

## THE OGHUZ TURKS OF ANATOLIA

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The migration and settlement of Oghuz groups, who were also known as *Turkmens* in Anatolia, were closely related with the political and demographic developments in the Great Seljuk Empire. But in order to understand these developments better, it would be reasonable to dwell first a little on the conditions under which the Oghuz groups lived before migrating to Anatolia, and look to the reasons behind their inclination towards Anatolia. The Oghuz groups, who constituted an important part of the Göktürk and Uygur states, lived along the banks of the Sır Darya River and on the steppes lying to the north of this river in the first half of the tenth century<sup>1</sup>. Those were nomadic people, and they made a living out of stock breeding, so they needed summer pastures and winter quarters on which they had to raise their animals and survive through cold winter days comfortably. In addition to them, there were sedentary Oghuz groups. In those days, the sedentary Oghuz groups were called "*yatuk*"<sup>2</sup> which means lazy. This indicates that leading a nomadic life was more favorable then.

Although most of the Oghuz groups led a nomadic life, they did have a certain political and social structure and order. There are various views about the meaning of the word "Oghuz", and according to dominant one among them, the word means "tribes", and "union of tribes" or "union of relative tribes"<sup>3</sup>. So, in other words, the word had organizational and structural connotations in the political and social sense. The Oghuz groups, consisting of a number of different *boys* or tribes, can be examined in two main groups since the earlier periods in the most classical age of

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on the Oghuz settlements along Sır Darya, see V. M. Jirmunski, "Traces of Oghuz Peoples Along Syr Darya" (Translation: İ. Kaynak), *Belleten*, XXV/99 (1961), 471-483; Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar/Türkmenler Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilâtı-Destanları*, İstanbul 1992, pp. 46-54; İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, Ankara 1977, p. 133 vd.

<sup>2</sup> Kâşgarlı Mahmud, *Divanü Lûgat-it Türk* (Translation: B. Atalay), III, Ankara 1941, pp. 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> For more information on this view for the meaning of the word "Oghuz" see P. B. Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz", *Archivum Ottomanicum*, IV (1972), pp. 45-48; F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 13-14; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, p. 130.

the political and social organization: *Üç-Ok* and *Boz-Ok*. These two major groups consisted of equal number of *boys*, namely; Kayı, Bayat, Alka-Evli/Alka-Bölük, Kara-Evli/Kara-Bölük, Yazır, Döğer, Dodurga, Yaparlı, Avşar, Kızık, Beğdili, Karkın, Bayındır, Peçenek, Çavundur/Çavuldur, Çepni, Salur, Eymir, Alayuntlu, Yüreğir, İğdir, Büğdüz, Yıva and Kınık<sup>4</sup>. The Oghuz people actually had a state. In this structure, they were ruled by leaders whom they called “*yabgu*”. The capital of this union of tribes was Yenikent located in the winter settlement area<sup>5</sup>. To refer to the state, the words “*il*” or “*el*” were used.

Since the mid-tenth century onwards, a great majority of the Oghuz people started migrating from their homelands. According to various sources, it is understood that the major reasons behind these people’s decision to migrate were the internal political conflicts, the pressure of the Kypchak from the north, the insufficiency and narrowness of the settlement areas. A group of the migrating Oghuz tribes moved from the north of the Black Sea to the west. In historical sources, these people are referred as “Uz”<sup>6</sup>. Yet another important group had arrived in Cend, which was one of the border towns of the Oghuz state in southern part. The leader of this group was Seljuk Bey, who was an army commander (*sübaşı*) in the Oghuz Yabgu state and a member of the Kınık *boy*. The arrival of the Oghuz people in Cend marked the beginning of a new period. In Cend, the Oghuz people converted to Islam. In time, these Oghuz people were mentioned as *Turkmens*, which was a political term used while referring to various Turkish tribes, before they converted to Islam<sup>7</sup>.

Seljuk Bey, the leader of the Oghuz people, started to gain a new identity in Cend. The conflict between the Samanids and the Karahanids came to an end when the Samanids gained victory and built dominance over Mâveraünnehr (Maveraünnehir) with the support they received from the forces led by Seljuk Bey’s son Arslan. In return, Samanids gave some parts of the territories near the Samani border town of Nur to the Seljuks (986). In this area, the Oghuz people

<sup>4</sup> For more information on these *boys*, see Kâşgarlı Mahmud, *ibid.* I, Ankara 1939, pp. 55-58; Reşidüddin Fazlullah, *Câmi’ü’t-tevârih* (neşr. Behmen Kerimî), I, Tahran 1338, pp. 38-43. Kâşgarlı Mahmud states that there were 22 *boys*. Besides, Reşidüddin cites that there were 24 *boys* under *Boz-Ok* and *Üç-Ok* groups. For more information on these *boys*, see F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, pp. 163-269.

<sup>5</sup> For more information, see Omeljan Pritsak, “Der Untergang des Reiches des Oгузischen Yabgu”, *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, İstanbul 1953, pp. 379-410.

<sup>6</sup> For more information on the Uz people and their migration movements, see Bela Kassonyi, “On the History of Uz and Koman Peoples in the XI-XII Centuries” (Translation: Hamit Koşay), *Bulleten*, VIII/29 (1944), pp. 119-136; A. Nimet Kurat, *Peçenek Tarihi*, İstanbul 1937, p. 150-160; A. Nimet Kurat, *IV-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri*, Ankara 1972, pp. 65-68; P. B. Golden, *Ibid.*, pp. 80-84.

<sup>7</sup> For more information on the name “Turkmen” and its origins, see S. G. Ağadzhanov-A. Karryev, “Some Basic Problems of the Ethnogenesis of the Turkmen”, *The Nomadic Alternative: Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Desert and Steppes* (ed. W. Weissleder), The Hague-Paris 1978, pp. 167-177.

who belonged to Seljuk Bey's son Arslan, who had been stuck in the Cend region, settled. This is important in the sense that it proves how much the Oghuz people were loyal to the dynasty. After some time, when Seljuk Bey died, for the Oghuz people, who had been living a nomadic life in accordance with Turkic customs and traditions, it became obvious that they were divided within the Seljuk dynasty. As a result, almost all the Oghuz people, who were living in the Cend region, went to Mâveraünnehr, where Arslan Yabgu had been ruling. However, when the Karahanids, who were allies of the Gaznavids, gained control over the Mâveraünnehr region, the Oghuz people started having great difficulties in finding a place themselves to live in peace. In the meantime, the Oghuz people, attached to Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys, who were not in good terms with their uncle Arslan Bey, started to withdraw to the border regions far from the attacks.

The Oghuz people attached to Arslan Yabgu were left without a leader and detached from each other when Arslan was arrested by the Gaznavids and died in 1032. This situation forced their leaders to apply to the Gaznavid leader Mahmud and ask for a place to live in. Mahmud allocated *yurts* to these leaders in the around Khorasan. The fact that various Oghuz groups were attached to different members of the dynasty, like Tuğrul Bey, Çağrı Bey and Musa Yabgu, as well as Arslan Yabgu's son Kutalmış's cousin İbrahim Yinal, and the fact that these groups were named after them (eg. Yınalıyan)<sup>8</sup>, as it was mentioned before tell us that there was a certain administrative system in these tribes. After some time, Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys, taking the advantage of the authority gap caused by Gaznavid leader Sultan Mesud's going on an expedition to India, took control of Nishapur, which was a strategically important city in Khorasan (1038). This was followed by the Dandanakan victory in 1040, which Tuğrul and Çağrı Beys won against the Gaznavids. Following this victory, a Seljuki state, which could be considered as a continuation of the Oghuz Yabgu State, was established, and Tuğrul Bey became the leader of this state. Shortly after the foundation of the Seljuki State, a central administrative structure started to emerge, and this administrative system developed a set of rules and laws in time. Of course, this system was not in harmony with the nomadic lifestyle that the Oghuz people had until then. Eventually, finding separate places for the nomadic people to live in the summer pastures and winter quarters turned into a serious problem to administer. In the end, the administration found it more appropriate to settle these nomadic people in border regions in the west far from the administrative center.

