

IN PURSUIT OF HERDS OR LAND? NOMADS, PEASANTS
AND PASTORAL ECONOMIES IN ANATOLIA FROM A
REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE
1600-1645

by

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Abstract

The documentary evidence used in this dissertation has been drawn from the Ottoman court records and it is complemented by the data derived from the fiscal registers. This dissertation adopted a case-study approach to allow a deeper insight into the complexities of the rural history of Ottoman Anatolia in the first half of the seventeenth century. These complexities are more related to the methodological approaches which are based on the adaptation of the purported theories about ‘the general crisis of the seventeenth century’ to Ottoman history. Such misinterpretations put the contention that a set of social, economic and ecological challenges associated with the Little Ice Age put a lot of serious strains on the Ottoman state and society during the seventeenth century. By adopting a critical approach to the arguments of such crisis-based theories that revolve around the Celali rebellions and the phenomenon of the Little Ice Age, this dissertation aims to show through the cases of Aintab, Urfa and Ankara that the countryside of Anatolia was more resilient to the so-called challenges than it seems.

This dissertation examines the economic, demographic and ecological dynamics in rural Anatolia in the period following the Celali rebellions from a regional perspective that takes into consideration the local geographic and climatic characteristics. It focuses on a wide range of topics that include types of farming, rural settlement patterns, change in rural settlements, and agrarian and pastoral trends in the land use forms. It explores the pastoral and agricultural activities of the nomadic people with the aim of highlighting their constructive in the rural economies of Anatolia.

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Abbreviations

EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam first edition
EI2	Encyclopaedia of Islam second edition
EI3	Encyclopaedia of Islam third edition
İA	İslam Ansiklopedisi
JESHO	Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient
KK	Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi
MAD	Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri
TDVİA	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi

Note on Transliteration

In this dissertation, I have used modern Turkish orthography for personal names in the court entries and for administrative terms used in an Ottoman context (e.g., İbrahim, *kadı*, *sancak*). However, I have used English to refer to some certain Ottoman words, which have a known English form, like *janissary*, *pasha* and *agha*. Besides, I have preferred to use the English translation of the technical terms peculiar to the Ottoman court registers (e.g., *petition* as in *arzuhâl*, *takrîr* as in statement, and *öşür* as in tithe). For the transliteration of Ottoman documents given in footnotes, I have used the system of the İslam Ansiklopedisi.

Pronunciation of Modern Turkish Letters

c	j, as in <i>jar</i>
ç	ch, as in <i>church</i> or <i>chimney</i>
ş	sh, as in <i>ship</i> or <i>short</i>
ğ	unvocalized, lengthens preceding vowels
ı	io, as in <i>motion</i>
ö	u, as in <i>furnish</i>
ü	u, as in <i>amuse</i>

Glossary

Ağa	an honorary title for military officers and Muslim notables
Akçe	a small silver Ottoman coin
Avarız-ı divaniye ve tekalif-i örfiyye	extraordinary taxes and customary levies
Beşe	honorary title for men who served in the army
Bennak	peasants who had no land or small area of land less than a half <i>çift</i> land
Çavuş	sergeant
Çift	a full-sized area of land whose size regionally changed from 5.5 to 11 hectares on average
Dönüm	an Ottoman unit of area that was equivalent to 918.4 m ²
Eyalet	province, a primary administrative division
Has	largest revenue grant under the timar system, belonging to the ruler and his household or the provincial governors
Havass-ı Hümayun	imperial domains, or crown lands
Kadı	judge
Mezraa	a large field with no permanent settlement
Miri	belonging to the state
Müteferrika	a member of an elite guard unit of palace cavalry
Mücerred	bachelor, unmarried and landless peasant
Nahiye	an administrative subdivision that was subject to sancak
Narh	price list on necessities, established by the kadı
Pare	a monetary unit used in the Levant
Timar	smallest revenue grant belonging to the military officers
Sancak	an administrative subdivision that was subject to eyalet
Sipahi	a member of the cavalry forces in the provinces who held timar as revenue
Şahi	a monetary unit used in the Levant
Vakıf	pious foundation whose revenue supports a religious and charitable purpose
Zaim	a holder of a large timar

Introduction

From ‘Catastrophe’ to ‘Crisis’

The aim of this introductory section is to challenge one common misperception embedded in the Near Eastern historiography, which considers the cyclical emergence of the nomads at the stage of history as both a catastrophe and an evidence of the crisis periods.¹ The misinterpretation regarding ‘nomadic history’ is based on the assumption that the agriculture formed the major source of prosperity in rural economics and the wealth of the states; therefore, any change in favour of animal husbandry indicated an economic backwardness.² Such an explanation, when it is coupled with the desert and sown paradigm, is inclined to stress that the periodic arrivals of the nomads contributed to the decline of agriculture and a simultaneous dissolution of sedentary settlement patterns, which would in turn trigger an inevitable collapse of states and civilisations.³

In this regard, it is mistakenly believed that the entrance of the nomadic Turkmen tribes into Anatolia during the eleventh and twelfth centuries ultimately brought about a series of calamities for the local sedentary populace. More arguments have recently added a new dimension regarding climate to this misinterpretation, claiming that the climate-related natural disasters in Anatolia in

¹ Anatoly M. Khazanov, “Pastoral Nomadic Migrations and Conquests,” in *The Cambridge World History. Volume 5, Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conflict, 500CE-1500CE*, ed. B. Z. Kedar and Merry E. Wiesner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 359–81.

² Anatoly M. Khazanov, “Specific Characteristics of Chalcolitic and Bronze Age Pastoralism in the Near East,” in *Nomads, Tribes and the State in the Ancient Near East Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jeffrey Szuchman (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009), 119–29; pp. 119-120. Fikret Adanir, “Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe during Ottoman Rule,” in *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*, ed. Daniel Chirot (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 131–76.

³ Peter Christensen, *The Decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 B.C. to A.D. 1500* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1993), pp. 9-15.

the eleventh century set the stage for ‘nomadic invasion’.⁴ The first part of this section provides a critical review of the literature on the ‘nomadization process’ of Anatolia during the medieval period. It briefly lays stress on the fact that the coming of the nomadic Turkmen tribes was not a decisive disruption rather it had a re-generative impact on the economic diversification of Anatolia in large part. The process of the nomadization and Turkification of Anatolia encompassed two periods. The period between the battle of Mankizert (1071) and the battle of Köseadağ (1243) was characterized by a gradual nomadization process and Turkification concentrated particularly on the steppes zones of central Anatolia.⁵ The period after Köseadağ (1243) witnessed an expansion of nomadism towards the mountainous terrain, especially the valleys and highlands in the Taurus range, which welcomed numerous Turkmen tribes that had been forced to abandon their pastures lying on the steppes of central Anatolia due to the Mongol pressure.⁶ In addition to a reconsideration of certain arguments about the nomadization process of Anatolia, the first part of this section presents a brief overview of the discussions on the purported theories of the climate change that is purported to have coincided with the coming of the nomadic Turkmens in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It aims to demonstrate that the impact of the climate-related natural disasters on Anatolia was limited in area as it contained many diverse zones with different physical features and sub-climates.⁷

⁴ Ronnie Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean : Climate Change and the Decline of the East, 950-1072* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Ioannis Telelis, “Climatic Fluctuations in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East AD 300-1500 from Byzantine Documentary and Proxy Physical Paleoclimatic Evidence - A Comparison,” *Jahrbuch Der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 58, no. 2004 (2008): 167–208.

⁵ Osman Turan, “Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and Beyliks,” in *The Cambridge History of Islam Vol. 1*, ed. Peter Malcolm Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 233.

⁶ Sara Nur Yıldız, “Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282” unpublished PhD thesis (University of Chicago, 2006), pp. 397-398.

⁷ John Haldon et al., “The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, and Archaeology,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 45, no. 2: 113–61, pp. 127-132.

The second part moves on to interrogate the ‘crisis based approaches’ that have become a fixed feature in Ottoman historiography related to the decline and transformation paradigms of the seventeenth century. The decline paradigm of the Ottoman Empire has been re-examined in the recent years through the application of a ‘state’ and ‘society’ approach that seeks to evaluate the turn of events, which the Ottoman Empire underwent over the period of the seventeenth century, from a positive standpoint. Recent studies focusing on the ‘state’ have replaced the traditional ‘decline’ paradigm with a new perception that the Ottoman state went through a gradual change and transformation throughout the seventeenth century during which it effectively adjusted its administrative structure and institutions to the changing conditions.⁸ Other studies, focused on the ‘society’, have established that the seventeenth century initialised a striking integration of peripheral social groups with the centre and an ensuing ‘Ottomanisation’ of provincial society including even in its remote regions.⁹

The ‘decline paradigm’ was firstly introduced to Ottoman historiography after World War II by the traditional Orientalist school that was premised on the modernization theories.¹⁰ From a

⁸ Rifa‘at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991). Metin Kunt, *The Sultan’s Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). Halil Inalcik, “Military and Fiscal Transformation of the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 283–337. Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy Tax-Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1996). Cemal Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4, no. 1–2 : 30–75. Donald Quataert, “Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes Towards the Notion of ‘Decline,’” *History Compass* 1 (2003): 1–9. Mehmet Öz, *Kanun-ı Kadîmin Peşinde: Osmanlı’da Çözülme ve Gelenekçi Yorumları: (XVI. Yüzyıldan XVIII. Yüzyıl Başlarına)* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2005).

⁹ Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540-1834* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: ‘Aynṭāb in the 17th Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007). Charles L Wilkins, *Forging Urban Solidarities: Ottoman Aleppo 1640-1700* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010). Dror Ze’evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

¹⁰ Christopher Rose, “Ottoman Historiography and the Seventeenth Century Crisis, or Where Is the Ottoman Empire in the Great Divergence Debate?,” seminar paper (May 6, 2014), p. 6.

Eurocentric vantage point that implicitly highlights the ascendancy of the West over the rest of the world, the representatives of the Orientalist school held the view that the western-style modernization was a requisite experience for the Middle Eastern lands and the Ottoman Empire for the ability of competing with the European states especially in the economic and military fields after the seventeenth century.¹¹ Likewise, let us say in a broader context, scholars who adopt a Eurocentric perspective hold a methodological fallacy that the history of Asia and Africa should be written in accordance to the historical process that the western world experienced.¹² In the same vein, it has been assumed that the historical phenomena associated with the general crisis of the seventeenth century in Europe, such as ‘the Little Ice Age,’¹³ ‘price revolution’¹⁴, ‘military revolution’¹⁵ and ‘population decreases,’¹⁶ etc., simultaneously set in motion the ‘decline’ of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷ A clear implication of this historiographical misbelief is that the Ottoman Empire was by no means immune to any predicament in which the European states went through. In

¹¹ Cem Emrence, *Remapping the Ottoman Middle East : Modernity, Imperial Bureaucracy, and the Islamic State* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), pp. 17-18. For the classical studies of the traditional Orientalist school, see H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West. A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the near East* (London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950). Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1961). Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964).

¹² Korkut A. Ertürk, *Rethinking Central Asia : Non-Eurocentric Studies in History, Social Structure and Identity* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1999), pp. 13-18. For a broader general criticism of Eurocentric History, see James M. Blaut, *The Colonizer’s Model of the World : Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993). James M. Blaut, *Eight Eurocentric Historians* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000).

¹³ Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis : War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

¹⁴ Earl Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1965). Douglas Fisher, “The Price Revolution: A Monetary Interpretation,” *The Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (1989).

¹⁵ Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution : Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

¹⁶ Anne E C McCants, “Historical Demography and the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2009): 195–214.

¹⁷ Gabriel Piterberg, *An Ottoman Tragedy : History and Historiography at Play* (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 2003), pp. 141-142.

such a Eurocentric framework, the ‘decline paradigm’ is being repeatedly reintroduced into Ottoman historiography with the crisis-based approaches related to the demographic¹⁸, agricultural¹⁹, climatic-ecological²⁰ and political aspects of the seventeenth century.²¹

The starting point for the crisis-based approaches in the ‘decline paradigm’ was the Celali rebellions which can be briefly described as a phenomenon of Ottoman social history. Mustafa Akdağ carried out the preliminary studies on the Celali rebellions half a century ago.²² However, one major drawback of his approach to the subject of the Celali rebellions was that he made a sweeping assumption about the consequences of the rebellions and hence drew a picture of catastrophe for the whole of Anatolia in the post-rebellion period.²³ Despite this, thus far, previous studies have readily accepted his grim scenario for the post-rebellion period and many historians

¹⁸ Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576-1643* (Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2016). Oktay Özel, “Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The ‘demographic Crisis’ Reconsidered,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no. 2 (2004): 183–205. Mehmet Öz, “Population Fall in Seventeenth Century Anatolia (Some Findings for the Districts of Canik and Bozok),” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 22 (2004): 159–71. Leila Erder and Suraiya Faroqhi, “Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550–1620,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 15, no. 3 (1979): 322–45. Leila Erder, “The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 17th Century,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 11, no. 3 (1975): 284–301.

¹⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Worldly Affairs of the Mevlevi Dervishes (1595-1652),” *Turcica* 20 (1988): 43–70. Kayhan Orbay, “The Financial Administration of an Imperial Waqf in an Age of Crisis: A Case Study of Bayezid II’s Waqf in Amasya (1594-1657)” unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Bilkent University, 2001). Kayhan Orbay, “Financial Development of the Waqfs in Konya and the Agricultural Economy in the Central Anatolia (Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Centuries),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 1 (2012): 74–116.

²⁰ Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Faruk Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: A Geohistorical Approach* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

²¹ Oktay Özel, “The Reign of Violence, The Celalis C. 1550-1700,” in *Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (New York: Routledge, 2012), 184–212. Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994).

²² Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâlî İsyanları (1550-1603)*, (Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963). Mustafa Akdağ, *Büyük Celâî Karışıklıklarının Başlaması* (Erzurum: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963).

²³ Akdağ, *Celâlî İsyanları (1550-1603)*, pp. 171-182, 250-257.

have perceived the Celali rebellions as a momentous episode for the Ottoman Empire in transition from its heyday to the ‘crisis’ of the seventeenth century.²⁴

The Nomadic Turkmens in Medieval Anatolia, Decline or Recovery ?

The battle of Mankizert (1071) resulted in a defeat of the Byzantine army and subsequently the eastern frontier of the empire in Anatolia remained defenceless against the Turkmen incursions that had started on a smaller scale a few years before 1071.²⁵ Therefore, the victory of the Seljukids at Mankizert became a turning point in the nomadization process of Anatolia. In a few years after the battle, the Turkmen tribes seized the extensive summer pastures lying on the highlands of Erzurum-Kars and Van in the north and reached the plains of Diyarbakir in the south.²⁶ The scarcity of archival sources makes it difficult to estimate the nomadic Turkmen population in Anatolia during the period following the battle of Mankizert.²⁷ Nevertheless, the Turkmen presence in Anatolia reached a stage where the nomads succeeded in establishing political formations soon after Mankizert. As foremost among these, the Seljukids of Rūm centred in Konya reigned over an area that stretched from the Dardanelles Straits to the northern Syria; the Danishmends controlled mainly a triangular area that contained Ankara, Sivas, Tokat, Amasya and Kayseri.²⁸ While the other political formations ruled in more limited territories; for example, the Saltukids in the Erzurum

²⁴ William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: K. Schwarz Verlag, 1983). Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats : The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

²⁵ Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey : A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, C. 1071-1330* (New York: Taplinger Pub. Co., 1968), pp. 66-72.

²⁶ Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History : A New Interpretation* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 146-147.

²⁷ Osman Turan, “Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks,” in *The Cambridge History of Islam*., ed. P M Holt, Ann K S Lambton, and Bernard Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 231–62, p. 233.

²⁸ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey : A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, C. 1071-1330*, pp. 83-84.

plateau, the Mengüdjekids in Erzincan, the Sökmens in Ahlat situated on the west of Lake Van, and the Artukids in an area surrounding Diyarbekir.²⁹

The existing literature on the history of medieval Anatolia after the battle of Mankizert (1071) suffers from some embedded bias towards the entrance of the nomadic Turkmens. The mainstream of the preconceived theories is simply based on the assumption that the arrival of the nomadic Turkmens led to the outbreak of a profound economic and political ‘crisis’ in Anatolia.³⁰ In his controversial social and economic survey of medieval Anatolia during the period in 1071-1453, Vryonis believes that the influx of the nomadic Turkmens after the battle of Mankizert was a ‘catastrophic disruption’ to agricultural and industrial production and it brought many misfortunes to the local Christian population in Anatolia.³¹ From a similar point of view, Fleet rejects the revisionist approach to the phenomenon of the nomadic influx into Anatolia during the medieval period, which supports the argument that animal husbandry could improve the economic conditions of Anatolia after the coming of numerous nomadic tribes.³² Instead, she argues that no matter how substantial the wealth generated by animal husbandry, the agricultural production remained the backbone of the Byzantine economy during the medieval period; therefore, the Turkmen raids that inflicted serious damages on the agricultural production and the settlements was the main hindrance to an economic recovery in Anatolia.³³ In the same vein, drawing on the evidence from the church

²⁹ Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar, Türkmenler: Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilâtı, Destanları* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1967), p. 136.

³⁰ Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Kate Fleet, “The Turkish Economy, 1071-1453,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 227-265. D.A. Korobeinikov, “Raiders and Neighbours: The Turks (1040-1304),” in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire C. 500-1492*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 692-728.

³¹ Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*.

³² Fleet, “The Turkish Economy, 1071-1453,” 227-265.

³³ Fleet, “The Turkish Economy, 1071-1453,” p. 234.

chronicles, Vryonis overstates the dimensions of the Turkmen raids after Mankizert by giving a list of several ‘destroyed’, ‘pillaged’, ‘enslaved’, and ‘massacred’ settlements in his survey.³⁴

Adopting a critical approach, Peacock has recently challenged the widely held view that a massive influx of the nomadic Turkmens precipitated an economic and demographic decline in medieval Anatolia during the period after Mankizert.³⁵ He points out that the existing literature on the history of medieval Anatolia after the period of Mankizert has based their anti-nomad bias on the accounts narrated by the medieval church chronicles without the approach of text-criticism.³⁶ In particular, he criticises the way in which Vryonis makes sweeping generalizations in the matter of the impact of the Turkmen raids on the countryside of Anatolia after Mankizert.³⁷ Interestingly, Vryonis gives the list of the destroyed settlements only from the region of Paphlagonia. For this, he uses the chronicle of Albert Aachen who was a Crusader historian who passed through Paphlagonia in 1101. At this point, Peacock draws attention to a fact that the existent damage had already been inflicted by the Crusaders on those settlements before the arrival of the Turkmens.³⁸

In the same direction of the criticism made by Peacock, Khazanov warns historians about assessing the historical economic consequences of the convergence of the nomads and the sedentary world. He establishes that although many nomadic assaults and invasions of agricultural areas were destructive, the contemporary chroniclers and their modern followers tend to dramatize the nomadic devastations by taking every line recorded in the medieval chronicles at face value.³⁹ Such an

³⁴ Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 166-167.

³⁵ Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation*, pp. 160-161.

³⁶ Peacock, *Ibid.*, p. 161.

³⁷ Vryonis’ narrative is completely harmonious with the views of the Greek nationalist historiography. For the political agenda of the Greek nationalist historiography especially concerning Asia Minor, see Paschalis M Kitromilides, “Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 26, no. 1 (1990): 3–17.

³⁸ Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation.*, p. 161.

³⁹ Anatoly M. Khazanov, “Nomads in the History of the Sedentary World,” in *Nomads in the Sedentary World*, ed. Anatoly M. Khazanov and André Wink (Richmond: Routledge, 2001), p. 6.

approach has been adopted by Jason Roche who advises historians to be cautious about the possibility that the chronicles could be written according to some special political agendas as they often were. He states that, in her chronicle the *Alexiad*, Anna Komnenus on purpose exaggerated the devastation left by the Turkmen incursions on the countryside in order to highlight her father's, Alexius Komnenus (r. 1081-1118), successful resettlement and repopulation policies.⁴⁰ In the same vein, Peacock has also warned us to bear in mind that the medieval chroniclers tend to have overgeneralized about the Turkmen raids as unsystematic, random, and plunder-oriented.⁴¹ He points out that the accessibility of the pasturelands was a matter of the utmost importance for the Turkmens because they were largely nomadic pastoralists; therefore, they launched attacks intentionally on the cities and towns in order to destroy the Byzantine fortifications that would pose a constant threat while going up to the pastureland.⁴² In this regard, Peacock cites a passage from the Dede Korkut tales as an example to show the vulnerability of the Turkmens against the attacks from the sedentary groups. It was written that 16,000 infidels went out from their barracks and attacked the Turkmens who went hunting around a city.⁴³

Similarly, one should take into consideration the fact that the state-centric Byzantine chronicles were more attentive to the actions of the warlike Turkmens, who were capable of posing military and political threats to the Byzantine Empire, rather than the pliable nomads who constituted fewer problems for the local population.⁴⁴ On the other hand, the key problem with the reliance of modern historians on the Byzantine chronicles is that the medieval authors maintained

⁴⁰ Jason T. Roche, "In the Wake of Mantzikert: The First Crusade and the Alexian Reconquest of Western Anatolia," *History* 94, no. 314 (April 2009): 135–53, p. 140.

⁴¹ Andrew C S Peacock, "Nomadic Society and the Seljūq Campaigns in Caucasia," *Iran&Caucasus* 9, no. 2 (2005): 205–30

⁴² Peacock, Andrew C S Peacock, "Nomadic Society and the Seljūq Campaigns in Caucasia," *Iran&Caucasus* 9, no. 2 (2005): 205–30., p. 224.

⁴³ Peacock, *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth A Zachariadou, "The Oğuz Tribes: The Silence of the Byzantine Sources," in *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages À Claude Cahen*, ed. Y. Monsef (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1994), 285–89.

the tradition of history writing passed from the earlier Greek and Roman texts which disfavoured nomadic pastoralism, and equated nomadism with barbarism.⁴⁵ In this regard, the chroniclers transmitted the image of the barbarian nomads, which were associated by and large with the Scythians from the ancient times, to the description of the Turkmens in the medieval age.⁴⁶ The conception of nomads in the medieval chronicles was nothing more than a repetition of the bias towards nomadism in ancient texts.

There is a growing body of literature that collates the historical evidence with climatic data in an attempt to analyse the social, economic and political history of the medieval Near East, including Anatolia.⁴⁷ In this context, many studies ambitiously seek to link the reasons behind the

⁴⁵ Keith Hopwood, "Türkmen, Bandits and Nomads: Problems and Perceptions," in *Comité International D'études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes, VIth Symposium, Cambridge, 1st-4th July, 1984*, 23–30, p. 24. Keith Hopwood, "Nomads or Bandits? The Pastoralist/Sedentarist Interface in Anatolia," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16 (1991): 185–186. For a glimpse of the perspective of the Roman chronicles on the nomads, see also Roger Batty, *Rome and the Nomads: The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 424–428.

⁴⁶ Hopwood, "Türkmen, Bandits and Nomads: Problems and Perceptions," pp. 25–30. See how the chronicler Laonikos identified the Turks with the image of Schytians, Anthony Kaldellis, *A New Herodotos: Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire, the Fall of Byzantium, and the Emergence of the West* (Washington: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 128–137.

⁴⁷ Elena Xoplaki et al., "The Medieval Climate Anomaly and Byzantium: A Review of the Evidence on Climatic Fluctuations, Economic Performance and Societal Change," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 136, no. April (2016): 229–52. John Haldon, Neil Roberts et al., "The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, and Archaeology," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xlv:2 (Autumn, 2014), pp. 113–161. Telelis, "Climatic Fluctuations in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East AD 300–1500 from Byzantine Documentary and Proxy Physical Paleoclimatic Evidence - A Comparison." Ioannis G. Telelis, "Weather and Climate as Factors Affecting Land Transport and Communications in Byzantium," *Byzantion Revue Internationale Des Etudes Byzantines* 77 (2007): 432–62. Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean: Climate Change and the Decline of the East, 950–1072*. Richard W. Bulliet, *Cotton, Climate, and Camels in Early Islamic Iran: A Moment in World History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). Adam Izdebski, *A Rural Economy in Transition: Asia Minor from Late Antiquity into the Early Middle Ages* (Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 2013). Adam Izdebski, "Why Did Agriculture Flourish in the Late Antique East? The Role of Climate Fluctuations in the Development and Contraction of Agriculture in Asia Minor and the Middle East from the 4th till the 7th c. AD," *Millennium-Jahrbuch* 8 (2011): 291–312. Steffen Vogt et al., "Assessing the Medieval Climate Anomaly in the Middle East: The Potential of Arabic Documentary Sources New Evidence from Documentary Sources Provides Detailed Climatic Information to Fill the Middle East Gap in Medieval Climate Anomaly Reconstructions," *PAGES News* 19, no. 1 (2011): 28–29.

collapse of the Byzantine Empire and the political fragmentation of the Near East in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with the natural disasters related to Medieval Climate Anomalies.⁴⁸ By means of a shallow analysis of the medieval chronicles on the subject of natural disasters, the historians have constructed a theory of ‘crisis’ concerning the socio-economic and political history of the Near East in the medieval age.⁴⁹ Based on a series of records from the medieval chronicles regarding climate disasters, Ellenblum firmly argues that Egypt, the Levant and Anatolia suffered from a climate-related ecological crisis in between 950 and 1072.⁵⁰ The recurrent droughts and cold spells during that period caused a serious drop in agricultural production and thus tax revenues and consequently the existing political formations became weak in power.⁵¹ According to Ellenblum, this chain of climate disasters triggered a series of concurrent political and social developments in the eastern Mediterranean during the period between the second half of the tenth and the twelfth centuries.⁵² These were the Islamicization of Christian subjects in Anatolia, Levant and Egypt; the

⁴⁸ The medieval climate anomaly was a period of climate instabilities that had various effects on northern and southern hemispheres in between the late ninth and the late fifteenth centuries. In this period, the temperatures in many parts of Europe and north Atlantic were higher than the late twentieth century. Thanks to warm and mild climate, Europe experienced a population growth and agricultural expansion until the arrival of the Little Ice Age that showed its affects from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. M. K Hughes and Henry F Diaz, “Was There a ‘Medieval Warm Period’, and If So, Where and When ?,” in *The Medieval Warm Period*, ed. M. K Hughes and Henry F Diaz (Dordrecht [The Netherlands]; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994), 109–69. Michael E Mann, “Medieval Climatic Optimum,” *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change* (John Wiley and Sons, 2002). In contrast to Europe and North Atlantic, many parts of Asia suffered from an arid and cold climate during the medieval warm period. Brian M Fagan, *The Great Warming : Climate Change and the Rise and Fall of Civilizations* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), pp. 111-112.

⁴⁹ T. M. L. Wigley, M. J. Ingram, and G. Farmer, “Past Climates and Their Impact on Man: A Review,” in *Climate and History : Studies in Past Climates and Their Impact on Man*, ed. T. M. L. Wigley and M. J. Ingram (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 3–51, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean : Climate Change and the Decline of the East, 950-1072*, p.3.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 36.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 37-39.

rise of the Fatimids in Egypt; the Norman conquest of southern Italy; the settlement desertion in Palestine and the raids of the nomadic Oghuz and Pechenegs.⁵³

When cold spells reduced the pastureland in size, the nomads from Trans-Oxiana, Khorasan and the Lower Volga moved further to the south. Iran, Anatolia and the Balkans came under the threat of nomadic incursions as a result.⁵⁴ Ellenblum assumes that the coming of nomads exacerbated the situation of agricultural areas that had already started to deteriorate due to drought.⁵⁵ In such a scenario, the crisis period was prolonged up to the time of that the nomads faded out when the states became stronger again by means of a recovery in agricultural production and an increase in rural population.⁵⁶ It was obvious that the ending of the crisis period was directly related to the return of climate to its optimal conditions. In this way, climate change and nomads seem to be of specified use for the historians to construct a set of purported crisis theories concerning the past social and economic developments in the Near East. The arrival of the nomadic Turkmens is supposed to have accelerated the deterioration in agricultural production of Anatolia which started concomitantly with the climate changes. In their recent analysis of proxy data concerning the impact of the medieval climate anomalies on the social and economic history of the Byzantine Empire, Xoplaki *et al.* have concluded that a drier climate was widespread across the Byzantine lands during the twelfth century. However, the impact of the aridity became more severe

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 37-39.

⁵⁴ Bulliet, *Cotton, Climate, and Camels in Early Islamic Iran : A Moment in World History*, pp.85-86.

⁵⁵ Ronnie Ellenblum, "Demography, Geography and the Accelerated Islamisation of the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Religious Conversion: History, Experience and Meaning*, ed. Ira Katznelson and Miri Rubin (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 61–81; pp. 66-67.

⁵⁶ Christensen, *The Decline of Iranshahr : Irrigation and Environments in the History of the Middle East, 500 B.C. to A.D. 1500.*, pp. 12-13.

on the areas that were subjected to the ‘invasion’ of the Turkmens, for example central Anatolia, compared to Greece and Macedonia that remained free of the Turkmen attacks.⁵⁷

A recently published article by Kapeller casts doubt on the Ellenblum’s assumption that the adverse climatic conditions set the stage for the ‘collapse’ of the Byzantium.⁵⁸ By adopting a critical approach to the theories of Ellenblum and the earlier work of Bulliet, Kapeller concludes that a shift in climate towards more arid and cooler conditions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries could play a significant part in the political destabilisation of the agricultural areas and the increasing mobility of the nomadic groups.⁵⁹ However, he criticizes Ellenblum and Bulliet for making no attempt to give sufficient consideration to diverse climates and regional ecological differences, while evaluating the impact of the deteriorating climatic conditions on the Near East. Therefore, he establishes that their arguments would have been much more convincing if they had avoided coming to a sweeping conclusion for the past climate scenario of the medieval Near East.⁶⁰ In the same vein with Kapeller, Haldon *et al.* draw also our attention to a considerable microregional differentiation in climate and land use in Anatolia; thus, they propose to adopt a method of regional analysis for a better understanding of the effects of the climate anomalies on the Near East in the past.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Xoplaki et al., “The Medieval Climate Anomaly and Byzantium: A Review of the Evidence on Climatic Fluctuations, Economic Performance and Societal Change,” p. 19.

⁵⁸ Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, “A Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean ? New Results and Theories on the Interplay between Climate and Societies in Byzantium and the Near East, Ca. 1000-1200 AD,” *Byzantinistik* 65 (2015): 113–61.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, “Climate, Ecology and Power in the Armenian Highlands, 7th-11th Century,” in *The 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Belgrade, 2016), 1-9; pp. 4-5.

⁶⁰ Kapeller, “A Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean ? New Results and Theories on the Interplay between Climate and Societies in Byzantium and the Near East, Ca. 1000-1200 AD,” p. 35.

⁶¹ Haldon, Roberts et al., “The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, and Archaeology,” pp. 130-132.

The drought-prone climate of the Near East gives many historians a pretext for making a causal link between the dry periods and the increasing mobility of the nomads.⁶² It has been commonly presumed that since the herds would have dwindled due to the lack of sufficient water resources and pasture reserves during the period of drought, the nomads had resorted to plunder the sedentary settlements.⁶³ However, the nomads could adopt a set of peaceful strategies in order to survive from the drought instead of plundering. They could migrate to urban areas, make their herds smaller, or become settled.⁶⁴ During drought periods, on the other hand, the sedentary farmers might have needed to add more milk and meat to their diet, because of the loss in the grain harvest. Such a shift towards more protein in their diets made them get in contact with the nomads.⁶⁵ In her revisionist study of the consequences of the environmental disasters on the Levant during the Crusade, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, Raphael also questions whether the drought was the only reason for the conflict between the nomads and their sedentary neighbours.⁶⁶ She states that drought took an equally heavy toll on both the nomads and the sedentary population, but the nomads were likely to face the restrictions imposed by the rulers and sedentary neighbours more frequently than before during the drought times.⁶⁷ Thus, the occupation of the agricultural areas by the nomads was not related only to the drought periods. By giving the example of Jordan and Palestine during the

⁶² Arie Issar and Zohar Mattanyah, *Climate Change Environment and History of the Near East* (Berlin-Heidelberg : Springer-Verlag, 2004), pp. 96-97.

⁶³ Norman N. Lewis, *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800-1980* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 89. Haggay Etke, "Nomads and Droughts, Challenges to Middle Eastern Economic Development : The Case of Early Ottoman Gaza (1516-82)" (Hebrew University, 2008), p. 96.

⁶⁴ D. Tsegaye, P. Vedeld, and S.R. Moe, "Pastoralists and Livelihoods: A Case Study from Northern Afar, Ethiopia," *Journal of Arid Environments* 91 (April 2013): 138–146, pp. 143-146. Wassie Berhanu, David Colman, and Bichaka Fayissa, "Diversification and Livelihood Sustainability in a Semi-Arid Environment: A Case Study from Southern Ethiopia," *The Journal of Development Studies* 43, no. 5 (2007): 871–889, p. 872.

⁶⁵ Anne Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism and the Formation of Near Eastern Civilizations : Weaving Together Society* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 22-23.

⁶⁶ Kate Raphael, *Climate and Political Climate Environmental Disasters in the Medieval Levant* (Leiden : Brill, 2013).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

late Mamluk period (late fifteenth century), she has demonstrated that the political instability attended by a financial crisis played a bigger part in the dissolution of the settlement patterns and simultaneously the occupation of the agricultural areas by the nomadic pastoralists than the natural disasters.⁶⁸

Another problem with the catastrophic scenario that regards the entrance of the nomadic Turkmens to Anatolia after 1071 as a major cause of the decline of the Byzantine Empire is that it fails to acknowledge the economic growth of Anatolia during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶⁹ Harvey shows that the political and military failures of the Byzantine Empire against the Seljuks, Normans and Pechenegs did not preclude the expansion of cultivation, population increase and the growth of trade and cities across the Byzantine lands during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷⁰ Like Harvey, Peacock highlights the fact that the arrival of the Turkmens did not impede the economic and demographic expansion of the Byzantine Anatolia because the interior parts of Anatolia became a main habitation of the nomadic Turkmens during the period after Mankizert.⁷¹ In medieval Anatolia, the central area remained infertile and desolate in contrast with the prosperous and densely populated coastal plain; therefore, the barren steppes of central Anatolia provided the nomadic Turkmens with a convenient environment for grazing livestock.⁷²

For that reason, it would be wrong to assume that the entrance of the nomadic Turkmens caused a shift in land use pattern from agricultural to pastoral in central Anatolia. Furthermore, the exploitation of non-arable lands for pastoral activities was a common practice in the Byzantine

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 31-32.

⁶⁹ Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 244-269.

⁷¹ Peacock, *Early Seljūq History : A New Interpretation*, p. 161.

⁷² Peacock refers to the letters written by the bishop of Euchaita (Avkat, Mecitözü in modern Çorum province) around 1050 which highlights the wildness and poverty of the central Anatolia before the arrival of Turkmens. Ibid., p. 160.

lands.⁷³ Therefore, the barren steppes of the central Anatolian plateau were already allotted to stockbreeding before the coming of the nomadic Turkmens.⁷⁴ Intensive stock farming was performed in many ecclesiastical and private estates located in the *themas* of Galatia, Paphlagonia, Anatolikon and Cappadocia in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁷⁵ The military aristocrats engaged in breeding horses and mules in particular.⁷⁶ Stock farming established the main source of their economic power.⁷⁷ The cities began to thrive on the economic growth during the eleventh century and twelfth centuries and simultaneously the increasing urban population generated a large demand for animals and animal products for provisioning. For example, the dairy products of Paphlagonia became popular in Constantinople even in the tenth century.⁷⁸ Likewise, the nomadic Vlachs and Kumans kept large flocks of sheep and sold dairy products to Constantinople in the twelfth century.⁷⁹ In this context, the nomadic Turkmens did not introduce pastoral farming to the Byzantine Empire for the first time. It is therefore possible to state that when the Turkmens entered Anatolia, they reaped the benefits of an already-existing demand for animal and animal products.

In Anatolia before Mankizert, pastoral farming was practised on a sedentary basis in the form of short-distance seasonal grazing. However, the nomadic pastoralism in Anatolia was put into

⁷³ Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200*, p. 152-156.

⁷⁴ Jacques Lefort, "The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Charalampos Bouras (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 225–325.

⁷⁵ J. Eric Cooper and Michael Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 94-101.

⁷⁶ Lefort, "The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries," pp. 263-264.

⁷⁷ Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Charalampos Bouras (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 311–76, p. 354.

⁷⁸ M. Kaplan, "L'activite Pastorale Dans Le Village Byzantine Du VIIe Au XVIIe Siecle," in *Animals and Environment in Byzantium (7th-12th Centuries)*, ed. Ēlias Anagnōstakēs, Taxiarchis G. Kolias, and Eutychia Papadopoulou (Athens: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunōn, Institouto Vyzantinōn Ereunōn, 2011), 407–20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 407-20.

practice for the first time with the arrival of the Turkmens.⁸⁰ Anatolia is a very convenient geography for the growth of pastoral nomadism. The peripheral coastline of Anatolia which has a humid and mild climate surrounds oppositely the high and dry steppes stretching across its central areas.⁸¹ Geographically, that peripheral coastline is called ‘the lower zone’, while the high central steppes form ‘the upper zone’.⁸² Transhumance can be described as a migration pattern which is performed cyclically between both in accordance with the need of finding fresh pasture for livestock.⁸³ The vegetation in the lower zone starts to dry in the period between the end of spring and the beginning of summer, and it usually recovers only after the end of September.⁸⁴ However, the upper zone offsets this arid season by offering lush pastures flourishing through the melted snow. Before the snow covers the vegetation on high steppes of Anatolia in winter, nomads have to go down to the snow-free plains in the lower zone.⁸⁵ The lower zone provides nomads and their livestock with shelter from the harsh winter conditions; on the other hand, the upper zone supplies water sources in scorching summer days.⁸⁶ In this way, both zones complement each other.

Such seasonal migrations between different altitude zones can also be seen across the other Mediterranean lands. For example, the Vlachs or the Sarakatsani, who was a well-known traditional transhumant group of northern and north-western Greece, spend the summer in the Pindus mountain range and the southern Rhodope mountain range in order to graze their animals in the highlands,

⁸⁰ Anthony Bryer, “The Means of Agricultural Production,” in *The Economic History of Byzantium : From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Charalampos Bouras (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 101–14, pp. 103-104.

⁸¹ Xavier Planhol, “Aspects of Mountain Life in Anatolia and Iran,” in *Geography as Human Ecology Methodology by Example*, ed. S Eyre and G.R. Jones (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), p. 291.

⁸² Necdet Tunçdilek, “Türkiyede Yaylalar ve Yaylacılık,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 14 (1967), pp. 19-20.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁴ Daniel Bates, “Nomads and Farmers: A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey,” in *Perspectives on Nomadism*, ed. William Irons and Neville Dyson-Hudson (Leiden: Brill, 1972), p. 51.

⁸⁵ Tunçdilek, “Türkiyede Yaylalar ve Yaylacılık”, p. 20.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

and move down to the flat terrains of Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace in the winter.⁸⁷ In a similar way, the rural populations in Corsica in the western Mediterranean perform a seasonal migration between the coastal land and the highlands of the island for grazing livestock.⁸⁸ On the other hand, transhumance can enable the rural populations to put the mountainous terrain of the Mediterranean to their economic advantage in a most optimal way. For example, the Kingdom of Naples flourished on the wool production by encouraging and taking advantage of an extensive transhumant pastoralism based in the Apennines Mountains in between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸⁹

The Turkmens could avail themselves of the mountainous terrain of Anatolia, which was perfectly favourable for transhumance, to make a variety of profitable production in the medieval age. However, the economy of the nomadic Turkmens in Anatolia included a wider range of diverse production than the normal standards of pastoralism.⁹⁰ Certainly raising livestock was the main occupation of the Turkmens in the following period after Mankizert.⁹¹ Fat-tailed sheep which was the most common kind in Anatolia provided meat and dairy products for nutrition, and also some basic raw materials like hides and wool for the manufacture of leather, carpets and rugs.⁹² After Anatolia had come under the rule of the Mongols in 1243, the economy of the nomadic Turkmens

⁸⁷ Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Roumeli : Travels in Northern Greece* (London: John Murray, 1966), pp. 5-10, pp.13-16. Philip Carl Salzman, *Pastoralists : Equality, Hierarchy, and the State* (Boulder Colo.: Westview Press, 2004), pp. 115-116.

⁸⁸ Salzmänn, *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

⁸⁹ John A. Marino, *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

⁹⁰ The basic pastoralism is an autarchic economic model and therefore it is not a market-oriented. In this sense, the scholars, like Owen Lattimore, regard the basic pastoralism as the sign of economic backwardness. They reduce the concept of basic pastoralism into a simple scheme as 'pure' nomad is 'poor' nomad. Peter B. Golden, "Nomads and Sedentary Societies in Eurasia," in *Agricultural and Pastoral Societies in Ancient and Classical History*, ed. Michael Adas (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 71-116, p. 86.

⁹¹ Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, C. 300-1450* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 54-56.

⁹² Fleet, "The Turkish Economy, 1071-1453", p. 231.

diversified into several branches of pastoral production, which made the Turkmens become a part of international trade. Basically, the nomads adjusted their strategies according to some rational necessities, such as securing livelihood or making a profit, which served as the primary motivation for their actions. In this sense, they were similar to their sedentary neighbours who pursued their own economic goals. For example, one of the main triggers behind the Mongol expansion towards the western lands was the aim of controlling the long-distance trade route between east and west which is generally known as the Silk Road.⁹³ In order to sustain the flow of goods across the lands, the Mongols reunited the fragmented economic structure in Anatolia and Iran under a single system which operated a unitary monetary system, a simplified method of taxation and a universal commercial code.⁹⁴ Accordingly, the Mongols were very eager to make commercial treaties with the Italian merchants on the Black Sea.⁹⁵

Never-ending pillage never became a long-running method of increasing the revenues for the Mongols. The initial arrival of the Mongols was highly destructive for both infrastructure and agriculture in conquered lands.⁹⁶ The impact of the Mongol conquest on the Near East was more destructive in Iran than in Anatolia, Azerbaijan and Iraq.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the Ilkhanate rule during the reign of Ghazan Khan (1295-1304) applied better policies in order to support agriculture and the peasantry in comparison to the previous decades.⁹⁸ The nomadic leaders were concerned to increase

⁹³ Nur Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282", pp. 116-117.

⁹⁴ Zeki V. Togan and Gary Leiser, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period," *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1991), p. 217.

⁹⁵ Nicola Di Cosmo, "Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 391-425.

⁹⁶ Nur Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282," pp. 117-118.

⁹⁷ Togan and Leiser, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period," pp. 230-231.

⁹⁸ David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford; New York: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 146-148. W. Barthold and J. A. Boyle, "Ghazan," EI².

the state treasury through agricultural revenues. The Turco-Mongolian leaders of the tribe of Ulus Chaghatay, which was Tamerlane's chief tribal unit, had close ties to the cultivated lands in Samarqand and Bukhara and many of them owned a number of farms during the first half of the fourteenth century.⁹⁹ In a short period after the battle of Köseadağ in 1243, the economic conditions in Anatolia under the Mongol rule improved and the wealth held in many cities of Anatolia caught the attention of several travellers and geographers. This prosperity was derived from the trade of a range of agricultural and commercial productions.¹⁰⁰ The thriving economy of Anatolia was also reflected in the amount of tribute paid by the Seljukids of Anatolia to the Mongols. After 1243, the amount of tribute that went from Anatolia to the Mongols consisted of 360,000 *dirhems* in cash together with 10,000 sheep, 1,000 oxen and 1,000 horses in kind. A few years later in 1256, this amount went up to 1,200,000 *dirhems* in cash.¹⁰¹ A further evidence for the affluence of Anatolia despite the presence of the Mongols and Turkmens that were of nomadic origins was given by Ibn Battuta and al-Umari, who drew attention to the existence of agricultural goods in abundance in Anatolia in the fourteenth century despite the political fragmentation after the collapse of the Ilkhanid authority.¹⁰²

The Mongol expansion engulfed Iran, Azerbaijan, Iraq and Anatolia from 1230's onwards and started the second phase of the nomadization and Turkification of Anatolia.¹⁰³ The Mongol pressure on the pasture reserves in eastern and central Anatolia constrained the Turkmen tribes to

⁹⁹ Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Booth, "Ghazis, Roads and Trade in North-West Anatolia 1179-1291," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 31, no. 2 (September 2007): 127-45.

¹⁰¹ Togan and Leiser, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period," p. 230.

¹⁰² Nicolas Trépanier, *Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia: A New Social History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), p. 46.

¹⁰³ Morgan, *The Mongols*, pp. 128-130. Charles Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 52-53.

move to the less desirable highlands in the Taurus Mountains.¹⁰⁴ It is almost impossible to estimate even roughly the nomadic population in Anatolia during the Mongol period (1243-1340). The only available information is found in the accounts of the Arab geographers; however, their estimates of the nomadic population were highly exaggerated and confined to specific areas. For example, Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi presented some estimated numbers about the Turkmen population in Paphlagonia and Laodikya during the second half of the thirteenth century. He stated that there were 30,000 tents in Safranbolu and 100,000 tents in Kastamonu in Paphlagonia, and 200,000 tents in Laodikya.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Syrian writer Al-Umari was impressed by the military capability of some Turkmen emirates in western Anatolia. According to his information, one prince had 10,000 troops, whereas the others could mobilise up to 40,000.¹⁰⁶ These figures cannot be evaluated as a precise data for the nomadic populations; nonetheless, they can suggest that the nomadic population reached a remarkable density in western Anatolia during the thirteenth century. Thanks to their dense populations, the Turkmens of western Anatolia began to inhabit the Balkan lands in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁷

One of the branches of the pastoral economy of the Turkmens was wool production and the wool industry. The carpets and rugs woven by the nomadic Turkmens became popular in Europe throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁸ There was also demand for Turkmen carpets from Egypt and

¹⁰⁴ Nur Yıldız, "Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Anatolia: The Politics of Conquest and History Writing, 1243-1282," p. 334.

¹⁰⁵ İlhan Şahin, *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler: İncelemeler, Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Eren, 2006), pp. 231-232.

¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Notes Sur La Population de l'Asie Mineure Turque Au XIVe Siecle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 12, no. 882 (1987), p. 224.

¹⁰⁷ Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 34-35.

¹⁰⁸ Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, C. 1071-1330*, p. 161.

the Black Sea countries in the late fifteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Especially the Anatolian carpets and rugs dyed with red madder were among the conspicuous luxury products in Italy in the fifteenth century.¹¹⁰ In addition, the woollen red caps produced by the Turkmens could find purchasers even from France and England.¹¹¹

Horse breeding was a significant branch of the pastoral economy of Anatolia. The southern central Anatolia around the north of Konya and lay between Akşehir and the Salt Lake became one of the main areas for horse breeding in Anatolia.¹¹² Kütahya, the heartland of the Germiyan emirate (1239-1428), was another area of horse breeding in medieval Anatolia.¹¹³ The practice of horse breeding in the lands of the Germiyan emirate passed to the Ottomans in the mid-fifteenth century. The Ottoman rule assigned a Turkmen group called *cemaat-ı taycıyan* to the region of Eskişehir-İnönü, which belonged formerly to the Germiyan emirate, to breed horses for the palace and army.¹¹⁴ The Anatolian horses were high in demand in local and international markets during the medieval age. The emergence of the horse markets in the cities of Konya, Sivas and Kayseri in the thirteenth century indicated a vibrant trade in horses in Anatolia.¹¹⁵ There was a great demand of the Venetians in Crete for the Anatolian horses during the fourteenth century and the emirates of Monteshe and Aydın exported a large number of horses to the eastern countries via the Venetian

¹⁰⁹ Halil İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role," in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, ed. İlhan Başgöz (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), p. 115.

¹¹⁰ Robert Chenciner, *Madder Red: A History of Luxury and Trade: Plant Dyes and Pigments in World Commerce and Art* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), p. 177.

¹¹¹ Cahen, *Ibid.*, 161.

¹¹² Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "A Propos Des Tribus Atçeken (XVe-XVIe Siècles)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 30, no. 2 (1987), 121-195; p. 122.

¹¹³ Irene Melikoff, "Germiyan-Ogullari," *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

¹¹⁴ Halime Doğru, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yaya-Müsellem-Taycı Teşkilatı: XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü Sancağı* (Istanbul: Eren, 1990), pp. 145-146.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

merchants in Crete.¹¹⁶ In addition to horses, camels were also high value animals in the Byzantine economy since the early medieval ages.¹¹⁷ They were mainly used in the transportation of goods in the Byzantine Empire. There is no doubt that the camel breeding became more widespread across Anatolia with the arrival of the nomadic Turkmens. However, camels were more an integral part of the pastoral economy of western Anatolia because of the trade between the Turkmen emirates and the Venetians.¹¹⁸ Camels were used to carry the goods from the hinterland to the ports on the Aegean coast. Besides, one reason for the development of camel breeding in western Anatolia was the salt production. Salt packs were transported on the camels to the ports.¹¹⁹

In general, therefore, it is obvious that the Turkmens could own wealth only by breeding livestock as ‘pure nomads’, given the central role of animals in the Byzantine economy. On the other hand, it is hard to ignore the agricultural activities of the nomadic Turkmens in Anatolia because the Anatolian type pastoralism depending on the seasonal transhumance between lower and higher zones, livestock raising was supplemented by a rudimentary agricultural production.¹²⁰ It is seen that the Turkmens in western Anatolia became a part of market-oriented agriculture, producing wheat and cotton in the valley plains for trade with the Italian merchants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹²¹ The Venetian merchants in Crete demanded wheat and cotton from the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın besides cattle, horse, corn, wax, hide and alum over the period.¹²² In fact, the Turkmens were good at orienting themselves to the economic potential of different

¹¹⁶ Elisabeth Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300-1415)* (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia per tutti i paesi del mondo, 1983), pp. 145-146.

¹¹⁷ Cooper and Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia*, p. 101.

¹¹⁸ Halil İnalcık, “Arab Camel Drivers in Western Anatolia in the Fifteenth Century,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrebine* 10 (1983): 256–70.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 256–70.

¹²⁰ Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 103.

¹²¹ İnalcık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role”, p. 115.

¹²² Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1300-1415)*, pp. 159-173.

regions. Those who retreated to the Taurus Mountains after the Mongol conquest could compensate their loss from animal husbandry with timber cutting, particularly on the highlands covered by pine and cedar trees.¹²³ This group were called ‘tahtacı’ or ‘ağaçeri’ (woodmen) and their occupation created a high volume of timber trade between Anatolia and Syria-Egypt via the ports of Antalya, Alâiye and Finike in the fifteenth century.¹²⁴

Most scholars, like Vryonis, have considered the nomads and the settled communities in the past as two opposite camps that collided with each other. In line with the view that set the nomads and settlers side by side as two opposite zones, it is easy to conclude that the encounter of the nomads and the settlers resulted in negative developments against the interests of the latter in Anatolia during the medieval age. However, Rudi Paul Lindner conversely claims that the situation turned against the nomads when the Ottoman state increasingly strengthened its political and military power in Anatolia throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹²⁵ In his critical survey of the political and economic relation between the nomads and the Ottoman state in Anatolia during the late medieval period, he argues that the incorporation of agricultural and settled societies in Bithynia and Mysia by the Ottoman state during the fourteenth century required a more centralized and institutionalized state mechanism and consequently such evolution led to the alienation of the nomadic Turkmens from the domain of government.¹²⁶ In this regard, just like Vryonis labels the arrival of the nomadic Turkmens to the sedentary Byzantine Anatolia as a catastrophe, so Lindner puts forward the contention that the inclusion of the Turkmens into the Ottoman rule brought about an irreversible series of economical and political troubles at the expense of nomads. Both readings

¹²³ İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” p. 115.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 115

¹²⁵ Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1983).

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 29-36.

do not seem to take the coexistence and cooperation of herdsman and peasants into account as a possible alternative way.

Methodologically, Lindner presents a mixture of anthropology and history. However, he fails to analyse how the Ottoman taxation policy was compatible with the nomadic economy, because he adopts an anthropological approach which belongs to the studies surveying the nomads in the twentieth century, namely in modern times. He relies largely on Fredrik Barth's survey on the Basseri tribesmen in south-western Persia in 1958.¹²⁷ He seeks to assess the impact of the Ottoman taxation policy on the economic situation of the nomads in Anatolia according to Barth's modern determination of the average and lower limits of the flock size.¹²⁸ He reached a conclusion that the sheep tax imposed by the Ottoman government on nomads put a heavy burden for the most part on the poor nomads who had a flock below the average size, and it eventually became an instrument in transforming those poor nomads into landless peasants.¹²⁹ However, Lindner seems to overestimate the state's role in the impoverishment of nomads by relying on Barth's determination of the lowest limit of flock size that was composed of 60 sheep and accepted as subsistence level.¹³⁰ According to Lindner's calculation, this amount of flock was not sufficient to pay the sheep tax, which was collected as one *akçe* for two sheep, considering even the reproductive capacity of the herd.¹³¹ Nevertheless, this subsistence level was still slightly higher than the lowest amount the Ottoman government accepted. The Ottoman codes determined the lowest amount of flock at the level of 24 sheep, and required those who had such a small herd to pay 12 *akçes* as fixed tax.¹³² Lindner seems to have misinterpreted Barth's determination on flock sizes among Basseri tribesmen. Barth is

¹²⁷ Frederik Barth, *Nomads of South Persia. The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy* (New York, 1961).

¹²⁸ Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, pp. 60-61.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹³⁰ Fredrik Barth, *Nomads of South-Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy*, p. 11.

¹³¹ Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, p. 77.

¹³² Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri: Bozulus Türkmenleri, 1540-1640*, 1. baskı. (Ankara: Bilge Yayınları, 1997), pp. 134-137.

aware of the fact that the lowest flock size of 60 sheep is not an absolute figure. He notices that even though there might be some risks resulting in the loss of herd, a flock of 60 sheep is likely to increase tenfold in a few years.¹³³

Perhaps the most serious disadvantage of Lindner's method is that he depended on the static anthropological parameters that are used to examine a distinctive tribe. As an anthropologist, Barth is expected to determine the upper and lowest limits for a flock size; because the thing that made the Basseri tribe distinguishable was the homogenous distribution of the capital, namely sheep, among its tribesmen.¹³⁴ Generally, fewer than 100 sheep fell to each tent.¹³⁵ However, those who had more than 200 sheep and fewer than 60 sheep eventually left the tribe by undergoing different sedentarization processes. The richer group invested some of its capital in land, and the opportunities of sedentary life gradually attracted its members to settle on land permanently, whereas the members of the poorer group had to settle in villages as landless peasants due to the decreasing size of their flocks.¹³⁶

It is difficult to come across such a homogenous tribe in terms of flock size in Ottoman Anatolia. The flock size may vary with each household in any tribe. For example, even the flock size of the newly established nomad villages in the region of Kayseri in 1584 fluctuated between 25 and 1000 sheep.¹³⁷ Lindner's study would have been more persuasive, if he had included the economic analysis of a specific nomadic group. The average flock size can be obtained by dividing the aggregate sheep of the tribe by the number of households. Even though this method might lead

¹³³ Fredrik Barth, "Capital, Investments and the Social Structure of a Pastoral Nomad Group in South Persia," in *Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies*, ed. R. Firth, B (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1964.) p. 74.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 77.

¹³⁵ Barth, *Nomads of South-Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy*, p. 16.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 101-122.

¹³⁷ Onur Usta and Oktay Ozel, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans in 16th Century Cappadocia: Kayseri, 1480-1584," in *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez (İstanbul: Eren, 2011), p. 172.

us to overlook some individual cases which do not fit into the general view, it offers a glimpse of the historical nomadic economy in Anatolia. In a similar approach, Rhoads Murphey concludes that only 20 percent of 8,013 nomadic household of the Bozulus tribe in 1540 fell into the category of poor herdsman, that is to say the flock size was under 24 sheep. The other 80 percent of the group which equals to 6,347 household had 315 sheep on average, which means that the majority of Bozulus possessed a substantial wealth.¹³⁸

The subject of nomadism is generally accepted as one of the research fields of anthropology. It is obvious that the anthropological corpus has expanded our knowledge on the nomads and tribes of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. However, the conceptual framework, which is drawn by anthropologists and based on their experience and observation on contemporary nomadic societies, can mislead us about the nature of nomadism in the past. Unfortunately, those who left accounts about nomads, such as chroniclers and travellers, did not have any anthropological views observing the pastoral way of life in detail, even though their accounts enable us to shed some light on nomads in the past. An anthropological approach to the subject of the nomads in the past raises some questions related to the issue of acknowledging the appropriate boundaries between anthropological research and the study of historical nomadism. The questions of how the modern anthropological models on nomads who lived in the twentieth century can be applied to those nomads who lived in the pre-modern times and of whether there is an acceptable stereotype-model belonging to a single nomadic group for all those nomadic communities in the past are left to be answered. At this point, Richard Tapper reminds us of the downside of general approaches to pastoral nomadic societies, saying that there is no common model which can be applied to all pastoral societies.¹³⁹ In a similar

¹³⁸ 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* 8 (1984): 189–97, p. 193.

¹³⁹ Richard Tapper, *Pasture and Politics: Economics, Conflict, and Ritual among Shahsevan Nomads of Northwestern Iran* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1979), p. 1.

vein, in his comprehensive comparative fieldwork of the pastoral groups in Mediterranean, Iran and Central Asia, Salzmann draws attention to the existence of the divergent types of pastoral societies depending on ecological and cultural variations.¹⁴⁰ As regards the question of studying on historical nomadism, James J. Reid establishes that the modern anthropological methods hardly help us depict the earlier nomadic societies because of the great differences between past and present.¹⁴¹ He realizes that the transhumance of the Turkmens in Iran during the pre-Safavid and Safavid periods included a military aspect along with the economic needs, according to the migration was often carried out in parallel to the tribe leader's military necessities.¹⁴²

The Paradox of the 'Crisis', from rebels to nomads

The Ottoman Empire started to undergo a series of troubles from the late sixteenth century onwards. The changing nature of warfare extended the duration of the battles with the Habsburgs and Safavids from the 1580s onwards. This military plight was accompanied by a widespread social unrest and recurrent banditry in the rural areas of the whole of Anatolia and northern Syria, which is known the 'Celali rebellions' in the historiographical literature. Paradoxically, the predicaments that the Ottoman state experienced during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries can be seen as the signs of 'decline'; nevertheless, the Ottoman state had already undergone unstable periods and military failures in the previous centuries. After the defeat by Tamerlane in the battle of Ankara in 1402, the Ottoman state fell into an interregnum period (1402-1413) and its restoration lasted until the Varna victory in 1444.¹⁴³ Furthermore, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, it may be argued that the Ottoman state was at the height of its power and evolved into an empire; however,

¹⁴⁰ Philip Carl Salzman, *Pastoralists : Equality, Hierarchy, and the State* (Boulder Colo.: Westview Press, 2004), pp.

¹⁴¹ James J Reid and Mehri Yazdani, *Studies in Safavid Mind, Society, and Culture* (Costa Mesa CA: Mazda Publishers, 2000), p . 261.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 261-265.

¹⁴³ Shaw Stanford, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume 1*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 35-34.

the sieges of Belgrade in 1456 and Rhodes in 1480 during the reign of Mehmed II ended in failure.¹⁴⁴ Even during the seventeenth century, which is inconsistently seen as a 'decline' and 'crisis' period, the Ottoman state and army were capable of maintaining important sieges like Baghdad in 1638 and Uyvar in 1663.¹⁴⁵

Modern historians are usually eager to place every uprising to the centre of the crisis debates as their main arguments.¹⁴⁶ Such attitude fits an old-fashioned historiography.¹⁴⁷ Uprisings become the main topic of the historical studies particularly focusing on the 'continuity' and 'change' paradigm.¹⁴⁸ Every uprising has been evaluated as a momentous event for the change and it signals the transition to a new period in this context. The phenomenon of the Celali rebellions has drawn much attention of the historians and served them to draw a pessimistic panorama for the Ottoman state and society in the seventeenth century. The historians who adopt a crisis-based approach tend to highlight how worthy of attention their research field is in general. Therefore, it is obvious that they want to lay too much emphasis on the imminent signs of the crisis and to overestimate the repercussions of the crisis in the same way. By doing so, they describe a time of crisis as completely dark and lengthy period. One major drawback of the crisis-based approaches is that they attribute the particular negative conditions concerning the economy and social order in a specific and limited region to other wider areas for the sake of generalization. In between 1300 and 1600,

¹⁴⁴ Halil İnalcık, "Mehmed II," *EF*² (Leiden; Brill).

¹⁴⁵ Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500-1700* (New Brunswick N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999), pp. 114-115.

¹⁴⁶ Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1991). Roland Mousnier, *Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth-Century France, Russia, and China*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970). Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1660* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982). George F. E. Rudé and Harvey J. Kaye, *The Face of the Crowd : Studies in Revolution, Ideology, and Popular Protest : Selected Essays of George Rudé* (Atlantic Highlands NJ: Humanities Press International, 1988). Charles Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492-1992* (Oxford; Cambridge Mass. : Blackwell, 1993).

¹⁴⁷ Randolph Starn, "Historians and 'Crisis,'" *Past & Present*, no. 52 (1971): 3-22.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Burke, "Introduction: Concepts and Continuity and Change in History," in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1-14.

the Ottoman rule confronted several rebellions in Anatolia each of which had different severities. One striking feature about these uprisings, including the Celali rebellions, is that they were not too sweeping to include every segments of society, thus remained mainly regional.

For example, it is estimated that almost 6000 rebels gave support to the revolts of Börklüce Mustafa and Torlak Kemal in the regions of Karaburun and Manisa in 1415-16, who were the disciples of Şeyh Bedreddin and the followers of the Bektashi faith. Those rebels were mainly composed of peasants, who had a nomadic background, and dervishes.¹⁴⁹ The heretical religious concerns as in the messianic-heterodox form of Islam predominantly motivated the rebellions in Anatolia.¹⁵⁰ During the first decades of the sixteenth century, the preachers of the Shiite Safavids came to Anatolia in order to incite the discontent heterodox Turkmens against the Ottoman rule. In 1511, a Safavid preacher named Şah Kulu rallied the heterodox Turkmens and some dismissed *timar* holders in the Teke peninsula, which is a highly mountainous district of the modern Antalya province, to revolt against the Ottoman rule.¹⁵¹ The thing that strengthened the revolt was not the demographic and military superiority of the rebels; instead, the conjuncture played a role in escalating the revolt. The fight for the throne among the princes of Bayezid II caused the revolt to be underestimated at the start.¹⁵² However, the rebels did not manage to seize control of the whole of Anatolia, though their first aim was to establish suzerainty in Anatolia which would be subject to the Safavids.¹⁵³ They could only have power over the entire Teke district including Burdur in the

¹⁴⁹ Saygın Salgırlı, "The Rebellion of 1416: Recontextualizing an Ottoman Social Movement," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 1 (2012): 32–73. Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire the Classical Age, 1300-1600*. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 190.

¹⁵⁰ Özel, "The Reign of Violence, The Celalis C. 1550-1700," p.187.

¹⁵¹ Rıza Yıldırım, "Turkomans between Two Empires: The Origins of the Qizilbash Identity in Anatolia, 1447-1514," *Unpublished PhD Thesis* (İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, Ankara, 2008). pp. 345-415.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp.392-396.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

north, besides their attacks were laying from Alasehir in the west to Karaman in the east. The revolt was suppressed within one year in 1511.¹⁵⁴

In regard to the history of rebellions in Ottoman Empire, it is widely accepted that the Celali rebellions were the most serious one because they had a broader scope of impact on society and state. However, the matters regarding periodization and scope of the Celali rebellions are still problematic in Ottoman historiography. In his recent survey of the literature review on the Celali rebellions, Özel has maintained that the violence became a routine part of politics and society that involved Istanbul and provinces throughout the seventeenth century, which appeared in the forms of either widespread banditry or mutiny.¹⁵⁵ For the question of what the Celali rebellions were, he defines the Celali rebellions as a period of increasing social unrest and public disorder in Anatolia in between the 1570s and 1610s.¹⁵⁶ However, the key problem with his explanation is that it fails to categorize the other periodic rebellions occurred after the 1610s. In the period from the 1610s to the eighteenth century, Anatolia witnessed a series of rebellions led by high-ranking military officials.¹⁵⁷ In terms of destruction, the impact of these mutinies on the countryside of Anatolia was not different from the Celali rebellions.¹⁵⁸ A preliminary view about the periodization of the Celali rebellions belongs to Akdağ who highlights the need to accept the fight between the sons of Suleyman I for the throne in the mid-sixteenth century as the starting point for the Celali

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.402-403.

¹⁵⁵ Özel, "The Reign of Violence, The Celalis C. 1550-1700," 184-212.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 191.

¹⁵⁷ Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), pp. 223-252. Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*, pp. 220-229. Jane Hathaway, *Mutiny and Rebellion in the Ottoman Empire* (Madison Wis.: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002).

¹⁵⁸ Suraiya Faruqi, "Crisis and Change," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Volume Two 1600-1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.416-419.

rebellions.¹⁵⁹ Considering all views regarding the periodization of the Celali rebellions, it seems that Anatolia was subjected to a very long period of uprisings and social unrest that lasted virtually 150 years. The economic life and public order in Anatolia were supposed to come to an ultimate collapse after such a long period of turmoil. Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire entered into a period of economic prosperity at the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁰

There is a consensus among historians that the Celali rebellions broke out as an acute crisis due to the long-term social-economic changes and administrative-military transformation, which the Ottoman state and society had been going through from the second half of the sixteenth century. Recently, Tezcan has described the period after the mid-sixteenth century as a profound shift from a feudal structure to a monetary-based system that reshaped the economic, juridical and military institutions of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶¹ In this period, as Tezcan claims, the proliferation of the use of tax-farming and cash-waqfs in the economy, and the alteration in the composition of the army from a fief-holder cavalry-based (*timarlı sipahi*) to one based on infantry troops using fire-arms and wider use of troops paid in cash (*sekban* and *saruca*) ushered a new era for the entire empire.¹⁶² In relation to these changes, some certain factors are thought to set the stage for the Celali rebellions. These factors can be listed as increasing inflation,¹⁶³ population pressure¹⁶⁴ and changes in military

¹⁵⁹ Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâlî İsyanları (1550-1603)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963), pp. 78-79. Şerafettin Turan, *Kanuni Süleyman Dönemi Taht Kavgaları* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1997), pp. 145-152.

¹⁶⁰ Şevket Pamuk, "The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century," *Itinerario* 24, no. 3-4 (2000): 104-16.

¹⁶¹ Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 17-23.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁶³ Şevket Pamuk, "The Price Revolution in the Ottoman Empire Reconsidered," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 01 (2001): 69-89; Şevket Pamuk, "Prices in the Ottoman Empire, 1469-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36, no. 3 (2004): 451-68.

technology.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, climate anomalies associated with the Little Ice Age have been recently included to the list for the causes of the rebellion.¹⁶⁶ A full discussion of the reasons that led to the Celali rebellions lies beyond the scope of this dissertation; rather, we will focus more on the consequences of the rebellions.

It has commonly been assumed that the Celali rebellions left a scene of devastated and deserted countryside in Anatolia. Preliminarily, Akdağ brought up the term ‘great flight’ (*büyük kaçgun*) to refer to a massive abandonment of settlements by peasants due to the collapse of public order which was intensified particularly in between 1603 and 1606 in rural Anatolia.¹⁶⁷ It is known through the contemporary sources that the peasants fled into the cities surrounded by walls in order to take shelter from banditry.¹⁶⁸ However, thus far, the studies have made no attempt to offer an adequate explanation for the dimensions of the depopulation of countryside. One cannot expect that the desertion of settlements and the depopulation of countryside would occur on the same scale throughout Anatolia, considering the regional differences in terms of location, settlement patterns and population structure. Akdağ provides limited information on the scale of the desertion of countryside by giving examples only from the region of Ankara. Based on the inspection reports of the *kadı*, he indicates that 33 out of 38 villages in one *nahiye* of Ankara remained deserted and similarly 70 out of more than 80 villages remained almost empty in another *nahiye* of Ankara

¹⁶⁴Michael Cook, *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia, 1450-1600*, (London ;New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). Erder and Faroqhi, “Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550–1620.” Erder, “The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 17th Century.” Özel, “Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The ‘demographic crisis’ Reconsidered.” Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576-1643*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016). Öz, “Population Fall in Seventeenth Century Anatolia (Some Findings for the Districts of Canik and Bozok).”

¹⁶⁵Inalcik, “Military and Fiscal Transformation of the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700.”

¹⁶⁶Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*.

¹⁶⁷Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâli Fetretî, 1597-1603* (Istanbul, 1961), pp. 251-253.

¹⁶⁸Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion, 1000-1020/1591-1611*, p. 50.

during the period of the rebellions.¹⁶⁹ However, he seems to overgeneralize about the local outcomes of the Celali rebellions as a catastrophic panorama for the rest of Anatolia.

