed had eliminated the military and fiscal power of the *kapıkulu sipahs*, prohibiting them from recruiting companion and ending their rights of taking a share from the tax collected (*gulâmiye*).³⁸⁹

Regarding the involvement of the *kapıkulu sipahs* in financial affairs, Baki Tezcan has stated that for the investors of capital the Ottoman army was the most suitable institution which provided financial security and social status from the mid-sixteenth century.³⁹⁰ Due to their opportunities, the six cavalry regiments turned into a profit center to which those who aimed at carrying on a business penetrated. Therefore, Tezcan is right to define those troops as financial entrepreneurs, rather than soldiers, because the financial interests directed the acts of these troops.³⁹¹ At this point, Tezcan has cited the rebellion of the *kapıkulu sipahs* in 1600 as an

³⁸⁵ Kâtib Çelebi, *ibid.*, 528.

³⁸⁶ Kâtib Çelebi, *ibid.*, 529.

³⁸⁷ Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 210.

³⁸⁸ Akdağ, "Genel Çizgileriyle XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi"; İnalçık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700"; Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 171.

³⁸⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, 171.

³⁹⁰ Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 14-19.

³⁹¹ Tezcan, *ibid.*, 184-190.

example showing how those troops never wanted to share their privileges with any other group. While the *kapıkulu sipahs* were expecting a certain number of poll tax and sheep tax registers, they realized that some registers, especially give higher income, had already been sold to the grandees. Thereupon, the *sipahs* killed Esperanza Malchi, the Jewish lady, who was very close to Safiye Sultan, the queen mother, and had great influence on the sale of the registers.³⁹² This rebellion can also be seen as an antecedent of the other *kapıkulu sipahs'* revolts throughout the seventeenth century. The members of the six cavalry soldiers were in an effort of preserving their status even at the turn of the seventeenth century. During the enthronement of Süleyman II (1687-1691), the prominents of the *kapıkulu sipahs* demanded that state revenues (*mîrî mukâta'ât*) hereafter should be given to their regiments. They also stated that the right of *gulâmiye* for a long time belonged to their regiments.³⁹³

On the part of tax payers, entrusting the *kapıkulu sipahs* with collecting tax might have been destructive to their economy; on the other hand, that assignment offered a number of benefits for the Ottoman government. Linda Darling implies that the appointment of the *kapıkulu sipahs* as tax collector could have created a kind of state-control both over the resources and the military elite.³⁹⁴ According to her, by means of that practice the state could tap the wealth of the military elite.³⁹⁵ In addition, the *kapıkulu sipahs* carried the sultan's power across the empire in their own presence. Furthermore, in terms of motivation and obedience, they became more

³⁹² Tezcan, *ibid.*, 188.

³⁹³ "...*Mîrî mukâta'ât fi-mâ-ba'd Sipâh ve Silahdâr zümresine virilsün, gulâmiyye hod kadîmden bu ocaklara bađludur deyü...*"; Defterdar Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekâiyat*, 269-270; Some of those prominent *sipahs* could obtain important posts. For instance; Çolak Hüseyin got the office of *Türkmen voyvodalığı*, Tokat *kethüdayeri* Hamza became the voyvoda of Tokat. Karamanlı Osman was assigned as the voyvoda of Mardin, and Kel Hasan was appointed to Galata voyvodalığı.

³⁹⁴ Darling, *ibid.*, 170.

³⁹⁵ Darling, *ibid.*, 170.

dependant on the state to have much more tax revenue. Besides, their share received from the tax contributed to their income without depending on treasury funds.³⁹⁶ In fact, the government theoretically could take advantage of those men aspired to collect tax devouringly, by confiscating what they accumulated by then; moreover, the cost of tax collection might be minimized to some extent through the responsibility of one person.

4.2. The Celâli *Türkmen Voyvodas*:

In this part, it will be looked at the backgrounds of some well-known *Türkmen voyvodas* in the light of the chronicles, especially the history of Naima, and some documents.³⁹⁷ Particularly, some *kapıkulu sipahs* who rose as a Celâli against the state in the seventeenth century appear to have to do with the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı*. Undoubtedly, this case is clearly seen in the rebellion of Abaza Hasan Pasha and his fellows. Acquiring the office of the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* seems to be the main aim of the rebels. On the other hand, not only those Celâli ones will be dealt with, but also those who served loyally, like Dilaver Pasha and Küçük Ahmed Pasha. These samples of *Türkmen voyvodası* may help us grasp on the nature of the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* of the seventeenth century.

4.2.1. Abaza Hasan Pasha

Abaza Hasan Pasha was granted with the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* of the Yeni-il Turcomans upon capturing the rebel Karahaydarođlu in 1648, while he was the governor of (*mütessellim*) of Hamid province. Despite the objections of the *ocak aghas*, vizier Sofu Mehmed Pasha assigned Abaza Hasan as the voyvoda of Yeni-il

³⁹⁶ Darling, *ibid.*, 170-183.

³⁹⁷ However, it is not aimed at dealing with all *Türkmen voyvodas* in the seventeenth century. I only set aside for those in the chronicles.

for three years on the purpose of holding back the Turcomans.³⁹⁸ In the decision of his appointment as *Türkmen voyvodası*, it might be effective that he held the positions of the stewardship of Kilis and A'zaz Turcomans formerly. During his office for one year, Abaza Hasan paid a large amount of *akces* to the treasury and gave many gifts to the statesmen in order to consolidate his post. According to Evliya Çelebi, he paid 70 *kise* office fee to renew his patent (*berât*). On the other hand, the insistence of the *ocak aghas* under the leadership of Bektas Agha, who was the former commander-in-chief of the janissaries, on opposing that promotion compelled the new sadrazam Melek Ahmed Pasha to nullify his post eventually. Instead of Abaza Hasan, Ak Ali Agha, who was the candidate of the *ocak aghas* for the post, was decided unanimously to assign the *Türkmen voyvodası* of Yeni-il. Therupon, Abaza Hasan tried to persuade Melek Ahmed by depending on kinship tie with him³⁹⁹, however, tender-minded Melek Ahmed, due to the pressure of the opposition party, requested him to be constant with this unusual case for this year and allayed his anxiety by offering to pay 100 *kise* to him in order to make up for his loss. In fact, Abaza Hasan's loss was much higher than the bid of the sadrazam. In the end, Abaza Hasan immediately crossed the strait to Üsküdar which was the meeting point of the *kapıkulu sipahs* coming to take their salaries in order to mobilize his companions for the fight. From the well-known *sipahs* Konyalı Hadım Ali Agha, his brother Hasan, Kürd Mehmed and Cündî Yusuf Agha gave support to Abaza Hasan. Interestingly

³⁹⁸ "...İbtidâ tevcih esnâsında ağalar gayri kimesneye murad ettiklerinde Sofu Mehmed Paşa ayak basıp 'Türkmân'ı üç sene zabt eyleye' deyü hatt-ı hümayûn isdâr ettirip Hasan Ağa nefsinde yarar bahâdır adam olmakla sâhib çıkıp çerâğ etmiştir..."Naima, *Tarih*; III, 1309.

³⁹⁹ Metin İbrahim Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 5, No. 3 (Jun., 1974). 233-239. Metin Kunt draws attention to the ethnic solidarities among the Ottoman elites. There was a clear division between those who were of Caucasian origin such as Abazas, Circassians and Georgians, and those who were of Balkan origin. Both made their own fractions. Therefore, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha wanted to know whether Melek Ahmed Pasha, who was also an Abaza, would fight against Abaza Hasan Pasha, since they were both Abaza.

enough, Hasan and Kürd Mehmed would struggle to get the post of *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* as well.

