

THE YÖRÜKS OF OTTOMAN WESTERN THRACE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
HARUN YENİ

Department of History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
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To Seda

THE YÖRÜKS OF OTTOMAN WESTERN THRACE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
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by

HARUN YENİ

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

Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık
Supervisor

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

Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç
Examining Committee Member

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

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Öz
Examining Committee Member

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

Asst. Prof. Evgeni Radushev
Examining Committee Member

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

Asst. Prof. Berrak Burçak
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

THE YÖRÜKS OF OTTOMAN WESTERN THRACE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Yeni, Harun

Ph.D., Department of History

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık

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This study essentially questions the nature of the *yörük* population in Ottoman western Thrace through an examination of fiscal and military registers of the sixteenth century. Firstly, through a discussion of the terminology used for mobile social groups in other disciplines, such as anthropology and geography, it is revealed that there is no terminological consensus, but rather a variety within and among the terms used. In parallel with this theoretical background, it is argued that the concept of variety occupied an important role in *yörüks'* ways of life in the region in question. This is also reflected in the manners in which they were registered, though a different manner of registration did not necessarily signify a different way of life. In this particular sphere, the *yörük* groups examined are those of the districts of Demürhisar, Drama, Yenice-i Karasu, and Gümülcine.

Next, the military nature of these *yörüks* is analyzed. The origins and formation of the *yörük* organization in Rumelia are discussed through the case of

western Thrace. Similarities with and differences from other auxiliary forces are also investigated in connection with the question of origins and formation. The regulations issued for the *yörüks* as a military group and the changes that occurred over time are looked at so as to be able to see any differentiation. The extent of militarization among the *yörüks* in the region is evaluated through the classical fiscal surveys and the *yörük* registers, with a revisional approach to the literature being taken. Within this scope, the nature of the *yörük* registers is questioned, and the correlation between registered and unregistered *yörüks* is revealed.

Keywords: *yörük*, Ottoman Rumelia, western Thrace, eastern Macedonia, Demürhisar, Drama, Yenice-i Karasu, Gümülcine, the *yörük* organization, *defter-i yörükân*, nomadism, transhumance.

ÖZET

ONALTINCI YÜZYILDA OSMANLI BATI TRAKYASI YÖRÜKLERİ

Yeni, Harun

Doktora, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık

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Bu çalışma esas olarak onaltıncı yüzyıla ait mâli ve askerî kayıtlar üzerinden Osmanlı Batı Trakyası'ndaki yörüklerin mahiyetini sorgulamaktadır. İlk önce, antropoloji ve coğrafya gibi diğer disiplinlerde hareketli sosyal topluluklar için kullanılan kavramlar hakkındaki mevcut tartışmalar sunularak, terminoloji üzerinde bir uzlaşma olmadığı ve hem kavramların kendi içinde hem de kavramlar arasında bir çeşitliliğin mevcut olduğu ortaya konulmuştur. Bu teorik arka plana paralel olarak, çeşitlilik mefhumunun yörüklerin yaşam biçimlerinde önemli bir rol oynadığı savunulmaktadır. Bu durum yörüklerin kaydedilme biçimlerine de yansımakla beraber, her farklı kayıt biçimi farklı bir yaşam biçimi anlamına da gelmemektedir. Demürhisar, Drama, Yenice-i Karasu ve Gümölcine kazâlarındaki yörük varlığı bu bağlam içerisinde değerlendirilmiştir.

Sonrasında, bu bölgelerdeki yörüklerin askerî boyutu irdelenmiştir. Batı Trakya örneği üzerinden Osmanlı Rumelisi'ndeki yörük teşkilatının kökenleri ve

kuruluşu meseleleri tartışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda teşkilatın çağdaş diğer yardımcı kuvvetlerle benzerlik ve farklılıkları da değerlendirilmiştir. Yörük teşkilatı için hâsıl olan kanunlar ile zamanla bu kanunlarda yapılan değişiklikler, süreç içerisinde teşkilatta meydana gelen değişimleri görmek açısından ele alınmıştır. Askerîliğin bölgedeki yörükler arasındaki boyutları, tahrir kayıtları ve yörük defterleri üzerinden literatüre revizyonist bir yaklaşımla değerlendirilmiştir. Bununla bağlantılı olarak yörük defterlerinin yapısı sorgulanmış ve askerî olarak kaydedilen yörüklerle kaydedilmeyenler arasındaki ilişki ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: yörük, Osmanlı Rumelisi, Batı Trakya, Doğu Makedonya, Drama, Demürhisar, Yenice-i Karasu, Gümölcine, yörük teşkilatı, *defter-i yörükân*, göçebelik, transhumans.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- h. _____ hâne
- mcr. _____ mücerred
- m. _____ mücerred [when transcribed from primary source]
- ç. _____ çift
- bn. _____ bennâk
- bv. _____ bive
- k. _____ kile
- nd. _____ nâm-i diger
- n. _____ nim çift
- mz. _____ mezra'â
- YK. _____ Yenice-i Karasu
- D. _____ Drama
- G. _____ Gümülcine
- DH. _____ Demürhisar
- TT.d. _____ Tapu Tahrir defteri
- BOA. _____ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
- TKGM. _____ Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü
- KKA. _____ Kuyûd-i Kadîme Arşivi

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Scope and Questions

It is a well-known phenomenon that the Ottoman march on European soil¹ was followed by an intense population influx. As one of the directions of the Ottoman movement, the ancient Via Egnatia, or the *Sol-Kol* part of the movement, was no exception to this. On the contrary, this route was one of the most attractive, and a significant number of new settlements were established along it following the military advance. Among the influx of demographic components in this region, the *yörüks* played a significant role. Their position during and just after the period of conquest period has been an issue much emphasized in historical debates.² However, for subsequent periods, the *yörüks* and their structure within the demography of the region remain rather vague. This is especially true for the western Thrace region, where a significant *yörük* population was present from the

¹ For an updated chronology and narration of the initial phases of the Ottoman movement in Thrace and the Balkans, see articles "Orhan" and "Murad I" in Halil İnalçık, *Kuruluş Dönemi Osmanlı Sultanları, 1302-1481* (İstanbul: İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2010).; and also see Halil İnalçık, "Rumeli," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition*(Leiden: Brill).; Halil İnalçık, "Gelibolu," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition*(Leiden: Brill).

² See section "1.3. The *Yörüks*: A Review of the Literature" for studies on the role of *yörüks* during the conquest and following periods.

very early phases of the Ottoman presence in the Balkans. The population figures shown below, for the districts of Yenice-i Karasu and Gümülcine, show the position of the *yörüks* in the first half of the 16th century in rural life in western Thrace.³

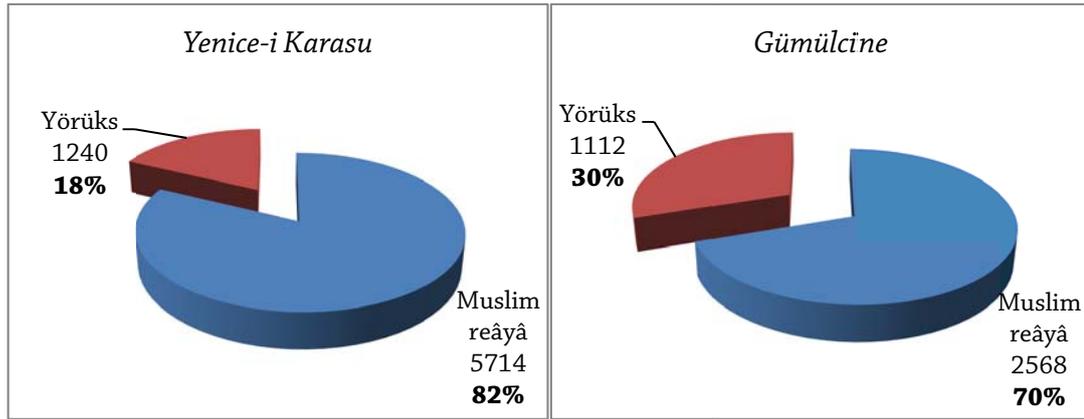
Table 1 - Distribution of population in the Yenice-i Karasu and Gümülcine *kazâs* in 1530

YENİCE-İ KARASU	GÜMÜLCİNE
<u>MUSLIMS</u> hâne: 2522	<u>MUSLIMS</u> hâne: 1919
<u>YÖRÜKS</u> hâne: 732	<u>YÖRÜKS</u> hâne: 1017
<u>NON-MUSLIMS</u> hâne: 2295	<u>NON-MUSLIMS</u> hâne: 1848

In Yenice-i Karasu, the *yörüks* account for almost one-fifth of the Muslim population, while in Gümülcine they represent nearly one-third:

³ 167 Numaralı Defter-i Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rumili (937/1530) [Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım]. II vols., vol. I (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2003). From now on referred as BOA. TT.d. 167.

Table 2 - Distribution of Muslim population in Yenice-i Karasu and Gümülcine [in nefers]



It is important to evaluate the nature of such a large proportion of the population in terms of placing them within the context of the Ottoman presence in the Balkans. The term *yörük* is usually thought of in terms of its nomadic/semi-nomadic nature. In other words, the *yörüks'* way of life is usually understood as an evolved form of nomadism, an interpretation which is more or less valid. However, what is problematic with such a perception is that the other aspect of their life is blurred or even ignored to a great extent, precisely because of this point of view. That is to say, the fact that they are perceived and defined as semi-nomadic groups has led researchers not to consider the other complimentary half – i.e., the non-nomadic or sedentary element – as much as it should be. While it is clear that pastoral nomadism outlined and shaped the *yörük* groups, variations and changes in this way of life over time have been largely ignored. Basically, this is a result of evaluating all *yörüks* entirely in terms of pastoral nomadism and considering them all as a single social group living virtually the same way of life. In parallel with this, the following chapter of the present study discusses the range of terms related to nomadism through anthropological and geographical studies so as to be able to establish an initial guideline. In this way, it will be shown that the literature agrees

on the existence of varieties both within and among the relevant terms. Following this, the *yörüks* will be discussed as one particular case through the lens of this concept of varieties.

In connection with these discussions, it should be stated that the sixteenth-century fiscal registers for Ottoman western Thrace imply a rather different picture than what historiography has generally presented regarding Rumelian *yörüks*. The *tahrir* registers give the impression that, within the region under consideration here, the groups called “*yörük*” were not all homogeneous and did not all lead the same way of life. As such, the basic question when dealing with the *yörüks* – at least for the region in question – becomes: Which *yörük*? The third chapter will focus on these varieties and categorize them accordingly. Differences and similarities between and within these categories will be presented, and in this way it will be proven that the *yörüks* of the Rumelia region in the sixteenth-century Ottoman state did not all lead the same way of life. There is no doubt that this fact sheds light upon the nature of the demographic structure of Ottoman western Thrace, and to some extent Rumelia as a whole, in the sixteenth century.

Apart from the distinction mentioned above, there seems to have been another distinction as well; namely, the distinction between military and non-military *yörüks*. The *yörüks* in Rumelia are known to have been organized into *ocaks* for military purposes, mainly as auxiliary forces. In parallel with this purpose, there are *yörük defters* from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century covering the records of these units. Although it is not stated directly in the related literature, it is a fact that not all of the *yörüks* were of military aspect. The detailed surveys (*mufassal tahrirs*) lead us to such a conclusion. When the number of military

units' members was lacking, the *ocaks* were filled out with other *yörüks*. In other words, the remaining part of the *yörüks* constituted a kind of reservoir. Examples of such cases can be seen in the *mühimme* registers, where non-military elements were called *haymâne* and the central government issued orders for the responsible officers to fill out the lacking *ocaks*. In sum, the chapter devoted to the military aspect of the *yörüks* aims to show and to emphasize that the variety in the *yörük* population of the region existed in terms of military structure as well. The chapter argues that the *yörüks* of the region, though perceived as being of an entirely military nature, were not in fact within the auxiliary military structure as a whole. In parallel with this, the extent of militarization and the mutual connection between military and non-military *yörüks* will also be discussed. Additionally, the structure and distribution of the *yörük* population in administrative units – i.e., in *kazâs* and *nâhiyes* – as recorded in military registers will be analyzed through the marginal notes, and thus it will be shown, through marginal notes regarding householders, that the military-administrative division of *yörüks* in the organization did not match their actual dwelling pattern.

Thus, as a whole, this study evaluates the presence of *yörük* groups in sixteenth-century Ottoman western Thrace mainly through fiscal and military registers and in terms of their socioeconomic structure and military organization. Variations in their ways of life and how these are reflected in the sources, along with the nature and extent of their militarization, will be discussed and analyzed throughout the course of the study.

1.2. Sources and Methodology

In parallel with the questions mentioned above, two basic primary source series are used in this study; namely, *tahrir defters* (fiscal registers) and *yörük defters* (registers of militarily organized *yörüks*). In addition to these, entries from certain *mühimme* registers are utilized, especially for the military organization of the *yörüks* in the region.

The nature of *yörüks* as a social group and the variations in their ways of life are analyzed and questioned primarily through fiscal registers. Below is the list of these sources and the regions that these cover:

Table 3 - List of tahrir registers used and the *kazâs* they cover

Date/ Number/ Type	Gümülcine	Yenice-i Karasu	Drama	Demürhisar
1478 TT.d. 7 mufassal	---	X (partially)	X	X
1519 TT.d. 70 icmal	X	X	X	X
1529 TT.d. 403 mufassal	---	---	X (partially)	X
1529 TT.d. 374 ⁴ mufassal	---	---	X	---
1530 TT.d. 167 muhâsebe icmal	X	X	X	X
1530 TT.d. 370 muhâsebe icmal	covering <i>Paşa sancağı sağ kol kazâları</i>			

⁴ This *defter* is a fragment of BOA. TT.d. 403.

1557 TT.d. 306 mufassal evkâf	X (partially)	X (partially)	---	---
1560s TT.d. 979 mufassal evkâf	X (partially)	X (partially)	---	---
1562/63 TT.d.341 mufassal evkâf	X (partially)	---	---	---
1568 TT.d. 187 mufassal	X	X	---	X
1568 TT.d. 194 mufassal	---	---	X	---
1568 TT.d. 577 mufassal evkâf	X (partially)	X (partially)	X (partially)	X (partially)
1613 ⁵ TT.d. 723 mufassal	Selânik			

Through these registers of various kinds, as will be seen in the following sections, the aim is to trace changes in the socioeconomic and demographic structures of *yörük* groups and of those settlements which are in one way or another related to *yörük* presence in the region. Comparisons from various *defters* are used where possible in order to follow changes over time. The demographic and economic pictures of the *yörüks* are combined so as to arrive at a more meaningful explanation and description. Variations in the *yörüks*' ways of life through and within variations in manners in which they were registered will thereby be revealed.

⁵ Since this *defter* is a copy of Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyûd-i Kadîme Arşivi (from now on TKGM. KKA.) TT.d. 186 dated 1568, it should also be considered as dated 1568.

It should also be noted that, although the concentration is on the sixteenth century, registers from the fifteenth century are also employed when needed so as to observe fragments relevant that period as well.

As can be noticed, there are two registers which do not cover the regions in question. One of them, TT.d. 723 – which is an exact copy of TT.d. 186 dated 1568 – is used to trace certain *cemaâts* which were registered in the Selânik region despite being recorded in Demürhisar in a previous register. Also, a fragment of a *kanunnâme* dealing with the military organization of the *yörüks* of the Vize district, from the *muhâsebe icmal defteri* numbered 370 and dated 1530, is used in order to exemplify the regulations of and changes in the organization.

The military organization of *yörüks* is outlined and discussed using a number of primary sources. Among these are general and provincial *kanunnâmes* of different dates, *mühimme* entries, and *yörük defters*. Barkan's⁶ and Akgündüz's⁷ *kanunnâme* collections, as well as Ahmet Refik's edition of *mühimme* entries on *yörüks*,⁸ are among the published primary sources used. Additionally, three collections of two *mühimme defters*⁹ published by the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*) are utilized. Among the primary sources used

⁶ Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zirâi Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları: 1. Kanunlar* (İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1943).

⁷ Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 8 vols. (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1990-1994).

⁸ Ahmet Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966-1200)*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1989).

⁹ *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976/1567-1569) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]*. III vols., vol. II (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1999)., *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976 / 1567-1569) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]*. III vols., vol. III (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1999); *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979 / 1570-1572) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]*. II vols., vol. I (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1996).

in the sections related to military organization, the series of *yörük* registers (*defter-i yörükân*) occupy the central position. It should be stated that these registers usually have *kanunnâmes* included at the beginning. It will be beneficial here to give a list of the *yörük defters* used in this study, together with their dates and the *yörük* group they cover:

Table 4 - List of *yörük* registers used

Number	Date	Group
TT.d. 225	1544	Tanrıdağı <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 230	1544	Tanrıdağı <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 1008	1568	Tanrıdağı <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 631	1591	Tanrıdağı <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 774	1641	Tanrıdağı <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 357	1565	Naldögen <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 616	1585	Naldögen <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 685	1596	Naldögen <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 303	1557	Vize <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 354	1566	Ofçabolı <i>yörüks</i>
TT.d. 614	1584	Kocacık <i>yörüks</i>

Because of the fact that the Tanrıdağı *yörük* group is dispersed primarily throughout the four regions of Yenice-i Karasu, Gümölcine, Drama, and Demürhisar, their registers are the ones that are predominantly used here. Since the other *yörük* groups were also a part of the same structure, their regulations are also employed so as to see variations and changes and to crosscheck the regulations for the

Tanrıdağı *yörüks*. Although these registers are categorized under the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* section of the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives, they are not in fact of the same nature as the fiscal surveys generally alluded to by the abbreviation TT.d. For this reason, an additional phrase, “*defter-i yörükân*”, is merged into the references made to them.

In relation to the usage of these registers, two primary techniques are employed, as is touched upon in the relevant section. In one of these, through a comparison of *yörük defters* and *tahrir defters*, it is revealed that not all *yörüks* were a part of the military organization. The basic parameter in this analysis is whether *yörük* householders’ names in the *tahrir* registers bear such marginal notes as “*eşkünci*” and “*yamak*”. In a *yörük* group, some householders have such notes while others do not. The comparison of *yörük* numbers in *tahrir* registers and *yörük defters* thus suggests that the military organization did not include all *yörüks* as its members. Although their ratios varied regionally, it will be shown that they were not entirely military, which is what is generally assumed in literature. Additionally, such a comparison will show that there exists a kind of ambiguity in the *yörüks*’ numbers, leading to the assumption that certain *yörüks* invisible in the registers must have existed. As such, it is impossible to arrive at a definite number for these groups in the region in question.

Secondly, through an analysis of *yörük defters* in terms of settlement units, it will be shown that *yörük defters* do not reflect a demographic picture in a given *kazâ* in terms of *yörük* presence. In a *defter-i yörükân*, the organization is registered in *ocaks* consisting of *eşküncis* and *yamaks*, whose numbers varied over time. These *ocaks* are recorded under the division of *kazâs* and *nâhiyes*, probably for

administrative reasons. This fact gives the impression that the members of these *ocaks* registered under a certain *kazâ* were resident in these *kazâs*, and can therefore be assumed as dwellers in that *kazâ*. As additional data, it should be mentioned that on the margins of the names of its members are noted whether they were *eşküncis* or *yamaks*, the settlement unit they lived in, or the *cemaât* to which they belonged. Through such marginal notes will be determined the rate of the settlements or *cemaâts* which are registered within the same *kazâ*. The analysis of these data has revealed that the *yamaks* and *eşküncis* recorded within a district in a *yörük defteri* resided in various districts (*kazâs*). As such, their registration in a certain district did not mean that they were settled in that district. As a result, it can be deduced that these registers are not reliable sources for a demographic picture of the *yörüks* of a given region.

1.3. The Yörüks: A Review of the Literature

As a group, the *yörüks* have been handled within Ottoman historiography through various points of focus and approaches. While in some studies they have been fit into questions concerning the emergence of the Ottoman entity, some other studies have dealt with their crucial role in the state structure as both a social group and a military group. Although this evaluation of the literature will try to stick to the historical sequence due to the variety of focal points in studies on the *yörüks*, it will not review them through the eyes of periodization. Instead, these studies will be categorized according to their themes and manner of handling the *yörük* issue, covering *yörük* groups not only in Rumelia but also in Anatolia.

The crucial role of the *yörüks* within the structure of the Ottoman state can be traced back to that state's formative years as an emirate. In connection with this, the *yörüks* have been a sub-issue within the agenda of Ottomanists representing a wide range of dimensions and points of interest in this period. Studies on the Ottoman foundational problem situate these semi-nomadic elements within this process in a variety of different ways. One of the first studies on this question, H. A. Gibbons' work, mentions semi-nomadic groups as the actual constitution of the newcomers to Anatolia who later mixed with the existing population to form a new race called "Ottoman"¹⁰. On the other hand, Langer and Blake point out that "the first sultans had more than a mere horde of nomads to rely upon"¹¹ as the source of their military force. However, they criticize Gibbons for his overemphasis on nomadic groups in the foundational process. Köprülü's monography¹² responded to Gibbons by placing the semi-nomadic groups within the framework of the ethnicity of the Ottomans as Turkish. Because Gibbons claims that the ethnicity of the new state was not Turkish but rather a mixture, Köprülü's study is a kind of refutation of his argument. Especially in the chapters on the socio-economic conditions of thirteenth-century Anatolia¹³ and on the military and administrative organization of the frontier lifestyle,¹⁴ the fundamental position of the semi-nomadic groups is given emphasis. Paul Wittek's argument introduces the famous discussion of the

¹⁰ Herbert Adams Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire, a History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I (1300-1403)*, by Herbert Adams Gibbons (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1916).

¹¹ William L. Langer and Robert P. Blake, "The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and Its Historical Background," *The American Historical Review* 37, no. 3 (1932): 504.

¹² Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu*, 3rd ed. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 46-49.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 73-77.

holy war (*gazâ*) theory and includes semi-nomadic groups within his discussion of the nature of the *gazâ* and of the religious warriors called *gâzis*¹⁵. In Vryonis' study, an emphasis on the Byzantine decline is accompanied by a discussion of the flow of the Turkmens into Anatolia.¹⁶ In İnalcık, together with his discussion of the *gazâ* theory and its connection with the Turkmens and their leaders, the pivotal issue of the influx of the Turkmens into Anatolia and the subsequent waves of migration into the Bithynia region emerge as the fundamental points within a multi-dimensional analysis of the issue.¹⁷ The pressure of the migrating Turkmen population is shown to have played a crucial role in the foundation and subsequent period of Ottoman movement. Rudi Paul Lindner questions tribal identity within the framework of Wittek's *gazâ* theory, stressing the anthropological dimension of these Turkmen groups in the foundational process.¹⁸ He argues that the inclusive nature of tribes in the period in question shaped the nature of the Ottoman movement, in which semi-nomadic elements were among the most active. Kafadar's and Lowry's studies evaluate the existence of semi-nomadic groups exclusively within the framework of the *gazâ* theory. In Kafadar's study, it is possible to

¹⁵ Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (B. Franklin, 1971).

¹⁶ Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor: And the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (University of California Press, 1971).

¹⁷ Halil İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* II, (1980): 71-79.

¹⁸ Rudi Paul Lindner, "What Was a Nomadic Tribe?," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, no. 4 (1982); Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 1983). Especially the first chapter of his book deals specifically with this issue.

observe an emphasis on İnalçık's argument concerning the influx of the Turkmens as an influential factor in the foundation.¹⁹

The next step in both Ottoman history and Ottoman historiography in terms of the semi-nomadic elements present in the Ottoman state is the movement into the Balkans. The expansion of the Ottomans towards Thrace and the Balkans is articulated together with the deportation of many groups on European soil, in which semi-nomadic elements are included. The earliest reference to this process is from the fifteenth-century chronicle of Aşıkpaşazâde,²⁰ which concerns Orhan's reign, and this point is emphasized by the scholars studying it. Tayyib Gökbilgin's paper²¹ presented at the Third Congress of the Turkish Historical Society can be seen as the first research paper to deal directly with the role of the *yörüks* in the settlement and Turkification of Rumelia. He evaluates the process from the first conquests on European territory through to the sixteenth century. Gökbilgin also mentions the formation and features of *yörük* organization in detail, an issue which will be touched upon in the following parts of the literature review.

Ö. L. Barkan's series of articles on the deportation policy as a method of colonization and settlement in the Ottoman Empire proved to be among major studies on the issue²². Barkan explains that his study will focus on one of the basic

¹⁹ Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996)., Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (State University of New York Press, 2003).

²⁰ Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman'dan Aşıkpaşazâde Tarihi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-yi Âmire, 1914), 49.

²¹ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Rumeli'nin İskânında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler," in *III. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1943).

²² Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler [Part 1]," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 11, no. 524-69 (1949-50).; Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler [Part 2]," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13, (1952).; Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, "Osmanlı

reasons behind the success of the Ottoman enterprise; namely, the features of the demographic structure and the changes that occurred in it. According to Barkan, “the history of the empire’s formation is to some extent the history of the relocation of population groups and changes in their home, and thus the history of the establishment of new homelands in newly conquered lands.”²³ He states that

in this series of articles, the intention is to analyze how the ways of deportation were used in the settlement and Turkification of Rumelia and in the foundation of such major Turkish cities as Istanbul, as well as other cultural and trade centers, and to analyze the results of these research questions.²⁴

The second article in the series focuses broadly on the deportation of *yörüks* into Rumelia, featuring various cases of this from the fourteenth century onwards.²⁵ The third article begins with the evaluation of the deportation of another semi-nomadic group, the Tatars.²⁶

Appearing around the same date, Münir Aktepe’s article is another fundamental study on the issue of settlement in Rumelia²⁷. Like Barkan, Aktepe situates semi-nomadic elements within the context of the mass migration and settlement of Turkish groups.

İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler [Part 3], *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 14, no. 209-36 (1953-54).

²³ Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler [Part 1]," 544.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 545.

²⁵ Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler [Part 2]." 65-78.

²⁶ Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler [Part 3]," 209-213.

²⁷ M. Münir Aktepe, "XIV. ve XV. Asırlarda Rumeli'nin Türkler Tarafından İskânına Dair," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10, (1953).

Another study which emphasizes the role of semi-nomadic groups in the settlement process of the Ottoman Balkans is İnalçık's "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", which also appeared in the 1950s.²⁸ Together with his analysis of the Ottoman "method of gradual conquest" in the two distinct stages of "suzerainty" and "direct control"²⁹, İnalçık reveals the changes that occurred in the newly conquered lands through the examination of statistical surveys and other sources. Within this sphere, he considers "deportation and emigration as a tool of reorganization"³⁰ to be a crucial point and emphasizes the role of semi-nomadic elements within this process. Later studies related to the demographic aspect of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans mostly rely, to a greater or lesser extent, on these basic studies.

As another point of focus in the Ottoman historiography on *yörüks*, studies on the existing *yörük* population in the Balkans occupy a noteworthy position. Certain points and observations made in these studies and echoes of these in the historical writing of the following decades, especially concerning the military dimension of the *yörük* presence in the Ottoman Balkans, will be discussed in the following sections. However, it is important to mention them here, however briefly and broadly, so as to visualize the studies on this issue. It should be mentioned that, although some European studies from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries³¹ mention the existence of *yörüks* in various aspects, these are mainly

²⁸ Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 1954, no. 2 (1954).

²⁹ Ibid., 103.

³⁰ Ibid., 122.

³¹ Some of the early travelbooks and studies mentioned by Gökbilgin: William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (London: J. Rodwell, 1835).; Esprit Marie Cousinéry and Langlumé, *Voyage Dans La Macédoine : Contenant Des Recherches Sur L'histoire, La Géographie Et Les Antiquités De*

written as travelogues. Thus, their evaluations, though valuable to some extent, are written specifically according to these observations and from a rather narrow perspective. Moreover, these evaluations mainly revolve around the origins of the semi-nomadic population of the Balkans. For this reason, Ćiro Truhelka's article "Über die Balkan-Yürüken" can be considered the first study to focus on the Balkan *yörüks* within their historical context.³² Through the *kanunnâmes* issued for them, Truhelka outlines the *yörüks'* way of life and their mutual relationship with the Ottoman state.

Following Truhelka, Salâhaddin Ćetintürk describes the structure of the auxiliary forces composed of *yörüks* in Rumelia by means of introducing *yörük* registers for the first time³³ simultaneously with Gokbilgin³⁴. It should be added that recent studies tend to refer to Ćetintürk's article as the initial study on this topic.

Ce Pays (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1831).; Jovan Cvijic, *Grundlagen Der Geographie Und Geologie Von Mazedonien Und Altserbien Nebst Beobachtungen in Thrazien, Thessalien, Epirus Und Nordalbanien* (Gotha: 1908).; Konstantin Jireĉek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien: Seine Bodengestaltung, Natur, Bevölkerung, Wirtschaftliche Zustände, Geistige Cultur, Staatsverfassung, Staatsverwaltung Und Neueste Geschichte* (Leipzig: 1891).; P. Traeger, "Die Jürüken Und Koniaren in Makedonien," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 37, (1905).; Ernst Max Hoppe, "Die Yürüken," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnologie* 32, no. 3-4 (1934). (The original publication of this article is in English: Ernst Max Hoppe, "The Yuruks," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)* 65, (1933).); James Baker, Karl Emil Franzos, and Ármin Vámbéry, *Die Türken in Europa* (Stuttgart: Levy & Müller, 1879).

For a review of these studies, see M. Tayyib Gökbiĉin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtiĉân*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınlarından (İstanbul: Osman Yalĉın Matbaası, 1957), 1-13. Although it is on *yörüks* of Anatolia, Bent's anthropological study should also be mentioned among the early studies on *yörüks*: Theodore Bent, "The Yourouks of Asia Minor," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 20, (1891).

³² Ćiro Truhelka, "Über Die Balkan-Yürüken," *Revue Internationale des Études balkaniques* I, (1934-35). Here, the Turkish translation of it has been used, which is noted by Ahmed Temir, the translator, to be translated in 1936, though published much later: Ćiro Truhelka, "Balkan Yürükleri Hakkında," *Türk Kültürü Arařtırmaları* 30, no. 1-2 (1992).

³³ Salâhaddin Ćetintürk, "Osmanlı İmparatorluĉunda Yürük Sınıfı ve Hukuki Statüleri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coĉrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* II, no. 1 (1943).

³⁴ Gökbiĉin, "Rumeli'nin İřkânında ve Türkleřmesinde Yürükler."

M. Tayyib Gökbişgin's monograph "Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtiĥân"³⁵ can be considered the fundamental study on the *yörüks* in Rumelia. It seems that Gökbişgin drew the outline of this study in his paper³⁶ mentioned above, in which he summarizes the structure of the *yörük* military organization in Rumelia. Focusing mainly on the military structure consisting of *yörüks*, Gökbişgin shows the nature of *yörük* groups within the military organization. Although the main focus is on military structure, certain demographic and social features are also touched upon. The existence of a *yörük* population in various settlements in Rumelia is evaluated through the regulations issued for them. The group of Kocacık *yörüks* is treated as an example, and the regulations in one of their registers together with an index of personal and place names are provided. An evaluation of military organization is another dimension of this study. The changing structure of the organization, under the name of "Evlâd-ı Fâtiĥân", is outlined in the final part of the study. Transliterations of some documents on the "Evlâd-ı Fâtiĥân" are also included in the book. In terms of sources, the study provides lists of documents on Rumelian *yörüks*, among which are *yörük* registers, entries from central registers (*mühimmes*), and certain other documents containing information about *yörüks*. In sum, it can be said that the study provides an overarching evaluation of the *yörük* organization from its beginnings to its dissolution. The importance of this study lies in the fact that succeeding studies on *yörük* organization in Rumelia have closely followed the basic points made by Gökbişgin. Among these main points are the establishment of the organization, its structure and units, the position of the

³⁵ Gökbişgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtiĥân*.

³⁶ Gökbişgin, "Rumeli'nin İskânında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler."

organization within the whole *yörük* population in the region, and their mutuality. The validity of these points as presented in this study will be discussed in the following chapters, particularly in the chapter focusing on the military organization of *yörüks* and its extent.