The studies on the changes in settlement pattern in rural Anatolia in the first half of the seventeenth century uniformly argue that population decline and settlement losses entered into the picture of the aftermath of the Celali rebellions. Erder and Faroqhi have made a research based on the *tapu-tahrir* registers of Karahisar (north-east Anatolia) and Kocaeli (north-west Anatolia), showing the destructive impact of the Celali rebellions on rural population was dissimilar in two different parts of Anatolia in 1547-1615.¹⁷⁰ They establish that the total tax-paying population of Karahisar increased until 1569 and this upward trend turned into a sharp fall by 1613, whereas there was little change in Kocaeli during the period under research.¹⁷¹ The spatial proximity to the capital and the distribution of population into rural and urban areas determined the scale of the damage on rural areas. The region of Karahisar was less urbanized in population compared to Kocaeli and it was far remoter to Istanbul, but near to the Safavid frontier, which rendered it unstable during the period of turbulence and retarded its demographic recovery. However, since the region of Kocaeli lay in the agricultural hinterland of Istanbul, it might have received more protection during the period of rebellions.¹⁷² Özel analyses the demographic changes in the region of Amasya by means of a comparison between the *tahrir* register of 1560-70s and the *avariz* register of 1640s.¹⁷³ His findings indicate that 30-40 percent of the villages that existed in 1570 disappeared by the 1640s in the region of Amasya.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, Öz stresses that there was a modest decrease in the total number

¹⁶⁹ Akdağ, *Celâli İsyanları (1550-1603)*, p. 251.

¹⁷⁰ Erder and Faroqhi, "Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550–1620."

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 335.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 325.

¹⁷³ Özel, "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'demographic Crisis' Reconsidered," pp. 183-205.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 190.

of villages in the regions of Canik and Bozok from 1576 to 1642.¹⁷⁵ The results of these studies concerning settlement patterns show that the settlements in the lowlands were moved to the higher elevations due to safety concerns during the period of the Celali rebellions. For the region of Amasya, Özel points out that the villages in the lowlands became depopulated because they were more vulnerable to the bandit attacks owing to their close proximity to the main trade and passenger routes.¹⁷⁶ He suggests that some of the population from the villages in the lowlands established new settlements, albeit small in number, on the hilly and mountainous terrain after the Celali rebellions.¹⁷⁷

On the other hand, the fall in rural population has raised some questions related to the subsequent situation of the peasantry after the Celali rebellions. It is presumed that the newly-settled villagers of nomadic origin returned to nomadism in due course of the Celali turbulence.¹⁷⁸ In this context, Özel points out that the disappearance of small-sized nomadic villages (*etrâkiye*) in the mountainous area of the region of Amasya by the 1640s might have been an indication of the phenomenon of re-nomadization.¹⁷⁹ An early observation made by Planhol on the movement of the nomadic tribes in Anatolia during the seventeenth century added a new dimension to the matter of re-nomadisation.¹⁸⁰ He stated that when the strength of the rebellion had started to lessen from the 1610s onwards, numerous tribes appear to have left their original places by disconnecting from the confederations of Bozulus, Yeni-il and Danişmendli and moved from eastern to central and western

¹⁷⁵ Öz, "Population Fall in Seventeenth Century Anatolia (Some Findings for the Districts of Canik and Bozok)," pp. 6-7.

¹⁷⁶ Oktay Özel, "The Question of Abandoned Villages in Ottoman Anatolia," in *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies: Halcyon Days in Crete VIII: A Symposium Held in Rethymno 13-15 January 2012*, ed. Elias Kolovos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015), 95–130; pp. 115-118.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁷⁸ Maria N Todorova, "Was There a Demographic Crisis in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century?," *Études Balkaniques* 24, no. 2 (1988): 55–63; p. 61.

¹⁷⁹ Özel, "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'demographic Crisis' Reconsidered," p. 190.

¹⁸⁰ Xavier De Planhol, "Geography, Politics and Nomadism in Anatolia," *International Social Science Journal* 11, no. 4 (1959): 525–31.

Anatolia, and some of them reached even the Aegean islands within a few decades.¹⁸¹ Planhol used the term ‘the second nomad invasion of western Anatolia’ to refer to the disintegration of the tribal confederations and the westward movement of the nomadic tribes across Anatolia.¹⁸² The original transhumance route of the Bozulus tribes had been the north-south direction lying between the highlands of Erzurum and the Diyarbekir plain.¹⁸³ The usual route of the Yeni-il and Danişmendli tribes also had been stretching from the plateaus of Sivas-Kayseri to the lower plains of northern Syria.¹⁸⁴ The issue of that territorial displacement of the nomadic tribes in east-west direction has not been discussed much so far. In his recent study that approaches to the decline paradigm of Ottoman Empire from the perspective of climate and ecology, White has reintroduced the issue to the agenda of Ottoman historiography.¹⁸⁵ Based on the evidence from the imperial orders sent to the provinces, White argues that the pillages of nomadic Turkmen and Kurdish tribes in the countryside increasingly continued throughout the Celali rebellions and escalated into an ‘invasion’ during the 1610s.¹⁸⁶

Moreover, a pessimistic picture of depopulated and deserted countryside may lead one to assume that the nomads could have filled the demographic vacuum created by the leaving of the peasants and availed themselves of the vacant arable fields. In this regard, historians tend to evaluate the return of the peasants to nomadism and simultaneous increase in animal husbandry during the period of the Celali rebellions as a negative result on the countryside. In his pioneering studies in the field of historical geography, Hütteroth has argued that nomadism engulfed the countryside in the period following the Celali rebellions by indicating that many rural settlements of

¹⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 527-528.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 527.

¹⁸³ Gündüz, *Anadolu’da Türkmen Aşiretleri : Bozulus Türkmenleri, 1540-1640*, pp. 137-142.

¹⁸⁴ Şahin, *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler : İncelemeler, Araştırmalar*, pp. 109-110. Tufan Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005), pp. 47-51.

¹⁸⁵ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 2011.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 236-240.

the sixteenth century ceased to be visible on the maps and traveller accounts of the nineteenth century concerning the regions of southern Syria, central and south-eastern Anatolia.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, several studies hold a speculative view that some of the deserter peasants could have returned to nomadism in particular regions.¹⁸⁸ The main weakness with such arguments is that they wrongly accept the agricultural production as the only way of economic recovery in rural areas in the period following the Celali rebellions.

By using the term ‘invasion’, White and Planhol tend to consider any increase of nomadism in rural Anatolia as a crisis at the expense of the sedentary population, depending on the imperial orders issued to the provinces concerning several routine nomadic incursions. Furthermore, there is no statistical data given by the archival sources as to the scale of the nomadic migration, therefore the matter of so-called ‘nomad invasion’ remains in obscurity. At first glance, the occurrence of such a nomadic influx following the ‘great flight’ brings to mind that the nomads settled on the vacant lands.¹⁸⁹ If it had happened, however, the total number of settlements should have remained steady or even increased. In addition, if the picture of a devastated countryside had been real, how could a ruined village economy have attracted the nomads? All these seem to be hypothetical questions; however, the catastrophic scenario for the rural Anatolia following the Celali turbulence is still controversial. In summary, three problematic assumptions come to the fore; abandoned villages, return to nomadism, and the influx of tribes to central and western Anatolia.

¹⁸⁷ Wolf Dieter Hütteroth, *Ländliche Siedlungen Im Südlichen Inneranatolien in Den Letzten Vierhundert Jahren* (Göttingen: Selbstverlag des Geographischen Instituts der Universität Göttingen, 1968), pp. 174-185; Wolf Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Ges., 1977), pp. 54-63; Nejat Göyünc and Wolf Dieter Hütteroth, *Land an Der Grenze : Osmanische Verwaltung Im Heutigen Türkisch-Syrisch-Irakischen Grenzgebiet Im 16. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul: Eren, 1997), pp. 47-48.

¹⁸⁸ Todorova, “Was There a Demographic Crisis in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century?” Nikolai Todorov and Maria Todorova, “The Historical Demography of the Ottoman Empire: Problems and Tasks,” in *Scholar, Patriot, Mentor: Historical Essays in Honor of Dimitrije Djordjevic*, ed. R.B. Spence and L.L. Nelson Boulder, 1992, 151–71; p. 157.

¹⁸⁹ Faroqi, “Crisis and Change,” p. 444.

The Little Ice Age Paradigm

Recently, historians have shown an increased interest in the environmental history of Ottoman Empire, which introduces a new breadth to the discussions regarding the matters of social and economic history.¹⁹⁰ The debates that revolve around the phenomenon of Little Ice Age (LIA) establish the main framework of the studies on the environmental history of Ottoman Empire. The LIA has come to be used to refer to a period of cold winters and wet summers accompanied by the glacier advances in many parts of world from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.¹⁹¹ It is widely believed that the adverse impact of the LIA reached its peak through the 1590's and 1600's, depending on the increasing abnormal climatic events that were observed in many parts of Europe. The advance of the Alpine glaciers down to the slopes in central Europe, harvest failures, and cooler conditions after 1580 were accepted as the symptoms of the LIA.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: A Geohistorical Approach*. Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Alan Mikhail, *Water on Sand Environmental Histories of the Middle East and North Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Alan Mikhail, *The Animal in Ottoman Egypt* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). Yaron Ayalon, *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire: Plague, Famine, and Other Misfortunes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Mehmet Yavuz Erler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kuraklık, 1800-1880*, 1. baskı. (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2010). Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576-1643* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). Astrid Meier, "The World the Bedouin Lived in: Climate, Migration and Politics in the Early Modern Arab East," *JESHO* 58 (2015): 21–55.

¹⁹¹ Michael E Mann, "Little Ice Age," *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change* (Wiley, New York, 2002), pp. 504-509. Jean M. Grove, *The Little Ice Age* (London; New York: Methuen, 1988), p. 3.

¹⁹² H Holzhauser and H J Zumbühl, "Glacier Fluctuations in the Western Swiss and French Alps in the 16th Century," in *Climatic Variability in Sixteenth-Century Europe and Its Social Dimension*, ed. Christian Pfister, Rudolf Brázdil, and Rüdiger Glaser (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2010), 223–37. Christian Pfister, Rudolf Brázdil, and Rüdiger Glaser, "Climatic Variability in Sixteenth-Century Europe and Its Social Dimension: A Synthesis," in *Climatic Variability in Sixteenth-Century Europe and Its Social Dimension*, ed. Christian Pfister, Rudolf Brázdil, and Rüdiger Glaser (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2010), 3–53. Grove, *The Little Ice Age*, pp. 379-422. Brian M. Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300-1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), pp. 79-97.

In European historiography, it is widely held view that the seventeenth century was an era of ‘crisis’ for the European and Eurasian states.¹⁹³ It is commonly accepted that long-term wars, social and political upheavals, harvest failures and famines occurred frequently in the seventeenth century and affected a vast area stretching from Portugal to China.¹⁹⁴ Parker, who is a strong adherent of the crisis theories, argues that the climate changes related to the LIA were the primary reason for those predicaments led up to a global ‘crisis’ in the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁵ A recently published article by De Vries criticizes Parker for paying no attention to the methodological debates of the climate studies on the phenomenon of the LIA.¹⁹⁶ As De Vries reminds us, there is no consensus among climatologists on the definition of the LIA and its climatological dimensions.¹⁹⁷ In a similar vein, Kelly and Gràda take the issue of the LIA with the caution by establishing that more paleoclimatological evidence is still required for different regions to reconstruct the past climate thoroughly.¹⁹⁸ In addition to these recent critical arguments, in his seminal study in the field of environmental history, Ladurie is opposed to climatic determinism and he states that the alterations

¹⁹³ Trevor H. Aston, *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660*, (New York: Basic Books, 1965). Eric Hobsbawm, “The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century,” *Past&Present*, no. 5 (1954): 33–53.

¹⁹⁴ Niels Steensgaard, “The Seventeenth-Century Crisis and the Unity of Eurasian History,” *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 4 (1990): 683–97. Peter B Brown, “Muscovy, Poland, and the Seventeenth Century Crisis,” *The Polish Review* 27, no. 3/4 (1982): 55–69. Anthony Reid, “The Seventeenth-Century Crisis in Southeast Asia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 4 (1990): 639–59. John F Richards, “The Seventeenth-Century Crisis in South Asia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 24, no. 4 (1990): 625–38. Sheilagh C Ogilvie, “Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis,” *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (1992): 417–41. Henry Kamen and J I Israel, “The Seventeenth-Century Crisis in New Spain: Myth or Reality?,” *Past & Present*, no. 97 (1982): 144–56.

¹⁹⁵ Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M Smith, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-32. Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 3-77.

¹⁹⁶ Jan De Vries, *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: The Little Ice Age and the Mystery of the “Great Divergence”*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. XLIV, 2014: 369-377.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 371-372. Ulf Büntgen and Lena Hellmann, “The Little Ice Age in Scientific Perspective: Cold Spells and Caveats,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44, no. 3 (2014): 353–68; pp. 364-367.

¹⁹⁸ Morgan Kelly and Cormac O Grada, “The Waning of the Little Ice Age: Climate Change in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44, no. 3 (2014): 301–25; pp. 324-325.

of the harvest time for olive and grape cultivation did not necessarily result from the climate changes; instead, some certain social and economic factors, such as labour cost, setbacks due to war and plague, changing market conditions, brought about changes in harvest time.¹⁹⁹

One of the key weaknesses with climate-related crisis theories is that they take no notice of the adaptability of people to climate changes. If we were to take it for granted that the LIA had had some severe effects on agriculture and settlement patterns in the northern hemisphere, it would be better to take into consideration the fact that the rural populations were able to capitalize on the new environmental conditions. In this regard, Aberth suggests that the LIA frequently caused short-run harvest failures; however, in the long-term, the rural populations could turn the worsening climate conditions to their own benefit by moving to more favourable areas that were less susceptible to flooding and freezing.²⁰⁰ Similarly, Mrgić has established that the Bosnian farmers could cope with the LIA impact in the 1580s and 1590s by switching from wine-growing to the cultivation of more climate-resistant crops such as barley, spelt wheat and oats.²⁰¹ Furthermore, from the 1580s onwards, the Bosnian farmers began to plant plum trees that were more resistant against frost than vine, and in this way, plum brandy (*erik rakısı*) took the place of wine on the dining table of the Bosnians.²⁰²

In a similar vein with Parker's problematic approach to the seventeenth century crisis, the LIA has been associated with the Celali rebellions in Ottoman historiography. At first, Griswold suggested that climate changes caused by the LIA possibly had a severe impact on Anatolia during

¹⁹⁹ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate since the Year 1000*. (Garden City N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971). H. Nichols, "Book Review, Times of Feast, Times of Famine. A History of Climate since the Year 1000," *Science* 177, no. 4053 (September 15, 1972): 982–83.

²⁰⁰ John Aberth, *An Environmental History of the Middle Ages: The Crucible of Nature* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 49–50.

²⁰¹ Jelena Mrgić, "Wine or Raki-The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia," *Environment and History* 17, no. 4 (2011): 613–37, p. 629.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 634–635.

the Celali rebellions (1596-1611).²⁰³ He put forward that the destructive effects of the deteriorating climate conditions such as extreme cold, flooding and drought on the occurrence of the Great Flight were as important as human interference.²⁰⁴ In the same context, Sam White has recently attempted to establish a causal link between climate changes and the Celali rebellions in his seminal work on the LIA impact on the Ottoman lands in the early modern period.²⁰⁵ He draws attention to the period of severe drought in 1591-1595 that was the longest in the Eastern Mediterranean for the previous six centuries.²⁰⁶ This period was accompanied by extremely cold winters associated with the LIA impact, which resulted in harvest failures, losses in animal population and famine.²⁰⁷ As a result of the drought, the provisioning system of the Ottoman Empire underwent a serious breakdown. In particular, the lands that lay at the margins of self-sufficiency in ecological terms experienced that breakdown in a more severe way; for example, Karaman and Larende (south-central Anatolia).²⁰⁸ According to White, the dramatic escalation in the banditry activities in these lands from the 1570s to the 1590s was not surprising; because, the supply of arable lands fell in short against the rapid increase in population that started from the 1570s onwards.²⁰⁹ The sizes of land holding and per capita food supplies diminished, which led to an increase in grain prices in consequence.²¹⁰ White draws attention to the fact that the population pressure on land was more severe in the Taurus Mountains where the land holdings were smaller in size due to rocky and hilly

²⁰³ Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion*, pp. 238-239.

²⁰⁴ William J Griswold, "Climatic Change: A Possible Factor in the Social Unrest of Seventeenth Century Anatolia," in *Humanist and Scholar: Essays in Honour of Andreas Tietze*, ed. Heath Lowry and Donald Quataert (Istanbul: Isis, 1993), 37–58.

²⁰⁵ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 2011.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 140-141.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-121.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

terrain.²¹¹ Therefore, the Taurus Mountains that harboured a nomadic population became a depot of banditry in the 1580s and 1590s.²¹²

However, forging a link between the climate changes and social upheavals tends to overlook the fact that agricultural production has a certain degree of tolerance to the climate fluctuations.²¹³ It is known that the grain cultivation was possible at an annual precipitation of 200 mm in most parts of the Near East in some cases.²¹⁴ Concerning the relation of the LIA with animal husbandry, pastoralists could develop strategies to cope with the extreme weather events. The broad-tailed sheep (*Karaman*) that is the most common strain in Anatolia is used to live in cold weathers. In case of cold weather causing frost, pastoralist could keep the hairs of sheep long, or extend the duration of staying in winter pasture.²¹⁵

White's arguments depend too heavily on the analysis of climate proxies. However, one criticism of much of the literature on the studies of climate proxies is that the dendrochronological and other proxy data are derived from limited regions. Therefore, an attempt to adapt their local-scaled results to the general panorama may lead to sweeping generalizations.²¹⁶ Furthermore, the data from these studies warn us about being prudent to assess the dendrochronological results. For

²¹¹ Ibid., pp. 115-116.

²¹² Ibid., pp. 113, 116.

²¹³ Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, "Ecology of the Ottoman Lands," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Vol. 3, The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 21-23. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Seeking Wisdom in China: An Attempt to Make Sense of the Celali Rebellions," *Zafar-Nama: Memorial Volume to Felix Tauer*, 1995, 101-24; pp. 104-105.

²¹⁴ Hütteroth, "Ecology of the Ottoman Lands," p. 23.

²¹⁵ Daniel G Bates, "Differential Access to Pasture in a Nomadic Society: The Yörük of South-Eastern Turkey," in *Perspectives on Nomadism*, ed. William Irons and Neville Dyson-Hudson (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1972).

²¹⁶ Ramzi Touchan et al., "May-June Precipitation Reconstruction of Southwestern Anatolia, Turkey during the Last 900 Years from Tree Rings," *Quaternary Research* 68, no. 2 (2007): 196-202. Ünal Akkemik, Nesibe Dağdeviren, and Aliye Aras, "A Preliminary Reconstruction (AD 1635-2000) of Spring Precipitation Using Oak Tree Rings in the Western Black Sea Region of Turkey," *International Journal of Biometeorology* 49, no. 5 (2005): 297-302. Catherine N Jex et al., "A 500yr Speleothem-Derived Reconstruction of Late Autumn-winter Precipitation, Northeast Turkey," *Quaternary Research* 75, no. 3 (2011): 399-405.

example, oak tree rings in north-western Anatolia show that the extreme weather events such as drought or excessive precipitation which lasted more than one year were very rare in between 1635-2000.²¹⁷ The longest drought only corresponded to a short period of three years between 1476 and 1479.²¹⁸ In addition, since Anatolia shows a great diversity of climates and landscapes, a natural disaster caused by an adverse climate condition had different effects even on the same region. For example, during the period of drought and extreme cold winter in 1873-1874 in Anatolia, while the region of Ankara was the most severely affected one that suffered from massive human and animal deaths, Sivas and its environs remained little affected.²¹⁹ As regards the LIA impact on the Ottoman lands, White seems quite preconceived, while assessing the changes in tree-ring widths. His arguments might have been far more persuasive, if he had presented statistical data regarding the fluctuations in annual grain and sheep productions in a specific region during a period of dry or wet years that the climate studies have indicated.

In respect of the LIA impact on the Ottoman lands in the Mediterranean basin, Tabak asserts that excessive precipitation associated with the LIA led up to recurrent floodings and consequently increased the sea level during the period of 1570-1638.²²⁰ Due to unusually wet conditions, all coastal plains and lowlands across the Mediterranean basin were covered by swamps, which

²¹⁷ Akkemik et.al, "A preliminary reconstruction (A.D. 1635-2000)," p.301.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 301: Quoted from Ramzi Touchan et al., "Preliminary Reconstructions of Spring Precipitation in Southwestern Turkey from Tree-Ring Width," *International Journal of Climatology* 23, no. 2 (2003): 157–71.

²¹⁹ Rosanne D'Arrigo and H. Cullen, "A 350-Year (AD 1628-1980) Reconstruction of Turkish Precipitation," *Dendrochronologia* 19, no. 2 (2001): 853–63, p. 173; It is estimated for Sivas that the annual precipitation was 277 mm for the year 1873 and 293 mm for the year 1874. Although these figures clearly indicate a dry period, they are still above the drought threshold. However, it is estimated that the annual precipitation decreased to 18 mm in western Anatolia in 1873-1874, which is a catastrophic level for drought. See also, Nesibe Köse et al., "An Improved Reconstruction of May–June Precipitation Using Tree-Ring Data from Western Turkey and Its Links to Volcanic Eruptions," *International Journal of Biometeorology* 57, no. 5 (2013): 691–701, p. 697.

²²⁰ Faruk Y. Tabak, "The Ottoman Countryside in the Age of the autumn of the Mediterranean, c.1560-1870", unpublished PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton Sociology Department, (2000), pp. 214-215.

subsequently caused malaria. Eventually, the population in the lowlands moved to higher elevations in order to settle for fear of malaria.²²¹ In relation to this point, Tabak argues that the alteration in settlement patterns towards higher elevations after the Celali rebellions cannot be explained merely by safety concerns.²²² He points out that the similar alterations were also seen in the Balkans, southern Syria and Palestine where the Celali rebellion did not occur.²²³ It would be wrong to underestimate the role of malaria in altering the elevation of the settlements in the Mediterranean region.²²⁴ Furthermore, malaria had already taken its toll on rural Anatolia, in particular on the coastal areas, before the 1570s.²²⁵ However, the malaria-prone areas thrived and continued to be populated throughout the seventeenth century, despite the health risks stemming from malaria. For example, Izmir, which was a port city, started to grow vigorously together with its surrounding small coastal settlements from the 1570s onwards.²²⁶ Similarly, the nomadic tribes from central Anatolia came to Kuşadası, which was a small coastal town at the western Aegean, to settle voluntarily in the seventeenth century.²²⁷

Meier and Tell also find fault with the treatment of the LIA in the works of White and Tabak.²²⁸ According to the studies of climatic reconstructions through tree-ring data for the LIA, a wet and colder climate prevailed in western Mediterranean and many parts of Europe, whereas the Near East including Anatolian plateau entered into a phase of drier and colder climate in 1590-

²²¹ Ibid., pp. 219-221.

²²² Ibid., p. 231.

²²³ Ibid., p. 232.

²²⁴ Robert Sallares, *Malaria and Rome : A History of Malaria in Ancient Italy* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

²²⁵ John Robert McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World : An Environmental History* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 87.

²²⁶ Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), pp.13-24.

²²⁷ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Onyedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında On Yedinci Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Devecilik ve Anadolu Göçebeleri (Danişmendli Mukataası)," in *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1982), pp.923-932.

²²⁸ Meir and Tell, "The World the Bedouin Lived in," 21-55.

1660.²²⁹ Meier and Tell reveal that while droughts and cold spells appear as the main catalyst for the calamities led up to the Celali rebellions in the accounts of White, excessive precipitation and moisture become the main argument of Tabak to explain the settlement desertion, land degradation and soil erosion in the Near Eastern lands.²³⁰ However, both White and Tabak make the mistake of assuming that one type of climate pattern, either dry or wet, had the same impact on the Near East during the LIA.²³¹

The crisis-based approaches nevertheless maintain their prevalence among historians who study the Ottoman Empire of the seventeenth century. In his recent work, Özel holds the view that natural disasters, such as climate anomalies associated with the LIA, earthquakes and pestilence, went hand in hand with the human factors, such as banditry, in the collapse of the settlement pattern and the dispersion of population in Amasya during the period after the Celali rebellions.²³² However, it seems that the crisis-based approaches fail to consider the ability of the Ottoman subjects, either peasant or nomad, to develop alternative ways in order to overcome the periods of depression. As Islamoğlu reveals, in the face of the shortage in the supply of arable land, the Ottoman peasants were able to diversify their cultivation practices into the different branches of agricultural production, like fruit growing, horticulture, sheep breeding, which were more profitable than grain cultivation.²³³ What is more, the crisis theories turning around the rebellions and climate are supplied partially by the accounts of contemporary Ottoman chronicles about the aftermath of the Celalis or unusual extreme events. It is very uncertain whether the chroniclers personally witnessed

²²⁹ Ramzi Touchan and Malcolm K. Hughes, "Dendroclimatology in the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean Region," in *Tree-rings, Kings, and Old World Archaeology and Environment-papers presented in Honor of Peter Ian Kuniholm*, edited by Sturt W. Manning and Mary Jaye Bruce (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), pp. 67-68.

²³⁰ Meier and Tell, "The World the Bedouin Lived in," p. 33.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 33.

²³² Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia : Amasya 1576-1643*, pp. 183-188.

²³³ Huricihan Islamoğlu Inan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: agrarian power relations and regional economic development in Ottoman Anatolia during the sixteenth century* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 141-203.

the general situation of the countryside after the Celalis, or experienced the extreme weather events.²³⁴ Instead of long-term climatic changes, the unexpected meteorological events like over-precipitation and frosty colds attracted more attention by the chroniclers.²³⁵

Consequently, in Ottoman historiography, the seventeenth century is identified as a period of transformation and change accompanied by a set of social, economic and environmental calamities which supposedly had a deep and adverse impact on the administrative-military institutions, population, settlement pattern, agricultural and pastoral production of Ottoman Empire. Recently, there has been renewed interest in the alleged decline paradigm for the Ottoman Empire of the seventeenth century, relying on the purported theories of climate changes associated with the LIA. It has been reported that drought, cold spells and excessive precipitation severely depleted the supply of land and animals particularly in Ottoman Anatolia and this climate-related predicament prepared the grounds for the Celali rebellions. From a similar perspective, historians have drawn a pessimistic panorama of Anatolia in political, social and economic aspects for the period after the Celali rebellions.

The Utilization of Archival Records for Study of the Rural Landscape in Ottoman Anatolia

A wide variety of archival materials are at the disposal of historians to study on the rural landscape in Ottoman Anatolia regarding the subjects of society, agriculture, animal husbandry and ecology.²³⁶ The studies that have focused on the countryside of Anatolia in the seventeenth century

²³⁴ Tabak is of the opinion that the three-fourths of the permanent settlements in the Ottoman Empire disappeared during the 17th century. He bases his argument on the reference of Kitab-ı Müstetab (whose writer is unknown) which stated that from Üsküdar to Bağdad only one-fourth of the villages and arable fields remained intact during the 1620's. However, this number seems quite far-fetched; because, such a case means that the agricultural production of the empire was on the brink of disruption. Tabak, "The Ottoman Countryside," p.228.

²³⁵ Hütteroth, "The Ecology of the Ottoman Lands," p. 22.

²³⁶ Suraiya Faruqi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 82-110.

are under the influence of the debates on the ‘decline’ paradigm. Therefore, many historians have preferred to utilize the particular archival materials, which are eligible only for making hard data, with the intention of displaying the upward and downward trends in population and production in the long run.²³⁷ However, although historians can employ a wider range of archival materials for the seventeenth century, the ending of the practice of making comprehensive land surveys poses one major drawback to historians, especially to those who prefer to study on population and production by using hard data. For the demographic studies, Özel and Öz have attempted to fill this gap by using the *avarız* registers while analyzing the consequences of the Celali rebellions on population and settlement patterns in rural Anatolia in the period between the late sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries.²³⁸

However, the *avarız* registers are not the proper archival material for making a survey of population changes.²³⁹ The data they present is relating to the potential economic capability of a group of people in a particular district for paying the extraordinary taxes rather than the amount of local population.²⁴⁰ The term ‘household’ was used to refer to the estimated capacity of people for paying taxes. The assessments of the *avarız* could vary according to the changes in the economic

²³⁷ Bekir Kemal Ataman, “Ottoman Demographic History (14th-17th Centuries). Some Considerations,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35, no. 2 (1992): 187–98.

²³⁸ Özel, “Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The ‘demographic Crisis’ Reconsidered,” pp. 183-205. Öz, “Population Fall in Seventeenth Century Anatolia (Some Findings for the Districts of Canik and Bozok),” pp. 159-171.

²³⁹ About the drawbacks of using the *avarız* registers to observe the quantitative changes in population across the lands of the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, see Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 216-232.

²⁴⁰ Boğaç A Ergene, “Avarız,” *EF*³. Halil Sahillioğlu, “Avarız,” *TDVIA*. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Avarız,” *IA*. Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 105-114. Oktay Özel, “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri,” in *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Bilgi ve İstatistik, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yay., Ankara*, ed. Halil Inalcik and Şevket Pamuk (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2000), 35–50. Erol Özvar, “Budgets,” in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Alan Masters (New York; Facts On File, 2009), 96–99.

abilities of the tax-payers in time.²⁴¹ Methodological difficulties arise, however, when an attempt is made to track down the villages appearing in the land surveys of the late sixteenth century through the *avariz* registers of the seventeenth century in order to measure the severity of the destruction inflicted by the Celali rebellions on the settlement patterns. Therefore, Özel and Öz fail to ascertain the reason of the nonappearance of the villages in the *avariz* registers. They believe that the Celali rebellions and natural disasters caused the desertion of the villages²⁴²; nevertheless, one should bear in mind that the reason behind the exclusion of some of the villages from the *avariz* registers might have been the poverty but not the depopulation.

More recent attention has focused on the use of the account books of the imperial waqfs and pious foundations for drawing a pessimistic panorama of agricultural production in rural Anatolia in the seventeenth century. Faroqhi and Orbay have taken the quantitative data from the account books at face value to suggest that the Celali rebellions and climate changes caused agricultural crisis by reducing the crop yields of grain in Anatolia.²⁴³ One question needs to be asked; however, as historians, to what extent could we rely on the evidence from the account books about fluctuations in production, considering the financial misconduct of the imperial waqfs and pious foundations that was mostly unnoticeable in the registers ? One anonymous writer from the seventeenth century suggested that the revenues of the viziers' estates (*hass land*) were in reality considerably higher

²⁴¹ Ergene, "Avariz."

²⁴² Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia : Amasya 1576-1643*, pp. 114-169, 183-186. Öz, "Population Fall in Seventeenth Century Anatolia (Some Findings for the Districts of Canik and Bozok)," pp. 6-10.

²⁴³ Faroqhi, "Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Worldly Affairs of the Mevlevi Dervishes (1595-1652)," pp. 43-70. Kayhan Orbay, "Structure and Content of the Waqf Account Books as Sources for Ottoman Economic and Institutional History," *Turcica, Revue D'Etudes Turques* 39 (2007): 3-48. Kayhan Orbay, "Detailed Tax Farm Registers and Arrears Registers as Sources of the Waqfs' Financial Analyses," *Acta Orientalia* 58, no. 4 (2005): 331-47; *idem*, "The Financial Administration of an Imperial Waqf in an Age of Crisis: A Case Study of Bayezid II's Waqf in Amasya (1594-1657)"; *idem*, "Celalis Recorded in the Account Books," *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 78, no. 1/2 (2004): 71-83.

than the amount that was recorded in the estate books.²⁴⁴ In accordance to the law, the *reaya* who resided in the viziers' estates held the exemption status for the extraordinary taxes and forceful contribution (*avarız-ı divaniyye* and *tekalif-i örfiyye*); therefore, numerous *reaya* who fled from banditry and state oppression took shelter in the viziers' estates and hence they increased enormously the revenues of the viziers' estates in a short period.²⁴⁵ A similar tax-exemption status was also valid for those who resided in the territories of the imperial waqfs and pious foundations. For that reason, it is possible to suggest that the imperial waqfs and pious foundations had in fact more revenues than the amount kept in the account books in the same vein with the viziers' estates.²⁴⁶

Most of the studies on the nomads and tribes in Ottoman Anatolia in the seventeenth century have heavily relied on the fiscal registers, *ahkam* books and the registers of the imperial governing council as the archival material.²⁴⁷ However, the usage of the archival sources of this kind carries with them various limitations that would mislead us about the relation of the nomads and tribes with the state and settlers. In this regard, there are certain problems with the use of the fiscal registers. First of all, the fiscal registers provide static data which is suitable only for making a quantitative analysis. The revenues of the large tribal confederations were allotted to the estates of the viziers

²⁴⁴ Yaşar Yücel, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar, Kitab-I Müstetab, Kitabı Mesalihil Müslimin ve Menafii'l-Müminin, Hırzu'l-Mülük* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), pp.178-179.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 178-179.

²⁴⁶ Vera P. Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Boulder; New York: East European Monographs, 1988), p. 107.

²⁴⁷ Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri : Bozulmuş Türkmenleri, 1540-1640* (Ankara: Bilge Yayınları, 1997). Gündüz, *XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Danişmendli Türkmenleri*. İlhan Şahin, "Yeni-İl Kazası ve Yeni-İl Türkmenleri (1548-1683)" (İstanbul University, 1980). Enver Çakar, *XVII. Yüzyılda Haleb Eyaleti ve Türkmenleri* (Elazığ: T.C. Fırat Üniversitesi Orta-Doğu Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2006). Alpaslan Demir, *XVIII. Yüzyılın İlk Çeyreğinde Anadolu'da Bozdoğan Yörükleri* (Ankara: Berikan Yayınevi, 2012). Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1987).

and sultans' retinues as *has*.²⁴⁸ Therefore, the central government paid serious attention to the issue of keeping the fiscal registers of the tribes up to date. Accordingly, the tribes appeared in the fiscal registers insofar as the tax matters were concerned. In this aspect, the fiscal registers concerning the tribes reflected only the state perspective. In the fiscal registers, it is rare to come across the details that would shed light on the economic and social relations between the tribes and nomads and the settlers. Similarly, the fiscal registers do not help us illustrate the individual contributions of the nomads to the regional economies. Nonetheless, it is possible to find plenty of special cases in the fiscal registers concerning the tribes' economic ability to pay the taxes. These cases were concerned with the complaints of the tribesmen against the oppression of the state officials and tax-collectors, and the requests of the tribesmen for the tax exemption after a sharp decline in the sizes of their herds, or the tax disobedience of the tribesmen.²⁴⁹ In short, the evidence from the fiscal registers can provide us information on the administrative and political relations of the tribes with the central government, but from the vantage point of the state. In addition, the fiscal registers can give a static view of the pastoral economics, which enable us to see the recorded amount of livestock in the possession of the tribes. However, one of the problems with the quantitative analysis approaches to the fiscal registers in an attempt to estimate the livestock population and understand the pastoral economics of the nomadic tribes is that the fiscal registers do not clearly show whether the fluctuations in the number of livestock occurred due to natural factors. The nomadic tribes were the moveable groups; therefore, they could easily disintegrate into smaller units when confronted with a rapid population growth.²⁵⁰ In case of fragmentation, the main tribe would lose a certain number of animals to the sub-tribes. Thus, the main tribe would have been put on the new fiscal register with a

²⁴⁸ Abdullah Saydam, "Sultanın Özel Statüye Sahip Tebaası: Konar-Göçerler," *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 20 (2009): 9–31.

²⁴⁹ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri : Bozulus Türkmenleri, 1540-1640*, pp. 145.

²⁵⁰ Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier : Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge Mass.: B. Blackwell, 1989), pp. 22-25.

depleted herd. Conversely, on the other hand, the main tribe would appear in the new register having a larger herd than before, by incorporating new sub-tribes.

The registers of the imperial governing council (*mühimme defterleri*) and the *ahkam* books form another group of archival materials for a study of nomads and tribes in Ottoman Anatolia. In a study of transliteration, Altınay presents a limited selection of imperial orders concerning the tribes and nomads in Anatolia and Balkans in the period from the mid-sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries.²⁵¹ He firstly published the transliteration of those imperial orders in 1930.²⁵² The contents of the imperial orders in his seminal work inspired the further studies made by De Planhol, White and Orhonlu. Most of the imperial orders were concerned with the phenomenon of the coming of the nomadic tribes to the western and central parts of Anatolia shortly after the Celali rebellions and the sedentarization policies of the Ottoman central government on the nomadic tribes in the 1690s. Similarly, in 1960, Uriel Heyd made a comprehensive compilation of the documents of the imperial orders concerning Palestine in between 1552 and 1615.²⁵³ The bulk of the imperial orders illustrated the attempts of the central government to prevent the attacks of the Bedouin tribes on the sedentary settlements located in the coastal Palestine and to re-establish the control over the unruly Bedouin tribes.²⁵⁴ One criticism of the use of the imperial orders in the studies of rural history is that the imperial orders were the state-centric archival materials which were prepared according to the verdicts of the imperial governing council with regard to the specific problems in the provinces. In this regard, as Ze'evi reminds us, it was too difficult for the bureaucrats of the Sublime Porte to

²⁵¹ Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri, (H. 966-1200)* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1989).

²⁵² Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri : (966 - 1200) : Anadolu'da Yaşayan Türk Aşiretleri Hakkında Divanı Hümayun Mühimme Defterlerinde Mukayyet Hükümleri Havidir* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930).

²⁵³ Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552-1615 a Study of The Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 40-42.

have adequate information on the events in the distant districts of the provinces considering the communication difficulties in the seventeenth century.²⁵⁵

Court Records and Nomads

The court registers are largely instrumental in our understanding of the social and economic history of Ottoman Anatolia and they have been widely used by many studies that concentrate upon diverse subjects such as women, slavery, economic relations between individuals, trade, economic consumption, inheritance, crime, local elites, agrarian relations, villagers, et cetera.²⁵⁶ Although historians have studied on a wide range of subjects from the court registers so far, they have paid very little attention to the nomads and tribes. In relation to another similar paucity, Mikhail stresses that the livestock economy is still one of the least studied fields of the social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire, although animals were a significant source of both wealth and nonhuman

²⁵⁵ Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*, pp. 96-97.

²⁵⁶ Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharī'a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal Author," *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56. Beshara B Doumani, "Palestinian Islamic Court Records: A Source for Socioeconomic History," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 19, no. 2 (1985): 155–72. Najwa Al-Qattan, "Dhimmi in the Muslim Court: Legal Autonomy and Religious Discrimination," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no. 3 (1999): 429–44. Ronald C Jennings, "Black Slaves and Free Blacks in Ottoman Cyprus, 1590-1640," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 30, no. 3 (1987): 286–302, doi:10.2307/3631815. Ronald C Jennings, "Divorce in the Ottoman Sharia Court of Cyprus, 1580-1640," *Studia Islamica*, no. 78 (1993): 155–67. Ronald C Jennings, "Limitations of the Judicial Powers of the Kadi in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri," *Studia Islamica*, no. 50 (1979): 151–84. Ronald C Jennings, "Kadi, Court, and Legal Procedure in 17th C. Ottoman Kayseri: The Kadi and the Legal System," *Studia Islamica*, no. 48 (1978): 133–72. Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700/1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town: 'Ayntāb in the 17th Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007). Hülya Canbakal, "Reflections on the Distribution of Wealth in Ottoman Ayntab," *Oriens* 37 (2009): 237–52. Güçlü Tülüveli, "City, State and the Society: Trabzon, an Ottoman City in the Mid-Seventeenth Century" (University of Birmingham, 2002). Suraiya Faroqhi, "A Study of Rural Conflicts: Gegbuze/Gebze (District of Üsküdar) in the Mid-1700s," in *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies: Halcyon Days in Crete VIII: A Symposium Held in Rethymno 13-15 January 2012*, ed. Ēlias Kolovos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015), 9-35. Rhoads Murphey, "Collective Identity, Collective Action, and Village Autonomy: Cornerstones of Rural Life in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies: Halcyon Days in Crete VIII: A Symposium Held in Rethymno 13-15 January 2012*, ed. Ēlias Kolovos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015), 35–49.

labour in the rural areas of the empire.²⁵⁷ Perhaps the reason of this lack of interest is that since the nomadic people and animals occasionally appeared in the court registers, historians are apt to search rather the frequent groups such as urban-dwellers, peasants and landed estates.²⁵⁸ Recently, the studies based on the court registers have shown an increased interest in the subjects of nomads and animals; however, such studies are mostly confined to the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire.²⁵⁹ Yet their findings, albeit preliminary, may encourage the future works on the subjects of nomadism and animals in Ottoman Empire. For example, in her introductory article, Meier has shed some light upon the interactions of the Bedouins (nomads) with the settlers from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries in the light of the evidence from the court registers of Hama and Homs. She demonstrates that the Bedouins were the regular practitioners of the Ottoman judicial system, even though they were occasionally seen in the court registers.²⁶⁰

In the same vein, in his recent article, Reilly has also used the court registers of Hama and Homs in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and he shows that the Bedouins in the Syrian steppes were closely connected with the urban areas concerning the economic, administrative and judicial matters.²⁶¹ Another significant contribution to our understanding of the nomads in the Ottoman judicial sphere has been made by Barakat, who focuses on the property relations of the

²⁵⁷ Alan Mikhail, "Animals as Property in Early Modern Ottoman Egypt," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 621–52, pp.623-624.

²⁵⁸ Astrid Meier, "Bedouins in the Ottoman Juridical Field: Select Cases from Syrian Court Records, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries," *Eurasian Studies* 9, no. 1–2 (2011): 187–211, p.191.

²⁵⁹ The earliest study of the nomads and tribes of Anatolia based on the court registers was made by Su in 1938. However, his work was the transliteration of the entries compiled from the court register of Balıkesir regarding nomads and tribes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kâmil Su, *Balıkesir ve Civarında Yürük ve Türkmenler* (İstanbul: Resimli Ay Matbaası, 1938). In the same way, in 1946, Gökçen published the transliteration of the entries from the court register of Manisa concerning nomads and tribes. İbrahim Gökçen, *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine Göre Saruhan'da Yürük ve Türkmenler* (İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi, 1946).

²⁶⁰ Meier, *Ibid.*, pp. 187-211.

²⁶¹ James A Reilly, "Town and Steppe in Ottoman Syria: Hostility, Exploitation and Cooperation in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Der Islam* 92, no. 1 (2015): 148–60.

nomads on land and animals through the case of southeastern Syria in the late Ottoman period.²⁶² By analyzing the court records and land registers of the district of Salt in Syria, she argues that the nomads could manage to maintain their proprietary rights to land and animals by becoming the successful practitioners of the administrative and legal regulations of the Ottoman state in the late nineteenth century.²⁶³

This dissertation has focused more on the specific court records in which the nomads and peasants were involved in relation to animals and land. It leaves aside the cases in which the nomads were only associated with highway robbery and tribal banditry. The theme of this dissertation also excludes the marital cases and criminal proceedings concerning nomads. In this regard, the nomads who have become the centre of interest of this dissertation were rather animal owners and agrarian producers, as will be seen through the court cases in the next chapters. In this dissertation, I am aware of the potential methodological pitfalls that derive from the nature of the court registers. Recently, historians have warned us against the pitfalls of relying on the evidence from the court registers at face value, by taking an increased interest in the conceptual framework of the court registers and the methodological problems about their historiographic utilization.²⁶⁴

²⁶² Nora Elizabeth Barakat, "An Empty Land? Nomads and Property Administration in Hamidian Syria" (University of California, Berkeley, 2015). Nora Elizabeth Barakat, "Marginal Actors? The Role of Bedouin in the Ottoman Administration of Animals as Property in the District of Salt, 1870-1912," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, no. 1–2 (2015): 105–134.

²⁶³ Barakat, "An Empty Land? Nomads and Property Administration in Hamidian Syria," pp. 112–139. Barakat, "Marginal Actors? The Role of Bedouin in the Ottoman Administration of Animals as Property in the District of Salt, 1870-1912," pp. 131–132.

²⁶⁴ Boğaç A. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)* (Leiden; Boston, Mass.: Brill, 2003) idem., "Why Did Ümmü Gülsüm Go to Court? Ottoman Legal Practice between History and Anthropology," *Islamic Law and Society* 17, no. 2 (2010): 215–44. Iris Agmon and Ido Shahar, "Theme Issue: Shifting Perspectives in the Study of 'Sharia' Courts: Methodologies and Paradigms," *Islamic Law and Society* 15, no. 1 (2008): 1–19.

Ergene questions the acknowledged position of the *kadı* in the Ottoman judicial system that is believed to have dispensed justice.²⁶⁵ In his systematic quantitative research within the case studies of Kastamonu and Çankırı, he demonstrates that the Ottoman *kadı* came under the influence of the local power relations and hence received the manipulations of the local elites in their decisions.²⁶⁶ He shows that the members of the local elites who bore honorary titles brought more lawsuits to the court than the non-elites and also they won more than half of the lawsuits against the non-elite defendants.²⁶⁷ Such a difference that stemmed from social-class distinction can also be interpreted as in the way in which the city-dweller plaintiffs were likely to win more lawsuits against the rural inhabitants; because, most of the local elites resided in the city, and were in connection with a large social network compared to the rural inhabitants.²⁶⁸ According to Ergene's findings summarized here, one may assume that the nomads were in a disadvantageous position in the court, either as plaintiffs or defendants, against the local elites, considering the fact that most of whom belonged to the non-elite as a large rural population. In regard to the context of Ergene's framework of the court registers, Gerber comes to a conclusion through his observation of the complaint books (*şikayet defterleri*) of Anatolia that the central government seemed to treat the urban and rural areas differently regarding the complaints about the oppression and tax extortion led by the *kadıs* and state officials.²⁶⁹ He states that while the central bureaucracy became more concerned and responsive to the complaints of the urban areas, it took an indifferent stance on the rural populations, especially when it came to the nomadic Turkmens.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 99-125.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 66-73.

²⁶⁸ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*. pp. 66-73.

²⁶⁹ Haim Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 162.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 162.

Nevertheless, we would not repudiate the possibility that the nomads and tribesmen, who possessed large herds and held the higher positions in the tribal hierarchy, could exert economic and political influence on the *kadı*, if we were to take into consideration especially the reliance of the *kadı* on the nomads for supplying animals to the city and army.²⁷¹ In particular, the Ottoman central government needed the cooperation of the tribal groups from eastern and south-eastern Anatolia to an increasing extent for its military campaigns against the Safavids during the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁷² In this period, the military struggle of the Ottomans with the Safavids probably enabled the nomads and tribesmen to play actively important roles in the local political network. Firstly, the growing demand of the Ottoman army for camels and horses improved the pastoral economics of the tribal groups which lived in the areas near to the Safavid front.²⁷³ Secondly and more importantly, the need of the Ottoman central government for manpower to dispatch to the Safavid front led up to the militarization of the tribal groups in eastern and south-eastern Anatolia.²⁷⁴ Even though these tribal forces were demobilized after a certain while, since had already access to arms and therefore they could have exerted military power on the social and political dynamics of their regions.²⁷⁵

The nomads and tribesmen were likely to be acquainted personally with the possible actors of the local elites who could manipulate the decisions of the court. In this regard, we can cite here a lawsuit case from Ergene's work as an interesting example to show which strategies the nomadic Turkmens adopted to counteract the possible influence of the urban-dwellers on the court.²⁷⁶ In 1736, a shopkeeper from Kastamonu had requested in his petition from the central government to

²⁷¹ See the chapters Aintab and Ankara.

²⁷² Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire : Mosul, 1540-1834*, pp. 39-41.

²⁷³ Khoury, *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁷⁶ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire : Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, p. 107.

ensure that a financial dispute between his son and a group of nomads [Turkmens] was to be resolved in the court of Kastamonu. In the contrary case, as he reported in his petition, those nomads would again attempt to bring his son to the court of Kütahya for adjudication of the dispute which would result against his son, because some of those nomads would appear before the *kadı* of Kütahya both as plaintiffs and witnesses.²⁷⁷ According to the evidence from this lawsuit case, we can conclude that the nomadic Turkmens were aware of the judicial limitations of the local courts, which stemmed from the ability of the urban-dwellers to turn the decisions of the *kadı* to their own advantage.²⁷⁸

Apart from the methodological pitfalls that originated in the juridical structure of the court registers, one major drawback of this dissertation is that the mobility of the nomadic populations limited the number of court entries involving the nomads. Therefore, it seems hard to claim that the evidence from the court entries is enough to display the pastoral economics of the nomadic tribes thoroughly. Besides, as Ergene reminds us again, it is very likely that the high court fees might have deterred particularly the impoverished nomads from taking an action in the court.²⁷⁹ For example, in relation to the high cost of court services, in one case cited by Gerber, the *kadı* of Manisa demanded once 100 gurush from a Turkmen to take an action in the court.²⁸⁰ This clear charge of extortion was most likely to be levied intentionally on that Turkmen for a dispute that was to be resolved in his favour. In this way, the *kadı* probably wanted to protect one of his acquaintances by discouraging that Turkmen from the litigation. As regards the problem of the scarcity of the court entries involving nomads, for example, the reason why the nomads of Ankara seldom appeared in the courthouse in the city centre was the presence of another court that was in charge of specifically the lawsuit cases involving the local nomads and tribes. Therefore, the entries from the Ankara

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 107.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 107.

²⁷⁹ Ergene, Ibid., pp. 97-98.

²⁸⁰ Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam : Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective*, p. 160.

court registers concerning nomads were mainly composed of petitions and complaints which were submitted to the Ottoman central government.

On the other hand, we cannot be sure whether the *kadı* had a biased attitude towards the nomads and tribesmen in resolving disputes during the period under review of this dissertation. Nevertheless, it is known that the jurists regarded the nomadic way of life and nomadic groups with disfavour in the Ottoman and Islamic legal literature.²⁸¹ Considering the political conjuncture that was contemporaneous with the court registers, the image of ‘unruly’ tribes and nomads, which remained from the past Canboladoğlu rebellions, was likely to hold sway on the perspective and decisions of the Aintab court about the nomadic groups at least during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the Turkmens, who were associated with heresy and Kızılbaş beliefs, were likely to receive an unequal treatment from the *kadı*, who adhered to the principles and practices of the Sunni Islam.²⁸² There is no doubt, on the other hand, that the influence of nomads on the court in the litigation process against the opposite parties could be directly connected with the degree of their economic integration into the regional market, which would make them familiar with the urban Sunni elites in the end. In most cases, however, the evidence of the court entries were not helpful to make clear the socioeconomic backgrounds of the nomads; instead, it was more clear about the identification of the nomads with their tribal names and ethnic affiliations.

Methodology and Sources

There are two primary aims of this dissertation: firstly, to explore the mixed economies of nomads, which was a combination of animal husbandry and agricultural production, in relation to the regional features of Anatolia in the first half of the seventeenth century. It aims to challenge the

²⁸¹ Meier, “Bedouins in the Ottoman Juridical Field: Select Cases from Syrian Court Records, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries,” p. 189.

²⁸² Leslie P. Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 253-258.

misperceptions that associate the nomadism with crisis and catastrophe at the expense of the sedentary populations and perceive the expansion of nomadism as a disastrous concomitant of the climate anomalies. For this purpose, it will challenge such biases with a revisionist approach which emphasizes the economic aspects of the coexistence and cohabitation between the settlers and the nomadic non-settlers. The nomads and settlers lived in contiguous environments in Anatolia; therefore, their coexistence was based on the mutual benefit rather than a parasitic relationship as opposed to the desert and sown paradigm.²⁸³

Secondly, to revise the crisis-based approaches that are concerned with the phenomenon of the LIA and the Celali rebellions. A serious weakness with the climate/human-related crisis theories is the broad generalizations about the consequences of the LIA and the Celali rebellions. They consider the climate-related natural disasters and human-induced setbacks as a pervasive problem in every part of Anatolia. A comprehensive study that includes a comparison of the local effects of the purported climate anomalies and the Celali rebellions by considering the regional differences would give us a more realistic panorama of the countryside of Anatolia in the early seventeenth century. The crisis-based approaches make no attempt of taking into account the strategies and adaptations used by the nomads and peasants to confront the climate/human-induced challenges and to avert the crisis by taking on the endemic and long-lasting properties of their regions. One limitation of the crisis theories is that they are confined to the reports and documents which were prepared in Istanbul; therefore, offer only a state-centred view. Since those at the centre were informed of the

²⁸³ The desert and sown paradigm originated in the sociological taxonomy of Ibn Khaldun concerning the vernacular groups of the medieval Islamic society. He classifies the society into two groups as sedentary (*hadāra*) and nomad (*badāwa*), according to the modes of production and life. To him, a mobile way of life made the nomads more energetic and kept them more overcautious against the threats compared to their sedentary relatives who abandoned themselves to a sluggish life within the city walls. The features related to their way of life enabled the nomads to establish military superiority over the sedentary communities. After a period of time, the settlers became prey to the nomads. Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). 18. Yossef Rapoport, "Invisible Peasants, Marauding Nomads: Taxation, Tribalism, and Rebellion in Mamluk Egypt," *Mamluk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 1–22; p. 8.

provincial issues via mediators, they could rarely understand the underlying causes of the troubles in the countryside.

This dissertation systematically reviews the court records through the key words of nomad, tribe, peasant, land and animal, aiming to provide a new insight into the rural history of Anatolia in the period after the Celali rebellions. It is among the purposes of this dissertation to highlight the pivotal role played by the nomads in the economic and demographic recovery of rural Anatolia in the post-rebellion period. It is also aimed to understand how the nomads in Anatolia, as a peripheral group, built their own economies according to two important means of production; animals and land. This is the first study to undertake an in-depth analysis of the nomads and animal husbandry in the context of the decline-paradigm of Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century. The nomads were at the heart of the regional economies of Anatolia in Ottoman period. The nomads constituted a large segment of the provincial society in Ottoman Anatolia with their dense population and numerous animals.²⁸⁴ As Shields reminds us, the nomads were the significant economic producers of the countryside by themselves.²⁸⁵

The overall structure of this dissertation is developed in three chapters, each includes the regional case studies: Urfa, Aintab and Ankara. The three regions have been systematically selected because they all contained a large number of nomadic populations and were subjected to the Celali rebellions. Although Aintab and Urfa are located in south-eastern Anatolia, they are different from each other in terms of climate. Aintab is situated in a transitional climate, having the characteristics of the continental Mediterranean climate. Urfa is under the influence of continental climate and the scorching winds blowing from the desert increase the risk of aridity in summer. In view of different climatic characteristics, we can observe different patterns of stockbreeding and farming in both

²⁸⁴ Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), p. 21-24.

²⁸⁵ Sarah D Shields, "Sheep, Nomads and Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Mosul: Creating Transformations in an Ottoman Society," *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 4 (1992): 773–89, p. 775.

regions. Aintab lay on the transhumance routes of numerous nomadic tribes that followed the north-south axis. In a similar manner, the area stretching from Urfa to Mardin accommodated numerous tribes and nomadic groups for centuries. Therefore, the cases of Aintab and Urfa provide new insights into the matters relating to nomadism.

Ankara establishes the third case of this dissertation. The case of Ankara provides a chance of making a broader regional comparison between southeastern Anatolia and northwestern central Anatolia. Besides, Ankara boasted a worldwide reputation for mohair production and mohair trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mohair is made of the hair of Angora goats; thus, the mohair production was closely linked with stockbreeding economy. In this respect, it is worth investigating the role of the mohair production in the economy of the nomadic pastoralists in this dissertation. Ankara was an area with dense nomadic population in the late sixteenth century, as is reflected in the land registers.

The structure of the case-studies in the following chapters follows a similar design. Each chapter is divided into five sections. The first section explains the historical geographical, physiographic and climatic features of the regions. The physiographic features played a significant role in determining the movement patterns of the nomadic groups. In the same way, the water resources and flora had an important effect on the settlement patterns and the agrarian and pastoral forms of production in the countryside. The second section is assigned to an examination of the population and production of the regions. The aim in the second section is to make an assessment of population and production in each region in order to question the arguments of the crisis theories. For the studies on the social-economic history of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, the main drawback is the practice of making a comprehensive survey of the tax-paying subjects and agricultural assets (*tapu-tahrir defterleri*) had been discontinued. Despite this, it is still possible to make an overall picture of the rural areas concerning the matters of population and production with

the help of the fragmented evidence from the court registers and other archival sources. For example, this evidence contains inheritance cases, transactions of animals and agricultural goods, tax-farm records concerning the population groups and an account of agricultural production, etc. An overview of the demographic-settlement patterns and economy offered by the second section is important to understand the content of the following chapters. As will be analysed in the following chapters, the nomads could have begun to engage in cultivation more intensively than before, they could have expanded the size of their herds, they could have also changed the animal composition of their herds, according to the new panorama of the countryside in the post-rebellion years.

The third section of all case study deals with the role of stockbreeding in the regional economies. It will be focused on the court cases concerning livestock, in an attempt to find out what type of livestock became more visible in which regions, according to the ecological and economic conditions. In this sense, a regional differentiation concerning livestock types becomes evident. The nomads and also the peasants often came to the court in relation to matters of livestock; for example, trading, ownership, inheritance, etc. According to the court entries, which type of livestock was the most valuable in the stockbreeding economy of the regions can be revealed. Besides, we will address the question of with which groups the nomads remained in touch while trading in livestock. The fourth section examines the agricultural activities of the nomadic groups. The economic value of the agricultural assets and agricultural crops for the nomadic groups in comparison with the livestock prices will be taken into consideration. In doing so, it will be possible to answer the question of to what extent the investment in the land and agricultural production was attractive for the nomads in the early seventeenth century. It was likely that the nomads would adjust the centre of gravity in the balance of their livelihood economies between agricultural and stockbreeding considering the new conditions imposed by the social-economic and ecological strains. Besides, the

land relations of the nomads with the state officials and the peasants and the nomads will be studied in the fourth section.

This dissertation is based on documentary evidence drawn from the court records. 9 court registers, which encompass a period of 27 years from 1609 to 1636, have been studied for the region of Ayntab. According to the chronological order, the registers used were no. 162, no. 4816, no. 13, no. 14, no. 15, no. 170-A, no. 170-B, no. 168 and no. 169. For the region of Urfa, few court registers have survived from the seventeenth century. Despite this scarcity, the court register no. 8823, which covered the period of 1629-1631, is quite abundant in evidence concerning the nomads and the tribes. For the region of Ankara, 8 court registers, which also contained a period of 27 years from 1611 to 1638, were examined. The court register no. 13, which was kept in between 1611 and 1612, has been transliterated by Hüseyin Çınar in his masters thesis. For the rest of the series, the court registers have been used in the original. These are no. 23, no. 12, no. 15, no. 17, no. 18, no. 21 and no. 513. In addition to the court registers, the entries from the registers of the imperial governing council (*mühimme defterleri*) and the fiscal registers (*maliyeden müdevver defterleri*) are included into the research. A few entries from the special collection of Kamil Kepeci have also been used.

In general terms, this dissertation is a study of rural history and the diversities within the rural economy of the Anatolian landscape. It is the first attempt of making an economic analysis of nomads in Anatolia through the court registers. In this sense, it differs from the existing studies on nomadic groups that rely mainly on the evidence from the land registers. It also explores, for the first time, the effects of the Celali rebellions on the countryside of Anatolia through an in-depth examination of court records. In the light of new evidence, this dissertation makes a major contribution to the existing literature on nomadism, social and economic history of Anatolia in the post-rebellion period by challenging the mistaken assumptions that regard the nomads as

unproductive and hostile groups to the detriment of settlers, and the invented theories of the LIA impact and also the crisis-based approaches that draw a pessimistic panorama of rural Anatolia for the period after the Celali rebellions. In addition, this dissertation fills a gap in the literature of the history of pre-modern Near East by studying on the nomads and pastoral economy in the context of the ‘decline’ and ‘crisis’ paradigm of the seventeenth century, because much of the literature does not focus very much on the pastoral economy, giving emphasis instead to the agrarian economy

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Chapter 1

Aintab

Land, Geography and Climate

The region surrounding Aintab lay where Anatolia merged with the Arab lands towards the south. In geographical terms, this region was an undulating plateau that ranged from 800 to 1,000 metres in elevation. It descended to an elevation of 400-500 metres towards the south, where it merged with the northern Syrian steppes.¹ It is possible to visualise the geographical boundaries of the region as an ellipse in the upright position. From the north and northwest, the Taurus Mountains encircle the region, constituting a visible topographical change in the landscape. In contrast to the natural demarcation at its northern edge, there was no physical feature that marked the boundaries of the region in the south. Therefore, the southern hinterland of Aintab seems to have overlapped with the northern hinterland of Aleppo, including the districts of Kilis and ‘Azāz. The western edge of the region extend as far as the eastern slopes of the Amanus (Nur) Mountains. For its eastern edge, the Euphrates River flows as a natural barrier. The Birecik Port situated at the left bank of the Euphrates and connected Aintab and its hinterland to the Upper Mesopotamia including the province of Raqqa in the east.²

¹ Mehmet Bedri İncetahtacı, ed., *Türkiye’nin Sıhî ve İçtimaî Coğrafyası: Gaziantep Vilâyeti* (İstanbul: Hilâl matbaası, 1926), p.8; Bessie Ashton, “The Geography of Syria,” *Journal of Geography* 27, no. 5 (1928), pp. 169-172.

² R. Hartmann, “Al-Furat,” *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill); John S. Guest, *The Euphrates Expedition* (London; New York: K. Paul International, 1992), pp. 21-22, 28-29, 37-38.

As an inland region, Aintab had the characteristics of the continental Mediterranean climate that differs from the typical Mediterranean climate in terms of precipitation level and winter temperature. In the interior parts of the Mediterranean region, in general, the winters become colder and occasionally snowy and the overall precipitation level remains lower than the coastal areas, due to the decreasing humidity.³ Thus, the Aintab region was deprived of the high humidity of the Mediterranean Sea that occurred in the coastal areas, owing to its relatively higher elevation and inland character. Air humidity and winter temperatures decrease gradually to the north and east, as the terrain gained elevation and become more continental. Soil humidity diminishes to the south, because of the increasing level of evaporation, especially in summers, which triggers drought in consequence.⁴ According to the current meteorological data, the average annual rainfall of the modern Gaziantep province is 600 millimetres, whereas it reduces to 328 millimetres in Kargamış (which is also known ‘Barak’), which was located at the southernmost corner of Gaziantep.⁵ This precipitation level is a clear sign that the semi-arid climate prevailed in the region. Irrigation depended heavily on the tributaries of the Euphrates. It was therefore normal that the villages established along the river basin were able to produce more different types of crops with a denser rural population compared to the other settlements of the Aintab region that remained distant from river irrigation. For the latter, dry farming combined with livestock breeding was the most efficient way of agricultural production.⁶

³ Cem Iyigun et al., “Clustering Current Climate Regions of Turkey by Using a Multivariate Statistical Method,” *Theoretical and Applied Climatology* 114, no. 1–2 (October 3, 2013): 95–106; pp. 101–103; Sinan Sahin and H. Kerem Cigizoglu, “The Sub-Climate Regions and the Sub-Precipitation Regime Regions in Turkey,” *Journal of Hydrology* 450–51 (July 2012): 180–89, pp. 185–188.

⁴ Mehmet Bedri İncetahtacı, *Türkiye’nin Sıhî ve İçtimaî Coğrafyası : Gaziantep Vilâyeti*, p.15.

⁵ Mustafa Hulusi Yalcın, *Gaziantep İlinin İklim Etüdü* (Ankara, 1991), pp. 12–13.

⁶ Leslie P. Peirce, *Morality Tales : Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 2003), p. 52.

The Aintab region was located in a nomadic and tribal territory before it came under the rule of the Ottomans in 1516. The town and its hinterland were situated on the cyclical migratory route of numerous pastoral tribes that formed the Emirate of the Dulkadirids as a confederation.⁷ In late summer, these tribes went down from the Anti-Taurus Mountains to the plains of the south of the Aintab region stretching from Kilis to the Euphrates River in order to spend the winter.⁸ By moving along the same route, they went up to the highlands in the Taurus Mountains in early summer. The migratory route of the nomadic tribes extended up to Maraş and further to Elbistan in the north. Some tribes were able to move further north to the highlands of Sivas including the districts of Gürün and Kangal in summer.⁹ As another option of migratory cycle, some nomadic groups could prefer to move along a shorter route within the Aintab region in the north-south axis. This shorter route started from the local mountains that were situated on the rising terrain to the northward before the Anti-Taurus Mountains. The pastoral nomads who wintered in the plains lying to the south went up to the pasturelands on these mountains in early summer. The nearest destination to spend the summer was Mount Sof rising some 32 km northwest of the town centre. With an elevation of 1496 meters, it was also the highest peak of the immediate hinterland of the town. Further north, a little distant from its immediate hinterland, the Karadağ and Kızıldağ Mountains lying between Yavuzeli and Araban were the other important pasture resources for the nomads in

⁷ For the tribal structure and the political history of the Emirate of the Dulkadirids, see Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "The Turkomans and Bilād Aş-Şām in the Mamluk Period," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984), pp. 169-179; J.H Mordtmann and V Menage, "Dhu'l-Kadr," *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Brill); Refet Yinanç, *Dulkadir Beyliği* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989); Margaret Venzke, "The Case of a Dulgadir-Mamluk Iqtā': A Re-Assessment of the Dulgadir Principality and Its Position within the Ottoman-Mamluk Rivalry," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 43, no. 3 (2000), pp. 399-474.

⁸ Kellner-Heinkele, "The Turkomans and Bilād Aş-Şām in the Mamluk Period," p. 171.

⁹ İlhan Şahin, "XVI. Asırda Halep Türkmenleri," in *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler* (Istanbul: EREN, 2006), 129-54. İlhan Şahin, "XVI. Yüzyılda Halep ve Yeni-İl Türkmenleri," in *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler* (Istanbul: EREN, 2006).

summer.¹⁰ In addition to the nomadic pastoralists, this shorter route of migratory cycle was also favourable to the sedentary villagers who engaged in pastoralism in order to supplement their agricultural economies.

The nomadic groups were able to continue their cyclical movements within the Aintab region with the permission of the Ottoman authorities. Aintab and its hinterland continued to function as a transhumant corridor for the numerous pastoral tribes moving in the north-south direction. Although the Ottoman government imposed new administrative regulations on the tribes of the Emirate of the Dulkadirids that remained, the tribal character of the Aintab region continued to exist virtually in its intact form. The Ottoman government established new tribal groupings as administrative and fiscal units from those Dulkadirid tribes and other nomadic groups by considering the main pasture areas in their use.¹¹ The summer pasture belt that extended from the south of Sivas to the Anti-Taurus Mountains was designated as an administrative district for the tribes that remained from the Emirate of the Dulkadirids in the mid-sixteenth century.¹² In the same way, the government designated the winter pasture belt that covered the flat terrain from the north of Aleppo to the southern plains of Aintab as another tribal administrative district by the name of the Turkmens of Haleb (Aleppo).¹³ However, both districts were inextricably interlocked due to the nature of nomadism. The tribes of Yeni-İl spent winter in the territory of the Turkmens of Aleppo and the tribes of Aleppo in turn spent the summer in the territory of Yeni-İl.

The population of both tribal districts increased considerably towards the end of the sixteenth century. This was possibly a natural consequence of the general population rise that occurred across the entire Mediterranean region throughout the sixteenth century. The total

¹⁰ İncetahtacı, *Türkiye'nin Sıhî ve İctimaî Coğrafyası*, p. 8.

¹¹ See the section of 'Administering the Mobility' in Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2009), pp. 20-29.

¹² Şahin, "XVI. Yüzyılda Halep ve Yeniil Türkmenleri," pp. 156-157.

¹³ Şahin, "XVI. Asırda Halep Türkmenleri," pp. 131-133.

population of the Turkmens of Aleppo exceeded 50,000 together with 241 tribes in 1596. Furthermore, they possessed more than 2 million sheep.¹⁴ In parallel, the total nomadic population of the Turkmens of Yeni-İl had reached 69,000 in 1583. The nomads thus comprised approximately 3/4 (actually 73 per cent) of the total population of the aforementioned districts.¹⁵ Although a certain number of tribes adopted spontaneously a more sedentary way of life over the course of time, the majority of the tribes from both districts pursued a nomadic way of life during the seventeenth century. Therefore, the remote hinterlands of Aintab in the north and south remained pastoral in economic character at the turn of the seventeenth century.

The administrative boundaries of Aintab were confined to a smaller area by contrast with its geographical boundaries. Aintab was one of the commercial towns of the Emirate of the Dulkadirids whose political base was located in Maraş and Elbistan in the Anti-Taurus Mountains. Aintab came under the Ottoman rule, after the battle of Turnadağ in June 1515 that resulted in a clear Ottoman triumph over the Emirate of the Dulkadirids. After the battle, the Ottoman administration designated the former Dulkadirid lands as a new province by the name of *eyalet-i Dulkadir*. The Ottomans inaugurated little administrative change on the former political boundaries of the Dulkadirid territory. Maraş maintained its former status, as an administrative center, and Aintab was designated as one of the districts (*sancak*) within the territory of the new province.¹⁶ In the sixteenth century, Aintab appears to have consisted of three sub-districts (*nahiye*); Aintab as the administrative centre, Tel-Başer and Nehr-ül-Cevaz. Tel-Başer was the former name of the village Gündoğan and covered the area of the modern sub-district Oğuzeli.¹⁷ Nehr-ül-Cevaz comprised the

¹⁴ Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire*, p. 23.