At first, the nomadic tribes, particularly those attached to Arslan Yabgu and his sons, were settled in today's Azerbaijan. After a short time, the Oghuz people started raiding Anatolia, and proceeded as far as the eastern, central and even

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<sup>8</sup> For more information, see Kōsuke Shimizu, "İbrāhīm Yinal and Yınāliyān-Turkmans in the Early Days of the Great Saljūqs" (in Japanese language), *Isuramu Sekai*, X (1974), pp.15-32.

western sections of Anatolia. But since there were many Byzantine citadels and cities in the region in the meantime, most of these raids were not successful, and the Oghuz people would eventually return to the Azerbaijan region at the end of these raids. Finally, in 1071, with the Malazgirt Victory, the Oghuz people started flowing into Anatolia in groups, and a huge migration wave, including those in Azerbaijan, Eastearn Anatolia and later relatively internal parts, started. This migration wave reached its peak point between 1221 and 1260, during the course of Mongolian attacks. During the Mongolian invasion, a great part of Turkestan was devastated, and this caused many of the people living in that region at the time to move towards Anatolia and settled there. Among these people there were some Turkic tribes such as the Qarluqs, Halach and Kipchaks. As a result of these population movements, there occurred great and rapid changes in the demographic, toponymic and cultural structure of Anatolia. The element that had the biggest role in these changes, however, was the Oghuz people, who were known in Anatolia as *Turkmens*.

For the *Turkmens*, who had come to Anatolia from the vast steppes of Central Asia, Anatolia was a region suitable to lead both a sedentary and a nomadic life. Even so, it is hard to say that there was an established nomadic tradition in Anatolia dating back to earlier times of history. There is no considerable information in available historical sources telling us that there were nomadic tribes in a real sense, living in Anatolia in Classical Antiquity or in the Byzantine period<sup>9</sup>. So, the first time when Anatolian territories hosted nomads was possibly when the *Turkmens* started to come to the region. Recent studies carried out in the light of fifteenth and sixteenth century Ottoman sources, on the toponymy of various regions of Anatolia<sup>10</sup>, showed that there was huge uninhabited space in the vast rural areas that fell outside the boundaries of forts, towns and cities. For the *Turkmens*, Anatolia, whose countryside was mostly empty and unsettled, was a strange land. However, during the dominance of different Turkic states, including the first Turkic state established in the region by Kutalmışoğlu Suleyman Shah and the Danişmends, Mengüçüks, Artuks, Ahlat Shahs, Saltuks and the Anatolian Seljuk State, they began to know the region better. The period when the Turkmen principalities and the Mamlukes that were in conflict with the Ottomans in the south, was the time when the nomads started to be known the summer pastures and winters quarters geographically and to be shaped. Many of the Turkic principalities in Anatolia had been directly established by the members of different dynasties belonging to the big Turkmen clan. This played an important role in the occupation

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<sup>9</sup> See X de Planhol, "Geography, Politics and Nomadism in Anatolia", *Unesco International Social Science*, XI (1959), p. 525.

<sup>10</sup> For a bibliographic essay on these studies, see Adnan Gürbüz, *XV.-XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sancak Çalışmaları*, İstanbul 2001, pp. 57-116.

of the region by the Turks in such a short period of time.

As a result of the migrations, which started after the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071, and which continued until the fourteenth century, substantial numbers of *Turkmens* must have come to Anatolia. However, it is impossible to say anything on the exact population of *Turkmens* due to the insufficiency of the records belonging to that period of history. The few sources about Anatolia in this period provide a limited amount of information about the demographic structure of the region. A Latin source written at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century indicates that there were about 100,000 nomadic tents in the regions of Denizli and İsparta<sup>11</sup>. In the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, geographer İbn Sa'îd at the end of the twelfth century writes that there were 200,000 nomadic tents in Denizli and its environment, 30,000 in Bolu and its environment, and about 100,000 in Kastamonu and its environment<sup>12</sup>. At that time, there were 40,000 tents accommodating nomadic people in Syria<sup>13</sup>.

On the other hand, toponymical studies and place names provide us with geographic information on the areas of Anatolia in which the nomadic *Turkmen* tribes lived. It is seen that these toponymic names were intensively placed in a vast area on the internal regions of the Black Sea and Taurus mountains stretching from west to east which are situated on the southern and northern parts of Anatolia and which are also the places settled by most of those nomadic groups. We come across with these names more frequently in Bolu, Kastamonu, Çorum, Tosya, Tokat and the Ankara plains in the north, in the foothills of the North Anatolia mountain range, and in the Central Anatolian steppes, Çukurova, and the lakes region in the south. In the west, we see that they had settled in the vast plains of Menderes and Gediz. The nomadic people living in these regions would use the wide plains and valleys near the coasts as the winter quarters, and the plains located on the higher altitudes to the internal parts of Anatolia as the summer pastures. Geographically, there was not a great distance between the areas they lived in the winter quarters and summer pastures. However, in the east and southeast of Anatolia, things were completely different. The nomadic tribes living in these regions had their summer pastures on the high plateaus of central and eastern Anatolia and would pass their winter months as the winter quarters in today's border area with Iraq and Syria.

It is much easier to keep track of where the *Oghuz*, that is *Turkmen*, boys lived and how they were dispersed across this geography from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and particularly after the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the Ottomans held sway

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<sup>11</sup> Halil İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, p. 98.

<sup>12</sup> Claude Cahen, "İbn Sa'îd sur l'Asie Mineure Seldjuquide", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, VI/10-11 (1972), pp. 42-44, 48.

<sup>13</sup> F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, p. 134.

over Anatolia. In this period, Anatolia covered almost all of the area that falls within the boundaries of Turkey's Asian territories today. However, the Ottomans had to wage a tough and long fight in order to build control over the whole region. These fights, which the Ottomans waged mostly against the other Turkic principalities in Anatolia, came to a halt and recession for some time after the Ankara Battle with Timur in 1402. When the Ottomans put themselves back together following the coming to power of Mehmed Çelebi in 1413, the fighting started again in order to provide the geographic and political unity of Anatolia. These fights to gain control over Anatolia continued for more than a century, until the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the Ottomans finally built control over the whole of Anatolia.

The nomadic Turkmen groups did not consist solely of the people that were named after a particular *boy*. Should we make a comparison between these groups and a tree, the *boy* was the trunk of the tree and its branches were the different groups under the *boy*. In other words, each of the *boys* consisted of some nomadic groups. In the earlier periods, however, there were not so many nomadic groups belonging to a *boy*. The number of nomadic groups increased only after the Oghuz *boys* came to Anatolia, detached from one another, and started living in smaller groups in different areas. We see that some groups, even though they were formerly the members of the same *boy*, started to be known by different names after parting ways with the rest. Among the major factors leading to this situation are the Mongolian influence and pressure on Anatolia, the increase of the population of the nomadic tribes living in Anatolia, and in connection with the rapid increase in the population, the lack of settlement areas. The inclusion of nomadic people within the administrative and economic structure also played an important role in the division of tribes into minor structural groups.

The *Turkmens* who migrated to Anatolia were known also generally as “Yörük” or “Yürük”, apart from being referred to as “Turkmen” by the Ottomans. The term “Yürük” derived in Anatolia, used while referring to these nomadic people, was derived from the word “yürü” meaning “walk” using the suffix “k” at the end of the root “yörü” or “yürü”. In Ottoman archive documents, the term “Turkmen” is used more while referring to the nomadic people living in central and eastern Anatolia, and the term “yürük” or “yörük” is used when referring to the nomadic people living in the western parts of Anatolia<sup>14</sup>. Yet, it is hard to make a clear distinction between the uses of either terms and the people they refer, because both terms were sometimes used interchangeably within the same context in certain documents while referring to their lifestyle of the same people. Terms including

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<sup>14</sup> For more information on the definition of “Yürük”, see Faruk Sümer, “XVI. Asırda Anadolu, Suriye ve Irak’da Yaşayan Türk Aşiretlerine Umumi Bir Bakış”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XI/1-4 (1952), pp. 518-519.

"konar-göçer", "göçer-evli", "göçerler" and "göçebe" were also used while referring to the nomadic people.

During the Ottoman period, *Turkmens* or *Yürüks* were in the administrative and economic structure, just like the sedentary population<sup>15</sup>. The big nomadic groups in the administrative and economic system were known by the names such as Boz-ulus Turkmens, Yeni-il Turkmens, Aleppo Turkmens, Damascus Turkmens, Dulkadirli Turkmens, Danişmend Turkmens, Esb-Keşân (At-Çeken), Kara-ulus, Ulu Yürük, Ankara Yürüks, and Bolu Yürüks. As we understand from the sources, these different names were generally given by the bureaucrats of the central administration, or the central administration itself. However, these names were not given to them randomly or meaninglessly. The names were especially from the names of geographical locations in which they lived, or the Turkmen principalities under which they lived before going under control of the Ottomans. Such terms as "il" and "ulus", which also reflected the traces of the former administrative and social organization, also played an important role in these given names. On the other hand, smaller nomadic groups were attached in the financial and administrative sense, to the provinces or *sanjaks* in which they lived.