On the other hand, the candidate of the opposition party, Ak Ali Agha, failed to collect the tax of the Yeni-il Turcomans. Due to the turbulence at the center over the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı*, the Turcomans did not want to deliver the tax to Ak Ali Agha. Therefore, Ak Ali asked Ibsir Mustafa Pasha, who was the governor of Karaman province and would later make an alliance with Abaza Hasan, for help. Ibsir Pasha invited the leaders of the Turcomans to the negotiation, convincing them to pay the taxes to Ak Ali Agha. The Turcomans accepted to pay the tax even more than 10.000 gurush, since they feared the power of Ibsir Mustafa Pasha. Besides, this mediator role of İbsir also indicates that he was an influential figure among the Turcomans.⁴⁰⁰

4.2.2. Hasan, the Brother of Konyalı Hadım Ali Agha

Abaza Hasan Pasha strengthened his position against the state through the alliance with Ibsir Mustafa Pasha. The alliance of the *kapıkulu sipahs* culminated in an *ad interim* victory, Abaza Hasan was reassigned to the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* in 1651 and Ibsir was given the governorship of the Haleb province. Hadım Ali Agha's brother Hasan was also promoted to the *voyvoda* of Bozulus Turcomans in 1653. However, Hasan astonishingly entered a clash with a candy maker of the palace over the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı*.⁴⁰¹ On the pretext of a complaint about the *voyvoda* Hasan, submitted by a prominent Turcoman named Yusuf to the government, Usta Rıdvan

⁴⁰⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1358-1359. İbşir Mustafa Pasha had some experience which would make him familiar with Turcoman groups. He grew up in the household of Abaza Mehmed Pasha who rallied tribal forces. Besides, İbşir was also the governor of Karaman province where nomadic elements were found abundant. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ak Ali Agha and Abaza Hasan, they were both *Türkmen voyvodası*, made an alliance with İbşir; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 229; See also Münir Aktepe, "İbşir Mustafa Paşa ve Kendisi ile İlgili Bazı Belgeler", *Tarih Dergisi*, 24 (1970), 45-58.

⁴⁰¹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1442.

from the *helvahâne* was assigned the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcomans instead of Hasan. Rıdvan was also the *kethüda* of vizier Çavuşoğlu Mehmed Pasha. Interestingly enough, Mehmed Pasha warned the government that it would be a big mistake if they assigned Rıdvan. He said that his *kethüda* was an untrustworthy man, because he got a substantial wealth by stealing sugar and honey from the *helvahâne*.⁴⁰² Nonetheless, despite his warnings, the government appointed Rıdvan as the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcomans. Rıdvan sent his servant with 300 men to Konya. When they arrived in Konya, Hasan met the *kadi*, the *mütesellim* and some notable people of Konya in order to assure them that the tax-farm of the Bozulus Turcomans was still in his charge for 3 years. However, they recognized the imperial license of Rıdvan. Thereupon, Hasan sent his son with a small army composed of *sarica* soldiers and Turcomans to meet the approaching forces of Rıdvan. At the first encounter, some 150 men of Rıdvan were killed, and as a result Rıdvan had to retreat to Ankara. Meanwhile, Rıdvan recruited 18.000 men with the help of Istanbul. On the other hand, Hasan received the support of Abaza Hasan and Ibsir Pasha, establishing a large army consisted mainly of Turcomans. Two rivals again met in Konya, both sides lost a number of soldiers. On the other hand, Katırcıoğlu, who was put in charge as the commander for pursuing Abaza Hasan and Ibsir Pasha at that time, provided Rıdvan with assistance.⁴⁰³ However, it is understood from Naima's chronicle that the assistance of Katırcıoğlu was in vain, and Hasan succeeded in keeping his post.

In the following pages of Naima's chronicle, Hasan fell into another struggle with Helvacı Mehmed (Bosnâvî Sarı Mehmed) who was the *defterdar* of Karaman in

⁴⁰² Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1442.

⁴⁰³ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1443.

1654/55.⁴⁰⁴ Naima recorded that there was a conflict between the two, however, he did not give further detail.⁴⁰⁵ Helvacı Mehmed as *defterdar* attempted at removing Hasan from the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcomans, but Hasan again succeeded in confirming himself in his post.⁴⁰⁶ In the end, Hasan won the struggle and Helvacı Mehmed's head was cut off by vizier Ibsir Pasha in Ilgın in 1655.⁴⁰⁷

According to what Naima narrates, Hasan was a well-known *sipahs* of Konya. In many times, he held the office of different stewardships including the Turcomans, Haleb as well as Sayda and Beirut. Nevertheless, the people of Konya suffered from his oppression, and in turn had to abandon their homelands.⁴⁰⁸ As for the struggle of Hasan with Rıdvan and Helvacı Mehmed, Hasan seems to have had more advantages than those two, due to the fact that he was closely acquainted with the people of his tax-farm, namely the Bozulus Turcomans. He was living in Konya as a member of the six cavalry corps and probably established a social network which would assist him in protecting his tax-farm in case of need. On the other hand, as for Rıdvan, if his occupation in the *helvahāne* which was a sector necessitated dealing in food market was taken into consideration, it would be speculated that he might have tried to invest in animal husbandry for the provision of Istanbul, like Bektas Agha.⁴⁰⁹

4.2.3. Kürd Mehmed

⁴⁰⁴ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; IV, 1567.

⁴⁰⁵ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; IV, 1567.

⁴⁰⁶ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1512.

⁴⁰⁷ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; IV, 1567.

⁴⁰⁸ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; IV, 1822.

⁴⁰⁹ See chapter II.

He was one of the notorious *sipah* bullies of the first half of seventeenth century.⁴¹⁰ Though he gave support to Abaza Hasan in his revolt, later on he fell afoul of Abaza Hasan over the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* of Yeni-il. Kürd Mehmed does not seem to have wanted to back the wrong horse. When he realized that Ibsir Pasha would be eliminated, he immediately turned his side. Grandvizier Murad Pasha offered many posts to Kürd Mehmed and his fellows in return for the execution of Ibsir Pasha. Thereupon, Kürd Mehmed devised an incitement with the support of the Janissaries and the *sipahs* against Ibsir Pasha, eventually resulting in his murder. As promised, he was granted with the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* of Yeni-il, instead of Abaza Hasan Pasha in 1655.⁴¹¹ However, Abaza Hasan reacted fiercely, and warned Kürd Mehmed that his treacherous act would not be tolerated.⁴¹² Kürd Mehmed then could not take his office by the fear of Abaza Hasan, therefore retreated to Konya. When he heard that Seydi Ahmed Pasha allied with Abaza Hasan was assigned the governorship of Karaman, he incited the local people against Seydi Ahmed, closing the door of the city. However, Seydi Ahmed and Abaza Hasan forced Kürd Mehmed to leave the city, lying a siege cooperatively.⁴¹³ As a result, that scuffle stood Seydi Ahmed and Abaza Hasan in good stead, re-displaying their strength to the government, in return Seydi Ahmed was appointed as the governor of Haleb and Abaza Hasan was reassigned as the voyvoda of the Yeni-il Turcomans.

4.2.4. Dasnik Mirza

Dasnik Mirza was from a Kurdish tribe called Merdasini. He was granted with the Musul province thanks to his meritorious performance as *sipah* during the

⁴¹⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 744.

⁴¹¹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; IV, 1607-1620; İ sazade Tarihi, *ibid.*, 13-15.