¹⁵ The remainder of its total population consisted of 26,000 settled villagers. Şahin, "XVI. Yüzyılda Halep ve Yeniil Türkmenleri," pp. 160-161.

¹⁶ Andreas Birken, *Die Provinzen Des Osmanischen Reiches*, 1. Aufl. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976), pp. 140-141. The other sub-districts of the province of Dulkadir were Bozok, Kadirli (Kars-ı Zülkadiriye), Kırşehir, Malatya, Samsad and Sis.

¹⁷ Nevin Balta, *Gaziantep İli Yer Adları Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Gaziantep, 2010), pp. 102-103.

settlements that were located in the area irrigated by Nizip Suyu, a tributary of the Euphrates. This area fell to the modern sub-district Nizip and its environs. Although Nehr-ül-Cevaz covered a smaller area compared to Tel-Başer and Aintab, it included the largest villages (Hiyam, Keret and Orul) of the entire Aintab region.¹⁸ The administrative division of Aintab came to a state of variability in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁹ Katib Çelebi made a mention of three sub-districts for Aintab in the first half of the seventeenth century. These were Tel-Başer, Araban, and Burc except for the central sub-district of Aintab.²⁰

Production and Population in Countryside

On 14th April 1619, a group of peasants from the village of Battal-Öyüğü came up before the *kadı* in order to receive permission to transfer the tax-farm of their village to a town resident Mehmed bin Hacı İbrahim. The village was farmed out to themselves in return for 25,200 *akçes* (8,400 *pâre*)²¹ for one year. It is understood that they fell into arrears due to disagreements amongst

¹⁸ Peirce, *Morality Tales : Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, pp. 50-54; Hüseyin Özdeğer, *XVI. Yüzyıl Tahrir Defterlerine Göre Antep'in Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1982), pp. 13-18. For a more detailed information on the topography and historical geography of Nehr-ül-Cevaz, see Alpaslan Demir, "XVI. Yüzyılda Samsun Ayıntab Hattı Boyunca Yerleşme, Nüfus ve Ekonomik Yapı" unpublished PhD thesis (Ankara University, 2007), pp. 20-21, 37-38, 125-127.

¹⁹ Donald Edgar. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from Earliest Times to the End of the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), map 32.

²⁰ Kâtip Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtib Çelebi*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2009), p. 599.

²¹ *Pâre* was the main monetary unit used in the operations regarding the tax-farming of the rural settlements in Aintab. Its ratio to *akçe* in terms of silver weight was not certain for much of the seventeenth century, nevertheless, it is determined by means of its rate against the Venetian Ducat that one *pâre* was equivalent to 3.0 *akçes* through the first half of the seventeenth century. Thereafter, *pâre* will be converted to *akçe* in the relevant documents used in this chapter. For a further information about *pare*, see Halil Sahillioğlu, "The Role of the International Monetary and Metal Movements in the Ottoman Monetary History 1300-1750," (previously published in *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern World*, edit. by. J.F. Richards, North Carolina, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1983, pp. 260-305) in *Studies on Ottoman Economic and Social History*, edited by Halil Sahillioğlu (İstanbul: IRCICA, 1999), pp. 36-37; and also Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 94-97.

one another. In the presence of *kadı*, they gave an undertaking that they would pay Mehmed 140 *akçes* (2 *guruş*) for every 1,000 planted vine stocks within the village land, including the stocks of the vineyards owned by the town residents, and 12 *akçes* (2 *şahi*) per head of goat reared in the village. It is very likely that the villagers and Mehmed must have already completed the deal on the matter of the payment stipulations before coming to the court. Thereupon, the *kadı* confirmed the act of transferring without opposition.²² Another similar act of transferring the lump sum payment of the tax-farm was carried out between a group of peasants from the village of Beğlerbeği and a member of cavalry corps Hasan Beğ on 6th September 1636. In this act, the peasants assigned their debts concerning the tax-farm of the village to Hasan with the approval of the *kadı*. In return for the debt transfer, Hasan was to collect one eighth of the barley and millet yields (*cev ba erzen*) and one tenth of the wheat yield as tithe on *kile* basis. Furthermore, he was to be paid 140 *akçes* for 1,000 vine stocks planted in the vineyards of the village and 70 *akçes* for 15 head of goats raised in the village.²³

Both documents from the court records regarding the tax-payment of peasants offer us micro examples that reveal the characteristic agricultural and pastoral production pattern of rural Aintab in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is obvious that this pattern was relating to the sedentary groups and their rural economics. Certainly, the nomadic pastoralists deviated from this pattern in terms of their means of livelihood. Climate, regional physical features, and economic motivations altogether determined the main crop types and of course the livestock composition in rural Aintab. Aintab and its hinterland ecologically represented a typical region of the Mediterranean basin, having the production of grapes, grain and goats.²⁴

²² Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), pp. 260-261.

²³ Aintab Court Records (no. 4819), p. 251.

²⁴ Faruk Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: A Geohistorical Approach* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 15.

The Euphrates and its tributaries neutralised to a certain extent the unfavourable effect of the arid conditions on agriculture. Dry farming based on grain cultivation became the main type of agricultural production in the areas remote from the riverbeds; however, dry farming gave place to a more diverse and high-yielding cultivation around the riverbeds depending on the ease of access to irrigation. The immediate hinterland of Aintab was less appropriate to the cultivation of field crops due to its hilly and rolling terrain. In the Mediterranean type of agriculture, such terrain was mostly devoted to the plantation of tree crops in order to produce grapes and olives.²⁵ The plantation of tree crops evolved rather in the form of viticulture in the hinterland of Aintab. Besides, viticulture became a lucrative alternative to dry farming in the areas where irrigation was inadequate. Since grapevine was a drought-resistant plant, the villagers in those areas need not go to the trouble of having access to irrigation by planting vineyards.²⁶ Therefore, nearly every settlement allocated much of their arable lands to vineyard plantation in the countryside of Aintab. It would not be true, on the other hand, to explain the growth of viticulture with reference to the topographic and climatic restraints. Both regional and international demand for the grape-products played a significant role in developing Aintab and its hinterland as a centre of viticulture.²⁷

After harvesting, grapes were consumed in several ways according to the intended purpose. A certain amount of the harvest was separated for drying in order to produce raisins and sultanas. A larger amount was brought to the presses (*ma'sara*)²⁸ to be squeezed into juice in order to produce grape-molasses (*pekmez*) and wine. Besides, a certain amount of red grapes could be boiled in the

²⁵ Tabak, *Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.

²⁶ Dargie Tsegay, Dor Amsalem, Manuel Almeida and Molly Crandles, "Responses of grapevine rootstocks to drought stress," *International Journal of Plant Physiology and Biochemistry*, vol. 6, no. 1., (January, 2014), pp.1-4.

²⁷ Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in An Ottoman Town* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 39.

²⁸ *Ma'sara* was the Arabic name of the presses which were used for making grape syrup and olive oil. See, Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.82; For more information on the historical practice of pressing of grape and olive in the Middle East, see Rafael Frankel, "Presses for Oil and Wine in the Southern Levant in the Byzantine Period", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 51 (1997), pp. 73-94.

cauldron for preparing special sweets (*basdık* and *pestil*). The records of tax on presses in virtually every village indicated that a considerable amount of grapes was consumed in the countryside.²⁹ The harvested grapes that were surplus to the requirements of village consumption were dispatched to the town. The town had its own food manufacturing based on grape production. The land registers of the sixteenth century indicated the sales taxes on raisins, wine and grape presses as an important source of urban revenues.³⁰ Among these, the sales tax on wine formed a significant portion of urban revenues.³¹ In the countryside, wine production was recorded in the village of Orul where the majority of the population consisted of Christian Armenians.³²

There is unfortunately not sufficient data about the production volume of viticulture in the hinterland of Aintab for the first half of the seventeenth century. It is known through the cadastral evidence that 9,886,000 vine stocks (*tevek*) were planted in the hinterland of Aintab circa 1580. Despite the absence of data, it can be assumed that there might have been little change in the total number of vine stocks through the first half of the seventeenth century. In a later period, Evliya Celebi mentioned that 9,346,000 vine stocks were planted in the hinterland of Aintab circa 1670.³³ The number of vine stocks (*tevek*) was the basic measure for calculating the size of vineyards. In traditional viticulture, it is accepted that a vineyard of one *dönüm* (approx. 1000 m²) comprised

²⁹ Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, pp. 220-551.

³⁰ Özdeğer, *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

³¹ The sales tax on wine increased from 16,000 to 32,000 *akçes* in between 1536 and 1543. However, it reduced to 20,000 *akçes* in 1574. Özdeğer, *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³² Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, p. 526.

³³ Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, volume: IX, edited by Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Robert Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), p. 168. Canbakal states that Evliya Celebi was likely to take the figure relating to the number of vine stocks from an official record. Canbakal, *State and Politics*, p. 38.

roughly 100 vine stocks.³⁴ Therefore, the existence of 9,886,000 vine stocks indicates that an area of 98,860 *dönüms* was assigned to viticulture in the hinterland of Aintab in 1574. The land allocated for vine-growing was slightly smaller than the wheat cultivated area in size in the 1570s. The total wheat yield of Aintab and its hinterland was 864,960 *kiles* in 1574 and its total barley yield was 454,376 *kiles*.³⁵ These production capacities were approximately equivalent to 22,194 tonnes for wheat and 11,659 tonnes for barley.³⁶ Accordingly, it can be concluded that an area of 110,970 *dönüms* was separated for wheat cultivation and in Aintab and its hinterland in 1574. In the same way, barley cultivation required a land of 69,398 *dönüms*.³⁷ We cannot estimate the proportion of the viticultural land to the grain cultivated area in the seventeenth century due to the absence of statistical data; however, we can consider that the land planted with vineyards would have become larger at the expense of the area allocated for grain production in the seventeenth century, because the larger villages became less and less eager to produce grain for the sake of being engaged in viticulture from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. This tendency towards viticulture

³⁴ In traditional viticulture in which the operation of ploughing depended mostly on oxen, the planting distance of vine stocks could be adjusted according to the measure of 3 x 3 meters especially in hilly terrain. Since the vineyard owners of Aintab preferred to harness oxen to plough their vineyards, that measure of planting distance provided farmer and oxen with enough space for easy ploughing (Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, p. 132). One edge of a square land of one dönüm was 30,31 meters according to the measure of footsteps. In the same measure of footsteps, a short edge of a rectangle land of one dönüm was 20 meters and its long edge was 50 meters. According to these length sizes and measure of planting distance, any vineyard of one dönüm in both shapes consequently contained more or less 100 vine stocks.

³⁵ Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, p. 72-73.

³⁶ My calculation is grounded on *kile* of İstanbul (25.659 kg) that was a standard measure for grain in most parts of the empire. Halil İnalçık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology", *Turcica* 15 (1983), p. 337.

³⁷ In dry-farming areas of Turkey, the average yield of wheat and barley per hectare is 2 and 1.68 tonnes, respectively. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/006/y4011e/y4011e04.htm#TopOfPage>
<http://arastirma.tarim.gov.tr/gaputaem/Belgeler/tarimsal%20veriler/gaputaem%20gncel/Tahil%20Raporu.pdf>

led to the concentration of grain cultivation in the smaller villages and *mezraas* in consequence.³⁸

The pie chart below shows the proportion of the viticultural production to grain cultivation.

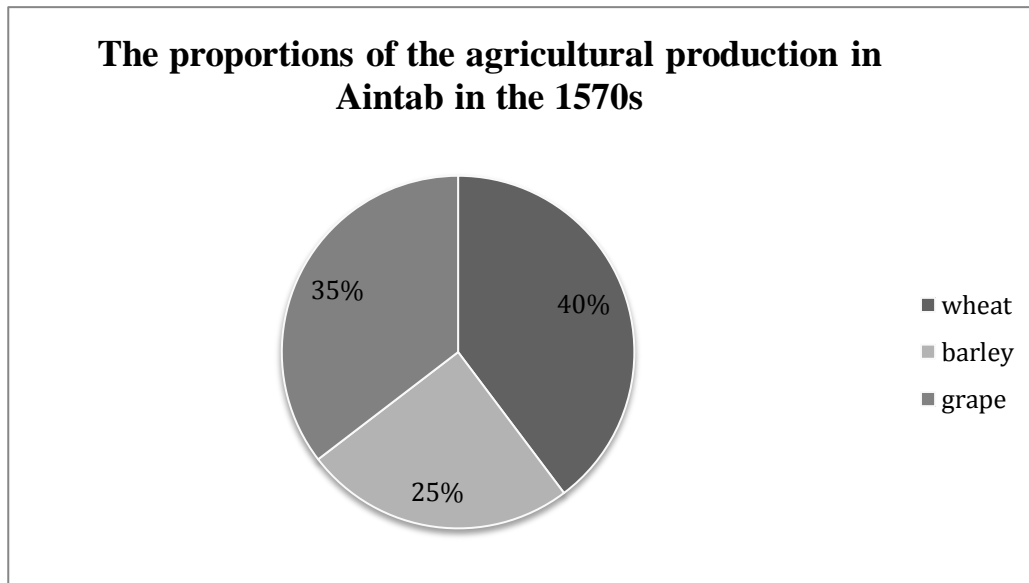


Figure 1: The proportions of the agricultural production in Aintab in the 1570s

Barley, bitter vetch (*küşne* or *burçak*) and millet (*erzen akdari*) were cultivated as forage crops in the hinterland of Aintab. The cultivation of these forage crops was beneficial to the villagers in two respects. Firstly, it enabled the villagers to obtain nutritious fodder for their animals without any need to reach pastureland.³⁹ In addition, it was presumably impracticable to keep large flocks of livestock in the immediate hinterland of Aintab where most of the arable land was exploited for agrarian purposes, especially viticulture. Secondly, these forage crops were highly adaptable to environmental stress factors such as drought and poor soil⁴⁰; therefore, their cultivation gave the villagers the opportunity of generating income even during period of drought. The livestock owners became desperate for fodder in the ensuing period of the drought when the pastureland became inadequate. This situation inevitably made the livestock owners more

³⁸ Peirce, *Morality Tales*, pp. 244-246

³⁹ Bruce M.S. Campbell, "The Diffusion of Vetches in Medieval England," *The Economic History Review*, vol. 41, no. 2 (May, 1988), p. 195.

⁴⁰ Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean 1550-1870*, pp. 260-262.

dependent on the sources of barley, bitter vetch and millet as forage.⁴¹ Besides, as regards bitter vetch, it was also cultivated as an efficient part of crop rotation that was practiced in the semi-arid areas in order to increase the barley yield. In this way, the farmers were hardly in need of allowing their land to lie fallow.⁴²

The cultivation of bitter vetch was reflected in the documents from the court registers relating to agricultural production. For instance, in his estate inventory that was prepared on 2 May 1612, Halil bin Yusuf appears to have owned a plot of land cultivated with bitter vetch around the village of İbrahimi.⁴³ In another inventory list dated in April 1615, it is similarly seen that an agricultural entrepreneur Abdullah, who resided in the town, possessed a plot of cultivated bitter vetch having a capacity of 10 *kiles* in the vicinity of the town.⁴⁴ Apart from the evidence of the estate inventories, in a theft case dated 29th September 1635, eight sacks full of bitter vetch appeared among the stolen goods that belonged to Gülistan bint İsmail a woman from the village of Gürenüz. Her other goods consisted of 100 *kiles* of wheat, eight *kantars* of grape molasses and 5 head of oxen.⁴⁵

Goats were the main livestock resource of the sedentary agriculturalists of rural Aintab as the cases of the villages of Battal-Öyüğü and Beğlerbeği cited above have indicated. In several aspects, the goat rearing was more advantageous to the villagers who engaged intensively in farming. Goats were highly suitable to move in a hilly and steep terrain compared to sheep and cattle; however, most importantly, goats were less selective in searching out grasses and could

⁴¹ Françoise Metral, "Managing Risk: Sheep Rearing and Agriculture", *The Transformation of Nomadic Society in the Arab East*, edited by Martha Mundy and Basim Musallah (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 138-140.

⁴² S.K. Yau, M. Bounejmate, J. Ryan, R. Baalbaki, A. Nassar, and R. Maacaroun, "Barley-Legumes Rotations for Semi-Arid Areas of Lebanon," *European Journal of Agronomy*, vol. 19, Issue: 4 (August, 2003), p. 600.

⁴³ Aintab Court Records (no. 162), p. 55

⁴⁴ Aintab Court Records (no. 162), p. 123.

⁴⁵ Aintab Court Records (no.4818), p.160.

digest woody plants, thorny branches and bushes that sheep and cattle never touched. Due to their distinctive digestive features, goats were highly adaptable to an arid countryside that was deficient in lush grasses. Certainly, the basic need for goats was to derive milk to produce dairy products and hair to make carpet and rugs in a village setting. In addition to the requirements of wool and hair, the villagers were in need of goats to collect manure; because, goat's dung contained a high level of nitrogen that was an efficient way of fertilizing vineyards in particular.⁴⁶

The Aintab region fell into a period of rural disorder led by the Celali rebellions during the first decade of the seventeenth century. It firstly witnessed several skirmishes between the rebel forces of Karayazıcı and the Ottoman forces in 1600.⁴⁷ Afterwards, the people of Aintab suffered from the tyrannical administration of Köse Sefer Pasha until 1605.⁴⁸ However, it was the rebellion of the Canbuladoğlu Ali Pasha that inflicted more severe damage on the entire region in 1607-1608. His rebellion had started in northern Syria and engulfed a large area stretching from Aleppo to Maraş.⁴⁹ The Ottoman army decisively defeated the rebellious army of Canboladoğlu Ali at the battle of Oruçovası on 24th October 1607; nevertheless, public order could not be firmly restored in the following years.⁵⁰ The central administration was receiving reports as late as 1613 about the minor activities of some dispersed rebel groups in rural Aintab.⁵¹

It is possible to observe the consequences of the rebellion of Canboladoğlu on rural Aintab, albeit partially, with the help of the evidence from the tax-farming records of the villages that

⁴⁶ Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 126-128; John Broad, "Alternate Husbandry and Permanent Pasture in the Midlands, 1650-1800," *The Agricultural History Review*, vol. 28, no. 2, (1980), pp.77-78.

⁴⁷ Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki (1003-1008/1595-1600)*, vol. II, edited by Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ipsirli (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989), p. 863.

⁴⁸ Hülya Canbakal, 'Ayntāb at the End of the Seventeenth-Century: A Study of Notables and Urban Politics,' unpublished PhD thesis, (Harvard University, 1999), p. 31.

⁴⁹ William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), pp.110-121.

⁵⁰ Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion*, p. 144.

⁵¹ Griswold, *Ibid*, p. 156.

belonged to the finance of the imperial domains (*havass-ı hümayun*) and pious endowments (*wakf*).⁵² This evidence pointed to a rapid recovery in the countryside in the ensuing years of the rebellion. However, we cannot observe the repercussions of the rebellion on the other villages that were allotted to *timar*. Since most of the villages and *mezraas* that were in the status of *havass* and *wakf* were populous and prosperous in particular, they were certainly more subject to pillage and plunder during the rebellion because of their high revenues. In the tax-farming records of these settlements that were prepared in 1612, the fluctuations in the tax-revenues that resulted from the rebellion of Canboladoğlu can be seen as compared with the previous tax-farm records. In addition, the former tax-revenues of several settlements were also shown in a separate register which was called the *vilayet defteri* (the provincial tax register).⁵³ In general, the tax revenues of the settlements in the status of *havass* and *wakf* were collected either by a superintendent (*emin*) or leased out to a tax-farmer (*mültezim*).⁵⁴ At first glance, the evidence from these tax-farming records gave the scene of countryside as devastated and depopulated for the post-rebellion period of

⁵² Most of these tax-farming records can be found in the *kadi* register of Aintab numbered 162.

⁵³ The *vilayet defters* in question probably referred to the accounting registers which were kept by the superintendents (*emins*) who were in the charge of tax collecting. On the other hand, it can certainly be assumed that those defters were a part of the land register of 1574 as synoptic financial account register (*muhasabe icmal defteri*), but the figures in the *vilayet defters* regarding the tax-revenues of the settlements does not appear to have corresponded to those recorded in the land register of 1574 in most cases, especially for the villages. The main difference for this discrepancy was that the tax-farming records of the settlements did not contain every tax-revenue item that was recorded in the land register of 1574. Furthermore, the tax-farming records did not show specifically the price of each revenue item; therefore, it is difficult to make a comparison of value for the tax-revenue items between the land register of 1574 and the tax-farming records of 1612 in order to observe the long-term changes in the pattern of agricultural production in Aintab. Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy- Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1600* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), pp. 132-133.

⁵⁴ For a detailed survey of the tax-farming system for the villages, see Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century-Patterns of Government and Administration* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1973), pp. 179-203; and for the practice of tax-farming in Aintab, see Peirce, *Morality Tales*, pp. 289-293.

Aintab⁵⁵; however, one should bear in mind that the *kadı* of Aintab tended to overstate the destruction of the countryside in order to persuade the central government to reduce the tax farm prices of these settlements. In doing so, the *kadı* was likely to be in cooperation with the local entrepreneurs who wanted to undertake the tax farm of the settlements at lower prices.⁵⁶

The tax-farming records indicated that the central government had decided to collect the tax revenues of the settlements via superintendents during the rebellion period because of lack of promising bidders, which also proved the volatility of the economic situation of the countryside.⁵⁷ However, since the superintendents exacerbated the existing economic and demographic situation of the settlements probably by unjustly levying extra taxes on the surviving peasants, the central government cancelled the method of tax collection under the supervision of superintendents.⁵⁸ Instead, the central government decided to lease out the settlements to either their surviving inhabitants or their acquaintances from the city with the purpose of accelerating the recovery of the ruined countryside. The government permitted the inhabitants to pay their debts in three instalments within one year. In the event that the villagers could not afford to pay off their debts, the government would allow them to appoint a bidder from the circle of their acquaintances to

⁵⁵ “...ve bi’l cümle Ayntab hasları mukata’âsı cümle mukata’âtdan harâbe ve re’âyâsı perâkende ve perîşân olduklarına...”, Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 63; “Bundan akdem kurâ-i Ayntab eşkıyâ ve sekban ve zulm-ü ümenâdan cümle mukata’ât harâb olub...”, *idem*, p.83; “... celâlî ile Canbuladoğlu gelüb nice zaman gâret ve hasârât itmekle harâbe tevcîh olub...”, *idem*, p. 70; “...ekseri havâss-ı hümayun maktû’ olunurken eşkıyâ’ ve Canboladoğlu ve ümenâlar istilâsından Ayntab hâsları cümle mukata’ât harâb oldukları ecilden...”, *idem*, p. 75; “Bundan akdem hazîne-i Haleb’e tâbi’ mukata’ât aklâmı zulm-ü zalemeden ve eşkıyâ te’âdisinden harâbe-meşref olub re’âyâsı perâkende olmağla...”, *idem*, p. 56.

⁵⁶ Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy- Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1600*, p. 216.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

⁵⁸ Cohen similarly examines the destructive impact of the method of tax-farming for tax collection on agriculture and rural settlements in the Palestinian countryside in the 18th century, Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th Century*, pp. 197-203.

undertake the tax-farm.⁵⁹ In this way, the central government is likely to have considered protecting the tax-units by means of the cooperation between tax-farmers and villagers.

It is not the aim of this section to present a full examination of the tax-farming records of all of the settlements. Instead, we will examine the tax-farming records of the largest ones in order to offer a general view of the countryside in the aftermath of the rebellion. The tax-farming records of the settlements comprised the taxes on summer and winter vegetables, vineyards, orchards, presses for grape and olive (*ma'sara*), and occasional taxes that were counted in the category of *bad-ı heva*. This category included taxes on winter quarters, marriage, and fines for minor crimes and misdemeanors (*cürm-ü galize*). The tax-farming records did not contain tithe and other taxes relating to the land holding.⁶⁰ Firstly, let us begin by analysing the villages of Hiyam and Keret that were two of the largest settlements of rural Aintab in the sixteenth century.⁶¹ Both villages were located on a tributary of the Euphrates River and belonged to the *nahiye* of Nehrülceviz.⁶² In population, Hiyam was little larger than Keret. Furthermore, Hiyam reached a more substantial growth in its agricultural production and population by 1574.⁶³ The evidence from their tax-farming records demonstrates that although the rebellion of Canboladoğlu Ali inflicted a serious devastation on both, Hiyam seems to have faced with more damage during the rebellion. The village of Hiyam was recorded together with three of its nearby *mezraas* (Kilisederesi, Kerüz, and Depeardı) with the

⁵⁹ “*Bundan akdem Haleb hazinesine tâbi olan mukata'âtın bâzısı ümena zulm ve eşkıyâ te'âddisinden ekseri harâbe-müşrîf olub perakende olmağla ... hâsıl kalmamağın hükm-ü şerîfimle ümenâsı ve havâleti ref'olunub sa'ir mukata'ât üzer kışta haklaşmak üzere ve dahi ziyâde ve noksanı ahâlisi üzerine veyahud kendi istedikleri yarar ehl-i vukûf müntec ve makbul yerlû olub mal-ı cedîdin tahsilleri ve edâsına kâdîr kimesnelere deruhde olunmasına...*” Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), p.56.

⁶⁰ It is accepted in general that tithe and land-taxes under the tapu system were not subjected to tax-farming, but there were exceptional cases in which tithe and land-taxes were included into the tax-farming system. See Darling, *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128.

⁶¹ These villages belonged to the waqf of the Ibn Keshani family from the notables of Aleppo. Peirce, *Morality-Tales*, p. 367.

⁶² Peirce, *Ibid.*, p. XIX.

⁶³ Peirce notes that the total household population of both villages was almost equal to one-fifth that of the town of Aintab (1,896 households). Peirce, *Ibid.*, p. 367.

revenue of 20,310 *akçes* (6,770 *pare*) in the *vilayet defteri*. These settlements were leased out at the price of 61,500 *akçes*, which was an increase of 202 per cent from their previous value written in the *vilayet defteri*. After the rebellion, however, the settlements were leased out to their inhabitants at the price of 48,000 *akçes* for one year in 1612.⁶⁴ This was a fall of 22 per cent on its latest tax-farm value, but the new value of the settlements in 1612 was already 136 per cent higher than the value written in the *defter*.

Similar to Hiyam, the village of Keret achieved a substantial growth together with five of its nearby *mezraas* (Emir Togan, Deyr-i Recîm, Çakır-viranı, Hüyük and Peşge) immediately before the rebellion. They were recorded with the revenue of 19,765.5 *akçes* (6,588.5 *pare*) in the *vilayet defteri*. The value of their entire tax-revenues went up to 126,000 *akçes* (42,000 *pare*) on the eve of the rebellion.⁶⁵ Despite this tremendous increase of 537 per cent, that value fell to 90,000 *akçes* as the consequence of the rebellion. Furthermore, it continued to go down due to the destruction caused by the routine nomadic flows of the Arab and Turkmen tribes and the misconduct of the tax collectors. After the rebellion, therefore, the central government leased out the village of Keret and its *mezraas* to its inhabitants at the price of 72,000 *akçes* for one year.⁶⁶ This amount was 43 per cent lower than the latest value that had been recorded shortly before the rebellion, whereas it was still 264 per cent higher than the first value recorded in the *vilayet defteri*.

⁶⁴ “...karye’-i mezbûre ve tevâbisi mezâri’ ile vilâyet defterinde altı bin yedi yüz yetmiş pâreye mukayyed iken maktû’ât-ı sâbıkede küllî ziyâde ile yirmi bin beş yüz pâreye derûhde olunub edâsına kadîr olmamağla perişân olmuştur hâlâ maktû’ teklîf olundukda aherden taleb zuhûr etmemekle ve emr-i şerîfde re’ayâ rızâsı mestûr olmağın vilâyet defteri yazısından dokuz bin iki yüz otuz pâre ziyâdesiyle on altı bin pâreye mezkûrların zîmmetlerine her altı ayda bir kıst’ül yevmlerin kendileri ile ber-vech-i nakd kayd olunub...” Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), p. 84.

⁶⁵ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), p. 70.

⁶⁶ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), p. 70.

The value of tax revenues in *akçes*

Settlements	In the vilayet defteri	In the tax-farm records c. 1600 before the Canboladoğlu rebellion	In the tax-farm record after the Canboladoğlu rebellion in 1612
Hiyam and its <i>mezraas</i>	20,310	61,500	48,000
Keret and its <i>mezraas</i>	19,765.5	126,000	90,000
Gücüğe	38,175	---	30,000
Beğlerbeği and its <i>mezraas</i>	20,400	34,800	15,000

Table 1: The fluctuations in the tax revenues of the settlements in Aintab in the 1600s and 1610s concerning the Canboladoğlu rebellion

It seems that both villages were similar to each other in terms of the tax-farmer status. Both were leased out to their own surviving inhabitants owing to the absence of bidders from outside. It was likely that the high prices of their tax-farms discouraged the rural entrepreneurs to bid for. By contrast, it is possible to notice that any village with a low price of tax-farm attracted more than one bidder. For instance, several townsmen bid for the village of Battal-Öyüğü that was partly deserted by its inhabitants during the rebellion of Canboladoğlu. It can be observed that the townsmen were willing to reclaim the village lands that remained vacant after the peasants' abandonment. A townsman named Şahverdioğlu Halil Çelebi made a bid of 18,000 *akçes* for the village of Battal-Öyüğü. Nevertheless, his offer was 9,600 *akces* below the former tax-farm price of the village that was recorded before the rebellion.⁶⁷ Another bid came from Ahmed Çavuş who was a member of military class residing in the town. His bid was only 1,200 *akçes* more than that of Halil Çelebi. The village was eventually leased out to other two townsmen who made a bid of 2,400 *akçes* more than

⁶⁷ "...karye'-i mezbûre harâb ve bî-hâsıldır ve benim bir mikdar alâkam vardır deyü..." Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), p.75.

the first offer. In addition to the village of Battal-Öyüğü, a similar bidding competition can also be observed in other villages, like Sarı-Ummal, Çaykuyu, and Uğurca.⁶⁸

The peasants habitually tended to offer a lower price for the tax-farm of their village than the one determined by the government. They bargained with the government to reduce the tax-farm price of their settlements to a level even below the previous price recorded in the *vilayet defteri*. For instance, the village of Gücüge was recorded with revenue of 38,175 *akçes* in the *vilayet defteri* before the rebellion. In 1612, it was leased out to its inhabitants for 30,000 *akçes* for one year, though they made a bid of 24,000 *akçes* at first. It was apparent that their initial offer dissatisfied the central government. Therefore, the government sought information of the knowledgeable people (*ehl-i vukûf*) from outside in order to estimate a price for the village.⁶⁹ In bargaining with the government over the tax-farm price of their village, the peasants returned empty-handed on account of a higher price offered by the town residents. It was likely that those town residents who wanted to undertake the tax-farm had affiliation to the village in some kind of way. They were presumably the persons who had been born or lived once in the village and afterwards moved to the town. After the rebellion, the village of Beğlerbeği and two of its *mezraas* (Merc-i Dülük and Cefacin?) were leased out to someone else in the town through the agency of İkdam who was from the village. It is understood that Beğlerbeği and its *mezraas* reached a remarkable growth shortly before the rebellion. Before the rebellion, the settlements had been leased out to their inhabitants at the price of 34,800 *akçes*, though the total value of their tax-revenues was recorded as 20,400 *akçes* in the *vilayet defteri*. During the rebellion, the attacks of the Celali bands brought a severe damage on the settlements. Furthermore, the surviving population of the settlements suffered from improper financial administration of the superintendents in the ensuing years of the rebellion until 1612. Considering the deteriorated situation of their settlements, the surviving inhabitants consented to a

⁶⁸ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), pp. 61-61, 71-72.

⁶⁹ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), pp.78-79.

tax-farm price up to 15,000 *akçes*. Nevertheless, their stipulation remained far below the price favoured by the government that was 24,000 *akçes*.⁷⁰ At this stage, İkdam became a part of the bargain between his fellow villagers and the Ottoman authorities.⁷¹

The tax-farming records indicated that a few settlements underwent an invasion of locusts in 1612. By causing damage to crops, locusts played havoc with the agricultural production that had started to improve shortly after the rebellion of Canboladoğlu Ali. As regards what triggered a plague of locusts, the historical observations in general pointed to drought, because an extreme aridity would provide locusts with a convenient habitat to reproduce easily. In an over-dry soil that lost a high level of moisture, locusts could lay their eggs more deeply into the ground, which would substantially increase their population.⁷² Aintab and its surrounding area are likely to have been susceptible to the recurrent invasion of locusts owing to its drought-prone ecology. In this regard, the invasion of locusts shown by the tax-farming records can be linked to the dry-period of 1607-1608 that is thought to have affected the southern parts of Anatolia.⁷³ This climatic data allows us to revise the view that the Celali depredations and political unrest were the sole cause of economic disruption in the first decade of the seventeenth century. It is likely that the arid climatic conditions might have affected Aintab and its neighbouring areas in that dry period, considering the geographic location. However, there is no further information about whether that dry period caused a severe drought and persisted until 1612 in Aintab. It would not be true, on the other hand, to regard the invasion of locusts as an unmitigated natural catastrophe that resulted in an irreversible decline in the crop yields and a dispersion of rural population in the countryside of Aintab. The tax-

⁷⁰ The tax-farm value of the settlements went down by 31 per cent after the rebellion.

⁷¹ Aintab Court Records, (no.4968), pp. 77-78.

⁷² Ronald C. Jennings, "Disastrous Effects of Locusts, Plague, and Malaria on the Population of the Island," in *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640*, edited by Ronald C. Jennings (New York: New York University Press, 1993), pp. 178-179.

⁷³ Ramzi Touchan, Gary Funkhouser, Malcolm K. Hughes and Nesat Erkan, "Standardized Precipitation Index Reconstructed From Turkish Tree-Ring Widths," *Climatic Change*, 72 (2005), 339-353; p. 347.

farming records revealed that the damage of the invasion of locusts to the settlements was at different magnitude. Furthermore, the central government took into consideration the financial losses of the peasants due to the crop damage in determining the new tax-farm prices of the settlements in the aftermath of the invasion of locusts. It is also possible to observe the lowering of the tax-farm valuations as a deliberate policy undertaken by the government to encourage the dispersed villagers to return to their former places of settlement after public order was restored. The values may thus reflect the government incentives as well as reduced production. The offering of incentives such as tax reductions and tax arrears amnesty were traditional means of encouraging peasants to reoccupy deserted fields and villages temporarily abandoned during the “time of troubles”.

For example, it seems that most of the inhabitants of the village of Tuffâh abandoned it due to their tax-farm arrears. The revenue sources of the village were solely dependent on agricultural production performed by other villagers coming from outside. Subsequently, even this partial production came to a halt, when the invasion of locusts inflicted a severe damage on the entire crop in 1612.⁷⁴ After the assessment of the *kadı* of Aintab regarding the locust damage, the new tax-farm price of the village was determined at 30,000 *akçes* including the arrears that amounted to 6,000 *akçes*. If the arrears were excluded, this price was almost equivalent to the total value of the tax revenues of Tuffâh recorded in the land register of 1574, which was 24,594 *akçes*.⁷⁵ Since the revenues of the village derived from agricultural production and individual taxes deteriorated after the desertion of its inhabitants and the invasion of locusts, it was likely that the government intentionally adjusted the tax-farm price of the village according to its former fiscal value recorded

⁷⁴ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), p. 56.

⁷⁵ “...bâlâda zikr olunduğu üzere Tuffâh (Tufeynî) nam karye' defter-i hakanîde 24,594 akçeye mukayyed olub lâkin mukaddemâ külli meblağ deruhde olunmuşken edâsına kâdir olmayub seniyye-i sâbıkeden gelen bakıyyesi olmağla re'âyası terk-i vatan idüb işbu sene-i mübâreke de afat-ı semâvîden 'azîm çekirge zuhûr idüb etraftan gelüb zirâ'at idenlerin terekesin nehib idüb...” Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), p. 56.

in the land register. In a similar case, the evidence from their tax-farming records showed that the invasion of locusts brought a severe damage to the villages of Arab-Kebehi and Kızılca-kend, both of which had already been devastated by the rebellion of Canboladoğlu. In the aftermath of the calamities, the revenue assessment of both villages was reduced by 41 per cent. While the previous price of their tax-farms was 46,068 *akçes*, it went down to 27,000 *akçes* in 1612. At first, although the central government wanted to lease out the villages to their inhabitants at the reduced price, the village inhabitants reported that they were incapable of assuming the tax-farm, whereupon the villages were leased out to Ali Efendi, the son of the mufti of Aintab.⁷⁶

The *mezraas* of Kertüşe, Turlu, Çanakçı, Derbil and Deyr-ü Küstem were the other settlements that underwent an invasion of locusts in 1612.⁷⁷ According to the evidence from their tax-farming records, the peasant desertion had already disrupted the agricultural production of the settlements, before the invasion of locusts. Considering this disastrous situation, the settlements should have been leased out at relatively lower price than their previous value. However, they were leased out at a price 360 *akçes* greater than its previous tax-farm value. The surviving inhabitants of the *mezraas* requested from the central government to lease out their settlements to Ali Efendi who was a scribe of the imperial council residing in the town.⁷⁸ The tax-farm price of the *mezraas* was determined at 20,691 *akçes*. On the other hand, the *mezraas* in question had been recorded with the status of village in the land register of 1574, albeit small-scale in terms of population and agricultural output.⁷⁹ It is obvious that the rebellion-caused population loss changed the legal status of these settlements from village to *mezraa*, before the invasion of locusts. In spite of the human-

⁷⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), pp. 67-68.

⁷⁷ "...zıkr olunan mezâra'ât ahalisi perâkende ve perişân olmağla zirâ'at ve hirâsete kâdir olmadıkları sebebdan ma'ada bu sene afât-ı semâvîden 'azim çekirge vâkî olmağın mezâri-i mezbûreye taleb ve rağbet inkıta'adden sonra re'âyası talebiyle..." Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), pp. 57-58.

⁷⁸ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), pp. 57-58.

⁷⁹ Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, pp. 535, 536, 537, 538, and 551.

related and ecological setbacks, however, it appears that these settlements regained their former village status thanks to repopulation in the following period. It can be seen in a record of tax-farm that the settlements were leased out at 15,500 *akçes* as with the status of in 1636.⁸⁰ Yet, even though these settlements thrived in demographic terms, they seemed not to reach their former economic prosperity in 1612, as the difference between the tax-farm prices of 1612 and 1636 suggests.

There is unfortunately no detail in the tax-farming records concerning what kind of strategies the peasants adopted to survive the locust plague. The general strategy to cope with locusts was to collect larvae and baby locusts before they developed wings.⁸¹ However, such a way of struggle was a laborious task requiring the physical assistance of a large number of people, which could be performed by the cooperation of other villages. In case of labour shortage, it could be applied to burning or ploughing deeply the fields inflicted by locusts in order to wipe out the entire nests and larvae.⁸² Furthermore, some bird species like starlings and sparrows were used as an efficient biological method of struggle to bring the invasion of locusts under control, because they could feed on larvae and locusts.⁸³ In its tax-farming record, for instance, it was displayed that the village of Mervana had performed a successful struggle against the invasion of locusts without any need for labour assistance from outside, though which method they applied remains unclear. They cleared out locusts from the fields within three months. Despite their achievement, the tax-farm price of the village decreased in a significant amount due to the invasion of locusts. While it had been leased out at a price more than 60,000 *akçes*, the government reduced its price to 34,400 *akçes*, *i.e.*, the value recorded in the *vilayet defteri*. Its inhabitants were nevertheless allowed to undertake

⁸⁰ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4819), p. 266.

⁸¹ Ertan Gökmen, "Batı Anadolu'da Çekirge Felâketi (1850-1915)," *Belleten*, vol. LXXIV, no. 269 (April, 2010), pp. 144-147.

⁸² Gökmen, *Ibid.*, pp.147-151.

⁸³ Gökmen, *Ibid.*, pp.153-154. For instance, ducks were often used as a method of struggle against the invasion of locusts in the nineteenth century of China, because ducks could feed on larvae. Robert B. Marks, *China Its Environment and History* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2012), pp. 233-235.

the village at a price 1,603 *akçes* more than the figure in the *defter* until a more generous offer would be made.⁸⁴

The value of tax revenues in *akçes*

Settlements	In the vilayet defteri	In the tax-farm records before the locust invasion in 1609	In the tax farm record after the locust invasion in 1612
Tuffâh	25,594	---	30,000
Arab Kebeni and Kızılca-kend	---	46,068	27,000
Mervana	34,400	60,000	36,000

Table 2: The fluctuations in the tax revenues of the settlements in Aintab in the 1600s and 1610s concerning the locust invasion

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, the hinterland of Aintab fell into a period of depopulation as the consequences of the Celali rebellions and the invasion of locusts, as the evidence from the tax-farming records concerning the ruined settlements under examination has revealed. Owing to the absence of archival data that is eligible to make a demographic analysis, nevertheless, we are unable in quantitative terms to observe the dimension of the population losses that the countryside of Aintab underwent. In spite of this limitation in demographic terms, it provides strong indications concerning the density of population in rural Aintab in the aftermath of the calamities by taking account of the labour requirement according to the predominant pattern of agricultural production in Aintab, because the density of rural population as agricultural workforce was inextricably related to the predominant pattern of agricultural production in the area. For instance, grain cultivation required a large area, but less intensive workforce, whereas rice

⁸⁴ “...hâlâ maktû'at ahâlisine teklif olundukda ahâlisi gelüb üç ay mikdarı mücadele idüb ve aherden adam izdiyâdı kabulleri olmayub ve afât-ı semâvîden dahi azîm zarâr çeküb ve şehir kurbunda olmağla tekâlîfden beri olmayub ber-yazısından ziyâdeye kabulleri değil iken bî'z-zarûrî mâmûr olub...” Aintab Court Records, (no. 4968), pp.82-83.

cultivation could be performed in a smaller area, but it necessitated a more intensive workforce.⁸⁵ Viticulture, on the other hand, required an intensive and handy workforce that made itself available throughout the year; because, the vineyard management entailed more than a dozen maintenance procedures carried out at intervals covering the entire year. Each of these procedures required a periodical performance of physical activity at different levels, like hoeing, pruning, weeding, and watering.⁸⁶

It can be argued that the population density should not have remained low in rural Aintab, considering the predominance of viticulture in the balance of agricultural production over the first half of the seventeenth century. The Celali rebellions and the invasion of locusts brought no profound alterations to the established pattern of livelihood in rural Aintab. It is known at least that the settlements of the imperial domains and pious endowments retained most of their original tax-revenue items in the aftermath of the calamities, in light of the evidence from the tax-farming records of 1612. As regards viticulture, the tax on presses existed in all of the tax-farming records, which was a clear evidence of the grape production in the countryside. Furthermore, grapes continued to be the main source of taxation of the settlements, as the case of the villages of Battal-Öyüğü and Beğlerbeği has already shown.

In case of a shortage of labour due to the depopulation of countryside, the agricultural economy of Aintab should have switched to other sectors demanding a smaller workforce, like grain cultivation and pastoralism. In the following period after the rebellion, however, the miscellaneous documents from the court records confirmed the existence of a large-scale plantation

⁸⁵ Paolo Malanima, *Pre-Modern European Economy-One Thousand Years 10th-19th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 102-106.

⁸⁶ Jelena Mrgić, "Wine or *Raki*-The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia," *Environment and History* 17 (2011), p.616; Michael Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 122-130; Pierre Goubert, *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century*, translated by Ian Patterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 128-129.

of grapevines in the countryside of Aintab. The peasants tended to avail themselves of the *mezraas* to plant vineyards. In a record of transfer of ownership written on 27th June 1624, for instance, it can be seen that three peasants reclaimed a plot of uncultivated land around the *mezraa* of Sumagi by planting a vineyard in partnership.⁸⁷ Two of the partners came to the court in order to transfer their property rights to the third one, because they could not involve in tending the vineyard anymore due to physical tiredness.⁸⁸ In a similar way, the townsmen could also plant vineyards in the *mezraas* in partnership. On 30th October 1636, Mustafa and Bayram two brothers from the town appeared in the court for the purpose of settling the dispute between one another over the ownership of a vineyard located in the *mezraa* of Çavlı. It is understood that Mustafa came to the court, when his brother Bayram appropriated the vineyard in dispute. Mustafa claimed that he had given a certain amount of money to Bayram for the vineyard and he had endeavoured to plant the grapevines.⁸⁹

For the arable lands, the plantation of grapevines took precedence over grain production in the countryside, which may suggest that Aintab and its hinterland was immune to a shortage of grain in the first half of the seventeenth century. The peasants were inclined to plant grapevines in the land that was previously subjected to tithe. In other words, the land they chose was formerly allotted to grain cultivation. A court entry that was recorded on 13th July of 1637 illustrated the efforts of peasants in the inclination towards viticulture.⁹⁰ It was about a mutual complaint between the peasant from the villages of Kara Hamamlar and İbrahimlu and the timar-holders over the planation of grapevines in the tithe-land. The complaint of the peasants was relating to the demand

⁸⁷ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4976), p. 347.

⁸⁸ “...mezra’â-i Sumagî tevâbisinde vâkî bir taraflı İsmâîl Celeb bağı ve bir taraflı Kürd Hasan bağı ve bir taraflı dere ve bir taraflı arz-ı hâliye ile mahdûd olan bir kıt’a yere üçümüz ber-vech-i müşterek üç senedir ki bağ gars idüb tımar idüb erişdirmesi bizim üzerimizde olub lâkin zıkr olunan bağa tımar etmeye mecâlimiz olmayub...” Aintab Court Records, (no. 4976), p. 347.

⁸⁹ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4819), p. 484.

⁹⁰ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4819), p. 441.

of the timar-holders for tithe in addition to the tax on vineyard. The timar-holders informed the central government via *kadı* about the shifting farming practice of the peasants in support of viticulture, whereupon the central government responded to the complaint of the timar-holders with a new regulation that stipulated to collect a tithe-like tax (*öşür müadili resim aldırub*) on the vineyards.⁹¹ It is clear that the vineyard owners were in need of an expanded agricultural workforce, in view of the dimensions of their estates. In pre-modern agriculture, a household with five persons was capable of managing a vineyard whose size was up to 30 *dönüms*.⁹² A vineyard at this size was more than enough for the annual need of a household with five persons, for which a vineyard of 6-7 *dönüms* was sufficient.⁹³ The documents regarding transactions and estate inventories from the court records provided plenty of evidence showing that peasants and urban agricultural entrepreneurs could possess vineyards of a size of more than 30 *dönüms*. In his inventory list prepared on 18th March 1619, Abdullah a town resident appears to have left six parcels of vineyards of the size of 62 *dönüms* located in two different villages.⁹⁴ Besides, Halil bin Yusuf a peasant from the village of İbrahimlu had owned several parcels of vineyards of the size of 50 *dönüms* according to his inventory list prepared on 2 May 1612.⁹⁵ For a larger vineyard, a record of transaction indicated a sale of three parcels of vineyards of the size of 90 *dönüms* in the village of Körkün on 27th April 1619.⁹⁶ Given the dimensions, it was obvious that supplying of an additional

⁹¹ Aintab Court Records, (no. 4819), p. 441. In a similar context, it is seen in an article from the 1584 law code of Ic-II that the central government forbade the tax agents to interfere with the villagers who planted vineyards in the lands that were subjected to tithe before. It was stated that since the tithe from the yields of vineyard was already equivalent to the tithe derived from the previous production, the tax agents could collect tithe on the grape yields of the vineyard. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları*, (İstanbul: Kadı Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1943), p. 53.

⁹² Goubert, *The French Peasantry*, p. 129.

⁹³ Mehmet Emin Sönmez, "Gaziantep'te Özelliklerini Yitiren Bir Geçici Yerleşme Şekli: Bağ Evleri," *Asia Minor Studies*, no. 2 (2013), p. 142.

⁹⁴ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 18.

⁹⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 55.

⁹⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 269.

labour force was necessary for the maintenance of the vineyards indicated in these examples.

In addition to the demographic effect of viticulture on the rural population of Aintab, the increase in the tax revenues on winter quarters from 1574 to 1618 can be considered a sign of the existence of a dense rural population in the hinterland of Aintab during the following period after the rebellion and the invasion of locusts. The total amount of the tax on winter quarters was recorded as 5,500 *akçes* in the land register of 1574⁹⁷, whereas it went up by 77 per cent to 24,402 *akçes* (8,134 *pâre*) in 1618 as reflected in an entry from the court records.⁹⁸ If it is accepted that the rate of tax on winter quarters remained steady at 12 *akçes*, it can be concluded by the division of 24,402 by 12 that 2,033 households stayed temporarily in the environs of Aintab circa 1618. The tax on winter quarters was in general relevant for those who came to a place from outside to stay temporarily. A record of licence written in 1623 clearly indicated that the tax on winter quarters was collected from those coming from outside who were also called *birûnî tâîfesi*.⁹⁹ The nomads were the largest group who were liable to the tax on winter quarters, because of having no permanent home base.¹⁰⁰ In the land code of 1574 for Aintab, it was stated that if the Turkmens and any others were to winter in the village and *mezraa* land, they would be liable to the tax on winter quarters that was established at the rate of 12 *akçes* per household.¹⁰¹ However, a court entry on 1 January 1624 indicated that the government also held those who came to the district of Aintab from outside in order to engage in cultivation liable to the tax on winter quarters.¹⁰² Although the status of not having a permanent home base or staying in a place temporarily was a clear sign of nomadism, as the entry has shown, the tax on winter quarters could be levied on any of those who were in the status of *reaya*. In this

⁹⁷ Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, p. 131.

⁹⁸ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), pp. 349-350.

⁹⁹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4976), p. 210.

¹⁰⁰ Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları*, pp. 176, 198, 208.

¹⁰¹ Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, p. 206.

¹⁰² Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 20.

sense, this group may appear as seasonal agricultural labourers. It was likely that the labour requirement of viticulture pulled a population from the neighbouring regions into the countryside of Aintab. This argument is compatible with the demographic dynamics of the seventeenth century that witnessed an acceleration of labour mobility across the Ottoman Empire. The economic reasons and opportunities related to agriculture encouraged the individuals to change their original living places in a more frequent way compared to the sixteenth century.¹⁰³

It is possible to argue that the Aintab region could compensate for its population loss to some extent with the help of the migration of the displaced peasants coming from the neighbouring regions during the Celali rebellions. In this matter, several court entries displayed that the Muslim and Christian peasants and nomads fleeing from the oppression of the bandit groups had already taken shelter both in rural and urban Aintab from the 1590s onwards. These displaced groups came from Maraş, Malatya and Darende that were located within close proximity to Aintab.¹⁰⁴ An entry recorded in December 1618/January 1619 showed that the tribes of Rişvan and Çakallu, which belonged to the finance of the Malatya district as a tax-farm unit, became disintegrated by scattering in an area stretching from Adana to Kilis, including Aintab, during the period of the Celali

¹⁰³ Rhoads Murphey, "Population Movements and Labour Mobility in Balkan Contexts: A Glance at Post-1600 Ottoman Social Realities," *South East Europe in History: The Past, the Present and the Problems of Balkanology*, edited by Melek Delilbaşı (Ankara: Ankara University Press, 1999), pp. 87-89. For the pattern of internal migration in sixteenth century Anatolia, see Osman Gümüşçü, "Internal Migrations in Sixteenth Century Anatolia," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004), pp. 231-248 and see also, Alpaslan Demir, "XVI. Yüzyılda Samsun-Ayıntab Hattı Boyunca Yerleşme, Nüfus ve Ekonomik Yapı," unpublished PhD dissertation (Ankara: Ankara University, 2007), pp. 197-247. Both Gümüşçü and Demir reveal with reference to archival evidence based on the land registers that sixteenth century Anatolia had a dynamic and moveable population. The internal migration in general occurred as the relocation of individuals for economic reasons, whereas the participation of massive groups to internal migration was rare in sixteenth century Anatolia. The cities were not the sole destination for internal migration. Instead, there was plenty of evidence that the individuals could move from cities to countryside and from one place to another in countryside.

¹⁰⁴ Including Aintab, these groups scattered in an area stretching from Adana to Kilis. Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), pp. 162, 168, 171.

rebellions.¹⁰⁵ In the same way, it was recorded on 29th September 1620 that the Christian population of Darende had to migrate to the Aintab region due to the invasion of bandit groups during the rebellion period.¹⁰⁶

It is likely that a certain portion of this incoming population might have returned to their original places after the rebellion. Yet, the evidence from the court entries reveal that many of the incomers stayed permanently in Aintab by settling in either the villages or the town. It is not certain whether the attempt of the central government to return the displaced peasants to their original places culminated in success.¹⁰⁷ It was obvious that the migration of the peasants caused substantial financial losses in the revenues of the *timariots* and the imperial domains in the regions where they abandoned. However, the central government remained indifferent to the change of location provided that the incoming peasants paid the relevant extraordinary taxes (*avarız vergileri*) completely together with the other taxpaying subjects in their new place of residence.¹⁰⁸ The internal migration to Aintab can also be traced in the court entries via the individual complaints of the displaced peasants regarding their taxation matters. In general, despite the change of location, the names of the displaced peasants were still kept in the tax-registers of their former place of residence. In this case, although the displaced peasants paid their relevant taxes together with the local communities in their new place of residence, they were held liable by the superintendents for

¹⁰⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), p. 171.

¹⁰⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), p. 162. The other regions to which the Christian population migrated were Tokat and Niksar.

¹⁰⁷ Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), p. 168. The central government assigned the *kadıs* of the eyâlet of Aintab and Adana to inspect the situation of the displaced peasants from the dispersed group of Maraş (*Maraş perâkendesî*) and to return them to their original places, according to an imperial order recorded in January 1619.

¹⁰⁸ "...bundan akdem Celâli eşkiyâsından Maraş ve tevâbî nevâhisinden kurâ ve sâîr havâsslarımızdan perâkende olub varub taht-ı kazâlarınızda iskân eyleyen re'âyânın zu'emâ ve erbâb-ı timarın mahsullerine külli gadr olmağla..." Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), p. 168.

the taxes that belonged to the finance of their former place of residence.¹⁰⁹ When the peasants who came to Aintab from outside in order to settle encountered a situation of double-taxation that stemmed from the change of location, they immediately reminded the Porte about their new residential status by the ways of filing petitions or sending a representative.

The complaints of the migrant peasants from the court entries in the matter of double-taxation help us demonstrate the individual cases about the internal migration both to urban and rural Aintab. A joint complaint filed by a group of town-dwellers in June 1620, for instance, can be cited here to show a case of internal migration to urban Aintab.¹¹⁰ In their complaint, those town-dwellers from Aintab stated that although they had been previously in the status of peasant belonged to the tax-farm of Malatya, they moved to one of the quarters of Aintab to settle and from then on, they had been residing in the town for almost 30-40 years. Although they had been paying the relevant extraordinary taxes together with the other residents of the quarter where they lived, the superintendents of the tax-farm of Malatya requested them to pay the extraordinary taxes and the *çift-bozan akçesi* that were related to their former place of residence.¹¹¹ A similar complaint was recorded in October 1629 and it indicated a case of internal migration from rural Maraş to rural Aintab that occurred during the period of the Celali rebellions.¹¹² Four peasants from the village of Hiyam complained that they had been forced to pay the extraordinary taxes for their former place of residence. According to their statement, they had been living in the village of Kıllu located in Maraş about 30 years before the record date of their complaint. They had owned no land and estate in the village of Kıllu and had to move to the village of Hiyam in Aintab due to the banditry during the Celali rebellions. Although they had no fiscal affiliation with their former village and continued to

¹⁰⁹ Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising And Legitimacy- Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), pp. 260-267.

¹¹⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), p. 172.

¹¹¹ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 172.

¹¹² Aintab Court Records (no. 4817), pp. 181-182.

pay the relevant extraordinary taxes regularly together with the people of the village of Hiyam after they moved, they were still forced by the tax-collectors of the village of Kıllu to pay the extraordinary taxes that belonged to their former place of residence.¹¹³ In response to the complaints of the migrant peasants, the central government ordered the *kadıs* of Aintab to inspect whether the migrant peasants were already recorded in the *avarız* registers of their new place of residence. They were exempted from paying the extraordinary taxes that belonged to their former place of residence, on condition that their names appeared in the *avarız* registers of their new place of residence.¹¹⁴

As the evidence from the tax-farming records of the settlements has displayed, the rural population of Aintab underwent shrinkage due to the abandonment of the peasants during the period of the rebellion of Canboladoğlu Ali (1607-1608). It is possible to argue that the population loss in rural Aintab was balanced by the arrival of the displaced peasants to a certain extent over the period of the Celali rebellions (1596-1611). Furthermore, by means of the coming of the temporary settlers who were liable to the tax on winter-quarters, rural Aintab had available labour force that was necessary for the revival of its agricultural production in the ensuing years of the rebellion and the plague of locusts. On the other hand, there is no doubt that a permanent demographic recovery in rural Aintab depended on the return of the fugitive peasants to their original settlements after public order was maintained. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to estimate the total number of the fugitive peasants who returned to their settlements in rural Aintab after the rebellion, because of the absence of quantitative data. The entries illustrating the return of the fugitive peasants are limited in the court records of Aintab. Presumably, the desertion of the peasants was not large-scale in rural Aintab, contrary to what the evidence from the tax-farming records indicated. It is also possible that the desertion was a short-term situation. Most of the peasants might have returned to their settlements immediately after the rebellion of Canboladoğlu Ali was quelled. Thanks to the short-

¹¹³ Aintab Court Records (no. 4817), pp. 181-182.

¹¹⁴ Aintab Court Records (no. 4817), pp. 181-182.

term character of their absence, they were able to find their agricultural estates vacant and unappropriated in the settlements, when they returned. In such cases, the return of the deserter peasants was rarely reflected in the court entries, because no one appropriated the agricultural estates that were left from the deserter peasants. Besides, the possibility that the fugitive peasants had better life conditions in the places in which they arrived can also explain the scarcity of the court entries regarding the return of the fugitive peasants in Aintab.

A single court entry dated on 3rd June 1619 exemplified us a case regarding the return of the fugitive peasants in Aintab.¹¹⁵ From the village of Kızılhisar, Hamza and his father appear to have left their hometown a few years prior to the recorded date of the entry. When they returned to the village, they found that their fields and vineyards were in the possession of Kör Ahmed and Gedükoğlu who were from the village. Hamza and his father immediately informed the chief military commander of this situation and they were allowed to take back their agricultural estates by his order. Soon after, the central government was informed in some way of the fact that Hamza and his father had started to share their agricultural estates with someone else and they had not paid any relevant land tax thus far. Thereupon, the central government instructed the *kadı* of Tel-Başer to inspect the actual situation concerning the agricultural estates in dispute. He was empowered to take back the estates from Hamza and his father, if their situation confirmed the information that the central government received.¹¹⁶

Nomads and Pastoralism

In the tax-farming records, the central government held the nomadic tribes explicitly responsible for the devastation of particular settlements that took place in the period of the Canboladoğlu rebellion. These settlements belonged to the finance of the imperial domains and

¹¹⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), pp. 145-146

¹¹⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), pp. 145-146.

endowments, and in particular were located on the movement route of the Arab and Turkmen tribes.¹¹⁷ Therefore, they were likely to experience more troubles and conflicts with the nomadic tribes during the period of turbulence than before. As has been mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, the political instability was the main reason for the occupation of the agricultural areas by the nomadic tribes in Palestine and Jordan during the late Mamluk period. For the nomadic tribes of Aintab, in the same way, it is likely that the revolt of the Canboladoğlu family might have been a favourable occasion for ensuring a territorial expansion over the village lands with the aim of pastoral activities; because, the rebel leaders, Canboladoğlu Hüseyin and Ali Pasha, were heavily dependent on the Turkmen and Kurdish tribes of Kilis and A'zaz for military manpower, thus many nomadic groups were in a position to move in the countryside without encountering restrictions, by relying on the tribal supremacy of the Canboladoğlu family over the Aintab region.¹¹⁸

The destruction and damage inflicted by the nomadic tribes on the settlements cannot be interpreted as 'pure vandalism for no reason'. These settlements were already situated on the migration route of the nomads during the period before the outset of the rebellion. It is therefore likely that the sedentary peasants might have prevented the nomads from going up to the pasturelands by taking possession of the arable fields lay on the migration routes of the nomads. Furthermore, it was possible that the lands occupied by the sedentary groups were de facto at the

¹¹⁷ "...Ayıntab hâsları Arab ve Türkmân yolu olmağla cümle mukata'ât harâb ve nicesi zirâ'atden hâli kaldığından..." Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 70.

¹¹⁸ The dynasty of Canboladoğlu held an official position for the administration of the tribes in northern Syria as bearing the title of *Türkmen voyvodası* for a long time. Muhsin Soyudoğan, "Aşiretlerin Ekonomi Politikası ya da Olağan Şiddet: Osmanlı Ayntâb'ında Aşiret Eşkîyalığı Üzerine", in *Ta Ezelden Taşkindır Antep*, edited by Mehmet Nuri Gültekin (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 2011), 125-154; pp. 151-153; Griswold, *The Great Rebellion*, pp. 240-242; For a sociological perspective on the tribal banditry in Aintab, see also M. Soyudoğan, "Discourse, Identity, and Tribal Banditry: A Case Study on Ottoman Ayntab," *IJTS*, vol. 17, no. 1-2 (2011), pp. 65-95.

disposal of the nomads previously.¹¹⁹ In consequence, the nomadic Turkmens and Arabs could manage to recapture the lands from the peasants by taking advantage of the situation in which the political authority declined for a short period due to the Canboladoğlu rebellion.

The fact that the Canboladoğlu family established its political and military power on a coalition of the regional tribes led the central and local governments to take a hostile stance on the nomadic tribes in the subsequent period of the Celali rebellions. For example, as concerns the use of the vacant lands by the nomads, according to a court entry dated January 1624, the central government received a report from the *dimos* officer (*dimos zabiti*) mentioning about the acts of the *voyvoda* of the Turkmens of Yeni-İl and Aleppo in the interests of the Turkmen tribes. He permitted the nomads under his auspices to graze animals on the meadows of the villages of Dölek Baba, Elmalu, Tel-Başer, and Öyücek without the knowledge of the *dimos* officer for many years. Furthermore, the nomads did not pay any tax on pasture (*resm-i otlak*) in return for exploitation.¹²⁰ In response to the encroachments of the nomads, the central government ordered the *kadı* to lease those occupied meadows to *reaya* with a title deed (*tapu*).¹²¹ It is likely that the agricultural and demographic recovery might have started in the aforementioned villages and the *dimos* officer wanted therefore to have the central government restrict or cease the grazing activities of the nomads in the lands under his control. An earlier court entry dated in September 1620 demonstrated that the agricultural recovery had already started at least in the village of Öyücek.¹²² It recorded that Öyücek had been lying in ruins for almost thirty-years; nevertheless, the arable lands of the village consisted of eight-*çiftlik*s were leased out to a janissary Ali Beshe with a title deed.¹²³

¹¹⁹ As will be seen in the chapter of Ankara, the pasturelands in possession of nomads were frequently subjected of the encroachments of sedentary groups in the period following the Celali rebellions when public order was relatively secure.

¹²⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 26.

¹²¹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 26.

¹²² Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 35.

¹²³ Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 35.

In spite of the presence of the nomadic tribes in large number, the city of Aintab seems to have been troubled with the shortage of sheep, according to the evidence of the court entries and fiscal registers. A court entry that was recorded in the form of a letter with the title ‘Memorandum on Sheep’ (*koyun tezkiresi*) in June-July of 1623 gave us the clearest evidence regarding the shortage of sheep.¹²⁴ The writer of the memorandum is unknown, but it is likely that a state official who was in charge of tribes might have written it. The memorandum consisted of two parts. Its first part was addressed to a state official called ‘our Mehmed Agha’ (*bizim Mehmed Ağa*) and its second part was addressed to the *kadı* of Aintab. Its first part addressed to our Mehmed Agha can be read below:

“Here is what is reported to Mehmed Agha after the greeting, if you are to ask our general conditions, the tentmaker joined us the day before yesterday and we were informed that there were 200 Turkmen tents around, while coming [to the city]. We attacked them and captured 2,000-3,000 heads of sheep and 100-200 heads of camels. After that, when we had been informed that there were 100 Turkmen tents more in a hidden place, we assigned Rıdvan the master of horses (*mirahor*) as commander and send him with some troops (*sekban*) to the Turkmens. After having fought against the Turkmens, they captured 5,000-6,000 heads of sheep and 300-400 heads of camels. We sent tentmaker and now when you receive this letter, purchase rice at an amount worth for 100 guruh and dispatch it [to here] immediately.”¹²⁵

In the first part of the memo, it is clearly seen that the state officials looted the animals of the Turkmen tribes that were camped on the outskirts of Aintab. The record date of the memo coincided with the months of Shaban and Ramadan in the hegira calendar. It is likely that the supplying of sheep gained a special importance due to the increasing demand for meat during Ramadan. The request of the writer from Mehmed Agha for rice may suggest that the captured sheep was slaughtered to provide meals for the troops on the Safavid campaign. Since there is no other

¹²⁴ Aintab Court Records (no. 4967), p.278.

¹²⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 4976), p. 278.

document regarding this memo, it is difficult to give a clear answer to the question of why the officials in the memo acted in a hostile manner to obtain the animals from the tribes. It was likely that the tribes refused to sell their animals at the price set by the government, but it was also likely that the tribes did not own a sufficient number of animals to put on the market. As it will be seen in the second part of the letter, a shortage of sheep in an “extreme” extent occurred in the countryside of Aintab. The second part of the memo is cited below:

“ To the virtuous *kadı* of Aintab, you may distribute a certain amount from 1500 heads of sheep to the town and the other amount to [remained blank]. You may fix per head of sheep at 2 gurush and it amounts to 3,000 gurush. You would better to consult with the notables of the city immediately. This price is not high, because 2,000 heads of sheep had already been sold for 4,000 gurush before. You may inform us about those who objected to this price. You may suppose that they do not have even 5 gurush at their hands. Such an extent of service is not very much. We are undergoing an extreme shortage [*ziyâde müzâyakamız vardır*]. Let them give permission to us in this place. We are giving our kind regards to our Osman Agha and Osman Agha the *müteferrika* and Bekir Chavush and all notables of Aintab.”¹²⁶

Given the nature of the archival materials at hand, it seems difficult to explain the reason(s) that led up to that shortage of sheep that was reflected in the memo. There was no evidence of epizootic disease or natural disasters in the court entries and fiscal registers concerning the region of Aintab in the 1620s.¹²⁷ Since the court entries are rare concerning the sheep trade, we cannot observe the price fluctuations for sheep. A record of lawsuit for a debt indicated a sheep sale by a nomad from the tribe of Bektaşlı on 17th September 1618. Minnet bin Abdullah from the tribe of Bektaşlı sold a herd of sheep at the price of 2,300 *akçes* (33 gurush) to Kasım bin Hüseyin. How many sheep existed in the herd was not recorded in the entry. It is understood that Minnet received only 630

¹²⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4976), p. 278.

¹²⁷ White, *The Climate of Rebellion*, pp. 198-204.

akçes; therefore, he demanded Kasım to pay the rest of his debt. However, Kasım asserted that he had bought a herd whose size was worth only 630 *akçes*, whereupon the *kadı* asked Minnet to bring witness to the court, which he failed to do.¹²⁸ Given the fact that the entry was written in the last days of the Ramadan (27th Ramadan of 1027) according to the hegira calendar, it is clear that the sheep trade between Minnet and Kasım was a part of the process of supplying mutton, which gained a specific importance during the month of Ramadan.

The plunder of the tribes by the state officials, as was reflected in the memo mentioned above, and the recurrent tribal aggression, put probably the livestock trade at risk in the long term. The uprising of the tribes from the Beğdili confederation inflicted damage on the newly-settled tribes circa 1629, as will be seen in the following pages of this chapter. When public order was in peril in the countryside, the nomads were inclined to move to the remote areas with their animals in order not to be subject to pillage and plunder.¹²⁹ The damage of the tribal uprising was reflected in the fiscal records. For example, in July of 1631, the tribe of Bozkoyunlu from the Beğdili confederation submitted a petition to the central government to request a tax amnesty, for the reason that all their sheep perished and food were plundered in the previous year.¹³⁰ The indifferent attitude of the government towards the deteriorating economic situation of the tribes triggered another tribal uprising in the countryside. A few months later, more than a dozen tribes including Bozkoyunlu from the Beğdili confederation performed a collective tax-resistance, which would turn to a tribal uprising, against the *voyvoda* of the Aleppo Turkmens in October of 1631.¹³¹ In this matter, the central government issued an order addressing the governors, the *kadıs* and the military officials of the Aleppo, Maraş and Sivas provinces. It is understood in the order that the tribes in

¹²⁸ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 52.