Some of the *Turkmens* or *Yürüks* continued to live in accordance with the traditional and tribal structure, although they were attached to the administrative and economic structure. Yet, this traditional tribal structure started to lose influence as the *boys* were divided in time into smaller groups, and some of minor groups emerged and began to be seen as more important than the original ones. It is possible to see thousands, even tens of thousands of nomadic groups or units that emerged from among the major *boys* in the Ottoman archive documents. These group consisting of certain amounts of people were referred to with such different terms as "cemaat", "oymak", "mahalle", "tîr", "bölük", "oba", "tâbi", and "taallukat".

Each of these nomadic groups or units had their own names like the "X Cemaat", "X Oymak", or "X Mahalle". These names could be the names of original *boys* to which they belonged, such as Kayı, Bayat, Döğer, Avşar, Beğdili, or Eymir. Most of the groups were also known by the names of their leaders or ancestors called generally *kethuda* and *boybeyi* as well as distinguished persons like Ali Koca-lu, Bayram-lu, Beçi-lü, Cengiz-lü, Çakır-lu, Gündüz-lü, Güzel Han-lu, İlyas-lu, İne Koca-lu, Kara İsa-lu, Köpek-li, Müslim Hacıl-lu, Nusret-lü, Pehlivan-lu, Sarsal-lu, Süleyman-lu, Yaban-lu, and Yunus-lu peoples. Some other groups were named after their fields of occupation or the region in which they lived<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> For more information, see İlhan Şahin, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Konar-Göçer Aşiretlerin Hukukî Nizamları", *Türk Kültürü*, XX/227 (1982), pp. 285-294.

<sup>16</sup> For more information, see İlhan Şahin, "Osmanlı Devrinde Konar-Göçer Aşiretlerin İsim

Each of the nomadic groups consisted of closely related families. Therefore, they knew each other very well. The number of families of each of the units changed between 5 and 100, and in some units, there would be even more than 100 families. Each of the groups were represented and governed by a leader titled as *kethuda*, and the *kethuda* would generally be chosen from among the most influential families of the unit. Although it was something that was passed from father to son, the title *kethuda* would sometimes be given to distinguished people who had a certain influence and respectability. The candidate *kethuda* would be elected by the people, and his name would be reported to the qadi of the unit. The qadi would then submit the candidate *kethuda*'s name to the central administration.

During the Ottoman period, reliable information on the Turkmen or Yürük groups that lived in the region of Anatolia is available in the cadastral survey records belonging to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century provinces and *sanjaks*. However, it should be kept in mind that the information given in those cadastral survey records reflects only that period of time. As it is cited before, nomadic groups would be divided into smaller groups due to political, economic, social, and demographic factors, and each of the minor groups would be known by a new name. So, some of the groups were mentioned in cadastral survey records and archival documents belonging to later years with different names<sup>17</sup>. Also, many nomadic tribes which adopted sedentary life earlier than the others and some of which were even counted as residents of the nearby towns and cities were recorded in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century cadastral survey records as sedentary elements and not nomadic. It is possible to understand whether they were sedentary or nomadic from the toponymic studies on the names of places.

Information given by the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century cadastral survey records, particularly those belonging to various provinces in Anatolia recorded in the 1530s-the peak period of the Ottoman Empire under the Suleyman Magnificent, suggests that there was a great number of nomadic groups living intensively in different parts of Anatolia at the time. But of course, it would be better to refer to the cadastral survey records written before and after the aforementioned period, dated about 1530s.

West Anatolia was one of the places having the densest nomadic population. Before going under Ottoman dominance, this region was dominated by such principalities as Germiyan, Karesi, Saruhan, Aydın, and Menteşe; and after going under Ottoman rule, the region turned into the hinterland of the province of

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Almalarına Dair Bazı Mülâhazalar”, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, XIII(1987), pp. 195-208.

<sup>17</sup> It is difficult to calculate the exact number of these units. In a short encyclopedic study on the names and settlement areas of nomadic groups (see Cevdet Türkay, *Başbakanlık Arşivi Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatler*, İstanbul 1979), it is stated that their number is about 7, 000. However, the real number is much higher than this calculated figure.

Anatolia. According to the cadastral survey records of the province of Anatolia, arranged in 1530s<sup>18</sup>, there were a number of major nomadic groups known as Yürük living in this province. A large group of tribes lived in Kütahya and its environment. Kütahya, which was also the capital of the province of Anatolia, was the home of three major nomadic groups in 1530s. One of these groups, which was attached to the governor of the province Anatolia, was known as *Hâssa Yürüks*. These people who lived mostly in the environments of Selendi and Taşâbâd were undoubtedly known under this name because they were the subjects financially attached directly to the governor. The name given to them suggests that they probably had close political and economic ties with the center of the province during the period marked by the dominance of the Germiyan Principality. Among the other major groups was the Bozguş group, which consisted of a total of 42 communities (*cemaats*), the Kılcan group, which again consisted of 42 communities, and Akkeçili group, which consisted of 40 communities<sup>19</sup>. As far as it is understood from sources, some Bozguş groups, which were scattered over the Osman-ili region, were in fact related to the Bozguş Bahadır, who lived in the Germiyanlı communities fighting against Seljuk Sultan Mesud<sup>20</sup>.

In Lazkiye (Denizli) there were three major Yürük groups, namely Kayı, Seyyid Vefa and Çobanlar<sup>21</sup>. The fact that these three groups were registered together in the same area could also suggest that they formerly lived together. The Kayı group consisted of 27 villages and 8 communities, which hints that they had adopted a sedentary life style. The presence of people titled as “sipahizade” and “abdâl” is striking in that these titles are traces from their former communal structure. The Seyyid Vefa Yürüks, that consisted of 193 households, 10 single males and 1 *muhasıl* among whom there were also dervishes, were attached to Seyyid Velayet bin Seyyid Ahmed bin Seyyid el-Vefa. It is interesting that a Yürük group known by this name lived in the same geographical region with the Kayı people. Recent studies prove that Şeyh Edebalı was in fact a member of the Vefa community<sup>22</sup>. The fact that they were registered together in the same area as the Kayı people suggests that they actually were together in the past. As for the Çobanlar group, this group consisted of a total of 8 communities, one of which was

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<sup>18</sup> These summary cadastral survey records have been published by the Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate in the form of exact copies. *438 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530)*, I, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1993; II, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1994; *166 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530)*, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1995.

<sup>19</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (=BA), *Tapu-Tahrir Defteri (=TD)*, no. 438, pp. 17-23.

<sup>20</sup> For more information, see Feridun M. Emecen, “Batı Anadolu’da Yörükler”, *İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası*, İstanbul 2001, p. 81, note 12.

<sup>21</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, pp. 49-53.

<sup>22</sup> For more information, see Halil İnalçık, “How to Read Ashik Paḥsa-zade’s History”, *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul 1998, p. 39-48.

living in the environment of Alaşehir. It is possible to say that this group had emerged from the Çobanoğulları people in the earlier periods, when Osman Gazi who was under their dominance at that time launched raids against Byzantine territories.

There were also the Bursa Yürüks, who actually lived in the Şeyhli district of Kütahya, but who were known by this name probably because they lived in an area that stretched as far as Bursa. The Palamut pasture located within the borders of this district was probably the area in which they spent the summer months. In Uşak there was an important yürük group called the Akkoyunlu, tht consisted of 19 communities<sup>23</sup>. The fact that their name was Akkoyunlu, and the fact that they were an important and large group, suggests that they could be related with the Akkoyunlus. Besides, in Uşak, there were also nomadic groups known as Avşar and Alayundlu among various community groups, who were lesser in number, and who had an Oghuz identity<sup>24</sup>. Apart from the aforementioned locations, there were other Yürük groups who lived in Honaz, Küre, Selendi, Kula and Homa, and so we understand that they had already adopted a sedentary or semi-sedentary life.

Afyon (Karahisâr-ı Sâhib) was a location used mostly as a summer pasture area by various Yürük groups coming from other regions<sup>25</sup>. Yet again, it is known that some minor Yürük groups settled in various villages in the Sandıklı and Bolvadin districts in a scattered pattern<sup>26</sup>. Meanwhile, there were 13 community groups in Seydigazi belonging to the Sultanönü province<sup>27</sup>. These people were the subjects of the guardians of the İnönü Fort. The reason why there was not such a crowded group was probably that they had completed their settlement process in earlier periods. In Hamid (İsparta), Yürük groups were seen mostly in Gölhisar and Eğridir regions. The group in Gölhisar consisted of 20, and the one in Eğridir consisted of 19 communities (*cemaats*) or *bölüks*<sup>28</sup>. The term “bölük” was used especially in Mongolian military system, and this fact suggests that these people could have come to this area from Central Anatolia, where Mongolian influences were more strongly felt.