⁴¹² Naîmâ, *Tarih*; IV, 1621. Kürd Mehmed owed İbsir Pasha for his post of the stewardship of Bolu.

⁴¹³ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; IV, 1630-1632; İ sazade Tarihi, *ibid.*, 13-14.

Baghdad campaign (1638-1639).⁴¹⁴ Naima states that he had lived in difficult conditions, after the termination of his office, therefore he could not afford to buy any post for himself.⁴¹⁵ However, in Evliya Çelebi's accounts, he is shown as a powerful figure who would put the state in trouble.⁴¹⁶ Evliya states that the post of the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* was vacant due to the fear of Ak Ali Agha from Abaza Hasan, thus Dasnik Mirza with his companion named Hanefi Halife demanded that post from the state for themselves. However, the interesting point is that they dared to request the *voyvodalık* of whole tribes in Anatolia; including Bozulus, Karaulus, Esbkeşan and Yeni-il.⁴¹⁷ Nevertheless, they encountered the opposition of the *ocak aghas* under the leadership of Bektas Agha. In fear of the possibility that they would make an alliance with Abaza Hasan, Melek Ahmed Pasha under the influence of the *ocak aghas* suppressed them in the environs of Hersek Dili.⁴¹⁸

4.2.5. Gürcü Nebî

The distinctive feature of Gürcü Nebî, who was a *kapıkulu sipah* like the others, is that he was largely engaged in dealing with tax-farms. By virtue of his entrepreneurial spirit, he held many *voyvodalıks*, and bought farms in Niğde and Bor. He obtained whatever posts he wanted by sending letters and bribes from Niğde where he lived to his respectable friends in Istanbul.⁴¹⁹ He was appointed as the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcoman confederation at value of nearly three millions

⁴¹⁴ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1315-1316; The tribe of Dasni was efficient in the environs of Baghdad and Mosul. In 1581, they captured a fortress along the river of Tigris, and threatened the passengers and villagers. Dina Rızk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire (Mosul, 1540-1834)* 40.

⁴¹⁵ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1316.

⁴¹⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; III, 147; Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*; II, 373.

⁴¹⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; III, 147.

⁴¹⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; I, 129.

⁴¹⁹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1209-1210.

akçes in 1642, while he was serving as *kapucubashi*.⁴²⁰ Though it is not known how many years he held that office, he redemanded the *Türkmen voyvodalığı* for himself in 1649 in return for being good, while he was rising up.⁴²¹

4.2.6. Kazzaz Ahmed

The information about him is limited, but it is certain that he was a loyal companion of Gürcü Nebi along with Çomar Bölükbaşı and Katırcıoğlu. While pushing for the *Türkmen voyvodalığı* from the state, Gürcü Nebi also requested a proper post for Kazzaz Ahmed.⁴²² A document in Manisa court records indicates that he was the voyvoda of the dispersed Turcoman clans (*perakende-i Türkmen Voyvodası*) near Manisa in 1645.⁴²³

4.2.7. Çomar Bölükbaşı

Considering Evliya's narration, Çomar Bölükbaşı seems to have been a close friend of Evliya. The two first met after the battle of Bulgurlu which took place between Gürcü Nebi and the state's forces in 1649. According to Evliya, Çomar Bölükbaşı was from the Kurdish tribe called 'Izoli'. He was recommended by Evliya to Murtaza Pasha, the governor of Sivas, and appointed as subashi of Niksar.⁴²⁴ However, he held his office only for six months, a man named Dilaver Agha from Merzifon grasped his office and imprisoned him. Thereupon, he managed to escape and started his fight.⁴²⁵ Apart from his rebel carrier, as far as we know through

⁴²⁰ Murphey, "The Functioning of the Ottoman Army Under Murad IV (1623-1639/1032-1049), 269-270

⁴²¹ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1228.

⁴²² Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1228.

⁴²³ Uluçay, *XVII. Yüzyılda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, 294-295, (doc. 113); see also chapter III

⁴²⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; III, 50-51.

⁴²⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; III, 153.

Naima, he was appointed as the *Türkman voyvodası* in Ayntab in 1650.⁴²⁶ However, which Turcomans he charged with is not clear.

4.2.8. Dilaver Pasha

Naima gives a brief personal background of Dilaver Pasha by recounting his own voice. Dilaver Pasha told about himself:

When I came from the Circassian land, I did have only a whip and a horse with me. After having joined in the six cavalry corps, I occupied in a number of heavy duties. Thanks to this, I could have respectable posts and made a modest profit. After that, I gained substantial wealth by means of the *Türkmen voyvodalığı* and settled in Kayseri.⁴²⁷

It is understood through the chronicles that Dilaver Pasha was charged with suppressing the rebel Turcomans, while he was on duty of Hüsrev Pasha's Safavid campaign (1628-1629). During the campaign, he had been assigned to purchase some 10.000 sheep and 100 camels from the Turcomans. Later on, while the army was marching throughout Anatolia, he appeared in subjugating the leader of the Beğdili Turcomans, Koçur Bey near Kayseri in 1629.⁴²⁸ And then, he was assigned upon the disobedient Turcomans in the environs of Ruha who refused to pay the tax to their *voyvodas*. Because the *voyvodas* failed in controlling those unruly tribes, Dilaver Pasha pursued the Turcomans with some cavalries by following the river of Euphrate for three days. When he arrived at their tents, he invited them to obey. Nevertheless, his attempt remained inconclusive. Thereupon, Dilaver Pasha laid an attack and

⁴²⁶ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; III, 1262.

⁴²⁷ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 683.

⁴²⁸ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 649 see also chapter I.

defeated them. All belongings of the Turcomans including flocks and camels were also looted by the army.⁴²⁹

4.2.9. Koçur Bey

As mentioned above, Koçur Bey, who was subdued by Dilaver Pasha, was the leader of the Beğdilli Turcomans in 1629. It was recorded in Naima that he was also the brother of Minnet Bey, who was the *boybeyi* of the Bozulus confederation as well.⁴³⁰ Through an archival document dated October 1626 which is presumably related to Koçur Bey, we will see that a *boybeyi* might also hold the post of the *Türkmen voyvodahğı* concurrently. The document seems to be an order sent by the government to Koçur Bey. It was stated that Koçur Bey was from the six cavalry corps and the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcomans as well.⁴³¹ He was ordered to send 90.970 akçes from the taxes he collected from the Turcomans to *kapıkulu sipah* Derviş Mescid for the salaries of some members of the six cavalry corps dated from 1625.⁴³² In view of the closeness between dates both in Naima's chronicle that portrays Koçur Bey as a rebel in 1629 and in the document which he appeared as *kapıkulu sipah* and the *voyvoda* in 1626, there is no reason to not accept both as the same person. Furthermore, in Naima's chronicle he is the leader of the Beğdilli Turcomans which was the largest tribe of the Bozulus confederation, while in the document he comes out as the *voyvoda* of the Bozulus Turcomans. From this point of

⁴²⁹ Topçular Kâtibi ', *Tarih*; II, 904-905.

⁴³⁰ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 649; Topçular Kâtibi ', *Tarih*; II, 881.