The most apparent impact of Gökbilgin's monography can be observed in the studies published by Mehmet İnbaşı. İnbaşı's article "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri"³⁷, which was published in the *Osmanlı* series, does not offer any new dimensions, apart from some registers unused by Gökbilgin. It should be mentioned, however, that this article does give a more detailed picture of the Rumelian *yörüks'* military organization. The included lists and tables are of some importance and are rather beneficial for observing the distribution of military units throughout various districts from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. As a noteworthy detail, it should be noted that İnbaşı seems to have fallen into error in his evaluation of the *yörük* population due to his assumption that the *yörük* numbers given in *yörük* registers represented absolute numbers of *yörüks* in the regions in question. Another of İnbaşı's articles about the *yörüks* in Rumelia is his paper presented at a symposium.³⁸ This paper can be said to be more or less the same as his previous article. Like the article, it provides information about separate *yörük* groups under separate titles extracted from *yörük* registers. İnbaşı also has a book entitled *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544-1672)*³⁹, published in the same year as his paper. It was not possible to see and make use of the book during the course of the

³⁷ Mehmet İnbaşı, "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri," in *Osmanlı*, ed. G. Eren et al., Toplum (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999).

³⁸ Mehmet İnbaşı, "Rumeli Yörükleri," in *Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler*, ed. Tufan Gündüz (Tarsus: Yör-Türk Vakfı, 2000).

³⁹ Mehmet İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544-1672)* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000).

present study, as İnbaşı himself informed the present author that no copy of this book is extant either in draft or in final form. His suggestion was to consult his article “Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri”, as it is a kind of summary of the book. This leads one to assume that his monography, were it extant, would add little to the literature on the question of the *yörük* presence in Rumelia. İnbaşı has another published paper, entitled “XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bulgaristan’daki Yörük Yerleşmeleri”, which was presented at a symposium.⁴⁰ The points made above can be said to be valid for this article as well, due to the fact that this paper bears significant resemblance to İnbaşı’s other studies.

The impact of Gökbilgin is also visible in Altunan’s studies. Her unpublished dissertation, entitled “XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Rumeli Yürükleri ve Naldöken Yürük Grubu”⁴¹, follows Gökbilgin’s analysis of *yörük* groups. Structured in a similar way to İnbaşı’s work, Altunan’s study takes the Naldögen *yörük* group as her case study. The paper, published in the proceedings of a symposium, outlines the data and relevant information obtained as a result of her research for her dissertation.⁴² Another paper presented by Altunan handles the data of the *yörük* group of Tanrıdağı in a similar manner⁴³.

⁴⁰ Mehmet İnbaşı, "XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bulgaristan’daki Yörük Yerleşmeleri," in *Uluslararası Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu* (Eskişehir: Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2005).

⁴¹ Sema Altunan, “XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Rumeli Yürükleri ve Naldöken Yürük Grubu” (Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1999).

⁴² Sema Altunan, "XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar’da Naldöken Yürükleri: İdari Yapıları, Nüfusları, Askeri Görevleri ve Sosyal Statüleri," in *Balkanlar’da İslâm Medeniyeti Milletlerarası Sempozyumu*, ed. Ali Çaksu (Sofya: İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2000).

⁴³ Sema Altunan, "XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Rumeli’de Tanrıdağı Yürüklerinin Askeri Organizasyonu," in *Uluslararası Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu* (Eskişehir: Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2005).

Enver Şerifgil's article "Rumeli'de Eşkinici Yörükler" also needs to be mentioned within the context of studies on the military organization of the *yörüks*⁴⁴. Şerifgil begins by looking at the social organization and way of life of the *yörüks* together with their sedentarization and demographic movements. He proceeds to give examples and details about their organization according to the summary-type cadastral survey dated 1530 for the *yörük* group of Vize. The regulations issued for them are also included.

Apart from the studies above, which focus mainly on *yörük* military organization, Gyula Káldy-Nagy also deals briefly with the military aspect of the *yörüks* in Rumelia as an auxiliary troop within the Ottoman military organization in its early phases.⁴⁵

Halil İnalçık's article "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role"⁴⁶ is a very comprehensive study which essentially provides a detailed history of the *yörüks* and their role in the socio-economic history of the Ottoman world. Starting with a theoretical discussion of the meaning and root of the word *yörük* and its differentiation from the term "Turkmen", the study then concentrates on the influx of semi-nomadic groups into Anatolia and their role in demographic composition. Touching upon the *yörüks'* position in the Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia, İnalçık gives information about the numbers of both those with a military

⁴⁴ Enver Şerifgil, "Rumeli'de Eşkinici Yürükler," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi* 12, no. 2 (1981).

⁴⁵ Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "The First Centuries of the Ottoman Military Organization," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31, no. 2 (1977).

⁴⁶ The first publication: Halil İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role," in *Oriental Carpet & Textile Studies Ii*, ed. Walter B. Denny Robert Pinner (London: 1986). It is reprinted in a collection of İnalçık's articles: Halil İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role," in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Rule*, ed. Halil İnalçık (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993). The latter is used in this study.

association and those without. Tribal structure is another dimension dealt with in the study, followed by their economic activities and variations in them together with their influence, focusing particularly on carpet and *kilim* production. Thus, covering various themes and issues related to the semi-nomadic population of Anatolia and the Balkans both before and after the Ottoman state, the article presents a broad view of the *yörüks*. It should also be mentioned that, although a number of studies also touch upon the roots of the terms “*yörük*” and “Turkmen” and related theoretical issues, they are all more or less shaped according to İnalçık’s framework.

The theoretical dimension of the *yörüks* and their ways of life are also discussed as a separate issue in certain other works. One of these is İsenbike Arıcanlı’s study entitled “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yörük ve Aşiret Ayrımı”.⁴⁷ As the title suggests, Arıcanlı focuses on the distinction between the terms *yörük* and *aşiret* in terms of Ottoman usage. The reasons behind such a differentiation in the ways of life and the relationship with the state of the nomadic/semi-nomadic groups are handled according to the different phases that they experienced. She stresses in the article that such a perception of differentiation was not peculiar to the Ottomans, but valid for the early stages of Mongolian history as well.

Şeydan Büyükcan Sayılır is another researcher who has written on the theoretical dimension of nomadic/semi-nomadic groups. In her very recent article “Göçebelik, Konar-Göçerlik Meselesi ve Coğrafi Bakımdan Konar-Göçerlerin

⁴⁷ İsenbike Arıcanlı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yörük ve Aşiret Ayrımı," *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi* 7, (1979).

Farklılaşması”,⁴⁸ Sayılır emphasizes the importance of geography in the economy of non-sedentary groups and in the shaping of their cultures. Touching upon the evolution of nomadism in historiography and anthropology, Sayılır speculates about the terms “nomad” and “nomadism” together with the terms in the Ottoman and Turkish usage, the variety of these terms, and the differences between them. Following this, she deals with the differentiation of nomadic groups in terms of geography, concluding that a cultural difference emerges as a result of the geography and of economic varieties in connection with geographical differences.

Encyclopedia entries also make up some of the literature on the *yörüks*. Barbara Kellner’s “Yörük” article in Brill’s *Encyclopedia of Islam*⁴⁹ and Vahit Çubuk’s “Yörükler” article in the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* edited by Turkish Ministry of National Education⁵⁰ can be counted among these. The military organization of *yörüks* as described by Çubuk is a kind of summary of Gökbilgin. İnalçık’s “Rumeli” article in *El²* is noteworthy in that it situates the movement of the semi-nomadic population within the context of the general demographic flow during the Ottoman expansion into the Balkans.⁵¹ Apart from these, there are also three articles published in the section on Ottoman society in the *Osmanlı* encyclopedia. The first of these is İlhan Şahin’s “Göçebeler”.⁵² Şahin evaluates all the groups which can be categorized under the concept of *göçebe*; that is, “nomad”. Their ways of life together with their

⁴⁸ Şeyda Büyükcan Sayılır, “Göçebelik, Konar-Göçerlik Meselesi ve Coğrafî Bakımdan Konar-Göçerlerin Farklılaşması,” *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi* 12, no. 1 (2012).

⁴⁹ Barbara Kellner, “Yörük,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd Edition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill).

⁵⁰ Vahid Çubuk, “Yörükler,” in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1986).

⁵¹ İnalçık, “Rumeli.”

⁵² İlhan Şahin, “Göçebeler,” in *Osmanlı*, ed. G. Eren et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999).

interaction with the state and the regulations issued concerning form much of the article, and information regarding their social and administrative structures as well as their economic activities are provided as well. Also touched upon are the definitions of the terms *yörük* and “Turkmen” and their differences. The second article is Latif Armağan’s “Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçerler”.⁵³ Armağan evaluates similar issues to those looked at in Şahin’s study. The third encyclopedia article is İnbaşı’s “Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri”⁵⁴. Since this has already been discussed earlier in this section, it is enough here to simply mention its title.

Studies based on the publication of archival materials constitute another branch of studies on semi-nomadic groups. Among these, Ahmet Refik’s collection of entries in the central registry (*mühimmes*) should be mentioned.⁵⁵ The first edition appeared as early as 1930. Although it is entitled *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri*, it covers entries about *yörüks* not only in Anatolia but also in the Balkans. Since it is an early compilation, it does not involve all the entries about *yörüks* from the *mühimme* registers. Kamil Su and İbrahim Gökçen published archival documents, specifically court records, on specific regions. Su’s compilation *Balıkesir ve Civarında Yürük ve Türkmenler*⁵⁶ includes court records regarding *yörüks* from the region of Balıkesir in northwestern Anatolia. Gökçen’s study *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine Göre*

⁵³ A. Latif Armağan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçerler," in *Osmanlı*, ed. G. Eren et al., Toplum (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999).

⁵⁴ İnbaşı, "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri."

⁵⁵ Refik.

⁵⁶ Kâmil Su, *Balıkesir ve Civarında Yürük ve Türkmenler* (İstanbul: Resimli Ay Matbaası, 1938).

*Saruhan'da Yürük ve Türkmenler*⁵⁷ includes court records from the Saruhan district in western Anatolia. Hikmet Şölen's *Aydın İli ve Yörükler*⁵⁸ is another study on the *yörüks* of western Anatolia and official records relating to them.

Although they cannot be considered among archival publications dealing specifically with *yörüks*, Barkan's⁵⁹ and Akgündüz's⁶⁰ *kanunnâme* compilations also deserve mention for their inclusion of *yörük* regulations.

It should be added that there are some studies which are not exactly document publications but are based upon documentary content related to Anatolian *yörüks* and Turkmens. Orhan Sakin's *Anadolu'da Yörükler ve Türkmenler*⁶¹, another edition of which came out later under the title *16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Arşiv Kayıtlarına Göre Anadolu'da Türkmenler ve Yörükler (Boylar-Kabileler-Cemaatler)*⁶², Cevdet Türkay's *Başbakanlık Arşivi Belgeleri'ne Göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatler*⁶³, and Yusuf Halaçoğlu's *Anadolu'da Aşiretler, Cemaatler, Oymaklar (1453-1650)*⁶⁴ can be mentioned among these kinds of studies. As their titles suggest, these studies provide – though to differing extents – inventories of semi-nomadic groups in Anatolia primarily through the Ottoman fiscal registers;

⁵⁷ İbrahim Gökçen, *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine Göre Saruhan'da Yürük ve Türkmenler* (İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi, 1946).

⁵⁸ Hikmet Şölen, *Aydın İli ve Yörükler* (Aydın: CHP. Basımevi, 1945).

⁵⁹ Barkan, *XV Ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukuki Ve Mali Esasları: 1. Kanunlar*.

⁶⁰ Akgündüz.

⁶¹ Orhan Sakin, *Anadolu'da Türkmenler ve Yörükler* (İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları, 2006).

⁶² Orhan Sakin, *16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Arşiv Kayıtlarına Göre Anadolu'da Türkmenler ve Yörükler (Boylar-Kabileler- Cemaatler)* (İstanbul: Ekim Yayınları, 2010).

⁶³ Cevdet Türkay, *Başbakanlık Arşivi Belgeleri'ne Göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatler* (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1979).

⁶⁴ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Anadolu'da Aşiretler, Cemaatler, Oymaklar (1453-1650)*, 6 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009).

that is, the *tahrir defters*. The names of tribes and their tribal connections are provided together with their places of concentration and settlement. Thus, these studies present a kind of index of the *yörük*/Turkmen tribes, and for this reason can be considered archival studies.

As a general study on the mobile demographic elements of the Ottoman state, Reşat Kasaba's study needs to be emphasized. *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants and Refugees*⁶⁵ focuses on various dimensions of mobile elements, from the foundation of the Ottoman entity through to the creation of the Turkish Republic. The study essentially evaluates the nature of the interaction and relationship between the state and mobile elements as well as the changes that occurred in these areas over time. Although Kasaba handles around eight centuries of Ottoman history, the period when close and good relationships between the state and the tribes were the norm is treated only briefly. The main concentration is the time period beginning with the settlement policy put into effect at the end of the seventeenth century. As the title of the study suggests, the book includes mobile elements such as refugees and migrants as well as those who became mobile as a result of long-lasting wars and their aftermath. Thus, the study presents a history of people on the move in the Ottoman state together with their changing relations with the state.

Some basic studies on the *yörük*/Turkmen population in Anatolia should also be mentioned so as to give a complete picture of the literature. Faruk Sümer has a number of articles on specific semi-nomadic groups. However, his article "XVI.

⁶⁵ Reşat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants and Refugees* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 2009).

Asırda Anadolu, Suriye ve Irak'da Yaşayan Türk Aşiretlerine Umumî Bir Bakış"⁶⁶ only provides a general view of the tribes in the Ottoman lands apart from the Balkans. Also, his monography *Oğuzlar, Türkmenler: Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilâtı, Destanları*⁶⁷ is another fundamental study of his on semi-nomadic groups, though its scope is wider than the article in question, dealing primarily with the origin of the Oğuz Turkmens and their role in the establishment of Seljukid entity, with the main topics of the study being their tribal structure during and after the Seljukid period together with their traditional epics.

Among the basic studies on Anatolian semi-nomadic groups should be considered İlhan Şahin's *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler*⁶⁸. As a collection of articles both unpublished and published and in both Turkish and English, Şahin's book looks at various aspects of semi-nomadic life in the Ottoman Empire, focusing mainly on Anatolia. The collection is structured in three parts, each with a different topic. The first part consists of articles on the sources of Ottoman semi-nomads and a review of the literature. The second part is made up of articles on various *yörük* groups in Ottoman Anatolia and Mesopotamia and their social and governmental organizations. The last part considers examples of the *yörüks'* sedentarization process and its results.

Şahin also has a monography, prepared jointly with Hikari Egawa, on a specific *yörük* group and their way of life. Entitled *Bir Yörük Grubu ve Hayat Tarzı:*

⁶⁶ Faruk Sümer, "XVI. Asırda Anadolu, Suriye ve Irak'ta Yaşayan Türk Aşiretlerine Umumi Bir Bakış," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* VI, no. 1-4 (1952).

⁶⁷ Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar, Türkmenler: Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilâtı, Destanları* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1967).

⁶⁸ İlhan Şahin, ed. *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler: İncelemeler - Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Eren, 2006).

*Yağcı Bedir Yörükleri*⁶⁹, the study follows the way of life of the Yağcı Bedir *yörüks* in historical sequence, from their first appearance in the sources to their sedentarization in parallel with the Ottoman settlement policy. As sources, the authors made use not only of written documents, but also field studies and oral history. The social and economic structure of the *yörüks* in question, as well as their places and processes of movement, are considered within their historical context.

Another noteworthy study on Anatolian semi-nomadic groups is Tufan Gündüz's monography *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri, Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640*⁷⁰, concerning Turkmens with special reference to the Bozulus tribal confederation. Based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation research, the study handles the Bozulus Turkmens in terms of their way of life and related issues, together with their relationship with the state. Moreover, the tribes constituting the Bozulus group are also individually evaluated.

Tufan Gündüz's collection of articles entitled *Bozkırın Efendileri: Türkmenler Üzerine Makaleler*⁷¹ is an important study of Anatolian semi-nomadic groups. The twelve articles in it focus on various subjects. The structure of the work is similar to Şahin's collection in that Gündüz categorizes the content into three sections. Firstly, the concept of Turkmen is discussed in its historical context together with its roots and early phases before the Ottomans. Then, the socio-economic conditions of certain Turkmen groups, such as the Bozulus and Dulkadirli, are analyzed. In addition, the regulations issued regarding Turkmens and their position

⁶⁹ İlhan Şahin and Hikari Egawa, *Bir Yörük Grubu ve Hayat Tarzı: Yağcı Bedir Yörükleri* (İstanbul: Eren, 2007).

⁷⁰ Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri, Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540-1640* (Ankara: Bilge Yayınevi, 1997).

⁷¹ Tufan Gündüz, ed. *Bozkırın Efendileri: Türkmenler Üzerine Makaleler* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2012).

in the economy of the Ottoman state form the topics of two other articles. The rest of the edition focuses mainly on the sedentarization process and the settlements which emerged on Turkmen agricultural lands.

Another work by Tufan Gündüz is a publication of symposium proceedings on the *yörüks* and Turkmens of Anatolia, entitled *Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler Sempozyumu*⁷². Despite the fact that the collection's title includes the Rumelian region, it includes only one paper on Rumelian *yörüks*, and this is İnbaşı's aforementioned article⁷³. Therefore, it would be fair to see the volume as primarily a collection of studies concerning Anatolian and Mesopotamian lands. The collection mainly includes articles on various groups of Turkmens in various regions, with the focal points of the studies being the Ulu Yörük, Varsak, Bozulus, Atçeken, and Yeni-İl Turkmen groups and the Turkmens in the regions of Bozdoğan, Tripoli, Damascus, Hama, Humus, the Black Sea region, western Anatolia, Bozok, and Aleppo. Other issues treated in the collection are the arrival of Turkmens into Anatolia, the question of residence among semi-nomads, and the settlement policy of the nineteenth century.

Although it has been touched upon above concerning the connection between the foundational problem and semi-nomadic groups, Rudi Paul Lindner's study *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*⁷⁴ deserves mention here once more insofar as the scope of Lindner's study is not limited to the foundational problem: an important portion of it focuses on the Atçeken *yörük* group and their

⁷² Tufan Gündüz, ed. *Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler Sempozyumu Bildirileri: Tarsus, 14 Mayıs 2000* (Ankara: Yör-türk Vakfı, 2000).

⁷³ İnbaşı, "Rumeli Yörükleri."

⁷⁴ Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*.

relationship with the state. The basic points of argumentation in Lindner's study are the administrative regulations issued for the semi-nomadic groups in Anatolia in parallel with the Ottomans' policy of controlling these groups, together with the resulting conflicts between the two sides.⁷⁵ Concerning the Atçeken tribe, Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr's study is also noteworthy.⁷⁶ Evaluating the economic situation of the Atçekens and the economy-related relationship between the state and the tribe, Beldiceanu-Steinherr's long essay provides a detailed picture of the tribe. H. Basri Karadeniz's Ph.D. dissertation must also be mentioned in connection with the Atçekens.⁷⁷

The settlement policy applied to the semi-nomadic groups in Anatolia is dealt with in two fundamental studies on this question. Cengiz Orhonlu's *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretleri İskân Teşebbüsü: 1691-1696* covers the attempt at sedentarization at the end of the seventeenth century,⁷⁸ while Yusuf Halaçoğlu's monography *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* deals with the sedentarization process in the eighteenth century.⁷⁹

There are also certain individual historical studies on specific *yörük*/Turkmen groups in various regions. Although a fair amount of these studies

⁷⁵ İnalçık refutes Lindner's arguments on the intentional financial pressure on the pastoralists to force them to settle. He claims that Lindner's argumentation is a result of misinterpretation of the *çift-hâne* system. According to the system, *yörüks* were subjected to only *bennâk* or *kara* which were taxes based on potential work power, not on land possession: İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role," 112-113.

⁷⁶ 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).

⁷⁷ Hasan Basri Karadeniz, "Atçeken Oymakları (1500-1642)" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1995).

⁷⁸ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretleri İskân Teşebbüsü: 1691-1696* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1963).

⁷⁹ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988).

contribute little to the literature, it should be emphasized that others are quite valuable. Ronald C. Jennings's article "Sakaltutan Four Centuries Ago" is a good example of a microstudy of *yörüks*.⁸⁰ Jennings follows the historical foundation and development of the village of Sakaltutan, near Kayseri in central Anatolia, through the lens of the village's connection with the *yörük* group of Sakaltutan. By means of the example of this *yörük* group and the village they founded, he provides a glimpse of the sedentarization process as it was experienced in this region.

The sedentarization process in the Kayseri region is also the focus of Usta and Özel's joint paper, "Sedentarization of the Turcomans in 16th century Cappadocia: Kayseri, 1480-1584".⁸¹ Basing their research on the Turkmen population, they make use of fiscal sources covering around a century, from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, in order to follow the process of sedentarization. The nature of the process and its outcomes in terms of settlement pattern are the two basic questions discussed in the study.

Rhoads Murphey's article deserves mention as another good example of an analytical study on the nomadic elements of the Ottoman Empire. Entitled "Some Features of Nomadism in the Ottoman Empire: A Survey Based on Tribal Census and Judicial Appeal Documentation from Archives in Istanbul and Damascus",⁸² the

⁸⁰ Ronald C. Jennings, "Sakaltutan Four Centuries Ago," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9, (1978).

⁸¹ Onur Usta and Oktay Özel, "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; Ölmez Balta, Mehmet, *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* (İstanbul: Eren, 2011).

⁸² 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," in *Turks, Hungarians and Kipchaks. A Festschrift in Honour of Tibor Halasi-Kun*, ed. P. Oberling (MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

article focuses on the pastoral economy of Aleppo province through local and central sources from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century.

Fikret Yılmaz's "Karaca Koyunlu Yörükleri Kanunu" is a publication of a regulation concerning the western Anatolian *yörük* group of Karaca Koyunlu, which is also called Bayramlı Karaca Koyunlusu, together with an evaluation of the regulation and some notes on the nature of the source.⁸³

Sadullah Gülten's article is also on the Karaca Koyunlu *yörük* group, though without any specific focus. Published under the title "Batı Anadolu'da Bir Yörük Grubu: XVI. Yüzyılda Karaca Koyunlular", the article provides a descriptive picture of the group through data obtained from fiscal sources.⁸⁴ In another article, "XVI. Yüzyılda Söğüt Yörükleri",⁸⁵ Gülten follows a similar structure. Focusing this time on the *yörük* group of Söğüt, he mentions the presence of the group in various regions. However, this article of Gülten's also does not go beyond transmitting the data found in the fiscal sources used. At this point, Gülten's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation should also be mentioned.⁸⁶ Entitled "XVI. Yüzyılda Batı Anadolu'da Yörükler", the research handles the social and economic structures of the *yörüks* in western Anatolia in the sixteenth century, making use of the *tahrir* registers as its basic sources. Some of the issues touched upon in the dissertation are the changes

⁸³ Fikret Yılmaz, "Karaca Koyunlu Yörükleri Kanunu," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. 9 (1994).

⁸⁴ Sadullah Gülten, "Batı Anadolu'da Bir Yörük Grubu: XVI. Yüzyılda Karaca Koyunlular," *Balıkesir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12, no. 22 (2009).

⁸⁵ Sadullah Gülten, "XVI. Yüzyılda Söğüt Yörükleri," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi*, no. 50 (2009).

⁸⁶ Sadullah Gülten, "XVI. Yüzyılda Batı Anadolu'da Yörükler" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, 2008).

in these *yörüks*' way of life and population, together with certain factual details about specific clans in western Anatolia.

Another unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on specific *yörük* groups is Serkan Sarı's study entitled "XV.-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Menteşe, Hamid, Teke Sancağı Yörükleri".⁸⁷ Sarı makes a division among *yörük* groups according to three districts in which they reside. Giving information on each specific group, Sarı proceeds to describe their social and economic structure and the changes that occurred over time according to related fiscal registers.

The *yörük* groups in the Menteşe region also form the subject of Behset Karaca's article "1522-1532 Tarihlerinde Menteşe Bölgesi Yörükleri",⁸⁸ which examines the tribes and clans in the region. The particular characteristics of the semi-nomadic groups in the region in question are given in detail. Like the studies above, the article follows no specific argumentation, assuming it to be sufficient to simply transmit the data of the fiscal registers and the decisions of the central administration in connection with the aforementioned *yörük* group.

The *yörüks* of the district of Teke are also examined by A. Latif Armağan, but with special emphasis on their demographic features. In his article "XVI. Yüzyılda Teke Sancağı'ndaki Konar-Göçerlerin Demografik Durumu Üzerine Bir Araştırma",⁸⁹ the various *yörük* groups in the region are treated individually. Changes in their population and their impact on the toponymy of the region are the

⁸⁷ Serkan Sarı, "XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Menteşe, Hamid ve Teke Sancağı Yörükleri" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, 2008).

⁸⁸ Behset Karaca, "1522-1532 Tarihlerinde Menteşe Bölgesi Yörükleri," *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 18, no. 2 (2008).

⁸⁹ A. Latif Armağan, "XVI. Yüzyılda Teke Sancağı'ndaki Konar-Göçerlerin Demografik Durumu Üzerine Bir Araştırma," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 19, no. 30 (1997).

other points receiving emphasis. Also provided is information concerning their taxation and its distribution as found in the relevant fiscal registers.

Another article on specific *yörük* groups is Yağmur Say's "Karakeçili Aşireti ve Eskişehir'e İskanı ile Kuyucak Karyesi'ndeki Özbekli Cema'ati",⁹⁰ which tracks changes in residence of the Karakeçili tribe in various regions of Anatolia. Trying to prove that the Karakeçili tribe is not a Kurdish but a Turkish tribe, Say proceeds to take the Özbekli clan residing in the village of Kuyucak in Eskişehir as her case study. It must be pointed out that this study's argument shows traces of ahistoricism and anachronism. An analysis of the Karakeçili tribes is also made by Üçler Bulduk. In his article entitled "İdari ve Sosyal Açından Karakeçili Aşiretleri ve Yerleşmeleri",⁹¹ Bulduk provides information concerning the places of concentration of the tribes in question. This article's approach is similar to Say's.

Emine Erdoğan's study of the *yörüks* of Ankara focuses on another district of central Anatolia. "Ankara Yörükleri (1463, 1523/30 ve 1571 Tahrirlerine Göre)"⁹² examines social and demographic features together with the geographical distribution of the *yörüks* of the Ankara region and the changes that occurred in these parameters over time. As its title suggests, the main source of the article is the fiscal registers of the region in question.

⁹⁰ Yağmur Say, "Karakeçili Aşireti ve Eskişehir'e İskanı ile Kuyucak Karyesi'ndeki Özbekli Cema'ati," *Turkish Studies* 4, no. 3 (2009).

⁹¹ Üçler Bulduk, "İdari ve Sosyal Açından Karakeçili Aşiretleri ve Yerleşimleri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 19, no. 30 (1997).

⁹² Emine Erdoğan, "Ankara Yörükleri (1463, 1523/30 Ve 1571 Tahrirlerine Göre)," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 18, (2005).

The semi-nomadic groups of the Hüdavendigâr district are dealt with in Ömer Düzbakar's article "Hüdavendigâr Sahasında Konar-Göçerler"⁹³. Although the article purports to focus on the aforementioned region, it basically gives a general evaluation of semi-nomadic groups and their social-economic structures. Starting with the origin and meaning of the word *yörük*, it continues on to the regions of *yörük* residence, the regulations issued for their fiscal and other obligations, and the state practices applied to *yörüks*. As a result of this variety, what is ultimately provided is a mixture of many issues related to the *yörüks* yet without any specific topic as a particular focus.

Metin Akis, in his article "Tahrir Defterlerine göre 16. Yüzyılda Kilis Sancağındaki Aşiretlerin İdareleri, Nüfusları ve Yaşam Tarzları",⁹⁴ examines the tribes of the Kilis region according to sixteenth-century fiscal registers. This study provides demographic information about individual tribes and clans in the region together with some general remarks about semi-nomadic groups in the Ottoman state.

İbrahim Solak's article "XVI. Yüzyılda Maraş ve çevresinde Dulkadirli Türkmenleri"⁹⁵ is another example of a case study on semi-nomadic groups. Structured in a way similar way to the previous study, this article examines the Turkmens of the region of Maraş and its surrounding area.

⁹³ Ömer Düzbakar, "Hüdavendigâr Sahasında Konar-Göçerler," *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Ebediyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* IV, no. 4 (2003).

⁹⁴ Metin Akis, "Tahrir Defterlerine Göre 16.Yüzyılda Kilis Sancağındaki Aşiretlerin İdareleri, Nüfusları ve Yaşam Tarzları," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 22, no. 35 (2003).

⁹⁵ İbrahim Solak, "XVI. Yüzyılda Maraş ve Çevresinde Dulkadirli Türkmenleri," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 12 (2002).

The *yörük* group of Bozdoğan and its clans in the eighteenth century are outlined by Alpaslan Demir. In his article entitled "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bozdoğan Cemaatlerinin Demografik ve Ekonomik Durumu üzerine bir Araştırma (1722 Tarihli TK.KKA.TD 130'a göre)",⁹⁶ the economic activities and demographic features of this group are treated according to a fiscal register dated 1722.

Another article by Alpaslan Demir deals with the same group of *yörüks*, but this time in the sixteenth century. Published as part of a collection of articles, the study is entitled "16. Yüzyılda Bozdoğan Teşekküllerinin Nüfus ve İktisadi Yapısı (İçel ve Çevresi)"⁹⁷ and focuses mainly on economic aspects, offering a picture similar to that seen in the previously mentioned study.

The collection which includes Demir's article should also be mentioned in its own right. *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler*⁹⁸ was jointly edited by Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal. As the title suggests, the collection has a number of articles on the *yörüks*, some of which are sociological in nature and some of which are historical. The historical studies in the collection, apart from Demir's, focus on a variety of subjects: the Oghuz tribes and their emigration from the tenth to the twelfth centuries,⁹⁹ the economic life of Ankara *yörüks* in the sixteenth century,¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Alpaslan Demir, "18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bozdoğan Cemaatlerinin Demografik ve Ekonomik Durumu Üzerine Bir Araştırma (1722 Tarihli TK.KKA.TD 130'a Göre)," *OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi)*, no. 15 (2004).

⁹⁷ Alpaslan Demir, "16. Yüzyılda Bozdoğan Teşekküllerinin Nüfus ve İktisadi Yapısı (İçel ve Çevresi)," in *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler*, ed. Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007).

⁹⁸ Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal, *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007).

⁹⁹ Ömer Soner Hunkan, "X-XII. Yüzyıllarda Mâverâünnehr'de Oğuzlar ve Batıya Göçleri," in *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi Ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler*, ed. Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007).

the deportation of *yörüks* from southern Anatolia to Cyprus,¹⁰¹ the *yörüks* in history,¹⁰² and a historical survey of the Avşar tribe.¹⁰³

Studies of the *yörüks* and Turkmens of Anatolia and the Balkans are not limited to these historical ones. There are a number of studies from other disciplines, specifically from sociology and anthropology, on the *yörüks*, with a variety of different focal points. Although the aim of this part of the research is not to cover all of the studies found in other disciplines,¹⁰⁴ it would be beneficial to mention some of the more fundamental ones that emphasize the way of life of these semi-nomadic groups. The fact that *yörüks*' and Turkmens' ways of life and their examination through the lenses of sociology, anthropology, and related disciplines can shed light upon their historical backgrounds in terms of their continuity in various aspects makes it necessary to provide a general survey of the literature from these disciplines.

Among these, a case study on the ancient Pamphylia and Pisidia regions of southern Anatolia by Xavier de Planhol holds a significant place. In his study *De la*

¹⁰⁰ Emine Erdoğan, "XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara Yörüklerinin İktisadi Hayatı," in *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler*, ed. Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007).