In the Western Black Sea region, Yürük groups are seen most intensively in Bolu and its environments. In the year 1515, there were a total of 21 Yürük communities living in this area<sup>29</sup>. Two of these communities were known as

<sup>23</sup> 23 BA, TD, no. 438, p. 64. The population of Akkoyunlu Yürüks was 6, 253 in 1520, and about 7, 510 in 1570 (Mehtap Özdeğer, *XV-XVI. Yüzyıl Arşiv Kaynaklarına Göre Uşak Kazasının Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi*, İstanbul 2001, pp. 338-340).

<sup>24</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, p. 64, 68.

<sup>25</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, p. 156.

<sup>26</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, pp. 174-175, 196-197.

<sup>27</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, p. 237-238.

<sup>28</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, p. 256-257, 296-297.

<sup>29</sup> BA, TD, no. 51, p. 296-317. The same records on the Yürüks living in Bolu, are cited also in the summary cadastral survey of 1530 (BA, TD, no. 438, p. 421).

Horasanlı, probably because they had come to this area from Horasan (Khorasan). Some of these communities had the winter quarters in Tefenni, Ereğli, Ulus and Viranşehir, located to the south of Taraklıborlu (Safranbolu). Some others had already started leading a sedentary life in Konurpa region which covered Düzce, and the Hızırbey-ili, located between Devrek and Mengen. Yet another important Yürük community, known as Taraklı, is understood to have played an important role in the opening of the Taraklıborlu or in the surrounding area. The Yürük people living in Bolu and its environment grew so crowded in time that the administration eventually established a district in this region towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>30</sup>. Later on, this district was divided into two districts: “İfrâz-ı Yürükân-ı Bolu” and “Yürükân-ı Taraklı” that is “Taraklı Yürüks”<sup>31</sup>. The reason why the district was named as Yürükân-ı Taraklı was that the influential figures of the community formerly belonged to the Taraklı community who constituted the core. Surprisingly enough, there was no any major yürük group living in the surrounding area of Kastamonu, possibly they must have migrated to the border regions in the west in parallel with the establishment of the Ottoman Principality. Besides, one should also bear in mind the settlements in the early periods. The reason why there are not Yürük groups in the Koca-ili region must be considered because of the geographical features of the area and to the fact that the settlement in this region date back to earlier times.

In the province of Hudavendigar (Bursa), Yürük settlements are most intensively found in the Söğüt region. The Yürüks in the area where the Ottomans appeared consisted of two groups in the 1530s. One of these groups, registered as the subject of Sultan Murad foundation, consisted of 556 households, 983 single males, and one *imam*; and the other group consisted of 12 households, and 12 single males<sup>32</sup>. These groups were registered as scattered formation groups, probably because they had settled in the area in a spread pattern. Meanwhile, there were a few Yürük groups, some of whom were settled, and some were scattered in Adranos, Kepsud and Tarhala (Soma). Besides, in Bergama, there was an important group named the *Bergama Yürüks*, consisting of 356 tax-payer households and 6 single males. Yet another important group living in this region was the Karacalar group, consisting of 333 tax-payer households and 120 single males. An important group attached to Karacas lived in Tarhala. There were other groups living in the villages in this region; some of them were holding not only yürük way of life, but also were living in a settled pattern<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> See Lütfi Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler*, İstanbul 1964, p. 151.

<sup>31</sup> L. Güçer, *ibid*, p. 204.

<sup>32</sup> BA, TD, no. 166, p. 57.

<sup>33</sup> BA, TD, no. 166, pp. 188, 191-192.

Interestingly enough, there were very few Yürük groups in Biga Province, and these groups were rather small when compared to the groups mentioned above. The fact that one of these groups, the Yusufklar group, was also known as the Babaî group<sup>34</sup>, hints that they might have been one of the groups that came to the West Anatolia border regions after the crushing of the Babaî Revolt of 1243. Some of the groups living in the regions of the Çan district of Biga were known as Sögüdü<sup>35</sup>, which suggests that they might have come to Çan from the Sögüt region.

There were two major Yürük groups living in the central district of Balıkesir Province. Both groups were registered as the Mukataa Yürüks, because they paid their taxes at a certain rate. The one that consisted of 1,450 households, and 485 single males were the subjects of the Emir Gazi foundation; and the other one, which consisted of 460 households and 182 single males were the subjects of the Medine foundation<sup>36</sup>. In Balıkesir's Bigadiç district, there was a group called Sındırgı Yürüks, who were named after the region where they lived<sup>37</sup>. One other important Yürük group lived in the İvrindi district of Balıkesir, and was known as the *İvrindi Zeameti Yürüks*, since they lived in a region of Zeamet, which is the reflection of timar system. Apart from them, there were some minor Yürük groups in Giresin (Savaştepe), Ayazmend and Manyas districts attached to the İvrindi.

There were important yürük groups also in Manisa, which was the capital of the Saruhan principality before going under Ottoman rule, and which became the "Prince's Province" during the early days of the Ottoman dominance. The first of these groups was known as "Ellici", which consisted of 42 communities and 5,311 tax-payer households. The reason why they were named as "Ellici" was that they would serve the state by sending one out of every fifty households on duty. Another group was known as "Mukataa Yürüks". This group, consisting of 3,664 tax-payer households, would pay taxes at a certain rate. They were scattered across a wide area covering mainly Manisa, Güzelcehisar, Tarhaniyat (Menemen), Nif, Ilica, Adala, Demirci, Gördes, Kayacık, Akhisar, Gördek, Marmara and Gelendos. Another important group was known as Karacıyan and Buğurcıyan. These two groups were registered together because they were given to the *mukataa* together. The Karacıyan group was originally a part of the *Karacakoyunlu Yürüks*, who lived in the region of Aydın. The Buğurcıyan group, on the other hand, was given this name, because the members of this group had made fame with their skills in training camels<sup>38</sup>. The Karacıyan and Buğurcıyan groups, consisting of 735 tax-

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<sup>34</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 214.

<sup>35</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 227.

<sup>36</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 227.

<sup>37</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 262.

<sup>38</sup> Camels, being the most popular means of transportation, played an important role in the development of camel training as a profession among certain Yürük groups. For more information, see Halil İnalçık, "Arab Camel Drivers in Western Anatolia in the Fifteenth Century", *Revue*

payer households, lived in an area stretching across Manisa, Güzelhisar, Tire, Akhisar, Marmara and Gördek. Apart from these yürük groups living in the Manisa region, there were a great number of Yürüks living in the regions of Adala and Demirci. The Yürük groups living in Adala were known as “Mendehorya” and “Menye”, and they were named due to the region in which they lived. The Yürüks in the region of Demirci were 2,050 tax-payers in number, consisting of 120 communities. *Demirci Yürüks* lived in an area covering mainly in the regions of Demirci, Germiyan, Kula, Selendi, Borlu, Adala, Aydın, Yengi, Manisa and Marmara. Meanwhile, there were some minor and scattered Yürük groups in the districts of Güzelhisar, Gördes and Kayacık as well<sup>39</sup>.

The most important Yürük group living in the Aydın Province was known as Bayramlı Karacakoyunlusu. This group, living in the Tire district of Aydın, consisted of 56 communities<sup>40</sup>. Their having a large population eventually gave them the chance to become a separate district. The Yürük groups living in İzmir and Birgi were in quite scattered groups. One of the communities living in the region of İzmir was known with the name of “Manavgadiyân”<sup>41</sup>. Today, it is still unclear if the name Manavgat has been derived from this Yürük group, or if this group has taken its name from this region in where they lived. In the Güzelhisar district, there were two Yürük groups. One was the Tahtacıyân or Tahtacılar (i.e. woodmen) group, consisting of 77 taxpayers. According to the historical records, they were responsible for giving 300 wooden planks to the Ayasulug Castle, and in return they were exempted from the avarız (extraordinary taxes)<sup>42</sup>. This was important because this Yürük group was named their field of expertise. Yet another group was known by the name of Alâiyeli, consisting of 160 households, 102 single males, and two *imams*, and it is seen that they were named like that because they came from the region of Alaiye<sup>43</sup>. In the district of Alaşehir, the members of the Yahşi group lived across a wide area in a rather scattered pattern<sup>44</sup> and it might indicate that they lived a semi-sedentary life. In Bozdoğan district, there were 17 communities, but most of them were the residents of the Ayasulug district<sup>45</sup>. In Yenişehir district, there were 24 communities of Yürük, whose members were scattered across the region<sup>46</sup>. Records say that this group spent their winter months

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*d'Histoire Magrebine*, X (1983), pp. 256-270; Feridun M. Emecen, *XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası*, Ankara 1989, pp.139-140.

<sup>39</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 303-306, 324, 337-341, 348, 351-352, 355. For more information on the Yürüks of Manisa, see F. M. Emecen, *ibid.*, p. 127-141.