⁴³¹ *Ebnâ-i sipâhiyâdan olub bin otuz beş senesinde vilâyet-i Anadolu'da vâki Bozulus Türkânî voyvodası olan kıdvetü'l emâsil ve'l akrân Koçur zîde kadrîhû [sic] zikr olunan Bozulus Türkânîlerinin târih-i merkûmede âded-i aġnâm ve rûsûm-ı sâ'irelerinin akçesinden seksen dokuz bin yedi yüz dört akçe tefâvüt hissesine ve guruşdan bin iki yüz altmış üç akçeleri cümle doksan bin dokuz yüz yetmiş yedi akçeleridir meblâġ-ı merkûm bin otuz altı yüz muharreminin on ikinci gününde ba'zı sipâhi ve silâhdarların bin otuz beş [sic] mevâcibleri için ebnâ-i sipâhiyândan birinci bölükân kıdvetü'l emâsil ve'l akrân derviş Mescid'in [sic] zide kadrîhû yedinden ordu-yu hümayûnum hâzinesinin irâd ve mesârîfi kayd olunmaġın temessükâtı için işbu hükm-ü hümayûnum kaydları şöyle bilesin alâmet-i şerîfeye itimâd kulasın.(3 October 1626); İE DH 6/540.*

⁴³² İE DH 6/540.

view, being a member of the six cavalry corps enabled Koçur Bey to have been appointed as the *voyvoda* of his own tribe. It also points to the fact that the participation of tribal elites in the Ottoman military class could provide them with an opportunity to establish the ascendancy over their own tribe, precluding the *voyvoda* who was outside the tribe from ruling. Koçur Bey also seems to have benefited from the privileges of the six cavalry corps pertaining to the tax collection assignments.

4.2.10. Küçük Ahmed Pasha

During his long-running career in the Ottoman administration, he held many important offices including the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* by which he made a remarkable wealth. As far as we know through Naima's account, he was of Albanian origin and firstly started his career as the agha of *serdengeçtis* during the Hotin campaign (1621). Later on he was assigned as the Mardin *voyvodası*, and then promoted to the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı*. Owing to the capture of the rebel Ilyas Pasha, he was granted with the governorship of Damascus.⁴³³ While he was going to take his office in Damascus, he subdued the rebel Turcoman leader Hacı Ahmedođlu Ömer in the environs of Kayseri in 1632.⁴³⁴

To sum up, some well-known *Türkmen voyvodas* have been shown in this chapter. Thanks to this, it would be easier to grasp what the *Türkmen voyvodası* was. However, due to the inadequacy of the sources, there is no doubt that many *Türkmen voyvodas* are excluded from this study. A more comprehensive study on the issue in future may analyze all *Türkmen voyvodas*, revealing the more ordinary ones. On the other hand, these samples show that the *kapıkulu sipahs* enjoyed a monopoly over the office of *Türkmen voyvodası* generally. Furthermore, being a *Türkmen voyvodası*

⁴³³ Naîmâ, *Tarih*; II, 836.

⁴³⁴ See chapter I.

and a Celâli leader seem to overlap, which strenghtens the assumption that the Turcomans provided the *kapikulu sipahs* with a firm base for their struggles for power within the intra-elite conflicts over resources.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The Anatolian peninsula in the seventeenth century witnessed a migration of nomads and semi-nomads including the Turcomans and the Kurds coming from the east and moved over a vast area stretching from Karaman to Rhodes, resulting in a repopulation of the places which had been abandoned due to Celâli turbulence.⁴³⁵ This revival of nomadism in Anatolia in the seventeenth century is reflected through the chronicles and the archival documents. Evliya Çelebi presents many records relating to the Turcomans in nearly every place in Anatolia that he visited. For instance; when he visited the island of İstanköy at the Aegean sea, he states that hundreds of Turcoman clans had settled on that island, because it offered lush green pastures and provided security.⁴³⁶ On the other hand, there is no evidence that the Ottoman government aimed at rendering them sedentary until the 1690's. Thus, these newcomers maintained their semi-nomadic way of life. Again, according to Evliya Çelebi, some of them lived in villages and some others moved seasonally between pastures.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ Xavier de Planhol, "Geography, Politics and Nomadism in Anatolia", 525-532.

⁴³⁶ "Ve bu cezîre sâhral ve otlu ve sulu yer olup emn ü eman olmak ile Anadolu cânibinden niçe yüz Türkmân obası ve develeri ile gelüp vatan dutmuşlardır." Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; IX, 108.

⁴³⁷ During his travel, Evliya talked about many villages whose inhabitants were Turcomans. The names of these villages show that tribal character was still preserved. For instance; *karye-i*

The Ottoman government appreciated the significance of those Turcomans. In the 1630's, the nomadic groups made up 12 percent of the total Anatolian tax farm revenues. That rate was above the aggregate revenues of mines-minerals, salt flats and rice paddies. It was also nearly at the same level with custom revenues.⁴³⁸ The state farmed out the tribes to the members of military class, especially the members of the six cavalry soldiers (*kapıkulu sipahs*) in return for their services. Due to their tax collection privileges (*mülâzımet*), six cavalry soldiers turned into tax-farmers in the seventeenth century as financial entrepreneurs who squeezed the state resources to make as much profit as possible. Thus, *kapıkulu sipahs* were in a great effort in order not to lose their privileges that provided them with cash revenue as poll tax and sheep tax, which was very essential in a monetized economy.⁴³⁹ On the part of the *kapıkulu sipahs*, being a *Türkmen voyvodası* of any tribe might have enabled them to own an 'autonomous organization' whose advantages they would draw on to great extent. These are cash revenues derived from tax collection; animals which could be used both as camel for the transportation and as sheep for the market; and human source which could be employed as military power. On the other hand, all these are fairly enough for a *Türkmen voyvodası* to maintain his struggle, when he attempted to rise. Thanks to the cash money extracted from pastoral economy, it would be possible to hire mercenaries. Besides, if *Türkmen voyvodası* was on the good terms with those who ranked below the hierarchical tribal pyramid, it would also be likely for him to have tribal forces present at his hand. In addition, tribesmen's camel wagons must have been necessary for him to carry armaments at long distance. The

Akçakoyunlu in near Çankırı, *karye-i Karakeçili* which was located in the distant of two hours from Çorum. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; II, 202-205. In the third volume of his travel, he expressed his amazement at the highland of Ramazanoğlu in Adana. He said that there were too many Turcoman tribes coming to the highland to pasture. Most of them came from Adana, Tarsus, Silifke and Sis; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*; III, 28.

⁴³⁸ Rhoads Murphey, *Regional Structure in the Ottoman Economy* (Göttingen: Otto Harrasowitz Wiesbaden, 1987), 224-227. The largest revenue belongs to avarız taxes amounted to 45 percent.

⁴³⁹ Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 182-187.

candidates for the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* seem to have been aware of those advantages. For instance; in 1699, a *ser-çeşme* named Türkmen Ali demanded insistently the office of *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* for himself.⁴⁴⁰ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed states that although Türkmen Ali was a notorious bandit and pardoned several times for his crimes, he insisted on that post shamelessly. He goes on relating through Türkmen Ali's own words:

"It would be great, if I was assigned as *Türkmen voyvodası*! I would go to Anatolia and become established in my habitual banditry."⁴⁴¹

Just like Türkmen Ali, so his forerunners (Abaza Hasan, Gürcü Nebi, Kürd Mehmed) endeavoured to be appointed as *Türkmen voyvodası*. That post was of particular importance to those whose power base was in Anatolia. Abaza Hasan, Gürcü Nebi and İbşir Mustafa rose to prominence through Anatolia, though they were all Caucasian.⁴⁴² Dasnik Mirza, Kürd Mehmed and Çomar Bölükbaşı were already the members of Kurdish tribal population; and the others, Konyalı Hadım's brother Hasan, Koçur Bey and Türkmen Ali, as is understood from his name, belonged to the Turcoman tribes.