¹⁰¹ İbrahim Erdal, "Anamur'da Yerleşik Yörük Türkmen Aşiretleri ve Kıbrıs'a İskânları Konusu," in *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi Ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler*, ed. Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007).

¹⁰² M. Said Doğan, "Tarihsel Gelişim Sürecinde Yörükler," in *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler*, ed. Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007).

¹⁰³ Qiyas Şükürov, "Geçmişten Günümüze Avşarlar," in *Anadolu'da Yörükler: Tarihi ve Sosyolojik İncelemeler*, ed. Hayati Beşirli and İbrahim Erdal (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2007).

¹⁰⁴ For a review of anthropological, sociological and folklore studies on the *yörüks* and Turcomans with a wider perspective see, İlhan Şahin, "Review of the Recent Studies on the Nomads (Yörüks) in the Ottoman Empire," in *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler : İncelemeler - Araştırmalar*, ed. İlhan Şahin (İstanbul: Eren, 2006), 38-40. It should be mentioned that Şahin's review covers historical studies on these groups, both archival and researches. In this literature review, Şahin's study is used as a guidance.

Plaine Pamphylie aux Lacs Pisidiens, Nomadisme et Vie Paysanne,¹⁰⁵ de Planhol examines the region in question from its historical roots to the present day by looking at both nomadic/semi-nomadic life and settled rural life together as well as at their interaction. In this way, he was able to trace the transformations that occurred in the life of the region without excluding the material bases of its ways of life.

Ali Rıza Yalman [Yalgın]'s five-volume study is another significant study in this field. In these books, published under the title *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları*,¹⁰⁶

he gives valuable information on social organization, dwelling-tent and house, tent-type, lifestyle, folk songs, narrative, objects, animal species, carpet motif, food production, dietary system, and customs of the nomads called as Beydilli and Elbeyli [*sic*]. In the meantime, we find the similar information in these works about the nomads living in the mountains of Bulgar, Kozan, Binboğa, and Nurhak [*sic*]. Apart from this information, these books are extremely important sources for oral history, which were directly recorded by Yalgın from these populations.¹⁰⁷

Kemal Güngör's *Cenubî Anadolu Yörüklerinin Etno-Antropolojik Tetkiki*¹⁰⁸ should also be mentioned among the studies from other disciplines. "Güngör's study is based on his research in the Anatolian regions of Niğde, Adana, Mersin, and Denizli. He deals with on the culture, music, folklore, lifestyle, and tradition of the nomads [*sic*]."¹⁰⁹ Şahin mentions that the study also covers information about ethnic dimensions in parallel with the eugenics debates of the 1940s.

¹⁰⁵ Xavier de Planhol, *De La Plaine Pamphylie Aux Lacs Pisidiens, Nomadisme Et Vie Paysanne* (Paris: Dépositaire Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958).

¹⁰⁶ Ali Rıza Yalman [Yalgın], *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları*, 5 vols. (İstanbul-Ankara-Adana: 1931-1939).

¹⁰⁷ Şahin, "Review of the Recent Studies on the Nomads (Yörüks) in the Ottoman Empire," 38.

¹⁰⁸ Kemal Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yörüklerinin Etno-Antropolojik Tetkiki* (Ankara: İdeal Basımevi, 1941).

¹⁰⁹ Şahin, "Review of the Recent Studies on the Nomads (Yörüks) in the Ottoman Empire," 38.

Daniel Bates' work *Nomads and Farmers: A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey*¹¹⁰ can be considered a significant anthropological study on the issue. Basing his research on the mutual interaction of sedentary life and nomadic life, Bates investigates the nature of this relationship. Throughout the work, economic aspects are emphasized through study of the data obtained. Ultimately, Bates come to the conclusion that the *yörüks* of southeastern Turkey during his research period – clearly just before the 1970s – have the characteristic of an economic unit as a social organization, with great concern for pasture lands for their survival in a sedentary world. In this way, Bates defines their attitude as an “adaptive response” to the state and other communities of the society around them and builds his monography in parallel with this concept.

Mehmet Eröz's study *Yörükler*¹¹¹ also deserves mention as an important sociological work. Although Şahin's review emphasizes the usage of historical sources in this study,¹¹² it would be more enlightening to point out the varied sociological observations made throughout the study. Şahin explains the organization of the work in this way:

After demonstrating the ethnic origin and religious ties between the nomads in Anatolia and Central Asia, most of whom migrated into Anatolia; he looks at language, social structure, and family institutions. At the same time, Eröz points out the characteristics of nomadic economy and, as a sociologist, he gives information concerning the settlement of the nomads.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Daniel G. Bates, *Nomads and Farmers: A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1973).

¹¹¹ Mehmet Eröz, *Yörükler* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1991).

¹¹² Şahin, "Review of the Recent Studies on the Nomads (Yörüks) in the Ottoman Empire," 39.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

Although its nationalist perspective can be criticized, Mehmet Eröz's monography is worth mentioning as a unique sociological study focusing on *yörüks* on a large scale.

CHAPTER II

YÖRÜKS AS A SOCIAL GROUP

2.1. Theoretical Dimensions of the Issue

There is no doubt that treating the *yörüks* in the Ottoman Balkans as a social group will make evaluation of them more sound. As elements under the state, *yörüks* were placed within a fiscal and administrative framework in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources – namely in codes of law (*kanunnâmes*) and fiscal surveys (*tahrir defterleri*) – in parallel with their concerns. Despite the fact that *yörüks* can be observed directly through these sources, they do not reflect the *yörüks*' position as a social group. Because these sources were compiled for fiscal and administrative purposes, the picture seen through them is a distorted image specifically shaped by these *defters* and regulations. This question of sources and what they actually reflect is an issue of which Ottoman historiography is well aware and on which it puts emphasis. However, it still cannot be said that this issue is reflected in the relevant studies as much as it should be. The fact that the topic of the present study is handled here as a social phenomenon takes this issue beyond the question of sources and their interpretation. In other words, considering the *yörüks* as a social group makes the issue of their interpretation through fiscal and administrative

sources even more complicated. In this regard, the necessity of reading between the lines of the sources reveals itself rather strikingly. There is no doubt that such a perspective can paint a picture which is closer to reality concerning the structure of social groups of this kind; in the present case, concerning the *yörüks*.

In parallel with this, to question the position of the *yörüks* within the concept of a nomadic way of living can help us to understand the features of this social group and to interpret them accordingly. It is certain that the *yörüks*' way of life is connected with the nomadic way of life. A clear indication of this is the fact that the root of the term *yörük* lies in the verb *yürümek* (*yörümek* in its old form), meaning "to walk" in Turkish.¹¹⁴ Apart from this, many formal and informal historical sources openly express the connection between *yörüks* and nomadism. Leaving aside this fact, one of the basic questions about the *yörüks*' ways of life is the question of what kind of nomadism they practice. Attention needs to be drawn to the characteristic features of their variety of nomadism, and distinctions should be made within this scope. In this way, variations in the *yörüks*' ways of life will come to light.

In this context, to draw a theoretical framework of nomadism and the related concepts of pastoralism and transhumance will enable researchers on this issue to

¹¹⁴ İnalçık presents a survey on this issue, by referring to Faruk Sümer's point on the issue and agreeing with him, he exhibits through the examples from 15th-16th century Ottoman chronicles that the root of the term *yörük* is the verb *yürü-*, in a similar way with the terms of *kazak* (who runs away) from the root *kaz-/kaç-* and *göçer* (who migrates) from the root *göç-*; İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role," 101-103; Sümer, "Xvi. Asırda Anadolu, Suriye Ve Irak'ta Yaşayan Türk Aşiretlerine Umumi Bir Bakış." S. Çetintürk states that the explanation given by Nemeth Gyula, a Hungarian Turkolog, that the etymological root of the term *yörük* is the verb *yürü-* is the generally accepted explanation; Çetintürk: 107. Gökbilgin also agrees with Gyula and mentions that Gyula gives *yürüks* as an example for the Turkish groups who were named after their way of life; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, 3-4. Many other studies on various aspects of *yürüks* in various regions accept this explanation referring these three studies; Çubuk; Düzbakar; Şahin, "Göçebeler." Armağan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçerler," 143. The designation of the term *yörük* as a social and administrative term and its implications is also discussed in some of these studies.

assume a wider perspective about the historical position of *yörüks* and variations in their way of life.

2.1.1. Nomadism as a vague term

One of the initial points to be made about nomadism as a notion and concept is the fact that nomadism and the terms that have evolved around it is a very controversial and multivalent issue. The idea that “nomadic pastoralism does not represent a unique and unitary phenomenon”¹¹⁵ is expressed in various ways in these discussions. The issue lying at the heart of this controversy is the definitions and correlations between different terms used to describe the ways of life and economic activities connected with nomadism, such as semi-nomadism, pastoralism, nomadic pastoralism, and transhumance¹¹⁶. Ingold expresses this fact clearly in his review of Khazanov’s monography: “Khazanov's attempt to enumerate ‘basic forms of pastoral nomadism’ does little but add to the confusion of an already confused terminological situation”.¹¹⁷ This confusion is revealed in the definitions provided by researchers focusing on these issues.

The definition of nomadism is given differently in the various branches of the social sciences. Salzman defines nomadism as “a way of life at least partially based upon movement of people in response to the needs of their herds and flocks”¹¹⁸. According to Myres’s definition, nomadism is “in the strictest sense, where a

¹¹⁵ Rada Dyson-Hudson and Neville Dyson-Hudson, "Nomadic Pastoralism," *Annual review of anthropology* 9, (1980): 52.

¹¹⁶ For a broad and theoretical summary of the discussion see *ibid.*, 16-17.

¹¹⁷ Tim Ingold, "Khazanov on Nomads," *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 3 (1985): 385.

¹¹⁸ Philip C. Salzman, "Political Organization among Nomadic Peoples," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 111, no. 2 (1967): 118.

pastoral community habitually or intermittently moves with its herds over a wide area of essentially similar and continuous pasture”¹¹⁹. Arbos, who characterizes nomadism as one of the three forms of pastoral life, defines it as “that form under which the entire human group accompanies the flocks and herds in their migrations”¹²⁰. Braudel’s definition of nomadism “involves the whole community” of “people, animals, and even dwellings”, and thus requires the movement of these communal elements from one place to another¹²¹. In Khazanov’s evaluation, nomadism is “a distinct form of food-producing economy in which extensive mobile pastoralism is the predominant activity and in which the majority of the population is drawn into periodic pastoral migrations”.¹²² For John Evans, nomadism means “a state where people move over large distances with animals, not returning to the same area seasonally or even at all”¹²³. As a geographer, Matley mentions discussions of livestock movements in the field of geography and adds that “the term ‘nomadism’ has been used by many geographers to describe annual movements of the whole families with their livestock”¹²⁴. According to Estyn Evans’s evaluation

¹¹⁹ John L. Myres, "Nomadism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 71, no. 2 (1941): 21.

¹²⁰ Philippe Arbos, "The Geography of Pastoral Life: Illustrated with European Examples," *Geographical Review* 13, no. 4 (1923): 559.

¹²¹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (London,: Collins, 1972), 88.

¹²² A.M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, trans., J. Crookenden (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 7.

¹²³ John G. Evans, *Environmental Archaeology and the Social Order* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 174.

¹²⁴ Ian M. Matley, "Transhumance in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Geographical Review* 58, no. 2 (1968): 250. In the footnote 27, he gives a summary of the literature of geographers about this term and related terms.

the term nomadism would be properly used where there is no permanent “home”, and the whole group is constantly on the move. Under nomadic conditions, cultivation, if carried on at all, is on a small scale, and grain is often obtained by bartering stock products with settled cultivators.

Salzman draws attention to the important position of “defining concepts” in the definition of the term. These “variables” turn out to be “agriculture”, “types of livestock”, “type of dwelling”, “seasonal movement”, and “altitude change”¹²⁵. He states that there are differences within nomadism according to these “variables”.

2.1.2. Nomadism and Pastoralism

One of the basic points to be made in these conceptual discussions is the fact that the difference between nomadism and pastoralism has been outlined by several researchers. Pastoralism is interpreted as a kind of economic activity, while nomadism and other similar notions are defined as a way of life or of living. The relationship between the two concepts and the aspects emerging from the terms themselves are the main points discussed by anthropologists and ethnographers studying this issue. While considering the interpretation of transhumance as a kind of pastoralism or nomadism a relatively harmless and proper attitude, Jones nevertheless expresses the interconnectedness and the presence of a confusing morass of terms in relation to it¹²⁶. Dyson-Hudson’s determination that

livestock husbandry and mobility are frequently associated because the livestock must be fed regularly throughout the year, but in areas of

¹²⁵ Salzman: 116-117. Salzman makes a summary of the criteria for defining nomadism of Briggs, Fisher, Bohannan, Kroeber, Bacan and Patai, exhibiting the variations in a table.

¹²⁶ S. Jones, "Transhumance Re-Examined," *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* 11, no. 2 (2005): 357.

marked seasonality plant growth is discontinuous, occurring only when temperature and rainfall allow¹²⁷

reveals the reason why crossing over between the terms is so easy. P. Salzman's definition of nomadism with reference to the Oxford English Dictionary brings the concepts of mobility and animal husbandry to a common point. According to Salzman's explanation, "the word 'NOMAD' in its various forms derives, via Latin from a Greek term meaning 'to pasture', and thus, etymologically, it is identical with 'pastoralism' which derives from Latin and refers to raising livestock"¹²⁸. Although its root has such a meaning, it is still possible to say that what is meant by the terms pastoralism and nomadism is not the same. Such a conclusion can be reached through the rich discussions in the literature and through the fact that the meanings of terms become differentiated over time. Despite the fact that the social group meant by both of these terms is the same, they are used to designate different aspects of the issue. On this point, Cribb's definition of pastoralism needs to be taken into account. According to Cribb, pastoralism is a mode of subsistence and "is only one of the possible modes of exploiting herd animals ... characteristically involving protection of the herd and systematic consumption of its renewable products"¹²⁹. He constructs the relationship between nomadism and

¹²⁷ Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson: 17.

¹²⁸ Philip Carl Salzman, "Pastoral Nomads: Some General Observations Based on Research in Iran," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 58, no. 4 (2002): 245. Also, W. Lancaster and F. Lancaster draw attention to the same point, William Lancaster and Fidelity Lancaster, "Who Are These Nomads? What Do They Do? Continuous Change or Changing Continuities?," in *Changing Nomads in a Changing World*, ed. Joseph Ginat and Anatoly M. Khazanov (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1998), 24.

¹²⁹ Roger Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 17. Khazanov also sees it as a form of economic activity, not a specific mode of production, Ingold: 386.

pastoralism in this way, thus making it more definite than their etymological connection:

increasing emphasis on pastoral production, accompanied by a rise in the number of animals herded, will require specialized forms of animal management and changes in household organization. The full expression of such a tendency towards pastoral accumulation will ultimately involve a household in the kinds of logistics and social networks characterized as “nomadic”.¹³⁰

This means that the relationship between these two terms, which are already connected etymologically, is the relationship of a mode of production and a way of living. Pastoralism is a kind of subsistence which leads to nomadism. Through the testimonies of twentieth-century *yörüks* living in Sultandağı, he comes to the conclusion that the degree of nomadism increases according to the degree of pastoralism.¹³¹ This leads one to assume that these two terms need to be used together, though defining different aspects of essentially the same phenomenon. In other words, it seems that the term “nomadism” requires concurrent usage of the term “pastoralism”. Pastoralism demands a kind of movement according to its nature, since animal breeding is concerned with finding pastures for them. This state of movement suggests nomadism. For this reason, it cannot be argued that these two terms are used for completely different situations. In fact, it is at this very point that the expression “pastoral nomadism” emerges. Pastoral nomadism as a term covers both the economic activity and the necessity of moving from one

¹³⁰ Cribb, 18.

¹³¹ Ibid., 16.

place to another as the inevitable result of this activity.¹³² This relation is also the reason why pastoralism and nomadism are associated with each other.¹³³

2.1.3. Mobility as a determinant

The other term that needs to be emphasized is mobility. This is because of the fact that mobility, which emerges together with the concept of pastoralism, constitutes the other question and the problem in defining and differentiating terms. It is the other common point in the definitions mentioned above. According to Cribb, “any ... definition [of nomadism] must involve the key factors of pastoralism and mobility”.¹³⁴ This shows how central the concept of mobility is to nomadism and related concepts. Cribb expresses the fact that mobility is a structural part of nomadism in the following way: “The presence of a regular, seasonal cycle of movement ... should be regarded as a *necessary* but by no means a *sufficient* condition for the full expression of nomadism”¹³⁵.

Despite the fact that mobility is a basic element of nomadism, degree and certain other dimensions of mobility create new concepts. These new concepts born of the differences between types of mobility begin to receive expression as a new way of living other than the nomadism from which they were born. For this very reason, the point where the situations and terms emerging together with definitions are placed is important as well.

¹³² Jones: 357.

¹³³ Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson: 17.

¹³⁴ Cribb, 18.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

2.1.4. Transhumance and its variations

At this point, the term “transhumance” requires explanation. Cribb points out the variations in the meanings of this term as one of the main reasons behind the difficulty of defining the term “nomadism”. According to Cribb, the term “transhumance” is used to denote “the exploitation of seasonal pastures within the same valley system by village flocks under the care of shepherds”, “the migration of whole village communities with their flocks for a season”, and “seasonal movement of nomadic pastoralists”¹³⁶. Actually, however, such different terms used to define a particular group create an ambiguity because of the differences they may convey. Moreover, it is necessary to explain the literal meaning of “transhumance”. Etymologically, it is a combination of the roots *trans* and *humus*, with “transhumance” thus literally meaning “between lands”¹³⁷. The term “transhumance”, however, as mentioned above, is defined in various ways. According to Mayers, for example, “transhumance” is “the seasonal alteration of pastures and abodes, with prolonged sojourns and momentary (and usually continuous) journeys between them”,¹³⁸ and the people who lead this kind of life “always have *somewhere* a permanent home, like the surrounding villages, to which these folk and their cattle return for a while annually, usually in the winter, though this settlement may be quite deserted at other seasons”.¹³⁹ For Jones, however, the

¹³⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹³⁷ E. Estyn Evans, "Transhumance in Europe," *Geography* 25, no. 4 (1940): 172. Evans mentions the first reference to be in 1829. Dhar also tells about the etymological origin of the term, Bibhash Dhar, "Anthropology and Transhumance," in *Human Ecology in the New Millennium*, ed. Veena Bhasin, Vinay K. Srivastava, and M.K. Bhasin, Journal of Human Ecology Special Issue (Delhi: Kamla-Raj Enterprises, 2001), 151.

¹³⁸ Myres: 21.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 20.

term “transhumance” denotes something different than “pastoralism” or “nomadism”. He interprets the term as an economic system and defines it as “a highly specialized form of mixed farming, practised by the inhabitants of settled communities, technologically adjusted to a certain set of environmental conditions, which combines livestock herding with arable agriculture”¹⁴⁰ What lies beneath all the complexities and discussions surrounding the term is actually the question of the relationship between “transhumance” and “pastoral nomadism”: is “transhumance” a form of “pastoral nomadism”? Salzman summarizes some of the discussions about the term in connection to this question.¹⁴¹ According to Chang’s definition, “transhumance is a common form of pastoral economic and social organization in which flocks or herds move long distances twice yearly between upland summer pastures and lowland winter pastures”;¹⁴² whereas Mayley claims that the term is used by geographers “to describe movements in which only herders take part, leaving their families in the permanent settlements”.¹⁴³ Another geographer, Behriye Tolun-Denker, however, explains “transhumance” briefly as a form of pastoralism that is independent from but side by side with the use of arable land. According to Tolun-Deker, the usage of uncultivated lands as pastures is also a sign of “transhumance”. Explaining that “transhumance” defines a condition that is a spatial mixture of agriculture and husbandry, but not in terms of the people engaged in these activities, Tolun-Deker adds that “transhumance” is not seen in

¹⁴⁰ Jones: 359. It is interesting to note that Jones denies the connection of transhumance with pastoralism though stating its connection with animal husbandry and the environment.

¹⁴¹ Salzman, "Political Organization among Nomadic Peoples," 115-118.

¹⁴² Claudia Chang, "Pastoral Transhumance in the Southern Balkans as a Social Ideology: Ethnoarcheological Research in Northern Greece," *American Anthropologist* 95, no. 3 (1993): 687.

¹⁴³ Matley: 250.

regions under the influence of a cold climate.¹⁴⁴ For Estyn Evans, “the movements of flocks and herds under transhumance are seasonal and altitudinal: they take place to and from an established settlement which is regarded as the permanent home”.¹⁴⁵ Braudel, in accord with Evans, defines it as “a vertical movement from the winter pastures of the plain to the summer pastures in the hills” and adds that “[transhumance] is a way of life combining the two levels, and at the same time a source of human migration”.¹⁴⁶ Braudel mentions three varieties of “transhumance”, including the transhumance classification as stated by geographers. According to his classification, the first type is “regular transhumance” – i.e., moving from the lowlands to the mountains; the second type is “inverse transhumance” – i.e., moving from the mountains to the lowlands, which is generally connected with bringing animal products to market; and the final type is “mixed transhumance”, which means that the main settlement and starting point of moving is somewhere in between the lowlands and the mountains.¹⁴⁷ Apart from this division, Braudel also underlines the necessity of differentiating between “long-distance transhumance”, which can mean movement as far as 800 kilometers, and “short or very short-distance transhumance”.¹⁴⁸ As a geographer, Xavier de Planhol’s case study on the *yörüks* of Pamphylia presents a good example of these varieties of both nomadism and transhumance.¹⁴⁹ He emphasizes the connection

¹⁴⁴ Bedriye Tolun-Denker, *Yerleşme Coğrafyası: Kır Yerleşmeleri*, Coğrafya Enstitüsü Yayınları (Istanbul: 1977), 43.

¹⁴⁵ Evans, "Transhumance in Europe," 172.

¹⁴⁶ Braudel, 87.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 91.

¹⁴⁹ Planhol. It seems that Planhol means transhumance by the term semi-nomadism in his study.

between the mode of production and ways of living by arguing that it is not possible to consider the Mediterranean nomadic culture as a separate phenomenon unattached to steady agricultural life.¹⁵⁰ In parallel with this, he suggests that the appearance of inverse transhumance throughout the Mediterranean region is a direct result of the close interaction of nomadism and rural life. Cleary categorizes transhumance in a similar way to Braudel and defines it as “the seasonal movement of animals between different ecological and climatic regions”.¹⁵¹

2.1.5. The intersection of terms and their variety

Two main points about the definitions of both “nomadism” and “transhumance” are their both being some sort of migration and their connection to “pastoralism”. The basic reasons for such a variety of definitions and classifications are, firstly, the changes in the ratio of involvement of these groups in agriculture and husbandry; and, secondly, the inclusion of certain other determinants in the definitions. The usage of the term “pastoral transhumance” as “pastoral nomadism” can be seen as exemplifying this complexity. Thus, what is important at this point is to decide on the scope and qualities of the relationship between these terms or, as Salzman puts it, “the important task is to study the dynamics of their relationships to each other”.¹⁵² To do this, especially in cases where the relevant concepts and definitions are so closely interconnected, is obviously difficult. It is due to this difficulty that there have been differences in the definitions and that they have been expressed as

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 312.

¹⁵¹ M. C. Cleary, "Patterns of Transhumance in Languedoc," *Geography* 71, no. 1 (1986): 25.

¹⁵² Salzman, "Political Organization among Nomadic Peoples," 116.

variations of the same concept. Cribb summarizes the situation as “[a]ny such definition must involve the key factors of *pastoralism* and mobility, and it is the weighting given to each of these and the way in which they are measured that give rise to the many different approaches”.¹⁵³ Dyson-Hudsons’ aforementioned comments on the relationship between migration and husbandry can be accepted as the basis for this complexity. According to them, the frequent association of husbandry and mobility is connected to the absolute necessity of mobility that emerges due to the obligation of feeding livestock constantly and the seasonal flourishing of pastures necessary to do that.¹⁵⁴ Together with this, it is also argued that the relationship and connection between mobility and the mode of production, which in this case is husbandry, also change the meanings of the concepts, transforming them into new concepts.¹⁵⁵

It appears that there is a great danger of ignoring certain main elements, differences, or variations among the relevant concepts while trying to reach an all-encompassing definition. In fact, the very process of defining in and of itself runs the risk of creating a complication. What seems necessary is to expand Salzman’s comment on “nomadism” – namely, that “a general and flexible concept”¹⁵⁶ is to be found – so as to include both “nomadism” and any concept related to that particular form of life. In this context, it is of great importance to underline the variety of lifestyles that both “nomadism” and “transhumance” may refer to: “Our categories

¹⁵³ Cribb, 15.

¹⁵⁴ Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson: 17.

¹⁵⁵ “It has been thought both harmless and convenient to regard transhumance as a ‘form of pastoralism or nomadism”, Jones: 357.

¹⁵⁶ Salzman, "Political Organization among Nomadic Peoples," 116.

and labels, such as ‘nomadic pastoralists’, tend to oversimplify and distort the multisource economies that most nomads have and the versatile, multipurpose nomadism that they use to the fullest extent”.¹⁵⁷ In fact, as Salzman points out, the simplification and distortion process seen in the definitions are actually the main obstacles faced by historians in understanding “nomadism” and nomadic lifestyles. Emmanuel Marx also emphasizes this point by stating that “[w]hen discussing pastoral nomads, one does well to remember that the breeding of animals is not always the sole, or even the main, occupation of nomads”.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, Jones’ criticism of approaching “transhumance” as a kind of husbandry is quite accurate¹⁵⁹. Taking into consideration Myres’s statement that “like other modes of subsistence, nomadism is Man’s response to a particular geographical region and biological regime”, it is apparent that husbandry is a part of the nomadic lifestyle, but “nomadism” means something essentially different from husbandry. Husbandry can be an integrated part of “nomadism”, but it is certainly not “nomadism” itself. Criticism of the definitions from the point of view of economic activity is also valid for other aspects of the nomadic lifestyle, such as the mode of mobility. As Dyson-Hudsons said, “there is an enormous variety in herd management strategies, in social organization, in land tenure, degree of dependence on agricultural products, interactions with outside groups, differentiation of tasks by sex, age, etc.”.¹⁶⁰ Cribb’s words regarding the search for a “fully nomadic society” – namely, that it is

¹⁵⁷ Salzman, "Pastoral Nomads: Some General Observations Based on Research in Iran," 247.

¹⁵⁸ Emanuel Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Middle East," *American Anthropologist* 79, no. 2 (1977): 344.

¹⁵⁹ Jones: 357.

¹⁶⁰ Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson: 16.

“an approach which recognizes nomadic tendencies manifested in varying degrees in a wide range of societies and communities”¹⁶¹ – need to be taken seriously, and any analysis of the topic should be in accord with this idea. There are many different settled lifestyles; likewise, it is not possible to claim that there is only one type of nomadic life. Differences in geographical and social conditions can in themselves be a reason for these variations. Moreover, cultural inheritance and its evolution over time may also be additional reasons for variations. Salzman’s comments in this respect are quite useful:

There are many aspects and dimensions to peoples’ lives and to a people’s cultures. For us to select and emphasize one aspect as paramount would be a distortion of the always complex human reality. And such an essentialism and reductionism would be a distortion of nomadism, for to understand nomadism truly, we must grasp its dependence on human objectives and upon multiple social, cultural, and environmental circumstances and thus appreciate its variability, its malleability, and its importance.¹⁶²

Here, Salzman emphasizes that any evaluation that is done without taking all elements in the society and their relationship to each other into consideration would be misleading. Diversity in a social group and the different dimensions within it do not exist only for their own sake. It is also important to be aware of the fact that there may be different kinds of relationships between the vital elements within nomadic lifestyles. This kind of approach can help us comprehend the diversity within nomadism and thereby let us see the real scope of the concept. The Dyson-Hudsons’ comments concerning husbandry and his criticisms of anthropologists also point out the diversity that is mentioned above: “The assumption that specific qualities of pastoral people inevitably derived from the

¹⁶¹ Cribb, 16.

¹⁶² Salzman, "Pastoral Nomads: Some General Observations Based on Research in Iran," 261.

nature of pastoral existence tended to obscure the complexities of the relationships between mobility and livestock dependence, and contributed to the failure of many anthropologists to study variations in both these parameters within and among groups".¹⁶³ A stronger and more emphatic statement of this idea can be seen in the Dyson-Hudsons' support for their argument, which is quoted from Spooner: "[T]here are no features or culture or social organization that are common to all nomads or even that are found exclusively among nomads".¹⁶⁴ In connection to husbandry, they express the diversity in mobility, which is one of the main elements of nomadic lifestyles, by pointing out that "[s]ince a unique constellation of ecological, political, economic, and affective factors determines the patterns of movement of each pastoral group, and the specific movements of each independent herd owner within every pastoral society, it is not surprising that there is an enormous variation in patterns of mobility".¹⁶⁵ The variety created by the relationship of the various different factors mentioned above thus asserts itself in the context of mobility. The Dyson-Hudsons present this situation by boldly informing us that "[a]ttempts to classify these patterns of livestock movements into categories such as 'transhumance', 'semi-sedentary', 'nomadic' etc. have proved this to be an intellectually sterile enterprise",¹⁶⁶ challenging us by showing how they consider the different definitions and classifications caused by this variety ineffective and impractical. Braudel expresses exactly the same thing in his

¹⁶³ Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson: 16.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 16-17. quoting from Brian Spooner, "The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads," *Addison-Wesley Module Anthropology* 45, (1973): 53.

¹⁶⁵ Dyson-Hudson and Dyson-Hudson: 18.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

statements about the types of transhumance: "In fact, it is impossible to do justice to this complex phenomenon by rigid classification".¹⁶⁷ According to him, "there are many variations on the theme, but they are imposed by local conditions and virtually unavoidable".¹⁶⁸ It is possible to argue that there is a need for a clear, general classification that would name nomadic life styles and make their interpretation more accurate through a serious consideration of all of the varieties present within this lifestyle. However, there is also danger in this, since oversimplified definitions or overgeneralized usages of different terms may in fact distance our interpretations from the facts. It may seem helpful to state at the beginning of a work that some terms are used in a "flexible"¹⁶⁹ manner. It is possible to claim that Ingold's general assessment of anthropological interpretations of societies – namely, that "each society has been treated as an 'isolated unity'"¹⁷⁰ – is also valid for the analyses that have been done on nomadic lifestyles. The main problem in the case of nomadic lifestyles, however, is the presupposition that there has been only one type of nomadic life. And, as stated above, this approach tends to oversimplify the situation. While analyzing each society in and on its own terms, researchers tend to interpret each social group within the society as a unified, monolithic body. This is precisely where the problem lies.

The discussions above on the various concepts related to nomadism reveal that, when dealing with the *yörüks* as a semi-nomadic/transhumant social group, it is an indispensable necessity to renounce the presupposition that all of them lived

¹⁶⁷ Braudel, 87.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Salzman, "Political Organization among Nomadic Peoples," 116.

¹⁷⁰ Ingold: 384.

in exactly the same way, since there were variations in their ways of life even within the same region. These various groups in society were not all living in the same manner, and thus they had different qualities. Accepting the fact that *yörüklük* is not an “ideal typical” but a “variable” kind of lifestyle – as is the case with nomadic life, an idea openly expressed in the anthropological and geographical studies mentioned above – will certainly help historians improve their evaluations and interpretations regarding this issue and put them on firmer ground in terms of related studies.

2.2. Parallels and Differences in the Yörüks’ Ways of Life and in Defters

As stated above, the *yörüks* are assumed to be a semi-nomadic group in general. It is possible to take this assumption as valid. Within this definition, *yörüks* are seen as a social group who deal with animal husbandry as their primary economic activity, engaging in agriculture at only a marginal level. In connection with this, the prevailing idea about the *yörüks* is that their movement is a kind of transhumance that includes long-distance movements. While these observations concerning the *yörüks* are correct, they are still missing something, and what is missing may lead researchers down the wrong path in determining their way of life and living. In the aforementioned region – and in the Ottoman Balkans in general – these mobile people are all called *yörük*, but not all of them follow the same way of life. For this reason, there is a need for a closer look at the existing registers of the region. A look into the registers through such a perspective and with such a concern shows us that there are other ways of life which we can qualify as interspatial and on the edges.