¹²⁹ For the security measures of tribes, Rada Dyson-Hudson and Neville Dyson-Hudson, "Nomadic Pastoralism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980): 15–61, pp. 37-38.

¹³⁰ MAD (no. 8475), p. 12.

¹³¹ MAD (no. 8475), p. 96. These tribes were Bozkoyunlu, Beğmişlu, Kurdlu, Fazlu, Temlükü, Tatalu, Tumbur, Kayı, Şeyhlü, Abalu, Sulla, Çobanbeğlü, Mehmedlü, Cumalu, Sehin, and Günce.

question met the stewards of the *voyvoda* in the highlands of the Mounts of Karacadağ and Kızıldağ rising from the northern banks of the Merziman River. They objected to paying the taxes in accordance with the amount written in the previous *defter* that belonged to the former *voyvoda* and they insisted on paying less considering their new situation. However, when their request was declined, some of the tribesmen forced the stewards of the *voyvoda* to write a receipt that confirmed the payment of their tax debts, even though they had paid less than the original amount.¹³² It was likely that any decrease in their sheep population led the tribes to fall into conflict with the government in an effort to alleviate their tax obligations.

The prices of meat and meat products tended to be higher in the city of Aintab in comparison with Ankara, Ruha and other cities. The meat prices fluctuated even within the same year in Aintab, which seems to be surprising considering the presence of numerous sheep-breeder nomadic tribes in the hinterland of Aintab. The prices of meat and meat products were based on the currency of *shahi*. This was perhaps the most obvious reason for the higher prices in Aintab. *Shahi* and *akçe* were used interchangeably as the currency to price meat and its by-products. *Shahi* was extensively used in the Levant, Mesopotamia and in the east and southeast of Anatolia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹³³ The value of the *shahi* was in general determined at 7 and 7.5 *akçes* for the sixteenth century.¹³⁴ However, it was certain that the exchange rate of *shahi* to *akçe* showed an alteration at the turn of the seventeenth century. If we were to compare the *shahi* with the *akçe* in terms of silver weight, we would conclude that the *shahi* contained six times more silver than the *akçe* in the first half of the seventeenth century. While the silver weight of *shahi* was

¹³² MAD (no. 8475), p. 96.

¹³³ Halil Sahillioğlu, "The role of International Monetary and Metal Movements in Ottoman Monetary History 1300-1750" in *Studies on Ottoman Economic and Social History*, edited by H. Sahillioğlu (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1999), 27-65; pp. 45-46.

¹³⁴ Baki Tezcan offers a detailed examination of the exchange rate of *shāhî* against *akçe* in his recent article. Baki Tezcan, "The Ottoman Monetary Crisis of 1585 Revisited," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 52 (2009), 460-504; pp. 476-484.

1.92 grams in Persia between 1594 and 1643,¹³⁵ the *akçe* contained on average 0.31 grams of silver from 1618 to the 1650s, though the debasements of coinage in 1624 and 1640 reduced its silver weight in the short term.¹³⁶ According to the ratio of *shahi* to *akçe* in terms of silver weight, it is seen that the value of one *shahi* was worth 6 *akçes* in round figures in the first half of the seventeenth century. As regards the weight measures in the *narh* lists, the *vukiyye* (*okka*) was commonly used as a basic unit of measure for meat and meat products in Aintab, which corresponded to 1,282 kg at the standard of Istanbul.¹³⁷

The use of the *shahi* in pricing meat and meat products was probably related to the fact that the meat market in Aintab was predominantly dependent on the large cities of Aleppo and Damascus, where the *shahi* circulated as the currency. The ebb and flow of the meat prices in Aintab depended on the availability of meat in the markets of Aleppo and Damascus. In this regard, the pastoral economy in the region of Aintab was a part of the regional economy of the Levant. These cities were highly populous and therefore consumed more meat, compared to Aintab. Therefore, the nomadic tribes drove their flocks to the hinterland of these cities.¹³⁸

For meat consumption, the town of Aintab was more dependent on sheep and goats than cattle.¹³⁹ It was certain that ecological factors determined the livestock composition of Aintab for its meat consumption. The region of Aintab was highly liable to drought due to its semi-arid climate.

¹³⁵ R. Darley-Doran, "Safawids," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, (Leiden: Brill, 1995) pp.790-791.

¹³⁶ Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.136; Sahillioğlu, "The role of International Monetary and Metal Movements," p.63.

¹³⁷ Despite the variability of the measure of *vukiyye* from one region to other, there is no data refers that the measure of *vukkiye* was in different kilograms in the Ayntab region. Therefore, I prefer to accept that the *vukiyye* used in the Ayntab region was in accord with the standard of Istanbul. See, Halil İnalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," pp. 340-341.

¹³⁸ James Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in 18th-Century Damascus* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), pp. 96-98.

¹³⁹ It is seen that while mutton (*lahm-ı gānem*) and goat's meat (*lahm-ı mā'ze*) appeared in every *narh* lists in a period of twenty years in between 1615-1635, veal, beef (*lahm-ı bakâr*) and ox meat were quite rare in the *narh* lists. Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 123.

As was seen in the previous section, the peasants cultivated bitter vetch as fodder in order to cope with the shortages of pastures in case of drought. Furthermore, much of the arable areas were devoted to viticulture in the agricultural hinterland rather than pastoralism. For these reasons, sheep and goats were more suitable for the semi-arid environment of Aintab, because of consuming less water and requiring smaller area for pasture, in comparison with cattle.

In the *narh* list decreed on 24th June of 1615, the mutton price was fixed at 36 *akçes* and tail fat was priced at 21 *akçes*.¹⁴⁰ However, the mutton price went down to 24 *akçes* (4 *shāhî*), whereas the tail fat price went up to 27 *akçes* (4.5 *shāhî*) in the list decreed on the 27th May 1622.¹⁴¹ In the same list, the price of goat's meat was 21 *akçes* (3.5 *shāhî*).¹⁴² A few months later, on 10th September of 1622, there was a decrease in the prices of mutton and goat's meat, except for tail fat. Mutton and goat's meat were priced at 14 and 10 *akçes*, respectively; whereas, the tail fat price increased slightly to 30 *akçes* (5 *shāhî*).¹⁴³ In the *narh* list decreed on 5th April 1623, a few months later after the previous one, the prices of mutton and goat's meat rose up to 18 and 16 *akçes*, respectively.¹⁴⁴ However, the tail fat price fell to the level of 28 *akçes*.¹⁴⁵ It can be observed in the *narh* lists that had been decreed according to the new coins after the debasement of coinage in 1624 that there was a general recovery in food prices. The *narh* list decreed on 28th April 1624 shows that while the prices of mutton and goat's meat fell to 14 and 10 *akçes*, the tail fat price went down dramatically to 18 *akçes*.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the prices again seemed to soar during Ramadan, according to the *narh* list decreed on 21th June 1624. It is seen that the prices of mutton and goat's

¹⁴⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 216.

¹⁴¹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 202.

¹⁴² Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 202.

¹⁴³ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 204.

¹⁴⁴ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 207.

¹⁴⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 208.

¹⁴⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 207.

meat were fixed to the level of 20 and 18 *akçes*; however, the tail fat price went up strikingly to 30 *akçes*.¹⁴⁷

After Ramadan, the prices continued to rise, in spite of a slump for few days. On 17th July 1624, the prices of mutton and goat's meat increased to 24 and 16 *akçes*, respectively. Furthermore, the tail fat price went up to 36 *akçes*.¹⁴⁸ The prices of mutton and tail fat seem to have returned their previous price level before the debasement in 1624; but then again, these fluctuations in prices tended to be short-term, depending on a reduction in the supply of meat due to demand that increased during Ramadan. Almost two years later, the prices of mutton and goat's meat were reduced to 18 and 16 *akçes*, and the tail fat price went down to 20 *akçes* on 15th April 1626.¹⁴⁹ In the following years, the prices of mutton and goat's meat remained on an upward trend. The prices of mutton and goat's meat were fixed at 20 and 14 *akçes*, and tail fat was priced at 20 *akçes* in the *narh* list decreed on 24th September 1629.¹⁵⁰ However, the prices underwent a modest increase towards the middle of the 1630s. It is seen that mutton and goat's meat were priced at 22 and 18 *akçes*, whereas the price of tail fat fell to 18 *akçes* in the *narh* list decreed on 5th August 1635.¹⁵¹

Suet was another valuable animal product besides tail fat in the *narh* lists of Aintab. It was separated into two varieties as raw (*ham iç yağı*) and tallow (*don yağı*). While the former was used in cooking food like tail fat, the latter was in general used to make candle and soap. The price of raw suet was fixed at 18 *akçes* in the *narh* list of 1615, whereas it went up to 24 *akçes* in the *narh* list decreed on 17th July 1624.¹⁵² Although the price of both raw suet and tallow seems to have remained at a lower level than tail fat in most of the *narh* lists, it can be observed that the tallow

¹⁴⁷ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 212.

¹⁴⁸ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 213.

¹⁴⁹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 220.

¹⁵⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 230.

¹⁵¹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p. 264.

¹⁵² Aintab Court Records (no.4968), p. 213.

price rose to 54 *akçes* in the *narh* list decreed on 26th April 1629.¹⁵³ This was its record price level that was considerably higher than the price of tail fat. However, the evidence from the *narh* lists demonstrates that suet was more commonly sold in its raw form instead of tallow. Probably, tallow was replaced by olive oil in soap and candle production.

Let us compare the meat prices of Aintab with the prices of Istanbul and those of other towns in Anatolia in the period of 1615-1635. The average of the mutton prices according to the *narh* lists from the 24th June 1615 to 5th August 1635 was 21 *akçes* and the average of the goat's meat prices was 15.5 *akçes* between the same dates. These average prices of mutton and goat's meat in Aintab were considerably higher than that of Istanbul and the Marmara region. After the debasement of the *akçe* in 1624, the price was fixed at 8 *akçes* per *vukiyye* of mutton in Istanbul, Bursa, Balıkesir, and Tekirdağı.¹⁵⁴ In addition, the price of per *vukiyye* mutton was also fixed at 8 *akçe* in Amasya after the debasement.¹⁵⁵ By contrast, the price of per *vukiyye* mutton was fixed at 14 *akçes* in Aintab after the debasement; furthermore, it increased to 20 and 24 *akçes*, respectively, during Ramadan in 1624. In a similar comparison, while the price of per *vukiyye* mutton was fixed at 10 *akçes* in the *narh* list of Ankara in 1615, it remained at 36 *akçes* in Aintab in the same year.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the price range of per *vukiyye* mutton was between 9 and 10 *akçes* in Ankara in 1627, whereas it varied between 18 and 20 *akçes* in Aintab in 1626-1629.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, compared to that of Aintab, the price per *vukiyye* of mutton was by far at a lower level in Urfa that was located in its close proximity. While the price of per *vukiyye* of mutton was 4 *akçes* in Urfa, it was 20 *akçes*

¹⁵³ Aintab Court Records (no.4968), p. 228.

¹⁵⁴ Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "1624 Sikke Tashihinin Ardından Hazırlanan Narh Defterleri," *Tarih Dergisi*, 34 (1984), 123-182; p. 180.

¹⁵⁵ Fikret Yılmaz, "1624 Sikke Tashihin Amasya'daki Etkileri," *Ege Üniversitesi Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 4 (1988), 137-150; p.147.

¹⁵⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 233, doc. no. 1905. See the chapter Ankara.

¹⁵⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 352, doc. no. 1722. See the chapter Ankara.

in Aintab in 1629.¹⁵⁸ The regional price gap was also true for goat's meat. For instance, again in Ankara, the price per *vukiyye* of goat's meat varied between 8 and 9 *akçes* in 1627, whereas it remained at between 14 and 16 *akçes* in Aintab in 1626-1629. In the same way, the price per *vukiyye* of goat's meat was fixed at 3 *akçes* in Urfa, while it was 14 *akçes* in Aintab in 1629.

It might be a strong indication that there was a trouble in the process of supplying of sheep for the town. In this regard, in his comprehensive study on Ottoman Jerusalem in the sixteenth century, Cohen indicates that any trouble in the livestock flow into the slaughterhouse triggered serious fluctuations in meat prices.¹⁵⁹ He also states that the meat prices hinged on the seasons and months to a significant extent; therefore, it was usual that the *kadı* decreed the new price lists for meat and its by-products three or four times in year.¹⁶⁰ Based on his painstaking examination on the *narh* lists of Jerusalem, he observes that the meat prices went down during the summer seasons, whereas they increased again in winter.¹⁶¹ It was probably difficult to supply sufficient number of livestock to the town under the harsh conditions of winters and the livestock prices would go down towards the summer owing to the joining of new-birth lambs into the sheep herds in April. Cohen puts a particular stress on the fact that the meat prices tend to have gone up in the religious months- Ramadān and Dhū'l Hijja; because, the consumer behaviours changed towards a consumption of more meat in these months. People tend to have consumed more high-protein dishes containing

¹⁵⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 2-4. See the chapter Urfa.

¹⁵⁹ Amnon Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 11-60.

¹⁶⁰ Cohen, *Ibid.*, pp. 40-45. The *kadı* considered that the price of each foodstuff had its own dynamics, while regulating the *narh* lists. For instance, the crop prices were likely to change depending on the harvest time and the worsening climatic conditions. In addition, the debasements of coinage that would have an immediate effect on the market prices led the *kadı* to decree a new *narh* list according to new value of existing currency. For further information on the regulations of *narhs*, see Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), p. 313; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), pp. 9-12.

¹⁶¹ Cohen, *Ibid.*, p.48.

meat in the evening meals during Ramadān. The meat prices tended to increase in the days between the 10th and 13th of Dhū'l Hijja that corresponds to the feast of sacrifice in the hegira calendar, when almost every family wanted to slaughter an animal in order to fulfil their religious obligation in the feast of sacrifice.¹⁶² As was seen through the *narh* lists, however, mutton, goat's meat, tallow and tail fat tended to remain at high price levels in Aintab regardless of the effects of periodic changes in demand on meat prices. It can be observed that there was no decreasing trend in mutton prices even during the spring and summer months when the sheep reserves became more abundant than the rest of the year.

Apart from the secondary role of Aintab to Aleppo and Damascus in terms of sheep supply, the rebellion of Canboladoğlu, drought, and the invasion of locusts might have caused the depletion of sheep stocks in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. The rebellion brought a severe destruction to the countryside of Aintab during the years of 1600-1608. There is no doubt that the drought of 1608-1609 and the invasion of locusts in 1612 worsened the existing situation in the subsequent period. In case of scarcity, the butchers had to slaughter adult sheep to meet the demand for meat, which would deteriorate the reproduction capacity of a herd for the subsequent years.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the area of available pastureland would become smaller because of drought and locust invasion. In this case, it can be assumed that the animals suffered from malnutrition as the result of insufficient grazing and malnutrition reduced the meat yield of sheep. Therefore, it is not surprising that the highest mutton price for 36 *akçes* was recorded in 1615 in the aftermath of the drought and the locust invasion.

Nevertheless, the documentary evidence indicated that the calamities mentioned above did not inflict a serious damage on the sheep stocks of Aintab. Firstly, the evidence suggested that the meat yield from the carcass weight of sheep was not low in Aintab. It is certain that the carcass

¹⁶² Cohen, *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48.

¹⁶³ White, *Ibid.*, p. 156.

weight of sheep was lower than the sheep breeds that are raised according to the modern standards.¹⁶⁴ As Braudel reminds us, the meat yield of sheep in the Mediterranean basin was far below their equivalents in northern Europe. For example, the average meat yield derived per head of sheep was measured at 11.960 kg in Spain in 1586 according to a slaughterhouse report.¹⁶⁵ Our evidence is derived from a delivery report that showed the amount of meat supplied by a Turkmen named Hüseyn to the butchers of the city from 2 May 1618 to 24th August 1618.¹⁶⁶ According to the evidence, it is understood that per head of sheep yielded seven *batmans* of meat and one *batman* of tail fat. In modern weight measures, these figures were equivalent to 16.163 kg of meat and 2.309 kg of tail fat.¹⁶⁷ Although this weight was below the modern standards that vary from 20 to 25 kg,¹⁶⁸ it seemed to be reasonable when it is compared to the contemporary Mediterranean scale. The total amount of meat that was delivered between the dates was 193 *batmans*, which were nearly equal to 445 kg. This amount could be derived from a flock of 27 head of sheep.

Faroqhi has argued that the Ottoman government tend to have kept the meat prices at a higher level in Istanbul than the provincial towns in order to encourage the breeders, mostly the nomadic pastoralists, to drive their flocks towards Istanbul where they could gain higher profit compared to the provincial towns.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, in particular, the fact that the prices of mutton and goat's meat remained at a higher level in Aintab than the prices of Istanbul refutes Faroqhi's argument regarding the government policy on the supplying of meat to the capital. She presumes that the meat prices were determined according to the market price of livestock. In other words, the

¹⁶⁴ Muhlis Macit, "Growth and Carcass Characteristics of Male Lambs of the Morkaraman Breed," *Small Ruminant Research* 43 (2002), 191-194.

¹⁶⁵ Fernand Braudel, *Mediterranean and Mediterranean World*, vol. II, pp. 239-240.

¹⁶⁶ Their equivalents in the hegira calendar were 7th of Jumāda I-1027 and 3th of Ramadān 1027.

¹⁶⁷ The average sheep supplied 12 *okkas* or 15.4 kg of meat, which was closely comparable the figures in the Aintab court records. Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁸ Hot carcass weight of male Morkaraman breeds in modern standards varies approximately between 20.3, 23, and 25.4 kg. Macit, "Growth and Carcass Characteristics," pp.192-193.

¹⁶⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Towns and townsmen", pp. 223.

high prices of meat necessitated high livestock prices, which gave an economic stimulus to the breeders to dispatch animals to Istanbul. However, the livestock prices depended largely on a variety of different market conditions. A high price of meat favoured primarily the butchers in terms of profit, while the livestock price was of interest to the breeders. In spite of the high prices of mutton, the sheep prices were rather at a low level in Aintab. To illustrate, 100 head of sheep and 50 head of lambs were priced at 12,400 *akçes* (155 *esedî gürüş*) in 1618. This indicates that per head of sheep was priced at nearly 80 *akçes*. The figures from the estate inventories present a similar price level. A mixed flock of sheep and goats that was composed of 25 heads was priced at 2,800 *akçes* (35 *esedî gürüş*) in an inventory list recorded in 1615, which shows that per head of sheep was priced at 80 *akçes*.¹⁷⁰ Despite the low price of per head of sheep, the mutton prices fixed in the *narh* lists varied at a high level between 14 and 36 *akçes* from 1615 to 1622.

The fact that the prices of meat and meat products remained at high prices is likely to have resulted from the raw material requirement of the woollen industry. It is probable that the demand for wool might have delayed the process of dispatching sheep to the slaughterhouse. Sheep would bring in more profit, unless they were kept to live longer. Woollen and leather industries had already begun to flourish in Aintab thanks to the sheep-breeder nomadic tribes roaming in its outer hinterland from the sixteenth century onwards.¹⁷¹ Dying of woollen textile was a lucrative business that could enable the local families to accumulate wealth in Aintab.¹⁷² Aintab was a part of the

¹⁷⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p.123.

¹⁷¹ Woollen and leather industries developed not only in the town, but also in the countryside of Aintab. In the sixteenth century, there were 9 woollen cloth-shops (*abacı*), 4 felt-shops (*keçeci*), and 3 dye-houses in the town. In the countryside, the large villages of Hiyam and Orul contained tanneries and dye-houses where the Turkmen tribes brought their wool and hides to process and trade. Peirce, *Morality Tales*, p. 368. Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁷² Leslie Peirce, "Entrepreneurial Success in Sixteenth-Century Ayntab: The Case of Seydi Ahmed Boyacı, Local Notable" in *Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2005), pp. 115-132.

economic hinterland of Aleppo as the supplier of wool and other raw materials.¹⁷³ It was likely that the wool production in Aintab would continue to grow in response to the demand of Aleppo during the first half of the seventeenth century; because, Aleppo gained a growing international role in the textile manufacturing as the supplier of raw silk, cotton yarns, wool and woollen fabrics for European traders from the seventeenth century onwards.¹⁷⁴

Wool seems to have been consumed in the manufacturing of carpets and rugs rather than cloth making in Aintab. It is possible to come across many records of carpets and rugs in the estate inventories in the early decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁵ In addition to carpets and rugs, felt and haircloth sacks (*gırar* or *hırar*) were the other products of animal fibers that were made and used in Aintab as the evidence of the inventories showed. Felt was made of wool, while the essential raw material used in making sacks was goat hair. There were two types of felt appeared in the estate inventories as *Türkman keçesi* (Turkmen felt) and *Acem keçesi* (Iranian felt).¹⁷⁶ In addition to its wide use in everyday life, felt making was an indispensable practice of nomadic way of life, because felt was a basic ingredient in making tent and camel-saddle.¹⁷⁷ In general, on the other hand, Anatolian sheep breeds were inferior to their European counterparts in terms of wool quality. Being thicker and shorter, the hair of Anatolian sheep was less suitable for making clothes; therefore, it was more convenient for making carpets, rugs and sacks requiring relatively crude

¹⁷³ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 71.

¹⁷⁴ Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp 26-29.

¹⁷⁵ Aintab Court Record (no. 4968), pp. 62, 65, 86, 165, 183.

¹⁷⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4968), p.86.

¹⁷⁷ Murray Lee Eiland III, "Felting Between East and West", *Visual Anthropology*, (20), 2007, pp. 263-267; Didem Atış Özhekim, "Keçenin Hikayesi ve Sanatsal Üretimler", *Zeitschrift für die Welt der Türken*, vol. 1 no. 1 (2009), pp. 123-127.

fibers.¹⁷⁸

Unfortunately, the court registers do not provide us with sufficient evidence to shed light on the role of nomads in producing and trading wool and the importance of wool production concerning their pastoral economies; however, for the position of wool production in the pastoral economics of Aintab, we can answer the question of whether the nomads reared sheep to produce wool, or to send to the market to be slaughtered for the city provisioning. Nevertheless, any attempt to find a clear answer to this question may cause us to push the limits of the available archival sources, but we can suggest that the nomads might have piled up more and more wool in line with the growing demand of Aleppo. As we have seen, the international demand for grape products was one of the factors that motivated the peasants and the city residents to own vineyards and grow grapevines. Even though the demand provided less incentive for wool, it can be suggested that Aintab was self-sufficient in wool and hair production by means of the presence of sheep-breeder nomadic population in its hinterland in the early seventeenth century, because the wool production of Aintab seems to have been capable of attracting the central government's attention during the period of the Ottoman-Safavid wars (1623-1639). In this regard, a series of imperial orders were sent to the military and civil notables including the *voyvodas* of the Yeni-il and Aleppo Turkmens in the matter of the wool supply for the preparations of the Erivan campaign in 1635.¹⁷⁹ The army required 40,000 sacks of wool among the other necessary supplies for the siege. Since it was nearly impossible to supply such an amount of wool from the borderland, the central government decided to derive a certain portion of its requirement from Aintab before the campaign. In mid-January of 1635, it called for 1,000 sacks of wool to be collected from the military members, tradesmen, town

¹⁷⁸ Prof. Dr. Walter Spöttel and Dr. Kadri Bilgemre, *Türkiye Koyuncululuğu Hakkında Etüdler* (Ankara: Köy Hocası Basımevi, 1937), pp. 28-29; M. Erdem Kabadayı, "The Introduction of Merino Sheep Breeding in the Ottoman Empire: Successes and Failures," in *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire*, edited by. Suraiya Faroqhi (Istanbul: Eren, 2010), pp. 153-169.

¹⁷⁹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), pp. 14-16, 42-43 and 74-77.

dwellers, and villagers in Aintab as aid (*imdâd tarîkîyle*).¹⁸⁰ A few days later, the *kadı* and the superintendent of Dimos *mukataası* received an order to prepare 500 pairs of haircloth sacks and 500 Turkmen felt for the campaign.¹⁸¹ In April, the central government demanded from the districts of Yeni-il and Aleppo to provide 3,000 sacks of wool as aid again.¹⁸² The weight of each required sack was determined at 64 kg.¹⁸³ If we were to accept the quantity of the entire wool required as 4,000 sacks, we would conclude that the volume of the wool demand was nearly 256 tonnes and 167,000 sheep was needed in order to derive this amount of wool.¹⁸⁴ It is not certain, however, whether Aintab and the districts of Yeni-il and Aleppo could manage to provide wool in the needed amount. In this instance, the central government tended to procure wool without charge as compulsory contribution in the name of aid. Despite this, it was likely that the military demand for wool for the other campaigns would create to a certain extent a stimulus for the countryside to engage in sheep rearing for the purpose of producing more and more wool.

The entire amount of wool that was collected was not dispatched to the Erivan campaign. The government put a certain amount of wool on the market in order to meet the transportation expenses of wool. It is possible to see wool prices through the documents concerning the wool sale by the state, which may enable us to estimate the economic value of wool production in Aintab. In February of 1635, the government instructed the *kadı* of Aintab to sell 50 out of 100 sacks of fleece for 100 *akçes* per *batman* (23.094 kg).¹⁸⁵ The price per sack of wool appeared to be 270 *akçes*

¹⁸⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), pp. 14-16.

¹⁸¹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), pp. 42-43.

¹⁸² Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), pp. 74-77.

¹⁸³ "... kırkbin çuval koyun yünü tedârîki emrim olub her çuvalı ellişer rûmî vukiyye olmak üzere yüz çuval koyun yünü talebi..." Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), p. 15. The standard measure of *vukiyye* in Anatolia was equivalent to 1,283 kg. İnalçık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," pp. 340-341.

¹⁸⁴ The average wool yield of the Karaman breeds varies between 1 and 2 kg. My calculation has been based on its average as 1,5 kg. Spöttel and Bilgemre, *Türkiye Koyuncululuğu Hakkında*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁸⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), p. 45.

according to that sale. With the money derived from the sale of fleece, he was to hire pack animals to be loaded with the other 50 sacks.¹⁸⁶ In June of 1635, the superintendent of wool (*yün emini*) sold for 800 *akçes* one sack of wool that amounted to 64kg per sack.¹⁸⁷ However, it appears that this price of wool was highly above its previous value. It is possible that the prices might have increased as the consequence of the depletion of wool stocks in response to the government's demand. Despite the variability of the wool prices according to the demand, on the other hand, it can be said that wool brought a considerable income to the sheep breeders, considering these prices. 42 head of sheep was enough to produce one sack of wool at 64 kg, or to gain revenue that varied between 270 and 800 *akçes*. For a breeder, either nomad or villager, this amount was sufficient to add two to four new sheep to their flock. In this sense, it was a profitable choice for a nomad to allocate a certain number of heads from his herd to produce wool, instead of sending them to the slaughterhouse immediately.

Since there was not enough space to sustain intensive animal husbandry in terms of pasture in its agricultural hinterland, the city of Aintab relied on nomadic pastoralists to meet the demand for meat and wool. In this regard, a symbiotic relation developed between the city dwellers, who had an economic interest in the city provisioning and woollen industry, and the nomads on herding sheep. They could farm out their livestock to the nomads to graze in the remote hinterland of the city.¹⁸⁸ In accordance with this practice, the nomads acted as the shepherds of the city, particularly in summer. For example, in a record of transaction dated 10th June 1618, Mehmed Agha the *mütefferika* sold his 100 head of sheep and 50 head of lamb that were in the care of a man from the tribe of Tatar-İlyaslu to the *kadı* of Aintab for 10,850 *akçes*.¹⁸⁹ In another example, it is seen in a

¹⁸⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), p. 45.

¹⁸⁷ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), p. 242.

¹⁸⁸ The townsmen developed this practice of farming out livestock to the nomads from the sixteenth century onwards. Peirce, *Morality Tales*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁸⁹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4816), p. 146.

notification of inheritance dated 8th February 1621 that a city dweller declared his intention to bequeath miscellaneous properties and goods, including 500 head of sheep that were in the care of the Turkmens [*Türkmânda olan beşyüz res' koyun*], to his son.¹⁹⁰ Despite the lack of information in the court entries, we can presume that the practice of entrusting livestock to the nomads was based on certain conditions between the city dwellers and the nomads. In return for tending someone's herd, the nomads would have been allowed to allot a certain number of sheep from the herd as a share for themselves. In this sense, the practice of farming out livestock to the nomads for herding was in particular favourable to the impoverished nomads who had few animals.

Despite the abundance of the entries in the court records of Aintab, there is scanty evidence related to animals concerning the cases of animal trade, animal rustling, inheritance etc. The court entries regarding animals, albeit small in number, can nevertheless help us understand the character of pastoralism and the mechanism for the pastoral economy for the region of Aintab. Few of the court entries were recorded with regard to camels. Since bartering was used as an exchange method in the camel transactions, it is difficult to see the actual market price of camels. For example, in a record of a transaction on 11th October 1635, Hüseyin Koca bin Mehmed from the Turkmens sold one pedigree male camel (*besirek deve*) and one cross-breed camel (*kükürt deve*) to Ali Beğ, a member of military corps from the city. Hüseyin acknowledged receipt in full of 7500 *akces* (75 *gurush*) and a length of gilt threaded muslin cloth (*telli dülbent*) in return for the sale of his camels.¹⁹¹ It is obvious that Ali Beğ paid up the remainder of his debt with that piece of muslin cloth.¹⁹² In addition to this transaction mentioned here, a court entry regarding an accusation of holding a state-owned camel on 2 September 1637 revealed that one camel could be exchanged

¹⁹⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 68.

¹⁹¹ Aintab Court Records (no. 4819), p. 346.

¹⁹² The purchase price of camels in this transaction seems to have been far below the state purchase prices for camels that were ranging between 8,000 and 10,000 *akçes*. See Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, p. 76 (table 4.1).

with 5 head of oxen and 100 *akçes*. The accusation was made by Mustafa bin Osman, an official camel-driver against Murad bin Abdi from the tribe of Akçekoyunlu for a state-owned camel that had gone astray. Mustafa spotted the camel with its red colour and the state stamps on its right side including the neck. In his counterstatement, however, the defendant Murad argued that he had bought the camel in question from a man from the tribe of Ellici in return for 5 head of oxen and 100 *akçes*. Furthermore, he confirmed that there were several stamps on the body of the camel, but he stated that he did not know whether they signified the state; whereupon, the camel-driver Mustafa brought the witnesses who were also camel-drivers like him to the court in order to convince Murad that the stamps signified the state accurately.¹⁹³ Upon the testimony of the other camel-drivers, the court allowed Mustafa to take the camel from Murad. As part of his occupation, Mustafa was likely to have affiliation to the nomadic tribes engaged in camel breeding. Thanks to this, he might have easily spotted the camel in the possession of Murad. If we regarded the statement of Murad as entirely true, it can be said for him that he made a hazardous investment in that camel at the expense of his 5 head of oxen.

Presumably, the market value of camels was compatible with the state price, which was in general determined at 8,000 *akçes*.¹⁹⁴ It can be seen that 5 head of male camels were priced for 40,000 *akçes* (8,000 *akçes* per camel) in an estate inventory that was prepared in Aintab in October of 1629.¹⁹⁵ Given that price per camel, it is obvious that the camel trade was a lucrative business for the nomads, but it cannot be assumed that the entire nomadic population reaped benefits from the camel trade. Since camels reproduce less, the camel trade was especially not preferable to the

¹⁹³ Aintab Court Records (no. 4819), p. 63.

¹⁹⁴ Murphey, *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁹⁵ Aintab Court Records (no.4817), p. 74.

nomads with an income at subsistence level.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, only the nomads who specialized mainly in camel breeding were well suited to cater to the market and state demand for camels.

Similar to the example shown above, camels could also be exchanged with horses. On 23rd December 1618, İbrahim bin Durmuş from the city came to the court to make a complaint against Mustafa who was the son of a fief-holder. In his complaint, İbrahim stated that he had entrusted his three-year old white colt to Mustafa, but Mustafa gave the aforementioned colt to a Turkmen man afterwards. Upon the request of his statement by the court, Mustafa said that he had bought 2 camels from that Turkmen and given the aforementioned colt to that Turkmen in order to pay up his debt. Thereupon, the court ordered him either to return the animal or to give its price to İbrahim within 10 days after the record date of this document.¹⁹⁷

In contrast to camels, horses appeared more frequently in the court entries concerning the cases of trade, theft, stray and inheritance. It can be seen through the evidence from these entries that there was a vibrant horse trade in which the individuals from the city and military class members participated. However, the nomadic groups appear to have been rarely involved in the horse trade in Aintab unlike in the region of Ruha. There is no clear evidence from the court entries to suggest that horse breeding was a common practice among the nomadic groups who roamed in the hinterland of Aintab. In actual fact, the majority of these groups belonged to the confederation of the Yeni-İl and Haleb Turkmens that specialized in sheep and camel breeding. It is possible to state that horse breeding was less attractive to the nomadic groups of Aintab for economic and ecological reasons. Firstly, horses required a larger area for grazing and consumed more water than sheep and camels.¹⁹⁸ There were two options for the nomads in order to provide sufficient pastureland for horses. The first was to gain access to a larger area of pasture. If this was unfeasible,

¹⁹⁶ Thomas J. Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993), pp. 64-65.

¹⁹⁷ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 125.

¹⁹⁸ Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative*, pp. 136-140.

the second was to reduce the number of sheep in the herd, because sheep is a grass-consuming animal. Furthermore, in case of a shortage of pasture, grain-based forage, oats, barley and vetch, became essential to horse breeding. These forages were also given to horses in certain intervals in order to have them gain stamina.¹⁹⁹ Therefore, the sedentary and semi-sedentary tribes that engaged extensively in grain production were more eligible for breeding horses, like the tribes of Ruha, than any other tribes that pursued a mobile and pastoral way of life.

In the court registers of Aintab, there was only one entry that illustrated the horse trade in which tribesmen were involved. The entry was about a debt that remained from a sale of a single grey mare. On 21 January 1635, a man from the tribe of Halidlu stated in the court that he had sold his single grey mare to Halil from the tribe of Dinani for 3,360 *akçes* (48 *esedi* guruh) 14 years previously. Although he had received 2,100 *akçes* from Halil, the other amount 1,260 *akçes* remained in arrears.²⁰⁰ These two tribes in the entry Halidlu and Dinani were not from those which comprised the Yeni-İl and Haleb Turkmens. It was specified for the tribe of Halidlu that it was from the Kurds (*Ekrâd cema'âtinden*). Accordingly, the original area of the tribe of Halidlu was Ruha and its environs.²⁰¹ The tribe of Dinani was a large Kurdish tribe that spread out from Birecik to Mardin.²⁰²

Peirce draws our attention to a busy traffic in stolen horses, donkeys and mules in the Aintab city for the first half of the sixteenth century. She establishes that individuals from the neighbouring regions-like Ruha in the east, Dayr Al-Zor in the south, and the Cilician Plain in the west-and even from the remote areas-like Karaman-came to the court in order to claim their lost or stolen

¹⁹⁹ For the cost of horse breeding in comparison with oxen, see John Langdon, "The Economics of Horses and Oxen in Medieval England," *The Agricultural History Review*, vol. 30, No. 1, (1982), pp. 31-40.

²⁰⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), p. 353.

²⁰¹ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Anadolu'da Aşiretler, Cemaatler, Oymaklar (1453-1650)*, vol. III (İstanbul: Togan Yayıncılık, 2011), p. 978.

²⁰² Halaçoğlu, *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 641-652.

animals.²⁰³ The evidence from the court entries proved that Aintab maintained its role as a vibrant market particularly for stolen horses in the first half of the seventeenth century. It was certain that the cases of horse theft were reflected in the court entries as long as the thieves were caught while coming to the town. If the quantity of stolen horses was more than one, it became more difficult for the thieves to deliver the animals to the city without attracting attention. The court entries regarding horse theft may present us important evidence to display a complex rural network including the tribesmen in the countryside of Aintab. For example, Osman Beğ who was a member of the military corps residing in the town came to the court to make a complaint against Mehmed, Ahmed and İsmail from the group of wanderers [*gurbet tâîfesi*] on 21 March 1621.²⁰⁴ He reported that those persons were highway robbers and they had been coming to Aintab in order to sell one male brown horse, one white mare, and two brown mares that they had stolen. On the road, he had managed to capture them with the help of Mehmed Chavush around the village of Pehlivan-Çukuru before arriving to Aintab. The *kadı* called the accused persons to give a statement, whereupon they confessed that they had stolen the aforementioned four horses from the district of A'zāz in the night. Besides, they went on to confess that they had stolen two mares more from the town of Hama in the night previously and sold two mares to el-Hajj Ömer Ali from Aintab for 1,400 *akçes* (20 *gurush*). Thereupon, el-Hajj Ömer Ali was summoned to the court and he asserted that he had bought the mares in question on behalf of a man named Osman from the Turkmens. In another of his statement,

²⁰³ Peirce, *Morality Tales*, p. 71.

²⁰⁴ Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 86. The term *gurbet tâîfesi* referred to the people who were wandering in the cities, towns. In the Ottoman official documents, the group of wanderers was generally associated with crime and illegal activities. In this sense, the term *gurbet tâîfesi* indicated a state of vagabondage. Furthermore, the term *gurbet tâîfesi* was often used together with *çingâne tâîfesi* that referred to gypsies. For further information about *gurbet tâîfesi* and *çingâne tâîfesi*, see also Faika Çelik, "Probing the Margins-Gypsies (Roma) in Ottoman society, c. 1450-1600," in *Subalterns and Social Protest*, edited by Stephanie Cronin (New York: Routledge, 2008) pp. 173-199 and also Eyal Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis: The Gypsies (Roma) in the Ottoman Empire," *Romani Studies*, 5 (2004), pp. 117-144.

it is understood that the accused persons got involved in theft and robbery under the auspices of el-Hajj Ömer.²⁰⁵

In the lawsuit above, however, it is not certain whether the stolen horses were returned to their original owners after the confession of the culprits. There is also no clue that may enable us to clarify the relation between Osman from the Turkmens and el-Hajj Ömer. Moreover, it was not specified to what punishment the aforementioned thieves and their patron el-Hajj Ömer were sentenced in the entry. In the entry, it was written that this lawsuit was recorded in the presence of the district governor of Aintab. Presumably, el-Hajj Ömer and his fellows might have returned the stolen horses to the district governor. It was not surprising that a complex rural network became visible in the lawsuits in matter of horse theft, because horses were rare and expensive animals in the countryside of Aintab. It is also possible to exemplify a more complex rural network in the matter of horse theft with the help of the evidence from a series of court entries. Mehmed Agha, the representative of the district governor of Aintab, filed a complaint against Ali bin Çolak, who was a Yazidi Kurd from the village of Çakal, on 3 September of 1636. In his complaint, Mehmed Agha alleged that the Turkmens had caught Ali on the road, while he had been driving a herd of stolen horses from Elbistan to Aintab with his companions. Although his companions had escaped from the Turkmens, Ali was captured. The herd in question was composed of 2 young black foals, a single brown colt, and 2 brown mares. In his counter-statement, however, Ali asserted that he had nothing to do with those persons who had stolen the aforementioned horses. He went on to assert that he had come across those persons on the road and according to his claim, those persons told him that they had been working for Yusuf the sheep-driver [*celep*] of Aintab and were bringing the horses to his house in the town.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 86.

²⁰⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 4819), p. 476.

A few weeks later, on 24th September 1636, a similar complaint was filed against Yusuf bin Ömer who was also a Yazidi Kurd from the village of Çakal. Mehmed from the tribe of Melukâni stated in the presence of the court that his herd of horses [that consisted of 2 black foals, a single grey mare, a single two-years old brown colt, a single red mare, and a single red colt] had gone astray, while grazing in a place called Panek. He reported that he had found his horses in the possession of Yusuf, whereupon Yusuf was summoned to the court to give a statement. According to his counter-statement, Rüstem a Yazidi cavalry came to Yusuf, after having stolen the aforementioned horses. Rüstem threatened him by force to drive the horses together to the house of Yusuf the sheep-driver in the town. Yusuf's statement ended in a similar way to that of Ali, as it has been seen in the previous lawsuit. The Turkmens captured Yusuf on the road, while Rüstem escaped. Upon the request of the *kadı*, two witnesses from the competent and impartial persons [*udûl-u Müslimin*] came to the court to confirm that the aforementioned horses had belonged to the complainant Mehmed.²⁰⁷ He received his horses with the permission of the district governor.²⁰⁸

It is seen, peasants from the same village got involved in these two incidents of horse theft. It was likely that the village of Çakal played the role of junction point for horse theft in the countryside of Aintab. Although there is no evidence to suggest that there was a direct link between the two incidents, it is clear that the stolen horses were driven from the same region. While the region in which horses were stolen was Elbistan in the first incident, the stolen horses belonged to a tribesman from the region of Maraş and Elbistan in the second incident. Besides, the evidence from these two incidents may suggest that the Turkmens, who caught the horse thieves on the road, collaborated with the provincial administration of Aintab in securing public order in the countryside.

Although horse breeding was quite rare among the nomadic groups of Aintab, as far as the evidence from the court entries revealed, there are several transaction records displaying that the

²⁰⁷ Aintab Court Records (no. 4819), p. 352.

²⁰⁸ Aintab Court Records (no. 4819), p. 350.

nomadic groups were selling donkeys [*merkeb*] in the town market [*sûk-ı sultânî*]. For example, in a transaction record on 25th March 1619, a person from the tribe of Kulak sold his three-year old black donkey to a Christian for 595 *akçes* (8.5 guruh).²⁰⁹ In another similar record on 6th May 1619, a person from the tribe of Karakeçili sold his male donkey to a Christian for 560 *akçes*.²¹⁰ The prices of donkeys were variable in the transaction records. A man from the tribe of Soran sold his black male donkey for 980 *akçes* in a transaction record dated 5th December 1618.²¹¹ There was no information about the identities of the buyers in the transaction records, but the merchants who engaged in short-distance trade presumably generated a demand for donkeys. Besides, the court entries also indicated the vineyard owners were in need of donkeys for the transportation of the grape harvest to the city market.²¹²

There are no court entries regarding cattle in the context of trade, lost or stray animals. There is only one entry dated on 3 April of 1621 that illustrated a nomad's claim on a pair of oxen. Yusuf bin Şahkulu from the tribe of Cerid came to the court to assert that he had seen his two oxen in the possession of İmamkulu bin Cafer. Yusuf went on to assert that the oxen in question were the calves of his own cow and he had farmed out the oxen to a person from the tribe of Bahadırlu for rearing. It can be understood from Yusuf's claim that his oxen came into İmamkulu's possession in some way after a while without his knowledge. Nevertheless, contrary to his claim, the witnesses brought by İmamkulu to the court testified that those oxen were the calves of a cow that belonged to İmamkulu.²¹³ Several points unfortunately remained unclear in this entry. In addition to the absence of details about the identities of İmamkulu and his witnesses, whether they were peasants or tribesmen, it seems questionable why Yusuf did not at first litigate against the relevant persons from

²⁰⁹ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 135.

²¹⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 136.

²¹¹ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 76.

²¹² Aintab Court Records (no. 4977), p. 197.

²¹³ Aintab Court Records (no. 4975), p. 97.

the tribe of Bahadırlu because of missing his oxen. He also seemed to be unable to clarify how the oxen came into the possession of İmamkulu.

There is a similar point between the last two entries that have been discussed above. In both, the plaintiff nomads appear not to have brought witnesses to the court. The evidence from the court entries is not equipped to help us answer the potential questions in this regard, for instance, why the nomads wanted to come to the court with little chance to take back his stray animal or demand his debt in due, even though they knew that they would not be able to bring witnesses to the court to support themselves; likewise, only for a few animals, why they had to wade through the court procedures and wanted to bear the expenses of travelling and court fees.²¹⁴ However, it would be a crude explanation to suggest that the nomads intentionally came to the court in order to deceive the *kadı* with falsified claims for their own interests. Furthermore, it would also be misleading to assume that the nomadic groups in general were deprived of an urban and rural social network, considering the absence of their witnesses in the court.

In relation to the court case of Yusuf bin Şahkulu mentioned above, we should take into account the fact that in many cases, the parties had already solved the disputes inter se before they came to the court. Therefore, the proceedings that were brought to the court against the defendants appear to have taken the form of an official agreement between the parties.²¹⁵ The nomads, as legal practitioners, were likely to be familiar with the functioning of the Ottoman *kadı* courts in this way. It can be said that Yusuf bin Şahkulu could manage to take back his oxen from the breeder, who was from the tribe of Bahadırlu, before having come to the court. Despite this, however, the reason

²¹⁴ Meier, "Bedouins in the Ottoman Juridical Field Select Cases From Syrian Court Records, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries," pp. 197-198; Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire : Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, pp. 76-84.

²¹⁵ Ergene, "Why Did Ümmü Gülsüm Go to Court? Ottoman Legal Practice between History and Anthropology", pp. 227, 231. Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharī'a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History : A Reappraisal Author," p. 50.

that obligated him to take action against İmamkulu bin Cafer might have been related to the attitude of that breeder who raised the oxen on behalf of Yusuf. A possible scenario was that the breeder might have avoided delivering the oxen to Yusuf and therefore he probably attempted to deceive Yusuf into thinking that İmamkulu bin Cafer misappropriated the aforementioned beasts in some way. Consequently, as has been seen in the court case, İmamkulu managed to acquit himself of the alleged action of keeping Yusuf's oxen illicitly. Probably, he is likely to have persuaded Yusuf to bring an action against himself. In this way, İmamkulu could have relieved himself of the doubts on the ownership of his own oxen.²¹⁶ On the other hand, in an alternative scenario that tends to take the content of the court case at face value, one may assume that İmamkulu bin Cafer seized the aforementioned oxen without the knowledge of Yusuf bin Şahkulu indeed; therefore, Yusuf went immediately to the court without having witnesses in order to show how he took the case seriously. By doing so, he could have strengthened his hand against İmamkulu especially for an informal settlement outside the courtroom.²¹⁷

Nomads and Agriculture

The central government tended to lease out the settlements that became ruined due to the location on the migration route of the nomads to the *voyvoda* of the Turkmens of Yeni-İl and Aleppo. In a tax-farming record on 22nd September of 1637, it is seen that the village of Karataş and its nearby *mezraas* were leased out to the *voyvoda* of the Turkmens of Yeni-il and Aleppo on purpose.²¹⁸ The government required the *voyvoda* to reconstruct and repopulate the settlements, probably with the help of the Turkmens under his administration. There is clear evidence from the court records to illustrate the constructive role assumed by the nomads in the demographic and

²¹⁶ Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, p. 64.

²¹⁷ Ergene, *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

²¹⁸ "...hoş-nişîn ve enbâ-i sebilin yolu üzerinde olmağla perâkende ve perişân olmağın..." Aintab Court Records (no. 4819), p. 161-162.

agricultural recovery of the countryside in the following period of the rebellion. In their tax-farming records in December of 1627, for instance, it was recorded that the tax-farm value of the villages of Tufeyni and Tel-Başer had increased by 34 per cent from 66,000 to 100,000 *akçes* after the settlement of a few nomadic households from the tribe of Avşar. After having stayed in the villages for a few years, however, the nomads were forced to leave due to the attack of bandit groups from the Turkmens.²¹⁹ It is likely that they might have returned to nomadism or moved to more distant places to settle down in the land. Furthermore, that tribal attack was presumably connected with the plunders of the Beğdili tribe. In this regard, it is seen through an imperial order issued on 7th November of 1629 that the Sublime Porte precisely alerted the *mütesellim* of Aintab to the imminent banditry of the Beğdili tribe and instructed him to mobilize immediately the military forces against the bandit Turkmens hereafter. However, he was also firmly told not to interfere in the inoffensive Turkmens on the pretext of coping with the banditry.²²⁰ That order might be of evidence that the countryside of Aintab remained still open to the periodical tribal plunders even after the rebellion of Canboladoğlu.

The nomads had already started to inhabit the villages and engage in agriculture from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, as can clearly be seen through the evidence from the land registers of Aintab. The nomads paid taxes on the land under their use and produced grain, grapes and vegetables in the villages.²²¹ The agricultural occupation of the nomads was mostly depended on the viticulture and grain production in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is possible to come across a number of documents from the court registers indicating a widespread vineyard ownership

²¹⁹ “Zikr olunan karye-i Tufeynî ve Tel-Başer ve mezra’â-i [...] bundan akdem senede 22,000 pârede iken Avşar tâîfesinden birkaç nefer hoş-nişîn re’ayâ gelüb birkaç sene mütemekkin olub hîrâset ve zira’ât eyledükleri zam-ı ziyâdeye tahammül olmağın 33,334 pâreye olub badehû Türkmân eşkıyası nâhiye-i mezbûreyi istilâ etmeğın ...” Aintab Court Records (no. 4817), p. 3.

²²⁰ Aintab Court Records (no. 4817), pp. 79-80.

²²¹ Özdeğer, *Ayntab Livası*, pp. 230, 240, 247, 250, 251, 252, 256, 257, 326.

among the nomadic groups.²²² One may assume that the vineyard ownership was a sign of the sedentarization of the nomads, considering how the maintenance of a vineyard was arduous and depended on a substantial amount of labour force. Even a small vineyard necessitated its owner to be tied up to the land in order to tend to the grapevines. However, as will be seen through the court entries, the nomads farmed the peasants out for the maintenance of their vineyards. In this sense, the court entries relating to the nomads' vineyards may also enable us to shed light on the social relations between nomads and peasants.

For instance, Mehmed bin Eslemmez a Turkmen came to the court to file a complaint against Abdurrahman ibn el-Hajj Ahmed on 6th October of 1618. Mehmed stated that he owned a vineyard of 5 *dönüms* located in the village of Kızılhisar and he let another person from the village keep his vineyard, but Abdurrahman seized the harvest of the vineyard on the grounds that he had claim on the vineyard. Upon the complaint of Mehmed, however, Abdurrahman withdrew his claim and gave back the harvest.²²³ The entry did not give any clue about in what ways the parties settled the dispute. The reason Abdurrahman seized the harvest and put claim on the vineyard was presumably related to a previous debt that he could not recover from Mehmed bin Eslemmez. It is likely that Mehmed might have borrowed money from Abdurrahman in advance for his vineyard. On the other hand, Mehmed was likely not to be a settled peasant, considering that he farmed out the maintenance of his vineyard to another person from the village. He was likely to pursue a mobile way of life as a nomadic herder.

The nomads and tribesmen were generally in the status of an absentee landlord regarding their vineyards. In such cases, the peasants could exploit the vineyards of the nomads and tribesmen without permission. In the complaint Cüneyd bin İsmail from the tribe of Harbendelu filed on 8th

²²² In the records of vineyard transactions, it can be seen that there were vineyards in the villages that were described as the vineyard of the Turkmens (*Türkman bağı*). Aintab Court Records (no. 4977), p. 215; Aintab Court Records (no. 4817), p. 236.

²²³ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 115.

September of 1635, he accused a peasant named Hüseyin of cutting grapes of 60 vine-stocks from his vineyard located in the village of Battal-Öyük. In addition to his tribal affiliation, Cüneyd was also identified as a town dweller in the document; therefore, it is possible to describe Cüneyd as an absentee landlord for his vineyard. It can be understood through the statement of Hüseyin and the testimony of the witnesses that other tribesmen in the status of an absentee landlord possessed vineyards in the village. The witnesses bore testimony to the fact that while Hüseyin had assigned someone to cut grapes from the vineyards of the tribe of Kıllu, the person he assigned went to the vineyard of Cüneyd mistakenly.²²⁴ In the light of the evidence from this testimony, it can be argued that it might have been a usual practice for the peasants of Battal-Öyük to exploit the vineyards whose owners did not reside in the village.

It is also possible to observe vineyard ownership among women from the tribes and nomads in the countryside of Aintab. On 24th March of 1619, Ömer from the Turkmen tribe of Mihmadlu acted on behalf of his four sisters in the court to confirm the sale of his sister's vineyard to Mehmed bin Gazi and el-Hajj Musa bin Halil and el-Hajj Emin bin Yusuf. According to the statement of Ömer, the vineyard in question was 60 *dönüms* and remained derelict for almost 30 years in the village of Böğürtlenlu that was subjected to the Maraş district. The vineyard was adjacent to the ruins [*virâne*] of Hadji Abdullah and Şah Budak from two fronts. Its one front extended over the mountain and the road bordered its other front. The sale price of the vineyard was 700 *akçes*, which seemed to be fairly a low price considering the dimensions of the vineyard.²²⁵ However, it was likely that the price was determined depending on the derelict situation of the vineyard. In order to restore 60 *dönüms* of a vineyard, the sisters of Ömer were likely to need at least more than a dozen of workers and sufficient capital. For the former, it might be difficult to derive an adequate number of labour forces from the village of Böğürtlenlu. Although it is hard to mention about the conditions

²²⁴ Aintab Court Records (no. 4818), p. 179.

²²⁵ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), pp. 236-237.

in Böğürtlenlu in the absence of information, being adjacent to the estates in ruins may suggest that the vineyard was located in an isolated and remote rural area. This was presumably an obstacle for the sisters of Ömer to ensure an agricultural labour force for the restoration of their vineyard.

Another case that illustrates the vineyard ownership of nomadic women was related to the sale of a vineyard. On 15th November of 1618, Hadji Abdurrahman bin Mehmed came to the court to act on behalf of Saadet bint Gök Mehmed from the Turkmen tribe of Maraşlu for the confirmation of the sale of her two vineyards in the village of Rum Kulu. He stated that Saadet had sold her 20 *dönüms* of two vineyards to Hüdaverdi, a peasant from the village, 11 years prior to the record date of the document and he confirmed that she had completely received 1,750 *akçes* (25 *gurush*) in return for the sale. Hüdaverdi also affirmed Hadji Abdurrahman's statement regarding the transaction.²²⁶ Given the recorded date of the document, it seems that Saadet sold her vineyards in 1607 when the countryside of Aintab was in turmoil due to the Celali bands. It is likely that she might have sold her vineyards due to the lack of security in the countryside. On the other hand, it was certain that the vineyard prices in the transactions depended on various factors, such as dimensions, location, and the type of grapes cultivated. However, it is more likely that the fertility of a vineyard might have been a key factor in determining its price. The nomads could obtain a good income through the sale of a small but fertile vineyard. In a record of transaction on 25th December of 1618, Ahmed bin Mehmed from the tribe of Haremeynlü (one of the tribes from the Turkmens of Yeni-İl) could sell a 7 *dönüms* of vineyard located in the village of İdil for 2,730 *akçes* (39 *gurush*).²²⁷

²²⁶ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 142.

²²⁷ Aintab Court Records (no. 8816), p. 171.

Regional Overview

The region of Aintab was a typical example of Mediterranean farming, depending on the cultivation of grape and grain, and goat breeding. In the early seventeenth century, the entire region suffered a series of social and natural calamities, which resulted in the dispersal of the rural population and a setback for agricultural production. Public order collapsed in the countryside due to the Celali rebellions. Drought and the invasion of locusts played havoc with agricultural production in the subsequent period of the rebellions. The region of Aintab displayed a rapid resilience in the aftermath of the calamities. The expansion of viticulture and the increase in tax on winter quarters can be read as the evidence for that resilience. The case of Aintab may prove that the Celali rebellion and the natural disasters did not necessarily culminate in the long-term devastation of the countryside.

Viticulture and horticulture together with pastoralism in the form of sheep and camel breeding were lucrative sources of income in rural Aintab. The boundaries of pastoralism and agriculture did not overlap with each other. In the court entries of Aintab, the scarcity of the cases illustrating the complaints and disputes in the matters of land use between the sedentary groups and the nomads can draw our attention to the fact that the pastoralism was performed in the distant areas of the city which remained non-agricultural. In this sense, we can visualize the countryside of Aintab as in the view that the city opened on to an agricultural hinterland that was circled by a pastoral hinterland. Thus, the nomads had to graze their animals in the distant areas, owing to the intensive agricultural activities in the immediate hinterland of the city. However, the nomads ensured the economic connection of the city to pastoralism.

Camels formed the main source of wealth for the pastoral economy. The demand for wool depending on the textile industry in the city and nearby villages offered the nomads a good opportunity of making profit on sheep. The demand for wool probably necessitated the breeders to

reserve the majority of sheep stocks for clipping wool. This tendency consequently reduced the number of sheep to be dispatched to the slaughterhouse for the meat consumption. This situation can be evidenced by the fact that although the sheep prices remained at reasonable price level as 80 *akçes*, meat and meat products tended to be at a relatively higher price.

Although some of the nomadic groups settled down especially in the ruined settlements, the evidence from the court entries and other archival sources that have been examined so far in this chapter does not display a significant tendency among the nomads towards agricultural activities. It can be seen that the nomads owned vineyards in a certain period of their lives. Probably, a farming practice that required an intensive labour force, like viticulture, did not seem attractive to the nomads, in particular during the period of the Celali rebellion when the agricultural work force became scant.

Chapter 2

Urfa

Land, Geography and Climate

Urfa and its surrounding areas (henceforth the region of Urfa) remained within the boundaries of the province of Diyarbakır as a *sandjak* until the 1580s. Afterwards, it was designated as the central *sandjak* (the seat of governor) of the province of Raqqa in the early seventeenth century. It held its administrative status in the province of Raqqa until its inclusion to the province of Aleppo in 1865.¹ In the second half of the sixteenth century, the region of Urfa was bordered by the Euphrates from the south and its boundaries extended further to the *nahiye* of Samsad in the north.² Towards the west, the Urfa region extended over the village of Sarudj (Suruç) that became

¹ S.H. Winter, "The Province of Raqqa under Ottoman Rule, 1535-1800: A Preliminary Study," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 68 No. 4 (October, 2009), 253-268: p. 258; Andreas Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1976), p. 200; Donald Edgar Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), map XXIV See the encyclopedia articles related Urfa, E. Honigmann (completed by Nejat Göyünç), "Urfa," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 13, (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1986), pp. 50-57; Ahmet Nezihi Turan, "Şanlıurfa," *TDVİA*, vol. 38 (2010), pp. 336-341; Suraiya Faroqhi, "al-Ruhā, (The Ottoman and Modern Periods)," *EI*².

² Ahmet Nezihi Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı* (Şanlıurfa: Şurkav Yayınları, 2005), pp. 32-33. Although the *nāhiye* of Samsad appears to have belonged to the *sandjak* of Urfa in the land register of 1566, it became one of the *sandjaks* of the *eyālet* of *Dhu'l-Kadriyya* (Mar'ash) in the early seventeenth century. However, Evliya Çelebi cited that Samsad was one of the *nāhiyes* of Urfa in 1649. See, Mehdi İlhan, "Urfa and its Environs in 1560s," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001), p. 7; E. Honigmann and S. Faroqhi, "Mar'ash," *EI*²; Evliyâ Çelebi b. Mehmed Derviş Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. III (transcribed version), edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), p. 85.

one of the *nahiyes* of Urfa in the seventeenth century.³ Further to the west beyond Sarudj, the *sancak* of Biredjik was situated on the left bank of the Euphrates.⁴ The region of Urfa included the *nahiyes* of Cüllab in the east and Harran in the south-east, both of which were in the form of lowland as landscape and irrigated by the rivers and thus possessed fertile agricultural lands.⁵ The east of both *nahiyes* was open to a vast area of winter pastureland that was exploited by the pastoral nomadic tribes from the Bozulus and Karaulus confederations. This area was called *Berriye* in the historical documents. It stretched as far as Mardin in the further east and covered the plateau of Siverek in the north that remained in the west of the city of Diyarbakır.⁶

In the early seventeenth century, the rural areas of the province of Raqqa remained deserted due to the raids of the Turkmen and Kurdish tribes in the course of the Celali revolts. Therefore, the centre of province was moved to the *sancak* of Urfa.⁷ In 1632, Katib Çelebi noted that the *sancak* of Urfa extended its boundaries further over the south-east, including the area called *beriyiye-i Sindjar* which stretched from the mountain of Sindjar to the south of Mardin and Nusaybin. Within this area, the *sancak* of Urfa included the *nahiyes* of Khabur and Beni Rabia.⁸ Like the area of Berriye in the north, *beriyiye-i Sindjar* also served as the winter pastureland for the Bozulus and Karaulus tribes.⁹ Most of the juridical issues that were reflected in the *kadı* court of Urfa seem to have been brought from the *nahiyes* located in the immediate hinterland of the city of Urfa. Since almost all of the *nahiyes* surrounding the city of Urfa were tribal and nomadic in terms of settlement pattern and population, it is possible to find plenty of documents from the *kadı* court of Urfa with regard to the nomadism and pastoralism. Furthermore, as the centre of the province of Raqqa, the *kadı* court of

³ M. Plessner and C.E. Bosworth, "Sarūdī", EI².

⁴ M. Streck and V.J. Parry, "Bīredjīk", EI².

⁵ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha*, pp. 32-33.

⁶ Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri "Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640"* (Ankara: Bilge Yayınları, 1997), pp. 137 and 183.

⁷ M. Meinecke, "al-Raqqa", EI².

⁸ Kâtib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihannümâ* (facsimile print) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009), p. 443.

⁹ M. Canard, "Diyār Rabī'a", EI².

Urfa received plenty of decrees from the central government over the administrative, political and military matters concerning a broader area.¹⁰ Considering the proximity of the city of Urfa to the areas of winter pastureland, many of the decrees were issued in relation to the tribes of Karaulus in particular.

The region of Urfa stretched over a plateau that ranged from 500 to 750 metres in elevation. This plateau extended from the Euphrates to the volcanic cone of Karacadağ (1,915 m) with a gradual rise in elevation in the west-east direction. In the same way, the elevation of the plateau increased towards the Southeastern Taurus Mountains in the north. In contrast to the ascending elevation into the north and east, the plateau descended into the south where it merged with the large and fertile plains of Sarudj, Harran and Resûlayn (known as Ceylanpınar). The mountain ranges of Susuz (817m) and Tektek (801m) surrounded the city of Urfa, stretching on an axis between the north-eastern and the south-eastern directions. These ranges were the most significant and highest points of the plateau.¹¹

The region of Urfa is under the influence of a semi-arid climate due to its geographical position; thus, its environment is liable to the effects of extreme weather events, such as drought and aridity, especially in summer.¹² Its long distance from the Mediterranean prevents the region from receiving the mild and humid sea air in a sufficient way. Instead, the desert zones in the south bring a hot and dry weather over the region especially in summer.¹³ The summer temperatures may

¹⁰ Winter, "The Province of Raqqa under Ottoman Rule," pp. 256-260.

¹¹ Dr. Şefik Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimâî Coğrafyası-Urfa vilâyeti* (İstanbul, 1925); Mehmet Sait Şahinalp, "Şanlıurfa Şehri'nin Kuruluşuna Etki Eden Etmenler," *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi*, 4/1 (2006), pp. 105-127; Abdulkadir Güzel, "Tarih Öncesi Bir Yerleşme Yeri Olan Şanlıurfa'nın Kuruluşuna Etki Eden Coğrafi Faktörler," *Marmara Coğrafya Dergisi*, 19 (January, 2009), pp. 108-129; Metin Tuncel, "Şanlıurfa," *TDVİA*, vol. 38 (2010), pp. 341-343; E. Honigmann, "Ra's al-'Ayn," *EI*².

¹² John C. Dewdney, *Turkey* (London: Chatto&Windus, 1971), p. 35; Sinan Sahin and H. Kerem Cigizoglu, "The sub-climate regions and the sub-precipitation regime regions in Turkey," *Journal of Hydrology* 450-451 (2012), pp. 1878-1888.

¹³ Dr. Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimâî Coğrafyası*, p. 9.

rise up to 50-60°C, which increases in turn the evaporation rate and decreases the soil moisture.¹⁴ The southern parts of the region, which are closer to the desert zones, are more arid compared to its northern parts. The average level of annual rainfall is measured at 473 mm in the region of Urfa, whereas it can drop below 350 mm in the southern plains; Akçakale, Harran and Resülayn.¹⁵

The agricultural productivity and improvement depended largely on the water flow of the Euphrates and its tributaries. Any reduction in water flow caused the salinization of the soil, which would reduce the agricultural output, particularly in the areas located distant from the riverbeds.¹⁶ In historical periods, furthermore, the region of Urfa, as a drought-prone area, was likely to undergo recurring decline in the agricultural output in the dry periods where the water flow of the rivers decreased.¹⁷ However, the Euphrates and its tributaries also carried the risk of flooding in case of an excessive precipitation during the winter and spring seasons. In spring, the melting snow in the mountains of the Eastern Anatolia led the Euphrates to continue flowing fast until the summer.¹⁸ In general, the rainfall regime is rather irregular in the region of Urfa. The rainfall level could vary from 150 to 800 mm and the sudden downpours are quite common in the region, because it receives the largest portion of its precipitation in winter and particularly in January as rainfall.¹⁹

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁵ Güler Öztan, *Urfa İklimi*, (Ankara, 1974). p. 1.

¹⁶ Arie S. Issar and Mattanyah Zohar, *Climate Change (Environment and Civilization in the Middle East)*, (Berlin-Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2004), p. 142.

¹⁷ Arlene Miller Rosen, "Early to Mid-Holocene Environmental Changes and Their Impact on Human Communities in Southeastern Anatolia," in *Water, Environment and Society in Times of Climatic Change*, edited by Arie S. Issar and Neville Brown (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998), pp. 215-240. As far as the reports from the ancient and medieval chronicles showed, the city of Urfa seems to have been subjected to the famine threat periodically. The years of famine were dated to AD 499-500, 784, 842 and 1099 all of which resulted in heavy casualties. See, J. B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 124, 127, 140, 142, 147, 155, 164, 184, 186, 204, 216 and 229.

¹⁸ Issar and Zohar, *Climate Change*, p. 116.

¹⁹ Ahmet Necdet Sözer, "Güneydoğu Anadolu'nun Doğal Çevre Şartlarına Coğrafi Bir Bakış," *Ege Coğrafya Dergisi*, vol.2, no. 1 (1984), pp. 18-19.

The ancient and medieval chronicles reported several flood disasters in Urfa caused by the tributaries of the Euphrates.²⁰ In order to prevent the flood damages, the Emperor Justinian I (AD 527-565), had to have the streambed of Karakoyun ('Skirtos' or 'Daisan' in its ancient names), which was one of those tributaries running through the city of Urfa, moved to the east and northeast of the city.²¹ On the other hand, the recurrent floods were beneficial to the semi-arid environment of the region of Urfa, notwithstanding their damages and casualties. The floodwater accumulated in the hollow surface and produced swamps that contained silts and clays. This helped the dry ground remain humid, which was important to offset the imminent drought damages on agriculture.²²

The springs of the tributaries of the Euphrates were scattered throughout the karst and basaltic topography surrounding the city of Urfa. These springs contained sufficient amount of ground water via aquifers. The ground water generated the tributaries of the Euphrates by rising up to the surface through the springs and small lakes.²³ In this respect, the city and its immediate hinterland were abundant in water resources. That is the most important reason why plenty of ancient settlements and pre-historic sites are found in the region of Urfa.²⁴ The springs of Cavsak and Sırrın were important water sources located in the north and north-west of the city.²⁵ The springs in the north formed the Collab River flowed in the north-south direction and joined to the River Balikh in the Harran plain.²⁶ Here, the Sarudj stream also joined to the River Balikh; consequently, the Harran plain became a fertile land thanks to the alluvial deposits carried by the

²⁰ The years of the flood records were dated to AD 201, 303, 413, 525 (April), 667, 740 (March), 834-835, 1103 and 1114. See, Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'*, pp. 24, 96-97, 124, 203, 204, 230 and 235.

²¹ Segal, *Ibid.*, p. 156; Steven K. Ross, *Roman Edessa (Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire, 114-242 CE)* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p.14.

²² Rosen, "Early to Mid-Holocene Environmental Changes and Their Impact on Human Communities in Southeastern Anatolia," pp. 235-236.

²³ Şahinalp, "Şanlıurfa Şehri'nin Kuruluşuna Etki Eden Etmenler," pp. 108-113; Ross, *Roman Edessa*, p. 18.

²⁴ Honigmann (with Göyünç), "Urfa" *İA*.

²⁵ Dr. Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimâî Coğrafyası*, p. 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

stream and rivers.²⁷ In the east of Urfa, the River Khabur was the single watercourse that irrigated the pasture area of Berriye. It started from Siverek and flowed through the plains of Viranşehir and Resülayn to the south.²⁸

The rural settlements were concentrated more in the immediate hinterland of the city and the *nahiyes* of Collab, Harran and Bozabad depending on the river irrigation.²⁹ The settlements that were located distant from the tributaries of the Euphrates could meet their water-demand through the water-wells.³⁰ It was possible to reach the aquifer with ease in the region of Urfa thanks to its karst and basaltic topography, while digging the water-wells into the ground.³¹ In the *kadı* register of Urfa (1629-1631), the investigation cases for the deceased persons who fell to the water-wells while drawing water indicated to the dependence of the rural settlements on the water-wells.³² The existence of water-wells in abundance determined the characteristics of the settlement pattern in the region of Urfa. The rural settlements were scattered over a large area as small in size.³³ When the water-wells around their settlements went dry or collapsed into the ground, the inhabitants could move to a different place to find or dig another water-well for settling. Therefore, most of the settlements were temporary in character. We can see the temporary character of the settlements through their names that ended with the suffix *viran* (ruined or derelict) or *höyük* (tumulus).³⁴ It is

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 4.