Of all those advantages which the post of *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* brought, the last one, human source for rebel armies, displayed its significance in the Celâli

⁴⁴⁰ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekâiyat*, 678.

⁴⁴¹ "...cibiliyetinde merkûz olan mel'anet iktizâsı ile, 'bana Türkmen ağalıđı olur ise febihâ ve illâ Anadolu'ya güzâr ve me'lûf olduđum şakâvetde istikrâr üzere olurum' deyü isrâr itmekle,..." Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *ibid.*, 678.

⁴⁴² Since Anatolia was geographically hinterland of the Caucasus region, those Caucasian pashas (Abaza Mehmed, Abaza Hasan, İbşir Mustafa and Dilaver Pasha) chosen Anatolia to make a living. They became members of the Ottoman military system by joining generally in the six cavalry corps. See Dilaver Pasha in the third chapter. Naima relates Dilaver Pasha's own words, "When I came from the Circassian land, I did have only a whip and a horse with me. After having joined in the six cavalry corps, I occupied in a number of heavy duties. Thanks to this, I could have respectable posts and made a modest profit. After that, I gained substantial wealth by means of the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* and settled in Kayseri."

rebellions; it was clearly seen also during the reign of Osman II and continued throughout the period of the rebel pashas. Osman II put the former *voyvoda* of the Yeni-il and Haleb Turcomans, Eski Yusuf, in charge of organizing a new army which would be composed of the Turcomans of Anatolia and northern Syria. Similarly, without the Turcomans, it seems unlikely for Abaza Hasan Pasha to give a warning to the state in such a manner:

"I want the heads of seventy men with the vizier Köprülü, and from then on Rumeli is yours, beyond the sea Anatolia is mine!"⁴⁴³

As for tribesmen, joining in the armies of rebel pashas as *sekbân* and *saruca* opened the way for entering to the *askeri* class, which enabled them to prosper by means of tax exemption as well as salaries paid in cash. In chapter one, how local tribesmen's efforts to become *askeri* have been seen through Canbakal's examples from Ayntab court records. In addition, the 'Akçakoyunlu' and 'Neccarlı' tribes from Yeni-il requested their *voyvodas* to recruit men from their own people, instead of outside the tribes. Furthermore, as seen before, Mansur and his sons from the Danişmendli Turcomans were already the members of *kapıkulu sipahs*. This vertical mobility in turn produced a new type of subject in the Ottoman provincial society; tribesman-turned-*sekbân* or tribesman-turned-*kul* (either *janissary* or *kapıkulu sipah*). It was very likely that the *Türkmen voyvodas* had a part in turning tribesmen into *sekbâns* or *kuls*, due to their intermediary positions between tribes and state. Khoury has stated that the local elements in Mosul, Damascus and Haleb had already participated in the cavalry regiments from the 1600's on. The *sipah* leaders came from the local families who had roots in the provincial society and hence permanent links with rural

⁴⁴³ "Köpürlü Vezîr ile yetmiş kimsenin başların isterim ve illâ Rûmeli kâfiristânı sizin, deryâdan beri Anadolu benim" deyü haber gönderüp deryâ-misâl asker ile Üsküdar'a gelmeğe bel bağlayup.."; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*;V, 111.

populations, such leaders could control the rural resources in the form of tax-farms.⁴⁴⁴ In this regard, it would not be surprising that a leader who was of Turcoman origin is seen in an effort to obtain the resources belonged to the nomads.

On the other hand, all actors who took part in the struggles for the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* were the new elites of the Ottoman government in the seventeenth century, whose spokesman was Mustafa Naima. The history of Naima was a clear rupture from his precedents, like Koçi Bey and Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, in terms of focusing on change, rather than the unchangeable nature of the state.⁴⁴⁵ Therefore, Naima does not condemn the appearance of new social groups, referring to many new figures in his chronicle which enable us to see the general picture of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴⁶ One of them is certainly Derviş Mehmed Pasha who made a substantial wealth through his entrepreneurial spirit during his career at the governorship of Baghdad.⁴⁴⁷ The others, Abaza Hasan, Gürcü Nebi, İbşir Pasha, Yeğen Osman, who are at the core of this study, were the new provincial elites who had no aristocratic lines. They came from the below and advanced in their career by joining in the Ottoman army, particularly in the six cavalry corps. Thanks to their services of tax collection (*mülâzımet*), they seem to have enough power to be able to attempt at establishing a monopoly over the state revenues (*mîrî mukâta'ât*). For instance; Naima states that Gürcü Nebi, even from a remote district, Niğde, could manipulate the distribution of the state revenues, on behalf of his fellows. However, it is obvious that these new elites demanded especially the post of *Türkmen voyvodalıđı* for themselves. There was a fierce struggle over the *Türkmen*

⁴⁴⁴ Dina Rızk Houry, "Ottoman Centre versus Provincial Power-holders", *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3.vol., ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 146-147.

⁴⁴⁵ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Modern Devletin Doğası*, trans. Oktay Özel-Canay Şahin (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000), 77.

⁴⁴⁶ Abou-El-Haj, *ibid.*, 78.

⁴⁴⁷ İ.Metin Kunt, "Derviş Mehmed Paşa, Vezir and Entrepreneur: A Study in Ottoman Political-Economic Theory and Practice".

voyvodalıđı, owing to its advantages mentioned above. Especially, the earnings of pastoral economy not only whetted the appetite of those in the provinces, but those in Istanbul who were remote from the Turcoman areas. Bektas Agha, who was the old Janissary agha and controlled the Istanbul meat market, objected to both Abaza Hasan Pasha and Dasnik Mirza for the *Türkmen voyvodalıđı*.

This study also clearly shows that the Turcomans did not refuse the state authority. Tribesmen appear to have been consent to fulfilling their tax obligations to the state. In case of need, they did not hesitate to take the trouble of going to the Porte in order to submit their complaints about the tax matters. As is seen, in 1653, the Turcomans of Sivas went to Istanbul to complain about the over-taxation by their *kethüda* named Satılmış. However, even though they returned from Istanbul empty-handed, their attempt was important for us to see how tribesmen asked for justice from the state. Likewise, tribeswoman named Yüzükutlu (?) went to the sultan in Kayseri on foot in order to lessen the tax burden on her shoulders. It would possible to present more similar examples regarding such tax issues, however, it is still essential to analyze much more documents to clarify the relation between tribesmen and their *voyvodas* in the seventeenth century when the state underwent a great change.

Overall, the *Türkmen voyvodası* was an important part of the Ottoman provincial administration in the seventeenth century. The government wanted to benefit from the tribes as much as possible, which were stretching over the vast mountainous Anatolian peninsula. For this reason, a great mission fell to the *Türkmen voyvodası*. He was an instrument of the Ottoman government in tapping the resources of nomads, playing a major role in supplying meat and camel for the Ottoman armies on the Safavid campaign. Apart from the logistic assistance, he had

a great role in controlling tribes. He ensured the continuation of tribal groups, keeping them in unit; or, at least collected their taxes, though they dispersed over a large area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources:

I. Prime Ministry Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)

- Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler no: 6145, 6159, 6185, 6268, 7275, 7392.
- İbnü'l Emin Tasnifi:
Dâhiliye no: 5/473, 6/547, 6/540.
Saray Muhasebesi no: 12/1235, 1258/1.
Şikayet no: 2/110, 1/74.
Maliye no: 5/331, 3210
Dahiliye no: 6/540.
- Topkapı Sarayı Arşivleri:
Maliye Defteri no: 10058, 1328, 4166.
- Divân-ı Hümâyun Baş Muhasebe Defterleri no: 207, 197.
- Yabancı Arşivler no: 04.d

II. Published Archival Sources:

Altınay, Ahmet Refik. *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (H.900-1200)*, second edition. İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1987.