<sup>40</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 374-375.

<sup>41</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 395.

<sup>42</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, pp. 438-439.

<sup>43</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 439.

<sup>44</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 445.

<sup>45</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 470.

<sup>46</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, pp. 459-460.

within the district and their summer months on the summer pasture lands, which means that they maintained their nomadic customs, traditions and lifestyle. In the Sart district, among the yürük groups there were not only Tatar groups, but also some other groups coming from Diyâr-ı Acem.

Many different Yürük groups lived intensively in various regions of Menteşe Province, which was the actual hinterland of the Menteşe Principality before Ottoman dominance, and they were known as the Yaylacık, Oturak Barza, İskender Bey, Kayı, Kızılcakeçilü, Horzum, Bahsi Bey, Kızılca Balkıç (?), Divâne Ali and Karacakoyunlu *Yürüks*<sup>47</sup>. Ottoman archival records indicate that these groups were scattered across a wide area that covered Peçin, Muğla, Mekri, Milas, Çine, Bozüyük, Balat, Tavas, Ayasulug, Tire, İzmir and Çeşme<sup>48</sup>, and that most of them had already adopted a sedentary life in the places they settled. The presence of a group named Kayı, on the other hand, hints that a considerable number of the members of this *boy* had lived in the Menteşe region. Horzum, one of the aforementioned groups, must have belonged to the members of Khorezm khanate, which was an influential state in region of Anatolia and Syria since the first quarter the 13<sup>th</sup> century and which later was erased from the scene of history. It is interesting that some of the groups living in the Peçin area were registered as “tîr”, a Persian term whose Turkish equivalent was “ok”, next to “cemaat” or “community”. As it is known, the term “ok” would refer to tribe and groups that were divided into small parts and that the separate tribes that had their own administrative and military structures<sup>49</sup>. In this sense, the use of word “tîr” is important, which was used as the social and administrative structure of the nomads although it is originally a Persian word which it hints the roots of the term “ok”. There were various Yürük groups also in Çine, Muğla and Köyceğiz districts. Most of them were registered as “tîr” or “cemaat”. Still, some of them were both nomadic groups and sedentary groups.

As for the Yürük groups living in the Teke Province: they were mostly in the Antalya district. Each of the groups of Kızılcakeçilü, Mahmadlar and İvacalu consisted of about 20-22 households. The group known by the name Çobansa consisted of 85 households and six single males<sup>50</sup>. It is believed that the Çobansa group, that was one of the most numerous groups of the region, was probably the members of the Çobanoğulları. Along with these relatively small groups, there were two major Yürük groups living in this region, namely Varsak and Ulu Yürük<sup>51</sup>. The Varsak Yürüks were the residents of Karaman province, and

<sup>47</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, pp. 482-488.

<sup>48</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 61, pp. 1-107.

<sup>49</sup> For more information, see Osman Turan, “Eski Türklerde Okun Hukukî Bir Sembol Olarak Kullanılması”, *Bellekten*, IX/35 (Ankara 1945), pp. 315-318.

<sup>50</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, p. 576.

<sup>51</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 166, pp. 576-578

apparently, they were the descendants of the Varsak people, who lived in Tarsus. The Ulu Yürük group, on the other hand, consisted of 21 communities, is believed to have been the descendants of the Ulu Yürük people, who had lived across a wide area between Sivas and Tokat. It must be stated that among them a group of Gencelü was divided into various groups. Apart from that, in the Karahisar district of Teke Province, the Serik Yürüks, who consisted of 14 communities, existed.

In the province of Anatolia, Ankara was the vicinity having the densest nomadic population. In the vicinity of Ankara, there were five major Yürük groups, that were the Kasaba, Haymana, Karalar, Tâceddinlü and Ulu Yürük groups<sup>52</sup>. The referring of Ottoman archive registers to these tribes as “boy” or “tavâif” shows that their presence in the region goes to the early period. The Kasaba Yürüks consisted of 55, Haymana Yürüks consisted of 325, Karalar and Tâceddinlü Yürüks consisted of five each, and Ulu Yürük consisted of 33 communities. The Haymana Yürüks lived in a wide area covering Seferihisar, Barçınlı, Karaman, Kırşehir, Bacı, Sandıklı, Karahisar and Sultanönü. The scattered way of life of the Haymana Yürüks leads us to suppose that the word “Haymana” means living in a scattered style. The Ulu Yürüks mainly lived in the area stretching from the north of Sivas to Tokat. However, the recording of one of the groups attached to the Ulu Yürüks indicates that they were scattered over a wide area like Ankara.

Just to the north of Ankara, in the Kangırı (Çankırı) region, there was an important Yürük group called the Kangırı Vilayeti Yürüks (The Province of Kangırı Yürüks). This name was given to them for the area where they had lived and they consisted of 14 communities. There were also the Mahmudlar Yürüks, that consisted of eight *bölüks*<sup>53</sup>. The reason why they were referred to as *bölük* is probably that they had formerly lived in a Central Anatolian region, where the Mongolian influence was felt more strongly.

According to the survey of 1530<sup>54</sup>, the Karaman Province, which was the hinterland of the Karaman principality before coming under Ottoman rule, was the area that accommodated the greatest number of nomadic elements in the whole of Anatolia. It is most likely that most of these nomadic elements were the descendants of the nomadic people who had lived in the same area during the Seljuk and Karaman rule. The summer pastures of the nomadic groups in the Karaman province were especially in the regions of Niğde, Beyşehir and Aksaray. In this connection, the nomadic people living in this region spent their summer months in the Hasandağı, Üçkuyulu, Belkuyu, Ağa-seküsü, Aladağ and Melendiz

<sup>52</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, pp. 341-354, 358, 401, 403-406.

<sup>53</sup> BA, TD, no. 438, p. 707, 743.

<sup>54</sup> BA, TD, no. 387. This cadastral survey record, including the records of the Rum Province, has been published by the Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate in the form of exact copy. *Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri No. 387 (937-1530)*, I, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1996; II, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1997.

in the province of Niğde, and Ovacık in the province of Aksaray. Apart from that, there were also very important summer pasture lands in the vicinity of Aladağ in the Niğde district. Besides, there were 12 other summer pastures in the province of Beyşehir. The fact that a regular open market was set up every week on Wednesdays in Melendiz indicates that this area was a strategic point for the nomadic people living in the region. This *Çarşamba* open market must have been a meeting and trading point between nomadic and sedentary people of the region where they found the opportunity to get the goods and animals they could not raise themselves.

In the Karaman area, Konya Plain was one of the regions that had the biggest nomadic population in Konya Province. The border of this plain stretched from the south of Ankara in the north to the Taurus mountain range in the south. The major one of the nomadic groups living in this area was "Esb-Keşân" (horse driver). In the Ottoman archival records, this group is sometimes referred to as "At-Çeken", which is the exact Turkish translation of the Persian name "Esb-Keşân", which was probably given to these people in earlier periods when the Persian language was used in literature and bureaucracy before Ottoman dominance. These people, who paid their taxes by giving a certain amount of horses to the state, were named for their fame as skillful horse breeders and trainers. In other words, their economic occupation had an impact on their name.

Ottoman authority established three districts out of this rather crowded group with intensive population living in a vast geography "At-Çeken", namely Eski-il, Turgud and Bayburd. From among them, Eski-il by its name reflected the traces of the old "il" organization, while Turgud and Bayburd were referred as influential nomadic groups and that leaders played an important role in the region in the past.

The At-Çeken people in the Eski-il district consisted of 44 communities and 3,473 taxpayers, whereas the Turgud district consisted of 84 communities and 4435 taxpayers. The Bayburd district had also 21 communities and 2594 taxpayers<sup>55</sup>. Besides, in the Eski-il district there were also seven communities attached to Kuştemür, originally a member of the Varsak people. Some of these communities were settled both in the center of Ereğli district and in the nearby villages. Also, in Turgud district there was an important nomadic group called Yapalu, consisting of 26 communities and 1,300 taxpayers<sup>56</sup>. The reference of Yapalu as a kabile, consisting of more than one community, indicates that they were a group living for a long time in the region they continued a traditional social structure. The aforementioned nomadic elements obviously had social and commercial relations with each other and with the sedentary groups living at that area, since historical records say that a regular market was established near the Yanıkhisâr Mosque in

<sup>55</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, p p. 231-237, 241-243, 249-250.

<sup>56</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 244-248.

Turgudlu<sup>57</sup>. According to the same sources, there were also horse (esb) markets in Konya and Akşehir districts which indicate the horse trade in the region.