²⁸ Peter Beaumont, "Agricultural and Environmental Changes in the upper Euphrates catchment of Turkey and Syria and their political and economic implications," *Applied Geography*, vol. 16 no. 2, 137-157: pp. 138-139.

²⁹ M. Mehdi İlhan, "Urfa and its Environs in 1560s," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001), p. 7; Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa)*, pp. 49-51; Dr. Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhî ve İctimâî Coğrafyası*, p. 44 (map 1).

³⁰ Şahinalp, "Şanlıurfa Şehri'nin Kuruluşuna Etki Eden Etmenler," p. 108.

³¹ Şahinalp, *Ibid.*, p. 108.

³² For example, Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 15, doc. no. 31; p. 80, doc. no. 178.

³³ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, pp. 49-51

³⁴ M. Mehdi İlhan, *Amid (Diyarbakır) 1518 detailed register* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), pp. 48-49.

obvious that that type of settlements was once deserted by their inhabitants for some reasons, such as drought, invasion, etc., and repopulated in due course of time.³⁵

The archival materials including the *kadı* register and the fiscal records that are under examination in this chapter covered a short period starting from 1629 to 1635 for the region of Urfa. This period coincided with the wet period that prevailed in the East Mediterranean including the south-eastern Anatolia in 1620-1640.³⁶ Similar to the East Mediterranean, the tree ring records indicated the precipitation was above the threshold of drought in central Anatolia in 1630-1640.³⁷ There is clear evidence from the *kadı* register of Urfa that shows the region of Urfa was affected by flood and heavy precipitation in 1630. It was recorded on 15th February 1630 that flood inflicted a heavy damage on the watermills located along the Collab River.³⁸ In another part of the register, it was recorded that an urban dwelling collapsed due to heavy rain on 6th May 1630.³⁹ Similar to the situation in Urfa, it is also known that a severe flood covered Mecca in March 1630.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the Ottoman chronicles also corroborated the evidence of the court entries about the fact that the south-eastern Anatolia was under the influence of a wet period in 1620-1640.⁴¹ In his chronicle, Naima drew attention to the harsh winter conditions that prevailed in an area between the Euphrates

³⁵ Nejat Göyünç and Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, *Land an Der Grenze* (İstanbul: Eren, 1997), pp. 88-89.

³⁶ A. Nicault and *et al.*, "Mediterranean Drought Fluctuation During the Last 500 Years Based On Tree-Ring Data," *Clim Dyn* (2008) 31: 227-245; pp. 239-241; Ramzi Touchan and *et al.*, "Six Centuries of May-July Precipitation in Cyprus From Tree-Rings," *Clim Dyn* (2014) 43: 3281-3292: p. 3288.

³⁷ Rosenna D'Arrigo and Heidi M. Cullen, "A 350-Year (AD 1628-1980) Reconstruction of Turkish Precipitation," *Dendrochronologia* 19 (2)-2001: pp. 169-177;

³⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 40; doc. no. 94.

³⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 103; doc. no. 231.

⁴⁰ Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 200; Muhammed Abdulla, "Climatic Fluctuations and Natural Disasters in Arabia Between Mid-17th and Early 20th Centuries," *GeoJournal* 37 (1995): 176-180; Although the rainfall is irregular and scarce and rainless periods for 4 years are common in Mecca, the historical records several times noted that severe floods covered Mecca and its environs, leaving many of the people to death. W. Montgomery Watt, "Makka," EI².

⁴¹ Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'imâ*, vol. II, trans. by Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 2007). Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke-i Tevarih*, vol. II.

and the Tigris, including Diyarbakır and Mosul, during November and December 1629.⁴² He mentioned that heavy snowfall blocked the roads in Diyarbakır and it took the people of Mosul by a great surprise, because they had never seen snow before.⁴³ Heavy rainfall caused the Euphrates and the Tigris to flood, which resulted in severe damage to the villages located near to the riverbanks.⁴⁴ Katib Çelebi said that the water buffalo herd was engulfed by the floodwaters of the Tigris during the course of the campaign to Baghdad in 1629-1630.⁴⁵

This evidence from the court entries and the Ottoman chronicles seems to be convincing enough to state that the Urfa region fell under the influence of a more humid and colder climate in 1629-1630. There is no doubt that heavy rain and snow produced certain outcomes concerning the agricultural production and animal husbandry in the Urfa region in the years 1629-1630 in which a large bulk of the court entries under discussion in this chapter were compiled. As regards the consequences of the cold winter and heavy rainfall, Naima stated that a shortage of barley and bread occurred in the environs of Mosul in February 1630.⁴⁶ Furthermore, sheep and cattle perished of cold in winter and those who survived were extremely weak.⁴⁷

It can be presumed that the cold weather and excessive precipitation-causing flood had a similarly harmful impact on the Urfa region during the winter of 1629-1630, because of its geographic proximity to Diyarbakır and Mosul. In relation to agriculture, drought and cold spells together with excessive precipitation had a negative effect on wheat and barley, reducing the crop yields and quality.⁴⁸ In the seasons with low rainfall, while barley production can remain unaffected,

⁴² Naima, *Ibid.*, pp. 650-653.

⁴³ Naima, *Ibid.*, p. 651.

⁴⁴ Naima, *Ibid.*, p. 650.

⁴⁵ Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*. In Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare (1500-1700)*, (London: UCL Press, 1999), p. 233.

⁴⁶ Naima, *Ibid.*, p. 653.

⁴⁷ Naima, *Ibid.*, p. 653.

⁴⁸ Ammar Wahbi and Thomas R. Sinclair, "Simulation analysis of relative yield advantage of barley and wheat in an eastern Mediterranean climate," *Field Crops Research* 91 (2005), pp. 287-296.

the wheat harvest decreases in yields and quality.⁴⁹ By contrast, the barley harvest becomes low in the seasons with high rainfall contrary to wheat.⁵⁰ Furthermore, barley is less tolerant against frosts than wheat.⁵¹ It is generally preferred to start to cultivate barley in autumn, which is the way to derive a better barley harvest in yields and quality. However, this might be hazardous to the crop yields and quality due to early and persistent frosts.⁵² As regards pastoralism, the impact of the extreme winter conditions tended to be dual. While sheep and cattle were likely to perish of extreme cold in winter, an excessive rainfall throughout the winter and spring expanded the area of pastureland and fed the water reserves sufficiently. Thus, even though a significant number of animals were lost in winter, the nomads could restore the curtailed herd to its former size by means of sufficient water reserves and pastureland. Moreover, depending on the abundant water reserves, the nomads did not need to go to the further distances to find pasture for their animals, which paved the way for the spontaneous sedentarization.⁵³

Production and Population

The agricultural production pattern of the region of Urfa was relied largely on mixed farming that combined grain cultivation with sheep and goat breeding. The variety in crops became more diverse in the river basin, thanks to irrigation; thus, it was possible to grow rice, cotton, vegetables, fruits and vines in the river basin. It was also possible to derive a higher amount of cereal yields from the lands located in the river basin, compared to the areas that remained dry due

⁴⁹ Wahbi and Sinclair, *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁵⁰ Wahbi and Sinclair, *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁵¹ <https://www.daf.qld.gov.au/plants/field-crops-and-pastures/broadacre-field-crops/barley/planting-nutrition-harvesting>

⁵² <https://www.daf.qld.gov.au/plants/field-crops-and-pastures/broadacre-field-crops/barley/planting-nutrition-harvesting>

⁵³ Douglas L. Johnson, *The Nature of Nomadism: A Comparative Study of Pastoral Migrations in Southwestern Asia and Northern Africa* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 6-7.

to their distance from the rivers.⁵⁴ The volume of grain production of the region of Urfa was even sufficient to meet the demand of the neighbouring regions, beyond its local consumption. For example, Aintab depended on the grain harvested in the region of Urfa for its provisioning during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵⁵ In the same way, Urfa could dispatch its surplus grain to Aleppo in case of scarcity.⁵⁶

The pattern of grain cultivation was extensive in the region of Urfa. The larger the cultivated land was, the more yields the farmer could acquire. The *çift*-lands varied in size according to the access to irrigation, i.e. the proximity to the tributaries of the Euphrates. Therefore, 80 *dönüms* of a land that was located in the river basin, for example in the *nâhiyes* of the city (Şehir), Harran and Collab, was accepted as *çift*, whereas 150 *dönüms* of a land could be put into the category of *çift* in the areas with poor access to irrigation. Even in the drier parts of the region, like the *nahiye* of Bozabad that lay on the plateau of Baziki, the *çift*-lands became larger in size for grain cultivation, varying from 200 to 300 *dönüms*.⁵⁷

It can be observed through the land registers of the sixteenth century that the ratio of wheat to barley in the volume of grain production could fluctuate, depending on the climatic anomalies that resulted in drought. The average productivity rate per *çift* for barley increased from 6,247 to 17,400 kg in between 1518 and 1540. The increase rate was 160 per cent,⁵⁸ whereas the increase in the average productivity rate per *çift* for wheat remained 51 per cent during the same period. It rose

⁵⁴ Urfa Vilayeti Salnamesi-(Istanbul: İlhami Fevzi Matbaası,1928), pp. 40-41; Dr. Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimâî Coğrafyası*, p. 5; M. Mehdi İlhan, "Urfa and its Environs in 1560s," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001), p. 12.

⁵⁵ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, p. 81.

⁵⁶ Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1989), pp. 124 and 132.

⁵⁷ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, p. 72; Urfa Vilayeti Salnamesi-(Istanbul: İlhami Fevzi Matbaası,1928), pp. 40-41; Dr. Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimâî Coğrafyası*, p. 5; M. Mehdi İlhan, "Urfa and its Environs in 1560s," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001), p. 12.

⁵⁸ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, p. 80.

up to 23,752 from 15,702 kg.⁵⁹ However, the increase in barley production became slow from 1540 to 1566 and its average productivity rate per *çift* reduced to 16,480 kg in 1566, which was even slightly below that of 1540.⁶⁰ In contrast, the average productivity rate per *çift* for wheat continued to rise, up to 32,491 kg from 1540 to 1566. Its increase rate was 26 per cent.⁶¹ The uptrend in barley productivity towards 1540 can be connected to the rise in animal population, either as sheep or draught animals.⁶² Nevertheless, the barley productivity should have continued increasing after 1540, unless any epizootic disease diminished the animal population. Hence, it was more likely that the peasants devoted more land to the barley cultivation in order to cope with the aridity towards 1540, because barley was a drought-resistant crop. Tree-ring data also corroborates this argument, which attributes the increase in barley productivity to the impact of the drought on agriculture. The tree-ring data indicated that the year 1540 was one of the warmest and driest periods of the sixteenth century both in Europe and the entire Mediterranean basin.⁶³

Urfa was not a major producing area for cotton and rice owing to its semi-arid climate; however, it was possible to grow rice and cotton in the river basin as long as the water flow remained sufficient.⁶⁴ Therefore, rice and cotton plantations were concentrated in the *nahiyes* of Collab and Harran, depending on the river irrigation.⁶⁵ It is reported that 37,456 kg of rice was produced in Harran in 1566, which was priced for 82,640 *akçes*.⁶⁶ Since rice and cotton cultivation

⁵⁹ Turan, *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶⁰ Turan, *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁶¹ Turan, *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶² Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 152-153.

⁶³ A. Nicault and *et al.*, "Mediterranean Drought Fluctuation During the Last 500 Years Based On Tree-Ring Data," p. 239.

⁶⁴ Dewdney, *Turkey*, pp. 103-105; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Cotton Textiles- The story of a success that did not Last, 1500-1800," in *The Spinning Word: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*, edited by Giorgio Riello and Prasanan Parthasarati (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 90 and 96.

⁶⁵ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, pp. 87-88.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

required regular irrigation, any slackening in the river flow due to the rainfall deficit would reduce the rice and cotton yields.⁶⁷ It is possible to see the drought effects of the year 1540 on rice and cotton production in the region of Urfa through the evidence from the land registers. In the land register of 1540, for example, the *kadı* of Urfa was notified that the villages located in the *nahiye* of Collab drew unnecessarily too much water from the canals connected to the River of Collab, which in turn threatened the rice cultivation and impeded the water flow to go down to the *nahiye* of Harran.⁶⁸ On the other hand, it can be seen through the land registers that the tithe-revenue of cotton decreased from 69,300 to 38,169 *akçes* from 1518 to 1540, but it increased to 58,150 *akçes* in 1566.⁶⁹

The tithe-revenue of rice seems to have remained steady at 50,000 *akçes* from 1540 to 1566, according to the land registers.⁷⁰ We cannot unfortunately estimate whether the rice cultivation expanded or contracted towards the seventeenth century in Urfa, due to the absence of archival data. However, it seems that the volume of the rice production began to increase gradually after 1566. There is evidence from the fiscal records to indicate a growth of rice production during the first decade of the seventeenth century. It is understood that the villages of Mamoca and Keberni from the *nahiye* of Collab were assigned to produce rice and the tithe-revenues of both for the rice production were farmed out at 765,680 *akçes* for three years from 1605 to 1608.⁷¹ Furthermore, they were farmed out for 1,265,680 *akçes* with an increase of 500,000 *akçes* in 1610.⁷² The increase in the tax-farm revenues of both villages can be regarded as the sign that the water flow of the Collab River was sufficient to enable irrigated farming. This may also confirm that a wet and humid climate prevailed in the region of Urfa in the early seventeenth century. The period between 1600-

⁶⁷ Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean*, pp. 285-286.

⁶⁸ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, pp. 87.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.89.

⁷⁰ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, p. 110.

⁷¹ MAD 3260, p, 101.

⁷² MAD 3260, p. 17.

1610 was in general wetter than the previous decades in the East Mediterranean.⁷³ It is also likely that the South-Eastern Taurus Mountains might have received a sufficient level of snowfall in the early decades of the seventeenth century; therefore, the melting snow enabled the River of Collab and the other tributaries of the Euphrates to flow at a normal rate.⁷⁴

Viticulture remained in minor scale in production in Urfa in comparison to the region of Aintab. The total number of vine-stocks was 1,279,310 in Urfa in 1566, which was more or less eight times lower than that of Aintab in 1574.⁷⁵ Furthermore, containing more seeds and being thick-skinned, the grapes of Urfa had also a lower yield quality in comparison to Aintab.⁷⁶ It is understood that although grape production declined in volume from 1566 onwards, it began to improve in the first decade of the seventeenth century. While the tax-revenues of the grape-juice factory (*şırāhāne mukāta'āsı*) were priced for 38,426 *akçes* in 1566,⁷⁷ it went down to 26,500 just before 1605. However, it was farmed out for 126,500 *akçes* for three years in between 1605 and 1608.⁷⁸

Urfa was subjected to a series of provincial rebellions and skirmishes that took place in its immediate rural area during the last decades of the sixteenth century.⁷⁹ The tribal and nomadic groups played a significant role in most of the acts of violence. They joined in the rebel armies, or mobilized themselves for their own interests. For instance, one of the dismissed district governors revolted in Urfa and Raqqa with the support of the Turkmen tribes in 1584.⁸⁰ A few years later,

⁷³ Touchan and *et.al.*, "Six centuries of May-July Precipitation in Cyprus from tree rings," p. 3287.

⁷⁴ From 1597 onwards, harsh winter conditions began to be observed across the empire. White, *The Climate of Rebellion*, pp. 174-179.

⁷⁵ Turan, *Ibid.*, p. 91; Özdeğer, *Aintab Livası*, p. 77.

⁷⁶ Dr. Arif, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimâî Coğrafyası*, p. 4.

⁷⁷ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, p. 111.

⁷⁸ MAD 3260, p. 101.

⁷⁹ Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâli İsyamları (1550-1603)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963), pp. 143, 160 and 164; William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), pp. 29-31.

⁸⁰ Akdağ, *Ibid.*, p. 143.

circa 1596, it was reported that the Turkmens from the Beğdili tribe plundered the *havass* villages in the Urfa region, on the pretext of taking revenge on the Arabs.⁸¹ In 1599, the city of Urfa was severely destroyed due to the armed conflict between the Celalis and the Ottoman forces. The Celali leaders-Karayazıcı and Canboladoğlu Hüseyin retreated inside the city and resisted the Ottoman siege for two months.⁸²

It can be assumed that the region of Urfa might have entered into a period of economic and demographic decline as a consequence of the banditry and the social and political turbulence. In this regard, Faroqhi draws our attention to the fact that travellers' accounts drew a picture of a ruined city in the aftermath of the rebellion.⁸³ In particular, the descriptions of Evliya Çelebi who visited Urfa in 1646 were evidently sufficient to indicate that the social and political turbulence took its toll on the city of Urfa in demographic terms.⁸⁴ He counted 2,600 households in the city, which amounted to 13,000 souls. It was virtually the same as the figure given by the land register of 1566.⁸⁵ Therefore, the reason the urban population remained unchanged in almost 80 years can be associated with the outcomes of the turbulence during the Celali rebellion.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Evliya mentioned new quarters in the city that did not exist in the land registers of the sixteenth century, which may demonstrate that some of the old quarters were replaced by new ones after the destruction of the city during the rebellion.⁸⁷ In addition to Evliya, Tavernier who visited Urfa in 1644 narrated that many houses were poorly built or even lay in ruins in the city. He also noticed

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁸² Griswold, *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁸³ Suraiya Faroqhi, "al-Rūha," *El*²

⁸⁴ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*; İlhan Şahin, "Evliya Çelebi'nin Urfa Hakkında Verdiği Bilgilerin Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında Değerlendirilmesi," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 4 (1989), pp. 293-298.

⁸⁵ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*; Şahin, *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁸⁶ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*; Şahin, *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁸⁷ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*; Şahin, *Ibid.*, p. 296.

plenty of vacant plots inside the city walls; therefore, he likened the town to a desert.⁸⁸ Furthermore, a number of court entries displaying the sales of ruined houses that were located in different quarters of the city corroborated the observations of both travellers.⁸⁹ In addition to the travellers' accounts and the court entries regarding the sales of ruined houses, a document from the fiscal records dated 18th April 1648 can give clues about the socio-economic situation of the region of Urfa during the decades following the Celali rebellions.⁹⁰ The document says:

To the *kadı* of Rūha (Urfa): the provincial governor of Raqqa submitted a petition to our court in which the tribes of Zerkevani and Celâni, who were from the district of [kazâ-ı Rūha (Urfa)] and the confederation of Döğerni [whose revenues belonged to the imperial domains], stated that “since the *reaya* of the district became dispersed [*perâkende*] due to the Celali invasion, the central government wanted to mitigate the *avarız* taxes of the district out of pity and reduced the number of households that were bound to the *avarız* to some 300 [*hane*]. The *avarız* taxes for 300 households were shared out among the *reaya* with their consent and the mediation of the local notables and the Muslims. 41,5 households fell to the share of the aforementioned Döğerni confederation and while we [the tribes of Zerikanlu and Celâni] were paying the *avarız* taxes together with the tribes of El-Betikban (?) and Belyanlu equally, a *sipahi* named Kôr Mustafa from the tribes of El-Betikban (?) and Belyanlu prevented his tribes from paying the *avarız* taxes on the grounds that they belonged to the treasury of Diyârbekir as tax-farm unit; therefore, we had to assume their tax-debt that amounted to 8,5 households. Now, although the aforesaid *sipahi* died, those tribes did not pay the *avarız* taxes

⁸⁸ Faroqhi, *Ibid.*, ; Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, translated into English by John Phillips (London, 1678), p. 68.

⁸⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 106, doc. no. 239; Urfa Court Records (no. 8823) p. 108, doc. no. 243; Urfa Court Records (no. 8823) p. 104, doc. no. 233; Urfa Court Records (no. 8823) p. 154, doc. no. 346; Urfa Court Records (no. 8823) p. 158, doc. no. 356; Urfa Court Records (no. 8823) p. 201 doc. no. 462.

⁹⁰ MAD 2773, p. 27.

together with us, which was an unjust act to us. We are able to pay the *avarız* taxes only for 32,5 households as before, but if the rest of it, which amounted to 8,5 households, could not be charged on the other tribes [El-Betikban (?) and Beyanlu], it is certain that we would become dispersed due to our incapability of paying the *avarız* taxes ...”⁹¹

Any attempt to compare the number of the *avarız* households (300) mentioned above with the demographic figures from the land register of 1566 is fraught with an erroneous assumption about the demographic situation of the region of Urfa during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹² An *avarız* household was a tax unit which was used to measure the economic resources of an area or community on average in terms of the ability to pay the extraordinary impositions and customary levies.⁹³ The central government had right to adjust the amount of the *avarız* households concerning a specific area according to the economic situation of the existing population.⁹⁴ In the region of Urfa, it can be accepted that each *avarız* household, as tax unit, was equivalent to an estimated economic value of the grain harvest that could be derived from one full-sized agricultural holding (*tam-çift*). For example, in a court entry recorded earlier than the document in question, it is seen that the *avarız* tax was collected in cash in place of *nüzül* (the requirement of food supply in kind) and consequently 1,700 *akçes* fell to the share of each *avarız* household.⁹⁵ In the entry, the officer stressed that he was able to collect the *avarız* tax from every *avarız* household in complete and

⁹¹ MAD 2773, p. 27.

⁹² About the drawbacks of using the *avarız* registers to observe the quantitative changes in population across the lands of the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, see Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube 1526-1690* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 216-232; Oktay Özel, “Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th centuries: the ‘demographic crisis’ reconsidered,” *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 36 (2004), pp. 183-205; idem, “Osmanlı Demografi Tarihi Açısından Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri,” in: “Balkan Identities” (forthcoming, but almost the same text can be found in Halil İnalcık - Şevket Pamuk (eds.), *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilgi ve İstatistik* (Ankara: DİE Yayını, 2001).

⁹³ Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, p. 229.

⁹⁴ Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy Tax-Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*, p. 98.

⁹⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p.328, doc. no. 689.

delivered the sum that amounted to 510,000 *akçes* to the central government authorities while on campaign.⁹⁶ It is clearly understood that the *avarız* tax was an equivalent of the agricultural products or animals in cash. From this point forth, the *avarız* tax was charged on a certain number of taxpayers in a specific place or on a tribe depending on the yield capacity of the agricultural holdings, including animals, in their possessions.⁹⁷

In the document mentioned in the previous page, the diminution in the amount of the *avarız* households therefore should be interpreted as a decrease in the amount of the grain revenues that could be derived from more than 300 full-sized agricultural holdings (*tam-çift*).⁹⁸ To the evidence from a court entry recorded on 29th August 1630, the tax of *avarız-ı divâniyye* was collected according to the amount of the land and agricultural production in the region of Urfa.⁹⁹ In the entry, El-Hajj Ali Beğ, who was assigned to collect the tax of *avarız-ı divâniyye* on behalf of the confederation of the Bozulus tribes, came to the court in order to make a complaint about five persons from the village of Kırıkpınar that was located in the *nahiye* of Bozabad.¹⁰⁰ He asserted that since those persons were originally from the Bozulus tribes, they should have paid their *avarız* taxes to the finance of the Bozulus confederation.¹⁰¹ In response to his assertion, however, the aforementioned persons presented the receipts to the *kadı* for payment of the *avarız* taxes to which they were liable for the village of Kırıkpınar. They stated that they were registered in the quarter of the *avarız* (*rub'-ı avarız*), which showed the economic capacity of the village to pay the *avarız* taxes as one-fourth of the total agricultural production of a full-sized land. On the other hand, in the

⁹⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p.328, doc. no. 689.

⁹⁷ The *avarız* tax was more often than not replaced by the *nüzül* tax. See for more details for the interchangeable use of both, Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe (Taxation, trade and the struggle for land, 1600-1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 106-108.

⁹⁸ Moaçanin, *Town and Country*, pp. 216-217; Vera P. Moutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th centuries* (New York: East European Monographs, 1988), p. 167.

⁹⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 189-190, doc. no. 433.

¹⁰⁰ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 189-190, doc. no. 433.

¹⁰¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 189-190, doc. no. 433.

instruction to the *kadı* of Urfa, the central government reiterated that the *avarız* was not a personal tax; instead, it was related to the land in possession.¹⁰²

In the document, the number of *avarız* households that amounted to 300 appears to be compatible more or less with the figures of the 1566 land register about the full-sized lands. In the 1566 land register, the number of full-sized (*tam-çift*) lands was 155 and the ones that were larger than full-sized were 66 (1,5, 2 and 3 *çifts*).¹⁰³ From these figures, we can conclude that 365,5 full-sized lands existed in the region of Urfa in 1566.¹⁰⁴ Besides, although it seems rather difficult to estimate each full-sized land was in possession of how many family units (*hane*), it was likely that more than one family held each full-sized land; because, the 1566 land register showed that the number of households outnumbered the full-sized lands in many villages.¹⁰⁵ Thus, a full-sized agricultural holding as a unit of *avarızhane* could be in possession of a few households. Here, the decrease in the number of full-sized agricultural holdings from 363,5 to 300 in between 1566 and 1648 demonstrated that the region of Urfa had lost its agricultural revenues, due to the Celali rebellions, in an amount which 63,5 full-sized lands would have yielded.

Nevertheless, the depopulation and desertion of countryside due to the Celali rebellion did not result in a serious setback for the agricultural production. There is clear evidence from the fiscal records to suggest that the urban revenues related to agricultural production began to increase after the period of the Celali rebellions. For example, similar to the rice producing villages in the *nahiye* of Collab, as we mentioned before, the tax-farm price of *bac-ı ubûr* and *tamgâ-yı siyâh* (transit and black-stamp duties) was increased from 842,000 to 1,353,500 *akçes* on 25th April 1610 for three

¹⁰² “...avarız kişinin zâtına lâzım olmayub mutasarrıf eylediği araziye lâzım olduğu zâhir olub...”
Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 189-190, doc. no. 433.

¹⁰³ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁴ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁵ İlhan, “Urfa and Its Environs in 1560s,” pp. 18-57.

years.¹⁰⁶ The increase in the price of that tax-farm unit was a clear sign of the growth in the amount of the goods and food products that were brought to the city from outside and sold in the city bazaars.¹⁰⁷ The tax-farm price of Germüç and its nearby *mezraas*, which was one of the largest villages of Urfa and inhabited mostly by the Christians, was increased from 375,500 to 575,500 *akçes* on 26th March 1610 for three years.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, its tax-farm price seems to have continued rising after 1610, because it reached to 700,000 *akçes* in 1630.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, the tax-farm price of the grape-juice factory rose up from 26,500 to 126,500 *akçes* on 27th June 1610 for three years.¹¹⁰ The tax-farm of *arasa* and *ihtisab* was also increased from 462,500 to 662,502 *akçes* on 19th September 1610 for three years.¹¹¹ The taxes on the grain sales in the market formed the revenues of the tax-farm of *arasa*; thus, it points to a regular grain flow into the market. The fines charged on the markets and guilds formed the revenues of the tax-farm of *ihtisab*, which points to the commercial dynamism of the city markets.¹¹²

The signs of the agricultural expansion can be seen through the court entries. The limits of agriculture expanded over the settlements that were reflected in the 1566 land register as less populated or uninhabited. One of these signs was the renovation of the watermills that had remained in idle and ruins for several decades. The renovation of the idle watermills proved that the already-operative watermills were inadequate in number to grind grains into flour. This can be accepted as the evidence that the countryside of Urfa began to produce more grain circa 1630 than before. For example, a Christian subject named Aslan [veled-i] Panus voluntarily undertook to renovate a watermill that lay in ruins for almost 40-50 years in the village of Öğül (?). In return for his effort,

¹⁰⁶ MAD 3260, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ M.Fuad Köprülü, “Bādî” *El²*; Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha*, pp. 106-107.

¹⁰⁸ MAD 3260, p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p.329, doc. no. 690.

¹¹⁰ MAD 3260, p. 39.

¹¹¹ MAD 3260, p. 39.

¹¹² Turan, *Ibid.*, p. 108.

he was entitled by the trustees of the endowment to run the watermill for three years since 1629 without charge.¹¹³ In another entry, it is seen that another Christian subject named Karagöz [veled-i] Nurik repaired a watermill that lay in ruins for 30 years in the village of Geçid Öyüğü with his own efforts. Similarly, he was entitled to run the watermill for eight-years since 1630 in return for 700 *akçes* for each year.¹¹⁴

Another other sign about the agricultural expansion was land reclamation. The wastelands could be reclaimed in two ways. Firstly, the state officials volunteered to bring the wastelands under cultivation in the *mezraas* by bringing population from outside. For this, the central government encouraged the state officials and the new incomers to populate their new places in a permanent way by granting them with tax exemption or tax reduction for a certain period. For example, an imperial armorer (*silahdar*) named Hazim had managed to repopulate the *mezraa* of Kantaracık located in the *nâhiye* of Şehir, by bringing people from outside. In return for his effort, he was entitled to assume the tax-farm of the *mezraa* for three years since 1627 for a reduced price.¹¹⁵ Another example for the land reclamation belonged to the village of Cavsuk on 14th February 1630. A plot of land that remained vacant and in ruins more than 30 years in the village was registered to one of the imperial court servants under the *tapu* to produce sesame.¹¹⁶

Secondly, the peasants and tribal peasants seem to have availed themselves of the vacant plots that were found scattered and varied in size in the countryside. In particular, the peasants who were inclined to pursue a nomadic way of life tend to have exploited the vacant lands without being tied to the land; that is to say, they did not want to be registered under the *tapu*-system, just like their counterparts in other regions.¹¹⁷ The sedentary peasants conversely seemed to be more willing

¹¹³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 52, doc. no. 120.

¹¹⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 63, doc. no. 138; p. 54, doc. no. 125.

¹¹⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 283, doc. no. 593.

¹¹⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 327, doc. no. 687.

¹¹⁷ See the chapter Ankara.

to avail themselves of the vacant lands under the *tapu*. A lawsuit in the matter of a dispute between two peasants who had a tribal affiliation gives an example of the competition over the use of vacant lands in the countryside.¹¹⁸ On 17th June 1630, İlyas bin Taceddin from the tribe of Mersavi came to the court to file a complaint against Tahir bin Ali from the same tribe. Apart from their tribal background, it is understood that both the plaintiff and the defendant had affiliations with the village of Cenk-viran. In his assertion, the plaintiff İlyas appears to have lived in Cenk-viran prior to the date of the document. He asserted that Tahir bin Ali did not permit him to exploit a farm [it was called ‘Mehmed çiftliği’ in the document] that consisted of two plots of irrigated land and four plots of stony lands and remained vacant almost 20 years in the village. Tahir appeared as a tradesman living in the village in his counter-assertion. He stated that he had been tilling the farm with a title deed and confirmed to have paid the tithe related to his harvest completely thus far. Upon submitting his deed to the court, the *kadı* allowed Tahir to continue cultivating the aforementioned farm.¹¹⁹ It can be said that İlyas bin Taceddin began to pursue a nomadic way of life in some way, given the fact that he was a former inhabitant of the village. Therefore, it was to his benefit to continue exploiting the aforementioned farm without being tied to the land. The vacant lands that were brought under cultivation were mostly composed of small plots called *zemîn* in the countryside of Urfa.¹²⁰

The court entries indicated a busy trade in these small plots in the countryside. The actors of this trade were from various backgrounds. Although the tribal peasants and nomads appear to have generated a major demand for the small vacant plots, of course, the demand from the city-dwellers

¹¹⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 142, doc. no. 315.

¹¹⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 142, doc. no. 315.

¹²⁰ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha (Urfa) Sancağı*, p. 72.

and sedentary peasants were quite visible in the court entries.¹²¹ For example, in a court entry from the village of Cenk-viran again, it was recorded on 19th July 1630 that Bali bin Şakir from the tribe of Mersavi purchased a plot of land yielding 2 *kiles* of grain for 280 *akçes*.¹²² In a similar way, Gara bin Haco from the tribe of Döğerni purchased a *çift* land from Mustafa bin Veli a peasant from the village of Kazani for 1,050 *akçes* on 19 March 1630.¹²³ However, it was interesting that Garo bin Haco sold his new land to a Christian named Bahtiyar [veled-i] Yanus on the same day for 910 *akçes*.¹²⁴ A court entry also exemplified a land transaction between two urban-dwellers in Urfa. Şah Hüseyin Çelebi bin Ahmed Çelebi came to the court to confirm his selling of 12 parcels of a furrow (*evlek*), which was called ‘Zeliha Hatun Yeri’ and located in the village of Surin, to el-Hajj Kasım bin Merid for 3,500 *akçes* on 17th January 1630.¹²⁵

The resumption of agricultural production and the continuation of the settlement pattern in a sedentary way depended largely on the steadiness of the nomadic tribes in terms of settling down. The majority of the agricultural labour was derived from the nomadic tribes in the region of Urfa. These tribes were present in different categories in terms of their relation to the land circa 1630, as far as the documentary evidence indicated. The majority of the tribes belonged to the confederation of Karaulus. Although the tribes of the Karaulus pursued a nomadic way of life and engaged in sheep breeding in general, most of them-like Baziki, Berazi and Döğerli-adopted a more sedentary character in Urfa in the course of the sixteenth century. The sedentary-like tribes constituted half of the village population in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹²⁶ This pattern continued in the

¹²¹ For the practices of acquiring land as private ownership among the peasants in Anatolia during the 17th and 18th centuries, see Özer Ergenç, “XVII. ve XVIII. Yüzyıl Anadolu’sunda Toprak Tasarrufu ve Mülkiyeti Üzerine Değerlendirmeler,” in *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013), pp. 215-245.

¹²² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 164, doc. no. 370.

¹²³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 70, doc. no. 151.

¹²⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 70, doc. no. 152.

¹²⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 25, doc. no. 56.

¹²⁶ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha*, pp. 56-61; İlhan, “Urfa and Its Environs in 1560s,” p. 10.

first half of the seventeenth century. Most of the tribesmen that appeared in the court entries were described with an affiliation to the villages in Urfa circa 1630. For example, "...x person from the tribe of Karakeçili from the village of Güllüce...", "...x person from the tribe of Baziki from the village of Yarımdepe...", "...x person from the tribe of El-Pavud from the inhabitants of Harran...".¹²⁷ It was also possible to come across both nomadic and sedentary persons within the same tribe in the court entries. One of the most illustrative examples for that dual situation was the case of the Döğerli tribe, which was one of the largest ones together with the tribe of Baziki that formed the confederation of Karaulus.¹²⁸ One document is given here in order to point to the sedentary situation of the Döğerli: "...x person from the tribe of Döğerli came to the court to make an assertion against y person who was from the aforementioned tribe and the village of Merzi..."¹²⁹ On the other hand, it is seen through the statement of a plaintiff from the tribe of Döğerli that he [and his people] left their camps [*obamızdan kalkub*] in the vicinities of the River of Collab for coming to the city in order to purchase animals.¹³⁰ In the sequence of this document, the same plaintiff was described as "x person who was from the tribe of Döğerli and nomad (*göçer ulusdan*)".¹³¹ Similar to the case of the Döğerli tribe, the Halidli tribe was found in Siverek and Urfa as two groups in different status as nomad and sedentary. Those were present in Siverek were settled in the villages of Incirli and Kulanlu and the other group pursued a nomadic way of life in the Urfa region.¹³²

The *nahiyes* inhabited by the nomads were more likely to undergo the depopulation of countryside and desertion of settlements. The agricultural fertility was lower in these sub-districts

¹²⁷ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 143, doc. no. 315; p. 166, doc. no. 376; p. 178, doc. no. 408.

¹²⁸ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha*, p. 55. The tribe of Döğerli was composed of 1519 households and 643 bachelors in 1566, which made it as the largest tribe of Urfa.

¹²⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 177, doc. no. 406.

¹³⁰ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 26, doc. no. 58.

¹³¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 7, doc. no. 9.

¹³² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 327, doc. no. 686; p.330, doc. no. 693.

than the irrigated *nahiyes*; therefore, the settled nomads could not rely entirely on agriculture for making livelihood. In a period of social unrest, as had resulted from the Celali rebellions, it was easy for these nomads to pursue a mobile way of life for pastoralism. For example, the village of Kırıkpınar located in the *nahiye* of Bozabad appears to have contained 9 tribal households (*aşiret nüfusu*) in the land register of 1566.¹³³ Compared to the other villages in the *nahiye* of Bozabad, its population was low; but it produced wheat, barley and cotton at certain amount.¹³⁴ As it was seen in the previous pages of this chapter, on 29th August 1630, five persons from the village of Kırıkpınar appear to have been accused of being subject to the finance of Bozulus tribes as tax-payers.¹³⁵ This entry may indicate that its inhabitants might have returned to nomadism for a while and then settled down again. However, it is obvious that the village of Kırıkpınar was virtually deserted. We can see through a document in the form of an imperial letter on 2 May 1632 that the village lay in ruins and its population was dispersed. In the document, a military official from the city of Urfa undertook to make the village prosperous again, by bringing the inhabitants back to the village and providing them with seed and ploughs. In return, the central government required of him to deliver one-third of the grain harvest to the imperial granary.¹³⁶ That military official would probably seek to persuade some nomads to settle down in the village of Kırıkpınar.

It is seen through the entries from the fiscal records that some nomadic tribes fell into a state of poverty; therefore, they had to settle in land circa 1630. In an entry on 17th August 1631, the central government wanted to purchase 400 sheep from the tribes of Kârsalı and Mersavi for the army provisioning.¹³⁷ In response to the request for sheep, the members of both tribes informed the government that they had been tilling the land and had no sheep; furthermore, they were in a state

¹³³ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ruha*, p. 183.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹³⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 189-190, doc. no. 433.

¹³⁶ Kamil Kepeci, no. 7533, p. 39.

¹³⁷ MAD (8475), p. 99.

of poverty (*fakir-ül hâl*).¹³⁸ Therefore, the central government informed the *kadı* of Urfa that it excused both tribes from selling sheep, considering their situation.¹³⁹ In the entry, the location of the settlements of both tribes was not clear; however, it was stated that both were from the Çarmelik tribes, which was the name of a place in the *nâhiye* of Bozabad.¹⁴⁰ This place was located on a mountain pass (*derbend*) lying in ruins.¹⁴¹ It became later one of the areas of sedentarisation in the Urfa region in the 1690s.¹⁴²

There was a sharp decline in the number of animals among the tribes which settled in land. In this regard, an entry from the fiscal records gives us an example regarding the complaint of the tribe of Kavi about the imposition of the shepherd tax (*resm-i çobaniye*) on 17th July 1632.¹⁴³ In their complaint submitted to the central government, they stated that although they had settled in land, engaged in farming and had not moved to somewhere else (*aher yerde konub göçmeyüb*), but had kept only 5-8 goats for their sustenance (*maişetimiz için*), they were forced by the superintendents of the Karaulus tribes to pay the shepherd tax.¹⁴⁴ In response to their complaint, the central government instructed the *kadı* of Urfa to investigate the actual situation of the tribe of Kavi whether they were settled and engaged in farming and recapitulated the legal status of the shepherd

¹³⁸ MAD (8475), p. 99.

¹³⁹ MAD (8475), p. 99.

¹⁴⁰ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı* (İstanbul: Eren, 1987), p. 62.

¹⁴¹ Orhonlu, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁴² Orhonlu, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁴³ MAD 8475, p. 31.

¹⁴⁴ MAD 8475, p. 31; The shepherd tax was a kind of regional pastoral tax to which only the herd-owner nomadic tribes from the Bozulus and Karaulus confederations were liable. 20 *akçes* were collected for every 100 heads of sheep and the sedentary tribes were exempted from the shepherd tax. Together with the tax on winter quarters (*resm-i kışlak*), which was another pastoral tax obligation (similar to the shepherd tax, it was 20 *akçes* for every 100 heads of sheep), and the ordinary sheep tax (1 *akçe* for 2 heads of sheep), the shepherd tax increased the tax debts of the nomads as an extra fiscal burden. In this case, the aggregate tax debt of a nomad who owned 100 heads of sheep amounted to 90 *akçes* [20 *akçes* (debt from the tax on winter quarters) + 20 *akçes* (debt from the shepherd tax) + 50 *akçes* (debt from the sheep tax) = 90 *akçes*]. See for the Ömer Lütü Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları*, p. 140; Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri-Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640* (Ankara: Bilge Yayınevi, 1997), pp. 132-133.

tax, as “the shepherd tax cannot be collected from anyone who tilled the land and was liable to the sheep tax; however, if they wanted to move to other places, summer and winter pastures, to graze animals, they were obliged to pay both sheep tax and shepherd tax at the same time.”¹⁴⁵

The shepherd tax for the Karaulus tribes was a tax-farm unit that belonged to the finance of the stewardship of Diyarbekir and it was farmed out to a superintendent every year in the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁶ As required by the law, only the nomadic tribes who grazed animals in different places were liable to pay the shepherd tax.¹⁴⁷ Considering the mobility of the nomadic Karaulus tribes in a relatively large area from Urfa to Bitlis, it might be a difficult task for the superintendents to collect the shepherd tax. Furthermore, the Celali rebellions caused the Karaulus confederation to disintegrate into smaller units, which made more difficult for the superintendents to collect the shepherd tax from the dispersed tribes. It was reported in 1611 that several tribes from the Karaulus moved further to the south even into the interiors of the *eyalet* of Baghdad.¹⁴⁸ In the 1620s, the Karaulus tribes moved to the areas within the Anatolian province. One entry was reflected in the Ankara court records with regard to the dispersement of the Karaulus tribes in October/November 1627.¹⁴⁹ The central government instructed the *kadıs* of the Anatolian province to provide assistance to Cüneyd Beğ, an imperial cavalry, for collecting the shepherd tax from the dispersed Karaulus tribes.¹⁵⁰

It was reported that some tribes might have concealed themselves among the settled tribes in order to evade the shepherd tax. It is seen in an entry from the court records on 9th April 1630 that Muhammed Çavuş the deputy of the shepherd tax officer came to the court to lodge a complaint against the tribe leaders (*mir-aşiret*) of Döğerli, Baziki, Közbeneklü and Berazi concerning the

¹⁴⁵ MAD 8475, p. 31.

¹⁴⁶ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴⁷ The shepherd tax was formulated in another fiscal record. See, MAD 8375, p. 224.

¹⁴⁸ MAD 3260, p. 124.

¹⁴⁹ Ankara Court Records (no. 23), p. 116, doc. no. 673.

¹⁵⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 23), p. 116, doc. no. 673.

collection of shepherd tax.¹⁵¹ The tax-revenues of these four tribes belonged to the finance of the imperial domains (*aşair-i hāssa*).¹⁵² In response to the claims of Muhammed Çavuş concerning the shepherd tax, the tribal leaders asserted that their herds were not liable to the shepherd tax and they confirmed that they had already paid the sheep tax, submitting the official documents to the *kadı*.¹⁵³ However, Muhammed Çavuş claimed, he was informed that some persons from the nomadic tribes (*göçer ulus tâîfesinden bazı kimesneler*) were found settled among those tribes with the intention of evading the shepherd tax for their herds. Therefore, he instructed the tribal leaders to surrender the concealed nomadic tribes.¹⁵⁴ The tribe leaders responded to his claims in cooperative way, stating that “we have nothing to do with the other *reaya* except for ours, we could assign a man for himself and if he found any goat belonging to the *reaya* who was liable to the shepherd tax, he could collect the shepherd tax, no one can prevent it.”¹⁵⁵ In this court entry, it can also be seen that a large group from the Karaulus confederation as the tribes of Döğerli, Baziki, Közbeneklü and Berazi were settled in the Urfa region, given their exemption from the shepherd tax.

In another entry dated 5th April 1630, a few days prior to the previous one mentioned above, Muhammed Çavuş appears to have encountered a tribal resistance over the matter of the shepherd tax.¹⁵⁶ He stated in the presence of the *kadı* that he had wanted to encamp by the camps of the Cihanbeğlü tribe, which were located on a hilly site called Karahisar [*depesi*] near to the place of Aydın, in order to survey the herds in the morning.¹⁵⁷ However, the Cihanbeğlü tribe did not allow him and his fellows to encamp and claimed that they were the *reaya* that belonged to the *sandjak*

¹⁵¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 84-85, doc. no. 185.

¹⁵² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 84-85, doc. no. 185.

¹⁵³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 84-85, doc. no. 185.

¹⁵⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 84-85, doc. no. 185.

¹⁵⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 84-85, doc. no. 185.

¹⁵⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 79-80, doc. no. 177.

¹⁵⁷ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 79-80, doc. no. 177.

and therefore they were exempted from the shepherd tax.¹⁵⁸ Thereupon, Muhammed Çavuş wanted to check the relevant official documents showing the legal and fiscal status of the Cihanbeğlü tribe, regarding the shepherd tax, for next day; thus, he decided to encamp somewhere else near to the camps for spending the night.¹⁵⁹ The Cihanbeğli tribe, nevertheless, launched an attack on him and his fellows in the evening, leaving several of them wounded or dead.¹⁶⁰

The conflicts between the state officials and the Karaulus tribes over the collection of shepherd tax arose from the changeable character of the tribes in terms of the nomadism-sedentarism continuum. The tribes might have settled down in the land for a certain period due to several reasons. For example, a sharp decline in the herd size due to an epizootic disease or theft might have tied up the nomads to the land until their herds reached the former size. In addition, the increasing grain prices could attract the nomads to stay in the land longer than before in order to engage in grain production intensively. It was less likely that the state officials took the changing situation of the tribes related to the land into consideration. Even though the tribes became sedentary for a while, their legal status remained nomadic in the registers, which made them still liable for the payment of the shepherd tax.¹⁶¹

As we have mentioned before, it was recorded in Naima's chronicle that the extreme cold killed a significant amount of sheep and cattle in the environs of Mosul in the winter of 1629-1630

¹⁵⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 79-80, doc. no. 177.

¹⁵⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 79-80, doc. no. 177.

¹⁶⁰ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 79-80, doc. no. 177.

¹⁶¹ It is possible to come across in the chapters from the chronicle of Arak'el of Tabriz covering the period of 1602-1662 that the shepherd tax was also put into practice for the herd-owner pastoralists with the name of "Kodaw tax" in the Safavid Persia during the seventeenth century. Although his chronicle does not give details about the fiscal regulations of the kodaw tax, it implies via a story that the kodaw tax was a significant reason impoverishing the herd-owner pastoralist and forcing them to settle in land. The story tells about how an old woman and her family became poor due to the heavy burden of the kodaw tax. Vardapet Arak'el, *The History of Vardapet Arak'el of Tabriz*, vol. I, trans. by George A. Bournoutian (California: Mazda Publishers, 2005), pp. 131-135.

and enfeebled the other animals that remained alive.¹⁶² It is likely that the harsh winter conditions might have badly affected the Karaulus tribes that moved in south-eastern Anatolia, in 1629-1630. The nomads who lost a significant number of animals in this period are likely to have preferred to remain sedentary until they would increase the size of their herds up to a sufficient number in order to become mobile again. In the meanwhile, grain production could enable them to purchase new animals.¹⁶³

In a document as independent from the court entries, the interference of the central government in the tribal confederations regarding administrative matters appeared as a factor that led the tribes to disintegrate into smaller units and become dispersed in the region of Urfa.¹⁶⁴ In the content of the document that was filed in March of 1633, it is seen that the central government abolished the system of tribal chieftainship (*mîr-aşiretlik*) for the tribe of Badıllu in which the tribal leadership was transferred from father to son. In this new centralized system, the central government substituted the tribal leader, who had kinship with the tribe, with a nontribal official for the highest administrative position of the tribe. In the document, however, the chief of the tribe of Badıllu notified the central government that this administrative change caused the disintegration of his tribe in the end. Therefore, he pledged to unite the dispersed population of his tribe, on condition that the central government would restore the tribal chieftainship, the same as before.¹⁶⁵ There is unfortunately no information about in what way the central government responded to his request. It was likely that the extortion induced by the state officials would contribute to the impoverishment of the tribes. In the end, the tribes sought to avoid oppression by moving to more

¹⁶² Naima, *Târih-i Na'ima*, p. 653.

¹⁶³ Emrys L. Peters, *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 35.

¹⁶⁴ Kamil Kepeci, no. 7533, p. 144.

¹⁶⁵ Kamil Kepeci, no. 7533, p. 144. See also Suavi Aydın, Oktay Özel, "Power Relations between State and Tribe in Ottoman Eastern Anatolia," *Bulgarian Historical Review*, vol. 34, 3-4 (2006), pp. 51-67.

distant areas, or settling down in the land in order to change their legal status to evade the pastoral taxes.

Nomads and Pastoralism

Although the court entries regarding animals were concerned mostly with rural populations including tribal and nomadic groups, since the city of Urfa was well connected to its rural hinterland, the city-dwellers, including the military class members, also appeared in the entries with regard to animals. The herd composition in the court entries was varied. Sheep and goats comprised the largest group of animals. Horses, camels and oxen appeared as the second largest group in the entries. The evidence from the court entries clearly indicates unsurprisingly perhaps that animals formed the most significant component of the pastoral economics of the tribes and nomads. A dispute even over a single goat was therefore a sufficient reason for the nomads to come to the court. For example, on 15th June 1630, Cabo from the tribe of Döğerli accused Cebir from the same tribe of butchering a single goat which belonged to Cabo without permission.¹⁶⁶ According to the Cabo's assertion, Cebir and his sons attacked him in his tent, leaving him injured on his chest and arm, when he called Cebir to account for his action. However, the counter-assertion of Cebir drew a different picture from Cabo's. He admitted that they had fought each other because of the fact that Cabo had butchered one of his lambs before.¹⁶⁷

The tribesmen and nomads who came to the court regarding the animal-related matters were rarely identified with the settlements in the entries, which shows the nomads both from immediate and remote rural areas frequently used the Urfa court. Besides, the tribesmen and nomads seemed not to use money in animal trade; instead, they used bartering. As an illustration, an entry kept on 23rd May 1630 displayed that Salih bin Bayezid from the tribe of Avşar had received a single camel

¹⁶⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 133, doc. no. 298.

¹⁶⁷ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 133, doc. no. 298.

from Me'mûn bin Hasan from an Arab tribe (*Urbân tâifesinden*) in return for a mixed flock of sheep and goats that consisted of 28 heads.¹⁶⁸ However, his camel died after a while and he accused Me'mûn of selling a sick camel. In his counter-assertion, Me'mûn, claimed that five days of a guarantee period was given to Salih for his camel, but he did not return the camel to Me'mûn within five days, although he noticed that his camel was getting ill. The *kadı* therefore decided not to charge Me'mûn with giving compensation to Salih.¹⁶⁹ The tribal affiliation of Salih bin Bayezid reveals that he came to the Urfa region from outside as a pastoral nomad; because, the tribe of Avşar was not one of the regional tribes of Urfa. It was one of the large tribes that formed the Bozulus confederation and it came to the Urfa region after the dispersement of the Bozulus confederation in the early seventeenth century.¹⁷⁰ Given the record date of the entry that coincided with the last week of May, we speculate that Salih might have wanted to exchange a small herd of sheep and goats with that camel in the preparation for going up to the highlands in summer. Moreover, since his herd grew in size by the joining of newborn lambs in April, he might have relied on his already-grown herd in order to carry out that exchange.

Sheep and goats appear to have been used as compensation in a court entry on 20th May 1630.¹⁷¹ A woman from the tribe of Bayki rented the right of disposition of her mare out to a person from the tribe of Döğerli. However, the mare went astray during the organization of a military campaign set up against the Turkmens in the countryside, thereupon, the person from the Döğerli tribe consented to give 16 heads of sheep and lambs to the woman to make up for the loss of her mare.¹⁷² Owning a sufficient number of sheep and goats was crucial for the nomads in terms of providing necessary capital to get married and start a family. For example, on 20th August 1630,

¹⁶⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 114, doc. no. 258.

¹⁶⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 114, doc. no. 258.

¹⁷⁰ Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri* (Ankara: Bilge Yayınevi, 1997), p. 46, 52-54.

¹⁷¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 108-109, doc. no. 245.

¹⁷² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), pp. 108-109, doc. no. 245.

Mehmed bin Köçü from the Karakeçili tribe agreed to give his daughter in marriage to İbrahim bin Haydar from the Berazi tribe in return for 7,000 *akçes*. İbrahim accepted the fiscal conditions of the marriage and paid 5,110 *akçes* that he derived from the sale of some of his sheep. However, Mehmed decided not to give his daughter in marriage and changed his location and thereupon with the request of İbrahim, the court assigned a person who claimed that he closely knew Mehmed to find and bring him into the presence of the *kadı*.¹⁷³ It is not certain in the entry whether the assigned person succeeded in reaching Mehmed; however, another court entry showed that the *kadı* reached an amicable settlement of the dispute between İbrahim and Mehmed almost one week after the record date of the previous entry.¹⁷⁴ Mehmed paid back 1,300 *akçes* to İbrahim and completed the remaining amount by giving a single ox and 11 heads of sheep. It is also not certain whether this reimbursement pleased İbrahim, but it is seen in the second entry that the amount he had received seems to have convinced him to forego the marriage.¹⁷⁵

The tribes that settled in the villages confined their pastoral activities into the immediate hinterland of their villages. In this regard, the type of their pastoralism was sedentary and it included a small number of animals. However, the sedentary pastoralism might have caused land use disputes particularly in the villages where the boundaries of cultivation overlapped with the pastoral activities. The disputes became inevitable, especially when the herd-owners postponed going up to the highlands for pasturing animals and stayed longer with their herds in the village before summer. In this case, since the herd became larger in size due to the reproduction in April, the growing number of animals inflicted damage on the crop fields. Furthermore, when the forage was insufficient in the fields around the village, it would be difficult to feed an expanded herd of animals within the village. In this regard, a court entry on 3 April 1630 exemplifies a dispute over

¹⁷³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 181, doc. no. 414.

¹⁷⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 189, doc. no. 431.

¹⁷⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 189, doc. no. 431.

the matter of overgrazing in the lands of the village of Ahmed-Kara.¹⁷⁶ In the entry, both parties were from the tribe of Berazi and settled in the same village. The plaintiffs, brothers Murad and Maksud, two brothers complained that a mixed herd of sheep and goats belonging to two persons from the village had caused damage on their field crops. It is understood that the encroachment of the herd on the field crops caused a fight in which both parties were wounded. Upon the request of the *kadı* for the statement from the defendants, they admitted that they had released their animals to the crops and asserted that the damage was minor contrary to the brothers' claim. Thereupon, the community leader of the village (agha) was appointed to inspect whether the herd had given a serious damage on the crops.¹⁷⁷

In the entry above, the village of both parties, Ahmed-Kara, seems not to have existed in the sixteenth century land registers of Urfa. However, there is a record from the 1566 land register that identified a village with the name of Kara-Ahmed in the *nâhiye* of Harran, whose population consisted of 10 households.¹⁷⁸ It is possible to assume that Ahmed-Kara and Kara-Ahmed referred to the same village in name. In this case, considering the low population density of the Kara-Ahmed village, it can be said that the village evolved from a *mezraa* as a result of the settlement of the Berazi tribe.

In another court entry regarding a case of animal theft that resulted in a murder helps us display the character of the nomadic and tribal settlements in the Urfa region circa 1630. Both parties that appeared in the court were from the tribe of Karakeçili and settled in the village of Külünce located in the *nâhiye* of Urfa.¹⁷⁹ According to the assertion of the plaintiff Musa bin Davud on 21th June 1630, the defendant Caner bin Memo drove and pastured a flock of sheep and goats that belonged to the plaintiff without permission. Furthermore, during the action of driving animals,

¹⁷⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 78, doc. no. 173.

¹⁷⁷ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 78, doc. no. 173.

¹⁷⁸ İlhan, "Urfa and Its Environs in 1560s," p. 18.

¹⁷⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 143, doc. no. 319.

Caner killed someone else from the village who is understood to have warned Caner.¹⁸⁰ In the 1566 land register, Külünce appeared as a small village having a population of 13 households and 4 bachelors.¹⁸¹ In other registers before 1566, Külünce seems not to have been inhabited, which indicates that the village evolved from a *mezraa* by the settlement of the Karakeçili tribe similar to the case of the Ahmed-Kara or Kara-Ahmed village. The evidence from both cases displayed that already or newly-settled nomads grazed their flocks within the boundaries of the village lands. We can infer from the latter case that the animals should have been driven out of the village of Külünce to the summer pasture zone for grazing, given the record date of the document on 21 June; however, as we have seen, the animals stayed within or nearby the village, when Caner bin Memo attempted to drive them without permission. Besides, in both cases, the flocks were probably not too large in size to necessitate the tribesmen to search out pasture.

The city of Urfa played a significant role as a vibrant animal market for the pastoral nomads in its hinterland. Animal trade was carried out in the market of sheep and horses (*ağnâm ve esb bāzarı*) in the city. The annual tax-farm price of the sheep and horses market was 40,000 *akçes* in 1560s.¹⁸² It increased by 22,5 per cent to 51,600 *akçes* in 1629-1630.¹⁸³ The trading volume of the animal market of Urfa was even sufficient to meet the demand of the neighbouring cities. For example, Aleppo was dependent on Urfa for supplying of sheep and camels. For this, it is known that the sheep-drivers from Aleppo visited Urfa to purchase sheep and camels during the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁴ In addition, the Turkmen sheep-drivers appear to have continued coming to Urfa from Aleppo in the 1630s, as it was reflected in a court entry.¹⁸⁵ A court entry regarding the grievance of

¹⁸⁰ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 143, doc. no. 319.

¹⁸¹ Turan, *XVI. Yüzyılda Urfa Sancağı*, p. 201.

¹⁸² Turan, *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁸³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 333, doc. no. 699.

¹⁸⁴ Turan, *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁸⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 65, doc. no. 141.

butchers pointed to a sufficiency of sheep in the city of Urfa on 9th April 1630.¹⁸⁶ According to the entry, two butchers from Sufraz (a town in Adıyaman-Besni) filed a complaint against one of the imperial domain superintendents.¹⁸⁷ They stated that they had purchased 30 heads of sheep from the Kurds in the city of Urfa, after the departure of the army for campaign, and they had come back to Sufraz. However, a superintendent demanded them to return the animals to him, claiming that the animals they bought were originally belonged to the Turkmens whose revenues were registered to the treasury of the imperial domains. Contrary to the superintendent's claim, the butchers from Sufraz were able to prove that they had carried out the transaction for sheep with their own money, owing to the testimony of the other butchers from Urfa.¹⁸⁸ In the document, even though it seems unclear whether the butchers from Sufraz purchased as many sheep as they needed, it is clear that the sheep stocks in the city of Urfa were sufficient for the needs of the neighbouring districts even after the departure of the army, considering the possibility that the demand generated by the army provisioning would have depleted the sheep stocks.

A court case from 3 September 1630, in which a nomadic Turkmen and the butchers of Urfa were involved, gives us a good example about the connection of the city and its rural hinterland in terms of supplying of sheep.¹⁸⁹ Hasan bin Ayvad from the nomadic Turkmen tribe of Beğmişli (*göçer Türkmân Beğmişli tâifesinden*) came to the court to file a complaint against the butcher Mamo.¹⁹⁰ He stated, "8 heads of sheep from my flock went astray nearby the village of Karaköprü in the night few days before and I spotted them among the flocks belonged to Mamo in the city and I requested from the court to interrogate Mamo."¹⁹¹ The *kadı* therefore called Mamo to court for his assertion and he stated that he had purchased those sheep from another butcher from the city, whose

¹⁸⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 85, doc. no. 186.

¹⁸⁷ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 85, doc. no. 186.

¹⁸⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 85, doc. no. 186.

¹⁸⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

¹⁹⁰ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

¹⁹¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

name was Ahmed Beşe.¹⁹² Thereupon, Ahmed Beşe was summoned to the court and he asserted that he had purchased those sheep from one of the shepherds named Şebo bin Budak.¹⁹³ Consequently, the shepherd appeared as the last suspect in the court. In his statement, it came out that the flock in question had come into his possession and he sold them to Ahmed Beşe.¹⁹⁴ He stated, “a few days before, 8 heads of sheep intermingled with my own flock nearby the village of Derin during the day and I drove those sheep to the city market with the help of two persons and we sold those sheep to Ahmed Beşe and we shared the money among us.”¹⁹⁵ The other two persons confirmed his statement.¹⁹⁶ The tribe of Beğmişli belonged to the group of the Haleb Turkmens¹⁹⁷ and it is probable that they might have come to the environs of the Urfa city in order to make a profit from the supplying of sheep. It can be understood from the entry above that the plaintiff as a nomadic Turkmen was regularly coming the city to sell sheep and he was probably acquainted with the butcher network of the city.

The evidence from the court entries displayed that horse breeding was an integral part of the mixed economy of the nomads in the Urfa region. The constant demand of the city for horses fostered breeding of horses in the countryside. The city of Urfa functioned as a junction point for the convergence of the trade routes lying along the east-west and north-south directions; thus, the supplying of horses for the merchants and caravan trade became an important and profitable business in the city. In reference to horse trade in Urfa, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the French traveller and merchant who visited Urfa in 1644, recorded in his accounts that many people in the city made profit from renting horses and mules to the merchants who come with caravans.¹⁹⁸ Tavernier also

¹⁹² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

¹⁹³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

¹⁹⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

¹⁹⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

¹⁹⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 190, doc. no. 434.

¹⁹⁷ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*, p. 58.

¹⁹⁸ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages of Jean Baptiste Tavernier* (London, 1678), p. 67.

noted that the city defence of Urfa depended mainly on the cavalry forces because of the Bedouin attacks that became more intensive particularly in harvest times; therefore, it was essential for the city commander to keep as many horses as possible in order to fend off the Bedouin horsemen.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, it is seen through the court entries that the Turkmen tribes employed horses either for becoming involved in banditry or for establishing their own cavalry forces. For example, on 28th September 1630, it was reported that five Turkmen horsemen from the tribe of Kotan (...*göçer Türkmândan Kotan tâifesinden*...) robbed a Christian merchant, while he was coming to Urfa from Ayntab.²⁰⁰ In a court entry dated on 25th January 1630, Hüseyin bin Süleyman from the tribe of Döğerni reported to the *kadı* that more than thirty horsemen from the tribe of Badıllı had attacked him, while coming to the city of Urfa in order to purchase camels.²⁰¹

The nomads that came to the court over the matters concerning horses were seldom identified with the settlement names. This particular feature may indicate that the horse breeding was more widespread among the nomadic groups in comparison with the settled communities. Breeding of oxen was rather a common practice among the settled communities as the requirement of their agricultural production. Certainly, the settled peasants needed to keep a few of mules and donkeys in order to transport their harvest to the market, rather than horses. The main reason that chiefly the nomadic groups specialized in horse breeding was the maintenance cost of horses. The climate of the Urfa region was in general convenient for horse breeding. The region enjoyed short and mild winters, which reduced the risk of being perished due to extreme cold in winter for horses. However, the feeding requirement of horses put extra burden on the breeders. On a daily basis, adult horses needed 4.5 kg of fodder and a working horse consumed 1.5 kg of barley as a

¹⁹⁹ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, p. 67.

²⁰⁰ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 26, doc. no. 58.

²⁰¹ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 204, doc. no. 469.

supplement to its diet based on fodder.²⁰² An adult horse that was harnessed to transportation, for example, required 550 kg of barley and 1,643 kg of fodder yearly.²⁰³ In order to produce this amount of fodder and barley, a breeder who owned a single working horse would need a land of 25-30 *dönüms*; therefore, it was necessary for the breeders to graze horses on the meadows at least for supplying fodder.²⁰⁴ In that sense, the nomads were able to breed horses thanks to their mobile way of life. But then again, it was a risky investment for the nomads to expand the herd size of horses, because a large herd of horses would require the nomads to have access to more pasture, which would in turn compel the nomads to reduce the number of sheep and goats in their possession, if they were unable to provide sufficient amount of pasture for all their animals. Nevertheless, the nomads of the Urfa region seem to have been aware of the risks of raising horses concerning the maintenance cost. In relation to that, the court entries show that the nomads raised horses jointly, probably in order to minimize the maintenance cost. For example, on 24th May 1630 a group of nomads from the tribe of Kazıklı Avşar appeared in the court in the matter of sharing horses bred from a single mare that they jointly owned.²⁰⁵ It is understood that the plaintiff's father went into a partnership with two persons from the tribe, who appeared as the defendants in the court, over a single crippled mare, when he was alive. The mare bred three horses and the plaintiff could not take one of the horses falling into his share, because his father gave two of the horses to his partners and the other one to his another son.²⁰⁶

Horses were sold by auction in the animal market. The bidders' competition during the auction led the prices to rise up, which provided the nomads with an opportunity of making a

²⁰² J. Eric Cooper and Michael J. Decker, *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 83; John Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 96-97.

²⁰³ Cooper and Decker, *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁰⁴ Cooper and Decker, *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²⁰⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 119, doc. no. 270.

²⁰⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 119, doc. no. 270.

substantial amount of profit from the sale. Therefore, it was commercially more advantageous for the nomads to drive their horses to the city market rather than selling them to the individuals in the countryside. In a court entry recorded on 14th April 1630 enables us to see how the sale of horses in the city market was more profitable for the dealers, in comparison with the sales between individuals in the countryside.²⁰⁷ In the document, Ömer bin Hamza from the tribe of Köseklü sold the possession of his four-year old white mare to Osman bin Demir from the tribe of Berazi for 1,400 *akçes* eight months prior to the date of the document. He confirmed that he had received the payment from Osman in full. Afterwards, both sold the mare in a joint partnership to the animal market by auction to a person named Mehmed Beğ for 3,500 *akçes* and shared the money from the sale in half.²⁰⁸ Ömer appeared as the real money-maker in this sale. He sold his mare two times in a year and he derived a profit for 3,150 *akçes* from both sales in total. The profit of Osman from the sale in the animal market was too sufficient to compensate the price he had already paid to Ömer for the mare.

The Bedouin Arabs (*urbān tāīfesi*) were also reflected in the court entries with regard to horses. For example, in a case of inheritance on 17th August 1630, it is seen that a person from the tribe of El-Pavud, an Arab tribe settled in Harran, gave his two male colts to someone else, while he was alive.²⁰⁹ A court entry kept on 25th February 1630 illustrated a debt case between two Bedouin Arabs over the sale of a single mare.²¹⁰ Abdülrahman bin İrfan sold his mare to Hasan bin Ahmed for 910 *akçes* three years before the date of the document, however he could not collect his debt. Therefore, he brought witnesses to the court in order to collect his debt from Hasan.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 91, doc. no. 203.

²⁰⁸ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 91, doc. no. 203.

²⁰⁹ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 178, doc. no. 408.

²¹⁰ Urfa Court Records (8823), pp.51-52, doc. no. 119.

²¹¹ Urfa Court Records (8823), pp.51-52, doc. no. 119.

Horses were more frequently subjected to theft compared to the other animals in the Urfa region, as far as the evidence from the court entries indicated. The horse theft cases occurred particularly during the spring months when the horses were left outside to graze. In horse theft cases, the parties came from the different tribes. For example, it is seen in an entry on 22 April 1630 that Ali bin Demir from the tribe of Döğerli accused Matar bin Ibrahim from the tribe of Badıllı of seizing his colt one month before the recorded date of the document.²¹² However, Matar asserted that Ali had stolen one of his colts before; therefore, he had compensated for the stolen colt by giving the aforementioned colt to him.²¹³ Another horse theft case was kept on 23 May 1630 upon the complaint of Cafer bin Halil from the tribe of Bayki against Çavuş bin Ali from the tribe of Beziki.²¹⁴ He asserted that one of his grey mares and one chestnut mare belonged to someone else from the tribe of Bayki were stolen five years before the recorded date of the document in a place near to the village of Burnus where they settled. After the investigation, they were informed that the stolen mares were seen in the camps of some persons from the tribe of Beziki.²¹⁵

The horses that were stolen or went astray were somehow found in the city market. On 22th September 1630, Abdülnebi bin İsmail from the tribe of Dinnayi came to the court with an allegation that Ahmed bin Ali possessed his single chestnut mule that had been seized by the Bedouins three-years prior to the date of the document.²¹⁶ Abdülnebi stated that while he was coming to the city with caravan, the Arab horsemen launched an attack on his caravan (*üzerimize Arab süvârisi dökülüb*) near to the River Cüllab and seized his mule.²¹⁷ Upon the request of his statement, Ahmed asserted that he had purchased the aforesaid mule from a Turkmen in the city market and claimed that he had no information about whether the aforesaid mule had belonged to

²¹² Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 94, doc. no. 207.

²¹³ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 94, doc. no. 207.

²¹⁴ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 135, doc. no. 302.

²¹⁵ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 135, doc. no. 302.

²¹⁶ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 202, doc. no. 463.

²¹⁷ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 202, doc. no. 463.