Gökçen, İbrahim. *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine göre Saruhan'da Yörük ve Türkmenler*. İstanbul: Maarifet Basımevi, 1946.

Su, Kamil. *Balıkesir Civarında Yörük ve Türkmenler*. İstanbul: Balıkesir Halkevi Yayınları, 1938.

Uluçay, Çağatay. *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkîyalık ve Halk Hareketeleri*. Manisa: CHP Halkevi, 1944.

III. Primary Sources:

Hasanbeyzade, Ahmed. *Hasan Bey-zâde Târîhi*, ed. Şevki Nezihi Aykut, 3 vols., Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004

Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli

- *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol.I, editors Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman ve Yücel Dağlı, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006.
- *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 304 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol.II, editors Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman ve Yücel Dağlı, second edition, İstanbul:Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006.
- *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 305 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol.III, editors Seyit Ali Kahraman ve Yücel Dağlı, second edition, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006.
- *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 307 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, vol.V, editors Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, İbrahim Sezgin, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001.
- *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 306, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Pertev Paşa 462, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşir Ağa 452 Numaralı Yazmalarının Mukayeseli Transkripsiyonu-Dizini)*, editors Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff, vol.IX, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, Mart 2006.

Gelibolulu Mustafa' Âlî, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis Fî-Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis*, ed. Prof.Dr. Mehmet Şeker. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997.

Hırzû'l-Mülûk, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar (Kitab-ı Müstetab, Kitabu Mesâlihi'l Müslimîn ve Menâfi'i'l Mü'minîn, Hırzû'l Mülûk)*, ed. Yaşar Yücel. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988.

Hüseyin Tuğî, *Musibetnâme*, ed.Şevki Nezihi Aykut. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010.

İsâ-zâde Tarihi, ed.Ziya Yılmaz. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1996.

Katib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, vol.I-II. İstanbul:1286-1287.

- *Fezleketü't-Tevârih*, ed. Prof.Dr. Seyyid Muhammed es-Seyyid. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009.

Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü'l- Hüseyin Fî Hulâsati Ahbâri'l-Hâfikayn)*, vol. I-II-III-IV, ed. Mehmet İpşirli. Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007.

Topçular Kâtibi 'Abdülkâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi, vol. I-II, ed. Doç. Dr. Ziya Yılmaz, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003.

Tavernier, Jean Baptiste. *Tavernier Seyahatnamesi*, trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan, ed. Stefanos Yerasimos. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006.

Dictionaries:

Pakalın, Mehmet Zeki. *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. I-II-III, İstanbul Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1946.

Sami, Şemseddin. *Kamus-ı Türkî*, İkdam matbaası, İstanbul, H.1318.

Redhouse, James. *Redhouse Dictionary, Türkçe-İngilizce*, İstanbul, 7th edition, 1984.

Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü I, Türk Dil Kurumu, İstanbul Cumhuriyet Basımevi, 1943.

<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/steward>.

Works Cited:

Abou-El-Haj, Rifa'at Ali. *Modern Devletin Doğası*, trans. Oktay Özel-Canay Şahin. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2000.

Abu-Husayn, Abdul-Rahim. *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1576-1650*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985.

Adanır, Fikret. "Woywoda", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Akdağ, Mustafa. "Genel Çizgileriyle XVII. Yüzyıl Türkiye Tarihi", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol:4, no: 6-7.

- *Türkiye'nin İktisadî ve İctimaî Tarihi*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010.
- *Celâli İsyânları (1550-1603)*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963.
- "Yeniçeri Ocak Nizamının Bozuluşu", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil veTarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vo:5, No:3, 1947
- *Büyük Celâli Karışıklıklarının Başlaması*. Erzurum: 1963.

Altınok, Baki Yaşar. *Öyküleriyle Kırşehir Türküleri, Destanları, Ağıtları*. Ankara: Oba Yayıncılık, 2003.

Andreasyan, Hrand D. *Polonyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi 1608-1619*. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1964.

- Barkey, Karen. *Bandits and Bureaucrats (The Ottoman Route to State Centralization)*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Bulliet, Richard. *The Camel and the Wheel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Canbakal, Hülya. *Ayntab: Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Cezar, Mustafa. *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler*, İstanbul, 1965.
- Cezar, Yavuz. *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1986.
- Cırık, Hatice. "XVII. Yüzyıl Askeri Seferleri Esnasında Anadolu'dan Yapılan Hazırlıklar (1644-1660)", unpublished M.A. thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, Ankara, 2006.
- Çakar, Enver. *17. Yüzyılda Haleb Eyaleti ve Türkmenler*. Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi Ortadoğu Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, 2006.
- Danacı, Aysel. "The Ottoman Empire and the Anatolian Tribes in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", unpublished M.A thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1998.
- Darling, Linda T. *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy (Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660)*. Leiden-New York-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1996.
- Eröz, Mehmet. *Yörükler*. İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1991.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya. "Political Tensions in the Anatolian Countryside Around 1600 - An Attempt at Interpretation", *Türkische Miszellen*. Robert Anhegger Festschrift. Armağanı, Melanges, ed. J.L Bacque Grammont, Barbara Flemming, Macit Gökberk, İlber Ortaylı, İstanbul, 1987.
- "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devencilik ve Anadolu Göçebelere (Danişmedli Mukataası)", *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, II.cilt, Ankara 21-25 Eylül 1981
 - *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting 1520-1650*. Cambridge University Press: 1984.
 - "Camels, Wagons, and the Ottoman State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 14 (1982)
- Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream*. New York: Basic Books, 2006.

- Genç, Mehmet. "Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün İlkeleri", *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, vol.3, No:1 (1988-1989), İ.Ü.E.F. Yayınları, İstanbul, 1989.
- Gordlevski, Vladimir. *Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti*, translated from Russian to Turkish by Azer Yaran. Ankara: Onur Yayıncılık, 1988.(V.Gordlevski, *Gosudarstvo Selçukidov Maloy Azii*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941).
- Göçer, Lütfi. *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1964.
- Göyünç, Nejat. *XVI.Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.
- Greenwood, Antony W. "Istanbul's Meat Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System", unpublished PhD thesis, the University of Chicago, 1988.
- Griswold, William J. *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1988.
- Günay, Vehbi. "Evliya Çelebi'nin Gözlemlerine Göre Anadolu'da Eşkıyalık ve Celâliler", *Evliya Çelebi ve Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Nuran Tezcan- Kadir Atlansoy, Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Yayınları, Mersin, 2002.
- Gündüz, Tufan. *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri (Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640)*, second edition. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2007.
- *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005.
 - "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçer Raiyyete Dair", *Bozkırın Efendileri-Türkmenler Üzerine Makaleler*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2009.
- Halaçoğlu, Yusuf. *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyâseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1988.
- Imber, Colin. *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1650*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- İnalçık, Halil. *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age 1300-1600*. London: Phoenix, 2000.
- "Adaletnameler", *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, II-3/4 (TTK, 1965).
 - "Arab Camel Drivers in Western Anatolia in the Fifteenth Century", *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul, 1998.
 - "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, VI. (1980), Peeters-Leuven.
 - "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-Armes in the Middle East", *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J.Parry and M.E.Yapp. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- İşbilir, Ömer. "Osmanlı Ordularının İaşe ve İkmali: I. Ahmed Devri İran Seferleri

Örneği", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi* (10), editors Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, Selim Koca, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları.