Aksaray Province, which neighbored Konya Province, was yet another area densely populated by nomadic groups. The nomadic groups settled particularly in the Aksaray, Koşhisar and Ereğli regions. In Aksaray, there was a group named Yüzdecian, that consisted of 40 communities and 893 taxpayers<sup>58</sup>. The word "yüz" (i.e. hundred) in their name, was a reference to the *ağnam* (sheep) tax they paid, which was one sheep for every one hundred sheep. In the Hasandağı region, five community groups lived in a scattered way, besides a Tatar tribe called Şeyillah, consisting of six communities, and one other tribe called Bektaşlu, consisting of 30 communities<sup>59</sup>. In Koşhisar region, there were community groups belonging to different tribes. One of these groups, the subjects of *Padişah hâs*, most of whose members belonged to a tribe called Runkuş, consisted of 31 communities and 1,063 taxpayers. The group registered as the Bozkırlu tribe consisted of a number of communities. Among these communities were the Kamanlu and Kırşehirli, whose names suggest that they lived in the areas known today respectively as Kaman and Kırşehir. There were also two tribes, namely the Hindlü and Bozdoğanlu, both are cited to be from the Haymana<sup>60</sup>. The groups living in the vicinity of Ereğli were settled in a scattered manner.

In Niğde, there were various nomadic groups including the Bulgarlu, Dündarlu, Yahyalu, and Haymana, most of which had preserved their tribal features. It is interesting that the word "Bulgar", which means "mixed" in old Turkish, was used while referring to both various Turkic groups living in Eastern Europe, and to the nomadic tribes living in Anatolia. The Bulgarlu and Dündarlu groups in Niğde province, lived in the Niğde *nahiye*, and the group known as Yahyalu lived in the vicinity of Karahisâr-ı Develü. The Bulgarlu group consisted of 12 communities, whereas the Dündarlu group consisted of two groups, one of which had 26 communities, and was called Dündarlu Haymanasu due to the scattered pattern it displayed. The other group of Dündarlu consisted of 11 communities<sup>61</sup>. The Yahyalu group consisted of 36 communities or *bölüks*.

Apart from these, there was another scattered group called Haymana in Karahisâr-ı Develü, which consisted of 14 communities<sup>62</sup>. Records show, however, that these people settled in the area they lived, and adopted a sedentary life.

Kayseri was another Central Anatolian region accommodating nomadic elements. The nomadic people living in this area were mentioned with the general

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<sup>57</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 387, p. 243.

<sup>58</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 125-126.

<sup>59</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 131-134.

<sup>60</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 140-146.

<sup>61</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 169-171.

<sup>62</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 387, pp. 193-196.

term “Yürük”. Of the major Yürük groups were Yahyalı, İslamlı and Küstere. The first two of the aforementioned groups lived in the “Irmak Kenarı” region, and the other lived in the Malya region<sup>63</sup>. There was a great number of nomadic people who preserved their only community structure, but who, at the same time, lived in small, scattered groups. The Yahyalı group, one of whose branches was registered in Niğde's Karahisar-ı Develü district, had some branches in Kayseri, which consisted of 17 communities, preserving its traditional social structure, tribal and nomadic features to a certain extent. The group is also believed to have been influential in the foundation and development of today's Yahyalı as a settlement area. Apart from the aforementioned Yürük groups, there were other nomadic elements in the Karataş and Bozatlı regions of Kayseri<sup>64</sup>. Most of the Yürük groups had their arable lands (mezraa) and winter quarters. They generally used their arable lands for agricultural production and winter quarters, which were to be the permanent settlements of their descendants. In the light of these facts, it could be said that these people started adopting sedentary life from the first quarter of the sixteenth century onwards.

In the İç-il province, situated in southern part of the Karaman province, yürük groups were seen mostly in the Gülnar and Selendi regions. The major groups living in the Gülnar region were known as Cece, consisting of 17 villages and one community; Bozkırlı, consisting of seven villages and three communities; Hacı Bahaeddinlü, consisting of 73 villages and communities and Yuvalı, consisting of 38 communities and villages<sup>65</sup>. As far as it is understood from the Ottoman archival records, most of these groups lived in villages. This indicates that they adopted a sedentary life style. Among these groups, Bozkırlı mainly belonged to the Cece group. In the meantime, the groups of Bozkırlı and Cece were registered as *kabile* because they preserved their traditional social structure to a certain extent. Another region in the İç-il province that had a considerable Yürük population was Selendi. The groups living in this area were registered as residents of the villages in the region<sup>66</sup>.

Perhaps the most important Yürük group in the province of Rum was the Ulu Yürük group, that was recorded in historical documents as “Etrâk-ı Yürükân-ı Büzürg”. The word “Etrak” is a plural form of the word “Türk” and was referred to the significance of this tribe as a social group. As mentioned before, the Ulu Yürük groups that were scattered in different parts of Anatolia, were mainly living in a large area between Sivas and Tokat. While many other nomadic elements of Anatolia were recorded as a community, the Ulu Yürük groups were mentioned

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<sup>63</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 207-211.

<sup>64</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 212-213.

<sup>65</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 299-305.

<sup>66</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 314-320.

under the name of “bölük”, which is the indication of the Mongolian influence on these people and the region itself. The Ulu Yürük groups, that constituted a considerable part of the population of the region in which they lived, consisted of 32 *bölüks* and about 8,000 households in 1530s<sup>67</sup>. The fact that there were 22 *sipahizade* (the cavalymen) among these people indicates that some of the persons had the military structure in the early period. The Ulu Yürük group had a total of 409 winter quarters. This indicates that they had slowly started adopting a sedentary life in these places. The Ottoman central administration gave them a district status due to the population density of the Ulu Yürük. Apart from the Ulu Yürük, the İnallu group constituting of a part of the Ulu Yürük group was also known as "Etrâk-ı İnallu" in this region. This group consisted of six *bölüks* and about 400 taxpayers<sup>68</sup>. As far as it is understood, this group was given the name of İnallu because they were under the administration of İnaloğulları family. A historical record about this family goes on like: “İnaloğulları tasarruf ederler, eşerler”. This phrase indicates that the İnaloğulları family was quite influential in politics and military aspects. This group started leading a semi-sedentary life in the 20 winter quarters they had, where they spent much of the time. Some other groups attached to the Ulu Yürük group were involved in agricultural activity in the nearby districts in order to make a living because the areas, in which they lived, were not enough for their sustenance. According to historical records, two groups, namely the Ballu and Kazancalu belonging to Ulu Yürük, were involved in agricultural production in the fields near Çorum's Karahisar-i Demirli district<sup>69</sup>.

According to the summary cadastral survey records in 1530s, Tarsus, Adana and Kars (Kadirli) were the settlement areas hosting the greatest number of Yürüks in the Çukurova region<sup>70</sup>. Most of the Yürüks living in the region of Tarsus originally belonged to the Varsak group, and most of them lived in line with nomadic customs and traditions. The major tribes attached to the Varsak group were Kuştemür, Kusun, Ulaş, Esenlü, Gökçelü, and Elvanlu. There were some communities among these groups that were given the names of their tribal leaders and “ordu” (i.e. army), such as “Cemaat-i Halil Bey Ordusu”. The use of the word "ordu" in Ottoman archival records, while referring to these tribes, suggests that those peoples lived within a certain organizational order that had political and military aspects<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 487-492.

<sup>68</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 492-493.

<sup>69</sup> BA, TD, no. 387, pp. 422-423.

<sup>70</sup> Cadastral survey record covering the region of Çukurova (BA, TD, no. 998) has been published by the Prime Ministry State Archives General Directorate in the form of exact copy: *Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Diyâr-i Bekr ve 'Arab ve Zü'l-kâdiriyye Defteri No. 998 (937/1530)*, I, Index and Exact Copy, Ankara 1998; II, Ankara 1999.

<sup>71</sup> For more information, see Faruk Sümer, “Çukurova Tarihine Dair Araştırmalar (Fetihten XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısına Kadar)”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, I/I (1964), pp. 70-85; Ali Sinan

The regions in which these tribes later settled were named in the administrative aspects like the Kuştemür “nahiye” and the Kusun and Ulaş districts. The scattered groups living in these administrative regions opened fields near their settlements. After getting involved with farming, they started firmly to adopt a semi-sedentary life style<sup>72</sup>. We encounter another important Varsak group in the Kırşehir region during the Ottoman rule. The Varsak group, whose population was about 12,000 in 1485 in Kırşehir region<sup>73</sup>, developed rapidly and turned into a rather crowded settlement area with a population of about 25,000 coming in 1530s, due to a considerable increase in the Varsak population<sup>74</sup>. The Varsak groups, living in this area were referred as “cemaats” or “bölüks”, the latter indicating that Mongolians had once been rather influential in this region. Most of the Varsak groups living in the north and northwest of Kırşehir were involved in agricultural activities in those *mezraas*, and later on adopted a sedentary life in the areas that they formerly used as winter quarters and formed the villages.