The usage of *tahrir* registers and similar historical sources and their benefits for working on this topic were discussed earlier in this study. Leaving aside their usage as a historical source, their value in terms of their capacity for revealing ways of life and its degrees should be considered carefully. The reflection of this point to the source can be extracted only through such a look at them. The way that *yörüks* were registered in *defters* and the details noted in these registers give us clues about their ways of life. Within this sphere, the differences in the registration of *yörüks* in the *defters*, both as form and as content, are the points where differences in the *yörüks'* ways of life are reflected. The variety in the *yörüks'* ways of life cannot be considered to be reflected completely and clearly in the registers. However, the degree of the varieties in terms of how they were recorded and the information they provide is sufficient to enable us to claim that there did exist a multiplicity in terms of the *yörüks'* ways of life. What will be attempted here is to examine to what extent and in what capacity *tahrir* registers are able to reveal information about the *yörüks'* ways of life.

Registers present us with different ways of recording in connection with the different ways of life among the *yörüks*. There are *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts*, while there are also *yörüks* within villages. The most common way of registering them is to record them under the title of *cema'ât*. The term *cema'ât* is known to have been used with various connotations and in various contexts. However, it is also a term that was used to define *yörük* groups. In this context, the term is used in order to define a social group. In the detailed (*mufassal*) register dated 1478, the "*Cemaât-i Evlâd-i Paşa Yigit*" recorded within the district (*kazâ*) of Yenice-i Karasu and the "*Cemaât-i Hasan*" recorded within Demürhisar are among the first instances of

yörüks registered as separate *cema'âts* in the region of western Thrace.¹⁷¹ The group registered within Yenice-i Karasu is recorded as upon fief (*timar*) lands and separate from the surrounding villages. Moreover, this *cema'ât* is recorded only by its householders, without any taxation record of any kind. The “*Cema'ât-i Hasan*” is also registered separately, being unconnected with the neighboring villages. In the entry for this group, no personal or production tax is mentioned.

In the sixteenth century, a difference in the registration of *yörük* groups as *cema'âts* can be observed. In a *defter* dated 1529, four *cema'âts* in the Drama region are recorded with the explanation that “*yörükân ki her neferi altışar akça virürler*”.¹⁷² In an entry recorded in a manner similar to that of the fifteenth-century registers, in that their place of settlement is mentioned, there is a *cema'ât* recorded in the Zihna district. In the account register (*muhasebe defteri*) dated 1530¹⁷³, there is a “*cema'ât-i yörükan*” noted in the Gümülcine region. Here, there is a notable difference for this group inasmuch as no separate name is recorded. There are many similar examples of this kind in the registers of western Thrace. The *cema'ât* in question is registered as being between the village of Köselier and the hamlet of Gölviran, close to the town of Boru. The existence of such a *cema'ât* and its manner of registration reveals that there were *yörüks* organized as *cema'âts*.

Another manner of registration can be seen in those cases in which *yörüks* were registered within villages. It should be noted that their number is rather high. There are two variations in this kind of registration: some are registered as a group

¹⁷¹ BOA. TT.d. 7, f. 3 and 434.

¹⁷² “The *yörüks* each of whom pays 6 *akçes* as their taxes”. BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 28-29.

¹⁷³ BOA. TT.d. 167.

without any separate name, while others are registered within the householders' list with a note reading "yörük" written above their names. This seems to have a connection with their number in a settlement. If they are so many as to require recording under the plural *yörükan*, then they were registered as a separate group just after the householders of the village in question. Otherwise, their status was simply noted down above their names in the manner mentioned above. Examples of this kind can be found from the fifteenth-century records onwards. However, because of the fact that these samples are from registers of summary (*icmal*) type, they do not present enough data concerning the relationship between their ways of life and manner of registration. Among the examples to be given, there will also be samples taken from the other districts of western Thrace that lie outside of the basic framework regions of this study. There are practical reasons for this. Firstly, providing examples from western Thrace in general will lead to a better understanding of variations in the *yörüks'* ways of life. Secondly, it will enable us to see that the fact of variation is a common situation throughout western Thrace. Finally, it should also be taken into account that some elements of the *yörük* groups in the region are actually registered in other regions, despite the fact that they were in fact present elsewhere. All in all, this is a question concerning semi-nomadic societies, and so it is inevitable that we will see them scattered around the neighboring districts. Thus, adding the dimension of other regions in western Thrace is important for a more sound interpretation of the situation, as well as being a noteworthy and even crucial point.

CHAPTER III

CLASSIFICATION OF YÖRÜKS ACCORDING TO REGISTERS

3.1. Varieties in the Registration of Yörüks and in their Way of Life

Various manners of registration in the *defters* and the variety of the data they cover suggest that the *yörüks* in the region were leading different ways of life rather than one standard way of life. As pointed out earlier in this study, it is a fact that there is variety in nomadism and that this is a result of people's adaptation to differing physical and geographical conditions as well as different cultural codes, and this fact should be taken into consideration for any evaluation that aims to hew closely to reality. In this context, what is surprising is not the existence of variety in *yörüks'* ways of life, but rather the lack of sufficient emphasis upon the fact of variety.

Certain clues given by the surveys of the region are of great importance. As mentioned in the previous section, the main parameters are the ways in which *yörüks* are registered in the *defters* and the data provided in these registers' entries regarding *yörüks*. Through these parameters, we can certainly see the variety that is to be emphasized at this point. Putting the *yörüks'* ways of life into simple categories while simultaneously attempting to express the variety and relative complexity of their lives may seem to be contradictory. However, what is being

attempted here is not to claim that the *yörüks* in Rumelia in general – and the *yörüks* in the region in question, specifically – lived strictly according to the categories that will be mentioned. Through the classification to be made in the following chapter, it will be demonstrated as far as possible and according to the relevant extant registers that there existed various kinds of nomadism among the *yörüks*, and it will also be shown how the conclusion that there was variety was arrived at. There is no intention to place the *yörüks* of Rumelia into yet another category. On the contrary, the intention is to remove them from the vise of the already existing terminology. For this reason, the classification that will be provided here is nothing more than the classification reached by means of surveys. This classification is open to modification, and categories can be added or modified through an examination of other regions in Rumelia.

3.2. Separately registered *cema'âts*

The first category of *yörüks* present in the cadastral surveys of the region of western Thrace are those groups which are usually registered separately as *cema'âts* and called either by the names of the leaders of their *cema'ât* or by names indicating their ethno-cultural ties and dealing with animal husbandry as their main economic activity. The word *yörük* as used in the literature generally suggests the *yörüks* found within this category.

Examples of *yörüks* of this category are present in great numbers in the region of Drama. The *cema'âts* below are those registered in the detailed *evkaf* register belonging to the town of Agrican¹⁷⁴:

Table 5 - Cemaâts registered in Agrican in 1562/63

Cemaât-i Kara Bayezid	Cemaât-i Satı	Hacı Ali Oğulları
Mahall-i Kara Turgud	Demircüler	Duraklu
Uysal	Miraliçe?	Kara Ömer? Oğulları
Didârân?	Sevindiklü	Mahall-i Seyyidler

The entry for some groups is given with the title “mahall”. What is meant by this must be the place where the *yörük* group resided. These *cema'âts* are not registered by their names but by the place they stayed, although the name of the group’s leader is still provided.

The register dated 1613 states that one group of *cema'âts* belongs to the Demürhisar district despite being registered within the district of Selânik. It should be mentioned that the register in question is a copy of the region’s register dated 1568-69¹⁷⁵:

Table 6 - Cemaâts of Demürhisar registered in Selânik in 1613 (1568-69)

Paşahanlı	Mahmud Fakih	Celil’ür-Rahmân
Kölemenli	Satı Doğançı	Kara Ahmedli
İsvanlı? ma’â Kutlu	Karagözlü ma’â Yardımlı	Ulaşlu
Sevindili?	Mahmudlı	Turhanlı
Evşenli?	Kâsımlı ma’â Harsalı?	İsmâ’illi?
İncekli	Halil bin Şerefli	Yavırcalı?

¹⁷⁴ BOA. TT.d. 341, f. 44 and following folios. Agricani (Graçani) is registered within Gümülcine in this register.

¹⁷⁵ BOA. TT.d. 723, f. 238 and following folios.

Bayramlı	Divâne İsâ Bâli	Köseceli
Öksüzlü ...	Yahşili	Sevindikli
diğer Sevindikli	Menemenli? ma'â Köse Umurlu	Turcihânlu
Tabduklu	Karacalı	Kulfallı
Eynehân Fakı	Koparanlı	[diğer] Karacalı
Parmaksızlı	Anadolı	...
Değirmenciler	Yahyalu ma'â Kulfallı	Balgızlı?
Kırcalı	Divâne Nasuhlı	İlyaslı
Musalı	Armağan	... Denizli

As mentioned above, these *cema'âts* belong to the Demürhisar district but are recorded in the registry for the Selanik district. The reason for this is probably that the taxes paid by these *cema'âts* were part of the income of Selanik's *mirmiran* or governor. Being a large group of *yörüks*, they seem to have been added to his income. For this reason, it is normal for them to be registered in Selanik. Apart from this, and in relation to their manner of living, these *cema'âts* can be assumed as engaging in transhumant movement between these two regions. There are only two entries as taxes in the summary part of these *cema'âts*. These are “*resm-i duhân-i yörükân'il-mezbûr*” and “*öşr-i galât ve hububât ve mersûmât-i sâire*”. The amounts given together with these *cema'âts* registered under the Selânik district are 9,906 *akçes* for the *resm-i duhân* and 5,094 *akçes* for the other taxes. The usage of the *resm-i duhân* for these *yörük* groups means that these groups were spending some time on lands under the governance of another district where they were not registered. Due to the fact that there were many groups of *yörüks* in this region, the amount of the *resm-i duhân* is around twice as much as that of the other tax entry. This indicates that these *yörük* groups moved between certain areas and engaged in agriculture to a limited degree. Apart from the *resm-i duhan*, the *resm-i ganem* must

also have occupied a significant place among the taxation amount. The reason for this is the fact that 124 *yörüks* from these *cema'âts* are noted as being *celeb*.

The situation in the village of Eğri Bucak, which was a part of the Sidrekapsi district near the *kazâ* of Selânîk, provides a good example of groups which are registered as separate *cema'âts* yet which nonetheless show certain uncharacteristic features. Although they are described in the register of 1529 as “*yerlü yörüklerdir*”, they are noted to be paying their taxes to an endowment, and are later recorded under *cema'âts* in the register of 1568. In the latter register, there is no expression regarding their being *yörüks*. From this, it is understood that these *yörük* groups were no longer considered *yörüks* by the state, in parallel with their 1529 description as “*yerlü*”. *Yörük* is not used for these groups at all in 1568, not even as a title. On the other hand, their being registered as *cema'âts* seems to be a solid clue that these groups may have somehow maintained their socio-cultural identities.

Table 7 - Comparison of *yörük* groups of Eğri Bucak

1529 ¹⁷⁶	1568 ¹⁷⁷
İsa veled-i Hacı İlyas	İsâ veled-i Hacı İlyas
Ali bin Tañrıvirmiş	Ali bin Tañrıvirmiş
Memi bin Cafer	Memi bin Cafer
Mehmed bin Hacı	Mehmed bin Hacı
	Küçük Hoca
Hamza bin Uruz	Hamza bin Uruz
Mustafa bin Süleyman	Mustafa bin Süleyman
	Sofılar
	Ugurcılar?
	Selmânlı
Dağ Göl	Dağ Göl

¹⁷⁶ BOA. TT.d. 403, ff. 678-680.

¹⁷⁷ BOA. TT.d. 723, ff. 849-852.

husbandry, this example proves that there are cases which cannot be fit into such a generalization. Within this context, it can be said that *yörük* groups which we can see as being organized in a similar manner, as a social group, might have been following different ways of life. This fact is noteworthy in terms of the aforementioned dimensions of diversity and variety.

In connection with variety, we should also consider the *cema'ât* of the Mutulova *yörüks*, who are registered within the *kazâ* of Demürhisar and can be followed through registers. This *cema'ât* is recorded in the summary *defter* of 1519 as follows:

“Cemaât-i yörükân, hâric ez-defter, tâbi-i m.

<i>hâne</i>	<i>mücerred</i>
19	3

hâsıl
1507”¹⁷⁹

From the expression “*hâric ez-defter*”, it can be inferred that this *cema'ât* is being registered for the first time in this *defter*, or, more accurately, in the detailed register from which this summary register has been compiled. Since it is a summary register, it cannot be determined whether they paid 12 *akçes* or 22 *akçes* as *resm-i raiyyet*. However, the fact that the subsequent register was compiled only ten years after this one increases the possibility of its being the same. In the *mufassal defter* of 1529, the *cema'ât* is noted with the following title and explanation: “*Cemaât-i yörükân ki Mutulova nam karye-i sınır[ında] mezkur[lar] sâkinlerdir*”.¹⁸⁰ There are 3 *çifts*, 7 *bennâks*, and 18 *mücerreds*. The salient point here is that they were paying 22

¹⁷⁹ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 97.

¹⁸⁰ BOA. TT.d. 403, f. 475.

akçes for a *çift* as normal *reâyâ*. This fact is sufficient to show that their status was the same as that of the *reâyâ*.

In the 1568 record of the *cema'ât* in question, a similar picture can be seen. The relevant entry is noted only as “*Cemaât-i yörükân-i Mutulova*”. The members of the *cema'ât*, who consist of 7 households, pay 22 *akçes* according to this register as well. Although they are recorded as *yörüks*, it is not noted in these three registers whether or not their status is the same as that of the *reâyâ*. When the amounts of their taxation are taken into consideration, it is clear that their status is no different from that of the *yörüks* noted as being “*yerlü*” in Eğri Bucak.

It can be said that the *yörük* groups of this category are fewer in number in the *kazâs* of Gümülcine and Yenice-i Karasu. One of the most representative examples of this category in Gümülcine is the *cema'ât* of Çipil Hasanlar. This *cema'ât* is registered with the villages of Hasanlar and Seferlicek in the *mufassal evkâf* register dated 1557, with this situation being expressed at the beginning of the *cema'ât*'s entry as “*Çipil Hasanlar ki mezbûr Hasanlar nam karye ile mahlut oturlar, ziraâtleri dahi mahlutdur*”.¹⁸¹ Next, for Seferlicek village it is noted that they reside together with Hasanlar village and pay their *öşr* jointly. From these details, it is understood that the *cema'ât* was living very close to these two villages, and that Hasanlar was designated by state officials as the center for these three settlements and recorded accordingly.¹⁸² On this date, Çipil Hasanlar has 27 *bennâks* and 31 *mücerreds*.

¹⁸¹ BOA. TT.d. 306, ff. 118-120.

¹⁸² In the register, it is stated that the village of Mekri and its surrounding villages are villages of the district of Ferecik despite the fact that in the registers of provinces they are stated to be of Gümülcine: “*mezkur karye-i Mekri tevâbisi vilâyet defterlerine Gümülcine kazâsında yazar amma Hasan Çipiller cemaâtinden gayırısı Ferecik kazâsına tâbidir*”, BOA. TT.d. 306, f. 115.

The same *cemaât* is also seen in the *mufassal evkâf defter* number 979, which is undated yet thought to have been compiled around the 1560s. At the beginning of the relevant entry is the following note:

Mezkûr Hasan Çipiller Ferecik kazâsında Hasanlar nâm karye ahâlisi ile mahlut oturu[b] sonra mezkûr Hasan Çipiller cemaâti kalkub kazâ-i Gümülcine'de ... karyede Karlık Dağı dibinde? sâkinler olub müzevveçleri onbire ve mücerredleri altışar akça virüb resm-i ganemleri ile sâyir rüsûm-i şeriyyelerin vakf-i mezbûr zâbitleri cem' iderler.¹⁸³

From these expressions, it can be deduced that Çipil Hasanlar was a group which was leading a semi-nomadic life. They moved from a spot close to the Aegean Sea to the summer pasture lying on the south side of Karlık Mountain which is located on the southern slopes of the eastern Rhodopes. The synopsis of the entry presents further evidence for their being a semi-nomadic group. The *cema'ât* was paying 6,152 *akçes* as *âdet-i ağnâm* and 200 *akçes* as *resm-i ağıl*.¹⁸⁴ These are significant amounts for a group whose total taxation amount is 7,568 *akçes*. These amounts of *âdet-i ağnâm* and *resm-i ağıl* mean that the *cemaât* had more than 12,000 sheep. There were 37 *bennâks* paying 11 *akçes* each and 48 *mücerreds* paying 6 *akçes* each.

When we take a look at their situation in 1568, we see that Çipil Hasanlar consisted of 9 *bennâks*, 28 households noted to be paying 12 *akçes* each, and 37 *mücerreds*.¹⁸⁵ There is a similar note in the synopsis of this date: “*Hâsıl ma'a karye-i Hasanlar ve Seferliceğ zikr olan karyelerün ziraatleri bir yerde olmağın mahlut yazıldı*”.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ BOA. TT.d. 979, f. 82.

¹⁸⁴ BOA. TT.d. 979, f. 83.

¹⁸⁵ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 577, f. 188b. In the register, 9 *hânes* out of these 37 entries are marked with the sign of *bennâk* but the rest are indicated to be paying 12 *akças*. These *hânes* must be the ones who has no land to cultivate but dealing with only animal husbandry.

¹⁸⁶ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 577, f. 188b.

Although the previous register had an *âdet-i aġnâm* entry for the *cema'ât*, in this register there are *âdet-i aġnâm* entries only for the two villages in question. The amounts of these entries are 500 *akçes* for Hasanlar and 600 *akçes* for Seferliceik. The reason for the absence of the *cema'ât*'s entry is unclear; possibly, their sheep tax may have been taken separately for the *vakf*, and therefore went unregistered here.

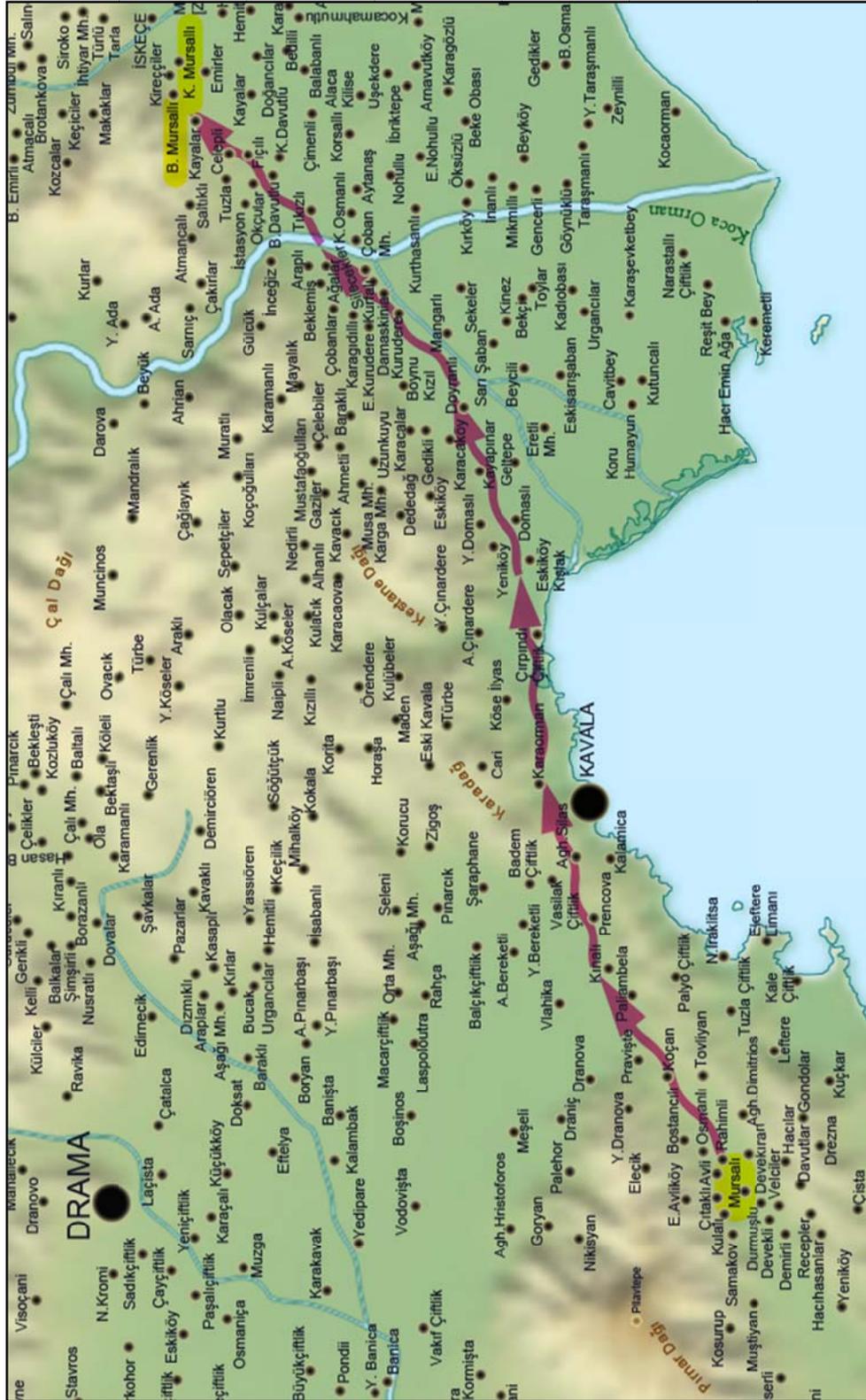


Figure 2 - The route of transhumance of Cema'ât-i Mürselli¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ This topographical map and the following maps of the same type are compiled through the modification of the basemap created at the webpage:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greece_large_topographic_basemap.svg#file

The Mürsellü and Takyalular *cema'ât*s of the Yenice-i Karasu region present other examples of *yörüks* in this category. Mürsellü is observed among the entries for Yenice-i Karasu in 1529.¹⁸⁸ The place of residence for this *cema'ât*, which consisted of 6 *hânes* and 5 *mücerreds* at this date, was located where the slopes of the mountain lying to the north of the village İksante met the plains below. In the *evkâf* register of the 1560s, this *cema'ât* is recorded within the *kazâ* of Drama.¹⁸⁹ Its location at this date is on the slopes of Punar Mountain, which is in the region between the gulf of Kavala and Orfana. This spot is also between the two relatively large villages of Pravişte and Moştıyani.

Although there is no descriptive information concerning this *cema'ât* in the *muhâsebe defteri* dated 1529, the explanation given in the *evkâf* register mentioned above clearly reveals its position in terms of mobility and settlement:

Cemaât-i Mürsellü, der kurb-i karye-i Çakırlu
Zikr olan cemaât-i Mürsellü kadîmden evkâf-i mezbûre reâyâsından
olub vakf-ı mezbûr toprağında oturmayub Firuzlu? nâm karye sınırında
oturub çiftte mutasarrıf olanlar sâhib-i arza onikişer akça resm-i çift ile
öşrlerin virüb evkâf-i mezbûre için müzevvecleri yigirmi ikişer akça
virürler deyü defter-i atıkde olmağın defter-i cedîde dahi kayd olundu.¹⁹⁰

It is stated in the explanation that the *cema'ât* originally resided by the village of Çakırlu, but during the period of registration they were located by the village of

Thanks to Sinan Günçiner, it is modified so as to be used as an image file, and cropped into the regions covered in this research. The place names on the maps are placed by the author according to those covered in Sefer Güvenç, "Mübadele Öncesi ve Sonrası Eski ve Yeni Adları ile Kuzey Yunanistan Yer Adları Atlası = Atlas of Old and New Toponyms of Northern Greece : Before and after the Population Exchange," (İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, 2010)., which is noted to be compiled according to the Ottoman military map of late 19th early 20th century map. The fact that place names on the topographical maps used in this study are from this period, not from the 16th century should be born in mind.

¹⁸⁸ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 26.

¹⁸⁹ BOA. TT.d. 979, f. 105.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Firuzlu? which was close to Kavala.¹⁹¹ In the map, which was made on the basis of an Ottoman military map of the early twentieth century and its toponymy, we can see settlement units named Mürselli in the places mentioned and described in the registers in question. This *cema'ât* is registered in the district of Drama in 1568 as well. The difference at this time is the fact that it is registered together with certain other *cema'âts*. However, this time their residence is near the village of Avli. This means that it is in parallel with their position in the *evkâf* register mentioned above. Following the household records for Avli, there is the title "*cema'ât-i yörükân*", where it is noted "*ki karye-i mezbûre sınırında kışlayub ellişer akça resm-i duhân virürler*".¹⁹² The *cema'âts* with which the Mürsellü spend the winter are Alacık, Permeke?, Rahimlü, Devekiran, Samako, and Yörükân-i Raçilova. It is understood that the *cema'ât* in question was spending winters at this place, then returning for the summer to the place in Yenice-i Karasu where they resided. It can be deduced that this movement continued for many years, and that, as a result, settlement units with the same name were formed on both ends of the movement zone. There were 1 *müsellem*, 15 *müzevvecân*, and 7 *mücerreds* in the 1560s, and 22 *kile kendüm* and 10 *kile mahlut* were taken from the cereal production of the group, with their value being 265 *akçes*. As *âdet-i ağnâm*, they paid 1,125 *akçes*.¹⁹³ The two settlements with the name Mürselli on both ends of the movement zone of the *cema'ât*, as well as the fact that what was taken from animal husbandry was much

¹⁹¹ Firuzlu is registered as a *mezra'â* close to Koçi [Obası] in the *muhâsebe defter* dated 1530. However, in the explanation given for Mürsellü this settlement is mentioned as "karye". It is not uncommon to see such diversions in the registers. Firuzlu is not present in the map given. When the Ottoman military map is compiled, this settlement must have already disappeared.

¹⁹² TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 239.

¹⁹³ BOA. TT.d. 979, f. 105.

higher than what was taken from cereal production, gives a clear idea about the *cema'ât*'s way of life, leaving no doubt that they were a semi-nomadic *yörük* group.

As another noteworthy *cema'ât*, the Takyalular should also be described in detail. Its presence is observed in the registers dated 1519, 1529, the 1560s, and 1568.¹⁹⁴ In the summary register dated 1519, it is recorded as a village and consisted of 25 households and 27 bachelors.¹⁹⁵ In the *muhasebe defteri* dated 1529, the Takyalular are mentioned in two different entries. In one of these, it is noted as a *mezra'â*, and there are 31 households and 23 bachelors specified as *yörüks*.¹⁹⁶ This entry is among the *timars*. In the other entry, it is recorded as a *cema'ât* within the income of the endowment of Sultan Bayezid and consisting of 27 *hânes* and 22 *mücerreds*.¹⁹⁷ However, the fact that this register is a summary account register does not allow us to make a sound interpretation. Still, it can be said that Takyalular was the name both of a settled group of people and of a semi-nomadic *cema'ât*. The entry where it is registered as a *mezra'â* and its members as *yörüks* does not give a clear idea about their way of life, as this might well be a term used to specify their legal status only, as will be discussed in subsequent sections of the present study. The main parameter for assuming them to be separate groups of people is the fact that the members of the *cema'ât* are within the *vakf* district, while the members of the *mezra'â* are registered within the *timars*. Although this picture gives the impression that those in the *mezra'â* might be a group who were members of the

¹⁹⁴ The spots of this *cema'ât* could not be determined on the map. Probably, its settlement units have disappeared in time.

¹⁹⁵ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 42.

¹⁹⁶ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 22.

¹⁹⁷ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 26.

cema'ât who became settled over time, there is no solid evidence for this. The manner of registration of the Takyalular in subsequent registers is important for providing us with clues regarding this issue. After 1529, they are observed in the *evkâf defter* of the 1560s. Since this is a register of endowments, only the group registered as a *cema'ât* is seen in it. This record begins with the following note: “*Mezkûr Takyalular cemaâti kadîmden vakfdan hâric sipâhi timarında oturub vakfın raiyyetleri olub müzevvecleri onikişer ve mücerredleri altışar akça resm ile sâyir vâki' olan rüsûmları köy vakf-ı mezbûr için zabt olunur*”.¹⁹⁸ The *cema'ât*'s appearance in two different regions in this manner might be taken as a sign of their movements, though this cannot be stated with certainty. Apart from this aspect, we also see that the Takyalular *cema'ât* were dealing with animal husbandry as their basic economic activity, similar to the previous *cema'âts*. In the synopsis part of the record, apart from the *resm-i raiyyet* and other taxes (such as the *resm-i arus* and *resm-i niyabet*), there are only entries for the *resm-i ağnâm* (1,916 *akçes*) and *resm-i ağıl* (62 *akçes*).¹⁹⁹

The register dated 1568 completes the picture seen in the *evkâf defter*, thus allowing for a more sound interpretation. In this record, Takyalular is mentioned as a “*karye*”, and the *cema'ât* that is a part of the *vakf* is noted separately:

Karye-i Takyalular tâbi-i Yenice-i Karasu
karye-i mezbûrede hâricden ve merhum Sultan Bayezid Hân aleyhü'r-
rahmete ve'l ... evkâfından yörük tâ'ifesi gelüb mütemekkin olub zira'ât
idüb oşürlerin ve onikişer akça resm-i çiftlerin ve çifti olmayanlar altışar
akça resm virirler²⁰⁰.

After the inscription of households begins the registration of the *cema'ât*:

Reâyâ-yi

¹⁹⁸ BOA. TT.d. 979, f. 112.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 71b.

Vakf-i merhûm Sultan Bayezid Hân aleyhü'r-rahmete ve'l ... ki karye-i mezbûre sınırında mütemekkinler olub zira'âtlerinin öşrlerin ve onikişer akça resm-i çiftlerin sâhib-i 'arza virüb mâ'dâ rüsûmların vakfa virirler.

Both of these explanations concern the existence and taxation status of the *cema'ât*.

But what they actually reveal is that both the settled group and the *cema'ât* were members of Takyalular. There is another detail in this record which can be seen as the most remarkable point of all. The households of the *mezra'â* that were categorized as "yörük" in 1529 are now the residents of a village and are no longer *yörüks*. The term may have been used as a fiscal term in 1529, in order to designate taxation amounts. This is why the *cema'ât* also existed as a social group in that year. If the members of the *mezra'â* had been leading a semi-nomadic way of life, we would expect them to have been registered together with the *cema'ât*. In 1568, the residents of the settlement unit are no longer regarded as *yörüks*. This means that they are no longer *yörük* in fiscal terms, either. The cereal products noted in the synopsis of the village clearly demonstrate that the residents of Takyalular village had already adopted agricultural production as a method of subsistence, and leaves no doubt that they were a completely sedentary group:²⁰¹

<i>kendüm</i>	<i>cev</i>	<i>çavdar</i>	<i>'alef</i>	<i>erzen</i>
250 kile	75 kile	80 kile	100 kile	50 kile

If there existed a detailed register for the date 1529, the change undergone by this group could have been observed more clearly.

Another *cema'ât* within the boundaries of the *kazâ* of Yenice-i Karasu was the Seferli. This *cema'ât* appears for the first time in the register dated 1568, and its

²⁰¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 72a.

entry is noted as “*hâric ez-defter*”.²⁰² It was located on the western side of the mountain on whose slope İksante lies, and was surrounded by İksante in the east, Çağlayık in the west, İnceğiz in the south, and Yeniköy in the north. The *cema'ât*'s other name is Ada, which enables us to determine its position because the name Ada survives today. As is the case with the other *cema'âts*, it is stated that those who cultivate the land would pay 12 *akçes* for a *çift*. There are 5 *çifts*, 3 *bennâks*, and 8 *mücerreds* registered, and the total amount of the *cema'ât*'s taxation is listed as 608 *akçes*. Among the items of taxation are cereals, the *resm-i bağât* for 8 *dönüms*, and the *resm-i otlak* at 30 *akçes*. As such, we can see that this *cema'ât* engaged to some extent in both agricultural production and animal husbandry.