Abdülnebi.²¹⁸ Thereupon, Abdülnebi brought two witnesses to the court, both of whom had been coming to the city along with the same caravan. The witnesses bore testimony to the fact that the mule purchased by Ahmed was Abdülnebi's mule that had been seized by the Bedouins three-years ago. After the testimony of the witnesses, Abdulnebi took an oath to declare that he had taken the aforementioned mule out of his possession by either selling or another way according to the religious law (*şer'i*). It was recorded in the court entry that Abdulnebi agreed on an amicable settlement (*sulh*) of the dispute with Ahmed. However, the rest of the content of the court entry was not clear about whether Abdulnebi received some money from Ahmed as compensation in return for the use of that aforementioned mule.²¹⁹

Cattle rarely appeared in the court entries with regard to the nomads and even settled rural groups. There is almost no record of transaction in the court entries regarding cattle. Furthermore, there is also no record concerning stray cattle and cases of cattle theft. This archival scantiness regarding cattle may suggest that the rural groups including nomads had less interest in cattle breeding. The nomads who engaged in cultivation probably owned at least a few oxen. There is one interesting case reflected in the court entries regarding oxen in which the nomads were involved. On 29th January 1630, Güllü bin Ali from the tribe of Berazi came to the court to file a complaint against Alibaz bin Nureddin from the Milli tribe.²²⁰ According to the complaint, Alibaz bin Nureddin came to the *mezraa* of Beşik with a few of cavalries and infantries and he stole one haircloth covering the ox belonged to Güllü bin Ali. They wounded Güllü bin Ali who chased them by horse immediately after the theft.²²¹ It seems clear that Güllü kept his ox from the cold with haircloth. Furthermore, he was likely to engage in cultivation in the *mezraa* of Beşik. There is no information in the entry as to why Alibaz bin Nureddin came to the *mezraa* to steal the haircloth.

²¹⁸ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 202, doc. no. 463.

²¹⁹ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 202, doc. no. 463.

²²⁰ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 29, doc. no. 66.

²²¹ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 29, doc. no. 66.

Probably, he might have intended to steal it for his horse in order to protect the animal from the cold.

In the official price lists, the city of Urfa appears not to have relied on cattle even for its requirement for meat and dairy products. Beef and veal did not appear in the price lists. Instead, the city of Urfa consumed rather mutton and goat's meat.²²² It is understood that the *tulum* cheese was the most consumed type of cheese in the city of Urfa.²²³ This indicated that cows were even not preferable to sheep and goats for the milk production; because, the *tulum* cheese was traditionally made of sheep's milk in the Urfa region.²²⁴ A relatively high price of *tulum* cheese might have encouraged the breeders to raise more sheep in order to supply milk for the cheese makers. The price of *tulum* cheese per *vukiyye* was almost near to the mutton and goat's meat prices at the same amount. For example, while one *vukiyye* of *tulum* cheese was priced at 8 *akçes*, one *vukiyye* of mutton and goat's meat was priced at 12 and 9 *akçes*, respectively.²²⁵

In the estate inventories from the *kadı* register of Urfa, it is possible to come across cattle only in the one that was prepared for Derbederoğlu Beğ who died during the Safavid campaign in 1630. He left behind 12 oxen and 4 cows with 2 calves.²²⁶ It was unfortunately not specified in his inventory in which settlement he kept all his animals. On the other hand, cattle breeding seemed to be concentrated more in the *kaza* of Siverek according to an imperial order issued on 25th

²²² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 2, doc. no. 3.

²²³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 3, doc. no. 5

²²⁴ B. Özer, C. Koçak, M. Güven, "Traditional Dairy Products of Turkey Manufactured From Awassi Sheep's Milk," in *Book of Abstracts of the 57th Annual Meeting of the European Association for Animal Production*, edited by Ynze von der Honing, No. 12 (2006) Antalya-Turkey 17-20 September 2001, p. 82.

²²⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 2, doc. no.3.

²²⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301,doc.no. 628.

September 1631.²²⁷ The central government authority while on campaign instructed the *kadı* of Siverek to prepare 10 heads of cattle and 40 heads of sheep for the army provisioning.²²⁸

The scantiness of cattle was precisely related to the insufficiency of meadows. Even though there is clear evidence that the rainfall was adequate for the years 1630-1631, the Urfa region, at least the surrounding area of the city, was poor in lush and green pastureland that were essential for cattle breeding. This ecological feature discouraged the nomads from taking part in cattle breeding in the Urfa region intensively. Furthermore, it is likely that much of the available meadow reserves have been set aside for the requirements of horse breeding. The environment of the Urfa region was presumably still fragile considering the drought risks in long dry periods. The existence of the mixed flocks of sheep and goats in the estate inventories may suggest that the breeders took into consideration the possible risks relating to drought. In the estate inventory of Derbederoğlu, as mentioned above, there were two mixed flocks. The first one comprised 58 heads of sheep and yearlings (*oğlak*) and the second contained 66 heads of sheep and goats.²²⁹ Another estate inventory included a mixed flock of 40 sheep and goats.²³⁰

Horses came first as the most valuable animal in the pastoral economics of the Urfa region. A single chestnut mare from the estate inventory of a military official appeared as the most expensive animal with the price of 7,500 *akçes* in the court entries.²³¹ However, horses were more

²²⁷ MAD (8475), p. 88. Siverek is still famous today for its local cattle breed that is called ‘native southern yellow’ (*sarı sığır*). See the article, O. Yılmaz, O. Akın, S. Metin Yener, M.Ertuğrul, and R.T. Wilson, “The domestic livestock resources of Turkey: cattle local breeds and types and their conservation status,” *Animal Genetic Resources*, 50 (2012), 65-73: pp. 67-70.

²²⁸ MAD (8475), p. 88.

²²⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc.no. 628.

²³⁰ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 327, doc.no. 681.

²³¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 272, doc.no. 576.

variable in price in comparison with sheep and goats.²³² In general, the horse prices remained below a small herd of sheep; thus, we can accept that the mainstay of the pastoral wealth relied on the ownership of sheep and goats in the Urfa region. The evidence from the estate inventory of Derbederoğlu Beğ shows us that the price of a small herd of sheep mixed with goats was enough to purchase a single horse and several cattle.²³³ In the inventory, a grey horse was priced for 2,500 *akçes*, which was the highest price for all other horses, whilst the lowest price for horses was belonged to a chestnut work-horse as 500 *akçes*.²³⁴ However, a mixed herd of 58 sheep and yearlings was priced for 3,850 *akçes* and a mixed herd of 66 sheep and goats was priced for 4,000 *akçes* in his inventory.²³⁵ It was possible to purchase a few of oxen and cows with the price of these small herds of sheep and goats. For example, the ox prices varied from 100 to 700 *akçes* and an average price for a single cow was 300 *akçes* in his inventory.²³⁶ In another estate inventory that belonged to a military official, it is similarly seen that a single mare was priced for 2,600 *akçes*, while a mixed herd of 40 sheep and goats was priced 3,700 *akçes*.²³⁷ On the other hand, since the sales were carried out by auction (*bey'i menyezid*), these livestock prices were important to reflect the actual market prices in the city of Urfa.²³⁸

Although horse trade seemed to be an easy way of gaining cash instantly in the court entries mentioned before, there is no clear evidence from the entries to suggest that the horse trade motivated the nomads to make a shift in the gravity of the their herd composition towards horses. The court entries regarding horses that have been dealt with so far in this chapter were filed during

²³² Hedda Reindl-Kiel also warns us about the difficulty of finding out the average prices for the Ottoman horses. Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "No Horses for the Enemy: Ottoman Trade Regulations and Horse Gifting," in *Pferde in Asian: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur*, edited by Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak, Angela Schottenhammer (Wien: Verlag, 2009), p. 45.

²³³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc.no. 628.

²³⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc.no. 628.

²³⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc.no. 628.

²³⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc.no. 628.

²³⁷ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 325, doc.no. 681.

²³⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc.no. 628.

the period when the Ottoman army was on military campaign against the Safavids in 1629-1630.²³⁹ It was certain that the Safavid campaign increased the demand of the Ottoman army for horses, which might have caused in turn the horse prices to soar up in the cities near to the eastern front, including Urfa, to some extent that attracted the nomads into the horse breeding in a more intensive way than before. However, it is then again difficult to clarify how the nomads and tribal groups responded to this demand by means of the evidence from the archival sources.

The sheep prices that were reflected in the court entries and fiscal records reveal that the Urfa region was sufficient in sheep stocks. This may also indicate to the presence of a dense nomadic population that engaged in sheep and goat breeding in the Urfa region, even though it was already shown before in this chapter that some of the tribes that were separated from the Karaulus confederation settled on the land and released their herds. For the sheep prices, the central government paid 70 *akçes* to the tribes of Urfa for each head in the sheep purchases made for the army on campaign.²⁴⁰ According to the herd prices in the estate inventory of Derbederoğlu Beğ, on the other hand, the price of per sheep, goat or yearling varied from 60 to 65 *akçes*.²⁴¹ In another estate inventory, as we mentioned before, a herd of 40 sheep and goats was priced at 3,800 *akçes*, which gives us a price of 95 *akçes* for each sheep or goat.²⁴² These sheep prices belonged to the years 1630-1631. By contrast, per head of sheep was priced at 120 *akçes* in 1627-1628, according to the evidence from a court entry regarding the *avarız* debts in arrears that belonged to the tribe of Dinnayi.²⁴³ The decrease in sheep prices in a period of three-four years can be evidence of a growth of the sheep stocks in the Urfa region. This growth probably occurred in the winter and spring

²³⁹ Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, p. 4.

²⁴⁰ For example, the central government on 4th August 1631 required from the tribes of Kersavi, Ömerli, Mersavi and Çakallı to dispatch 700 heads of sheep to the army that camped around the town and paid 70 *akçes* per head. MAD (8475), pp. 52-53.

²⁴¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc.no. 628.

²⁴² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 327, doc.no. 681.

²⁴³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 343, doc.no. 716.

seasons of 1629-1630, because the evidence from the court entries, contemporary chronicles and tree-ring data confirmed that the Urfa region received an excessive amount of precipitation for these years. The increased rainfall expanded the area of pastureland, which was essential for the sheep breeders to graze their flocks. In the year 1630, the official prices for mutton and goat's meat indicated no sign of meat shortage in the city, because the prices of mutton and goat's meat per *vūkiyye* (1.28 kg) appeared to be almost the same level with Istanbul and western Anatolia. The prices of mutton and goat's meat per *vūkiyye* were recorded at 12 and 9 *akçes* in Urfa.²⁴⁴ In a similar way, the price of mutton per *vūkiyye* varied from 10 to 12 *akçes* in Balıkesir in 1631-1631.²⁴⁵ In Üsküdar, the price of mutton per *vūkiyye* changed from 8 to 9 *akçes* in 1624-1640.²⁴⁶

The fact that the pastureland became more abundant owing to heavy rainfall certainly helped the nomads to increase their herds in size, which could have been an enough reason for motivating the nomads either to invest in land or to diversify the composition of their herds by purchasing new types of animals, such as horses and cattle.²⁴⁷ For the former, in next section of this chapter, we are going to attempt to understand whether the agriculture was an attractive investment for the nomads, by comparing the profits derived from the grain production with the animal prices. For the latter, however, it is possible to assume that the nomads were less likely to add new animals to their herds depending solely on the wet seasons. Sheep and goats should have formed still the more reliable source of wealth for the pastoral economics of the nomads in the Urfa region; because, since the growth rate of sheep and goats was higher and faster compared to horses and the other livestock, in case of any significant decrease in the number of animals due to an epizootic disease or drought,

²⁴⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 3, doc. no. 2.

²⁴⁵ Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (Istanbul, 1983), pp. 27-28.

²⁴⁶ Kütükoğlu, *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁴⁷ Barth, *The Nomads of South Persia*, pp. 105-106

therefore, the recovery period for a herd could be shorter for sheep and goats.²⁴⁸ The livestock prices in the estate inventory of Derberderoğlu can be seen in the table below²⁴⁹:

Animal type	Quantity	Price (<i>akçe</i>)
Ox	1	700
Ox	1	490
Ox	1	560
Ox	1	350
Ox	1	280
Ox	1	280
Ox	1	350
Ox	1	350
Ox	1	270
Ox	2	420
Ox	1	105
Ox	2	280
Cow	2	595
Cow with a calf	1	315
Cow with a calf	1	420
Cow	1	175
Grey male colt	1	630
Chestnut work-horse	1	490
Grey female colt	1	1,400
Crippled work-horse	1	770
Grey horse	1	2,520
Mare	1	1,200
A flock of sheep and yearling (<i>oğlak</i>)	58	3,850
A flock of sheep and goats	66	4,000

Table 3: The livestock prices in the estate inventory of Derberderoğlu

Nomads and Agriculture

The tribes that engaged in grain cultivation remained more sedentary in lifestyle and performed transhumance within the boundaries of the Urfa region. The form of their agricultural production was largely based on barley cultivation. The court entry regarding the *avarız* debts in arrears that belonged to the tribe of Dinnayi, as we mentioned previously, provides us with a good example about the form of the agricultural production of the sedentary tribes in the Urfa region. The

²⁴⁸ Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative*, p. 25.

²⁴⁹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 301, doc. no. 628.

tribe of Dinnayi appears to have settled in the *nâhiye* of Suruç in other archival documents.²⁵⁰ Their *avarız* debts remained in arrears for the years 1627-1628 and comprised 23,000 kg of barley, 1,000 kg of wheat, 30 heads of sheep, 25 kg of butter and 12.8 kg of honey.²⁵¹

The grain production of the Dinnayi tribe in the *nâhiye* of Suruç can be traced in another court entry recorded in October 1630. This entry was about the complaint of a group of men from the Dinnayi tribe against the local feudal practices concerning collecting-tithe. It is understood that although they paid the tithe of their harvest as one in eight in accordance with the law, Hacı Ali Beğ, who was the superintendent of the *nâhiye* of Suruç, forced them to pay several additional tithes in his own interest.²⁵² He demanded two in ten *kiles* from the harvest of grain and one fourth as *ağalık*, one fourth as *şihnelik*, one fourth as *savurculuk* and one fourth as *kâtiblik* and *kilecilik* from each *kile*.²⁵³ When Hacı Ali Beğ was summoned to the court, he uttered that he would keep their harvest in the granary of the village to perish till winter, unless the tribesmen agreed with the tithe rates that he had imposed.²⁵⁴

It is noteworthy that Hacı Ali Beğ insisted on collecting the tithe according to the rates of old feudal practices contrary to the law. Since there is no sequence of the complaint of the tribesmen in the court entries, we cannot know whether the *kadı* replaced Hacı Ali with another superintendent to ensure that the tithe was collected in accordance with the law. It is probable that

²⁵⁰ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 343, doc. no.716; Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 342, doc. no.714; Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 272, doc. no. 488; MAD 8475, p. 76.

²⁵¹ Cengiz Kallek, "Kile," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 25, p. 569. In the entry, the amount of the grain was based on the *kile* of Istanbul. Per *kile* of Istanbul contained 23, 093 kg of barley, but 25, 6589 kg of wheat.

²⁵² Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 272, doc. no. 488.

²⁵³ These terms probably referred to the service fees in kind that were related to the stages of harvesting grain. It was probable that since the state officials led the organization of grain harvest, they would require some feudal-like fees from the peasants in return for their services for the organization. In this regard, they wanted a certain amount of grain for themselves as *ağalık* and *şihnelik*. *Savurculuk* was again a service fee in kind for the stage of winnowing. *Kilecilik* and *katiblik* were the other fees relating to the process of recording the amount of grain.

²⁵⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 272, doc. no. 488.

similar complaints might have occurred in other *nahiyes* of Urfa. It can be concluded from the complaint examined above that the increasing volume of grain production might have encouraged the superintendents to increase the tithe rates in order to appropriate a certain amount of the grain harvest for themselves. That might be the reason that Hacı Ali wanted to revive some old feudal practices against the law.

The barley production performed by the tribes in the Urfa region came to the notice of the central government authority while on campaign against the Safavids in 1623-1639.²⁵⁵ For example, the tribe of Aşin (Eşin) from the *nahiye* of Akçekale was required of providing with 41,054 kg of barley, 1,000 head of sheep and 3,464 kg of butter for the army on campaign, according to an imperial order issued on 31th July 1631.²⁵⁶ In addition, they were required to send 60 architects and carpenters for the army.²⁵⁷ It is understood that the imperial order was issued retrospectively, because the tribe *kethüdas* seem to have raised objections to the demand prior to the issue date of the order.²⁵⁸ They considered such an amount of the demand excessive and declined to receive the money from the government in return for the demand.²⁵⁹ In this regard, the central government's demand turned to be a forceful contribution for the tribe of Aşin (Eşin). In response to their

²⁵⁵ The amount of barley that was required from Urfa and its nearby district seem to have met a significant portion of the army need according to the forced contribution lists (*sürsat*) given by Lütü Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler* (İstanbul: Sermet Matbaası, 1964), pp. 186-200 and 209-228.

²⁵⁶ MAD 8475, p. 51. 2000 *kile* of barley according to the Mardin standards, each *kile* of Mardin was equivalent to 20.527 kg. 150 *batmans* of butter was required but it was not specified in the order that according to what standards butter was required. However, it was probably based on the Istanbul standards, each *batman* was on average equivalent to 24 kg.

²⁵⁷ MAD 8475, p. 51. The term architect in the document was not used in its classical meaning that referred to the persons who designed buildings and supervised the constructions. Instead, a tribal architect referred to the persons whose duty was to detect water especially in the arid and barren landscapes. In this way, the tribal architects played an important role in determining the location of the nomadic camps by finding water resources. Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretlerin İskânı* (İstanbul: Eren yayıncılık ve kitapçılık, 1987), p. 54. Besides, carpentry and ironworking were also the widespread occupations among the nomadic Turkmen tribes. Mehmet Eröz, *Yörükler* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1991), pp.192-193.

²⁵⁸ MAD 8475, p. 51.

²⁵⁹ MAD 8475, p. 51.

objections, the central government reduced its demand by half, including the number of architects and carpenters.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, the central government gave a strict command to the *kadı* of Urfa and the tribal *kethüdas* that if this new offer were to be declined again by the tribe of Aşin, all members of the tribe over the age of 7 years old would be executed.²⁶¹ In a similar fiscal record that was written on 2 August 1631 shortly after the previous one, it is seen that the Karakeçili tribe and the village from the *nahiyes* of Telgören and Telbisim failed to dispatch 25,689 kg of barley to the army on campaign. They could only dispatch 6,851 kg and the government required them to make the remaining amount ready to dispatch immediately.²⁶²

Barley was a significant fodder crop; therefore, it was rather essential for the nomadic tribes to derive as much barley as possible, especially when the area of available pastureland became insufficient in comparison to the expansion of the herd size.²⁶³ As a drought-resistant crop, barley enabled the tribes of Urfa to feed their animals even during the dry periods.²⁶⁴ Besides, some of the tribes could be more eager to settle down in the land and engage in barley production in order to meet the demand of the other tribes for fodder that pursued a pure pastoral way of life by keeping a large herd of livestock.²⁶⁵ In case of any shrinkage in the area of pastureland, it was presumably difficult even for the nomads having a modest-sized herd to depend solely on the barley stocks that

²⁶⁰ MAD 8475, p. 51.

²⁶¹ MAD 8475, p. 51.

²⁶² MAD 8475, p. 56. For the administrative division of the Diyarbekir province, see Özlem Başarrı, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Diyarbekir Voyvodalığı'nın Mekânsal Örgütlenmesi," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vol. 4, no. 18 (Summer, 2011), pp. 196-229.

²⁶³ Françoise Metral, "Managing Risk: Sheep-rearing and agriculture," in *The Transformation of Nomadic Society in the Arab East*, edited by Martha Mundy and Basim Musallam (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000), 121-144; pp. 136-139. Faruk Tabak also maintains that the growing volume of overland trade necessitated a more number of camels, horses and mules in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which in turn caused an expansion of barley cultivation in Balkans and Anatolia. Faruk Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean 1550-1870* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 172.

²⁶⁴ Tabak, *The Waning of the Mediterranean*, p. 257. Alan Harvey, *The Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 125-126.

²⁶⁵ Metral, "Managing Risk: Sheep-rearing and agriculture," p. 139.

they cultivated for fodder. For example, if we were to assume that 50 ewes and 100 lambs required 23,000 kg of barley in a year as fodder in case of any limited access to pastureland. It was necessary to cultivate 273.5 *dönüms* of land in order to produce that amount of barley.²⁶⁶ It was not every time practicable for the nomadic pastoralists to avail themselves of a large tract of land to produce that amount of barley, which eventually rendered them dependent on the grain market of the city for barley. It was therefore significant for the animal-breeder nomads to keep barley stocks available throughout the year. On the other hand, the most likely reason why the tribes failed to fulfil the demand of the central government for barley was the adverse impact of the harsh climatic conditions of the winter of 1629-1630 on the barley yields, as we mentioned in the first section of this chapter. The depleted barley stocks possibly made the nomads more prudent in the matter of supplying fodder for their animals in case of a shortage of pastureland in a possible dry-period. Therefore, it was certainly of vital importance to the nomads to keep sufficient barley stocks that were already low in supply available for their needs instead of for sale.

The importance of barley and grain cultivation to the tribes of Urfa can be seen through the court entries, which indicated not only the pastoral matters, but the agrarian matters were a sufficient reason for the nomads to come to the court. For example, on 28th February 1630, Şefkat bin Durmuş from the tribe of Berâzi came to the court to file a complaint against Bekir bin Tahir for withholding his 193 kg (3 *kiles*)²⁶⁷ of barley. Şefkat asserted that when he had demanded Bekir to return barley, Bekir had pulled his beard and wounded his forehead. Şefkat therefore requested from the court to investigate the wound on his forehead.²⁶⁸ In another case, it was reported on 25th

²⁶⁶ 100 kilograms of fodder were required per ewe per year and 60 kilograms were needed three times in a year for a male lamb. See, Metral, *Ibid.*, p. 138. In modern province of Şanlıurfa, the average yield of barley per *dönüm* was 134 kg; therefore, 273.5 *dönüms* of land was needed to produce 36,650 kg. John F. Kolars and William A. Mitchell, *The Euphrates River and the Southeast Anatolia Development Project*, (Illinois: Southeastern Illinois University Press, 1991) p. 63.

²⁶⁷ The standard measure of *kile* in Urfa was 64.25 kg.

²⁶⁸ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 53, doc. no. 123.

July 1630 to the *kadı* of Urfa that two neighbouring families from the tribe of Beziki went into a fight over the use of a threshing floor (*harman yeri*) in the village of Yarım-depe.²⁶⁹ Both parties filed a series of complaints against each other for the fight in which they used arrows, swords and maces, leaving several of them wounded.²⁷⁰

Two explanations can be put forward regarding the causes of the dispute over the threshing floor. Firstly, the threshing floors located within the boundaries of the village land were open to common use of the village. Both families might have wanted to benefit from the threshing floor (the documents provide unfortunately no information about the size of the threshing floor in dispute) for their own purposes; these purposes were probably to build a house or barn in the land of the threshing floor, or convert it into a plot of cultivated land. Secondly, the record date of the complaints of both sides coincided with the harvest time of grain that lasted through the months of June-July. Due to their higher yields, one of the families might have been occupied in the process of threshing grain in a longer time. Keeping busy the threshing floor would consequently delay the turn of the other family, which put the other family's grain crops at risk of becoming perished. As we have mentioned before in this chapter, the re-operation of the water-mills and the opening the wastelands to tillage indicated a revival in agricultural production, *i.e.* grain cultivation, in the countryside of Urfa circa 1630. The role of the tribal groups in that revival was undeniable, certainly. Thus, we should consider the land and grain-related disputes brought by the tribal groups to the court as the indications of their participation in the flourishing grain cultivation.

It is possible to estimate the economic return of wheat and barley cultivation for the tribal groups via the evidence from the court entries regarding the wheat and barley transactions. In a record of tax-farm contract, the state's price for wheat and barley seems to have been determined at

²⁶⁹ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 166, doc. no. 374.

²⁷⁰ Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 166, doc. no. 374; Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 166, doc. no. 376; Urfa Court Records (8823), p. 167, doc. no. 378.

40 and 25 *akçes* per *kile* (64.25 kg) in Urfa in 1630.²⁷¹ 10 *dönüms* of a land could yield approximately 1,490 kg of wheat ($1,490/64.25\text{kg} = 23 \text{ kiles}$) and 1,340 kg of barley ($1,340/64.25\text{kg} = 21 \text{ kiles}$).²⁷² If a tribesman cultivated wheat or barley on 10 *dönüms* of a land, he could gain 920 *akçes* from wheat and 525 *akçes* from barley. However, it was possible to gain more *akçes*, if he wanted to sell his grain harvest in free-market; because, the wheat and barley harvest seems to have been assessed at higher prices in the transactions between individuals compared to the state's purchases. In a suit for a debt on 19th December 1629, it is seen that one *kile* of wheat was priced at 200 *akçes* (2 *kâmil gurush*).²⁷³ In a similar debt case on 21th November 1629, one *kile* of barley was priced at 100 *akçes* (1.5 *esedî gurush*).²⁷⁴ According to these prices set by the market conditions, the economic return of 23 *kiles* of wheat and 21 *kiles* of barley that were derived from 10 *dönüms* of a land would yield 4,600 and 2,100 *akçes* as profit. Given the grain prices that were set by both the state and the market conditions, it can be said that the economic return of grain production, albeit small in volume, was sufficient for the tribesmen to expand the size of their herds by purchasing new sheep unless they would save some of the barley stocks for their herds as fodder. If we were to accept the price per head of sheep as 70 *akçes*, the profit from the sale of 23 *kiles* of wheat (920 *akçes*) to the state was enough to purchase 13 head of sheep. If one sold the same amount of wheat in the grain market of the city, he earned 4,600 *akçes*, which was sufficient to purchase 65 heads of sheep. Consequently, a nomadic family who had to settle down in the land after having released their herds were able to return to nomadism by acquiring new sheep from the sale of grain harvest.

²⁷¹ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 289, doc. no. 603; Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, pp. 54-55.

²⁷² The average wheat yield per *dönüm* in modern province of Şanlıurfa was 149 kg and 134 kg for barley, as we have mentioned above. Kolars and Mitchell, *The Euphrates River and the Southeast Anatolia*, p. 63.

²⁷³ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 11, doc. no. 17.

²⁷⁴ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 9., doc. no. 14.

The court entries are limited in the *kadı* register of Urfa in respect of the other agricultural activities of the tribal groups apart from the grain cultivation. Of all court entries concerning the vineyard transactions in the countryside, there is only one that indicated vineyard ownership among the tribal groups recorded on 18th February 1630.²⁷⁵ However, the vineyard-owner appeared as a deceased city-dweller having an affiliation to the tribe of Sarılar in the entry. The entry was about the inheritance of his 6 *dönüms* of a vineyard (600 vine-stocks) that was located in the village of Kersantaş.²⁷⁶ The price of his vineyard was not specified in the entry, but in other transactions that belonged to the rural sedentary groups, the vineyards appear to have been assessed at higher prices. For example, in a record of transaction again from the village of Kersantaş, 11 *dönüms* of a vineyard (1,100 vine-stocks) was priced at 1,540 *akçes* on 12th February 1630.²⁷⁷ Similarly, 3 *dönüms* of a vineyard (300 vine-stocks) was priced at 560 *akçes* in the village of Aşık on 12th January 1630.²⁷⁸

Regional Overview

The region of Urfa was a granary of southeastern Anatolia in the first half of the seventeenth century. In spite of the seasonal dry spells that stemmed from high evaporation rates, the grain production of the region was sufficient for the demand of other neighbouring regions. However, the agricultural production became more diverse and high-yielding in the hinterland of the city of Urfa thanks to river irrigation. In addition to high output of grain, the cultivation of cotton and rice could be performed in the areas near to the rivers and streams. In contrast to the river basins, the agricultural production in the distant areas, which were deprived of river irrigation, depended on dry farming and livestock raising. By and large, the nomadic tribes adopted that type of agriculture.

²⁷⁵ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 45, doc. no. 104.

²⁷⁶ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 20, doc. no. 45.

²⁷⁷ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 37, doc. no. 87.

²⁷⁸ Urfa Court Records (no. 8823), p. 20, doc. no. 45.

The cultivated area was largely devoted to barley production. Barley was essential to nomadic tribes as forage for their animals. As a drought-resistant crop, its cultivation ensured higher yields as compared to wheat. The time period under discussion in this chapter contained wet and cool seasons. In this period, the rivers flowing near to the city of Urfa were flooded due to heavy rain. The chroniclers indicated the Ottoman army on the Safavid campaign suffered from the shortage of barley and animal losses due to heavy rain, while passing through the neighbouring areas of Urfa. The effects of the wet seasons on agriculture and animal population in the region of Urfa were not clear to observe through the documentary evidence. However, the market price of grain remained higher than the state price may point to a shortage of grain that would result from heavy rain. Furthermore, as reflected in the court entries, the struggle of the tribes from the Karaulus confederation for avoiding the shepherd tax can be interpreted as the sign of a decrease in the number of their animals relating to the adverse impact of heavy rain and cold. However, in general, the oppression of state officials seems to have been more responsible for the dispersement of the tribes than the climate impact.

Although the city of Urfa and its hinterland fell into ruin during the Celali rebellion, a large-scale depopulation and desertion did not take place in the region of Urfa. Agricultural production continued even in the ensuing period of the Celali rebellion. The prices of the different units of tax-farms relating to agricultural production increased from 1606 to 1609, which coincided with the period of the Celali rebellion. This agricultural revival can be evidenced by the resumed operation of the idle water-mills in rural Urfa. Accordingly, the central government adopted the policy of farming out the rural settlements with sparse population to the state officials. The sales of the plots marked out for producing grain and the farming out of the rural settlements with sparse population to the state officials proved that the agricultural production was not abandoned in the region of Urfa in the aftermath of the Celali rebellion.

It can be said that the long-established social and economic structure based on tribalism and pastoralism could manage to ensure the demographic and economic stability of the region of Urfa. The transition between nomadism and sedentarism was usual among the tribesmen. The livestock breeding and agriculture were integrated with each other in the region of Urfa. Nevertheless, the sedentary tribes engaged more in barley production rather than in livestock breeding, depending on the constant demand from the city and army. However, it was not impractical for them to return to nomadism, or begin to engage in livestock breeding in a more intensive way than before. The money that was derived from the sales of barley was enough to increase the number of their animals. This may explain why the tribal peasants, who had formerly settled down, did not return to nomadism during the period of the Celali rebellion and in the following period.

It is possible to say that an intensive production of barley enabled the nomads and peasants to continue in the livestock breeding in a more secure way, having no difficulty of supplying forage in case of the short supply of pasture, in the region of Urfa. The shortage of pasture was a general problem of Urfa as a result of the aridity. That was the reason the sheep herds were found mixed with goats in the estate inventories depending on the influence of aridity. The absence of cattle breeding in many parts of the region of Urfa indicated an insufficiency of green pasture. Barley production and the presence of water wells in plenty gave resources to horse breeding in the countryside, which would provide the nomads with supplementary sources of income, besides sheep and goat breeding.

Chapter 3

Ankara

Land, Geography and Climate

Ankara was one of the *sancaks* that comprised the *eyalet* of Anadolu in the seventeenth century and it lay in the north-western part of central Anatolia.¹ It had a vast rural hinterland where agricultural production was combined with pastoralism. However, its hinterland was lacking in large and densely populated villages; instead, it was dotted with a number of small villages and *mezraas*.² The city of Ankara was pre-eminently the main centre of population within the *sancak* boundaries, which put the city into an advantageous position in terms of receiving almost the entire agrarian and pastoral surplus from its rural hinterland.³

The *sancak* of Ankara can be divided into two parts as the north and the south according to the demographic structure and settlement pattern. The city of Ankara was situated as the central point of the *sancak*. Accordingly, the northern hinterland of the city included a more settled population compared to its southern hinterland. Its northern hinterland comprised five *nâhiyes*, Ayaş, Çubuk, Yabanabad, Şorba and Murtazabad.⁴ Except for Şorba and Murtazabad, the others

¹ Franz Taeschner, “Ankara,” *EF*². Besim Darkot, “Ankara,” *IA*.

² Hülya Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006) , p. 34.

³ Özer Ergenç, “1600–1615 Yılları Arasında Ankara İktisadi Tarihine Ait Araştırmalar,” *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler/Tartışmalar*, 1975, 145–68, pp. 147-151.

⁴ Özer Ergenç, “XVI. Yüzyıl Ankarası’nın Ekonomik, Sosyal Yapısı ve Kentsel Özellikleri,” in *Tarih İçinde Ankara (September 1981 Seminer Bildirileri)* (Ankara, 1984), p. 54.

had a town centre and *kadı* court office.⁵ The southern hinterland was significantly nomadic in population and comprised of numerous small-size settlements. The *nahiyes* of Bacı, Büyük and Küçük *Haymana* were located in the southwest of the city and the *nahiye* of Çukurcak covered the area stretching between the southern parts of the city of Ankara and the Mt. Elmadağ (1,862 m.).⁶ Katib Çelebi drew attention to the absence of town centres in these *nahiyes* of the southern hinterland.⁷ His accounts pointed to the nomadic character of the southern hinterland. He noted that the Mt. Elmadağ functioned as the summer pasture for the people from the *nahiye* of Çukurcak.⁸ Similarly, he made mention of the transhumance of the Turkmens between the *nahiyes* of Büyük-Küçük *Haymana* and the district of Turgud in the south.⁹ As he said, those Turkmens were engaged in horse and camel breeding.¹⁰ Since the population of *Haymana* did not inhabit any permanent settlements and lived rather in camp-like settlements, they had an itinerant *kadı* who moved between their settlements (*yörük kadısı*).¹¹

The fact that the settlements were temporary in character precluded the implementation of the *timar* system in the southern hinterland; therefore, the tax-revenues of the nomadic population in the southern hinterland were allotted to *has*. The *nahiyes* of Büyük-Küçük *Haymana* were separated for the viziers and the sultans as *has*, while the nomads of Uluyörük were allotted to the *has* for the governors of Anadolu and the nomads of Aydınbeyli belonged to the governors of Rumeli in the same way.¹² By contrast, the settlements located in the *nahiyes* of the northern

⁵ Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara*, p. 33.

⁶ Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya : Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı* (Ankara: Ankara Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), pp. 72-73.

⁷ Kâtib Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, p. 642.

⁸ Kâtib Çelebi, *Ibid.*, p. 642.

⁹ Kâtib Çelebi, *Ibid.*, p. 642.

¹⁰ Kâtib Çelebi, *Ibid.*, p. 642.

¹¹ Kâtib Çelebi, *Ibid.*, p. 642.

¹² Ergenç, “XVI. Yüzyıl Ankarası’nın Ekonomik, Sosyal Yapısı ve Kentsel Özellikleri,” p. 54.

hinterland were allotted to the *sipahis* and state officials as *timar*, because of their sedentary character.¹³

The northern boundaries of the *sancak* of Ankara (henceforth, the Ankara region) were more easily distinguishable compared to its southern boundaries.¹⁴ The *nâhiye* of Yabanabad lay on the northernmost boundary of the region. Today, the village of Demirciören corresponded to the *nahiye* centre of Yabanabad, which is situated at the south of the modern Kızılcahamam.¹⁵ Yabanabad was bordered by the *nahiye* of Şorba from the south. The modern sub-district of Kazan is situated at the *nahiye* centre of Şorba.¹⁶ The *nahiye* of Ayaş lay on the westernmost boundary of the region and the *nahiye* of Çubuk formed its north-eastern border.¹⁷ The border of the Ankara region stretched to the Köroğlu Mountains towards the north. Nevertheless, there was no discernible physical feature in the south that could function as a natural border. The southern border of the Ankara region extended over the northern steppes of the Salt Lake. However, the presence of a large nomadic population in the southern hinterland caused the southern borders of the region to stretch further to the south. Thus, the *kadı* court of Ankara performed the juridical and administrative duties and received imperial orders from the Porte concerning the nomads who were roaming in an area that remained in the north of the horizontal line stretching from Konya to Aksaray.¹⁸

The land of the Ankara region undulates between 800-1000 meters above sea level. There are no mountain ranges on the region; however, many single mountains are scattered throughout the

¹³ Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁴ Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara*, map 1.

¹⁵ <http://nisanyanmap.com/?yer=3083&haritasi=demircioren>

¹⁶ <http://nisanyanmap.com/?yer=3119&haritasi=pazar>

¹⁷ Taş, *Ibid.*, map 1.

¹⁸ Emine Erdoğan, “Ankara Yörükleri (1463, 1523/30 ve 1571 Tahrirlerine Göre),” *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 18 (2005): 119–36, pp. 120-137.

region.¹⁹ These single mountains were a good source of pastureland for the population of the *nahiyes* in summer, which made the Ankara region convenient for performing short-distance transhumant activities. The nomads that inhabited the *nahiye* of Çukurcak went up to the Mt. Elmadağ and possibly to the other mountains located nearby in summer.²⁰ Likewise, the nomads from the *nahiye* of *Büyük* and *Küçük Haymana* went up to the Mt. Mangal in summer.²¹ The population of the Ankara region could take shelter in these small mountains and hilly terrain from malaria in summer periods.²²

The Ankara region lies on an area of the continental Mediterranean climate that has less severe effects of the continental climate and dryness compared to the plateaus of Yozgat-Sivas and the Konya basin.²³ The rising elevation of central Anatolia towards the direction of Yozgat-Sivas in the east increases the harshness of winter together with the number of days with snow and frost compared to the western and southern parts of the central Anatolia.²⁴ Dryness increases towards the direction of the Konya basin that lies in the south and south-west of the Ankara region.²⁵ The annual precipitation amount of the Ankara region increases towards the Koroğlu Mountains in the north. While it ranges from 600 to 1000 mm in Kızılcahamam and its environs, including the *nahiyes* of the northern hinterland, it gradually decreases towards the south.²⁶ In the city of Ankara

¹⁹ Muslihiddin Safvet, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi, İctimai Coğrafyası: Ankara Vilayeti* (Ankara: TC Sıhhiye ve Muavereti İctimaiyye Vekaleti, 1925), pp. 13-14.

²⁰ Kâtib Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, p. 642.

²¹ Safvet, *Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimai Coğrafyası*, p. 14.

²² Darkot, "Ankara," İA.

²³ Sinan Sahin and Kerem Cigizoglu, "The Sub-Climate Regions and the Sub-Precipitation Regime Regions in Turkey," *Journal of Hydrology* 450-451 (2012), pp. 185-186.

²⁴ Sahin and Cigizoglu, *Ibid.*, p. 186.

²⁵ Sahin and Cigizoglu, *Ibid.*, p. 186.

²⁶ Wolf Dieter Hütteroth, *Türkei* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), p. 109. Turkish State Meteorological Service, *Climate of Ankara*. (Ankara, DMI Yayınları), pp. 13-23.

and its environs, the annual precipitation amount changes between 500 and 600 mm and it continues reducing in the direction of further south, varying from 300 to 400 mm.²⁷

The annual precipitation at this amount is sufficient only for carrying out subsistence farming, which suggest that the Ankara region was vulnerable to droughts and crop failures in the past due to poor precipitation.²⁸ In general, the average wheat yields are even low in central Anatolia. High yields are only possible with adequate irrigation.²⁹ The average wheat yields changed between 125 and 175 kg per *dönüm* in central Anatolia.³⁰ In drought years, the wheat yields could decrease even to 12.5 kg per *dönüm*.³¹ The yields of grain grow lower towards the Salt Lake in the south depending on the decreasing precipitation. By contrast, it is possible to obtain higher yields in the northern hinterland thanks to the increasing precipitation.³² The lower yields could be counterbalanced by extensive cultivation, which depends on the concept that the larger land is required to produce more yields in quantity.³³

The studies reconstructing past climate conditions that supposedly prevailed in central Anatolia are not adequate to reach an overall conclusion about the climate anomalies which the region of Ankara might have undergone during the first half of the seventeenth century. In general, the climatic reconstructions through tree-ring data indicate the Anatolian plateau entered into a phase of drier and colder climate in 1590-1660.³⁴ Bearing in mind the regional and sub-regional variations in climate across the Anatolian plateau, however, we cannot assume that the drier and

²⁷ Hütteroth, *Ibid.*, p. 109; *Climate of Ankara*, pp. 13-23.

²⁸ Hütteroth, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁹ Sirri Erinç and Necdet Tunçdilek, "The Agricultural Regions of Turkey," *Geographical Review* 42, no. 2 (1952): 179–203, pp. 183-185.

³⁰ Erinç and Tunçdilek, *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³¹ Erinç and Tunçdilek, *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³² Hütteroth, *Türkei*, p. 369.

³³ John C. Dewey, *Turkey* (London: Chatto&Windus, 1971), p. 102.

³⁴ Ramzi Touchan and Malcolm K Hughes, "Dendroclimatology in the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean Region," in *Tree-Rings, Kings, and Old World Archaeology and Environment: Papers Presented in Honor of Peter Ian Kuniholm*, ed. Sturt W. Manning and Mary Jaye Bruce (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009), pp. 67-68.

colder climate pattern of Anatolia in the first half of the seventeenth century had a similar and simultaneous effect on the region of Ankara. As was mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, during the period of drought and extreme cold winter in 1873-1874 in Anatolia, while the Ankara region was the most severely affected and suffered from massive human and animal deaths, Sivas and its environs remained little affected, though a much colder climate prevailed in Sivas than Ankara in winter in general.³⁵ The studies that are based on dendrochronological data, which are derived from the northern and southern areas of mainland Anatolia, indicate that the drought and wet periods took no longer than 1-2 years in the early seventeenth century. For example, the tree-ring data that is derived from the area of the Lake District, which is located at the southwestern corner of central Anatolia, indicates 3 drought periods of one-year, which occurred in 1607-1608, 1610-1611, and 1623-1624, whereas the periods of 1605-1606 and 1620-1621 were wet in Isparta in the early seventeenth century.³⁶ However, we cannot estimate how the surrounding area of Isparta was affected during those dry and wet years, due to the absence of the regional studies on environmental history. On the other hand, the dendrochronological data that is derived from the Küre Mountains, which were situated in the north of Ankara, demonstrate short-term fluctuations in the precipitation around the northwestern Black Sea region. In the northwestern

³⁵ Rosanne D'Arrigo and Heidi M. Cullen, "A 350 Year (AD 1628-1980) Reconstruction of Turkish Precipitation," *Dendrochronologia* 19 (2), 2001, p. 173; It is estimated for Sivas that the annual precipitation was 277 mm for the year 1873 and 293 mm for the year 1874. Although these figures clearly indicate a dry period, they are still above the drought threshold. However, it is estimated that the annual precipitation decreased to 18 mm in western Anatolia in 1873-1874, which is a catastrophic level for drought. See also, Nesibe Köse, Ünal Akkemik and *et al.*, "An Improved Reconstruction of May-June Precipitation Using the Tree-Ring Data From Western Turkey and Its Links to Volcanic Eruptions," *International Journal of Biometeorol* (2013) 57, 691-701; p. 697.

³⁶ Nesibe Köse et al., "Tree-Ring Reconstructions of May-June Precipitation for Western Anatolia," *Quaternary Research* 75, no. 3 (2011): 438-450, p. 444.

Black Sea region, although the years of 1638 and 1641 were very wet, 1642 passed dry; however, compared to the previous year, 1643 was wet, but 1645 was dry.³⁷

We can assume that the studies reconstructing the past climate of the region of Ankara through proxy data would indicate a series of short-term dry and wet years similar to the cases of southwestern and northwestern Anatolia as mentioned above. In these years, the occurrence of drastic changes in the agricultural and pastoral production of rural populations was less likely, because even though the nomads and peasants were unable to have good harvest and to increase the herd size during the dry seasons, the next wet years could help them make up for the losses related to aridity. As is generally accepted, aridity rendered cultivation less attractive for the nomads.³⁸ However, as a result of only one-year dry period, the nomads did not necessarily need to abandon cultivation and to become more mobile with pastoral reasons; namely, for finding pasture and water for their herds. On the other hand, the wet seasons of one-year were not an adequate reason to motivate the nomads to settle down in the land permanently for cultivation. For example, in the southern hinterland of Ankara, even though the nomads had newly settled or already settled down in the land despite aridity, they never discontinued their pastoral activities.³⁹ As will be seen in the next pages of this chapter, there is no clear evidence from the court entries to suggest that the region of Ankara was subjected to extreme weather conditions, like drought and over-precipitation, which would shift the balance of rural economics between agriculture and pastoralism consequently in the first half of the seventeenth century.

³⁷ Ünal Akkemik, Nesibe Dağdeviren, and Aliye Aras, "A Preliminary Reconstruction (A.D. 1635-2000) of Spring Precipitation Using Oak Tree Rings in the Western Black Sea Region of Turkey," *International Journal of Biometeorology* 49, no. 5 (2005): 297–302, p. 300.

³⁸ Fagan, *The Great Warming: Climate Change and the Rise and Fall of Civilizations*, pp. 46-61.

³⁹ Oğuz Erol, "Haymana Güneyi ve Kurakçöl Havzası Çevresinde Coğrafya Araştırmaları," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Dergisi* vol.21 (no:1.2) 1963, p.89.

Production and Population

The region of Ankara was identified with mohair and grain production in economic terms.⁴⁰

Mohair was a fine fabric that was made from the hair of the Angora goat, which was superior to any other woollen-fabric with its features as low flammable, more elastic, and more durable in terms of moisture-absorption compared to other woollen-fabrics.⁴¹ Depending on mohair production and the Angora goat's hair, the city of Ankara became a thriving commercial centre in central Anatolia and integrated into the network of international trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴²

The breeding area of the Angora goat was mainly Ankara and its environs, but the other areas that lay between Afyon and Eskişehir in the west; Konya-Karaman in the south; Çankırı-Kastamonu in the north were also convenient for Angora goat farming.⁴³ Angora goat farming was nevertheless performed predominantly in the area covering the northwest of central Anatolia, which started from Eskişehir-Sivrihisar in the west, including Beypazarı and Ayaş, and stretched along the north-eastern direction, including Kastamonu, Tosya, Çankırı and Çorum.⁴⁴ This area included almost the entirety of the *nahiyes* in the northern hinterland of Ankara. Both Katib Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi mentioned that the population of these northern *nahiyes* were engaged in mohair

⁴⁰ Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, pp. 153-161; Özer Ergenç, "Çıkar Bâcı" ve Bu Verginin Geniş Boyutlu Ticaret Faaliyetinin Göstergesi Olarak Anlamı," presented in *CIEPO 17. Symposium, Trabzon, 18-23 September 2006*, reprinted in *Osmanlı Tarih Yazıları* collected articles of Özer Ergenç (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), pp. 318-325; Ergenç, "İç Anadolu'nun Kuzeybatı Ucundaki Sof Üretim Alanının İzmir İle Bağlantısı," presented in the conference of *Türk Deniz Ticareti Tarihi-I (İzmir ve Doğu Akdeniz)* (7 May, 2009), reprinted in *Osmanlı Tarih Yazıları* collected articles of Özer Ergenç (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), pp. 291-298.

⁴¹ Robert R. Frank, *Silk, Mohair, Cashmere and Other Luxury Fabrics* (Woodhead Publishing: Cambridge, 2001), pp. 71-72.

⁴² Gary Leiser, "Traveller's Accounts of Mohair Production in Ankara from the Fifteenth Through the Nineteenth Century," *Textile Museum Journal* 32/33 (1993): 5-34, pp. 9-15.

⁴³ Sema Özkan Tağı and Zeynep Erdoğan, "The Adventure of Mohair in Anatolia," *Folk Life: The Journal of Ethnological Studies* 52, no. 1 (2014): 49-61, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Tağı and Erdoğan, *Ibid.*, p. 49; Ergenç, "Çıkar Bâcı" ve Bu Verginin Geniş Boyutlu Ticaret Faaliyetinin Göstergesi Olarak Anlamı," p. 318.

weaving and spinning.⁴⁵ In Angora goat farming, the goats with white-hair were preferable to the others with dark-hair, because the white-hair was easier for dyeing the intended colours. The most convenient habitat for the Angora goat with white-hair was the mountainous area of the northern hinterland (the K ro lu Mountains) that was covered by green pastures and oak. Evliya  elebi stated that the Angora goat with white-hair was keen on eating the leaves of the *p rn r*, which was one of the local species of oak trees and found in the mountainous northern hinterland.⁴⁶ In the southern hinterland where the vegetation was sparse and arid, on the other hand, the Angora goat whose hair was in miscellaneous dark colours replaced the white ones. The line stretching through Mihaili , Beypazarı and Aya  in the northern hinterland came consequently into prominence for the Angora goat with white-hair.⁴⁷

The Celali rebellions inflicted a serious setback on both mohair and grain productions in the early seventeenth century. Since the city of Ankara functioned as the junction of the trade routes in central Anatolia over the centuries, it became one of the main targets of the Celali armies together with its rural hinterland.⁴⁸ The Celali rebels laid siege to the city of Ankara three times in the summer of 1603.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the city of Ankara could manage to withstand all of these sieges, but the most of its rural hinterland remained deserted partly during the sieges.⁵⁰ Although the fleeing peasants went to different directions in the region of Ankara in the hope of finding secure

⁴⁵ K tib  elebi, *Cihann ma*, p. 642.

⁴⁶ Evliy   elebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zill , *Evliy   elebi Seyahatn mesi*, volume: II, edited by Zekeriya Kursun, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Y cel Da lı ( stanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), p.213.

⁴⁷ C.P Bailey, *Practical Angora Goat Raising* (San Jose California, 1905), pp. 9-11.

⁴⁸ Taeschner, "Ankara," *EF*². Darkot, "Ankara," *IA*.

⁴⁹ In the summer of 1603, the bandit groups invaded the countryside of Ankara and gave damage to the immediate surrounding of the city of Ankara. Akda , *Cel li Isyanları (1550-1603)*, p. 222.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

areas, the city harboured many peasant families from its immediate hinterland thanks to its fortified city walls in the last siege laid by Kalenderoğlu Mehmed in October 1607.⁵¹

In the following period of the Celali invasions, banditry persisted in the countryside, which prompted the central government to give notices to the *kadı* of Ankara with regard to the bandit groups.⁵² For example, in April 1619, the *kadı* was warned of the situation that the bandits, some of whom disguised themselves by wearing Janissary uniforms, were roaming in the countryside, levying several taxes on the *reaya* contrary to the law.⁵³ Similarly, it was reported to the central government that the theology students (*suhtes*) started to terrorize the rural areas in the province of Anadolu in 1619.⁵⁴ The migration from the rural hinterland to the city continued in the 1610s due to recurrent banditry. A group of men from the village of Kusunlar⁵⁵ reported to the court on 30 June 1618 that they had decided to move to the city with their families due to the fear of banditry (*eşkiyā hāvfından*), but someone else had launched an attack on them on the road.⁵⁶

The court entries showed that the supply of Angora goat hair came to a halt in the northern hinterland due to the Celali invasions. This downtrend certainly reduced the volume of mohair production, as evidenced by the decreasing tax-farm prices of the tax units related to the mohair production. For example, on 30 July 1609, Salamon, a Jewish superintendent who was charged with collecting the stamp and press tax (*damga ve cendere mukāta'ası*)⁵⁷, notified the central government that he failed to collect the related tax since a few years, because mohair production

⁵¹ Faroghī, "Crisis and Change," pp. 438-439.

⁵² Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 195, doc. no. 855.

⁵³ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 195, doc. no. 855.

⁵⁴ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 170, doc. no. 787.

⁵⁵ Today, the village of Kusunlar is a quarter of Mamak and 12 km distant from the city of Ankara. <http://www.nisanyanmap.com/?yer=2654&haritasi=kusunlar>

⁵⁶ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 8, doc. no. 43.

⁵⁷ The stamp and press tax was collected from the sales of mohair in Ankara and belonged to the *has* of the Sultan. It was farmed out together with Kalecik, Tosya, Kastamonu, Çankırı and Sivrihisar. See, Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Konya ve Ankara*, p. 160. In the court entry mentioned above, it is seen that Tosya and Çankırı were also farmed out to the superintendent Salamon. Ankara Court Record (no. 496), p. 169, doc. no. 1271.

came to a halt in the *nahiyes* of the northern hinterland due to the Celali invasions.⁵⁸ In this regard, the central government instructed the inspector of the tax-farm of Ankara and the *kadı* of Tosya to investigate the accuracy of the present situation in the northern *nâhiyes*.⁵⁹

In relation to the court entry mentioned above, it is seen that the tax revenues of the press, commission and dye-house for mohair production were farmed out to Salamon, and other Jewish superintendents David and Bazla, for 6 years from 21 March 1605 in return for 9,785, 710 *akçes*. Nevertheless, they could retain the tax-farm for only 2 years 8 months and they remained in arrears for more than 400,000 *akçes*.⁶⁰ It seems that the tax-farm remained in their holdings until October 1607 when the Celali forces of Kalenderoğlu Mehmed laid siege to the city of Ankara. In relation to the impact of the siege on mohair production, the *kadı* of Ankara informed the central government authority while on campaign “the inhabitants of the province had become dispersed due to the oppression of the bandits for last few years and the goats that were bred for mohair production had perished and the rest of them remained alive were ill and swollen; therefore, the press manufactures (*cendere*) had been standing idle.”⁶¹

The Angora goats were more fragile than the hair goat, sheep and cattle in terms of ability to survive in cold weather. Therefore, the Angora goats should be tended in the fold in case of extreme cold in winter and late frost in spring. The latter caused some digestive system diseases in the Angora goats.⁶² That sharp decrease in the population of the Angora goats was likely to take its toll on mohair production in the following decade; because, the reproduction of the Angora goats was

⁵⁸ Ankara Court Record (no. 496), p. 169, doc. no. 1271.

⁵⁹ Ankara Court Record (no. 496), p. 169, doc. no. 1271.

⁶⁰ Ankara Court Record (no. 496), p. 188, doc. no. 1331.

⁶¹ “...bundan evvel müfettiş ve Ankara kadısı olan mevlâna Mehmed ordu-yu hümayunuma arz gönderüb bir kaç yıldır eşkıyâ teâdisinden vilâyet dağılub ve tiftik hâsıl olan keçiler kırılıb ekseri marazlı ve muhâddir olmağla cendereler battâl olduğun bildirmeğın...” Ankara Court Record (no. 496), p. 188, doc. no. 1331.

⁶² http://www.tarimkutuphanesi.com/Ankara_Kecisi_Yetistiriciligi_ve_Tiftik_Uretimi_00176.html

slower and lower in capacity compared to the hair goat and sheep.⁶³ This meant that the press manufactures (*cendere*) encountered the shortage of hair for weaving mohair at least for a few years from 1607 onwards. The mohair manufacturers who had trouble acquiring the Angora goat hair resorted to using sheep fleece in weaving mohair, which reduced the quality. In order to retain the original quality of the mohair, the central government gave the order to the *kadıs* of Ankara, Beğpazarı and Ayaş in August 1612 to prevent the mohair manufacturers from replacing the Angora goat hair with sheep fleece in making mohair.⁶⁴

Taş has drawn attention to the frequent renewals of the tax-farm contracts concerning the tax-revenues derived from the mohair production in 1618-1621.⁶⁵ This situation clearly indicated the poor financial performance of the tax-farmers in fulfilling the contract requirements. She associates the reason of the frequent renewals in a short period for 3 years with the attempt of the central government to lessen the financial burden of the military preparations for the Poland campaign, which made the conditions of the tax-farm contracts heavier for the tax-farmers.⁶⁶ However, it seems more reasonable to explain the reason behind the frequent renewals of the contracts with the fluctuations in the supply of the Angora goat hair. Considering the low and slow reproduction capacity of the Angora goats, we cannot assume that the population of the Angora goats could recover easily after 1607. Thus, even after one decade, the amount of hair derived from the available Angora goats was presumably insufficient for the demand of the mohair production in 1618-1621.

⁶³ Namık Celal Özekin and Halil Akçapınar, "Ankara Keçisi Oğlaklarının Büyüme Kabiliyeti Üzerine Bazı Faktörlerin Etkileri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Veterinerlik Fakültesi Dergisi* 30 (2) : 317-327; p. 327.

⁶⁴ Hüseyin Çınar, "H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şerhiye Sicili-Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme," unpublished Master Thesis, University of Ankara (Ankara, 1993), p. 354, doc. no 96/716.

⁶⁵ Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara*, p. 34.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

Nevertheless, the shortage of the Angora goat hair did not result in a permanent halt in the mohair production. We can observe through the travellers' accounts that a significant number of the population was still occupied with making mohair in the Ankara region during the period following the Celali rebellions. Simeon from Poland, who was the Armenian pilgrim and merchant, stayed in Ankara in 1618 or 1619 for one month and described the intensive mohair production and the existence of a busy international demand for mohair in the city.⁶⁷ Almost 30 years later, in his visit to Ankara in 1648, Evliya Çelebi made a detailed mention about the process of making hair into mohair.⁶⁸

The documentary evidence from the archival materials does not allow us to examine the dimensions of the damage inflicted by the Celali invasions on the agricultural production in the region of Ankara. From a broader perspective, however, it was certain that the Celali rebellions caused a general agricultural poverty in the entirety of the province of Anatolia. For example, the central government issued an order to the *kadıs* of Ankara concerning the grain requirement for the army that was marching on campaign to the eastern front.⁶⁹ The imperial order retrospectively stated that each household from every *avarız* unit in the *nahiyes* within the province of Anadolu were required to supply 513.2 kg (one *müdd*)⁷⁰ of grain, as one-fourth of which was wheat and the rest was barley, as the *nüzul* for the years of 1610-1611.⁷¹ In addition, they were also charged with procuring pack animals to dispatch the grain to the army quarter.⁷² However, the central government was informed on 11th August 1611 of the fact that since the most of the *reaya* from the province of Anadolu became dispersed and poor as the result of the Celali invasions and banditry,

⁶⁷ Leiser, "Traveller's Accounts of Mohair Production in Ankara from the Fifteenth Through the Nineteenth Century." p. 14

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁹ Çınar, "H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şeriyye Sicili", pp. 332-333, doc. no. 87/681.

⁷⁰ The standard measure of müdd was 513.160 kg. Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. xli.

⁷¹ Çınar, Ibid., pp. 332-333, doc. no. 87/681.

⁷² Çınar, Ibid., pp. 332-333, doc. no. 87/681.

they were not capable of supplying grain and pack animals.⁷³ Thus, the central government decided to collect 500 *akçes* from each *avarız* unit as the price of the *nüzul*.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, the documentary evidence at our disposal at least can enable us to observe how the Celali invasions affected the grain production in the *nahiyes* of Haymana (*Büyük Haymana* and *Küçük Haymana*). Furthermore, the economic and demographic panorama of the *nahiyes* of Haymana in the aftermath of the Celali invasions can shed some light on the nomadism-sedentarism continuum in the region of Ankara. Considering the peasants' desertion of the countryside as the consequence of the Celali invasions in 1600-1607, it is possible to assume that the agricultural production went into decline in the region of Ankara.⁷⁵

Through the court entries, we can calculate the decrease in the grain output from the *nahiyes* of Haymana in 1598-1615. Before the Celali invasions, in 1598-1599, the tax-farm contract required the tax-farmer for the *nahiyes* of Haymana to deliver 1,368,191 kg of wheat (2,666 *müd*) and 683,408 kg of barley (1,334 *müd*) to the *has* owner.⁷⁶ The two *nahiyes* were farmed out separately for 3 years in 1589 at the prices of 1,800,000 and 1,300,000 *akçes*.⁷⁷ In another tax-farm contract with regard to the *nahiyes* of Haymana, the tax-farm prices of both went down to 480,000 *akçes* in March 1613 in total. However, it increased to 600,000 *akçes* in March 1615.⁷⁸ That increase of 120,000 *akçes* within 2 years demonstrated that the grain production began to recover at a moderate pace. It can be seen in the tax-farm contract that the central government needed to farm out the two *nahiyes* together from 1615 onwards, because the areas of both *nahiyes* grew smaller in size, due to the loss of population.⁷⁹

⁷³ Çınar, *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333, doc. no. 87/681.

⁷⁴ Çınar, *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333, doc. no. 87/681.

⁷⁵ Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, p. 62.

⁷⁶ Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, p. 62.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ Ankara Court Record (no. 499), p. 204, doc. no. 1768.

⁷⁹ Ankara Court Record (no. 499), p. 204, doc. no. 1768.

One may ponder whether the reason of the decline in the grain production of the two Haymana can be linked with the ecological and climatic factors, in addition to the Celali invasions. It is possible to presume that the drought periods of 1607-1608 and 1610-1611, which occurred in the Lake District of Isparta, as we mentioned in the previous section, might have had a wider impact area including central Anatolia, and brought about a destructive effect on grain production in the *nahiyes* of Haymana. Grain production was performed as in the form of dry farming in the *nahiyes* of Haymana, where the optimal harvest of grain was dependent on the sufficiency of rainfall in spring. Therefore, it is not reasonable to rule out the possible impact of the drought periods on the grain output. However, there is no evidence from the archival documents that clearly connected the reason of the decline in grain output with the drought. By contrast, it pointed to the depopulation of Haymana due to the desertion of the countryside during the period of the Celali invasions as the initial reason for the decline in grain output. The *nahiyes* of Haymana were more likely to be subjected to the abandonment of the settlements in the countryside in a more rapid way, because the majority of their populations were the newly or already-settled nomads.

Almost 40 per cent of the population of the region of Ankara consisted of nomadic tribes in the 1570s.⁸⁰ Nearly half of these tribes populated the *nahiyes* of Haymana.⁸¹ The majority of the nomads, who settled in the *nahiyes* of Haymana, engaged in grain production in an extensive way. Nevertheless, most of them tended to engage in grain cultivation without being tied to the land; therefore, the central administration wanted to record them as ‘nomad-*yörük*’ into the land registers, regardless of the amount of grain that they harvested.⁸² By retaining their nomadic character, the agriculturalist nomads could adopt mobility as a strategy in order to escape the effects of banditry, when disorder broke out in the countryside. The *mühimme* records showed that order had been

⁸⁰ Erdoğan, “Ankara Yörükleri,” p. 133

⁸¹ Erdoğan, *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁸² Suraiya Faroqi, “Ankara ve Çevresindeki Arazi Mülkiyetinin ya da İnsan-Toprak İlişkilerinin Değişimi,” *Tarih İçinde Ankara-Proceedings September-1981* (Ankara, 1984), pp. 64-65.

deteriorating in the Haymana district from the 1580s onwards.⁸³ In summer of 1603, the invasion of the Celali armies under the command of Karakaş and Çörekoğlu inflicted severe damage on the southern hinterland of the region of Ankara including the *nahiyes* of Haymana and Bacı where the nomads comprised the majority of the population.⁸⁴ As regards the results of the invasions, Akdağ indicates that 36 villages were found abandoned in the *nahiyes* of Haymana in 1604 and 70 out of more than 80 villages became deserted in 1605.⁸⁵ In the same way, 33 out of 38 villages were deserted in the *nahiye* of Bacı in 1604.⁸⁶

It is possible to observe the population loss in the *nahiyes* of Haymana in between the 1570s and the 1610s by making a comparison of the demographic data between the land registers and the the court entries. A court entry was recorded in respect of the collection of the individual taxes from the *nahiyes* of Haymana in 1611.⁸⁷ The population of the *nahiyes* of Haymana was classified in the court entry only as *bennâk* and *mücerred*.⁸⁸ This detail in the entry was related to the nomadic character of the *nahiyes*. According to the entry, there were 661 *bennâks* and 59 *mücerreds* in the *nahiyes* of Haymana in 1611.⁸⁹ By contrast, the population of the *nahiyes* of Haymana seemed to include 10,201 households, 1613 *mücerreds* and 28 tax-exempts in the land register of 1571.⁹⁰ The status of *bennâk* was used to refer not only to the landless married peasants, but also to the nomads whose herds were below the standard in size.⁹¹ It is possible in the court entry that the central government referred to both cases concerning the population of the *nahiyes* of Haymanas by using

⁸³ Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâli İsyânları (1550-1603)*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963), pp. 139-140, 203.

⁸⁴ Akdağ, *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁸⁵ Akdağ, *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁸⁶ Akdağ, *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁸⁷ Çınar, “H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şerhiye Sicili”, p. 126, doc. no. 17/129.

⁸⁸ Çınar, “H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şerhiye Sicili”, p. 126, doc. no. 17/129.

⁸⁹ Çınar, *Ibid.*, p. 126, doc. no. 17/129.

⁹⁰ Erdoğan, “Ankara Yörükleri,” p. 131.

⁹¹ Halil Inalcık, “Bennâk,” *El²*; Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu’da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, (Ankara, 1997), pp. 134-135.

the term *bennak*. In this case, the court entry can be evidence that the *nahiyes* of Haymana became poor in the aftermath of the Celali invasions.

Given the fact that the nomads and nomadic peasants predominantly inhabited the *nahiyes* of Haymana and Bacı, one can suggest that the depopulation of the countryside in those *nahiyes* was accompanied by the (re)-nomadisation of the rural populations in the region of Ankara during the early seventeenth century. During the period when the countryside was under the invasion of the Celali armies, the return to nomadism appeared as the safest and fastest way of avoiding the bandit attacks for the already-settled nomads who engaged in farming. Considering the fragile situation of the countryside in terms of security even after the Celali invasions, the peasants who returned to nomadism tended to avoid settling down permanently.⁹² However, the return to nomadism was a short-term strategy for some of the peasants. The peasants who turned to nomadism again opted to come back to their original places as soon as public order was restored in the countryside. A group of peasants from the village of Kızılhisar came to the court in June 1618 to submit a complaint against the tax collectors who were in charge of the peasants in the status of *haymane* (the people of no fixed address).⁹³ They stated that although they were previously the recorded *reaya* of the wakf of the Medine-i Münevvere, they spent some time with the nomads of Aydınlı, but then they returned to their village to settle down again. Therefore, the tax collectors mistook them for the *haymene reaya*, considering the period they spent as migrants.⁹⁴

It is clear in the documentary evidence from the court entries that after the Celali invasions, the population remained sparse in the *nahiyes* where the nomads were settled. At this point, it is important to know the subsequent fate of the leavers, who were predominately nomad, in order to

⁹² Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 195, doc. no. 855; Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 170, doc. no. 787.

⁹³ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 189, doc. no. 839; Moutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 44.

⁹⁴ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 189, doc. no. 839.

monitor the nomadism-sedentarism continuum in the region of Ankara. Although it can be certain through the evidence from the court entries that many of the leavers came back to the settlements when the public order was restored in the *nahiyes*, the population in the nomads' *nahiyes* was still far behind its previous size. For example, one of the court entries that were filed regarding the matter of grain provisions (*nüzul*) provide us with significant evidence to display the demographic and economic situation in the *nahiye* of Bacı in the aftermath of the Celali invasions. The *nahiye* of Bacı, where the majority of the population was nomad, remained virtually deserted due to the Celali invasions and began to be repopulated with the return of its former inhabitants. The *nahiye* of Bacı were charged with providing grain together with the *nahiyes* of Şorba, Ayaş, Çubukabad and Yörük in the years from March 1611 to March 1612.⁹⁵ In the entry, the *kadı* of Bacı explained to the superintendent of the *nüzul* collection that his *nahiye* was incapable of supplying grain for the army; because, its inhabitants had become poor and dispersed due to the Celali invasions and even though some of those who came back to their places, they were extremely poor and small in population.⁹⁶

Due to the absence of evidence, however, we cannot estimate whether the *nahiye* of Bacı recovered its population in the following decades. But, the *nahiye* of Bacı was likely to have been sparse in population even in the period after the Celali invasions. In another example, the demographic situation of the *nahiye* of the nomads of Ankara (*yörükân-ı Ankara*) can be seen in a court entry that was recorded in May 1638 concerning the requirement of the preparation of pioneers (*beldar*).⁹⁷ Accordingly, the nomads of Ankara were supposed to prepare 5 pioneers (*beldar*) per 20 households to the central army.⁹⁸ Although the central government calculated that the *nahiye* of the nomads consisted of 300 households, the inhabitants from the *nahiye* reported that

⁹⁵ Çınar, "H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şerhiyye Sicili", pp. 100-101 doc. no. 9/62; pp. 103-104, doc. no. 10/69; pp. 105-106, doc. no. 11/73; pp. 106-107, doc. no. 11/74.

⁹⁶ Çınar, *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101 doc. no. 9/62.

⁹⁷ Ankara Court Record (no. 513), p. 168, doc. no. 483.

⁹⁸ Ankara Court Record (no. 513), p. 168, doc. no. 483.

the entire *nahiye* population had remained only 79 households after the invasion of the Celalis; therefore, they were capable of preparing only 4 pioneers because of the decreased number of households.⁹⁹ In the court entry, the term ‘household’ was likely to be used to refer to *avarızhane*, because 300 households were quite low for the *nahiye* of the nomads of Ankara, considering the demographic figures in the land register of 1571.¹⁰⁰ Given the fact that the units of *avarızhane* were measured according to the size and yield capacity of the cultivated lands, we can observe a serious decline in the agricultural production and impoverishment in the *nahiye* of the nomads of Ankara. However, we should adopt a cautious approach while interpreting this decline, because the reduction of the *avarız* households in number could be related to the agricultural character of the nomads in reality. As will be seen in the section of ‘nomads and agriculture’ in this chapter, although the nomads cultivated the lands to produce grain, they tended to avoid being registered in the tax unit of where they engaged in agricultural production.