In the Adana region, Turkmen groups were seen most commonly in the Adana, Yüreğir, Saruçam, Dünderlu, Bulgarlu, and Kara İsalu regions. The names of some of these places came from tribal leaders' names. The Turkmens, who lived in the form of communities in various districts of the region in the sixteenth century, had lost most of their traditional tribal structures. The Turkmen groups, that consisted of 272 communities in 1530s with a population of about 10,000, had started partly getting involved with agricultural activities in the nearby fields<sup>75</sup>. Besides, in the Üzeyr Province, a neighboring province of the Adana region, there were a few Turkmen groups, that consisted of 18 communities<sup>76</sup>, and that were at the time leading a semi-sedentary life. The situation was almost the same as the groups living in the Sis (Kozan) region. In 1530s, the Turkmen groups living as communities existing in this area consisted of 79 communities and 3,428 taxpayers<sup>77</sup>.

In southern Anatolia, Maraş and Elbistan were the two regions that hosted the greatest number of nomadic groups. The nomadic groups in this area were descendants of the Dulkadirli Principality, and were thus referred in the Ottoman period as the Dulkadirli Turkmens. In addition to Maraş and Elbistan which are the

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Bilgili, “Tarsus Türkmenleri/Varsaklar”, *Anadolu’da ve Rumeli’de Yörükler ve Türkmenler Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Ankara 2000, s. 35-38.

<sup>72</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 357-388.

<sup>73</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 19, pp. 291-338. The figure regarding the population of Varsak has been obtained through the calculation of the number of Varsak households by five.

<sup>74</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 644-682.

<sup>75</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 306-318, 328-329.

<sup>76</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 348-350.

<sup>77</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 394-403. For more information on the nomadic communities of Sis (Kozan) Province, see Yusuf Halaçoğlu, “Tapu-Tahrir Defterlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Sis (Kozan) Sancağı”, *Tarih Dergisi*, vol. 32 (1979), pp. 819-893.

main lands, there were some Dulkadirli groups in Çukurova in the west, and Bozok and Sivas in the north. The major tribes that belonged to these Turkmens were the Tamirlü, Gündeşlü, Anamaslu (Karacalu), Dokuz, Küreciyân, Bertiz, Cerid, Peçenek, Kavurgalı, Alcı, Döngelölü, Küşne, Eymir, Çimelü, Kızıllu and Alibeylü, Demrek, and Çağırğan. The fact that some of these groups were directly attached to the Oghuzs indicates that they were derivations of Oghuzs. That they were referred as “taife” or “boy” in the cadastral survey record of 1530s suggests that they preserved their traditional social structure. As cited before, *boys* preserving their traditional features consisted of various communities. This was valid also for the *boys* that made up the Dulkadirli Turkmens. However, in time, the Dulkadirli Turkmens lost most of their traditional boy features and developed a structure that could be associated more with a “community”. This was a result of the administrative and financial policies that the Ottoman state pursued towards nomadic groups. In 1530s there were a total of 757 Dulkadirli Turkmen communities and 21,733 households. This was a significant population for that period, and in turn they played an important role in the development of settlement in the regions they inhabited. The fact that they had 179 cavalry men apart from the aforementioned population indicates that they attached importance to military activities.

A group of Dulkadirli Turkmens, whose homeland was Maraş and Elbistan, lived in the region of today’sYozgat as well. The reason why this region is also referred as Bozok Province in the Ottoman administrative system is that the Dulkadirli Turkmens originated from the Bozok tribe of the Oghuz people. The Turkmens who came to this region from the Dulkadirli homeland preserved their tribal features. The tribes (kabile) living in this region included the Kızılkocalu, Selmanlu, Ağçalu, Çiçeklü, Eymir, Gündeşlü, Küşne, Avşar, Kızıllu, Zâkirlü, Mes’udlu, Ağcakoyunlu, Kavurgalı, Demircülü, Şam Bayadı, Söklen and Hisarbeylü. Some of the communities attached to these tribes lived over a wide geography that covered the Gedük, Çubuk, Akdağ, Boğazlıyan, İlisu, and Sorkun *nahiyes*, and a great many of them were the subjects of timar<sup>78</sup>.

One other region in which the Dulkadirli Turkmens settled was Kars (Kadirli). In this region, there were both nomadic tribe groups like the Zâkirlü, Kavurgalı, Karıkışlalu, Karamanlu, Demircülü, and Selmanlu and also major community groups like the Çobanlı, Hatablu, Mes’udlu, Keçelik, and Kemallu. There were also minor groups attached to these boys and cemaat groups that were less in population and which were scattered over the region. The boys and cemaat groups

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<sup>78</sup> BA, *TD*, no. 998, pp. 592-623; BA, *TD*, no. 218, pp. 3-51, 53-111, 114-136, 137-149, 151-176. For more information on Turkmens and Turkmen settlements in the region of Bozok, see Faruk Sümer, “Bozok Tarihine Dair Araştırmalar”, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü Anma Kitabı*, Ankara 1974, pp. 309-381.

consisted of about 8,000 taxpayers, according to the cadastral survey records of 1530s<sup>79</sup>. Apart from these, certain groups attached to the Karıkışlalu had settled in various places of the Zamantu district of Maraş<sup>80</sup>.

Yeni-il was one of the most significant regions in which Turkmens lived together in Anatolia. The most important characteristic of the region, which is today on the southern part of the province of Sivas, was that it had the summer pastures of groups attached to the Dulkadirli Turkmens and Aleppo Turkmens. The most popular summer pastures areas of this region were Uzunyayla and Yellüce. The presence of a significant nomadic group in the region resulted in the declaration of this area as a district in 1548, and the district was named as Yeni-il, probably with reference to the Eski-il located in the Karaman region, or as “Türkmân-ı Yeni-il” (Yeni-il Turkmens) district with reference to the considerable Turkmen population. The interesting thing about the Yeni-il district was that there were a number of villages within its boundaries, and that therefore part of the population was nomadic and the other part of the population was sedentary. When this district was first established it was allocated to the foundation of Mihrümâh Sultan in Üsküdar, and later to the foundation of the mother of Sultan Murad III, Nurbânû Sultan (Atik Valide Sultan) in Üsküdar, and because of this the Yeni-il Turkmens living in the district were sometimes referred as Üsküdar Turkmens or Üsküdar Evi Turkmens (the Turkmens of Üsküdar House). In 1548 the population of Yeni-il district was about 13,000, 6,800 of which was constituted by the members of the Dulkadirli and Aleppo Turkmens, and the rest consisted of settled groups living in villages. Coming to the year 1583, the district of Yeni-il's population had reached about 95,000, of which about 69,000 were Aleppo and Dulkadirli Turkmens, and the rest were settled groups living in villages. It is known that some of the settled of Turkmen groups settled in the region by time<sup>81</sup>.

One other important group in Anatolia was the Boz-ulus Turkmens. Boz-ulus Turkmens, who were originally from the Bayındır boy of the Oghuz people, and who were the descendants of the Akkoyunlu people, lived across a wide area stretching from Erzurum, Azerbaijan, and Georgia in the north and the desert land located to the south of Mardin, known as Deyr-i Zor in the south, as well as Diyarbekir region. In fact, the Boz-ulus Turkmens consisted of Aleppo and Dulkadirli Turkmens, and some other scattered nomadic groups lived in the region of the Diyarbekir region. During the Ottoman rule, the basic structure among the members of the Boz-ulus group was the community. The growing population of the Boz-ulus resulted in their declaration as a district at first, and as a province in the

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<sup>79</sup> BA, TD, no. 998, pp. 488-510.

<sup>80</sup> BA, TD, no. 998, pp. 548.

<sup>81</sup> For more information on Yeni-il Turkmens, see İlhan Şahin, *Yeni-il Kazası ve Yeni-il Türkmenleri (1548-1653)*, Unpublished Doctorate Study, Istanbul 1980.

second half of the sixteenth century. However, the Boz-ulus Turkmens was declared a district again towards the end of the sixteenth century. Some groups attached to the Boz-ulus Turkmens proceeded towards the west and were present in Central and Western Anatolia in the late sixteenth and especially early seventeenth centuries. The major reasons behind this were the insufficiency of their living areas against their increasing population, and the commercial opportunities that western regions offered<sup>82</sup>.