It is not possible to track all the *yörük* groups in Yenice-i Karasu as has been done for the examples above. However, the names of the groups can be seen in the last *mufassal tahrir* register. There are *cema'âts* of Azad? Obası, Bedirli, Köselers, and another *cema'ât* with an unidentified name.²⁰³ In the *kazâ* of Gümülcine, there are the following *cema'âts*:

Table 8 - Cema'âts in Gümülcine

Cema'ât-i Çatak	Cema'ât -i Salcılar an cema'ât -i Çatak
Cema'ât -i Küçük Elmalu	Cema'ât -i Çakırlu
Cema'ât -i Aydın	Cema'ât -i DüNDAR
Cema'ât -i Kara Piri	Cema'ât -i Şah Kulu
Cema'ât -i Demürçi Murad	

²⁰² TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 60b.

²⁰³ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 58a-58b.

3.3. *Cema'âts* registered with villages

Apart from the *cema'âts* registered as separate *cema'âts*, there were also *yörük* groups who were registered together with villages or hamlets. The numbers found in these registers give the impression that they constituted the main bulk of the *yörük* population in the region. They were recorded, usually after villages' households, under the title of either "*cema'ât-i yörükân*" or "*yörükân*". In some cases, the number of households registered as *yörüks* in this category exceeds the households of the villages near these groups. The taxation synopses of these groups were recorded together with the villages' synopses. For this reason, it is not exactly possible to determine these groups' shares in agricultural production. Moreover, it cannot be determined where these groups were between agricultural production and animal husbandry. On the other hand, the existence of taxation entries for taxes collected from *yörüks* and the amounts collected from husbandry-related activities may be parameters that can be used to determine the position of these *yörük* groups in terms of production.

The groups within this category are mostly from the regions of Gümülcine and Yenice-i Karasu. However, there are a good number of them in Demürhisar and Drama as well.

3.3.1. Cases in the Demürhisar region

To begin with the district of Demürhisar, in 1568 the village of Lepoşniçe has a number of *yörüks* registered by the village both as an anonymous group and as named groups.²⁰⁴ The Şehsuvar and Kemalli *cema'âts* are named after living and

²⁰⁴ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, ff. 37b-38a.

registered members of these *cema'âts*. There is also another, unnamed *cema'ât* in the village as well. The number of Muslim villagers' *hanes* is almost equal to one of these *cema'âts*. As the name of the village suggests, there are a good number of non-Muslim settlers as well. The totals of the households in this village are shown in the table below:

LEPOŞNİÇE	<i>yörüks</i>	settled Muslims	non-Muslims
	36 <i>çifts</i>	14 <i>çifts</i>	33 <i>hanes</i>
	1 <i>mücerred</i>	1 <i>mücerred</i>	23 <i>mücerreds</i>
total <i>nefer</i>	40	15	56

Since there is no *resm-i duhân* entry in the summary of this village, they can be seen as permanent settlers in the village. They were probably using the village as summer pasture, yet also actively cultivating the land. This village is one of those that can be identified on maps²⁰⁵. The geographical position of the village makes it rather suitable for *yörüks* for both summer and winter. The village is around 1,750 meters above sea level and close to a lake, as can be seen in the map below:

²⁰⁵ The village is identified as “Lipoş” by Simovski as referred in Stoyanovski; Todor Hristov Simovski, *Atlas of the Inhabited Places of the Aegean Macedonia : Old and New Names* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), 200., v. 1, 99; Aleksandar Stoyanovski, ed. *Турски Документи За Историјата На Македонија: Опширен Лописен Дефтер За Пашиа Санџакот (Казите Демир Хисар, Јениџе Карасу, Ѓумуљина И Зихна) Од 1569/70*, vol. 1 (Skopje: State Archives of the Republic of Macedonia, 2004), 99.

3.3.2. Cases in the Drama region

In the district of Drama, there are more examples of this kind of registration of *yörüks*. The villages in which such registrations can be seen are those listed below:

Table 9 - Settlements with *yörük* groups in Drama

Şibka	Kırlı (<i>mezra'â</i>)
Zagoriçe	Perçeşte
Boyalnova	Karaca Koyunlu
Orta Bereketlü	Salyani
Hıraste	

The village of Şipka is registered together with a *mezra'â* or reserve land in the detailed registers of both 1529 and 1568.²⁰⁹ The *mezra'â* is mentioned as Kara Dere in 1529, but as Kara Halil Deresi in 1568. As for the *yörüks*, none are mentioned in 1529. However, they are present in the registration of 1568. The number of households in the village in *nefers* is as shown in the table below:

ŞİBKA	1529	1568
<i>Yörüks</i>	---	6
Muslims	16	18
Non-Muslims	9	6

The synopsis of the village in 1568 differs from the previous registration in that it shows an additional *yörük* population and, in connection with it, an *adet-i ağnâm* entry. Although the number of *yörüks* present in the village totals just 6 households, this can be taken as a significant number considering the total number

²⁰⁹ BOA. TT.d. 403 f. 13, TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 577. f. 17a.

of households in the village. As a result of the *yörük* population, the *adet-i aġnâm* tax is applied at 80 *akçes*, indicating that these *yörüks* did not have many sheep. Taking this fact together with the fact that 3 of the *yörük* households are noted as having a *çift*, it can be said that these *yörüks* engaged in both animal husbandry and agriculture.

The village of Zagoriçe presents another noteworthy example of *yörüks* registered together with a village but without being noted under a specific name.

ZAGORİÇE	1529 ²¹⁰	1568 ²¹¹
<i>Yörüks</i>	---	48
Muslims	24	32
Non-Muslims	---	---

Although there is no *yörük* population in the register of 1529, there are 48 *yörüks* in the subsequent one. Such a change between two registers brings to mind the possibility that some *yörük* groups from other districts may have come to the village. Out of 48 *yörüks*, 17 are registered as paying the *resm-i çift*, while the remaining 31 are registered as *mücerreds*. Also noted for the *yörük* entry is the detail that “*ziraât idenler onikişer akça virürler ziraat itmeyenler altışar akça virürler*”.²¹² Together with this informative note, we also see that the *yörüks* who are to pay 12 *akçes* are noted with a “12” under their names, following which the heading “*mücerredân*” is added. Considering these numbers and their taxation together with

²¹⁰ BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 111.

²¹¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. ff. 228a-228b.

²¹² “those cultivating the land pay twelve *akças* each, those who do not cultivate pay six *akças* each.” TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. ff. 228b.

the synopsis of the *yörük* group may shed light upon the situation as it was in this village. The synopsis has no taxation entry for animal husbandry. On the contrary, the village has only agricultural production. This may lead to the assumption that the *yörüks* of the village were exclusively engaged in agricultural production. Their designation as *yörüks* must be a remnant of their previous way of life, with their eligibility as an auxiliary force being the real reason behind their title of *yörük*. In case of need, only those who were registered as *yörüks* could be added as *yamaks* or *eşkünci* in *yörük* regiments. As such, this group's classification as "yörük" must be a remnant of a military-administrative title and an ethno-cultural indication.

A similar picture in terms of demographic structure and the changes it underwent can be observed in the *mezra'â* of Boyalnova. The village has 8 Muslim households in 1529.²¹³ Furthermore, there is no registered income from animal husbandry. Although the district is present in the detailed register of 1478, it has a tax amount of only 400 *akçes*.²¹⁴ In the summary register dated 1519, no population is noted for the district, but a taxation amount of 1,999 *akçes* is provided.²¹⁵ This amount increases, but only to 2,024 *akçes*, due to an additional personal tax added to the previous amount. The population of the *mezra'â* in 1568 increases to 13 Muslim and 66 *yörük* households. Out of the total *yörük* population of 66, 19 are registered as *mücerreds*.

²¹³ BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 112-113.

²¹⁴ BOA. TT.d. 7, f. 33.

²¹⁵ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 45.

BOYALNOVA	1519 ²¹⁶	1529 ²¹⁷	1568 ²¹⁸
<i>Yörüks</i>	---	---	66 ²¹⁹
Muslims	---	8	13
Non-Muslims	---	---	---

The *mezra'â*, which is noted as being near the village of Edirneçik, was probably cultivated by the population of that village. Edirneçik was densely populated, and its cultivating population must have begun to settle down in the *mezra'â* of Boyalnova. The Kırılı *mezra'â* was another piece of land cultivated by the population of Edirneçik. Kırılı will be examined and discussed later, in the section on *yörük* villages/*mezra'âs*, and so it will not be dealt with in detail here. The demographic structure of Edirneçik can be seen in the table below:

EDİRNECİK	1478 ²²⁰	1519 ²²¹	1529 ²²²	1568 ²²³
Muslims	17 h. 4 mcr.	41 h. 27 mcr.	59 h. ²²⁴ 17 mcr. ²²⁵	61 h. 16 mcr.
Non-Muslims	20 h.	41 h.	47 h.	12 h.

²¹⁶ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 45.

²¹⁷ BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 112-113.

²¹⁸ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. ff. 230a-230b.

²¹⁹ 7 of them are noted to be *seyyid*, therefore exempt from *resm-i çift*. Also, there is one *müsellem* with a charter, so he is also exempt. The summary of the *yörüks* does not count them within the tax paying *yörüks*.

²²⁰ BOA. TT.d. 7, ff. 40-41. In this register, the village is named as Edirne.

²²¹ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 15.

²²² BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 63-65.

²²³ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. ff. 232a-233b.

²²⁴ 19 of them are newly converted Muslims.

²²⁵ 5 of them are newly converted Muslims.

	3 mcr.	2 mcr.	2 mcr.	15 mcr.
	3 bv.	1 bv.		

In 1568, in addition to the Muslim population, 8 “*doğancıyân*” were also present in the village; their number had been 6 in 1529. In 1568, out of 61 Muslim *hanes*, 9 are noted to be *akıncı* households. Although there is no indication of *akıncı* presence in 1529, and the increase in population is very slight, it is not clear how these *akıncıs* came to be present in 1568. It seems that they are not hereditary *akıncıs*, but newly registered ones. In addition to this, it should be stated that conversion was one of the reasons for the increase in the Muslim population.

The connection between the population of Edirneçik and the situation of Boyalnova lies in the fact that the changes in the taxation amounts of the Boyalnova *mezra‘â* can be explained by the population increase in Edirneçik. Since Boyalnova is cultivated by the settlers of Edirneçik – together with the population of the district itself from 1529 onwards – the increase in the population of Edirneçik seems to have caused an increase in agricultural production in Boyalnova, as seen in the taxation amounts mentioned above.

As for the *yörük* population which emerges in Boyalnova in 1568, it should be mentioned that they are noted as residing in the village. So as not to lead to any confusion about the *resm-i çift* they would pay, “12” is noted down below the names of those who are paying *resm-i çift*. The synopsis of the *yörük* group does not indicate any *öşür*, but includes only *resm-i raiyyet*. Although there is no note about the topic, it can be assumed that their agricultural production is included among the production of the settled village residents. This is because, among the amount collected from the village, we see *resm-i duhan-i yörükân*, and as such their taxes in

kind must be included among the villagers'. The amount of the *yörüks' resm-i duhan* is noted as 40 *akçes*, while the amount determined for the *yörüks* in this region was 6 *akçes* for a married householder not cultivating the land. As these numbers do not divide evenly, no certain assumption about this situation can be made. However, it might be speculated that the scribe may have just added or subtracted a few *akçes* in order to obtain a round number. In such a case, the dues may well be for those who were registered as *seyyids*. Since there were 7 householders, normally their dues would come to 42 *akçes*, which may have been noted down as 40. It should also be added that miscalculations are not unheard of in the registers, and this could be the case here as well.

The village of Preçiste is an example which includes a small number of *yörüks* as a separate group. The population of the village and its changes over time can be seen in the table below:

PREÇİŞTE	1519 ²²⁶	1529 ²²⁷	1568 ²²⁸
<i>Yörüks</i>	---	---	5 çift
Muslims	7 h. 3 mcr.	11 h. 7 mcr.	33 h. 30 mcr.
Non-Muslims	36 h. 18 mcr.	41 h. 17 mcr. 2 bive	20 h. 16 mcr.

Before mentioning the *yörük* presence in the village, the drastic changes occurring in the Muslim and non-Muslim populations require clarification. The reason for the decrease in the non-Muslim population, and for the increase in the Muslim population, is due to the Islamization process, which seems to have picked

²²⁶ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 48.

²²⁷ BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 128-129.

²²⁸ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, ff. 242a-b.

up speed in the first half of the sixteenth century in this region. 23 *nefers* of the registered 66 Muslims in the 1568 register are converts, a fact which clear shows what the situation is.

The *yörüks* in this village are visible in 1568, and they are registered in a separate *mahalle* together with some settled members of the population. The *mahalle-i Muradlı* is noted as being “*der sinur-i karye-i Preçişte*”. Sedentary households consist of 17 *çifts* and 4 *mücerreds*. To these can be added 5 *çifts* of *yörük* households. In the synopsis of the village, two separate entries related to animal husbandry can be seen. One of these is the “*resm-i ağıl*”, with an income of 200 *akçes*. The other entry is “*resm-i yaylak ve resm-i ağıl der sinur-i karye-i Preçişte*” in the amount of 300 *akçes*. From the first entry of *resm-i ağıl*, it can be deduced that the sedentary population of the village possess some flocks in addition to their agricultural activities. The second entry is to be collected from the *mahalle-i Muradlı*, as indicated by the phrase “*der sinur-i karye-i Preçişte*”. This gives the impression that this includes collection from both the sedentary and the *yörük* populations of the *mahalle*; otherwise, only the *yörüks* would be mentioned. Since both the *resm-i yaylak* and *resm-i ağıl* are registered together, it is not possible to determine the extent of animal husbandry. The registration of the sedentary population together with 5 *yörük* households in a separate *mahalle* together with the collection of the *resm-i yaylak* and *resm-i ağıl* as a separate entry leads to a possible assumption that the sedentary population and the *yörüks* of *mahalle-i Muradlı* might have been somehow related. The settlers of the *mahalle* might have been a group of sedentarized *yörüks* who were no longer *yörüks* in terms of fiscal administration and were therefore registered as peasants. The small number of

yörüks registered with them is one of the reasons for such a perception. Another clue about this issue is the absence of converts among them: all of the converts in the region are among the other settlers of the village, while the *mahalle-i Muradlı* has no converts. Although a direct correlation cannot be established between conversion and the *yörük* population, it is still remarkable to see a high rate of conversion among the Muslim population of the village while the Muradlı quarter has no converts at all. If the settled population of the *mahalle-i Muradlı* is considered to be *yörük* in origin, the *yörük* population of 5 households can be interpreted as the remnants of this group.

The village of Orta Bereketlü presents a different picture in terms of *yörük* presence. This village is registered as “*Orta Bereketlü nâm-i diger Eyri Obası nâm-ı diger İncir Obası*” in both 1529 and 1568. The alternative name “İncir Obası” is listed as “İncirci Obası” in the summary register of 1519, with the main name being registered only as “Bereketlü”. As the alternative names suggest, the village’s foundation seems to have had roots in a tribal organization, as indicated by the word “*oba*”. The demographic structure of the village can be seen in the table below:

ORTA BEREKETLÜ	1519 ²²⁹	1529 ²³⁰	1568 ²³¹
<i>Yörük</i> ²³²	---	6 h. 1 mcr.	5 h. 1 mcr.
Muslim	58 h. ²³³	78 h.	55 h.

²²⁹ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 16.

²³⁰ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 33 and BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 99-100.

²³¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, ff. 248b-249a.

²³² These numbers of *yörüks* exclude *çeltükci* households which are included in the register.

²³³ The Muslim *hânes* are noted to be non-Muslims in the summary register of 1519. When considered together with the registers of the following years, it is clear that it is done so by mistake since the following surveys has no non-Muslim population at all in the village.

	45 mcr.	48 mcr.	12 mcr.
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There is no clear explanation for the decrease in the settled population in 1568. We can only speculate that the missing population may have migrated to another village or *mezra'â*. Unless there was a natural disaster or an epidemic, there is no other way to explain such a decrease in a village with an already large population.

In something that is otherwise rarely seen, the *yörük* population of the village is already visible in 1529. In the detailed survey, they are registered among the settled population with a note above their names suggesting their military duties:

<i>yamak</i> ²³⁴	<i>yamak</i>	<i>eşkünci</i>	<i>yamak</i>	<i>yamak</i>	<i>yamak</i>	<i>yamak</i> ²³⁵
Evrenos [bin] Yusuf	Ali [bin] Derzi Halil	Yusuf [bin] Derzi Halil	Hüseyin [bin] Muhammed	Hasan [bin] Muhammed	Deniz [bin] Muhammed	Ulaş veled-i Muhammed
ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç	<i>m</i>

This sort of identification of the *yörüks* by means of their military duties is not common. Since they pay the same amount of *resm-i raiyyet* as the *çeltükçis*, they are categorized under the same entry in the synopsis:²³⁶

Çift-i
Yörükân maâ Çeltükçiyân
9
beher fi 12
108

In 1568, a similar entry can be seen:²³⁷

²³⁴ BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 99.

²³⁵ BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 100.

²³⁶ BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 100.

<u>Çift-i</u>	
Yörükân maâ Çeltükçiyân	
14	nim 1
<u>resm</u>	<u>resm</u>
168	6

<u>Bennâk</u>	
ve nîm-i Yörükân	
maâ Çeltükçiyân	
2	
<u>resm</u>	
12	

To the numbers above, 2 *mücerred yörüks* should also be added. As was also the case with some of the *yörüks* in Gümülcine and Yenice-i Karasu, the *mücerred yörüks* of this village did not pay *resm-i raiyyet*, and therefore were not included in the synopsis.

In order to clarify the number of *çeltükçis* mentioned in the synopses above, their numbers need to be given. In 1529, there are only 2 *çeltükçis* included in the total. This number has risen to 12 by 1568. The village has no taxation entries for animal husbandry and related activities. For this reason, the explanatory note on the *yörük* entry reading “*karye-i mezburede sâkinler*” should be understood as meaning they are resident in the village. Since their military roles are specified, they are considered *yörüks* by the government owing to their particular fiscal and military obligations.

The *yörüks* of the village of Karaca Koyunlu village in the Drama region present another example which includes the registration of militarily associated *yörüks* in both 1529 and 1568. However, since, in the 1529 registry, the village is a

²³⁷ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 249a.

part of the *kazâ* of Yenice-i Karasu, we cannot obtain a detailed picture of it.²³⁸ The demographic structure of the village can be seen in the table below:

KARACA KOYUNLU	1529 ²³⁹	1568 ²⁴⁰
<i>Yörük</i>	7 <i>nefer</i>	9 h. 3 mcr.
Muslim	25 h. 11 mcr.	20 h. 8 mcr.

As for the military aspect of these *yörüks*, they are registered as *yamaks* in 1529. In 1568, no indication of military association is given above their names. However, they are recorded as “*yamakân*” in the synopsis. This may be as a result of the previous registration; in other words, they may have been noted in the synopsis as *yamakân* because they had been recorded as such in the previous record. It should be pointed out that such a usage, in which the terms *yörük* and *yamak* are used synonymously, is not common. In fact, this situation leads to the idea that it may have been noted so in the previous register.

In relation to their way of life, what is noteworthy is that the entry of *resm-i kışlak* in the 1568 register. This seems to contradict the fact that 9 *yörük* households are recorded as having a *çift*. Since the *yörüks* cultivating the land did not pay the *resm-i kışlak* but rather the *resm-i zemin*, it can be said that the *yörüks* who were paying this *resm-i kışlak* were not the *yörüks* who were recorded with a *çift* in this village. Although there is no other *yörük* group recorded in the Karaca Koyunlu village, the register gives the impression that there was another group of *yörüks*

²³⁸ The regions of Yenice-i Karasu and Gümölcine do not have detailed registers for the period of 1529. Some *evkâf* villages have such records from 1550s.

²³⁹ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 24.

²⁴⁰ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 249a – 249b.

whose *resm-i kışlak* was registered among the taxes of this village because their flocks spent the winter in the pastures of Karaca Koyunlu. The amount collected was 250 *akçes*, meaning that there were a fair number of flocks grazing in the village's territory.

The surrounding villages provide more information on these "invisible" *yörüks*, whose traces can be seen through the taxation of their flocks. The next record after Karaca Koyunlu is the village of Avli. Avli is recorded with 7 separate *yörük cema'âts*, and they are noted as being "*karye-i mezbure sinurunda kışlayub*". This leads to the assumption that these *yörüks* must have spent the winter in the territory of this village, together with their flocks. However, the actual situation seems to have been different. This is because of the fact that, in the synopsis of Avli, the *resm-i duhan* collected from 75 households of *yörüks* and the 200 *akçes* collected as *resm-i ağıl* (making a total of 40 flocks and 1,200 sheep) are recorded, but there is no *resm-i kışlak*.²⁴¹ Subsequent to this village and its *yörüks* are recorded the villages of Kranye? (*nam-i diger Vito Glac*) and Pravişte-i Köhne.²⁴² What is noteworthy in these villages is the fact that Kranye? has an entry reading *resm-i kışlak maa ağıl*, with an amount of 100 *akçes*, while Pravişte-i Köhne has the *resm-i kışlak* and *resm-i ağıl* at 30 *akçes* each. It should also be added that neither of these villages has any *yörük* – or actually, any Muslim – population recorded. As such, the surrounding villages of Avli and its *yörüks* have entries for taxation on animal husbandry. Although no clear-cut deduction can be made from these data, it still seems safe to conclude that the flocks of the *yörüks* registered within the village of

²⁴¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 250b.

²⁴² TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 251a.

Avli might have been grazed upon the pastures which are within the boundaries of the surrounding villages, and that this is why *resm-i kışlak* and *resm-i ağıl* entries are seen in the villages of Karaca Koyunlu, Kranye?, and Pravişte-i Köhne.

The village of Hiraste can be used as another example of *yörüks* registered as a group together with settlement units. The demographic structure of the village is shown in the table below:

HIRASTE	1519 ²⁴³	1529 ²⁴⁴	1568 ²⁴⁵
Yörük	---	---	15 h. 10 mcr.
Muslim	3 h. 3 mcr.	9 h. 5 mcr.	20 h. 7 mcr.
Non-Muslim	124 h. 21 mcr.	125 h. 22 mcr.	113 h. 39 mcr.

Looking at the changes in the Muslim and non-Muslim populations, the table reveals that there was not a drastic change. As was the case with the previous villages in Drama region, the situation in this village was affected by the conversion process over time.

In terms of the *yörük* population, they appear only in 1568. However, in 1529, there are entries for *resm-i kışlak* and *resm-i ağıl* in the synopsis of the village. This gives the impression that there must have already been a number of *yörüks* in 1529. Considering the amount of *resm-i ağıl*, which is 375 *akçes* at this date, there must have been 75 flocks in total. Moreover, the *resm-i kışlak* is recorded as 110

²⁴³ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 45.

²⁴⁴ BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 102-104.

²⁴⁵ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, ff. 259a- 261b.

akçes. Because of the fact that the *resm-i kışlak* is applied in various cases and at various amounts, the number of *yörüks* this signifies cannot be determined exactly. However, when we consider that those who pay *öşür* in a specific settlement do not pay *resm-i kışlak*, regardless of whether they are *yörük* or ordinary *reaya*, it can be said that these are most probably *yörüks*.

In 1568, the *yörüks* of the village are recorded, with 25 *nefers* in total. The *resm-i ağıl* and *resm-i kışlak* recorded in the synopsis for this date are 230 and 120 *akçes* respectively. Since *yörüks* are visible in this register, there is no doubt about their presence in 1568. What is more, the amounts of these taxes clearly suggest that these *yörüks* – or at least a good number of them in the village – deal with animal husbandry.

The village of Salyani presents another noteworthy example from the district of Drama in terms of *yörük* presence. The distribution of the population of Salyani in 1529 and in 1568 is shown in the table below:

SALYANI	1529 ²⁴⁶	1568 ²⁴⁷
<i>Yörük</i>	7 çift 4 mcr.	---
Muslim	44 h. 45 mcr.	51 h. 46 mcr.

The *yörüks* are registered as “*cemaât-i yörükân*” in 1529, with 7 çift *hânes* and 4 *mücerreds*. The synopsis of the village in this register includes *resm-i çift-i yörükân*, *resm-i ağıl*, and *resm-i duhân* as related to *yörük* presence. What is noteworthy in

²⁴⁶ BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 138-139.

²⁴⁷ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 577, ff. 29a-29b.

this synopsis is the fact that both *resm-i çift* and *resm-i duhân* are present at the same time. Normally, if a *yörük* cultivates the land, he pays 12 *akçes* as *resm-i çift*. In the general regulations of Süleymân I, the following is clearly stated: “*yörüğün elinde sipâhi yerinden tapulu yeri olsa, zira’ât edüb öşri ve resmi verildikten sonar kanun budur ki sipâhiye resm-i boyunduruk deyü yılda on iki akçe vere. Ve yörükler sancakbegi sipâhisi yerinde zira’ât eyleseler, tamam çiftlûden on iki akçe ve nîm çiftten altı akçe alına.*”²⁴⁸ This fact is registered in this village through an entry separately noted from the *resm-i çift* of the *reaya* of the village.²⁴⁹

resm-i çift-i yörükân-i mezkûrîn

7

beher nefer fi 12

84

In the same synopsis, there is also an entry for *resm-i duhân*, with an amount of 48 *akçes*. The *yörüks* registered in this village consist of 7 households with a *çift* and 4 *mücerred yörüks*. Since the amount extracted as *resm-i duhân* is 48, it requires 8 additional households of *yörüks*, due to the fact that the amount for *resm-i duhân* for a *yörük* household is 6 *akçes*.²⁵⁰ This case suggests a number of possible explanations. One of these is the possibility that the *yörük* households may not

²⁴⁸ Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* 8 vols., vol. 4 (Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri kanunnâmeleri, Merkezî ve umumî kanunnâmeler) (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1992), 313.

²⁴⁹ BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 139.

²⁵⁰ Because of the fact that the districts in question do not have their provincial *kanunnâmes*, here the *kanunnâme* of Silistre (dated 1518), where a good number of *yörüks* – both of military and non-military nature- resides is taken as the basis for this amount. It should be also mentioned that it is known that the regulation items in this *kanunnâme* are issued according to a general regulation, which makes the basis taken here healthy. Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* 8 vols., vol. 3 (Yavuz Sultan Selim devri kanunnâmeleri) (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1991), 467.

have been registered as separate households, but rather registered only through the *resm-i duhan* entry, since this was their personal taxes. However, it should be stated that it was not a common practice to record “*hâric*” *yörüks* only through their taxes collected. However, the existence of *yörüks* with agricultural production and related personal taxes and taxes in kind may have led those registering them to consider it confusing to add these *hâric yörüks* with *resm-i duhân* in separate entries. As another possible explanation, it can be suggested that they were simply omitted by mistake. In any case, they are not observed in the following detailed survey, conducted in 1568.

For the entry of *resm-i ağıl* with 66 *akçes*, it is not possible to determine which group – *yörüks* with *resm-i çift*, *yörüks* with *resm-i duhan*, or settled Muslim *reaya* – possessed the flocks. The only thing clear about this entry is the fact that in this village there were sheep exceeding a total of 13 flocks.

3.3.3. Cases in the Yenice-i Karasu region

Examples for *yörük* groups in this category are abundant in the district of Yenice-i Karasu. However, it should first be mentioned that the regions of Yenice-i Karasu and Gümülcine do not have complete detailed registers apart from the registers of 1568 (TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 577). For this reason, the basic source used in the evaluation of these two regions’ *yörük cema’âts* registered with villages are these two *defters*. In order to see the changes in the population rates among the *yörük* and *reaya* populations, the 1530 summary register TT. 167 will also be used. In the 1530 register, naturally we cannot observe how these *yörüks* were registered. For this reason, the villages registered with *yörük cema’âts* in 1568

will be taken as the basis, and their situation in terms of population distribution will be evaluated.

In addition to this aspect, it should be noted that the summary register does not contain synopses of the settlement units. As such, the position and role of the *yörüks* as a social group cannot be determined for the date in question.

First of all, the register of 1530 should be considered so as to be able to observe the demographic structure in terms of *yörük* presence. Although, for the villages listed in the table below, it can be seen whether or not they included any *yörüks*, it is not possible to determine whether these villages were recorded together with *yörük cema'âts*, as is the case with the registers of 1568. For this reason, the villages noted here are chosen according to the data we have from 1568. In other words, before extracting the data in the table below, the detailed register of 1568 has been used in order to determine the *yörük* groups registered as *cema'âts* together with villages. Subsequently, these villages are taken into consideration with the distribution of *yörük* and *reaya* populations being detected according to the summary register of 1530. The data contained in the summary register of 1530 allows us to see the extent of the *yörük* population in the *kazâ* of Yenice-i Karasu before 1568.

Table 10 – Ratio between the *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts* with villages and the Muslim *reâyâ* in Yenice-i Karasu in 1530²⁵¹

Village	Reâyâ		Yörük	Ratio
<i>cema'ât</i>	<i>hâne+</i> <i>mcr</i>		<i>hâne+</i> <i>mcr</i>	

²⁵¹ Because the register does not give the *mücerred* numbers of *yörüks* separately, the settled *reâyâ* is also given in their total numbers.