The desertion of the settlements accompanied by the (re)-nomadisation did not result in a depopulation of countryside in the region of Ankara in an irreversible way; because, as will be shown in this section, the term *haymene reaya* frequently appeared in the court entries with regard to the rural groups, which could be used to refer to the fugitive peasants who ceased affiliation to their settlements. In this sense, a certain amount of rural population dispersed into the interior of the region. This dispersal of the rural population inside the region also included the moving of the peasants and nomads into the city. The evidence from the court entries presents us almost no information about the economic ways that the nomads and peasants adopted for subsistence during the period when they became itinerant. In the same way, we know nothing about their livelihood strategies in the city. Despite this drawback regarding the scantiness of archival evidence, it can be

⁹⁹ Ankara Court Record (no. 513), p. 168, doc. no. 483.

¹⁰⁰ Erdoğan, “Ankara Yörükleri,” pp. 131-133.

assumed that the settlement in the city might have not prevented the nomads and peasants from keeping affiliation to their former settlements in the countryside.

The migration of rural populations into the city caused a decrease in the number of tax-paying subjects in the countryside. This situation consequently reduced the tax-revenues of the timariots on the one hand and increased the tax burden of the remainders in the countryside on the other. The peasants and nomads, who had moved to the city, frequently appeared in the ledger of the *kadı* with their complaints against the tax-collectors for the tax impositions concerning their former settlements in the countryside. It is interesting that the city-dweller peasants and nomads tended to make an application to the central government by submitting petition in order to find an answer to their problems about tax impositions. This might have indicated the ineffectiveness of the ways of solving the problems with the help of the local authorities. The nomads and peasants were probably well aware of how it was difficult to gain a patronage from the *kadı* against the local tax collectors and state officials, considering the influence of the local elites on the decisions of the *kadı*.¹⁰¹ Therefore, it would be a prudent tactic for the nomads and peasants, who were in trouble with the timariots and other tax-collectors, to convey their grievances directly to the central government in a form of petition. By seeking a resolution from the central government, they could ensure that the highest authority of the empire exerted his influence on the *kadı* and other local authorities.¹⁰²

On the other hand, the complaints in the petitions were contextually one-sided, that is to say, their evidence allowed us to understand the judicial matters at issue only from the perspective of the

¹⁰¹ James E. Baldwin, "Petitioning the Sultan in Ottoman Egypt," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75, no. 3 (October 2, 2012): 499–524, pp. 514–515. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society, and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, pp. 48–49.

¹⁰² Baldwin, "Petitioning the Sultan in Ottoman Egypt," p. 514. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanlic Legitimation (1570-1650)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XXXIV (1992): 1–39, pp. 2–3.

petitioners in which their vested interest were embedded. It is likely that the complaint-holder nomads and peasants might have obtained some certain economic opportunities during the period of the Celali rebellions. Among these gains, they might have availed themselves of the vacant lands, or they might have made themselves invisible in the tax registers by changing location. Certainly, the local authorities were in a better position to recognize the personal gains of the nomads and peasants than the central government. In this regard, one should take a critical approach while examining the petitions of the nomads and peasants regarding tax matters.

For example, a court entry recorded on 15th May 1618 can convince us to suggest that the peasants who settled in the city were able to keep their connections with the rural hinterland.¹⁰³ The entry illustrated the response of the central government to the *kadı* with regard to the petition of three complainants from the city. While they had resided in the village of Sarı Gözü previously, they moved to the city more than 20 years before the date of the document.¹⁰⁴ The reason that led them to submit a petition to the central authority was that although they were recorded with the status of landless-married peasants as *bennâk* in the village, the *timar*-holder of their village was dissatisfied with the amount of tax they paid and forced them to return to the village to settle.¹⁰⁵ *Bennâk* was collected from the peasants who possessed a piece of land less than half *çift*; therefore, considering the dissatisfaction of the *timar*-holder, it seems likely that those city-dweller peasants de facto might have availed themselves of land plots that were larger than that of the *bennâk* status.

Although the court entries did not clearly indicate the economic situation of the nomads who settled in the city, it can be estimated that the nomads relied on rural hinterland for their subsistence. By and large, the nomads from the tribes of Uluçörük began to reside in the city of Ankara from the early seventeenth century onwards. The tax revenues of the tribes of Uluçörük were allotted to the

¹⁰³ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 233, doc. no. 953.

¹⁰⁴ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 233, doc. no. 953.

¹⁰⁵ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 233, doc. no. 953.

governor of Anadolu as *hass*, together with three villages located in the *nahiyes* of Kasaba, Ayaş and Çubuk.¹⁰⁶ Although they settled in the city, their legal status as *hass reaya* remained same. In March 1620, the central government authority while on campaign instructed the local authorities of Ankara, including the district governor, the *kadıs* of Ankara and nomads, to prevent the state officials from levying the extraordinary taxes on the city-dweller nomads.¹⁰⁷ Since these nomads belonged to *hass* of the governor of Anadolu, they were exempted from paying the extraordinary taxes.

The nomads held the status of *reaya*, before having moved to the city. Since they engaged in agricultural production partially, the central government probably tended to record them as *reaya*. Therefore, the superintendents and timariots could track down the nomads and demand the fee for the *çift-bozan* tax. In the entry recorded in June 1625, for example, the nomads who resided in the city, as the *reaya* of the governor of the province of Anadolu, submitted a petition to the Porte to complain about the unjust taxes and extortions imposed by the governor's superintendents (*subaşı*s).¹⁰⁸ The superintendents roamed the countryside with his fellows and were billeted in the peasants' houses to demand free food and fodder. They were also billeted in the nomads' houses in the city and demanded the *çift-bozan* tax. The nomads stated that 15-20 years had passed since they moved to the city, thus they could not be held liable to the *çift-bozan* tax. However, they consented to pay the taxes of *bennak* and bachelor, which indicated they did not own a land.¹⁰⁹

In another court entry kept in May 1626, a nomad named Hacı Mehmed and his sons stated that they were previously the recorded nomads of the village of Cidendami, but it had been 50 years since they moved to the city. Although they no longer lived in the village, the villagers of Cidendami demanded them to pay the extraordinary taxes together, saying that 'since your fathers

¹⁰⁶ Ergenc, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ Ankara Court Record (no. 496), p. 186, doc. no. 1319.

¹⁰⁸ Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 123, doc. no. 715.

¹⁰⁹ Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 123, doc. no. 715.

were the nomads and from our village, you used to pay the extraordinary taxes together with us.’¹¹⁰ It was interesting that the villagers insisted that the extraordinary taxes were paid together, though Hacı Mehmed proved that he and his sons were registered in the quarter of the city for the extraordinary taxes. It can be said that even though Hacı Mehmed and his sons lived in the city, they presumably engaged in cultivation in the village without being registered.

The Celali rebellions and sporadic banditry activities in the subsequent period increased the mobility of the rural population in the region of Ankara. The villagers left their settlements and moved to safer villages. Even though some of the villagers returned to their settlements after public order was established in the countryside, many peasants fell into the migrant status (*haymene*) and dispersed into different places in rural Ankara in this period. Concerning this issue, the central government instructed the local authorities to record the peasants who were *haymene* and lived in the villages more than 10 years.¹¹¹ In the period after the Celali rebellions, although the region of Ankara suffered from the desertion of the peasants and a depopulation of countryside, it seems to have recovered from the population decline through the immigration of the nomads and peasants who became dispersed from the eastern neighbouring regions. In a court entry regarding tax matters of the *haymene reaya* on 3 March 1612, it is seen that a group of peasants from a village located in the *nahiye* of Orta-pâre moved to another village in the *nahiye* of Çubuk to settle down 15 years before the date of the document.¹¹² Even though they became the registered *reaya* of the village in Çubuk, the *voyvoda* of Haymana required them to return to the *nahiyes* of Haymana by saying that ‘you are from the sons of *haymene* [migrant, or nomad]’.¹¹³ It is likely that the *voyvoda* of Haymana was searching the recently-settled peasants in the countryside in order to record them into the tax-unit of the *nahiyes* of Haymana, regardless of their legal status as nomad or peasant. Given that the

¹¹⁰ Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 183, doc. no. 948.

¹¹¹ Çınar, “H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şeriiye Sicili”, p. 391, doc. no. 111/755.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 387-388, doc. no. 109/751.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 387-388, doc. no. 109/751.

group of peasants in the document migrated from the *nahiye* of Orta-pâre, which were subject to the nomads of Uluyörük, they were likely to be of nomadic origin.

It was reflected in the court entries that the *nahiye* of Küçük Haymana remained dispersed in population in December of 1626.¹¹⁴ A military official named Kara Mehmed undertook to collect the taxes concerning the *nahiye* of Küçük Haymana, whose population dispersed within the region of Ankara, in return for 72, 000 *akçes*.¹¹⁵ This shows that a nomadic population from the *nahiye* of Küçük Haymana went into different directions in the countryside of Ankara during the period of the Celali invasions. Many of them settled down in the villages or set up camps nearby the villages that were located in the different *nahiyes* of the region of Ankara. However, since it was necessary for the migrant peasants (*haymene*) to stay in a place for at least 10-15 years in order to be recorded as the *reaya* of that place, it was presumably difficult for the migrant peasants to engage in cultivation temporarily, namely without being tracked down by the tax collectors. Therefore, many of them tended to till the land in the villages without being registered as *reaya* and fulfilling the tax liabilities together with the settled *reaya*. For example, on 5 May 1638, a group of peasants from the village of Konaş that was located in the *nahiye* of Ankara presented a complaint for decision to the central government authority while on campaign about the *haymene reaya* who came to their village.¹¹⁶ They stated in their complaint that although some persons from the *haymene reaya* exploited the lands that were subject to the *avarız* of the village, they did not want to pay the *avarız* and other extraordinary taxes together with the inhabitants of the village.¹¹⁷

It is also seen in the court entries that the peasants in the status of *haymene* moved to the city, after having stayed in the villages for a certain period. Even though those peasants settled in the city, they were obliged to pay their peasant taxes [*raiyyet rüsumu*] to the superintendents, who were in

¹¹⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 507), p. 154, doc. no. 827, 828.

¹¹⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 507), p. 154, doc. no. 827, 828.

¹¹⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 145, doc. no. 423.

¹¹⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 145, doc. no. 423.

charge of collecting taxes from the *haymene reaya*, until they would have lived in the city for 10-15 years.¹¹⁸ Similar to the case mentioned above, the mobility of the *haymene reaya* caused the grievance of the village inhabitants about the matters of extraordinary taxes. A court entry filed in May 1638 illustrated the dispute of a peasant in the status of *haymene* with the inhabitants of his former village.¹¹⁹ According to his complaint submitted to the central government authority that was on campaign, he lived in a village for a certain period as the *haymene reaya*. Afterwards, he sold his house and was permitted by the *sipahi* to lease out his farms to someone else in the village. Therefore, he owned no longer lands and estates that were subject to the extraordinary taxes; but he paid his peasant taxes to the superintendents of the *haymene reaya*. However, the inhabitants of the village demanded him to pay the extraordinary taxes regarding his lands and estates together with them.¹²⁰ It is likely that the departure of the aforementioned peasant from the village might have increased the extraordinary tax burden on the rest of the village population. Nevertheless, it is also possible that he might have maintained his affiliation to his farms in the village in a way of having share-cropping contract with the leaser, which would lead the village inhabitants to demand him to pay the extraordinary taxes together with them.

In spite of the discontent of the settled peasants, we can clearly establish that the *haymene reaya* performed the function of a recovery in agricultural production by bringing the abandoned and vacant lands under cultivation in the period following the Celali rebellions. It is also possible to notice the function of agricultural recovery assumed by the *haymene reaya*, in another aspect, through the reports of the local authorities and the orders of the central government with regard to the desertion of the infantry farms (*piyade çiftliği*).¹²¹ Besides the infantry and cavalry regiments at the centre (*yeniçeri* and *kapıkulu sipahisi*), the Ottoman State had an organization of the infantry

¹¹⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 156, doc. no. 451.

¹¹⁹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 156, doc. no. 451.

¹²⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 156, doc. no. 451.

¹²¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 248, doc. no. 1004.

and cavalry forces (*yaya-piyade* and *müsellem*) based on the recruitment of peasants and farmers from the province of Anadolu in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹²² In return for their military services, these infantry and cavalry forces were allotted farmlands by the state.¹²³ Although we cannot locate the infantry and cavalry farms in the region of Ankara, it is possible to state that their farmlands were situated at the western borders of the region of Ankara, on a line along the river of Sakarya including İnönü, Sivrihisar and Mihalicçık.¹²⁴ Eventually this organization turned out to be no longer functional in the second half of the sixteenth century and the central government decided to record the infantries and cavalries as the *reaya* and allot their farms as *timar* and *zeamet*.¹²⁵

It is seen in an instruction the central government issued to the *kadıs* of Ankara, Bolu and Kastamonu on 20th November 1618 that the infantry farms remained vacant after the dispersion of their inhabitants. However, the *haymene reaya* and the peasants who remained out of the record (*hariç-ez-defter*) occupied the vacant infantry farms. Thereupon, the central government ordered the relevant *kadıs* to record them into the *avarız* registers of the settlements where the infantry farms were located, in return for their agricultural exploitation.¹²⁶ In relation to the infantry farms, it can be seen in the court entries that some peasants from the villages of the *nahiye* of Ankara came to the presence of the *kadı*, after being accused of holding the infantry farms. For example, on 5 May 1638, the inhabitants from the village of Gülek appeared in the court lodging a complaint against the officials who were in charge of collecting the extraordinary taxes for the infantry farms.¹²⁷ The officials required them to pay the extraordinary taxes, on the grounds of the fact that they benefited

¹²² Feridun Emecen, “Yaya ve Müsellem,” TDVİA. Suraiya Faroqhi, “Yaya,” EI².

¹²³ Emecen, Ibid.

¹²⁴ Halime Doğru, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yaya ve Müsellem ve Taycı Teşkilatı (XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü Sancağı)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1990), pp. 73-83.

¹²⁵ Emecen, “Yaya ve Müsellem.”

¹²⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 248, doc. no. 1004.

¹²⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 139, doc. no. 410.

from the land of an infantry farm called Mürselce nearby the village.¹²⁸ In another complaint lodged on 8 June 1638, it is similarly seen that the officials accused a peasant named Ahmed from a village of the *nahiye* of Ankara of holding an infantry farm.¹²⁹ We could assume that these complaints simply indicated the bad intention of the officials to collect tax unfairly. Nevertheless, considering the instruction of the central government with regard to the registration of the *haymene reaya* in the infantry farms, we can presume that those complaint-holder peasants knowingly exploited the lands in question from the outside without being registered into the *avarız* of the farms. In either case, these complaints can be evidence of the agricultural activities in the lands that were not recorded into the possession of the peasants.

Despite the serious population declines in several *nahiyes* including the ones with nomadic populations, such as Bacı and Haymana; for example, the region of Ankara could manage to retain its rural population that became dispersed during the period of the Celali invasions (*haymene reaya*). Furthermore, it received rural populations, who were in the status of migrant, from other regions in the period following the Celali invasions. It is possible to argue that the desirability of the region of Ankara in terms of population was related to the fact that its land was favourable for farming in terms of ecology and climate. Besides, the provisioning of the city of Ankara was likely to give enough reason to the rural populations to stay within the region of Ankara, because it necessitated the continuation of the farming in its hinterland even in the aftermath of the Celali rebellions. Depending on the provisioning of the city, the farming generated economic opportunities for the rural populations.

Perhaps the existence of the vacant lands was a facilitating factor in attracting and retaining the dispersed population into the region of Ankara. It is possible to state that the appearance of the *haymene reaya* in the court entries with regard to the disputes with the settled peasants was in

¹²⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 139, doc. no. 410.

¹²⁹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 141, doc. no. 414.

connection with the existence of the vacant lands. It seems, for the uprooted and dispersed populations, it was a more attractive option to exploit the arable vacant lands in the nearby villages rather than returning to nomadism and become engaged in pastoralism in a more intensive way than before. For example, many *reaya* from the tribes of the Uluyörük confederation appear to have abandoned their original settlements and moved to the other villages, *mezraas* and the big farms of the state elites in the region of Ankara in the 1620s.¹³⁰ In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the tribes of Uluyörük were recorded as the *reaya*, depending on their intensive performance in grain cultivation in their settlements where they spent winter.¹³¹

Similar to the case of the *reaya* from the tribes of Uluyörük, in August 1628, it was reported to the central government that many *reaya* from the villages that belonged to the *vakıf* of Sultan Bayezıd Han in Amasya had already come to the lands within the province of Anadolu including the region of Ankara in order to settle down in the villages, *mezraas* and big farms of the state elites.¹³² The central government instructed the *kadı*s from the province of Ankara to send those dispersed *reaya* back to their original settlements regardless of the term that they spent in the lands of the province.¹³³

The coming of the *reaya* of Uluyörük into the region of Ankara resulted from the territorial displacement of large nomadic tribes into a westward direction. According to a report issued by the provincial governors in July-August 1619 to the central government, the Turkmen tribes from the confederations of Aleppo, Dulkadirli and Bozulus in large numbers were repeatedly coming to the

¹³⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 507), p. 152, doc. no. 818.

¹³¹ Faruk Sümer, "Karakeçili," *TDVİA*.

¹³² Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 89, doc. no. 520, 521, 522.

¹³³ Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 89, doc. no. 522.

area lying on the east of the region of Ankara on the pretext of finding pastureland.¹³⁴ This area remained within the curve of the Red River and included Çankırı, Keskin, Kırşehir and Bozok.¹³⁵ In reality, according to the village inhabitants of that area, which belonged to the tribes of Yüzde-pare, Orta-pare (the sub-units of the Uluyörük tribes), Çunkar, Karakeçili, Kangırı (Çankırı), Kırşehir, Keskin and Bozok, the incoming Turkmen tribes harboured many bandits and therefore they pillaged the villages and abducted the girls and women on every arrival to the area.¹³⁶ The village inhabitants notified the central government that they would have become poor and dispersed, if the Turkmen tribes continued to come to the area every year in this way. In response, the central government ordered the local authorities to prevent the Turkmen tribes from coming to the area and to send them back to their original pastureland.¹³⁷

Nevertheless, it seems that the central government's attempts to prevent the coming of the Turkmen tribes into central Anatolia proved fruitless, given the fact that the southern hinterland of the region of Ankara, especially the *nahiyes* of Haymana and Bacı, became the area of pastureland for the Bozulus tribes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹³⁸ On the other hand, it was likely that the arrival of the Turkmen tribes into the area remained within the curve of the Red River, in company with the bandit groups, would cause the local inhabitants to return to nomadism for the security reasons. As it is seen in the complaint of the local inhabitants mentioned above, they were settled in the villages established by the tribes (*karye'-i kabâil*). The east of the region of Ankara remained largely unsettled throughout the seventeenth century and became one of the area that was subjected to the settlement project of the Ottoman government for the nomadic tribes in the 1690s.

¹³⁴ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 168, doc. no. 782. The names of these tribes were Mihmadlu, Küçükklü, Boynuincelü, Tecerlü, Decirlü (?), Aşarlu, Enamlu, Tabanlı, Harbendelu, Boynu Yoğunlu, Ekrad-ı Lek, Şeyhlü, Emirlü, Nazlı Kürdü (?), Çığdemlü ve Oruç Canlı. See also, Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, pp. 149-150.

¹³⁵ Cl. Huart, "Kizil-Irmāk," EI².

¹³⁶ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 168, doc. no. 782.

¹³⁷ Ankara Court Record (no. 501), p. 168, doc. no. 782.

¹³⁸ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, p. 148.

The majority of the population in the area was of nomadic origin and oscillated between nomadism and sedentarism as a way of life.¹³⁹

The central government was not concerned by the coming of the Turkmen tribes unless they created difficulties for the maintenance of public order and the collection of taxes on a regular basis. In two entries from the fiscal registers issued on 19th January 1639, it was reported that the Turkmen and Kurdish nomads from the Rışvan tribe, whose revenues belonged to the treasury of the province of Diyarbekir, came to the *nahiyes* of Keskin and Budaközü (Sungurlu) from Diyarbekir in order to spend winter and benefit from the pasture and water for their herds.¹⁴⁰ Although the tax on winter quarter to which they were liable belonged to the state, as it required one sheep from each household, the provincial governors interfered in collecting the tax on winter quarter for their own interests.¹⁴¹ Thereupon, the central government instructed the *kadıs* in Keskin, Budaközü, Aksaray, Ankara and Kırşehir to prevent the interference of the provincial governors and collect one sheep from each household. In the entries, the central government estimated it would acquire 4,000-5,000 head of sheep as the tax on winter quarters.¹⁴² That quantitative estimation also reflected the number of nomadic households that came to the area.

In consequence, what the region of Ankara went through during the period of the Celali invasions was the disintegration of the settlement pattern and the dispersion of the peasants into the different directions by abandoning their settlements in the countryside. This produced an uprooted population of no fixed address who roved in the countryside. Considering the fact that the *nahiyes*, which were inhabited by the nomads, suffered from the disintegration of the settlement pattern and the peasants's desertion in a more severe way, it is possible to assume that the population of no fixed address were from those *nahiyes* whose inhabitants were previously settled nomads. This can

¹³⁹ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*, pp. 81-87.

¹⁴⁰ MAD (3443), p. 189.

¹⁴¹ MAD (3443), p. 189.

¹⁴² MAD (3443), p. 189.

explain why the *haymene reaya* did not want to be tied up to the land, even though they engaged in cultivation.

In the aftermath of the Celali invasions, the region of Ankara became abundant in available land resources for agriculture, whereas it remained scarce in agricultural labour due to the desertion of the countryside. We can assume that this panorama corresponded more to the southern hinterland of the region. This panorama can be presumed to be convenient for the expansion of pastoralism. It was likely that the rural groups would want to avail themselves of the deserted agricultural lands for the purpose of pastoral use. For this, however, the quality of land in terms of grass and water was of importance to the herd owners for grazing animals.

Depending on the water supplied by the Red River and its tributaries, the area that remained in the east of the region of Ankara was a favourable habitation of the pastoral nomads.¹⁴³ As it was seen in the above, the pastoral nomads from the tribes of eastern and south-eastern Anatolia were frequently moving to the area that remained within the curve of the Red River. This area was very convenient for the practice of pastoral nomadism. The pastoral nomads drove their animals to the riverbed of the Red River to water. In particular, they came closer to the line of the riverbed that stretched from Kırşehir-Keskin to Çankırı and bordered the region of Ankara from the east. In this way, they were able to supply water to their animals in an area that was in close proximity to the city of Ankara. Undoubtedly, this helped the nomads dispatch their animals immediately to the city for trade. On the other hand, there were plenty of mountains and highlands within the curve of the Red River near to the riverbeds, which made it possible for the performance of pastoral nomadism

¹⁴³ A. Ardel, "İç Anadolu'da Kızılırmak Yayısı İçinde Kalan Sahada Coğrafi Müşahedeler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Dergisi* 8 (1967), pp. 9-17.

in a short distance.¹⁴⁴ In other words, the nomads did not need to go distant from the riverbeds to go up to the highlands in summer.

Nomads and Pastoralism

The animals that appeared in the court entries of Ankara were mainly sheep and cattle. By contrast, camels and horses were rarely seen in the court entries. Furthermore, the court entries regarding the angora goats were also seldom found. It is obvious that the regional economic and ecological features played an essential role in determining the livestock composition in the court entries. The nomadic and pastoral groups made decisions about what type of animals to raise, according to these regional features.

Oxen frequently appeared in the court entries concerning the cases of trade and ownership disputes between the individuals who came to the presence of the *kadı* both from the rural areas and the city. Oxen, as very useful animals for plowing and threshing grain, were essential to grain production in the countryside¹⁴⁵; therefore, the frequent appearance of oxen in the court entries clearly indicated that the rural hinterland of the city of Ankara had an agricultural character. Oxen were valuable animals for the cultivators of grain as an agricultural investment. In this regard, it may be interesting to examine the disputes between the individuals who were in partnership with each other for the use of oxen. In this regard, one court entry illustrated a partnership, which was established over the exchange of seed and oxen between two individuals, on 31 October 1612.¹⁴⁶ Pir Gaib, who was the plaintiff, stated that he had given his ox to Ahmed bin Veli in return for 15 *kiles* of seed; however, he could not receive his share from Ahmed. It is understood that his share

¹⁴⁴ İsmail Yalçınlar, "Orta Anadolu'da Jeomorfolojik Müşahedeler," *Türk Coğrafya Dergisi*, 1963, 29-47.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Bulliet, "History and Animal Energy in the Arid Zone," in *Water on Sand*, edited by Alan Mikhail (New York; Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 51-71.

¹⁴⁶ Çınar, "H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicili-Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme," p. 177, doc. no. 32/267.

comprised a certain portion of the harvest.¹⁴⁷ Although the residential status of the individuals was not certain in the case mentioned above, it was probable that one of those individuals resided in the city, as the owner of either seed or oxen. Such partnerships had a functional role in making the economic connection of the city to its rural hinterland. In another similar partnership, it is seen that one of the partners who invested his oxen was a city dweller.¹⁴⁸ On 14th November 1612, İlyas bin Devlethan from the village of Kafircikli stated that he had gone into a partnership with Mehmed Beğ from the city for a pair of oxen before the invasion of the Celalis.¹⁴⁹ During the invasion, he had lost the oxen and therefore he wanted to pay the price of his oxen to Mehmed Beğ.¹⁵⁰

The disputes over the matters of strays and theft of oxen appear to have been frequently reflected in the court entries. These disputes reveal an economic network that was established in the rural areas in the matter of ox trade and ownership in which the nomads were also involved. On 14th June 1619, for example, Kalavun bin Hacı Bayram from the village of Gencelü [belonged to the *nahiye* of *Yörükan*] came to the court to claim his single stray ox from Yusuf bin Haydar from the village of Keçiviran [belonged to the *nahiye* of *Kasaba*].¹⁵¹ He stated that his ox, which was light-chestnut in colour, had gone astray in the night 4 years before the date of the document, while plowing his field.¹⁵² He claimed that he had found his stray ox in the possession of Yusuf. However, Yusuf asserted in his counter statement that he had purchased the disputed ox from a peasant from the village of Kara Halil [belonged to the *nahiye* of *Yörükan*].¹⁵³ As it can be seen from the evidence of that dispute, the newly or already-settled nomads from the *nahiye* of *Yörükan* had

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 177, doc. no. 32/267.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 191, doc. no. 36/308.

¹⁴⁹ Çınar, "H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iyye Sicili-Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme," p. 191, doc. no. 36/308.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 191, doc. no. 36/308.

¹⁵¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 93, doc. no. 431.

¹⁵² Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 93, doc. no. 431.

¹⁵³ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 93, doc. no. 431.

owned oxen for the use of plowing. This can be interpreted as the sign of a shift in the balance of the source of their livelihood from animal husbandry to grain production.

Similar to the *nahiye* of *Yörükan*, the *kadı* court of Ankara received cases with regard to the matters of oxen from the *nahiyes* of Haymana whose populations consisted mainly of the nomadic groups. On 27th June 1618, a man named Mustafa from the village of Gökgöz accused Caner Beğ, who was the *subaşı* of the chief in administration of the *nahiye* of Haymana, of driving his two oxen without permission.¹⁵⁴ Caner Beğ stated that he had found the oxen as strays (*yave*) in the village of Keçeli from the *nahiye* of Ayaş, but had agreed to return them to Mustafa in the presence of the *kadı*.¹⁵⁵

In like manner, the evidence from the court entries shows that water buffaloes (*câmus*) were widely maintained in the region of Ankara. In this respect, a vibrant trade in water buffaloes, which was mostly performed by the nomadic tribes, was reflected in the court entries. The fact that water buffaloes frequently appeared in the court entries can give important clues about the ecological and environmental panorama in the region of Ankara during the first half of the seventeenth century. Biologically, since the capacity of sweat glands is less developed in water buffaloes compared to other types of cattle, they need constantly water and mud to cool down their body heat especially in hot summer.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the body of water buffaloes is not adaptable to the cold weathers when the temperature goes down below 5 C°. ¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the existence of water buffaloes in abundance in the countryside can suggest that the region of Ankara had sufficient available water resources and was not easily affected by the climate anomalies, like dry and cold spells. The most suitable habitats

¹⁵⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 95, doc. no. 440.

¹⁵⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 104, doc. no. 488, 489.

¹⁵⁶ Animaldiversity.org/accounts/Bubalus_bubalis/

¹⁵⁷ Animaldiversity.org/accounts/Bubalus_bubalis/

for water buffaloes were the areas irrigated by the Red River and the areas around the lakes Eymir and Mogan that were located in the *nahiyes* of Haymana.¹⁵⁸

The evidence from the court entries said no clear thing about the purposes for which water buffaloes were maintained and employed in the countryside. However, it would not be difficult to estimate that one of the main purposes for the breeding of water buffaloes in the region of Ankara was to produce milk and other dairy products. Besides, the water buffaloes could be used especially in plowing the rice paddies.¹⁵⁹ The demand of the village communities for water buffaloes attracted the nomads from the tribes of Bozulus and Yeni-il confederations into the region of Ankara. In this regard, a series of court entries indicated that a man whose name was İskender Beğ bin Şaban from the tribe of Neccarlu engaged in trading in water buffaloes in the countryside of Ankara. In the first entry recorded on 19th May 1619, he came to the court to solve the debt issue with İsmail bin Hüseyin who was from the village of Elvan that belonged to the *nahiye* of Ankara.¹⁶⁰ In his statement, he said that he had sold a pair of water buffalo bullocks to İsmail for 1,760 *akçes* two years before the date of the document and he declared that he had received the entire money in complete from İsmail.¹⁶¹ One month later, İskender Beğ this time appears in the other entries to have sold one water buffalo bull and one water buffalo cow to Çakır bin Ziya, who was from the village of Akçeli belonging to the *nahiye* of Ankara, in return for 2,400 *akçes*.¹⁶²

İskender Beğ might have followed a specific route for the trade of water buffaloes in the countryside, because it was certain that only the villages with enough water resources were

¹⁵⁸ Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İctimai Coğrafyası-Ankara Vilâyeti-1925, p. 16; Orhan Yılmaz, Mehmet Ertugrul, Richard Trevor Wilson, "Domestic Livestock Resources of Turkey," *Tropical Animal Health and Production*, vol. 4, issue 4, (April; 2012), 707-714.

¹⁵⁹ Antonio Borghese and Marco Mazzi, "Buffalo Population and Strategies in the World," in *Buffalo Production and Research*, edited by Antonio Borghese (Rome: FAO, 2005), 1-39; pp. 16-17

¹⁶⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 112, doc.no. 542.

¹⁶¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 112, doc.no. 542.

¹⁶² Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 114, doc.no. 556.

convenient for the breeding of water buffaloes. In this respect, it was not surprising that the village of Elvan reappeared in an earlier court entry, which was independent from the others mentioned above, in connection with a case regarding the ownership problem over a single water buffalo.¹⁶³ On 24th March 1614, a woman from the village of Elvan whose name was Münire bint Bali came to the court to file a complaint against Tanrıverdi bin Ali (?).¹⁶⁴ She stated that she had purchased one single water buffalo ox from Tanrıverdi for 1,200 *akçes*, but she had sold it to a man named Mehmed afterwards and Mehmed had also sold the beast to a Christian man named Ohan.¹⁶⁵ However, the superintendent who was in charge of the estate that belonged to the Grand Vizier and was located in Beypazarı claimed that the water buffalo ox in the possession of Ohan was a recorded animal of the estate.¹⁶⁶ Upon his claim, Ohan and Mehmed asked Münire where she purchased the beast. In return for the enquiry, Münire made the *kadı* summon Tanrıverdi to the court; however, the witnesses in the court confirmed that the water buffalo in question was the property of Tanrıverdi and it did not belong to the estate of the grand vizier.¹⁶⁷ Interestingly enough, the water buffalo ox in dispute changed hands three times after its first sale. This can be another evidence of the frequent use of water buffaloes in the region of Ankara. On the other hand, it was obvious that the superintendant confused that water buffalo ox with the other water buffaloes in the estate of the grand vizier in Beypazarı. This may indicate to the existence of rice cultivation in the grand vizier's estate.¹⁶⁸ It is likely that his estate was located in one of the areas irrigated by the Sakarya River in Beypazarı.

¹⁶³ Ankara Court Record (no. 499), p. 118, doc. no. 1029-1030.

¹⁶⁴ Ankara Court Record (no. 499), p. 118, doc. no. 1029.

¹⁶⁵ Ankara Court Record (no. 499), p. 118, doc. no. 1030.

¹⁶⁶ Ankara Court Record (no. 499), p. 118, doc. no. 1030.

¹⁶⁷ Ankara Court Record (no. 499), p. 118, doc. no. 1030.

¹⁶⁸ Türkiye'nin Sıhhi ve İçtimai Coğrafyası-Ankara Vilâyeti-1925

The village of Elvan seemed not to be favourable for the breeding of water buffaloes in the twentieth century, according to a sociological report published in 1943.¹⁶⁹ It was stated in the report that the agriculture of the village relied on dry farming combined with livestock breeding and the village lands were susceptible to drought.¹⁷⁰ This panorama contradicts the appearance of water buffaloes in the village of Elvan almost four centuries before. However, this contradiction can suggest that the rural areas in the *nahiye* of Ankara had access to available water resources at least during the first decades of the seventeenth century, which is under discussion. Furthermore, it is likely that the village of Elvan might have benefited from a sufficient amount of rainfall that would fill the holes on the ground with water, which would make a good habitat for the water buffaloes. The mountainous area that remained in the north of the region of Ankara was a convenient habitat for the water buffaloes in terms of water resources. The court entries offered us evidence that the rural communities of Ankara could procure water buffaloes from that area. A court entry that was recorded on the dates between 29th October and 7th November 1638 illustrated the rural connection between the region of Ankara and its northern neighbouring area regarding the matter of water buffalo.¹⁷¹ Abdulkerim and Receb who were from the village of Çömlekçi [that belonged to the *nahiye* of Çerkes] came to the *kadı* court of Ankara to file a complaint against Muharrem bin Ebubekir who was from the village of Oğulbeğli [that belonged to the *nahiye* of Ankara] for their stolen water buffaloes.¹⁷² According to their statement, they bred 2 head of water buffalo bullocks and 2 head of water buffalo cows with calves in the highland that was situated nearby their village and called ‘Küre Deresi’. The herd of their water buffaloes was stolen five months before the date of the document. Therefore, they accused Muharrem of holding 3 of the water buffaloes in his

¹⁶⁹ Mediha Berkes, “Elvan Köyünde Sosyal Bir Araştırma,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, (1943), 135-143.

¹⁷⁰ Berkes, “Elvan Köyünde Sosyal Bir Araştırma,” p. 138.

¹⁷¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 89, doc. no. 289.

¹⁷² Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 89, doc. no. 289.

possession and of slaughtering one of their cows.¹⁷³ However, Muharrem stated that he had purchased the aforementioned water buffaloes from a person in the market of Gerede [Bolu] at the price of 1,500 *akçes*. He also said that he had nothing to do with the water buffalo cow that was alleged to have been slaughtered.¹⁷⁴ The *kadı* solved the dispute depending on the testimony of the witnesses and decided to order the restitution of the 3 head of water buffaloes to the plaintiffs.¹⁷⁵

The village of Çömlekçi is today located within the provincial boundaries of the modern Çankırı. It was situated near to the Çerkes River.¹⁷⁶ The highland of the village called ‘Küre Deresi’ probably corresponded to the area on which the village of Kuzdere lies today.¹⁷⁷ Given the fact that Kuzdere fell to the west of the village of Çömlekçi in location and it was situated near to the road stretching along the valley-basin towards Bolu-Gerede, it was possible that Muharrem found the water buffaloes for sale in the market of Gerede.¹⁷⁸ Besides, the village of Oğulbeğli, where Muharrem lived, derived its name from a nomadic Turkmen tribe that inhabited the *mezraa* of Beş Ağaç in the 1570s.¹⁷⁹ It was written in the land register of 1571 that the tribe of Oğulbeğli belonged to the nomads of the *nahiye* of Kasaba and they were present in the area stretching from the city of Ankara to Elmadağ and Kalecik.¹⁸⁰

It was obvious that the tribe of Oğulbeğli had already settled down in the villages by the 1630s. Here, for the water buffaloes in question, one may wonder as to why Muharrem went as far as Gerede, instead of searching for them in nearby villages. Perhaps, it is impossible to find out a clear answer, but we can speculate that a fair price might have tempted him to come to the animal

¹⁷³ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 89, doc. no. 289.

¹⁷⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 89, doc. no. 289.

¹⁷⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 89, doc. no. 289.

¹⁷⁶ İlker Yiğit and Musa Salan, “XVI. Yüzyıl Çerkeş Kazası Köylerinin Lokalizasyonu ve Toponomik Analizi,” *Turkish Studies*, volume 8/6 (Spring, 2013), pp. 825-852; pp. 833, 840.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 833.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 833.

¹⁷⁹ Erdoğan, “Ankara Yörükleri,” p. 129.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

market in Gerede. For this, it is likely that he might have been informed about the price before coming to the market. This can be interpreted as the evidence that the livestock prices, at least for water buffaloes, could fluctuate at a high level in the region of Ankara compared to the neighbouring regions in the 1630s. On the other side, it can show how the rural communities were well informed of the general trend in livestock prices in the region of Ankara, which may also prove the existence of the price competition in livestock trade within the region.

The abundance of water resources in the region of Ankara can also be proved by the appearance of cattle in the court entries. Based on the evidence from the court entries, we can observe that the nomadic Turkmen tribes came to the immediate hinterland of the city of Ankara to graze their cattle herds. One of the court entries was recorded on 8th October 1627 with regard to a case over a herd of cattle that went astray while grazing.¹⁸¹ Emir bin Yıldız from the tribe of Boynuincelü asserted in the presence of the *kadı* that “while we were wintering with our tribe in a place called Beli six days before the date of the document, 9 head of our cattle (*sığır*) were held by someone else while grazing.” He claimed that he had seen one of the oxen, which was black in colour and had holes on its two ears, in the possession of El-hac Ahmed bin Tanrıverdi. However, El-hac Ahmed stated that he had purchased his ox from a person named Hasan in return for 605 *akçes*. Thereupon, the witnesses were summoned to the court to bear testimony and they stated that the black ox in question was the calf of the cow of Emir.¹⁸² Again, in relation to the same matter, two days later, Şeyh Minnet from the tribe of Boynuincelü came to the court to claim that he had found two of his oxen, one of which had horns and was chestnut in colour, in the possession of two persons from the city.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 85, doc. no. 495.

¹⁸² Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 85, doc. no. 495.

¹⁸³ Ankara Court Record (no. 507), p. 85, doc. no. 497.

The tribes of Neccarlu and Boynuincelü that appeared in the court entries mentioned above concerning the matters of cattle were not the local tribes of the region of Ankara. Both came to the region from outside. The tribe of Neccarlu belonged to the confederations of Bozulus and Yeni-il.¹⁸⁴ Boynuincelü was one of the largest tribes that comprised the confederation of Danişmendli.¹⁸⁵ In addition to the driving factors that led up to the territorial displacement of the tribes, beyond doubt, what attracted both tribes into the region of Ankara was the presence of a vibrant market for the livestock trade in the region of Ankara. In this sense, the city functioned as the centre of livestock roundup for trade. This was also related to urban consumption of the food products of animal origin. Undoubtedly, the population growth of the city due to the natural births and the immigration from the countryside contributed to the increase of the urban demand for livestock. Probably, as a consequence of the urban demand, the government could dispatch animals, which were given by the nomadic tribes as tax in kind, to the city of Ankara to be sold in return for cash. For example, two court entries help us shed light upon the tax collection process of the Bozulus tribes and the role of the city of Ankara in this process. On 12th December 1613, Dilaver Ağa ibn-i Abdullah, who was the steward of Derviş Ağa the *voyvoda* of Bozulus, reported to the *kadı* that the clans of Topal Osman and others, which comprised the tribe of Tacirlu and the Bozulus confederation, had tax debts of 160,000 *akçes* to be paid to the state and an official named Ahmed Ağa was put in charge of collecting the taxes. Ahmed Ağa brought 290 sheep, 8 heads of female camels (*arvane*) and 7 heads of cattle.¹⁸⁶ Derviş Ağa, the *voyvoda* of Bozulus, instructed Musa Beşe ibn-i Abdullah who was the janissary officer resided in the city of Ankara to sell the animals in the

¹⁸⁴ Orhan Sakin, *Anadolu'da Türkmenler ve Yörükler* (İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yay.,2006), p. 266.

¹⁸⁵ İlhan Şahin, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Konar-Göçer Aşiretlerin Hukuki Nizamları," *Türk Kültürü*, XX/227, Ankara 1982, pp. 285-294.

¹⁸⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 81, doc. no. 711.

market immediately at any price.¹⁸⁷ Musa Beşe was also charged with delivering the amount of *akçe* to be collected to the *kadı* of Ankara. Furthermore, an official named Rıdvan Beğ assigned by Ahmed Ağa, and Mustafa El-hac Mirşah, who was appointed by the Turkmens as deputy, were going to supervise particularly the sale of sheep.¹⁸⁸

In the other court entry, one day later, Musa Beşe and Mustafa El-hac Mirşah reported in the court that they had sold 287 sheep and 7 heads of camels to a person named Ramazan bin El-hac Musa at an auction at the Sûk-ı Sultânî.¹⁸⁹ They collected 60,800 *akçes* and separated 1,600 *akçes* for the expenditure of the auction. They delivered the remaining amount 59,200 *akçes* to the *kadı* of Ankara.¹⁹⁰ There is unfortunately no clue about why the amount of animals appears to have been in deficit in the second court entry.

The livestock trade was a part of the urban economy in the region of Ankara. The city of Ankara gave the sole opportunity to the herd owner rural groups in order to convert their animals into cash. In this regard, the case of Ankara serves as a typical example of the pastoral economy that depended mainly on the city in order to keep in existence. A court entry recorded on 29th September 1614 provided us with valuable information in order to illustrate the connection between the countryside and the city in terms of livestock trade.¹⁹¹ A woman named Server bin Abdullah appeared in the court for asserting ownership of a mixed herd on behalf of two fatherless children. According to the statement made by her via a representative in the court, a man named Cuma had died in the *nahiye* of Keskin previously and his brother Müstecab brought one cow, one ox, 7 head of goats and 3 head of lambs that belonged to Cuma's children to the city of Ankara.¹⁹² While Müstecab was climbing up the mount Elmadağ with the herd, he went missing. After that, Server

¹⁸⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 81, doc. no. 711.

¹⁸⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 81, doc. no. 711.

¹⁸⁹ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 82, doc. no. 716.

¹⁹⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 82, doc. no. 716.

¹⁹¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 80, doc. no. 462.

¹⁹² Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 80, doc. no. 462.

spotted 5 goats, 2 goat yearlings and one lamb from the herd in the possession of Minnet bin Mehmed a man from the city and she could manage to take back the animals by submitting evidence.¹⁹³ However, Minnet stated that he had bought the animals in question from Ahmed, a man from the city. The *kadı* thereupon summoned Ahmed to the court in order to take his statement, but Ahmed said that he had purchased the animals from a place near to the horse market where sheep was being sold and bought among the respected Muslims for a long time.¹⁹⁴ He also described the physical characteristics of the person who sold the animals and stated that he had paid 60 *akçes* per head of the animals. The witnesses, who came to the court to bear testimony, confirmed the statement of Ahmed, but Ahmed enquired of the witnesses about the residential and personal status of the sheep-seller man; however, the witnesses stated that they did not know either who the man was, nor where he was from.¹⁹⁵

The date of the court entry mentioned above was recorded in the month of Shaban in the hegira calendar, which was one month before the religious month of Ramadan. In order to spend the month of Ramadan without any difficulty in food stocks of animal origin, the city would require increasing the livestock reserves up to a sufficient quantity in advance for its residents' consumption. We can assume that Müstecab might have wanted to evaluate the opportunity of the increasing demand for livestock and therefore driven the animals to the city with the intention of giving the money, which was to be derived from the sale, to his nephews whose father died. Someone found the herd as stray and drove it to the city to sell. Here, it would be interesting to note that the herd in question changed hands twice after the sheep market. Although the court entry provided us with no clue for the occupations of Minnet and Ahmed who purchased the same herd of goats, we can estimate that both might have engaged in butchery or dairy-farming.

¹⁹³ Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 80, doc. no. 462.

¹⁹⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 80, doc. no. 462.

¹⁹⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 80, doc. no. 462.

One may think about whether the coming of numerous nomadic tribes into central Anatolia from the east and south-east caused some certain changes on the pastoral pattern in the region of Ankara. Considering the possibility that the nomadic tribes came together with a large number of livestock, the land use would have intensified towards pastoral purpose in the region of Ankara. For this, they would have exploited the available lands that remained vacant after the desertion of the peasants, for example, in the *nahiyes* of Haymana and Bacı. It would therefore have resulted in a decrease in cereal cultivation in favour of animal husbandry. However, on the other hand, it was likely that the livestock in the region of Ankara would have increased in quantity, which could obviously help the city and countryside meet the need for animal and animal products abundantly.

There was no doubt that the coming of the nomadic tribes with a large number of livestock would have also caused the encroachment of herds into the cultivated lands. In this case, the *kadı* court ledger must have been filled up with the complaints of the peasants concerning the cases of nomadic encroachments. Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence from the court entries to imply that the incoming nomadic tribes let their animals graze on the cultivated fields of the peasants or launched assaults on the settled communities over the use of land. On the other hand, we should bear in mind that the local rural communities possibly increased the activities of animal husbandry depending on the existence of an abundance of vacant lands in the aftermath of the Celali invasions. A court entry recorded on 17th September 1612 illustrated a case of the encroachment of the animal herds on the cultivated fields.¹⁹⁶ Ahmed Efendi the mudarris of the religious school ‘Kara Medrese’ in the city of Ankara filed a complaint in the presence of the *kadı* about the damage to his garden in the place of Kafırpınarı. He stated that some persons let more than 20 water buffaloes graze on his garden that comprised more than 600 planted cabbages and the fields of onion, beet and pumpkin consisting of a few furrows. Furthermore, the animals gave serious damage to his fruit scions in the

¹⁹⁶ Çınar, “H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şerhiye Sicili-Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme,” p. 133, doc. no. 19/145.

garden. The *kadı* thereupon assigned some surveyors to assess the amount of damage and it was understood that the damage amounted to some 2,000 *akçes*.¹⁹⁷

The cabbages planted in the garden mentioned above required a cool and humid climate to grow.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, the garden of Ahmed Efendi should have been located either near to a water resource or in a marshy land. Furthermore, obviously, the place where the garden was located was abundant in water resources, given the fact that its name contained the word of ‘pınar’, which means ‘spring’ in English. Taking into consideration these details, it can be said that his garden was probably located very near to the area where the water buffaloes wallowed in the mud. For this reason, the encroachment of the water buffaloes on his garden cannot be seen as enough evidence to argue that the land use for pastoral purpose increased to the detriment of cultivation in the early seventeenth century.

In the long term, the economic recovery in rural Ankara was still mainly oriented towards agriculture during the subsequent period of the Celali rebellions, despite the short-term inclinations towards animal husbandry. In the region of Ankara, since the grain cultivation in particular required an extensive area of land in order to derive high yield of harvest, a recovery in agriculture inevitably would have limited the area of available pastureland. Thus, the increase in the number of livestock would result in the problem of overgrazing due to the limited amount of pastureland. The feeding of livestock on pasture in the vicinity of the villages led up to troubles with the agriculturalist peasants especially in the winter when the livestock was kept in the fold. The cases reflected in the court entries regarding matters of land use reveal that the peasant communities were sensible of the use of the reserve lands nearby their villages in the region of Ankara. For example, on 4th February 1615, a group of peasants from the village of Macun [that belonged to the *nahiye* of Kasaba] came to the court to file a complaint against the butcher Mehmed Çelebi ibn-i Kasab

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 133, doc. no. 19/145.

¹⁹⁸ http://www.fao.org/nr/water/cropinfo_cabbage.html

(butcher) Derviş.¹⁹⁹ It is understood through their complaint that although Mehmed Çelebi had no affiliation to their village, he established a fold in the village land to keep 2,000 head of his own sheep, which caused damage to the *mezraas* and pastures (*mera*) of the village. Therefore, upon the request of the *kadı*, Mehmed Çelebi took his sheep out of the village.²⁰⁰

The evidence from the court entries clearly indicated that the region of Ankara experienced rather the intensification of land use for the agricultural purposes during the period following the Celali invasions. In the disputes over the pasture use that were reflected in the court entries, it is seen that the peasants were making an effort to avail themselves of the pastures for their agricultural purposes. These disputes can be considered as clear evidence that the rural economy developed in favour of agriculture in the region of Ankara. The encroachment on the pastures led by the peasants for agricultural purposes prompted the nomads and the herd-owner peasants to come to the court in order to take legal action. In general, the evidence from the disputes and complaints that were reflected in the court entries with regard to the encroachment on the pastures for agrarian use provided us invaluable insight into the nature of nomadic pastoralism in the region of Ankara in the following period of the Celali rebellions.

We can mention about the complaints submitted by the tribe of Genceli from the nomads of Ankara (*yörükân-ı Ankara tâîfesi*) in order to illustrate the disputes regarding the encroachment on the pastures that were at the disposal of the nomads.²⁰¹ The nomads of Ankara were designated as a separate *nahiye* that had its own *kadı* in the seventeenth century.²⁰² The tribes of Genceli, Karakeçili, Uluyörük and Aydınbeyli comprised the majority of the population in the *nahiye* of the nomads of Ankara.²⁰³ As it was mentioned previously in this chapter, the *nahiye* of the nomads of Ankara was

¹⁹⁹ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 207, doc.no. 1770.

²⁰⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 207, doc.no. 1770.

²⁰¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 69, doc. no. 236; p. 146, doc. no. 411.

²⁰² Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara*, p.34.

²⁰³ Ergenç, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, p. 73.

located in the southwest from the city of Ankara stretching to Sivrihisar and Koçhisar.²⁰⁴ It is understood that the pastoral tribes of Ankara performed transhumance between certain pastures, which were allocated to them by the central government for grazing livestock, within the boundaries of the *nahiye* of the nomads.²⁰⁵

The tribe of Genceli seems to have submitted two complaints in two years to the central government against the encroachment on their pastures for agrarian purposes. Both complaints were almost identical to each other in terms of the content.²⁰⁶ However, the first one was submitted in July 1636²⁰⁷ and the second one was in August 1638.²⁰⁸ It seems that they encountered the same problem regarding the pasture use; therefore, they submitted again a complaint to the central government in 1638. The inhabitants of the villages of Mehmed Fakihlu, Yetiler, Selmanlu, Salihler, Şadamanlu, Sabancı, Karabeğli, Sagirler and Hacılar, who were from the tribe of Genceli, appeared in both of the complaints with regard to the encroachment on their pastures. According to their complaints, some people came to occupy the village of Hacılar from the outside afterwards. They destroyed the groves, meadows and summer pastures with the intention of establishing settlements. For this purpose, they opened fields near to water resources and established houses, watermills, vineyards and gardens. They prevented the members of the tribe of Genceli from performing nomadism, and beat their shepherds and crippled many of their animals.²⁰⁹ In response to the complaints, the central government strictly instructed the *kadis* of nomads and Ankara to inspect what actually happened and prevented the people from the outside from encroaching on the aforementioned groves, meadows and summerpastures in this way.²¹⁰ The central government also

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

²⁰⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 133, doc. no. 395.

²⁰⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 69, doc. no. 236; p. 146, doc. no. 411.

²⁰⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 69, doc. no. 236

²⁰⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 146, doc. no. 411.

²⁰⁹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 69, doc. no. 236; p. 146, doc. no. 411.

²¹⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 69, doc. no. 236; p. 146, doc. no. 411.

informed the concerned *kadıs* that the tribe of Genceli was entitled to the use of the aforementioned groves, meadows and summer pastures for grazing livestock in return for paying the relevant taxes according to the most recent register.²¹¹

The aforementioned villages inhabited by the tribe of Genceli were most likely to be similar to the *mezraa* in appearance. In these villages, the members of the tribe of Genceli engaged mainly in animal husbandry rather than cultivation. The status of the tribe of Genceli regarding tax and land can be seen in one of their previous complaints, which were lodged as independent from the other two in terms of content in June-July 1638, with regard to the impositions of the *kadıs* of the nomads for extraordinary taxes and forced contributions. Again the members of the tribe of Genceli from the aforementioned villages stated that they had no land and estates that would require the payment of extraordinary taxes.²¹² Unfortunately, there is no further evidence from the court entries as to whether the dispute over the invasion of their meadows and summerpastures was settled in favour of the members of the tribe of Genceli. It was likely that this agrarian invasion by the people from the outside would have adversely affected the pastoral economy of the tribe of the Genceli; because, considering the coming of the nomadic tribes from the east of Anatolia, the reserves of the available pasturelands were likely to fall into dearth in the region of Ankara.

In a similar manner, the settled peasants also encountered the encroachment on the pastures. A series of court entries recorded on a case of encroachment on pasture in May 1638 provided us interesting and informative evidence to show how the process of the invasion of the pastures was instigated and at which phases in this process the peasants decided to take legal action to reclaim their pasture.²¹³ The pasture that was brought to the case was located nearby the village of Nenek from the *nahiye* of Ankara. The village was situated within the boundaries of the modern-subdistrict

²¹¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 69, doc. no. 236; p. 146, doc. no. 411.

²¹² Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 53, doc. no. 195.

²¹³ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 37, doc. no. 141; p. 158, doc. no. 458, 459.

of Mamak and its name ‘Nenek’ is changed to ‘Gökçeyurt’ today.²¹⁴ To present a clear explanation of the case, it would better to summarize some parts of one of the court entries here, because it gives us a detailed content of the case.

El-hac Mehmed bin Musa and his son Mustafa, el-hac Hasan ibn-i Eynehoca and Hasan bin Çelebverdi and the others, who were from the village of Nenek that was subjected to the *nahiye* of Ankara, made a statement against the mudarris Mahmud Efendi ibn-i Pir Ali Efendi who stood at the court on behalf of his wife Emine Hatun ibn-i Mehmed Çavuş. They stated, “Mehmed Çavuş had oppressed by forcibly establishing shelters and similar dwellings in our ancient pasture which had clear boundaries and located in the vicinity of our village. Before he died, he had married his daughter Emine to the mudarris Mahmud Efendi and then they seized our pasture.”²¹⁵

It is understood that the inhabitant of the village of Nenek requested from the *kadı* of the central government authority while on campaign (*ordû-yu hümayun kadısı*) to inspect the activities of Mahmud Efendi and his wife on the pasture.²¹⁶ For the inspection, an imperial guard was assigned and he questioned Mahmud Efendi. Mahmud Efendi confirmed that the aforementioned buildings had belonged to the deceased Mehmed Çavuş and stated that he and his wife had been using the buildings so far, as they used the other estates of Mehmed Çavuş.²¹⁷ He made a further statement that they had no information as to whether the pasture belonged to the inhabitants of the aforementioned village. The testimony of the witnesses from a neighbouring village clarified the issue of how the buildings were established on the pasture. For this, a group of men from the village of Karaköprü stood at the court to bear testimony. According to their sworn testimonies, the aforementioned pasture seemed to belong to the village of Nenek since their ancestors’ times and

²¹⁴ <http://www.mamak.bel.tr/userfiles/2016/Mamak-Atlas-Cilt-1.pdf>, p.8.

²¹⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 158, doc. no. 458.

²¹⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 37, doc. no. 141; p. 158, doc. no. 458, 459.

²¹⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 158, doc. no.458.

Mehmed Çavuş appears to have been establishing the aforementioned buildings on the pasture for 20 years prior to the date of the document.²¹⁸

It would be interesting to search out a retrospective complaint through the court entries in order to find out whether the village of Nenek had already taken legal action against Mehmed Çavuş upon his seizure of the pasture. The lack of evidence from the court entries unfortunately limits our information on the pre and post-process for this lawsuit. Nevertheless, we can presume that the seizure of their pasture by Mehmed Çavuş probably caused a less inconvenient situation for the village of Nenek at the beginning. Yet the villagers could not manage to tolerate the situation after the seizure of the pasture had evolved into a process of permanent settlement. Considering the testimonies of the witnesses, Mehmed Çavuş had started to establish building on the pasture nearly in 1618, which was one decade after the Celali invasions. The depopulation of the countryside was likely to prepare a suitable ground for him to appropriate the pasture for either agrarian or pastoral purposes. It was also possible that having access to the communal lands nearby the village of Nenek would have gained more importance than before, as the village gradually recovered in agricultural production and population.

The conflicts between the rural groups over the use of communal lands seemed to be at odds with the socioeconomic situation of the countryside in the following period of the Celali rebellions. A considerable amount of the rural population became dispersed during the rebellions and the residual population in the villages was relatively sparse in quantity. The amount of arable lands should have been sufficient for the rest of the population who had interest in cultivation. This contradiction was relating to the agrarian and pastoral characteristic features of the region of Ankara. The village communities, by nature of their less mobile way of life compared to the nomads, tended to exploit the available lands in the immediate hinterland of their villages for

²¹⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 158, doc. no.458.

farming rather than the lands in the remote hinterland. At this point, for the region of Ankara, one should bear in mind that the fertile agricultural lands and the pastures of good quality converged where the water resources were abundant.²¹⁹ Since the agriculture relied mainly on the rain-fed grain production, it was practicable to perform an extensive grain production in the areas remote from the water resources, though it would give low yield of harvest. By contrast, the pasture quality was directly dependent on the availability of water and moisture; therefore, it was not possible to expand the area of pastureland, unless a very wet climate prevailed in the region of Ankara in a long term.²²⁰ For this reason, it was crucial for the herd owner peasants to avail themselves of the pasturelands in the vicinity of their settlements.

For example, a group of peasants from the village of Karataş [located around Gölbaşı]²²¹ appeared at the court by reason of a border dispute over the pastureland and crop fields on 4 March 1614.²²² The plaintiff party alleged that the defendants, who resided in the same village, prevented them from cultivating their crop fields and claimed that, “your fields are our pasture”.²²³ In response, the plaintiff party invited the representative of the *kadı* to the village in order to make him settle down the dispute and set the conditions for the borders between the pastureland and the crop fields in dispute a while before within the knowledge of the defendants; however, according to the statement of the plaintiff party, the defendants did not conform to the conditions.²²⁴ By contrast, in their counter-statement, the defendants asserted that the regent had imposed the conditions on them and therefore they had come to the court to ask the conditions to the *kadı*.²²⁵ Upon their request, the

²¹⁹ Erinç and Tunçdilek, “The Agricultural Regions of Turkey,” p. 183.

²²⁰ <http://www.fao.org/ag/agp/agpc/doc/counprof/Turkey/Turkey.htm>

²²¹ <http://www.mamak.bel.tr/userfiles/2016/Mamak-Atlas-Cilt-1.pdf>, p. 253.

²²² Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 197, doc. no. 1773.

²²³ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 197, doc. no. 1773.

²²⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 197, doc. no. 1773.

²²⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 197, doc. no. 1773.

kadı appointed another regent to the village.²²⁶ If the statement of the defendants were to be counted as true, it would be obvious that the plaintiff party could manage to appropriate a communal land of the village by registration for agrarian purposes, by exercising their influence on the local authority. Bearing in mind that the good quality pasture reserves were sparse and the evidence from the court entries that has been examined so far, we should reconsider the assumption that the vacant lands and thinner population in the countryside would have tempted the remaining peasants to breed more livestock than before in the period following the Celali rebellions. As the evidence from the estate inventories prepared on behalf of deceased peasants will indicate, the number of livestock in the villages was relatively modest, which shows that the peasants adopted a form of animal husbandry in view of the limited amount of pasturelands of good quality in the vicinity of their villages. An analysis of the peasants' estate inventories can clearly reveal that the village economies depended mainly on mixed farming, namely a combination of agriculture and animal husbandry, in the region of Ankara. According to the evidence from the estate inventories, it seems that cattle breeding was a significant part of the animal husbandry. It is understood that the cattle breeding was performed in an intensive way depending on the limited amount of pastureland in the vicinity of the villages.²²⁷ The peasants needed cattle for dairy products and draught animals. The number of small ruminants was small in the estate inventories. One of these inventories recorded on 25th August 1618 belonged to a peasant named Yusuf who died in the village of Busal.²²⁸ His estates are listed below:

²²⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 197, doc. no. 1773.

²²⁷ <http://www.fao.org/ag/agp/agpc/doc/counprof/Turkey/Turkey.htm>

²²⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 18, doc. no. 97.

Estate	Value (<i>kıymet</i> as <i>akçe</i>)
A pair of water buffaloes	3,000
A pair of buffaloes black in colour (<i>kara sığır</i>)	3,000
4 cows	3,000
2 calves with one heifer	600
1 donkey	600
15,370 kg wheat (30 <i>müd</i>)	12,000
1 <i>dönüm</i> vineyard	2,000
Salt (unknown amount)	500
Bee	1,500

Table 4: The estate inventory of Yusuf

The village of Busal appears to have been established by the nomads in the land register of 1571.²²⁹ In this regard, the estate inventory of Yusuf provides us a micro example of an economic view of a village that evolved previously from a nomadic settlement. The location of the village falls to the place of Gölbaşı/Yaylabağ today.²³⁰ It was located near to the Mogan and Eymir Lakes. In order to produce that amount of wheat in his inventory list, he needed almost 50 *dönüms* of a land.²³¹ The village was convenient for breeding of water buffaloes thanks to its close proximity to the Lake of Eymir. The existence of cows and calves in his inventory was the clear sign that he engaged in dairy farming. Apart from the mammals, the existence of beehives in his inventory showed that he had used to produce honey. It was surprising that the price for beehives was equal to the fiscal value of 2 cows, which showed that the beekeeping proved to be a lucrative agricultural business in the countryside. Similar evidence suggests that the ownership of livestock among the peasants is on a modest scale in the northern hinterland of the region of Ankara. For example, in the estate inventory

²²⁹ Erdoğan, “Ankara Yörükleri,” p. 122.

²³⁰ <http://www.mamak.bel.tr/userfiles/2016/Mamak-Atlas-Cilt-1.pdf>, p. 251.

²³¹ Theib Oweis and et.al, *Supplemental Irrigation Potential for Wheat in the Central Anatolian Plateau of Turkey*, (ICARDA: Aleppo, 2001), p. 26.

of Tayyib bin Veli from the village of Olalağaç that was located in the *nahiye* of Şorba, which was recorded on 17th May 1638, he seems to have left behind a mixed herd of sheep and goats consisting of 48 head, 4 head of cows black in colour, 2 head of oxen black in colour, 1 calf and 1 donkey.²³²

The estate inventories, in which grain harvest appeared in large amounts, did not record any small ruminants, but bovines. This farming pattern was relating to the problem of the scarcity of good quality pasturelands. It was obvious that the peasants would need livestock for manuring the crop fields; nonetheless, a few cattle were probably enough for manuring. However, a large number of small ruminants would require a substantial amount of forage for feeding, if the pasture reserves nearby the village were scarce and poor in quality. In this case, the peasants would need to cultivate more barley and animal fodder instead of wheat, unless they assigned a shepherd to let livestock graze in pastures in remote areas. In an earlier record of estate inventory, which was prepared in January/February 1612 on behalf of Mustafa bin Abdi who died in the village of Kızılca [located in the modern sub-district of Mamak], we cannot observe any small ruminants.²³³ His inventory is listed below:

Estate	Value (<i>kıymet as akçe</i>)
4 Oxen	6,000
A pair of water buffaloes	3,000
2 cows with one calf	2,000
2 bullocks	1,000
15,370 kg of wheat (30 <i>müd</i>)	6,000
5,123 kg of barley (10 <i>müd</i>)	1,200
1,025 kg of sown wheat (2 <i>müd</i>)	800
1 donkey	1,000
1 dönüm vineyard	1,000

Table 5: The estate inventory of Mustafa bin Abdi

²³² Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 21, doc. no. 75.

²³³ Çınar, “H. 1020-1021 Ankara Şeriyye Sicili,” pp. 395-396, doc.no. 112/758.

Even in the *nahiyes* of Haymana whose inhabitants were predominantly of nomadic origins, it appears in the estate inventories that the ownership of livestock among the peasants was on a very modest scale. For example, the animals that were recorded in the estate inventory of Mustafa bin Himmet in February 1624, who died in the village of Mazılu within the *nahiye* of Haymana, were a pair of oxen, 2 head of cows and a mixed herd of sheep and goats consisted of 10 head.²³⁴ His inventory is listed below:

Estate	Value (<i>kıymet</i> as <i>akçe</i>)
A pair of oxen	1,500
2 cows	1,000
10 head of sheep and goats	2,000
1,025 kg of wheat (2 <i>müd</i>)	2,000
1,025 kg of barley (2 <i>müd</i>)	1,500

Table 6: The estate inventory of Mustafa bin Himmet

As we have seen in the estate inventory above, keeping small ruminants together with cattle was in evidence in the *nahiyes* of Haymana, which was relating to the nomadic character of the area. It is seen in a court entry regarding the transfer of right on estate in the village of Enbiyalu, which was located in the *nahiye-i sagir* of Haymana, that Gülistan bint Satılmış came to the court in the dates in September/October 1638 to confirm that she had assigned the right of possession for 38 head of goats, 6 head of black cows, 7 head of bullocks and calves, 5 pieces of carpet and 5 pieces of rug from her sustenance to Mahmud and Hüseyin ibn-i Sarı who were the children of Aişe bint Resûl.²³⁵

Based on the evidence from the estate inventories and similar court entries that have been examined thus far, is it possible to argue that the villages in rural Ankara were self-sufficient in

²³⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 160, doc. no. 340.

²³⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 91, doc. no. 293.

agriculture and animal husbandry? We can give an affirmative answer to this question, given the coexistence of agricultural products and animals in the inventories. The most necessary food for the peasants was certainly grain and it could be stored in a sufficient amount after a good harvest. The existence of cattle in the estate inventories was the clearest evidence that the peasants were self-sufficient in terms of dairy products. Furthermore, the small ruminants provided the peasants wool for making rugs and carpets. It should be also borne in mind that the amount of grain and the number of livestock in the estate inventories would have appeared higher, if those inventories had been prepared subsequent to a favourable season that were not subject to the climate changes and epizootic diseases.

Agriculture and animal husbandry were dependent and supplementary to each other in the villages that were self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs. It was necessary for the peasants to keep a small herd of livestock at least as economic measure against the periodic fluctuations in the agricultural output. Since rainfed grain cultivation was the main form of agricultural production, the agricultural output remained susceptible to the yearly changes in the crop yields depending on the climate changes. In this regard, it has been seen one of the estate inventories mentioned above that even a small-scale herd of small ruminants for 10 head could establish a significant source of agricultural wealth with its price for 2,000 *akçes*. The profit derived from a sale of a few livestock would enable the peasants to compensate them for the loss in agricultural revenues. In a similar manner, the sale of a small portion from the grain harvest or a plot of land would help the peasants increase the size of their herds. For example, in an action of debt from the court entries on 9th June 1619, Ali bin el-hajj Ahmed from the city of Ankara came to the court to claim his debt from the sale of his one cow to Himmet bin Bazid from the village of Çeltik located in the *nahiye-i sagir-i* Haymana.²³⁶ Himmet confirmed that he had received one single cow from Ali in return for 1,000 *akçes* 4 years before the

²³⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 71, doc. no. 340.

date of the document. He asserted that he had paid 920 *akçes* of his debt in cash and for the remaining amount he had given wheat at the value of 80 *akçes* to Ali.²³⁷

Despite the fact that the large herds of livestock cannot be found in the estate inventories, the court entries hinted at the feasibility of the sedentary livestock farming on a large scale at least for the *nahiyes* of Haymana. For example, in June/July 1638, the central government issued an order to the *kadı* of Ankara in response to the complaint of the *voyvoda* of the *nahiyes* of Haymana regarding the failure of a person named Katrancıoğlu Hacı İsmet and his brother together with their dependents to pay the sheep tax, though they had possessed a great many sheep.²³⁸ Unfortunately, there is no further evidence from the court entries to show how these people cared for their sheep. It is possible that they might have managed the maintenance of their sheep by means of a shepherd. Shepherding as a strategy of herd management appears to have been a widespread occupation in the *nahiyes* of Haymana in the registers of taxes on profits (*temettüât defterleri*) in the nineteenth century.²³⁹ The big herd owners, who settled in the villages, farmed out their flocks to the shepherds for grazing for a fee.²⁴⁰ In the court entries of the early seventeenth century, the nomadic Turkmen tribes appear to have supplied the necessary manpower for shepherding. It is seen in a court entry recorded on 8th July 1638 that a shepherd known as ‘Türkman Mahmud’ who died in the village of Akkaşıklı that was located in the *nahiye-i sagir-i* Haymana left behind 9 sacks, 1 multicoloured rug, 1 bale of mohair, 1 felt, 1 oxcloth and a certain amount of rope.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 71, doc. no. 340.

²³⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 139, doc. no. 409.