One of the most important Turkmen groups in Anatolia was the Aleppo Turkmens. Although their winter quarters were in the Aleppo region, they would spend their summer months in the regions in Anatolia. Detailed information is available in the cadastral survey records in which the Aleppo Turkmens have been recorded straight after entering the Ottoman rule. According to the first records, those people mostly preserved their traditional social and administrative structures, and the policies to be pursued towards them would also set a model for the policies to be determined for the other nomadic tribes. The Aleppo Turkmens, according to the same sources, consisted of various “boy” or “tâife” within their original social and administrative structure, and each of the *boys* consisted of a number of community groups. The major boys were the Beydili, Kızık, Karkın, Köpekli Avşarı, Gündüzlü Avşarı, Bayat, Beylikli belonged to Bayad, İnallu and Harbendelü, whose names suggested that among the Aleppo Turkmens there were a considerable number of members of various Oghuz boys. The fact that some communities consisted of the leader family of boy among the other boys, and that they were also known under the name of “ordu” undoubtedly shows their significant political roles in the past. The Aleppo Turkmen population was about 40,000 in 1530s, about 49,000 in 1552 and about 60,000 in 1570. This was a considerably large number that cannot be underestimated, especially as far as the demographical structure of that period of history is concerned. With their large population potential and their population movements across Anatolia from the east to the west which was also the result of the developing economic conditions, they played an important role in the development of new settlements across Anatolia<sup>83</sup>.

The important nomadic organizations, known with the names Turkmen or Yürük in Anatolia, generally showed a geographic distribution as was mentioned before, especially in 1530s. Although there were slight changes in this distribution in the sixteenth century in particular, when such major groups as Yeni-il, Aleppo and Boz-ulus Turkmens moved from the east towards the west and when the

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<sup>82</sup> For more information on Boz-ulus Turkmens, see Faruk Sümer, “Boz-ulus Hakkında”, *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, VII/1 (1949), pp. 29-60; Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri: Boz-ulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640*, Ankara 1997.

<sup>83</sup> For more information on Aleppo Turkmens, see İlhan Şahin, "XVI. Asırda Halep Türkmenleri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 12, İstanbul 1982, pp. 687-712.

Ottoman administration pursued different policies towards them, the overall structure and distribution remained almost the same. The important thing about them is that they constituted an important part of the population in the areas in which they lived. According to the pioneering on the cadastral survey records chronicles conducted by Ö. L. Barkan, in the geography covering today's Anatolia, Anatolia, Karaman, Dulkadir and Rum provinces there were about 872,610 households in 1520s and 1530s; 160,564 of those households were nomads, and the remainder were settled groups. Of four provinces, province of Anatolia had the largest nomadic population, which were 77,268 households. This number, however, did not include about 52,000 households consisting of nomadic-origin *yaya-müsellems*<sup>84</sup>. Between 1570 and 1580, 220,217 households of the total 1,360,474 in the aforementioned four provinces were nomadic, and the province of Anatolia was again the province having the most immense nomadic population with 116,219 households<sup>85</sup>. In this period, there was an abnormal increase in the province of Anatolia population compared to the past, which, according to Halil İnalçık, is a result of the population movements from eastern provinces towards the west<sup>86</sup>. The population especially in Aleppo province and Tripoli, Damascus, Baghdad and Basra, there was an immense nomad population including Turkmen and Yürük groups, totaled 371,848 households between 1570-90 and 87,030 of them were nomadic<sup>87</sup>. The summer settlements of most of the nomadic groups of these four regions were in Anatolia.

Of course, we cannot say that the aforementioned figures regarding the Turkmen and Yürük populations within the Ottoman state are absolutely reliable. As has been mentioned before, many of these groups had adopted sedentary lives since the earlier periods, and some had even become the permanent residents of villages, towns and cities, as the names of certain villages prove. Some of the regions were named according to the people intensively settling there, as was in the case of the Kayı nahiye of Mihaliç, which is known to have earned that name as early as 1466. This nahiye had 19 villages, known as Hintı, Sorkun, Çukur-Viran, Çörüş, Gürleyik, Narlı, Göçet, Çardak, Eğri-Bayad, Ballık, Günce-Bükü, Çukur-Viran, Halil-Oğlanı, Sunkur-Sarayı, Mahmud-Hisarı, İki-Kilise, Büğdüce, Oğuz and Köpek<sup>88</sup>. The naming of this administrative unit as Kayı is not a coincidence: It

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<sup>84</sup> For more information on comparisons, see Halil İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role", *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, p. 104.

<sup>85</sup> For more information, see ö. L. Barkan, "Essai sur les donnees statistiques des registers de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I/1 (1957), 9-36; Ö.L. Barkan, "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys", *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (ed. M. A. Cook), London 1970, p. 163-171.

<sup>86</sup> H. İnalçık, "The Yürüks", p. 106.

<sup>87</sup> Ö. L. Barkan, "Ottoman Fiscal Survey", p. 171.

<sup>88</sup> BA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*, no. 8, 15b-16a, 23b-27a.

suggests that a large Kayı clan came and settled in the area where the Ottoman principality emerged. A similar case is seen in the Black Sea town of Giresun, which was known as Çepni Vilayeti (the region of Çepni) because a huge Çepni group had settled in the area. The reference to this region as a “vilayet” suggests the presence of some kind of an administrative unit, too. This administrative unit, according to 1515 records, consisted of 52 villages, 26 summer settlement areas, and about 10 *mezraas*. It is known that settlement in this region dates back before the Ottoman State, during the Seljuk and Anatolian principalities, dominance over the region. The Çepni people and some other Turkmen tribes are known to have played a major role in the occupation of the region<sup>89</sup>. After the region came under the Ottoman dominance, many of the timar and zeamet holders were bound to Çepni leaders, their sons or those who were at their service. This proves that Çepni people provided military service for the state<sup>90</sup>.

Many of the Turkmen and Yürük groups in Anatolia eventually adopted sedentary lives and established new settlement areas for themselves as a result of economic, social and demographic conditions. It is understood that the systematic settlement of these people by the state in various regions started from the late seventeenth century. The main reason behind this delay was the long years of warring between the Ottomans and neighboring states, and Celâli rebellions. The Ottoman authority launched its plans of reopening settlements demolished by the Celâli movements of the seventeenth century to settlement and agricultural production, and uniting those people under one roof by providing them with efficient agricultural production facilities. One other important design was that the Ottomans wanted to keep these people busy and prevent them from causing trouble, because the summer and winter settlements became insufficient for the nomadic groups. The state is known to have determined various areas in which to settle the nomads, including Karahisâr-ı Sahip (Afyon), Urfa, Adana, Bozok in the region of Anatolia as well as Rakka and Aleppo. Of these settlement areas, Rakka was strategically important, because it was considered as a fortress to resist possible Arab raids from the south. This settlement policy, contrary to the policies pursued during the expansion period of the Ottoman Empire, was an internal strategy whose main aim was to reopen devastated areas to agricultural production and revive the economy of the region. These settlement strategies seem to have

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<sup>89</sup> For more information on the *Çepnis*, see Faruk Sümer, *Çepniler*, İstanbul 1992. For more information on their relations with the neighboring Turkmen principalities and the Empire of Trabzon Rum, see Anthony Bryer, “Greeks and Turkmens: The Pontic Exception”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXIX (1975), 113-148. Here A. Bryer states that the administrative unit known as Çepni emerged after 1461 (see p. 133). However, this statement is not completely right.

<sup>90</sup> For more information, see İlhan Şahin, “Osmanlı Döneminde Giresun Bölgesinde Konar-Göçerlerin İzleri”, *Giresun Tarihi Sempozyumu*, 24-25 Mayıs, 1996, *Bildiriler*, İstanbul 1997, p. 111-117.

worked well in some parts of Anatolia. However, in such critical areas as Rakka, these strategies did not yield the expected results due to psychological, geographical, and climatic factors<sup>91</sup>.

The settlement strategies of the central authority for nomadic elements of the late seventeenth century were continued all through the eighteenth century, when nomadic groups were settled mostly in devastated areas or in their own summer and winter settlements. Naturally, some groups preferred to establish their own settlements and adopted sedentary lives by themselves. Again, as had been in the seventeenth century, some other nomadic elements were settled and used as barriers, particularly along the southern borders in the eighteenth century<sup>92</sup>. This settlement policy was continued in the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the Tanzimat period. As a natural result, some of the largest nomadic groups were in the condition of *muhassıls* under the control of *müshirs* in the provinces. This situation played an important role in attaching to the areas of living in terms of financial and administrative aspects<sup>93</sup>.

As a result of these settlement policies, nomadic groups turned sedentary life style step by step, and established new settlements. This contributed greatly to the settlement and renovation of material and spiritual culture in Anatolia, and the establishment of an orderly settlement pattern.

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<sup>91</sup> For more information, see Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskân Teşebbüsü (1691-1696)*, İstanbul 1963.

<sup>92</sup> For more information, see Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*, Ankara 1988.

<sup>93</sup> For more information, see Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XV/1-2 (1976), s. 269-288.