Jennings, Ronald. "The Population, Society, and Economy of the Region of Erciyeş Dağı in the Sixteenth Century", in R. Jennings, *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries*. İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 1999.

- "Firearms, Bandits, and Gun-Control: Some Evidence on Ottoman Policy Towards Firearms in the Possession of Reaya, From Judicial Records of Kayseri, 1600-1627", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980).

Kasaba, Reşat. *A Moveable Empire*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009.

Khoury, Dina Rızk. *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire (Mosul, 1540-1834)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

- "Ottoman Centre versus Provincial Power-holders", *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, 3.vol., ed. Suraiya Faroqhi. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Kunt, İ.Metin. "Derviş Mehmed Paşa, Vezir and Entrepreneur: A Study in Ottoman Political-Economic Theory and Practice", *Turcica Revue D'etudes Turques*, Tome IX/1, 1977.

Lindner, Rudi Paul. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1983.

Mousnier, Roland. *Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth Century France, Russia and China*, translated from the French by Brian Pearce, London, 1971.

Murphey, Rhoads. "Some Features of Nomadism in the Ottoman Empire: A Survey Based On Tribal Census And Judicial Appeal Documentation From Archives In Istanbul And Damascus", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol.8, (1984).

- *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700*. London: UCL Press, 1999.
- "The Functioning of the Ottoman Army Under Murad IV (1623-1639/1032-1049): Key to the Understanding of the Relationship Between Center and Periphery in the Seventeenth Century Turkey", unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Chicago, 1979.
- *Regional Structure in the Ottoman Economy*. Göttingen: Otto Harrasowitz Wiesbaden, 1987.

Orhonlu, Cengiz. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1987.

- *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü (1691-1696)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1963.
- Ortaylı, İlber. "Devenin Taşıma Maliyeti Eğrisi Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol.28, no:1.
- Özel, Oktay. "The Reign of Violence: the Celalis (c.1550-1570)", *Contribution to the Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge), forthcoming.
- Özvar, Erol. "XVII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra Maliyesinde Değişme: Diyarbakır'da Hazine Defterdarlığından Voyvodalığa Geçiş", *IX International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*, Dubrovnik-Croatia, (20-23 August, 2002), published by Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2005.
- Planhol, de Xavier. "Geographic Politique et nomadisme en Anatolia", in *Revue Internationale des Sciences sociales*, XI, 1959.
- Rafeq, Abdul-Karim. "The Revolt of Ali Pasha Janbulad (1605-1607) in the Contemporary Arabic Sources and its Significance", *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 11-15 Ekim 1976, Vol.III.
- "Changes in the Relationship between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Syrian Provinces from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries", *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, Southern Illinois University Press, 1977.
- Salzmann, Philip Carl. "Tribal Chiefs as Middlemen: The Politics of Encapsulation in the Middle East", *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 47, No.2 (Apr., 1974).
- Saydam, Abdullah. "Sultanın Özel Statüye Sahip Tebaası: Konar-Göçerler", *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no:20, (December 2009).
- Shaw,Stanford J. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol:I Empire of the Gazis (The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808)*, Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Selçuk, Havva. "1651 Yılında Kayseri Kalesinin Kuşatılması ve Kürd Mehmed Ağa", *SDÜ Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no.17, (May 2008).
- "The Jelali Abaza Hasan Rebellion and Its Reflection on Kayseri", *Turkish Studies*, vol:3/4, Summer 2008.
 - "Kayseri ve Çevresinde Bulunan Türkmen Oymaklarının Yerleşik Halkla Münasebetleri", *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Yörükler ve Türkmenler*, editors Hayati Beşirli – İbrahim Erdal. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2008.

Soyudođan, Muhsin. "Ařiretlerin Ekonomi Politieđi ya da Olađan řiddet: Osmanlı Ayntâb'ında Ařiret Eřkıyalıđı Üzerine", *Antep*, ed. Mehmet Gültekin, İletişim Yay., İstanbul, Haziran 2011.

Söylemez, Faruk. *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ařiret Yönetimi: Riřvan Ařireti Örneđi*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007.

Sümer, Faruk. *Ođuzlar (Türkmenler)*. İstanbul:Türk Dünyası Arařtırmaları Vakfı, 1999.

- *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Geliřmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992.

řahin, İlhan. "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadoluşu Göçebelerinde Kethüdalık ve Boybeylik Müessesesi", *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler*, İlhan řahin. İstanbul: Eren, 2006.

- "1638 Bağdat Seferinde Zahir Nakline Memur Edilen Yeniil ve Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Dergisi*, no: 33 (1982).
- "XVI.Asırda Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no:12 (1982).
- "Yeni-İl Kazası ve Yeni-İl Türkmenleri (1548-1653)", unpublished PhD thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1980.
- "Anadolu'da Ođuzlar", *Türkler VI*.

Taş, Hülya. *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2006.

Tezcan, Baki. "The Military Rebellion in İstanbul: A Historiographical Journey", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol.8, Spring 2002.

- *The Second Ottoman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Thomas, Lewis. *A Study of Naima*, ed. Norman Itzkowitz. New York: New York University Press, 1972.

Togan, İsenbike. "Ottoman History by Inner Asian Norms", *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, editors Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi. London: Frank Cass&Co.Ltd., 1992.

Turan, řerafetin. *Kanuni Süleyman Dönemi Taht Kavgaları*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi,1997.

Uluçay, Çaçatay. "Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padiřah Oldu?", *Tarih Dergisi*, no:6-8.

Usta, Onur.-Özel, Oktay. "Sedentarization of the Turcomans in 16th Century Cappadocia: Kayseri, 1480-1584", *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, (*Türk Dilleri Arařtırmaları Dizisi: 48*) ed. EvangeliaBalta and Mehmet Ölmez. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2010.

Uzun, Efkan. "XVII. Yüzyıl Anadolu İsyânlarının Şehirlere Yayılması; Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayata Etkisi (1630-1655)", unpublished PhD thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2008.

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. *Kapıkulu Ocakları II*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988.