²³⁹ Suat Dede, “From Nomadism to Sedentary Life in Central Anatolia: The Case of Rıışvan Tribe (1830-1932),” unpublished MA thesis (İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University; Ankara, 2011), p. 89; Şennur Şenel and Aysun Yalçın, “Ankara Eyaleti Haymanateyn Kazasının XIX. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı Üzerine Tespitler ve Sonuçlar,” *Gazi Türkiyat Türkoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Bahar, 2009), 93-110; pp. 99-103.

²⁴⁰ Şenel and Yalçın, *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁴¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 41, doc. no. 163.

Sheep frequently appeared in the court entries with regard to the demand of the city for meat and meat products. It was often reflected in those entries that the city derived sheep mainly from the Turkmens. However, it was not certain whether the Turkmens mentioned in the court entries concerning the supply of sheep belonged to the tribes that migrated from eastern and south-eastern Anatolia into the region of Ankara. The sheep-supplier Turkmens appear not to have been identified with any tribal name in the court entries. In this case, it can be accepted that the sheep-supplier Turkmens belonged either to the regional tribes or the eastern tribes. One noticeable detail about the sheep sales in the court entries was that the sale contracts between buyers and sellers seem to have depended on more binding legal conditions in comparison with Ayntab and Urfa. To be specific, it is understood through the court entries that the sellers dispatched sheep in advance to the sellers and they received the money from the sale afterwards, or else the sheep price was paid in instalments. For the remainder of the debt, the buyers guaranteed to pay off in the presence of the *kadı*.

The sheep sales were carried out between the state officials who resided in the city and the nomadic Turkmens from the countryside. There is no evidence about the sheep sales between the nomadic Turkmens and the settled peasants. This absence can also be seen as another evidence for the self-sufficiency of the villages in terms of sheep stocks in the region of Ankara. To illustrate one of the sheep sale contracts from the court entries, on 19th October 1612, the janissary Mahmud Beğ confirmed that he was in debt to Abdusselam bin El-hajj Sinan and Ibrahim bin El-hajj Bayezid from the Turkmen tribes for 72,500 akçes for the sheep price which was to be paid off within 60 days from the date of this document.²⁴² The janissary Mahmud was likely to be in charge of supplying sheep to the janissary garrison of the city. Given the purchase date, which corresponded to the month of Shaban in the hegira calendar, the sheep that he bought was probably for the preparations for the month of Ramadan. For another example, in an action of debt on 27th July 1614,

²⁴² Çınar, “H. 1020-1021 Ankara Şerhiye Sicili,” p. 28, doc. no. 226.

Boran Faki and his sons appear to have owed to a Turkmen named Ivaz for 76,000 *akçes* for the sheep price. It was recorded that they had paid 55,000 *akçes* to Ivaz and the butcher Mehmed Çelebi had assumed to pay off the rest of the debt.²⁴³ In another action of debt on 27th March 1623, it is seen that Ali bin Mihmad and Taştemür bin İsa and his brother from the Turkmens confirmed that they had completely collected the debt from the *kadı* of Kalecik remained in arrears from the sheep sale.²⁴⁴ It is possible to cite more court entries to illustrate the sheep sales; however, the content of the court entries in the matter of sheep sales are very similar. The evidence from the court entries regarding sheep sales tells us that the most swift and lucrative way of making profit was the sheep trade for the nomadic Turkmens in the region of Ankara. The fact that they appear to have managed to collect the debt from the sheep sales smoothly in the entries may prove the economic security of the sheep trade in the city of Ankara.

As we have mentioned previously in this chapter, the Angora goat population appears to have declined significantly in the aftermath of the Celali invasions and the health of the remainder of the Angora goats was not good due to poor care. It is possible to presume that the other animals might have been in a similar situation in the aftermath of the Celali invasions. It is nevertheless possible to presume that the coming of the nomadic Turkmen tribes contributed to the recovery of animal populations in the region of Ankara. Owing to the absence of data, however, it is very difficult to display the population fluctuations for each type of animals in the following period of the Celali invasions. Taking into consideration both presumptions mentioned above, but at least the data derived from the court entries regarding the sheep prices can enable us to see whether there was any fluctuation in the number of sheep reserves. According to the data, while the price per head

²⁴³ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 159, doc. no. 1396.

²⁴⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 9, doc. no. 66.

of sheep remained at 290 *akçes* in between 1612 and 1614, it reduced to 125 *akçes* in 1623 and it went down further to 80 *akçes* in 1638.²⁴⁵

Considering these sheep prices and supply and demand equilibrium, the sheep stocks fell behind the demand during the 1610s in the region of Ankara. It seems that the sheep started to increase in quantity from the 1620s onwards, as was reflected in the decreasing prices. The reason behind the high sheep prices in the 1610s was relating to the destruction brought by the Celali invasions. As a large number of the Angora goats perished due to poor maintenance during the Celali invasions and subsequent banditry, the plunders of the bandit groups inflicted serious damages on sheep stocks in the countryside. Besides, the drought periods of 1607-1608, 1610-1611 and 1623-1624, which occurred in the region of the Lake District in Burdur-Isparta, might have gone hand in hand with widespread banditry in reducing the number of sheep. However, although we cannot disregard thoroughly the impact of the drought spells on sheep population, it seems nevertheless unclear whether the sheep stocks were severely affected in those drought years in the region of Ankara. Even though it seems plausible to associate the reason for the high sheep price in the 1610s with the drought years in 1607-1608 and 1610-1611, it is hard to make a clear correlation between the high sheep price and the drought impact; because, as we have seen, the sheep prices conversely went down in the drought years of 1623-1624, which proved a regular flow of sheep to the city despite the drought impact.

The official price lists set for meat and meat products can also indicate to the sufficiency of the sheep stocks in the region of Ankara in the period of the 1610s and 1630s; because, the meat prices tended to remain at a steady level in the official price lists. This demonstrates a constant flow of sheep into the city of Ankara in the 1610s. In April 1615, the *kadı* set the price of mutton, goat's

²⁴⁵ Çınar, "H. 1020-1021 Ankara Şer'iyye Sicili," p. 258, doc. no. 58/503; Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 130, doc. no. 1243; Ankara Court Records (no. 505), p. 9, doc. no. 66.

meat and beef per *vukiyye* at 10, 7 and 6 *akçes*, respectively.²⁴⁶ In the *narh* lists of 1619, the prices varied between 7 and 9 *akçes* per *vukiyye* of mutton, 5 and 7 *akçes* per *vukiyye* of goat's meat and 4 and 6 *akçes* per *vukiyye* of beef.²⁴⁷ In the *narh* list set on 28th January 1627, the price of per *vukiyye* of mutton, goat's meat and beef appeared at 8, 6 and 5 *akçes*, respectively.²⁴⁸ These prices seem to have risen up to 10, 8, and 5 *akçes*, respectively, in the *narh* list set on 26th May 1637.²⁴⁹ The evidence from the court entries regarding the *narh* lists and sheep trade can suggest that the city of Ankara suffered from no serious difficulty in procuring sheep and meat during the period after the Celali rebellions.²⁵⁰

Interestingly enough, although camels were not unfamiliar to the region of Ankara, they appeared rarely in the court entries. In particular, there was no evidence of camel trade in the entries. In the nineteenth century, camel breeding was widespread especially in the *nahiyes* of Haymana because of the transportation of salt from the Salt Lake.²⁵¹ It was possible to come across the camel drivers in the villages of Haymana in the nineteenth century.²⁵² Despite the invisibility of the camels in the court entries, there is no doubt that the nomads of the Bozulus tribes who came to the region of Ankara raised camels. We can put forward two arguments in order to explain the reason behind the absence of camels in the court entries. Firstly, it is possible that the demand of the city for camels might have decreased. It was obvious that the urban demand was created by the merchants. The Celali invasions certainly reduced the trade volume of the city of Ankara. Moreover,

²⁴⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 245, doc. no. 1905.

²⁴⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 501), p. 259, doc. no. 1090, 1093, 1094; Ankara Court Records (no. 502), p. 3 doc. no. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

²⁴⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 507), p. 182, doc. no. 943.

²⁴⁹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 197, doc. no. 554.

²⁵⁰ Contrary to the region of Ankara, Istanbul and its countryside suffered from famine and sheep diseases in the 1620s and 1630s. See, White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Ottoman Empire*, pp.198-201.

²⁵¹ Dede, "From Nomadism to Sedentary Life in Central Anatolia: The Case of Rışvan Tribe (1830-1932)," pp. 80-81.

²⁵² Dede, *Ibid.*, pp. 106-109.

public order in the countryside could not be restored even during the decades after the invasions. Thus, it was risky to some extent to expand the volume of trade, which would in turn increase the need for camels for the transportation of goods, in the aftermath of the Celali invasions. Secondly, since camels were precious animals, it was possible that camels were subject to plunder during the Celali invasions. Furthermore, considering the fact that public order was volatile in the countryside in the aftermath of the Celali rebellions, the settled peasants and nomads did not want to keep precious animals like camels. Feeding camels especially in the winter was expensive due to the lack of pasture, whereas they could be taken to the highlands for grazing in the summer. In the circumstances where the grazing on pasture was not possible, breeding camels would require to make ready a sufficient amount of barley and straw. Each camel daily required to feed 5 kg of barley and 11,5 kg of straw.²⁵³ This amount would reach 150 kg of barley and 340 kg of straw in a month and 1,800 kg of barley and 4,080 kg of straw in a year. Only for barley, the breeders would need almost 9 *dönüms* of land to feed each camel yearly. This would put extra burden on the maintenance cost of livestock, if the breeders owned other animals.

The presence of a bazaar devoted to horse trade (*at pazarı*), which was established near to the city walls of Ankara²⁵⁴, indicated the performance of horse breeding as a branch of the pastoral economy in the region of Ankara. However, there is limited number of court entries that sheds light upon the role of the nomadic tribes in supplying of horses. In the same way, the court entries that illustrate the horse trade and practice of horse breeding are scant. The nomads appeared in the court entries as horse breeders only in the claims that were brought to the court with regard to stray horses. For example, it was recorded on 30th April 1613 that Hasan bin Cuma from a Turkmen tribe called Aydın came to the kadı to claim his stray mare, which was red in colour and stolen in a place

²⁵³ Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, p. 71.

²⁵⁴ Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, p. 73.

called ‘Seydikavağı’, from Arslan bin Abdullah.²⁵⁵ However, Arslan asserted that he had purchased the aforementioned mare at the price of 1,820 *akçes* from three persons, two of whom were Turkmens.²⁵⁶ It was understood through the testimonies given by the sellers that the sellers confirmed the aforementioned mare was stolen in the place called ‘Seydikavağı’, as Hasan bin Cuma claimed.²⁵⁷ In another similar court entry recorded in February 1613, Müşmel bin Seyid from the Turkmens accused a peasant from the village of Çeltikli located in the *nahiye* of Haymana of holding his mare that went astray.²⁵⁸

As the war with the Safavids in the eastern front intensified, the need of the Ottoman army for pack animals increased significantly.²⁵⁹ In accordance with the army need for pack animals, the region of Ankara together with its bordering regions in the north appears in the court entries to have been designated as the horse supplier zone in the 1630s.²⁶⁰ By order of the central government, 20 *katars* of robust mules were prepared from the *sancaks* of Bolu, Kastamonu, Çankırı and Ankara to be used for pulling the gun carriages to the Safavid front on 21th June 1638.²⁶¹ It is understood that the central government required the *katars* by paying regard to the mule population in each *sancak*. It is seen that Ankara undertook to prepare 7 wagons, as the largest number of *katars*, and the rest of the *katars* was distributed to the other *sancaks*.²⁶² Two months later, on 14th August 1638, the central government required 300 head of workhorses (*bargir*) again from the same *sancaks* for the army.²⁶³ The central government set the purchase price for mules at 6,000 *akçes* and 2,400 *akçes* for

²⁵⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 19, doc. no. 164.

²⁵⁶ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 19, doc. no. 164.

²⁵⁷ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 19, doc. no. 164.

²⁵⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 499), p. 93, doc. no. 866.

²⁵⁹ Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, p.

²⁶⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 62, doc. no. 216; Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 129, doc. no. 390; Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 145, doc. no. 422.

²⁶¹ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 145, doc. no. 422.

²⁶² Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 145, doc. no. 422.

²⁶³ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 129, doc. no. 390.

workhorses.²⁶⁴ In a related court entry, a group of men confirmed that they had sold 13 mules to the official muleteer in return for 6,000 *akçes* for each animal.²⁶⁵ The prices for mules and workhorses showed that the muleteership was a profitable business in the region of Ankara. The legal status of those muleteers in the court entry was not certain, but it can be said that the mules they supplied were raised and cared by the nomadic tribes. In this sense, the nomadic tribes could profit from the demand of the Ottoman army for horses.

As we have mentioned before, the region of Ankara was a centre of mohair production. However, it is surprising that the nomads did not appear in the court entries regarding the matters of the breeding of Angora goats and mohair production. It was obvious that the Celali invasions were a main hindrance to the mohair production. However, in addition to the destruction of the invasions, there must be two reasons behind the absence of the nomads at the stage of the Angora goat farming. Firstly, the breeding of Angora goats was a pastoral practice of sedentary farming performed in the villages and the Angora goats biologically were not adaptable to a different climate; therefore, the breeding of Angora goats necessitated the nomads to settle down in the villages. Secondly, it is possible to say that the breeding of Angora goats was not as much profitable as the sheep and cattle raising. For example, a detailed report from the documents of the British Foreign Office on making mohair clips dated 6 May 1854 can enable us to estimate the annual mohair production per goat. In this way, we can calculate how many Angora goats were needed to make a bale of mohair (*bir kit'a sof*).²⁶⁶ According to the report, it is understood that each bale was 76,203 kg and a male goat could yield 5,111 kg of wool (4 *okkas*) annually; thus, 14 head of Angora goats were needed in order to

²⁶⁴ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 129, doc. no. 390; Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 145, doc. no. 422.

²⁶⁵ Ankara Court Records (no. 513), p. 62, doc. no. 216.

²⁶⁶ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 269-270.

make a bale of mohair.²⁶⁷ In the light of these figures, for example, it is known that 1,800 akçes were paid for 3 bales of mohair in Ankara in 1611, which required 42 head of Angora goats.²⁶⁸ Considering the profit from the mohair production, it seems more profitable to invest in sheep herding in 1611; because, one sheep was priced for 290 akçes in 1611. The amount of mohair produced by 42 head of Angora goats brought in a profit which was equal to the fiscal value of 6 head of sheep in 1611.

Nomads and Agriculture

Grain cultivation was an important part of the nomadic livelihood economies in the region of Ankara. The majority of the nomadic tribes appear to have engaged in rain-fed grain cultivation in the land registers of the sixteenth century.²⁶⁹ Grain was central to the nomads not only for food, but also for feeding animals. It was essential for the herd-owner nomads to store a sufficient amount of grain as fodder throughout the year.²⁷⁰ However, grain cultivation did not necessitate the nomads to be tied up to the land permanently in the region of Ankara. Even in the late sixteenth century, the nomads who cultivated the *mezraas* seemed not to be recorded as the *reaya* in the land registers.²⁷¹ Although the nomads spent a certain time of the year in the *mezraas*, their settlements were still temporary in character. Therefore, the central government tended to record the nomads who stayed in the *mezraas* as in the status of ‘nomad’.²⁷² It is very likely that the nomads might have inhabited the hamlet-type of settlements in the *mezraas*. This explains the reason why the desertion of the countryside in the period of the Celali invasions appeared to be more extensive in the *nahiyes* of

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 270.

²⁶⁸ Çınar, “H. 1020-1021 Ankara Şerhiye Sicili,” pp. 161-162, doc. no. 28/221.

²⁶⁹ Erdoğan, “Ankara Yörükleri (1463, 1523/30 ve 1571 Tahrirlerine Göre),” p. 131.

²⁷⁰ W.W.Swidler, ‘Adaptive Processes Regulating Nomad-Sedentary Interaction in the Middle East,’ in *The Desert and the Sown-Nomads in the Wider Society*. Edited by Cynthia Nelson. Berkeley, 1973, p. 23

²⁷¹ Erdoğan, Ibid., p. 126.

²⁷² Suraiya Faroqhi, “Ankara ve Çevresindeki Arazi Mülkiyetinin ya da İnsan-Toprak İlişkilerinin Değişimi,” *Tarih İçinde Ankara-Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri* (Ankara, 1984), pp. 64-65.

Haymana and Bacı that were highly populated by the nomads. In the event of the collapse of order in countryside, it was easier and faster for the nomads who were not permanently fixed in the land to adopt a mobile way of life than the already-settled villagers.²⁷³

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the nomads continued to cultivate grain in the *mezraas* again without being tied up to the land in the same way as many *reaya* tilled the land as in the status of *haymene*, namely without being registered to the tax unit of the cultivated area. The agricultural activities of the nomads in this way led them to come into conflict with the timariots. In this regard, the *timar*-holder Katib Mustafa appears to have lodged three letters of complaint to the central government in between 1611-1629. His first letter was recorded in the dates between 28th October and 6th November in 1611 and he reported that the tribe of Ahmedli (*Ahmedli yörüğü*) had occupied the *mezraa* of Boyalu within the boundaries of his *timar* lands, without his permission, to cultivate.²⁷⁴ The trespass of the nomads had prevented him from leasing out the arable fields of the *mezraa* to the peasants under *tapu*. Upon the requisition for the payment of relevant peasant taxes, the nomads stated that they would consent to pay only tithe but not *salariye* and land tax, because the lands under their cultivation had been previously converted from pasture (*meradan açılmış yerlerdir deyü*).²⁷⁵

Despite their allegation, however, the government declared that *salariye* could not be collected as separate from tithe and ordered the *kadıs* of Ankara and *yörüks* to collect the land tax

²⁷³ Philip Carl Salzmann, "Introduction: Processes of Sedentarization as Adaptation and Response," in *When Nomads Settle*, edited by Philip Carl Salzmann (New York: Praeger, 1980), 1-19; p. 13.

²⁷⁴ Çınar, "H. 1020-1021 Tarihli 13 Numaralı Ankara Şeriye Sicili-Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme," p. 309, doc. no. 77/650. The tribe of Ahmedli yörüğü should not be mistaken as the tribe of Ahmed Hacılu who appear to have cultivated the *mezraa* of Boyalu in the land register of 1571-1572. In his comprehensive survey on the geographical distribution of tribes in Anatolia, Orhan Sakin shows that the tribe of Ahmedli yörüğü was belonged to the tribal group of Ulu-Yörüks who moved around the north-central Anatolia. Orhan Sakin, 16. yy. *Osmanlı Arşiv Kayıtlarına Göre Anadolu'da Türkmenler ve Yörükler*. (İstanbul, 2010), 343.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 309, doc. no. 77/650.

regardless of the former status of the aforementioned land.²⁷⁶ For this, the government reminded the *kadis* of the rule that if whoever tilled a land, they were obliged to pay tithe as required by the sharia together with land tax and *salariye* as required by the *kanun*.²⁷⁷ In this consideration, the government stressed the fact that the land concerned had been a pasture formerly could not be regarded as an excuse for trying to avoid paying land tax and *salariye*.²⁷⁸ It is not certain whether the nomads agreed to pay the relevant taxes in compliance with the decision in the court order in the following years, yet the absence of any rescripts on a similar matter concerning Katib Mustafa for sixteen years may prove that either nomads accepted to pay the relevant taxes or they abandoned the *mezraa* of Boyalu and moved to somewhere else.

16 years later, in November 1627, the timar-holder Katib Mustafa submitted the second letter of complaint to the central government concerning a similar problem. At this time, the tribe of Kocalar cultivated grain in his *mezraas* without paying the land tax and *salariye*.²⁷⁹ The nomads asserted that they had never paid any land tax in previous years; instead, they offered to pay *salariye* either in cash or kind on condition that its rate was reduced from one in eight to one in ten as it was at the rate of tithe.²⁸⁰ In June 1628, in his third letter of complaint, he stated that some peasants from outside (*hâriç re'âyâ*) had exploited the *mezraas* of Uğurlu, Hocabeği, and Boyalı within the village of Dede Kara Ömer that was allotted to him for *timar*. Furthermore, those peasants had let their livestock graze in the fields. Upon the tax demand of his steward, they refused to pay the land tax and any compensation for the damage of crops due to their livestock (*resm-i deştânî*). For this,

²⁷⁶ For the legal nature of the 'salariye' tax, see Lütfi Güçer, XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler. İstanbul, 1964, 52-56.

²⁷⁷ Çınar, H. 1020-1021 Tarihli, 309, doc. no. 77/650.

²⁷⁸ Çınar, H. 1020-1021 Tarihli, 309, doc. no. 77/650.

²⁷⁹ Ankara Court Records (no.23), p.124, doc. no. 723

²⁸⁰ Ankara Court Records (no. 23), 124, doc. no. 723.

they claimed that they were not recorded as the inhabitants of the village.²⁸¹ It was very likely that those unrecorded peasants coming from outside derived their maintenance from pastoralism.

It is obvious that the nomads who were the subject of Mustafa's cases intended to engage in cultivation without being registered to the land. In this way, they were able to manage both nomadic pastoralism and agriculture together. On the other, the dates of the first two cases coincided with the period of autumn through October and November and the last one fell to June, which pointed to significant periods in the calendar of nomadic pastoralism. In Anatolia, wheat seeds are generally sown in the fields during October and December and the harvest time is usually carried out through the months of June and July.²⁸² Those nomads probably had begun to sow the fields in the *mezraas*, shortly before Mustafa filed the letters of complaint to the central government. Mustafa seems to have taken measures by informing the central authorities in advance in order to guarantee the tax revenues from the grain harvest. On the other hand, seed-time generally concurred with the coming of nomads from the highlands and this time-conflict possibly resulted in the destruction of shoots in the fields. However, the primary thing that concerned Mustafa was the unwillingness of the nomads to pay the taxes to which they were liable for the land and harvest.

Another letter of complaint regarding the cases where the nomads exploited the timar-lands by evading the tax liabilities related to the land and cultivation was kept in the court register of Ankara in October 1618. In this letter, the timar-holder *Müteferrika* Süleyman listed his complaints regarding three different issues. Firstly, a group of peasants from the village of Ber Anbar objected to transport the grain harvest to the nearest market (*akreb bazar*) on the pretext that they were

²⁸¹ "... *Dede Kara Ömer nam karyesi toprağında vâki' defterde mukayyed Uğurlu ve Hocabeği ve Boyalu nâm mezra'aları toprağında hâriç re'âyâdan ba'zı kimesneler zirâ'ât ve hirâset idüb tasarruflarında olan yerlerden ademi Süleyman nâm yeniçeri resm-i çift taleb eyledikde mezbûrlar [sic] sâkin olub mücerred virmemek 'icab ider biz sizin defterinizde mukayyed re'âyâ değiliz hâriç re'âyâyız çift resmi viregelmedik deyü çift resmi virmeyüb mümâileyhin mahsûlüne küllî gadır ve te'addî eyledikleri bildirilib...*" Ankara Court Records (no.23), p.156, doc.no. 837.

²⁸² <http://www.mgm.gov.tr/tarim/uygun-ekim-zamani.aspx>

nomad in reality.²⁸³ The accused peasants lived in four different small villages located within the boundaries of the village of Ber Anbar; these were *Mazılı Âbâd*, *Toroğlu*, *Çiğdemli*, and *Keşçili* (?), respectively. Probably, those small villages had been the former *mezraas* of the village of Ber Anbar and evolved into a village form after the nomads had established settlements. The fact that they were identified with tribal names was also evidence of their nomadic background.²⁸⁴

Upon the complaint of Süleyman, the central government instructed the *kadı* and the district governor of Ankara to investigate the authenticity of the claims. If Süleyman was right in his claim, those peasants were obliged to bring the grain to the nearest market. Secondly, Süleyman stated that his *timar* land was woody; therefore, some peasants from the *nahiyes* of Çukurcak and Haymana illegally cut trees in his *timar* land. Given the nomadic character of these *nahiyes*, it can be said that the peasants engaged in illegal logging activities were of nomadic origins.²⁸⁵ It is possible to suggest that they wanted to open new fields by clearing the woods in the *timar* land. However, it was most likely that aimed at securing the firewood stocks for the incoming winter. Lastly, Süleyman complained about the unauthorized utilization of the water sources and pasture reserves within the boundaries of his *timar* land by the nomads for the purpose of grazing animals. These nomads objected to make the payment of pasture tax (*resm-i otlak*).²⁸⁶

²⁸³ "...müteferrika Süleyman ordu-yu hümayyunuma gelüb berât-i hümayyunumla mutasarrıf olduğu Ber Anbar nâm karyenin toprağında Mazılı Âbâd ve Toroğlu ve Çiğdemli ve Keşçili (?) nâm karyelerin zirâ'ât ve hirâset idüb hâsıl eyledikleri terekenin 'öşrünü kânûn üzere akreb bazara götürmeyüb yüzdeciyiz ve haymanayız ve karakeçiliyiz deyü ta'llül iderler imiş..." Ankara Court Records (no.501), p.178, doc. no. 809.

²⁸⁴ For instance, 'Mazılı' and Keşçili were the names of tribes that belonged to the yörüks of Haymana. See Halaçoğlu, *Anadolu'da aşiretler*, vol. III, 1407; vol. IV, 1629. However, 'Çiğdemli' and 'Toroğlu' referred to other tribal groups in distant regions. There was a tribe called 'Çiğdemli' among the Dulkadirid tribes in the sixteenth century. Halaçoğlu, *Anadolu'da aşiretler*, vol. II, 547-548. Similarly, 'Toroğlu' was the name of a local tribe in the district of Teke in southern Anatolia. Cevdet Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatler*. Istanbul, 2001, 140.

²⁸⁵ Ankara Court Records (no.501), p.178, doc. no. 809.

²⁸⁶ "...bunun timarı toprağında yabaneri tâifesi koyun ve davarlarını getirüb otundan ve suyundan intifâ' iderler imiş..." Ankara Court Records (no.501), p.178, doc. no. 809.

Considering the content of the complaints, it can be said that Süleyman's *timar* land was quite fertile in terms of agricultural potential, water sources, pasture reserves and forest; therefore, it attracted the nomads from the nearby districts. Interestingly enough, despite this productiveness, his *timar* land seemed to be less populated and wild, because it remained open to the exploitation from outside. In this respect, the complaints of Süleyman should be seen as the evidence that the nomads had a vigorous role in the continuation of agricultural and pastoral production.

By and large, the nearby arable fields of the villages, as were called the *mezraas*, were of the pastoral and agrarian use for the nomads. Nomads could also establish some temporary campsites in *mezraas*. In the course of time, some nomadic groups could turn their campsites into a permanent base and improved their agricultural activities to a large extent, even though they were still regarded by the central government as in the status of nomad.²⁸⁷ The villagers and agro-pastoral nomads were inclined to benefit from the nearby *mezraas* without informing the local authorities about their utilization.²⁸⁸ As a general rule, no state officer could lay claim to an unrecorded *mezraa* that had been collectively used by the villagers and nomads to cultivate and graze animals.²⁸⁹ This *de-facto* situation with regard to the use of *mezraas* brought economic advantage to the villagers and nomads, because they did not feel obliged to pay the tax for their agro-pastoral activities in the *mezraas*. However, the conflict arose when the government began to farm out the revenues of the vacant *mezraas* to the members of the military elite.²⁹⁰ From the vantage point of villagers and nomads, such an unexpected act by the government was probably unfair, and it meant that from then on they would have to pay taxes for the vacant *mezraas* of which had previously been freely available. If a

²⁸⁷ İnalçık, *The Ottoman State: Economy and Society 1300-1600*, pp.159-160.

²⁸⁸ Halil İnalçık, "Mazra'a", *EF*.

²⁸⁹ Halil İnalçık, "Köy, Köylü ve İmparatorluk," *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi*, edit. by Halil İnalçık (İstanbul:Eren, 2009), p.14.

²⁹⁰ İnalçık points out that in the period 1596-1610 the *Celali* turbulence in countryside led up to an increase of *mezra'as* and *mezra'a* type land use throughout Anatolia. İnalçık, "Mazra'a".

nomad from outside cultivated a *mezraa* that was recorded as revenue for *sipahi*, he was obliged to pay a pro rata agricultural tax (*a'şâr* and *salariye* or *resm-i dönüm*) to *sipahi*.²⁹¹

Grain cultivation was also a way of appropriating land for the nomads. The nomads could have claim on the *mezraas* by opening a field or tilling a piece of land, even though they had no intention of settling down in the land in the short run. Undoubtedly, the nomads expected that the inhabitants from the nearby villages would informally recognize their de facto situation concerning the use of *mezraas*. However, in the case of the region of Ankara, the villagers were less likely to let the nomads avail themselves of the *mezraas*. As has been seen in the previous sections of this chapter, the boundaries of cultivation expanded over the area of pastureland to the detriment of the livestock breeders. A lawsuit recorded in the dates between 26th January and 4th February in 1619 illustrated the struggle of a group of already-settled nomads with each other over the right of use for a summer pasture.²⁹² Ulusoglu Hüseyin and Dedeoğlu Hasan from the village of Kaleya in the *nahiye* of Haymana came to the central government to file a complaint against the inhabitants of the village of Ömerli over the use of the summer pasture which was called Bektaş Cabri (?) and located in the *nahiye* of Haymana. It is understood through the complaint that the summer pasture in question was allotted to the common use of both villages. The inhabitants of Kaleya stated that they had previously used to go up to the summer pasture together with the inhabitants of Ömerli. However, when the inhabitants of Kaleya abandoned the practice of going up to the pasture in summer for a couple of years, the inhabitants of Ömerli started to cultivate some parts of the pasture by taking advantage of their absence as an opportunity. In this way, they also laid claim to the pasture.²⁹³ Nevertheless, the villagers of Kaleya could manage to persuade the central government

²⁹¹ Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rûsûmu," *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Toplum ve Ekonomi*, edit. by Halil İnalçık (İstanbul: Eren, 2009), pp.47-49.

²⁹² Ankara Court Records (no.501), p. 202, doc. no. 870.

²⁹³ "...Ankara kazâ'sına tâbi Kiçi Haymana nâhiyesinden dârendegân-ı fermân-ı hümayûn Ka'leya nâm karye' tarafından Ulusoglu Hüseyin ve Dedeoğlu Hasan nâm kimesneler dergâh-ı muallâma

authorities to send an order to the *kadı* of the *nahiyes* of Ankara and Yabanabad for preventing the inhabitants of Ömerli from appropriating the pasture in question. Yet, a group of armed men from the village of Ömerli invaded Ulusoğlu Hüseyin's house and injured him in order to take revenge because of his complaint.²⁹⁴

It is obvious that both villages mentioned above practised vertical transhumance, or village-based pastoralism for their agro-pastoral purposes. The document provided no information as to the reason or reasons why the inhabitants of Kaleya stopped moving up to the pasture in question. It can be assumed that they might have wanted to settle down in the village land for a certain period for some reasons, and when they started again to use the pasture, they encountered the restrictions imposed by the village of Ömerli. On the other hand, it was also possible that the inhabitants of Kaleya changed their direction towards a new pasture zone but they wanted to keep their connection with the pasture of Bektaş Cabri, even though they did not benefit from it. Perhaps we would say more on why the inhabitants of Kaleya did not go up to the pasture in summer, if we had the chance of seeing countercharge of the inhabitants of Ömerli against the inhabitants of Kaleya.

One reason why the nomads of Ankara tend to have engaged in cultivation without being tied up to the land was that the economic return of grain production was not as high as the profit brought by animal husbandry. The nomads needed to till large tracts of land in order to have a good amount of harvest because it was necessary to let land lie fallow in rain-fed grain cultivation once in two years. By means of the evidence from the court entries, we can estimate the average amount of profit generated by the grain production in the region of Ankara. Firstly, we need to find out the

gelüb şöyle 'arz eyledi ki bundan akdem bunlar nâhiye-i merkûmeye tâbi Bozömerlü nâm mera' sınırından Bektaş Câbî demekle mâruf yaylağa mezbû Ömerli nâm karye ahâlisi kadimden ma'an çıkub lâkin bunlar birkaç sene çıkmamağla mezbûr Ömerli karye' halkı zıkr olunan yaylağın ba'zı yerlerinde zirâ'ât eylediklerinden gayri bizim müstakill çıkageldiğimiz yaylağımızdır deyü nizâ' etmekle...' Ankara Court Records (no.501), p. 202, doc. no. 870.

²⁹⁴ Ankara Court Records (no.501), p.202, doc. no. 870.

average cereal yields per *dönüm* of land and then we can use the official prices of some cereal products set by the *kadı* in order to derive the profit obtained from per *dönüm*. For this, the prices of some cereal products in 1619 are listed below:

Cereal Products	Price per <i>kile</i> in <i>akçe</i>
bulgur wheat	40
edible wheat (<i>aşlık buğday</i>)	32
barley	16
bitter vetch	20

Table 7: The official prices of cereal products in Ankara in 1619²⁹⁵

Before the advent of modern agricultural techniques, the average wheat yield per *dönüm* of land changed in between 77 and 114 kg annually in Ankara in the nineteenth century. This amount reached a scale between 229 and 342 kg in high-quality lands during the favourable seasons.²⁹⁶ It is seen that there was a threefold gap between the average and high-quality lands in terms of wheat yield. This agricultural difference may also explain the reason why nomads insisted on the specific lands to exploit. If an average land of one *dönüm* were to be cultivated, it would yield wheat of 95.5 kg on average. This would increase to 285.5 kg on average for the high-quality lands. In order to be able to evaluate the data shown in the figure above, it is necessary to know that per 100kg of ear of wheat give separately 80 kg edible wheat and 72 kg bulgur under normal conditions.²⁹⁷ If we were to evaluate these data regarding the yield per *dönüm* and prices of edible wheat and bulgur, it would be possible to obtain a table as below:

²⁹⁵ Ankara Court Records (no:502), pp. 3-4, doc. no. 7-8.

²⁹⁶ Charles Issawi, p.215; In 1894, wheat yield per acre was 10-15 bushels for the average land and 30-45 bushels for favorable soils in good seasons in Ankara. Issawi states that one bushel takes 22-26 *okkas* of wheat; therefore, I took its average, 24 *okkas* which was equal to 30.7872 kg (24 x 1.2828=30.7872 kg). The calculation based on direct proportion indicates that if an average land per acre (4046 m² = 4.46 *dönüms*) that was capable of 10 bushels yielded 307,872 kg wheat per year, it would produce 77 kg wheat per *dönüm*.

²⁹⁷ <http://www.gso.org.tr/Content/FireRandimanOranlari/?KomiteNo=4&ID=22>

	edible wheat	market value	bulgur	market value
		(on <i>akçe</i>)		(on <i>akçe</i>)
Average land per dönüm (its average wheat yield=95.5 kg)	76.4 kg (2.5 kiles)	80 <i>akçe</i>	68.76 kg (2.2 kiles)	88 <i>akçe</i>
High-quality land per dönüm (its average wheat yield=285.5 kg)	228.4 kg (7.5 kiles)	240 <i>akçe</i>	205.5 kg (6.6 kiles)	264 <i>akçe</i>

Table 8: The yields of edible wheat and bulgur per dönüm and their prices in Ankara in 1619²⁹⁸

The table above shows that grain cultivation would be profitable, if it was performed extensively in high-quality lands. However, one should bear in mind that the extreme weather conditions like dry and wet seasons had a great impact on wheat yields. Particularly, heavy precipitation during the ripening and harvest periods inevitably reduces the wheat yields.²⁹⁹ Therefore, those farmers who owned 50-60 dönüms or more of high-quality land would be more durable against any adverse climatic condition which would severely affect the yields; because, they could have kept a certain amount of wheat remained from the former harvest in reserve. Furthermore, a large land could also allow the farmers to plough half of the fields, while letting the other half lie fallow. In central Anatolia generally the land allocated for grain farming needed to be left fallow every two years.³⁰⁰ On the other hand, it can be suggested that livestock breeding stood as a more profitable option for the nomads, given the fact that per head of sheep was priced on 290 *akçe* in the early decades of the seventeenth century. For instance, a nomad had a herd of 50 sheep whose market value was

²⁹⁸ Ankara Court Records (no. 502).

²⁹⁹ Marijn van der Velde, Francesco N. Tubiello, Anton Vrieling, Faycal Bouraoui, "Impacts of extreme weather on wheat and maize in France: Evaluating regional crop simulations against observed data," *Climatic Change*, 2012 (113): 751-765; pp. 752-754; <http://www.fao.org/docrep/006/y4011e/y4011e04.htm>

³⁰⁰ Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey*, p.215; M.Said Atak, Melahat Avcı Birsin, "Farklı Toprak İşleme Yöntemleri ve Ekim Nöbet Sistemleri ile Yetiştirilen Gerek-79 Buğday Çeşidinin Bazı Kalite Öğeleri ve Veriminin Saptanması," *Tarım Bilimleri Dergisi*, 2000 6 (4): pp.29-34.

14.500 *akçes*. If that nomad decided to sell off the entire herd and start producing bulgur, at least 55 *dönüms* of high-quality land would be required in order to reach the same profit obtained from the herd. Such a large land would also necessitate a pair of oxen to till and some work force for harvest, thus tending livestock was relatively less laborious in comparison with grain growing. Furthermore, a herd of livestock would reproduce itself for each year under normal circumstances without any animal disease. In consequence, a mixed economy that was composed of cultivation and livestock breeding seemed to be more rational for nomads in the countryside of Ankara. As was mentioned before, the probate inventory of Mustafa who was a peasant died in the village of Mazılı in the Haymana district in 1624 can be cited as an example of such a mixed economy. It may also enable us to compare the livestock with some grain crops in terms of economic value:

property and its quantity	Cash value (<i>akçe</i>)
Oxen (2 heads)	1500
Cow (2 heads)	1000
A mixed herd consisted of sheep and goats (10 heads)	2000
Wheat (2 <i>müdds</i>)	2000
Barley (2 <i>müdds</i>)	1500

Table 9: inventory of Mustafa from Haymana recorded in 1624³⁰¹

It is seen through the table presented above that per head of sheep or goat was priced on 200 *akçes*, which was slightly under the market value. The cash value of that herd was equal to 2 *müdds* of wheat; nevertheless, it is difficult to determine the exact amount of wheat listed above due to the variability of *müdd* among regions.³⁰² If we assumed that 1 *müdd* was equal to 20 *kiles*³⁰³, it would

³⁰¹ Ankara Court Records (no.21), p.60, doc. no. 340.

³⁰² Amy Singer, *Palestinian peasants and Ottoman officials* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.98-99; See also Mehmet Öz, "XVI. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Tarımda Verimlilik Problemi". *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 4-8 Ekim 1999*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2002), 1643-1651.

³⁰³ Halil İnalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (1983), 311-347; p. 324.

be seen that there were 40 *kiles* of wheat in the inventory list of Mustafa and per *kile* wheat was worth 50 *akçes*. He needed 16 *dönüms* of average land or 5.5 *dönüms* of high-quality land in order to derive 40 *kiles* of wheat. However, Mustafa could obtain the same amount of profit by means of a small herd that consisted of 10 heads.

Regional Overview

The region of Ankara was invaded by the Celali armies several times between 1603 and 1607. Despite the invasion, the rebel armies did not succeed in seizing the city of Ankara because it was well fortified by the walls; nevertheless, the rural hinterland of the city remained vulnerable to the attacks of the rebel armies. As a consequence of the invasion, the inhabitants from the city and its hinterland moved to safer areas. The desertion of the countryside was more large-scale in the *nahiyes* of Haymana and Bacı where the inhabitants were mostly of nomadic origins. The return to mobility was the main strategy for the nomadic groups, who newly settled in the land, to escape from the bandits. Considering the depopulation in the *nahiyes* of Haymana and Bacı, Akdağ has reached a sweeping conclusion that the Celali rebellions left an almost empty countryside across Anatolia where the majority of the inhabitants were displaced by banditry.

It is true that the Celali rebellions had severe effects on the grain and mohair productions at the outset as a result of the desertion of countryside. Despite a sharp decrease, however, grain production tends to have increased again in the period following the Celali rebellions. By contrast, the recovery in the mohair production was delayed because of the decrease in the population of the Angora goats. The Angora goats perished in large numbers due to poor maintenance as the result of the displacement of the peasants. However, given the accounts of the traveller Evliya Çelebi on the mohair production in the mid-seventeenth century, it would be wrong to assume that mohair production and Angora goat breeding went totally into a decline in the post-rebellion period.

In this section, the evidence from the court registers allowed us to make a general view of the demographic situation in the region of Ankara in the post-rebellion period. In the light of the demographic evidence based on the court registers, we cast doubt on the assumption of Akdağ that the Celali invasions left a scene of depopulated countryside in Ankara. It was true that a significant portion of rural population fled to other places during the invasion of the countryside by the Celali armies; nevertheless, it was also true that many peasants returned to their original settlements after the invasions ended, as it was reflected in miscellaneous lawsuits from the court registers of Ankara. What is more, there were a number of lawsuits concerning the complaints against the *haymene reaya* for the act of cultivating the land without paying the relevant taxes. It was certain that the peasants and nomads who came from the other regions were registered as *haymene reaya* in Ankara. However, it is very likely that the peasants displaced by the Celali invasions might have comprised a significant portion of the population recorded as the *haymene reaya*. The majority of the uprooted peasants were most likely the newly-settled nomads. The collapse of public order during the Celali invasions led them to return to nomadism and search for the land to cultivate as in the status of the *haymene*.

In consequence, it is possible to argue that the mobile population increased in number in the region of Ankara during the post-rebellion period. This trend in population structure can be taken as a change in the settlement patterns. It was possible that the abandonment of the countryside by the peasants and the increase in the number of peasants in the status of *haymene* were accompanied by a proliferation of camp-like dwellings which were temporary in character. Although the shifts in demographic and settlement patterns may lead us to think the possibility that there was an expansion of nomadism and a simultaneous increase in animal husbandry in the region of Ankara for the post-rebellion period, the complaints and disputes over the land use suggested that the area of pastureland was under the threat of an agricultural growth, as opposed to that possibility.

The intensification of land use for agrarian purposes indicated a sufficient amount of rainfall in the region of Ankara. The abundant water resources prepared a suitable environmental ground for the breeding of water buffaloes and cattle in the countryside. Considering these facts, it is possible to maintain that the region of Ankara was not arid in climate and it contained an adequate level of humidity for the continuation of agricultural production and the performance of cattle farming in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Conclusion

From ‘Crisis’ to Resilience

This dissertation set out to revise the ‘crisis’ narratives that draw a bleak historical outline of rural Anatolia in the early seventeenth century relating to the phenomena of the Celali rebellions and the LIA effect. The ‘crisis’ narratives are based on the fallacy that the widespread violence in the countryside, which was brought about by banditry and mutiny, inflicted irreversible damage on Anatolia concurrently with climate-related natural disasters from the turn of the seventeenth century. According to the pessimistic scenario of ‘crisis’ narratives, a vast majority of rural population left their places and became dispersed across Anatolia due to relentless bandit attacks during the period of the Celali rebellions. In the aftermath of the Celali rebellions and peasants’ leaving, many rural settlements remained virtually empty and sparse in population, thus agricultural production declined by reason of inadequate amount of tax-paying subjects in the countryside. This deterioration in sources of taxation in rural areas caused a serious fiscal loss in the revenues of the Ottoman state. It has been assumed that the scene of a depopulated and devastated countryside remained the same throughout the seventeenth century and beyond.

On the other hand, the ‘crisis’ narratives regarding environmental history put forward a misleading argument that the climate anomalies related to the LIA effect created a disgruntled population who were on the verge of revolt, by bringing about recurrent harvest failures and animal losses in the countryside. According to this purported connection between climate and rebellion, the

LIA acted as catalyst that produced permanent rebellion. In this scenario, particularly, the nomads were cast as troublemakers that caused harm to sedentary populations in the countryside. In line with the fixed desert and sown paradigm embedded in the scholarly historical narratives of Near East, it is presumed that droughts and cold-spells associated with the LIA effect led up to an inevitable ‘invasion’ of the agricultural areas by the nomads. The nomads could exercise control over the territories of the sedentary world by means of their aggressiveness and superior military skills which were imputed to them by historians. In the same way, it has been tacitly assumed that the nomads filled the political and demographic vacuum created by the Celali rebellions in the countryside of Anatolia. This conjectural situation has been regarded as one of the symptoms of the economic and political ‘decline’ of Ottoman Empire in Anatolia.

By adopting a regional case-study approach, this dissertation has revealed that the sweeping generalizations of the so-called disastrous effects of the Celali rebellions and the LIA about Anatolia are methodologically inaccurate for ignoring regional variations in climate and ecology as well as social-political dynamics. Furthermore, this dissertation has invalidated the purported arguments that the Celali rebellions and the LIA had thrown rural Anatolia into a grave and long-term crisis in the seventeenth century. In doing so, it has systematically investigated the social and economic panorama of each region under four different headings: demographic situations; settlement patterns; agricultural and pastoral productions; nomads.

In this dissertation, important findings have emerged from the evidence of the court registers about the social and economic history of rural Ottoman Anatolia in the first half of the seventeenth century. The most obvious finding was that the nomads and peasants of Anatolia were capable of adjusting their livelihood strategies according to the ecological and economic features of the geographical environments of their regions. They were able to develop efficient strategies to cope with any challenge posed by social-political turbulences and climate-related natural disasters in

rural areas. In this regard, they did not need to bow to the inevitable, in face of difficult situations caused by either humans or climate.

In the region of Aintab, carrying out viticulture and goat breeding at the same time was advantageous to the vine-growers in many aspects. Goat manure was a good fertilizer for the vines. In return for this, goats could feed on vine leaves during the harvest time. Likewise, the stockbreeders and nomadic pastoralists were well familiar with the provident measures against the drought and limited supply of pasture. Therefore, stockbreeders cultivated bitter vetch, millet and barley in order to store fodder to be used for the animals in case of drought or poor grazing. As was seen in the regions of Urfa and Ankara, the nomadic pastoralists engaged in rain-fed grain cultivation in the arid areas and produced especially barley, a nutritious source of fodder, in order to feed their livestock.

The vacuum of political and administrative authorities caused by the Celali rebellions, and the dissolution of the timar system gave the peasants an opportunity of taking possession of the land on which they were allowed to cultivate in return for payment. In Aintab, the peasants tended to plant vine-stocks on the grain fields. In this way, they could get the right of property on the land confirmed in accordance with the Islamic law. This inclination towards the acquirement of the freehold on the land can explain why the peasants were willing to take an initiative in the struggle against the locust invasion and consequently could manage to wipe out the locusts from the crop fields in their villages in Aintab. Probably, it was of great importance to the peasants to protect the land of which they would somehow manage to take possession.

The recovery of the countryside was as quicker in the villages whose revenues were allotted to the finances of the wakfs and *havass* rather than the villages registered as timar, as was seen in Aintab. A fast improvement in the economic and demographic situation of the wakfs and *havass* villages was of concern to the Ottoman central government, because those villages provided finance

for the stipends of the imperial household and provincial governors, and in the same way their revenues were essential for the wakfs to maintain public services in the urban area. In order to accelerate the recovery period, therefore, the central government farmed out those villages to either their inhabitants or the urban entrepreneurs with whom the village inhabitants were familiar. On the other hand, these villages were exempted from the extraordinary taxes and customary levies contributed. That privileged position enabled those villages to recover more easily in both demographic and economic terms; because, the rural populations showed a clear tendency to evade the liabilities of extraordinary taxes and customary levies as far as possible in the seventeenth century. Therefore, it was a fairly good choice to move to the villages in the status of *wakf* and *havass*. More importantly, the ownership of land as freehold in those villages did not necessitate the liability to pay the extraordinary taxes and customary levies.

The evidence from the court registers discussed in dissertation has called into question the validity of the data from the *avarız* registers which is used to make demographic and economic analysis of rural areas in Ottoman Empire. In this regard, one should ask questions of what the declines in the amount of the *avarız* households indicated us, and of how we can interpret the disappearance of the settlements in the *avarız* registers. As we mentioned in the previous chapters, the *avarız* household was a tax unit that referred to fiscal revenue yielded by one or more full-sized agricultural holding. The *avarız* household measured to a certain extent the fiscal capacity of a group of people who resided in a certain place, but did not give sound information about the exact number of population. In this regard, the central government could act to reduce the amount of the *avarız* households in the impoverished villages. In the same way, the villages, which were in extremely grave economic situation, could be excused from the tax liabilities of *avarız* and some of them could also be excluded from the *avarız* registers, when it was necessary. However, a reduction in the number of the *avarız* households did not necessarily reflect an actual impoverishment of the

taxpayers. In the seventeenth century, as the mobility and relocation of rural populations increased, it was a frequent situation that the taxpayers who were liable to the *avarız* left their settlements and moved to different places. In this case, the remaining taxpayers had to shoulder the tax debts of those who had gone. Therefore, they requested a mitigation of the *avarız* households from the central government in order to adjust their tax debts according to the existing number of taxpayers. In the same way, the remaining taxpayers in rural areas reported the persons that cultivated the village lands without being registered to the *avarız* household of the village.

Although a large number of rural populations fled from their settlements in order to escape the banditry during the period of the Celali rebellions, the evidence from the court entries revealed that many uprooted peasants began to return to their original settlements shortly after public order was restored in many of rural areas. This finding has refuted the argument that the majority of rural Anatolia had a sparse population in the period following the Celali rebellions. In addition, one finding of this dissertation has demonstrated that the peasants' leaving of the settlements caused no serious disruption in agricultural production in the regions under discussion. The remaining peasants appropriated the agricultural estates of the absent peasants. For example, as was seen in a court entry mentioned in the chapter of Aintab, Hamza and his father, two peasants who had formerly left their village, complained that his estates came into possession of some people in the village, while they were away. Despite their allegation, they were reported for holding a full-sized agricultural land in partnership with someone from the village, although they were not registered to the *avarız* household of the village. This example can suggest that some villages could bear more *avarız* households in actual fact than the amount shown by the *avarız* registers. The returnees certainly increased the economic capacity of the villages by taking part in agricultural production. However, since these former inhabitants tended to avoid the tax registration, the central government could not evaluate the actual tax capacity of the villages in an accurate way. Akin to the case of

Aintab, according to the evidence from the court entries, the peasants who settled in the city of Ankara during the period of the Celali rebellions seem to have maintained their economic connections with their previous settlements in the countryside in some way. These new city-dwellers who came from the countryside were accused of having a land to cultivate in their former settlements without being registered to the *avarız* household. Taken together, these findings have provided enough evidence to change the arguments that most of the rural areas remained sparse in population and consequently the agricultural production declined in the period following the Celali rebellions in Anatolia.

The evidence from the court entries has showed that the displacement of peasants by the widespread banditry during the period of the Celali rebellions was short-term. Despite the fact that many peasants showed a noticeable tendency to return to their settlements after the rebellions, however, we observed through the court entries related to the rural populations in the status of migrant (*haymene reaya*) that the Celali rebellions led up to an inclination among the dispersed rural populations towards a de facto use of the land for farming. As was seen, the number of rural population in the status of migrant (*haymene reaya*) soared up in Aintab during the period following the Celali rebellions. In the same way, plenty of complaints from the village inhabitants were reflected in the court registers of Ankara about the illegal use of the village lands by the *haymene reaya* for farming. The majority of rural populations in the migrant status were of nomadic origins; therefore, they probably wanted to avail themselves of the farmlands not permanently. This may explain the reason why they were unwilling to be registered in the *avarız* household of the villages where they tilled the land. On the other hand, since these travelling rural groups reclaimed the vacant lands in particular, they contributed to the continuation and also expansion of agricultural production in the period after the Celali rebellions.

The lack of security in rural areas deterred the nomads from settling down in the land permanently during the period of the Celali rebellions. Most of the rural populations that became

dispersed by leaving their settlements due to the rebel bands had been composed mainly of either newly settled nomads or sedentary pastoralists. The latter largely engaged in intensive livestock breeding. The Ottoman central government tended to put the nomadic camps as village under the names of the tribes, to which the nomads were affiliated, in the land registers of the 1580s. Probably, the agricultural production of nomads in the areas nearby the camps induced the central government to record the nomads as villagers. However, their camps did not evolve into villages, but remained temporary settlements as opposed to the central government's perception. Therefore, most of these nomadic settlements appear to have vanished at the turn of the seventeenth century due to the Celali rebellions, because the nomadic groups chose to become more mobile again when the countryside fell into disorder.

Agricultural production as in the form of rain-fed grain farming did not require the nomads to spend quite a long time in a place as sedentary. While being engaged in producing grain, they were able to roam in the countryside to search pasture and for their livestock. On the other hand, although the initial aim of nomads to engage in grain production was to provide barley for animals as fodder, by being occupied with cereal cultivation at least for a few years, the nomads were also able to accumulate enough wealth to add more animals to their herds. To increase the herd size in this way depended certainly on the regional economic conditions. In Urfa, the sale of grain in free market was profitable thanks to a high demand for cereal that was generated by the Ottoman army and neighbouring regions. By contrast, the grain prices did not give the nomads an incentive to make a profound shift in the balance of livelihood from pastoralism to farming. Perhaps the unsatisfactory grain prices were another reason for the nomads for not being tied up to the land in Ankara. Instead, the demand for sheep, ox and water buffaloes encouraged the nomads of Ankara to engage rather in animal husbandry.

In Aintab, although the nomads appeared in the court records as vineyard owners, like villagers, nevertheless, their interest in viticulture seemed to remain at subsistence level. In spite of the economic importance of grape and grape-products, one obvious reason the nomads seemed less eager to engage in viticulture was that vineyards required maintenance and workforce all year round. For this reason, no matter how lucrative vine-growing was, the nomads had to be tied up to a certain place whilst owning vineyard holdings. On the other hand, perhaps another obvious reason was that they did not need to viticulture as the source of livelihood; because, for example, the revenue derived from the sale of one single camel was equivalent to the sale value of a large vineyard. Besides, wool production was very supportive for the pastoral economy of nomads in Aintab.

As is mentioned above, one of the findings of the regional analyses in this dissertation has already shown that the displacement of peasants by the Celali rebellions did not create a demographic vacuum which was filled by the nomadic groups. Crisis-based approaches to the rural history of Ottoman Anatolia in the seventeenth century have speculated about the consequences of the Celali rebellions that nomads could expand the territorial boundaries of animal husbandry at the expense of agriculture, seizing the lands left by the fugitive peasants. The political and demographic vacuum was an advantage to the nomads to exploit the lands that remained out of cultivation due to peasants' desertion, but this beneficial situation did not last long. In the region of Aintab in the 1610s, the central government instructed the *kadı* and provincial governors to lease the wastelands, which came into de facto possession of the nomads, to the peasants with title deed. Certainly, much of the wasteland was reclaimed as a result of the return of the fugitive peasants and simultaneous repopulation of rural areas. In this regard, it was seen in the region of Ankara that the expanding boundaries of agriculture started to threaten the pasturelands of the nomads in the 1620s and 1630s. The current findings of this dissertation add to a growing body of literature on climate and environmental history of Anatolia and serve as an alternative base for future studies. The studies

reconstructing the past climate conditions through proxy data have suggest that the climate pattern of the so-called LIA in Anatolia was arid and cold, while it was very humid and cold in Europe. However, the evidence from the court records examined in this dissertation has demonstrated that the climate patterns in the three regions did not cause destructive effect on rural areas, by paralysing agrarian and pastoral production in the first half of the seventeenth century. There was no decline in viticulture in Aintab in the seventeenth century as it is assumed to have happened to Bosnia in the 1580s and 1590s in association with the cooling effect of the LIA. Grape is prone to extreme weather conditions such as cold spells and drought; however, there was no evidence from the court records to suggest that vine-growing deteriorated due to climate changes and any other reasons. The presence of a large number of vineyard transactions in the court records was a clear sign that viticulture retained its importance as a source of livelihood in the rural economics of Aintab in the early seventeenth century. In light of this evidence, we can establish that the region of Aintab had a temperate climate, even though dry spells affected its countryside sporadically. In the same vein, we can infer from the court records that wet climate prevailed in the region of Urfa in 1629-1631. As it was reflected in the court records, heavy rainfall destroyed dwellings and accordingly a high level of water flow in the rivers caused damage to watermills in Urfa. Likewise, the frequent appearance of water buffaloes, steers and cows in the court records of Ankara has indicated the non-arid climate conditions because these animals require more water and humidity. In addition, the land use disputes concerning cultivation confirmed the existence of a benign climate in terms of agriculture in the region of Ankara.

Animal husbandry was the fastest way of accumulating wealth in the rural economies of Anatolia. In addition, as being compatible with a mobile way of life, livestock breeding was a secure investment compared to the land particularly in a situation in which the countryside fell into social and political upheavals. In the event of bandit invasion, animals could be driven to distant

and safer areas, while farms, orchards and vineyards were left to destruction. It was obvious that nomadic pastoralism was more sustainable than village-based agrarian economy to make a livelihood in the period of the Celali rebellions. Therefore, it was more essential to nomads to increase the size of their herds rather than tilling the land. As was seen in the region of Urfa, a drastic diminution in herd size and consequently settling down in the land was a sign of impoverishment for the nomadic pastoralists. The reason that tied the nomadic tribes down to the land as poor herders who owned not many animals was not related to climate-related epizootic diseases. The fact that meat and meat products remained at a low and steady price level in the *narh* lists of the three regions indicated the livestock population was sufficient at least to meet the food demand of the cities. Although the city of Aintab differed from the other two for having higher meat and meat products, this was not related to a diminution in small ruminant population due to disease or malnutrition. Sheep seemed to be fed properly in Aintab, because the court records revealed that the carcass weight of sheep was compatible with the contemporary average standards. Since Aintab was in the economic hinterland of Aleppo, its meat and meat-products were priced according to the currency of *shahi* which was higher than *akçe* in value; thus, the prices of meat and meat-products seemed higher in Aintab. In the evidence from the court records and other archival sources, it is seen that the diminution in livestock population was more human-related. In comparison with climate-related natural disasters, the pillage and plunder led by the state officials and hostile tribes, and also the pressure of tax collectors seemed to constitute serious threat to the animal herds of nomads.

This dissertation makes several noteworthy contributions to our understanding of the political relations between the central Ottoman government and nomadic tribes of central and southeastern Anatolia during the period following the Celali rebellions. The region of Aintab underwent a tribal insurgence in 1607-1608 that occurred in the form of military support for the

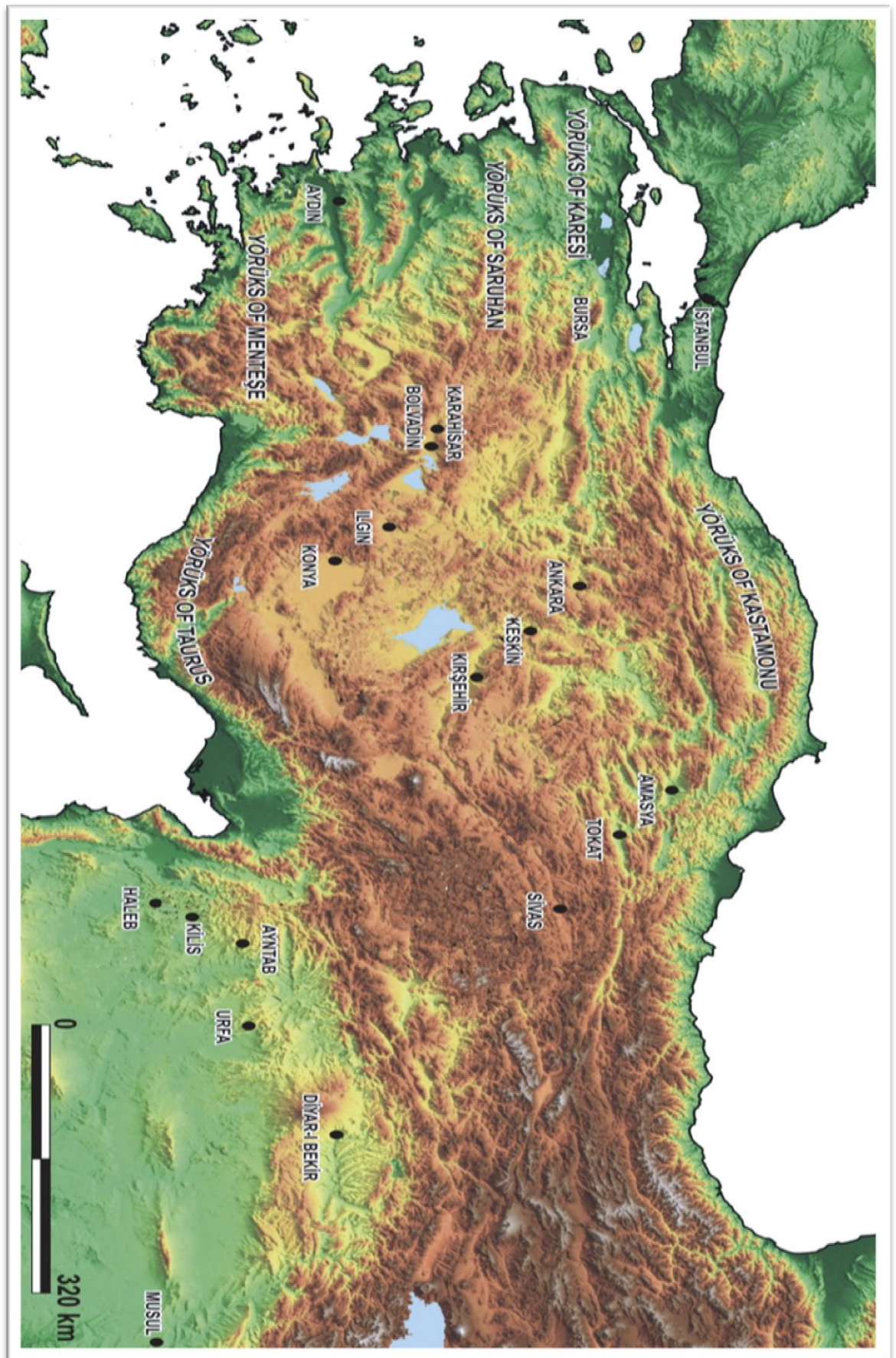
revolt of Canboladoğlu family. Even though the revolt was decisively suppressed, a hostile manner prevailed in the relations between the central government and the former rebellious tribes in the subsequent period, which was reflected in the archival sources. In Urfa, on the other hand, most of the tribes were autochthones and therefore the tribal bonds were strong enough to play a decisive role in the local politics. The tribes of Urfa acted in general as autonomous units that were ruled by their own leaders. In particular, the tribes from the Karaulus confederation reacted collectively against the agents of the central government over the tax matters. However, the central government tended to centralize the Karaulus tribes by replacing their tribal leaders with the state officials who did not have any affiliation with the tribal kinship and hierarchy. As was seen in the chapter of Urfa, the chief of the Badıllı tribe warned the central government that the centralization policy would cause the disintegration of the tribal groups. In contrast with the powerful tribal structure in the regions of Aintab and Urfa, the nomadic tribes of Ankara consisted of fragmented units and therefore they were rather pliable to the state authority.

This dissertation is a pioneering effort in Ottoman historiography with its empirical findings that provide new insight into the rural history of Ottoman Anatolia in the first half of the seventeenth century. It has written a new rural history on the perspective of the Ottoman provincial society. For this, it has established the most of its arguments on the evidence drawn from the court records regarding animal transactions and land use disputes. Such records offer us valuable insights into the general economic and demographic trends in the remote Anatolian countryside. A possible area of future research would be to investigate why the nomads needed to go to the Ottoman court. It would be interesting to explore the possible motivations for nomads to go to the *kadı* courts, even though the relations between tribes and central government together with the local administrative authorities were in a strained situation in their areas. It would be also interesting to demonstrate systematically what type of cases the nomads brought to the court and how they were represented in

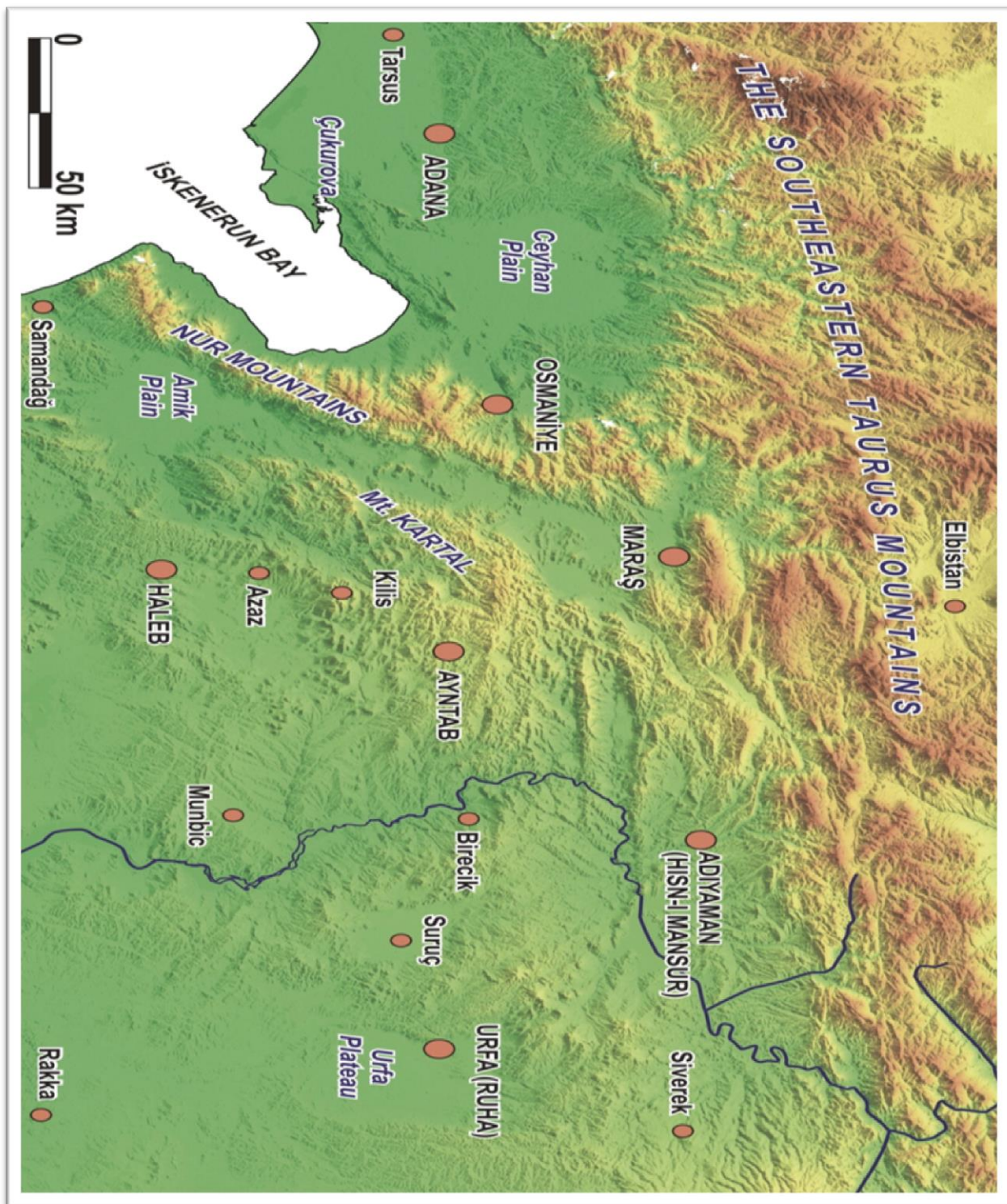
the courtroom. Since this dissertation is focused on the cases regarding animals and land in terms of theme, it has excluded the marital, criminal and debt collection proceedings in which the nomads were involved. By including these issues, further research would be of great help in showing with which type of rural and urban groups the nomads were contacted in the litigation process. Such a valuable attempt would help us see to what degree the nomads were integrated into Ottoman provincial society in the seventeenth century.

More broadly, this dissertation contributes to the existing literature and debates on the general crisis of the seventeenth century by offering a revisionist perspective to the social and economic history of Ottoman Anatolia in the period following the Celali rebellions. By doing so, it will open the way for a paradigm shift in Ottoman historiography concerning the ‘crisis’ narratives that revolve around the Celali rebellions and the LIA effect in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, a key strength of this dissertation is that it has centred on nomads and pastoral economy. One feature that makes the Ottoman Empire different from Europe in the debates on ‘the crisis of the seventeenth century’ was that the imperial lands, particularly Anatolia, contained a large number of nomadic populations in the seventeenth century. In this regard, just as any attempt to write a general history of rural Anatolia in the Ottoman period without taking into consideration the nomads will be futile, so too the studies that make no attempt to give sufficient consideration to the nomads will suffer from serious shortcomings in respect of the ‘crisis’ debates.

Appendices



Appendix 1 Map of Anatolia



Appendix 2 Map of Southeastern Anatolia

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| Gaziantep No. 4817, <i>Şeriyye Sicili</i> | Ankara No. 502, <i>Şeriyye Sicili</i> |
| Gaziantep No. 4818, <i>Şeriyye Sicili</i> | Ankara No. 505, <i>Şeriyye Sicili</i> |
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