Muhammedlü	21	75%	7	25%
Danişmend Obası	45	88%	6	12%
Sakar Kaya	29	100%	---	0%
Göynüklü	14	100%	---	0%
Yelkenci	152	88%	21	12%
Öksüzler	9	30%	21	70%
Naraste	30	79%	8	21%
Beg Obası	109	84%	21	16%
Nâib Tanrı Virmiş	27	87%	4	13%
Latovişte ?	4	100%	---	0%
Niholi	3	13%	21	88%
Hızır Pîrî ve Eyne Begi ve Halil Pîrî nd. Yayalar	3	23%	10	77%
Yeniceler	16	57%	12	43%
Polad nd. Beg Obası	29	59%	20	41%
Evladlı	13	50%	13	50%
Mukbil	54	61%	34	39%
Aksak Musa	19	63%	11	37%
Kutlucalu	74	97%	2	3%
Mustafalu	22	67%	11	33%
Okçular	24	59%	17	41%
Osmanlu	10	29%	25	71%
Çakırlu	10	91%	1	9%
Ömer	18	100%	---	0%
Uzunca Halil	46	88%	6	12%
Baki Obası	14	44%	18	56%
Şahin Obası	11	61%	7	39%

Yuvacılar	3	12%	22	88%
Kopuzcu Kurd	28	76%	9	24%
Armutlu	34	89%	4	11%
Ulucak nd. Hamza	3	100%	---	0%
Emirlü	6	38%	10	63%
Has Polad	28	78%	8	22%
Begenmiş	22	34%	42	66%
Kara Yakub	42	61%	27	39%
Koçi Obası	66	85%	12	15%
Orfana	5	63%	3	38%
Urgancı	106	97%	3	3%
Şahin nd. Bıyıklı	49	83%	10	17%
Güneli	14	61%	9	39%
Kenez nd. Bekice?	74	94%	5	6%
Koyun Yakublu	35	76%	11	24%
Kerevis	96	74%	33	26%
TOTAL	1417	74%	504	26%

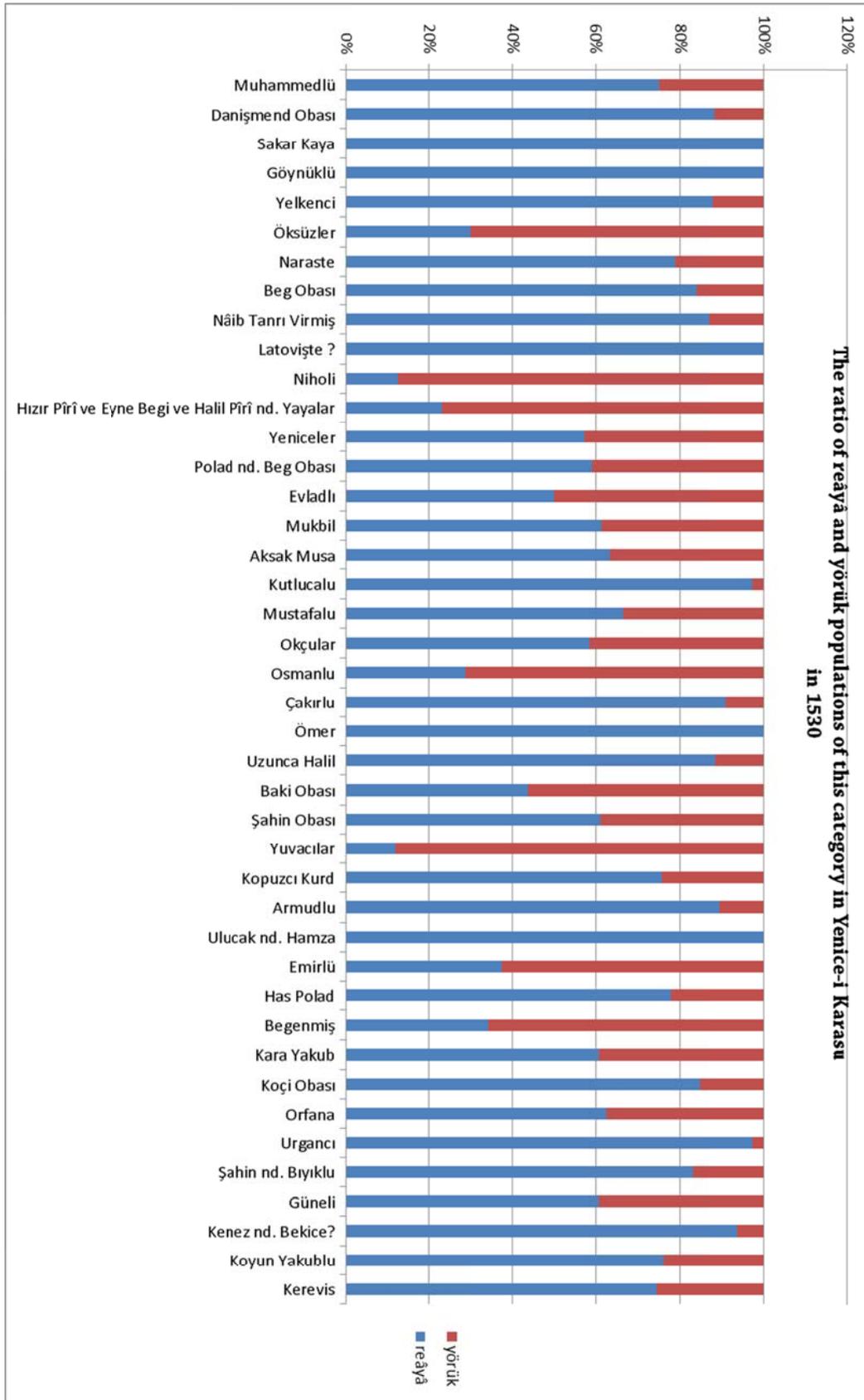


Figure 5 - Ratio between the yörüks registered as *cema'âts* with villages and the Muslim *reâyâ* in Yenice-i Karasu in 1530

In 1530, and in contrast with their situation in 1568, there are some villages which have no *yörük* population at all; namely, Sakar Kaya, Göynüklü, Latovišta?, Ömer, and Ulucak nd. Hamza. Apart from these villages with no *yörük* population, the proportion of *yörüks* varies from 3% (Kutlucalı) to 88% (Yuvacılar and Niholi). Of 42 villages, only 9 have 50% or more *yörüks*. This situation is reflected in the total ratio of 26% *yörük* population.

In 1568, of 140 settlement units (*karye*, *mezraa*, and *kasaba*) registered in the region, 42 villages have *yörük* groups recorded as *cema'âts* together with settled *reaya*. This means that 30% of the settlement units in the district have cases of such registration. Therefore, the cases in this region will not be elaborated upon individually. Instead, the numbers of population and their rates in the total population of the villages will be given below. In this way, it is possible to see the extent of the *yörük* population in these villages both individually and as a whole. It should also be stated that the non-Muslim populations of the villages in question are excluded. In fact, only the village of Sakar Kaya (33 *hane*, 11 *mücerred*) has a non-Muslim population among these cases, with all of the others consisting entirely of a Muslim population. Through the table, the general features of these cases will be discussed in terms of *yörük* presence. Following this, certain specific cases will be dealt with. By means of these particular examples, the nature of *yörüks* as a social group and their place among the settled Muslim *reaya* will be shown.

The table of the *yörük cema'âts* registered together with the villages in the Yenice-i Karasu district, as well as their demographic distribution in terms of settled Muslim *reaya* and *yörüks*, reveal the ratio of the *yörük* in this category in the region in question:

Table 11 - Ratio between the *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts* with villages and the Muslim *reâyâ* in Yenice-i Karasu in 1568

Village	Reâyâ		Ratio	Yörük		Ratio
	<i>hâne</i>	<i>mcr.</i>		<i>hâne</i>	<i>mcr.</i>	
Muhammedlü	32	14	65%	14	11	35%
Danişmend Obası	48	18	89%	8	---	11%
Sakar Kaya	41	17	84%	2	9	16%
Göynüklü	9	4	34%	10	15	66%
Yelkenci	54	121	90%	13	7	10%
Öksüzler	4	---	8%	25	21	92%
Naraste	41	15	77%	17	---	23%
Beg Obası	90	20	80%	28	---	20%
Nâib Tanrı Virmiş	31	3	85%	6	---	15%
Latovişte ?	10	5	79%	4	---	21%
Niholi	11	6	40%	24	2	60%
Hızır Pîri ve Eyne Begi ve Halil Pîri nd. Yayalar	2	---	9%	11	10	91%
Yeniceler	21	4	66%	10	3	34%
Polad nd. Beg Obası	29	6	60%	23	---	40%
Evladlı	20	---	54%	16	1	46%
Mukbil	42	15	59%	39	---	41%
Aksak Musa	17	11	82%	3	3	18%
Kutlucalu	68	15	93%	6	---	7%
Mustafalu	10	6	38%	13	13	62%
Okçular	18	13	47%	23	12	53%
Osmanlu	15	2	37%	23	6	63%
Çakırlu	13	---	50%	9	4	50%

Ömer	18	1	73%	7	---	27%
Uzunca Halil	51	12	88%	9	---	13%
Baki Obası	17	6	46%	22	5	54%
Şahin Obası	9	3	48%	13	---	52%
Yuvacılar	32	17	67%	24	---	33%
Kopuzcu Kurd	32	---	68%	11	4	32%
Armudlu	14	7	53%	19	---	48%
Ulucak nd. Hamza	5	6	44%	10	4	56%
Emirlü	27	21	80%	12	---	20%
Has Polad	33	20	78%	15	---	22%
Begenmiş	16	1	19%	45	27	81%
Kara Yakub	23	11	41%	24	24	59%
Koçi Obası	40	31	81%	12	5	19%
Orfana	3	---	13%	21	---	88%
Urgancı	84	50	96%	5	---	4%
Şahin nd. Bıyıklı	55	24	98%	1	1	2%
Güneli	13	9	71%	9	---	29%
Kenez nd. Bekice?	85	33	96%	4	1	4%
Koyun Yakublu	8	20	68%	7	6	32%
Kerevis	51	11	61%	40	---	39%
TOTAL	1242	578	69%	637	194	31%

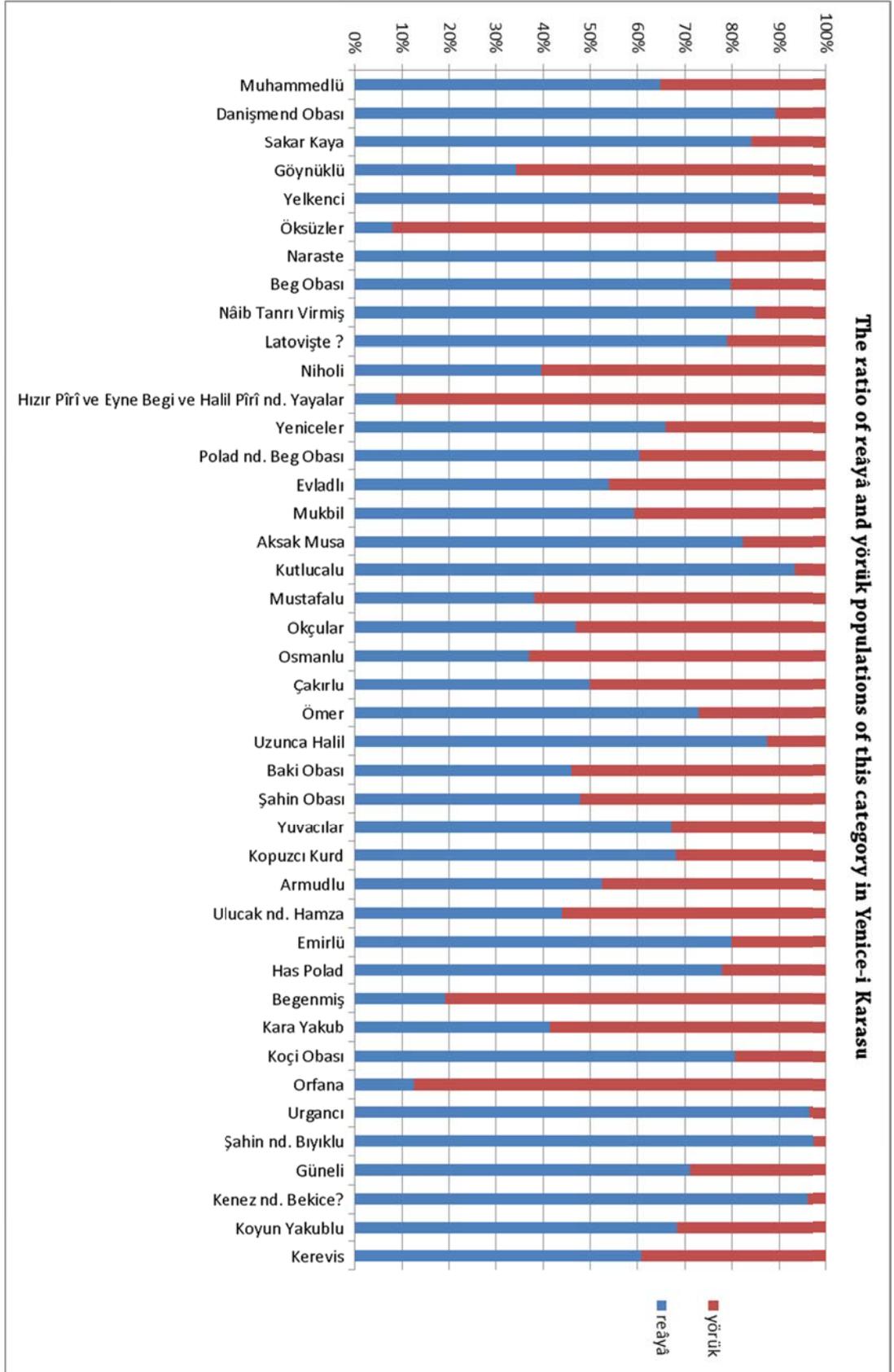


Figure 6 - Ratio between the yörüks registered as cema'âts with villages and the Muslim reâyâ in Yenice-i Karasu in 1568

Initially, it should be mentioned in relation to the table above that the rate of the *yörük* population among the total number of Muslims in the villages varies from 2% to 92%. The number of villages with rates equal to 50% or higher is 14 out of 42, accounting for 33% of the total villages given. As for the rates of the population in total, the table shows that 69% are *reaya* and 31% are *yörüks*.

As a general feature of the villages in terms of *yörük* presence, it can be said for the registration in question that these villages usually have entries related to animal husbandry, with 26 of 42 villages containing such entries. As such, it would be reasonable to assume that the *yörüks* of this category in this district continued to be connected to the *yörük* way of life. However, any interpretation of this issue will be misleading if it is not stated that the amounts related to animal husbandry are, with the exception of five villages, not high. This brings to mind the fact that the entries related to animal husbandry – basically, the *adet-i aġnâm* and *resm-i aġıl* – may well be extracted from the settled *reaya* as well. Since there is no distinction between the taxpayers in terms of these entries, this issue remains unclear.

The five villages with high amounts of sheep tax are Daniřmend Obası, Sakar Kaya, Kenez, Koyun Yakublı, and Kerevis, with the amounts collected being 900, 800, 800, 2,260, and 700 *akçes* respectively. Among these amounts, the most remarkable amount belongs to the village of Koyun Yakublı, at 2,260 *akçes*. Interestingly enough, the synopsis for this village contains two other entries as collection apart from the sheep tax: these are the vineyard tax at 590 *akçes*, and “*niyabet ve resm-i arus ve...*” at 129 *akçes*. As there are no cereals extracted, it can be safely said that animal husbandry was virtually the only economic activity of this village. It should also be mentioned that the village does not have many *yörüks* in it:

while there are 28 settled *reaya*, there are only 13 *yörüks*. This may lead one to suggest that animal husbandry was an economic activity which was not peculiar to the *yörüks* of the region. On the contrary, it was also practiced by settled peoples to a significant extent. It seems safe to come to such a conclusion, at least for certain parts of the Yenice-i Karasu district.

Among the villages with a large amount of sheep tax, Danişmend Obası and Sakar Kaya can be said to present a similar picture. Danişmend Obası had 56 *nefers* as settled Muslims and only 8 *yörüks* registered in the village, while Sakar Kaya had 58 *nefers* as settled Muslims, 11 *yörüks*, and 44 non-Muslims. Considering the small proportion of *yörüks* in these villages, together with the large amounts of sheep tax – 900 and 800 *akçes* respectively – they represent examples of a case similar to that of Koyun Yakublı. In this respect, it can be said that the settled *reaya* of these villages were actively involved in animal husbandry as their basic economic activity. Thus, the picture observed suggests a clear intertwinement.

This intertwinement is also valid for another dimension in the region; namely, the composition of the population. The village of Yuvacılar presents an explicit example which bears indications of *yörük* origins for the settled Muslim *reaya*. In order to explain the situation in this village, certain data needs to be provided from the relevant synopsis. The village has 31 *çifts*, 1 *bennâk*, and 17 *mücerreds* as its settled *reâyâ*. Since the *çifts* mentioned for this village refer to only 1 *çift*, it is safe to assume each of them to be a *hâne*. Apart from this, a group of *yamaks* is recorded, amounting to 7 *çifts* in total. There are also butter suppliers, consisting of 15 *çifts*, and 2 *bennâks*. Of the taxation amounts, it is understood that the separate group of *yamaks* and *yağcıyân* are registered as *yörüks*, as, unlike the

reâya, they pay 12 *akçes* for a *çift*. In fact, the *yağcıyân* must have paid the same amount as the ordinary *reâyâ*. Therefore, in this case, they should be *yörüks* registered as *yağcı*, thus paying the reduced amount of 12 *akçes* designated for *yörüks*. The noteworthy point regarding this village lies in the taxation of the settled *reâyâ*, who pay 22 *akçes* for each *çift*. Although this amount seems very ordinary, the fact that almost all of these taxpayers are noted down as “*yamak*” or “*eşkünci*” deserves attention and is in fact what creates such a noteworthy situation. Out of a total of 49 *nefers*, 3 are noted as *eşkünci* and 37 are noted as *yamaks*. These two expressions are used for members of the military organization consisting of *yörüks*, as has been noted several times before in the present study and as will be mentioned again in subsequent sections as well. However, these are not called “*cema’ât-i yörükân*”, as is done when the register contains entries for *yörüks*. Furthermore, as mentioned above, they pay 22 *akçes* for each *çift*. Thus, in the same village, there are some *yamaks* who are regarded as *yörüks* and there are other *yamaks* who are regarded as ordinary *reâyâ*. These are certainly handled as different groups legally. What seems to have happened in this situation is that a group of *yörüks* settled down for some time and so began to be considered ordinary *reâyâ* in terms of personal taxation. However, since these settled *yörüks* had already been recruited as *yamaks* and *eşküncis* as members of the military, and their duties remained despite being no longer *yörüks*, they continued to be noted down as *eşküncis* and *yamaks* in the registers. The case of Yuvacılar village thus gives us some idea about the *yörük* presence and its continuous implications in the region.

In order to see changes over time, it would be beneficial to compare the proportions of *yörüks* in 1530 and 1568. The percentages of the *yörük* population

within the total Muslim population for each village can be seen in the following table:

Table 12 - Changes in ratio between the *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts* with villages and the Muslim *reâyâ* in Yenice-i Karasu

Village	1530	1568	Change
Muhammedlü	25%	35%	+ 10%
Danişmend Obası	12%	11%	- 1%
Sakar Kaya	0%	16%	+16%
Göynüklü	0%	66%	+66%
Yelkenci	12%	10%	-2%
Öksüzler	70%	92%	+22%
Naraste	21%	23%	+2%
Beg Obası	16%	20%	+4%
Nâib Tanrı Virmiş	13%	15%	+2%
Latovişte ?	0%	21%	+21%
Niholi	88%	60%	-28%
Hızır Pîri ve Eyne Begi ve Halil Pîri nd. Yayalar	77%	91%	+14%
Yeniceler	43%	34%	-9%
Polad nd. Beg Obası	41%	40%	-1%
Evladlı	50%	46%	-4%
Mukbil	39%	41%	+2%
Aksak Musa	37%	18%	-19%
Kutlucalu	3%	7%	+4%
Mustafalu	33%	62%	+29%
Okçular	41%	53%	+12%

Osmanlu	71%	63%	-8%
Çakırlu	9%	50%	+41%
Ömer	0%	27%	+27%
Uzunca Halil	12%	13%	+1%
Baki Obası	56%	54%	-2%
Şahin Obası	39%	52%	+13%
Yuvacılar	88%	33%	-55%
Kopuzcu Kurd	24%	32%	+8%
Armutlu	11%	48%	+37%
Ulucak nd. Hamza	0%	56%	+56%
Emirlü	63%	20%	-43%
Has Polad	22%	22%	0%
Begenmiş	66%	81%	+15%
Kara Yakub	39%	59%	+20%
Koçi Obası	15%	19%	+4%
Orfana	38%	88%	+50%
Urgancı	3%	4%	+1%
Şahin nd. Bıyıklu	17%	2%	+15%
Güneli	39%	29%	-10%
Kenez nd. Bekice?	6%	4%	+2%
Koyun Yakublu	24%	32%	+8%
Kerevis	26%	39%	+13%
TOTAL	26%	31%	+5%

As can be seen in the table, the overall proportion of *yörüks* between the dates of the two registers in question increased by 5%, from 26% to 31%. It should be stated that it does not necessarily mean a higher increase in the number of *yörüks* as

compared to the number of Muslim settlers. At this point, the relevant increases should also be given in numbers in order to see the actual changes. Among these 42 villages, the number of Muslim settlers in *nefers* increases from 1,417 to 1,820, an increase of 28%. The increase in the number of *yörüks* is from 504 to 831, an increase of 65%. Such an increase in the *yörük* population cannot be explained by natural growth. However, no clear explanation for the increase can be given. There are some villages which had no *yörük* population in 1530 but did have one in 1568. Their share in the general increase is very important. In this context, it can be suggested that a good number of *yörüks* who were not present in the register of 1530 may have come to these villages in the period between the recordings of the two registers. The main obstacle in this issue is the absence of a detailed register from 1530. This prevents us from making further sound suggestions and explanations in relation to the comparison. Considering the fact that the surrounding settlements, both in the *kazâ* in question and in neighboring *kazâs*, might well have played a role in the changes of the populations of these villages, it must be firmly stated that no clear-cut explanation for the changes in the demographic structure and its composition for the region in question can be given.

3.3.4. Cases in the Gümülcine region

The issues related to the *yörük cema'âts* registered with villages in the Yenice-i Karasu district in terms of the register of 1530 are also valid for the Gümülcine region. In parallel with this, it would be beneficial to take a look at the distribution of the population in terms of *yörük* presence in the villages of Gümülcine –

especially those which fit into the category in question – determined according to the registers of 1568.

Table 13 - Ratio between the *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts* with villages and the Muslim *re'âyâ* in Gümölcine in 1530²⁵²

Village	Muslim <i>re'âyâ</i>		<i>Yörüks</i>	
	<i>hâne + mcr.</i>	%	<i>hâne+ mcr.</i>	%
Bulgari Sarucası	24	55%	20	45%
Yavaş nd. Özbeklü ²⁵³	25	71%	10	29%
Salihçiler	12	92%	1	8%
Kızıl Ağaç?	5	24%	16	76%
Mesini Sarucası	18	44%	23	56%
Hacılar	17	26%	48	74%
İncügez	16	57%	12	43%
Balabanlu	27	100%	0	0%
Denizler nd. Uruz? nd. Kirka	24	77%	7	23%
Kara Musa	22	55%	18	45%
Yalancılar nd. Süleymanlu	5	45%	6	55%
Özbeklü nd. Balabanlu	21	57%	16	43%
Selmanlu	6	19%	26	81%
Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyani	23	100%	0	0%
Sıgırlı Hacı	7	39%	11	61%
Demürçi Aydın nd. Sungurlar	14	100%	0	0%

²⁵² As it is the case for Yenice-i Karasu, because the register does not give the *mücerred* numbers of *yörüks* separately, the settled *re'âyâ* is also given in their total numbers.

²⁵³ The name of this village is recorded as Geraş nâm-i diger Temurbegli in 1530.

Delü Murad	9	38%	15	63%
Kadı Köy nd. Delü Danişmend	29	88%	4	12%
Polad	29	58%	21	42%
Tuzcılar	26	90%	3	10%
Köse Mezid	15	60%	10	40%
Sofılar	27	100%	0	0%
Yardımlı	14	44%	18	56%
Degirmen Deresi	46	73%	17	27%
Çobanlı	10	83%	2	17%
Bâki nd. Palas? Doğançcı	19	83%	4	17%
Akça Kayrak	5	15%	29	85%
Arıcak Şahin nd. Resullü	26	44%	33	56%
Kızılca Kulfal nd. Kuyumcı?	6	67%	3	33%
Bulduklu	6	40%	9	60%
Halife Viranı	10	42%	14	58%
Habil nd. Ana	12	41%	17	59%
Tekerek Danişmend	15	43%	20	57%
Evhad Çiftliği	1	25%	3	75%
Eyüceler	4	36%	7	64%
Doğançılar	20	80%	5	20%
Keremüddin	10	59%	7	41%
Karagözlü nd. Şeyh	5	50%	5	50%
Köseler nd. Kara Pınarı	6	26%	17	74%
TOTAL	616	56%	477	44%

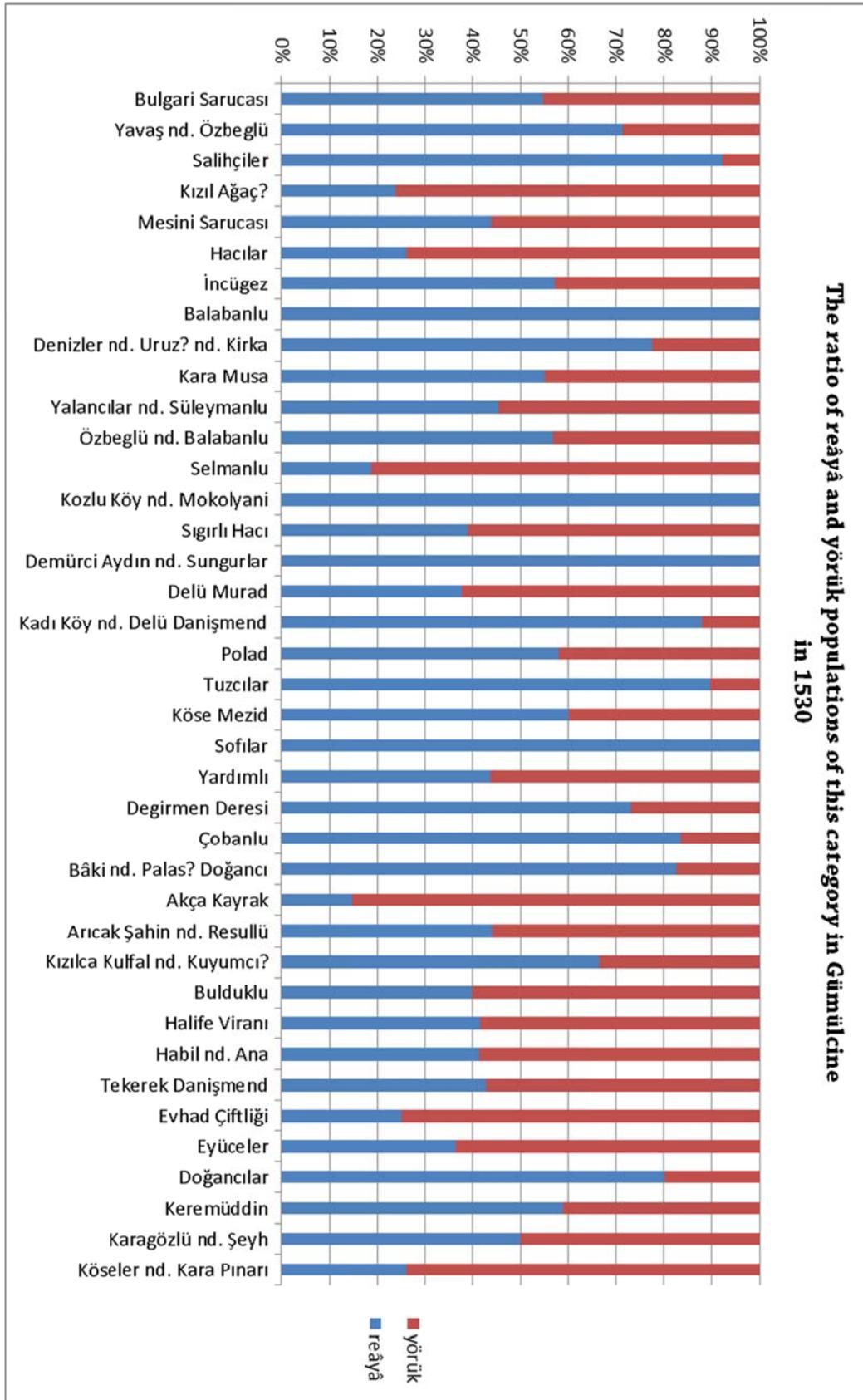


Figure 7 - Ratio between the yörüks registered as cema'âts with villages and the Muslim reâyâ in Gümülcine in 1530

In the 39 villages fitting into this category of *yörüks*, the proportion of *yörüks* among the total Muslim population is 44%, or nearly half. Among these, 18 villages had 50% or higher of *yörüks*. In total, the *yörük* presence in 1530 varies from 8% (Salihçiler) to 85% (Akça Kayrak village), while there are 3 villages with no *yörük* population at all. Despite the absence of *yörüks* in these villages in the register, they are included within the table and chart. This is because of the fact that these villages prove, in the later registers of 1568, to have *yörük cema'âts* registered with them. When these 3 villages are left out of the table, a higher percentage of *yörüks* emerges.

The picture of the situation in 1568 also needs to be examined in order to elaborate on the *yörüks* within this category in Gümülcine. It should be stated once again that the 1568 registers are the basis for the categorization of these villages, since their detailed records enable us to identify how the *yörüks* were recorded and the varieties in these records.

Table 14 - Ratio between the *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts* with villages and the Muslim *reâyâ* in Gümülcine in 1568

Village	Reâyâ			Yörük		Ratio
	<i>hâne</i>	<i>mcr.</i>		<i>hâne</i>	<i>mcr.</i>	
Bulgari Sarucası	23	11	63%	18	2	37%
Yavaş nd. Özbeklü	29	9	81%	7	2	19%
Salihçiler	16	5	58%	9	6	42%
Kızıl Ağaç? ²⁵⁴	0	0	0%	13	10	100%

²⁵⁴ This village has 78 *hânes* and 3 *mücerreds* as *gebrân* registered in the village. It is because of this fact why the village is considered within this category despite the absence of any other Muslim settlers. Since the village did not consist of *yörüks* only, it is not categorized within “*yörük* villages”, which will be discussed in the following pages of the research.

Mesini Sarucası	20	0	29%	45	4	71%
Hacılar	12	0	13%	76	6	87%
İncügez ²⁵⁵	16	6	55%	18	---	45%
Balabanlu	17	4	44%	9	18	56%
Denizler nd. Uruz? nd. Kirka	25	6	53%	11	17	47%
Kara Musa	25	7	48%	20	15	52%
Yalancılar nd. Süleymanlu	9	2	37%	11	8	63%
Özbeğlü nd. Balabanlu	19	---	41%	18	9	59%
Selmanlu	5	---	7%	36	28	93%
Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyanı ²⁵⁶	24	22	46%	42	12	54%
Sığırlı Hacı	6	---	21%	15	7	79%
Demürce Aydın nd. Sungurlar	7	5	60%	6	2	40%
Delü Murad	10	3	37%	14	8	63%
Kadı Köy nd. Delü Danişmend	24	6	77%	9	---	23%
Polad	25	8	45%	36	4	55%
Tuzcılar	33	9	88%	2	4	13%
Köse Mezid	13	1	54%	12	---	46%
Sofılar	18	---	60%	11	1	40%
Yardımlı	22	---	56%	17	---	44%
Degirmen Deresi	77	---	85%	14	---	15%

²⁵⁵ The village has 9 *hânes* and 4 *mücerreds* of non-Muslims.

²⁵⁶ The village has 15 *hânes*, 5 *mücerreds*, and 1 *bive* as non-Muslims.