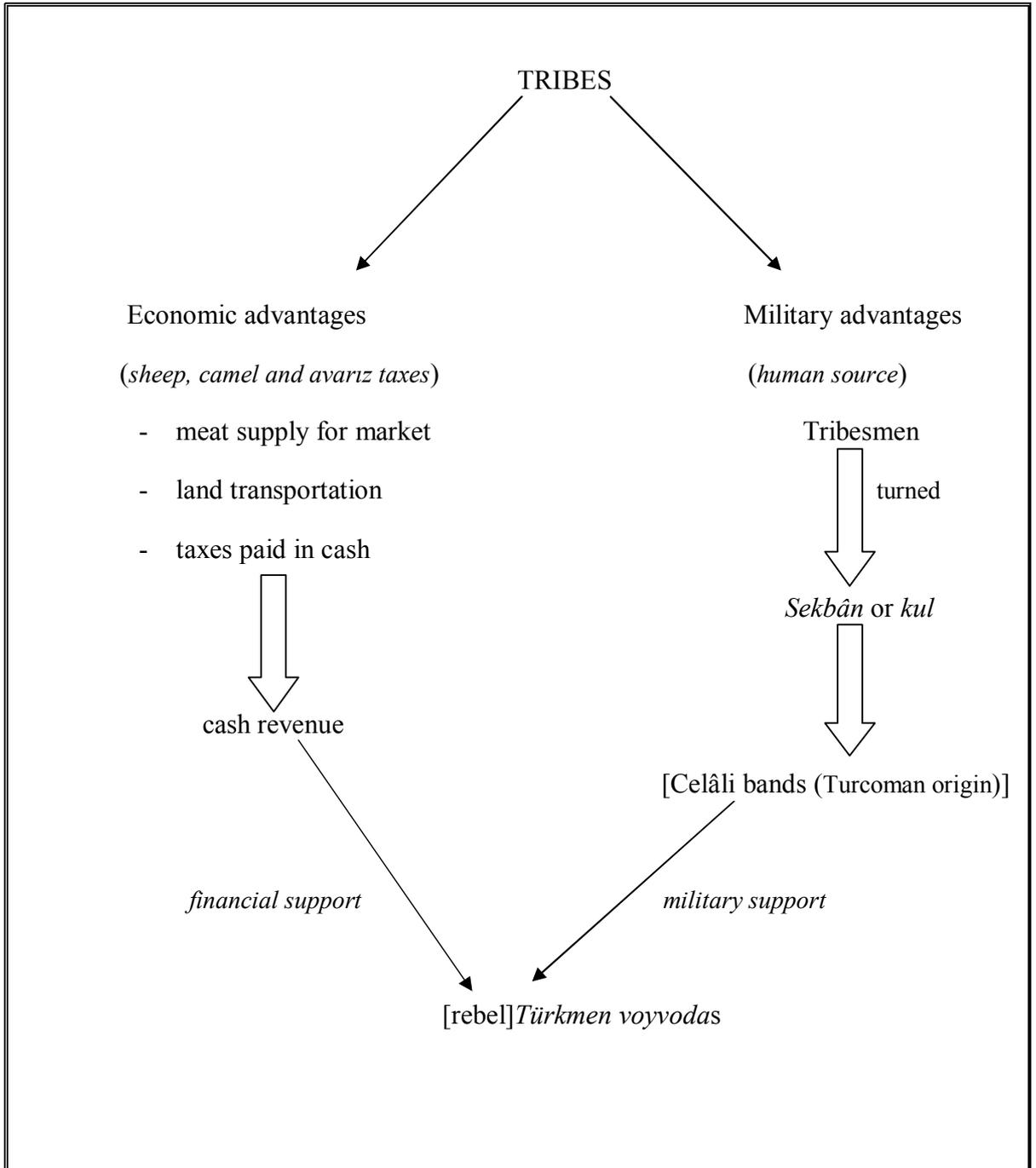
- *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988.

White, Sam. "Ecology, Climate and Crisis in the Ottoman Near East", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Colombia, 2008.

Woods E. John. *The Aqqoyunlu (Clan, Confederation, Empire)*. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1999.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Connection Between *Türkmen Voyvodas* and Tribes



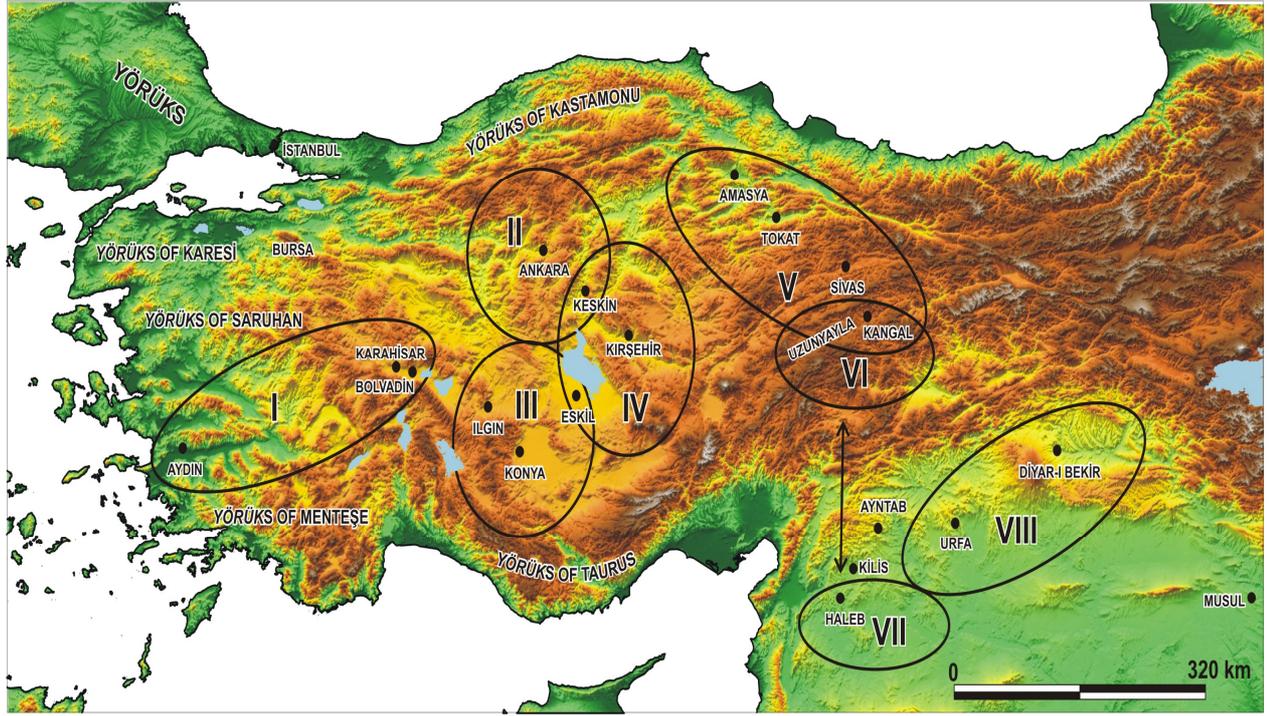
Appendix B: The List of Some *Türkmen Voyvodas*

<i>Türkmen voyvodas</i>	Office	Unit	Year
Eski Yusuf	Halberdier(<i>baltacı</i>)	Yeni-il	1621
Hasan Ağa*	?	Yeni-il	1630-31
Mehmed Ağa*	?	Yeni-il	1644
Abaza Hasan Pasha	Silâhdar	Yeni-il	1648-49,1651-53
Ak Ali Ağa	Janissary ?	Yeni-il	1648-49
Gürcü Nebî	sipâh	Bozulus	1642-43
Hasan (Konyalı)	sipâh	Bozulus	1653-55
Kürd Mehmed	sipâh	Yeni-il	1655
Kazzaz Ahmed	sipâh	dispersed Turcomans	1645
Çomar Bölükbaşı	sipâh	Turcomans in Ayntab	1650
Koçur Bey	sipâh	Bozulus	1626
Dilaver Pasha	sipâh	?	1628-29 ?
Küçük Ahmed Pasha	?	?	1632 ?

* Hasan Ağa (1630-31) and Mehmed Ağa (1644) are added from İlhan Şahin's PhD dissertation

Appendix C: The Main Turcoman Areas in Anatolia in the Seventeenth Century⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁸ This map is prepared through the datas given by Tufan Gündüz. (Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri; XVII ve XVIII. Yüzyillarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*)



- I. Danişmendli Turcomans (Aydın Evi), Bozulus Turcomans
- II. Bozulus Turcomans
- III. Bozulus Turcomans
- IV. Bozulus Turcomans
- V. Danişmendli Turcomans (Rum Evi), Bozulus Turcomans
- VI. Yeni-il Turcomans
- VII. Haleb Turcomans
- VIII. Bozulus Turcomans