Çobanlı	7	7	54%	8	4	46%
Bâki nd. Palas? Dođancı	8	9	46%	8	12	54%
Akça Kayrak	11	5	23%	45	8	77%
Arıcak Şahin nd. Resullü	26	---	33%	27	25	67%
Kızılca Kulfal nd. Kuyumcı?	7	6	62%	8	---	38%
Bulduklı	21	---	78%	6	---	22%
Halife Viranı	8	2	23%	27	7	77%
Habil nd. Ana	14	2	31%	33	3	69%
Tekerek Danişmend	19	1	33%	37	3	67%
Evhad Çiftliđi	9	1	63%	6	---	38%
Eyüceler	3	1	13%	13	13	87%
Dođancılar	9	4	72%	5	---	28%
Keremüddin	24	17	76%	7	6	24%
Karagözlü nd. Şeyh	9	2	31%	21	4	69%
Köseler nd. Kara Pınarı	25	10	45%	35	8	55%
TOTAL	675	171	46%	755	256	54%

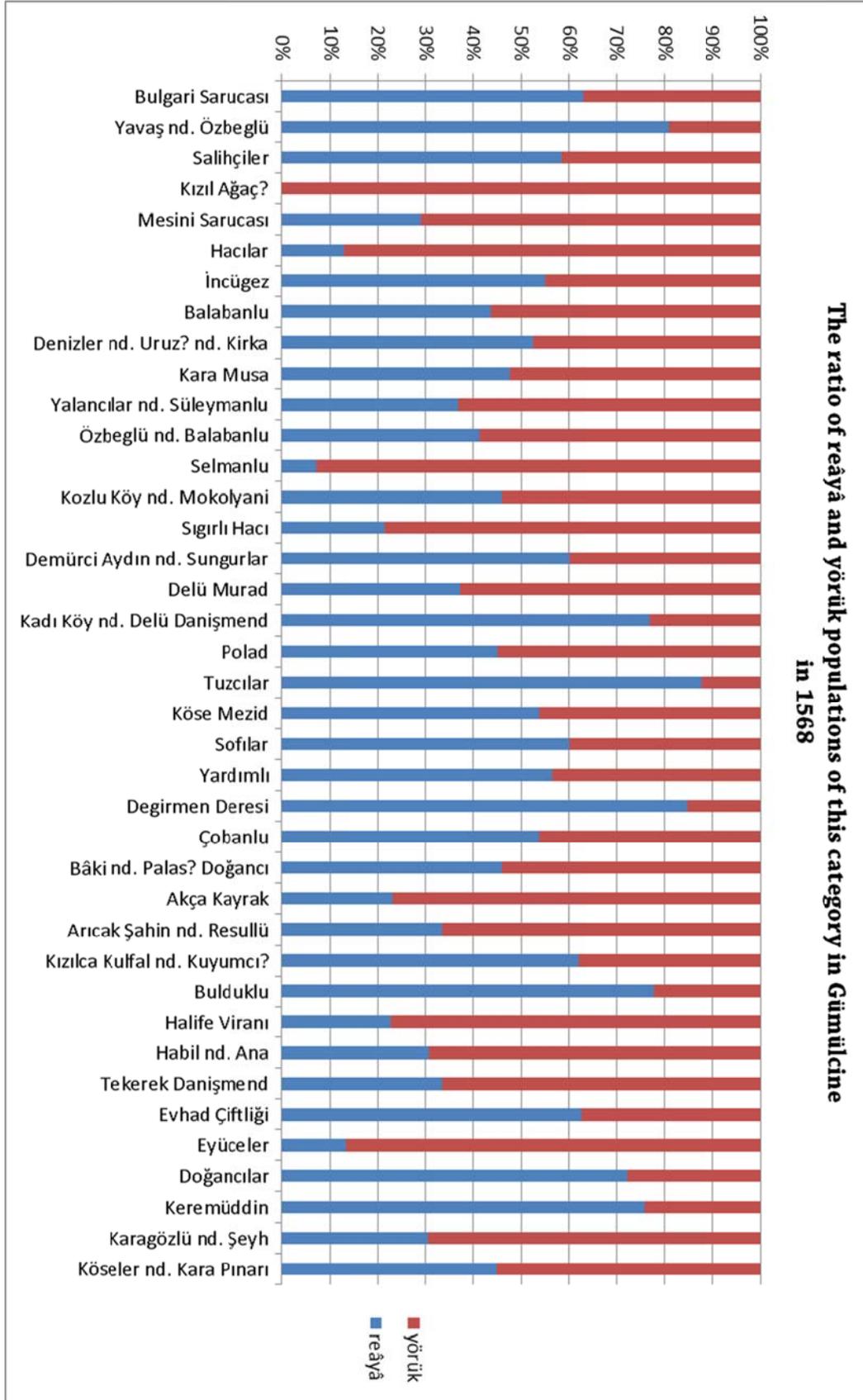


Figure 8 - Ratio between the yörüks registered as cema'âts with villages and the Muslim reâyâ in Gümülcine in 1568

From just a quick look at the table, it can be seen that the proportion of *yörüks* among the total Muslim population in the selected villages varies from 13% (Tuzcılar) to 100% (Kızıl Ağaç). 21 of 39 villages have a percentage of *yörüks* above 50%. Thus, the total proportions amount to 46% settled Muslims and 54% *yörüks*, making it evident that the *yörüks* constituted a significant part of the villages in which they were recorded as separate *cema'âts*.

When these villages are evaluated in terms of production related to animal husbandry, it is observed that only 2 villages (Bulgari Sarucası and Özbeklü nd. Balabanlu) have records of *adet-i ağnâm*, at 50 *akçes* each. This fact implies the integration of *yörüks* into the agricultural production of their villages. As another indicator, there are also entries for *resm-i ağıl* in a number of villages: Selmanlu (60 *akçes*), Seferlü Hacı (150 *akçes*), Delü Murad (250 *akçes*), Polad (20 *akçes*), Yardımlı (320 *akçes*), Baki nd. Palas Dogancı (37 *akçes*), Arıcak Şahin nd. Resüllü (600 *akçes*), Habil nd. Ana (100 *akçes*), Tekerek Danişmend (130 *akçes*), Evhad Çiftliği (300 *akçes*), Eyüceler (130 *akçes*), Dogancılar (30 *akçes*), and Karagözlu nd. Şeyh (160 *akçes*). Among these 13 villages, the villages of Delü Murad, Yardımlı, Arıcak Şahin nd. Resüllü, and Evhad Çiftliği can be seen to have *resm-i ağıl* amounts of 250 *akçes* or more. The presence of such a taxation entry suggests a relationship with animal husbandry. However, as was also the case with Yenice-i Karasu, we cannot clearly explain the absence of *adet-i ağnâm* in villages with *resm-i ağıl*. In parallel with this, it can be assumed that *resm-i ağıl* was collected from those villagers who performed animal husbandry with small herds on the borders of their villages.

In relation to the animal husbandry in these villages, the case of Arıcak Şahin nd. Resüllü presents a peculiar picture. With a *yörük* population of 52 *nefers*

together with 26 *nefers* of settled Muslims, the village has 300 *akçes* of “*resm-i ağıl-i gavmişân-i yörükân*”. This means that the *yörüks* in the village were raising cattle to a significant extent. Since the *yörüks*’ way of life includes movement, their tendency is to raise sheep and goats, not cattle. As such, the existence of such an entry can be taken as an indication of a way of life involving less movement. In other words, their raising cattle can be seen as a sign of their adaptation to settled life. It should also be stated here that the *yörüks* of the regions looked at in the present study already show a variety of ways of life, ranging from long-distance semi-nomadism to transhumance to settled life. In this context, the fact that the *yörüks* of the village of Arıcak Şahin *nâm-i diger* Resullü occupy themselves with cattle-raising corroborates the existence of such a variety.

On the other hand, certain villages in this list include the *resm-i duhân*: Mesini Sarucası with 156 *akçes*, İncügez with 20 *akçes*, and Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyani with 200 *akçes*. In Mesini Sarucası, the *yörük cema’ât* registered with the village is noted as “*mütemekkin*” in the mentioned village. Moreover, 45 *yörüks* pay their *resm-i çift*. The entry for *resm-i duhân*, on the other hand, is noted as “*resm-i duhân-i yörükân ki hâricden gelüb kışlarlar*”. Thus, it must be another group of *yörüks* that is mentioned here. However, these *yörüks* are not visible with their households. A similar case can be seen in Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyani, where there are 17 *çifts*, 25 *bennâks*, and 12 *mücerred yörüks* altogether. Of a total of 54 *yörük nefers*, apart from them, 12 *yörüks* are registered as “*cemaât-i yörükân*”. The remaining 42 *yörüks* are registered as “*cemaât-i Punarlu*”. For the “*cemaât-i yörükân*”, it is noted that those cultivating the land pay 12 *akçes*, while for the “*cemaât-i Punarlu*”, it is also noted that those with a *çift* pay 12 *akçes*. Additionally, it is recorded that those

without a *çift* pay 6 *akçes* as *resm-i duhân*. We see that, in the registration of *yörük nefers*, 25 are written together with the number “6”, thus suggesting the amount they will pay. In the synopsis, those with a “6” are categorized as “*bennâk*”. Because of the fact that the *resm-i bennâk* for *yörüks* and the *resm-i duhân* are the same amount – namely, 6 *akçes* – it would be plausible to assume that both the *resm-i bennâk* and the *resm-i duhân* might have been recorded together, since there was no difference in practice. Also, it should be mentioned that the *resm-i duhân* would become *resm-i bennâk* following three years of residence in a *timar*.²⁵⁷ However, the *resm-i duhân* is noted down as a separate entry. Moreover, there are no extra *yörüks* apart from those given as *çift*, *bennâk*, and *mücerred*. Thus, as is also the case with Mesini Sarucası, there seems to be a group of *yörüks* visible through the *resm-i duhân* but nothing else. To assume that the *cema'ât* registered by name was a larger group would not be far-fetched.

The registers of 1568 suggest that intertwinement of the terms *yörük* and *reâyâ* through the military association of *yörüks* was also valid for the Gümülcine region. The villages which exemplify this situation within this category are Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyani with 1 *yamak*, Tuzcılar with 2 *yamaks*, Baki nd. Palas Doğancı with 1 *eşkünci*, and Arıcak Şahin nd. Resüllü with 9 *eşküncis*. The *yamak* in Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyani is registered among the *mücerreds* of the Muslim *reâyâ*. In Tuzcılar, the two *yamaks* are among the households noted as *çifts*. The *eşkünci* registered among the Muslim *reâyâ* in the village of Baki nd. Palas Doğancı and the 9 *eşküncis* in Arıcak Şahin nd. Resüllü are also households with a *çift*. Having

²⁵⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rüsûmu," in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi*, ed. Halil İnalçık (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1993), 48.

registered among the Muslim *reâyâ*, they pay the *resm-i çift* required for normal *reâyâ* despite being a member of the *yörük* military organization. As was also the case in Yenice-i Karasu, these *yörüks* registered among the ordinary *reâyâ* of the mentioned villages in Gümülcine must have been those *yörüks* who had resided in these villages for a long time and were then considered *reâyâ* in legal terms, as reflected in their personal taxation. This situation, on the other hand, did not cancel their military obligations in the *yörük* organization, since members of this organization could not leave it even in cases of a change in status. Therefore, it seems that they continued to be registered as *eşküncis* and *yamaks*. These cases of intertwinement exemplify a kind of settlement process among the *yörüks*. However, the *yörüks* registered among the *reâyâ* in the four *kazas* in question will be evaluated in subsequent sections, where it will be shown that there were also differences among these situations. The examples from Yenice-i Karasu and Gümülcine as dealt with in this subsection reflect only those villages registered with a separate *yörük cema'ât*, and for this reason need to be considered accordingly.

The demographic change between 1530 and 1568 is another important dimension of the *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts* together with the villages in Gümülcine. This can be observed through the proportions of *yörüks* present in both instances of registration. The percentages of *yörük* populations in the total Muslim populations of each village can be seen in the following table:

Table 15 - Changes in ratios between the *yörüks* registered as *cema'âts* with villages and the Muslim *reâyâ* in Gümülcine

Village	1530	1568	Change
Bulgari Sarucası	45%	37%	-8%
Yavaş nd. Özbeklü	29%	19%	-10%

Salihçiler	8%	42%	+34%
Kızıl Ağaç?	76%	100%	+24%
Mesini Sarucası	56%	71%	-15%
Hacılar	74%	87%	+13%
İncügez	43%	45%	+2%
Balabanlu	0%	56%	+56%
Denizler nd. Uruz? nd. Kirka	23%	47%	+24%
Kara Musa	45%	52%	+7%
Yalancılar nd. Süleymanlu	55%	63%	+8%
Özbeğlü nd. Balabanlu	43%	59%	+16%
Selmanlu	81%	93%	+12%
Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyani	0%	54%	+54%
Sıgırlı Hacı	61%	79%	+18%
Demürce Aydın nd. Sungurlar	0%	40%	+40%
Delü Murad	63%	63%	0%
Kadı Köy nd. Delü Danişmend	12%	23%	+11%
Polad	42%	55%	+13%
Tuzcılar	10%	13%	+3%
Köse Mezid	40%	46%	+6%
Sofılar	0%	40%	+40%
Yardımlı	56%	44%	-12%
Degirmen Deresi	27%	15%	-12%
Çobanlı	17%	46%	+29%

Bâki nd. Palas? Dođancı	17%	54%	+37%
Akça Kayrak	85%	77%	-8%
Arıcak Şahin nd. Resullü	56%	67%	+11%
Kızılca Kulfal nd. Kuyumcı?	33%	38%	+5%
Bulduklı	60%	22%	-38%
Halife Viranı	58%	77%	+19%
Habil nd. Ana	59%	69%	+10%
Tekerek Danişmend	57%	67%	+10%
Evhad Çiftliđi	75%	38%	-37%
Eyüceler	64%	87%	+23%
Dođancılar	20%	28%	+8%
Keremüddin	41%	24%	-17%
Karagözlü nd. Şeyh	50%	69%	+19%
Köseler nd. Kara Pınarı	74%	55%	-19%
TOTAL	44%	54%	+10%

The table reveals that the proportion of *yörüks* among the Muslim population in the villages in question between the dates of the two registers increased from 44% to 54%. As was also the case in Yenice-i Karasu, the number of settled Muslims and *yörüks* in these villages needs to be provided so as to be able to see the actual difference. The number of settled Muslims in the 39 villages in question was 616 in 1530. This number, which is given in *nefers*, increased to 846 in 1568, representing an increase of 37%. The number of *yörüks* in the 39 villages in question was 477 in 1530, while by 1568 their number had risen to 1,011, representing an increase of 112%. It is clear that there is a significant difference between the two increases. For

the *yörük* population, it can be suggested, as one possible explanation for the increase, that *yörük* groups who were not within the boundaries of these villages might have come and begun to live together with these villages in the period between the two registration dates. Considering the fact that a good number of the *yörüks* registered in 1568 were, to a significant extent, both farmers and breeders of sheep, they would not have been excluded from the previous register if they had been in the village at that time. As such, it can be deduced that such an increase in the *yörük* population of these villages, in parallel with their involvement in agriculture, might well signify an increase in agrarianization among the *yörüks*. On the other hand, it should be reiterated that the available sources do not permit a clear and definite explanation of this matter.

3.4. Individually registered *Yörüks* in the villages

In the table below, the villages which include cases of individually registered *yörüks* are given together with the Muslim householder and bachelor numbers in brackets.²⁵⁸ Because some villages contain examples of different manners of registering *yörüks*, they are mentioned in every type in which they can be categorized. In parallel with this, the *yörük* households and bachelors given below represent only those who were registered within the village, with other *yörüks* who are not in this category but exist in the registration – if any – not being included.

²⁵⁸ If the *yörüks* pay 12 *akçes* and categorized separately in the synopsis part, they are not included in the numbers given in brackets. Otherwise, they are included.

Individually registered yörüks within the settlements²⁵⁹

Demürhisar	Baraklı-yi Büzürg maa Baraklı-yi Küçük ²⁶⁰ [60 ç. 20 bn. 24 mcr.] <u>yamak</u> Pir Ali [bin] Oruç [bennâ]k	
Drama	Edirneçik ²⁶¹ [40 ç. 21 bn. 16 mcr.] <u>yamak</u> Ali yörük [bennâ]k	
Drama	Ruşova ²⁶² [8 ç. 6 bn. 19 mcr.] <u>yörük</u> Hıdır [bin] Musa ç[ift]	<u>yörük</u> Ali [bin] Musa ç[ift]
Yenice-i Karasu	Darı Obası nd. Erteç? ²⁶³ [17 ç. 56 bn. 18 mcr.] <u>yörük</u> Piri [bin] Evhad 6	
Yenice-i Karasu	Tuzci ²⁶⁴ [26 ç. 4 bn.&n.] <u>eşkünci</u> Eyne Beg [bin] Hasan ç[ift]	

²⁵⁹ The abbreviations used in the registers are given as they are. Ç represents çift, K represents bennâk, M represents mücerred.

²⁶⁰ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 34a.

²⁶¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 232b.

²⁶² TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 237b.

²⁶³ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 65a.

²⁶⁴ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 79b.

Yenice-i Karasu

İskender [mezraa]²⁶⁵

[11 ç. 1 bn.]

<u>yörük</u> Durmuş Abdullah ç[ift]	<u>yörük</u> Alagöz Abdullah ç[ift]	<u>yörük</u> Ahmed Abdullah ç[ift]	<u>yörük</u> Memi b. Lütfi ç[ift]	<u>yörük</u> Turgud ²⁶⁶ Abdullah [bennâ]k
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Yenice-i Karasu

Yuvacılar²⁶⁷

[31 ç. 1 bn. 17 mcr.]

<u>eşkinci</u> Hızır Yahşi? ²⁶⁸ ç	<u>yamak</u> Mehmed Hacı ç	<u>yamak</u> Hasan Mehmed ç	<u>yamak</u> Nazır Eyne Beg ç	<u>yamak</u> Kurd Umur Han ç
<u>yamak</u> Hamza Hacı ç	<u>yamak</u> Şah Ali Mehmed ç	<u>yamak</u> Evhad Mehmed ç	<u>yamak</u> Küçürek? Mehmed ç	<u>yamak</u> Hızır Veli ç
<u>yamak</u> Emir Şah Süleyman ç	<u>yamak</u> Mehmed Minnet? ç	<u>yamak</u> Hüseyin Durak ç	<u>yamak</u> Sülün? Kasım ç	<u>yamak</u> Ali Nasuh ç
<u>yamak</u> Yusuf Dur Ali ç	<u>yamak</u> Mehmed Bayazıd ç	<u>yamak</u> Şehsuvar Durak ç	<u>eşkinci</u> Ramazan Hızır ç	<u>yamak</u> Süleyman Ali ç
<u>yamak</u> Nuri? Abdulgâki? ç	<u>eşkinci</u> Hasan Arab ç	<u>yamak</u> Mustafa Turgud ç	<u>yamak</u> Şah Kulu Abdi ç	<u>yamak</u> Ali Bali İbrahim ç
<u>yamak</u> Mustafa Şaban ç	<u>yamak</u> Satılmış Receb ç	<u>yamak</u> Memi Hamza ç	<u>yamak</u> Hasan İbrahim m	<u>yamak</u> Ali Hasan ç
<u>yamak</u> Osman Bali ç	<u>yamak</u> Yusuf Barak? ç	<u>yamak</u> Nazar? Hacı Bali k	<u>yamak</u> Hızır Durak m	<u>yamak</u> Oruç Durak m

²⁶⁵ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 82b.

²⁶⁶ Although this entry is not marked as “yörük”, it is evaluated as among the *yörüks* in the synopsis of the *mezraa*.

²⁶⁷ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 83b.

²⁶⁸ Due to the limitation on the document acquisition in Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyud-i Kadime Arşivi, the personal names here are given according to the transcriptions in the Macedonian translation of this page. Therefore, some personal names cannot be crosschecked.

<u>yamak</u>	<u>yamak</u>	<u>yamak</u>	<u>yamak</u>	<u>yamak</u>
Ali	İbrahim	Murad	Hasan	Nuri?
Mahmud	Mahmud	Minnet?	Minnet?	Yusuf
m	m	m	m	m

Yenice-i Karasu

Balabanlu²⁶⁹

[14 ç. 2 bn. 15 mcr.]

<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>
Nasuh	Yusuf
Eyne Han	Eyne Hân
m	m

Yenice-i Karasu

Başmaklu²⁷⁰

[14 ç. 11 mcr.]

<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>yörük</u>	<u>yörük</u>	<u>yörük</u>
Yakub	İsa	Davud	Süleyman
Mustafa	Kara Hacı	Mustafa	Ayas?
ç	ç	6	m

Yenice-i Karasu

Doğancı Kara Yakub²⁷¹

[7 ç. 5 mcr.]

<u>yörük</u>	<u>yörük</u>	<u>yörük</u>
Ayas?	Osman	Şaban
Kulfal	ç	degirmenci?
ç		ç

Yenice-i Karasu

Kulfallu²⁷²

[5 ç. 1 mcr.]

<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>yörük</u>
Turgud	Süleyman
Polad	Polad
ç	ç

Yenice-i Karasu

Yusuf Hanlu²⁷³

[11 ç. 1 bn. 3 mcr.]²⁷⁴

<u>eşkünci</u>
Cebrail
Memi

²⁶⁹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 84b.

²⁷⁰ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 85b.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 86a.

²⁷³ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 86b.

²⁷⁴ The village also includes 4 *yağcıs* who pay 12 *akçes* as *resm-i çift*. Since *yağcıs* who are considered among regular *reâyâ* pay the regular amount, it is highly possible that they were also *yörüks*. Because *yağcıs* are not the issue of discussion here, they are omitted.

			<u>yamak</u> Halil İlyas ç.		
Gümülcine			Rum Begi ²⁸¹ [15 ç. 5 mcr.]		
	<u>yamak</u> Safi Hamza ç	<u>yamak</u> Hasan Hüseyin ç	<u>yamak</u> Yahşi İlyas ç	<u>yamak</u> Abdullah Nasuh ç	<u>eşkünci</u> Şaban Ramazan ç
	<u>eşkünci</u> Kurd İbrahim ç	<u>eşkünci</u> Veli Hüseyin ç	<u>yamak</u> Mehmed Balaban ç	<u>yamak</u> Nasuh Ali ç	
Gümülcine			Kozlu Köy nd. Mokolyani ²⁸² [21 ç. 3 bn. 22 mcr.]		
			<u>yamak</u> Derviş Hasan m		
Gümülcine			Tuzcular ²⁸³ [28 ç. 9 mcr.]		
	<u>yamak</u> çiftlik-i Nasuh [bin] Mustafa haliya der yed-i Gözde Ali [bin] Bayramlı ç			<u>yamak</u> çiftlik-i Durak [bin] Hızır haliya der yed-i Yusuf [bin] Mustafa ç	
Gümülcine			Kadı Çiftliği ²⁸⁴ [14 ç. 2 bn.&n. 6 mcr.]		
	<u>yamak</u> Aydın? Abdullah ç	<u>yamak</u> Ali Mustafa ç	<u>yamak</u> Ferhad Mustafa ç	<u>yamak</u> Hasan Abdullah ç	
Gümülcine			Baki nd. Palas Doğancı ²⁸⁵ [8 ç. 9 mcr.]		
			<u>eşkünci</u> Musa		

²⁸¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 114b.

²⁸² TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 126a.

²⁸³ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 130a.

²⁸⁴ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 131a.

²⁸⁵ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 134a.

	Piri				
	ç				
Gümülcine	Arıcak Şahin nd. Resullü ²⁸⁶				
	[23 ç.]				
	<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>
	Mustafa	Mustafa	Ahmed	Kurd	Umur
	Memi	Çimşid	Ali	Mahmud	Seydi
	ç	ç	ç	ç	ç
	<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>	<u>eşkünci</u>	
	Mustafa	Memi	Yusuf	Umurca	
	Musa	Ali Bali	Turgud	Mahmud	
	ç	ç	ç	ç	

The basis for the evaluation of these *yörüks* is the *resm-i raiyyet* that they paid. If they are considered “*yörük*” in legal terms, then they paid 12 *akçes* for a *çift*. Otherwise, their *resm-i çift* was added to those of the ordinary *reâyâ* and paid as a complete *resm-i çift*, which was 22 *akçes* for the regions in question. The confusing detail here is the fact that there were a good number of *yörüks* who were noted down as *yörük*, *yamak*, or *eşkünci*. Since the *yamak* and *eşkünci* members of the military were recruited from the *yörüks*, they are assumed to be among this group. However, there are instances of both cases in which *yörüks* were to pay 12 *akçes* or 22 *akçes*. The only way to distinguish the difference is to examine the synopses for the recorded settlements.

There are examples of both cases in the twenty-four villages given above. In the settlements of İskender, Başmaklu, Yusuf Hanlu, and Avşar of the Yenice-i Karasu district, the *yörüks* pay the reduced amount set for *yörüks*; that is, 12 *akçes*. Among these, it should be stated that İskender and Polad are *mezraas*. Another significant detail is that *yörüks* are the majority in Avşar. Apart from those in these four settlements, all the *yörüks* registered together with the settled population pay

²⁸⁶ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 135a.

the regular amount of 22 *akçes*. This fact indicates that, as seen through the eyes of the state, they were integrated into agricultural life.

The usage of terms noted on the names listed above is also something that requires consideration. In the cases in which *yörüks* paid the regular amount of *resm-i çift*, it is not difficult to explain the usage of the military terms *eşkünci* and *yamak*. These *yörüks* with military association were required to fulfill their duties as members of the organization, even though their way of life had changed. Similarly, their military ties did not affect the amount they had to pay once they had settled and become agricultural producers. As for the term “*yörük*” as noted down on some of the *yörüks* recorded together with the settled population in villages, it seems to have been of little use to specify them as such, since they were paying the same amount of complete *resm-i çift* as other settlers, and so they could simply have been recorded as villagers without any accompanying note. Here, two possible reasons come to mind. First, the *yörük* military organization may have been a factor, as it was *yörüks* who provided the reservoir of the organization. Even if they were not a part of it, they were still eligible in case of missing members in the number of *eşküncis* or *yamaks*. Therefore, there may have been a felt need to specify them as *yörüks*. Another possible explanation is that the social ties of these *yörüks* may have still remained valid even after they had become sedentary farmers. For this reason, they were noted down as *yörüks*, but in the synopsis they were not categorized separately, since they paid the same amount as the villagers.

In any case, the registration of *yörüks* together with the settled *reâyâ* suggests that they were wholly integrated into settled life and had become a part of it. Since the amounts collected as *öşr* were taken from the villages as a whole, it is

not possible to determine where these *yörüks* stood in the spectrum between agricultural production and animal husbandry. However, their sporadic appearance makes us think that their way of life was closer to the sedentary life than to semi-nomadism.

3.5. Yörük villages/mezra'âs

As has been stated previously, the bulk of the *yörük* population is recorded as separate *cema'âts* registered together with villages. In some of the villages with separate *yörük cema'âts*, the population of the *yörüks* exceeds the population of the settled Muslim villagers. However, such villages are not evaluated as *yörük villages/mezraas*, since they included settled *reâyâ* as well. The features of *yörük* presence and their implications for the *yörüks'* ways of life in this category are evaluated in the related section. In this section of the study, what will be discussed is those villages composed only of *yörüks*.²⁸⁷ Some representative examples will be dealt with, and indications of *yörük* presence in these settlements will be evaluated. As was the case with previous sections, the basic starting point for the detection of *yörük* villages in the regions in question will be the registers dated 1568. The detailed and summary registers from previous years of the sixteenth century will also be used where available.

Initially, it should be stated that the Demürhisar district has no settlement unit consisting only of *yörüks*. In Drama, there are four settlement units of this type, five in Yenice-i Karasu and thirteen in Gümülcine:

²⁸⁷ The villages in which only a few *reâyâ* are recorded with a sign on them stating their fiscal status as *reâyâ* are also included in this category.

Table 16 –Yörük villages/mezra'âs

Drama	Yenice-i Karasu	Gümülcine
Vola	Doksad	Dokoş
Kırlı	Mezidlü	Üfitler?
Yassı Ören	Karaca Bazarlı	Güven nd. Durali nd. Sayralı?
Demürçi Ören	Turhallu	Kara Mihal
	Dokuzlu	Kuşlu Hanlu maa Sevindiklü
		Çakırlar
		Ahmed Deresi
		Çalı Beleni
		Sevindiklü
		Erselli?
		Kozlu Viran
		Koca Ömerlü
		Bayatlı

Since the region of Drama has detailed registers from both 1529 and 1568, it is possible to track the changes occurring in the region's settlements.

The village of Vola, which was clearly an already existing settlement before the arrival of the Ottomans, emerges in 1568 as a *yörük* settlement. The non-Muslim nature of the village is clearly visible in 1529. To begin with, it would be beneficial to give a comparative table of its population:

VOLA	1519 ²⁸⁸	1529 ²⁸⁹	1568 ²⁹⁰
Yörüks	---	---	13 çift 16 mücerred
Muslims	4 hâne 4 mücerred	3 çift 1 bennâk 2 mücerred	---
Non-Muslims	6 hâne 1 mücerred 1 bive	7 hâne 1 mücerred	---

The 1529 register shows a demographic structure similar to that seen in the 1519 register, presenting a picture of a village that is half Muslim and half non-Muslim. Moreover, in 1529, there was one converted Muslim and his two sons, thus suggesting that the Muslim aspect of the village emerged as the result of conversion. However, in 1568, both the Muslim and the non-Muslim settlers of the village have become dispersed, most probably to the surrounding villages. The sources do not provide any way for us to speculate further on this point. Similarly, the presence of *yörüks* in 1568 can be explained by their coming in from the neighborhood around. The most noteworthy detail about the 1568 register is the fact that there are three entries for income: “*öşr-i güvâre*” (150 *akçes*), “*resm-i dönüm-i bağât*” (75 *akçes*), and “*niyâbet ve resm-i arus maa deştibânî*” (50 *akçes*). Although there are 13 çifts of *yörük hânes*, it seems that their agricultural activity was very limited and did not include cereal production. Their later appearance also supports the idea that they were not much involved in agricultural production.

²⁸⁸ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 45.

²⁸⁹ BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 111-112.

²⁹⁰ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. ff. 226b-227a.

The *mezraâ* of Kırılı was another *yörük* settlement in Drama which, like Vola, became a point of *yörük* concentration over time. While no *yörük* is observed in 1519 and 1529, this change can be seen in the *mezraâ*'s large *yörük* population in 1568:

KIRLI	1519 ²⁹¹	1529 ²⁹²	1568 ²⁹³
Yörüks	---	---	32 <i>bennâk</i> 82 <i>mücerred</i>
Muslims	---	1 <i>çift</i> 1 <i>bennâk</i>	---

In both 1529 and 1568, the settlement is noted as “*der nezd-i karye-i Edirneçik*”. Thus, it can be said that it was a reserve land of Edirneçik in 1519 and 1529, and that a group of *yörüks* came to the settlement unit between 1529 and 1568. The settled Muslim *reâyâ* of the *mezraâ* must have left for Edirneçik, which was a large village, as mentioned in previous sections in relation to the other *mezraâ* of the village in question, Boyalnova. A glance at the synopses of Kırılı in both 1529 and 1568 may give some idea about the nature of Kırılı as a settlement as well as about its settlers.

Table 17 - The synopses of Kırılı in 1529 and 1568

Tax entry	1529	1568
<i>kendüm</i>	390 k. baha: 2,730 [<i>akçes</i>]	320 k. baha: 2,560

²⁹¹ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 45.

²⁹² BOA. TT.d. 374, ff. 112-112.

²⁹³ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. ff. 229a-230a. The numbers here also include *cemaât-i Dızmkılı*, which is registered in this settlement together with the *yörüks* of the *mezraa*. They are 4 *bennâks* and 5 *mücerreds*. Since their existence as a separate *cemaât* does not change the situation in this settlement, they handled together with the settlement and its *yörük* population.

<i>cev</i>	153 k. baha: 612	240 k. baha: 1,200
<i>çavdar maa erzen</i>	115 k. baha: 575	150 k. baha: 750
<i>alef</i>	142 k. baha:426	20 k. baha: 80
<i>burçak</i>	9 k. baha: 54	1 k. baha: 5
<i>mercimek</i>	5 k. baha: 75	1 k. baha: 6
<i>resm-i bağât</i>	195	200
<i>resm-i ağıl</i>	82	30
<i>resm-i belût</i>	65	40
<i>öşr-i güvâre</i>	95	60
<i>resm-i bostan</i>	3	---
<i>hassâ ceviz</i>	52	30

Although there are changes in the amounts collected as taxes, as well as in the total agricultural production in connection with these amounts, it can be seen that, apart from the entry for *alef*, there was no drastic change. The changes in production items can be seen as changes in product preference. This table of production entries in the synopses of Kırılı in 1529 and 1568 does not suggest clear interference from the *yörük* presence when it is considered that there was no *yörük* population at all in 1529. Therefore, these items need to be interpreted as reflecting what was being produced by the settlers in Edirneçik. In parallel with this, it can be assumed that the *yörük* population observed in 1568 was not much involved in agricultural production. When it is considered that there was no *yörük* with a complete *çift*, but

there were *yörüks* paying the *resm-i bennâk*, this assumption becomes more meaningful. Since no clear change can be observed in agricultural production despite an additional population consisting of 114 *nefers* of *yörüks*, the taxation of 32 *yörüks* as *bennâks* must be seen as a personal tax – that is, taxation on the work force rather than taxation on land. It is also true that the synopses provide no clear indication of the *yörüks*' being involved in animal husbandry. However, this fact does not necessarily create a definite link between agricultural production and the *yörüks* of Kırılı.

Yassı Ören and Demürçi Ören are two other *mezraas* in Drama that consist of *yörük* populations. Yassı Ören is noted as “*der kurb-i karye-i Radomire*”,²⁹⁴ while Demürçi Ören is “*der nezd-i karye-i Zablanı*”.²⁹⁵ Both *mezraas* were simply reserve lands without any population record in the 1519 and 1529 registers.

YASSI ÖREN	1519 ²⁹⁶	1529 ²⁹⁷	1568 ²⁹⁸
Yörüks	---	---	6 çift 1 <i>bennâk</i> 9 <i>mücerred</i>

²⁹⁴ Although the *mezraa* can be identified in the map, the village of Radomire cannot be identified. However, since the village is recorded together with a group of villages where coal mines exist, Radomire can be said to be approximately in the southeast of Yassı Ören.

²⁹⁵ Similarly, Demürçi Ören can be identified in the map but its village Zablanı cannot.

²⁹⁶ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 46.

²⁹⁷ BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 121.

²⁹⁸ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. f. 237a.

DEMÜRÇİ ÖREN	1519 ²⁹⁹	1529 ³⁰⁰	1568 ³⁰¹
<i>Yörüks</i>	---	---	9 çift 1 <i>bennâk</i> 4 <i>mücerred</i>

The difference between their registrations in 1529 is the fact that Demürçi Ören is noted with the expression, “*Etrâk tâifesi ziraât idüb öşrlerin sahib-i arza virürler*”. There is thus no doubt that a group of *yörüks* was present in Demürçi Ören in 1529. The general regulations from the time of Selim I clearly state that *yörüks* cultivating the land must pay 12 *akçes* as *resm-i çift*, which parallels the regulations from the time of Selim II. Thus, one would expect to see the *yörüks* mentioned in the explanation individually with their *resm-i çifts* noted down. However, the 1529 registers contain no such data. Additionally, it must be pointed out that, since the *mezraa* is the reserve land of Zablanı, the involvement of the *yörüks* in agricultural production through *öşr* amounts cannot be precisely determined.

In Yenice-i Karasu, there are five settlements consisting entirely of *yörüks*, two of which are *mezraas* with the remaining three being villages. Similar to the *mezraas* of Yassı Ören and Demürçi Ören in Drama, the 1568 *yörük mezraas* of Yenice-i Karasu had no population in 1519 and 1529.

²⁹⁹ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 47.

³⁰⁰ BOA. TT.d. 403, f. 1.

³⁰¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194. f. 237a.

DOKSAD	1519 ³⁰²	1529 ³⁰³	1568 ³⁰⁴
Yörüks	---	---	12 çift 3 mücerred

MEZİDLÜ	1519 ³⁰⁵	1529 ³⁰⁶	1568 ³⁰⁷
Yörüks	---	---	2 çift

Doksad is noted as “*der kurb-i Bulustra ve Gürüşyani*”. However, since there is no *yörük* population in either of these villages, the *yörük* population which appears in 1568 cannot be related to Bulustra or Gürüşyani. However, the existence of *yörüks* in large numbers in many villages in the *kaza* explains their appearance here. For Mezidlü, the source must be the village of Takyalular, which Mezidlü is noted as being near. Takyalular has already been mentioned in the section related to separate *cema’âts* and, as noted there, it was the name of a separate *yörük cema’ât* as well. The agricultural production of these *mezraas* cannot be determined with any precision, since the surrounding villages also cultivated their lands. On the other hand, the entry for *resm-i çift* in Mezidlü is noteworthy in terms of presenting the situation there. It is noted that those *yörüks* cultivating the land would pay 12 *akçes* as *resm-i çift*. The *mezraa* has only one *hâne*, Keyvan Hoca, yet with 2 *çifts*, with 44 *akçes* being paid from these 2 *çifts*. This means that Keyvan Hoca pays 22 *akçes* for a *çift*, as would a normal *reâyâ*. From this, it can be said that the householder was now

³⁰² BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 34.

³⁰³ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 23.

³⁰⁴ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 70b.

³⁰⁵ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 36.

³⁰⁶ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 24.

³⁰⁷ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 87a.

considered to be normal *reâyâ* with the standard personal taxation, though also bearing the title of *yörük* due to cultural ties. His possession of two *çifts* shows that he has been integrated into agricultural life. Moreover, the expression “*hâricden yörükler mütemekkin olub*” may suggest that there were some *yörüks* not registered within this *mezraa* for not owning a *çift*. These may well be members of the *cema'ât* of Takyalular.

As for Doksad, the only point that need be made is the fact that it has a *resm-i ağıl* entry in the amount of 60 *akçes*. This implies the existence of animal husbandry in the settlement, unlike Mezdilü.

The village of Karaca Bazarlu is present in the 1519 and 1568 registers, but not in the 1529 register:

KARACA BAZARLU	1519 ³⁰⁸	1529	1568 ³⁰⁹
<i>Yörüks</i>	3 <i>hâne</i> 1 <i>mücerred</i>	no record	12 <i>çift</i> 3 <i>mücerred</i>

Despite its presence in 1519, it is not known whether the registered population were *yörüks* or not. As for the village's absence from the register of 1529, for this it is difficult to find an explanation. It may simply have been forgotten to be registered while it was being copied from its original detailed *defter*. Its 1568 record clearly suggests that the main occupation of this *yörük* village was agriculture. Below are the entries for *öşr* from the 1568 synopsis of the village.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 34.

³⁰⁹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 89a.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

<i>kendüm</i>	<i>cev</i>	<i>çavdar</i>	<i>alef</i>	<i>öşr-i penbe</i>
150 k[ile]	70 k[ile]	50 k[ile]	70 k[ile]	46 [akçe]

The table suggests that the agricultural production in the village was significant, especially judging from the 150 *kiles* of wheat. As another point of interest, the entry for cotton collection is noteworthy in that it reveals the presence of cotton farming, which is known to be common among *yörük* groups.³¹¹ This item can be seen in some other *yörük* villages in the Gümülcine region as well.

Dokuzlu is another *yörük* village in the Yenice-i Karasu region. It is registered as “*hâric ez-defter*” in 1568,³¹² and therefore is not present in previous registers. Its unregistered situation and the fact that it is a *yörük* village gives the impression that it was founded after 1530. It is noted as being near the village of Ömer, which is visible in all of the sixteenth-century *tahrir* registers. As such, Dokuzlu could not have remained unregistered if it had been present. The village has 9 *çifts* and 7 *mücerreds* in 1568. It is noted that the *yörüks* with a *çift* pay 12 *akçes* together with their *öşrs*. However, the synopsis for the village states that they were paying 22 *akçes* as ordinary *reâyâ*. Thus, it can be deduced that these *yörüks* had been integrated into the agricultural economy long enough to be considered as normal *reâyâ* and taxed accordingly.

³¹¹ Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 37-38. İnalçık explains the economy of *yörüks* and *Türkmens* and the place of cotton farming in it by giving examples from 15th century western Anatolia and Cilicia.

³¹² TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 91b.

The case of Turhallu presents a different picture and shows another variation in *yörük* presence. Below are the population figures of the village as recorded in the registers:

TURHALLU	1519 ³¹³	1529 ³¹⁴	1568 ³¹⁵
<i>Yörüks</i>		5 <i>hâne</i>	---
Muslims	2 <i>hâne</i> [status unclear]	---	4 <i>çift</i> 1 <i>bennâk</i> 2 <i>mücerred</i>

This village was clearly a *yörük* village in 1529, which is why it is included within this category. Its status in this year suggests that it may have been the same in 1519 as well, though it is not specified as such in the register of 1519. The 1568 register, on the other hand, shows that Turhallu had become an ordinary *reâyâ* village in the time between two registers. Therefore, what we see in this example is a clear case of sedentarization. It should be stated here that the process undergone in this village indicates that sedentarization must have begun with agrarianization. This means that the *yörüks* registered in this village became increasingly occupied with agriculture over time, which eventually resulted in sedentarization. The presence of *yörüks* in a given settlement unit for some time would result in a change in their status, from *yörük* to *reâyâ*, in the eyes of the state, and this also changed the amount of their personal taxation, *resm-i çift*, from 12 *akçes* to 22 *akçes* for a complete *çift*. This, in a way, means that the state considered their residence an indication of occupation with land cultivation, and thus increased their personal

³¹³ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 41.

³¹⁴ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 24.

³¹⁵ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 89b.

taxation to the level of a normal Muslim *reâyâ*. The total amounts of the taxation in these registers also indicate such a change. In 1519, Turhallu is recorded with 463 *akçes*, in 1529 with 405 *akçes*, and in 1568 with 3,000 *akçes*. The basic reason for such a drastic change between 1529 and 1568 is the increase in the *öşr* amounts and their quantities. The following are the *öşr* entries and amounts in 1568:

<i>kendüm</i>	<i>cev</i>	<i>çavdar</i>	<i>erzen</i>	<i>'alef</i>	<i>öşr-i ketan</i>	<i>öşr-i penbe</i>	<i>öşr-i güvâre</i>
180 <i>k[ile]</i>	70 <i>k[ile]</i>	40 <i>k[ile]</i>	55 <i>k[ile]</i>	50 <i>k[ile]</i>	45 [<i>akçe</i>]	53 [<i>akçe</i>]	30 [<i>akçe</i>]

When compared with the total population, these amounts suggest intensive agricultural production in this village. As was also the case with Karaca Bazarlı, cotton is noticeable as an entry, which – indirectly – indicates the *yörük* origins of Turhallu.

The *yörük* villages of Gümülcine and their demographic pictures are given in the table below:³¹⁶

Table 18 - Demographic structure of *yörük* settlements in Gümülcine

<i>Yörük</i> village	1529	1568
Dokoş ³¹⁷	5 <i>hâne</i>	7 <i>çift</i>
Üfitler? ³¹⁸	19 <i>hâne</i>	21 <i>çift</i> 4 <i>mücerred</i>
Güven nd. Durali nd. Sayralı? ³¹⁹	29 <i>hâne</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 2 <i>mücerred</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>]	112 <i>seyyidân</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 65 <i>çift</i>

³¹⁶ The information for the register of 1519 is omitted here because *yörüks* are not specified in it.

³¹⁷ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 9; it is recorded as a *mezraa* “der nezd-i karye-i Koca Ömerlü”. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 114a.

³¹⁸ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 10. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 115b.

	29 <i>hâne</i>	2 <i>bennâk</i> 39 <i>mücerred</i>
Kara Mihal ³²⁰	14 <i>hâne</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 1 <i>çeltükçi</i> [<i>reâyâ?</i>] 2 <i>küreci</i> [<i>reâyâ?</i>]	24 <i>çift</i> 13 <i>mücerred</i> +4 <i>hâne</i> [<i>no r.raiyyet</i>]
Kuşlu Hanlu maa Sevindiklü ³²¹	5 <i>hâne</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 44 <i>hâne</i>	4 <i>çift</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 64 <i>çift</i> 11 <i>bennâk</i> 11 <i>mücerred</i>
Çakırlar ³²²	25 <i>hâne</i>	45 <i>çift</i> 12 <i>bennâk</i>
Ahmed Deresi ³²³	1 <i>hâne</i> [<i>reâyâ?</i>] 11 <i>hâne</i>	---
Çile Beleni ³²⁴	9 <i>hâne</i> 10 <i>mücerred</i>	15 <i>çift</i> 1 <i>nim çift</i> 7 <i>bennâk</i> +10 <i>seyyidân</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>]
Sevindiklü ³²⁵	4 <i>hâne</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 14 <i>hâne</i>	24 <i>çift</i> 13 <i>mücerred</i>
Ereselli ³²⁶	2 <i>hâne</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 14 <i>hâne</i>	1 <i>çift</i> [<i>reâyâ</i>] 26 <i>çift</i> 20 <i>mücerred</i>
Kozlu Viran ³²⁷	---	8 <i>çift</i> 8 <i>mücerred</i>

³¹⁹ The village's name is registered as "Kesteriçe nâm-i diger Dur Ali nâm-i diger Pir Ali" in 1530; BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 9. It is recorded as only Kesteriçe in 1519 when it was recorded as having 17 *hânes* and 6 *mücerreds* of Muslims; BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 24. In 1568, the village's name is seen as "Güven nâm-i diger Dur Ali nâm-i diger Pir Ali"; TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 120a. It seems that the name of the village is shaped according to the *yörük cema'âts* settled in or close to it. The name Kesteriçe comes out as the name of a *yörük cema'ât* which is recorded as a separate *cema'ât*.

³²⁰ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 9. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 122a.

³²¹ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 9. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 122b.

³²² BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 9; "yörükler mütemekkindir". TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 125a.

³²³ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 9; "yörükler mütemekkindir". TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 127a.

³²⁴ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 8. "karye-i mezbûrede mütemekkin olanlar küre yağcılarını olub her hânedan ellişer akçe ve mücerredlerinden kırkar akçe alınur tamam çifte mutasarrıf olanlar onikişer akçe virirler." TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 125b. "karye-i mezbûrede mütemekkin olanlar küre yağcılarını olub...".

³²⁵ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 10. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 127b.

³²⁶ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 10. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 140b.

Koca Ömerlü ³²⁸	1 <i>hâne</i> [reâyâ] 12 <i>hâne</i>	20 <i>çift</i> [reâyâ] 4 <i>bennâk</i> [reâyâ] 2 <i>mücerred</i> [reâyâ]
Bayatlı ³²⁹	3 <i>hâne</i> [reâyâ] 1 <i>mücerred</i> [reâyâ] 15 <i>hâne</i>	17 <i>çift</i> [reâyâ] 8 <i>bennâk</i> [reâyâ] 13 <i>mücerred</i> [reâyâ] +2 <i>hâne</i> [reâyâ]

In terms of population numbers, the village of Güven nd. Dur Ali nd. Pir Ali is the most noticeable. In 1529, the numbers of ordinary Muslim *reâyâ* and of *yörüks* are almost equal, with 29 *hânes* of settled and *yörük* Muslims and 2 *mücerreds* of settled Muslims. In 1568, the village is recorded with 65 *çifts*, 2 *bennâks*, and 37 *mücerreds* of *yörüks*. Additionally, 112 *hânes* of *seyyidân* [descendants of the Prophet Muhammad] are recorded. The existence of *seyyidân* in 1568 gives the impression that the *reâyâ* seen in 1529 might well be these people, too. However, this is by no means certain. The most noteworthy feature of Güven in 1568 is the fact that the village consists of separate *cemaâts*, of which there are five in all: Dur Ali nâm-i diger Demürhanlu, Aşıklar, Pir Ali nâm-i diger Uruzlar, Ada, and Kesteriçe. Clearly, the village is named after some of these *cemaâts*. Dur Ali and Pir Ali are mentioned as “*nâm-ı diger*”. The village was called Kesteriçe in both the 1519 and the 1529 registers. Although they are recorded under the title of the village, they are categorized and recorded separately. However, in the synopsis they are treated as a single unit. Such a structure suggests that the increase in the population of *yörüks* in 1568 may have been due to the arrival of some of these *cemaâts*. Since Dur Ali,

³²⁷ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 144a. “hâric-ez-defter”.

³²⁸ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 9. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 114a.

³²⁹ BOA. TT.d. 167, f. 10. TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, 118a.

Pir Ali, and Kesteriçe are mentioned in the village's name, the Aşıklar and Ada *cemaâts* must have been the new arrivals. The demographic picture of these *cemaâts* can be seen in the table below:

Dur Ali nd. Demürhanlu	Aşıklar	Pir Ali nd. Uruzlar	Ada	Kesteriçe
14 çift 6 mücerred	7 çift 2 mücerred	21 çift 8 mücerred	13 çift 1 bennâk 12 mücerred	10 çift 1 bennâk 9 mücerred 7 seyyid

The number of *seyyidân* in the village is very large. Only 7 of them are recorded within a *cemaât*. Since there is no detailed register of the village before 1568, no explanation can be given for the 112 *seyyidân* recorded as present in the village.

In the synopsis of the village, small amounts of cereal production are noted as being taxed. There are 20 *kiles* of *kendüm*, 50 *kiles* of *cev*, 10 *kiles* of *çavdar*, 3 *kiles* of *erzen*, and 5 *kiles* of *alef*. On the other hand, no sign of animal husbandry is noticeable. However, the existence of a *cemaât* structure and the composition of the village out of these *cemaâts* strongly hints at a semi-nomadic way of life. The collection of sheep tax may have been for the *mukataa*, which is recorded as present in the register of 1529 and to be collected together with the district of Ferecik. Whatever the reasons for the absence of signs of animal husbandry, it is very difficult to claim that this *yörük* village was significantly involved in agricultural production.

Another village deserving of attention is Çakırlar. It is recorded with 25 *hânes* of *yörüks* in 1529, and with 45 *çifts* and 12 *bennâks* in 1568. There is a significant increase between the two dates, which seems to have been the result of the addition of another group of *yörüks* rather than of natural increase. Observing the situation of the village in 1519, it can be seen that it was a *mezraa* without any population but with a total income of 1,850 *akçes*.³³⁰ By 1529, it has turned into a village settled by *yörüks*. This fact is stated explicitly in 1568, most probably repeating an expression from the detailed register of 1529: “*sâbıkân mezraâ olub sonra yörük tâifesi gelüb mütemekkinler olub*”.³³¹ This statement can be seen as a summary of the entire process of *yörük* settlement in the region. Although the arrival of the *yörüks* into Rumelia and the Balkans dates back to the 14th century, the example of Çakırlar shows that the demographic and social composition of the region was still alive in the 16th century as well. The variety in the *yörüks*' ways of life was embodied in such cases as this. The village also included some *yörüks* who were not settled there, as can be inferred from the *resm-i duhân* entry of 50 *akçes*. Çakırlar, thus, presents a case in which different varieties were intermingled in a single village.

The villages of Koca Ömerlü and Bayatlı take the *yörük* settlement process in the region a step backward. As presented in the table of *yörük* villages in Gümülcine, in 1529 they were *yörük* villages with a few registered *reâyâ*. Koca Ömerlü had 12 *hânes* of *yörüks* and 1 *hâne* of settled Muslim households, while Bayatlar had 15 *yörük hânes* together with 3 settled households and 1 *mücerred*. Of the *yörük*

³³⁰ BOA. TT.d. 70, f. 29.

³³¹ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 125a.

households in these villages, none remains in 1568. At this date, there were 24 households and 2 *mücerreds* in Koca Ömerlü and 27 households and 13 *mücerreds* in Bayatlı, all of which were settled Muslims. Over time, then, Koca Ömerlü and Bayatlar became *reâyâ* villages with almost no *yörük* population at all.³³² It can be deduced from these cases that the *yörüks* of these villages must have lost their *yörük* identity in terms of legal status and begun instead to be registered as *reâyâ*.

Among this category in the Gümülcine region, there are some other villages which can be evaluated together in terms of agricultural production. These are Kara Mihal, Kuşlu Hanlu maa Sevindiklü, Sevindiklü, and Ereselli. The amounts collected from these villages in 1568 can be seen in the table below:

Table 19 - Agricultural production in some *yörük* villages in Gümülcine

	Kara Mihal ³³³	Kuşlu Hanlu maa Sevindiklü ³³⁴	Sevindiklü ³³⁵	Ereselli ³³⁶
<i>kendüm</i>	160 <i>kile</i>	150 <i>kile</i>	80 <i>kile</i>	180 <i>kile</i>
<i>cev</i>	60 <i>kile</i>	300 <i>kile</i>	50 <i>kile</i>	40 <i>kile</i>
<i>çavdar</i>	100 <i>kile</i>	8 <i>kile</i>	10 <i>kile</i>	---
<i>erzen</i>	150 <i>kile</i>	22 <i>kile</i>	---	55 <i>kile</i>
<i>'alef</i>	30 <i>kile</i>	25 <i>kile</i>	15 <i>kile</i>	50 <i>kile</i>
<i>nohud</i>	---	4 <i>kile</i>	17 <i>müd</i>	---

³³² It should be stated that there are some *yörüks* in Koca Ömerlü registered among the *reâyâ* with a note above them. Yet, they pay regular *resm-i raiyyet*, therefore their affiliation as *yörük* or *eşkünci/yamak* does not change their status in this case. The individually registered *yörüks* is discussed in the relevant section.

³³³ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 122a.

³³⁴ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 122b.

³³⁵ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 127b.

³³⁶ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187, f. 140b.

<i>öşr-i penbe</i>	250 <i>akçe</i>	360 <i>akçe</i>	150 <i>akçe</i>	159 <i>akçe</i>
<i>resm-i ağıl</i>	400 <i>akçe</i>	---	---	130 <i>akçe</i>

As can be observed from the amounts paid, these *yörük* villages were very much involved in agricultural production. Naturally, their products varied. While Kara Mihal concentrated on cereals, Sevindiklü produced large amounts of chickpeas. Cotton was a common cash crop. As mentioned previously, cotton production indicates the *yörük* nature of these villages. It should also be mentioned that the villages of Kara Mihal and Ereselli were recorded with *resm-i ağıl*, thus suggesting the existence of animal husbandry as an ongoing occupation.

CHAPTER IV

YÖRÜKS AS A MILITARY GROUP

4.1. Yörük Organization: Origin and Formation

The preceding evaluation of the extensive *yörük* population in Ottoman western Thrace as a social group and its relevant features does not present a complete picture of the *yörüks* in question. Another significant aspect that must be considered is the military dimension of this population.

The utilization of the *yörük* population in Rumelia within the military and administrative system of the Ottoman state is estimated to have begun in the fifteenth century in accordance with regulations dating to the time of Mehmed II.³³⁷ Gökbilgin suggests that “[t]he *yörük* organization was at the beginning of its rise in Mehmed II’s time. After most likely coming into existence as an embryo in the time of Murad II, its principles were established during Mehmed’s reign and it began to become a separate military class, taking shape over time.”³³⁸ The reason behind the need to form such an organization is explained by Gökbilgin through the existence of an extensive population of *yörüks* in Rumelia in the period following the

³³⁷ Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Zirâi Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları: 1. Kanunlar*, 387-395.

³³⁸ Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, 35.

conquest period of the region: "The increase in the number of *yörüks* in Rumelia and their spread over a large area there prompted the state to make maximum use of them. In parallel with this aim, separate regulations and laws were issued specifically for *yörüks* and *tatars*."³³⁹ Gökbilgin's suggestion concerning this reason has been repeated by other historians studying either this question or related matters. İnbaşı describes the reason for the establishment of the *yörük* organization in Rumelia in this way:

The increase in the number of *yörüks* in Rumelia; their spread over the whole of the region, including the entire Strandja and Rhodope mountain ranges, the banks of the Danube, the Šar Mountains, and on up to Macedonia, living throughout these regions in various small or large groups; and their settlement in these regions over time prompted the Ottoman state to make use of their presence. Therefore, separate regulations were issued for these groups.³⁴⁰

Sema Altunan refers to Gökbilgin in her own explanation: "With the increase in number and spread of the *yörüks*, who were used on a large scale to settle Rumelia over time, regulations exclusively for *yörüks* came to be issued."³⁴¹ Apart from this view, the existence of the organization is seen as an instance of the state taking direct control over the *yörüks* in Rumelia.³⁴²

Explaining the foundation of the *yörük* organization in Rumelia in terms of the existence of a large number of *yörüks* does not seem to explain the actual case in the region. Although there was a similar concentration of *yörüks* in western Anatolia and on the line of the Taurus Mountains, they were not organized into

³³⁹ Ibid., 19.

³⁴⁰ İnbaşı, "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri."

³⁴¹ Altunan, "XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Rumeli Yörükleri ve Naldöken Yörük Grubu".

³⁴² "...sekiz grup olarak defterlere kaydedilmiş bulunan bu yörükler, daha sıkı bir zabt u rapt altında tutulmuşlardır.", Çubuk.

such a formation. The reason behind this phenomenon should rather be sought in the employment of *yörüks* in earlier periods of the history of the Ottoman state. In other words, the early Ottoman military troops would provide a better explanation for this particular case. In his explanation concerning exemption from certain personal taxes in the early periods of the Ottoman state, İnalçık mentions that a significant amount of people became exempt from personal taxes – *raiyyet rusumu* – and services due to their being subscribed into certain military groups to serve as active soldiers. These were primarily *yayas* and *müsellems*, as well as *yörüks* and *tatars*. This situation was especially valid in the fifteenth century, when the state was in need of human resources for the army. However, in the sixteenth century, this situation changed. These military groups were no longer needed as much as they had been. Instead, through the application of *pencik*, Janissaries became the active parts of the military, together with *sipahis*. Therefore, the state took back their immunities back, though the military groups in question continued serving the state as auxiliaries, who were stationed at bridges, involved in the restoration of fortresses, and so on. In this manner, their exemption was enabled to continue, albeit now minimized to exemption from extraordinary taxes.³⁴³

Apart from its connection with taxation, the structure of the early Ottoman state and its military nature can help us understand the place of *yörüks* in the Ottoman army. What should be taken into consideration in regards to this organization and its background is its initial phase and its role within the Ottoman military structure. The critical stage can be said to be the passage from an active military group into an auxiliary one. In contrast with the general perception that

³⁴³ İnalçık, "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rüsûmu," 51-53.

yörüks were formed into an organization when they came to have a large population in Rumelia, with the state therefore deciding to make use of their presence in the region more efficiently, what can be observed during this early period is the fact that *yörüks* were already part of the Ottoman army, though in a more active manner than in later periods. The existence of separate registers for *yörüks* in the 16th century does not necessarily mean that they were organized in that century. In the law code of Mehmed II, they were mentioned separately, albeit briefly. This fact alone suggests that their organization had its origins in the fifteenth century at the latest, and there are clues indicating that the *yörüks* can be placed within the military organization during this century and even earlier.

As stated above, the roots of the *yörük* organization should be sought in the early Ottoman military structure. The movement of the Ottomans into the Balkans through the frontier marches, as well as those who led this movement, are points that need to be considered in this regard. These *gazi* leaders' men were mostly of *yörük* origin, and in fact, the frontier *begs* were clearly associated with *yörüks*. While constructing his narration of Otman Baba, a religious figure of the 15th century, and his relationship with Mehmed II, İnalçık explains that "the Yürüks, in this tradition, were not distinguished from the frontier ghazis. The ghaziyan are cited by Aşık Paşa-zâde side by side with the abdalın, as the instruments of God to spread His word."³⁴⁴ Specifically, he mentions the *yörüks* of the Dobruca and Deliorman regions and their close relationship with the frontier culture: "Yürüks in Dobruja and Deli-Orman served at the same time as ghazis or raiders (*akinci*) under famous

³⁴⁴ Halil İnalçık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilayetnamesi," in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire : Essays on Economy and Society*, ed. Halil İnalçık (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 24-25.

frontier begs such as Mihal Oglu Ali Beg.”³⁴⁵ During the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402), “the Yürük migration continued later on as better economic conditions and ghaza booty attracted them.”³⁴⁶ Semi-nomadic groups constituted the main human resource for the frontier begs. Although the conscription of *akıncıs* included people from various backgrounds, such as villagers and townsmen, the *yörük* groups seem to have been the dominant source of recruitment. This is evident from the fact that “[n]omad Turks (*yürüks*) were especially numerous in the areas which lay in the passageway of the armies as well as in the marches”.³⁴⁷ The deportation of *yörüks* from the Saruhan region is given as a noteworthy detail in Aşıkpaşazade. It is mentioned that an *akıncı* leader, Paşa Yigid Beg, became the chief of the *yörüks* deported from Saruhan by himself.³⁴⁸ From this detail, it can be assumed that the entrance of the *yörüks* into Rumelia was of a military nature and that they came to serve the leaders of the marches in Rumelia. In relation to this, İnalçık states the following:

In the first century of their conquests the Ottomans seemed to be interested rather in using deportation for military purposes ... Meanwhile, according to the *defter* of Albania, many deportees from several parts of Asia Minor such as Saruhan, Djanik, Paphlagoina, Tarakliborlu (Bolu) and from Vize (in Thrace) were given *timars* in Albania between 1415 and 1430...³⁴⁹

Because of the fact that the nature of the *akıncı* troops changed in subsequent centuries, these *akıncı* groups should be seen as basically the tribal forces who were

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 25-26.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 26.

³⁴⁷ Mariya Kiprovska, “The Military Organization of the Akıncıs in Ottoman Rumelia” (Bilkent University, 2004), 56.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 54.

³⁴⁹ İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," 124.

the main component of the frontier forces, unlike the *akıncıs* of the sixteenth century, whose function had changed so that they were now a force used to cause disorder in the enemy lines preliminary to the arrival of the main body of the army.

As Kiprovska put it:

Keeping in mind that those deportees came to Rumeli along with the hereditary *akinci* leaders of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, it would not be a mistake if we supposed that exactly these companions of the frontier *beys* performed the service of *akıncıs* on the Balkans.³⁵⁰

İnalçık's evaluation of the Albania region through early cadastral surveys shows that these groups were not only a source of *akinci* troops, but also became a reservoir for the sipahis as well:

Considering also the fact that 'the Turkish emigrants from Anatolia who accompanied Evrenos Bey and Turahan Bey', as well as the men led by the famous *uc-beyi* of Uskup at the head of the troublesome nomads from Saruhan, had been granted *timars* in the conquered lands, we come to the conclusion that in the frontier districts the deportees as warriors were treated in an exceptionally generous way.³⁵¹

The leaders of the marches had *akıncıs* in their armies together with other Turkmen warriors who were seeking a living through *gaza* and its gains. These tribal forces led the main occupations in the Balkans. Uzunçarşılı states that the initial conquests were fulfilled by the tribal [Turkmen/*yörük*] forces, who were all cavalry".³⁵² Moreover, the nature of the early Ottoman state as a tribal formation with many other elements, such as converted leaders and groups joining in order to gain booty, together with its Turkmen aspect, can shed light upon the place of semi-nomadic groups in the early stages of the state. It is important to note that, in the

³⁵⁰ Kiprovska, 58.

³⁵¹ İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," 125.

³⁵² İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 7th ed., 6 vols., vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), 127.

early period, "it may well have been very difficult to distinguish between society and military among the Turkomans"³⁵³ residing in the marches. Because there was not a clear distinction in the society, the army was not a segregated unit, thereby revealing the composition of its society. "All followers of the Ottomans capable of fighting could and did participate in raiding or in defence if need arose."³⁵⁴

The routes of conquests followed by the frontier leaders in the fourteenth century provide an important picture when considered together with the places of registration of the *yörük* organization in the sixteenth century. After the Ottomans' first steps upon European lands around the Gallipoli peninsula, the next direction of Ottoman movement was designated along three routes through the frontiers.³⁵⁵ The first frontier lay in the direction of Tekfur Dağı and Çorlu. The second frontier of movement was towards Malkara, Hayrabolu, and Vize. The third frontier movement was along the Maritsa River through İpsala and Edirne. Together with the conquests in these directions, these frontiers were steadily moved further so as to be used as bases. İpsala became the frontier center of the left wing commanded by Hacı İlbey and Evrenos Bey. This frontier was moved further over time to Gümülcine, Serez, Yenice-i Vardar, and Kara Ferye. From Kara Ferye, it was divided into two directions, towards Tırhala and Üsküp. Initially, the right wing was moved to Yanbolu. After Yanbolu, Karınova and Pravadi became the centers of this frontier. This was also divided into two different directions, one towards Tirnova

³⁵³ Pál Fodor, "Ottoman Warfare, 1300-1453," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey Volume 1, Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 192.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ İnalçık, "Rumeli." The *uc* system followed by the Ottomans in their movements in the Balkans is clearly identified by İnalçık in this article. The details of the system and the settlements used as *uc* centers in the following sentences of this paragraph are taken from this *EI*² entry.

and Niğbolu and the other towards Dobruca. The centers of the middle wing were Çirmen, Zağra, and Filibe. The route was divided into two branches in Filibe. One of these was in the direction of Sofia and Niş, while the other one lay in the direction of Köstendil and Üsküp. The routes of these wings were the main routes followed by the frontier lords and their warriors. The peripheries of these centers should also be taken into consideration, as they were conquered around the same dates as these centers.

The distribution of *yörük ocaks* in the first half of sixteenth century, as seen below, reveals an important detail regarding the *yörük* organization and its ties with the period of expansion and conquest. This is the suggestion that these *yörük ocaks* must have been a remnant of the early expansion period, which occurred mainly in the fourteenth century. In other words, the *yörüks* must already have been part of the military structure of the frontier leaders, which, as a tradition, survived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a separate organization of *yörüks*, though now as an auxiliary force. The reason for the lack of registers compiled for *yörük* groups in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be sought in the *yörüks*' being used as a resource for *akıncı* and other *gazi* troops under frontier leaders. As a detail, it should also be mentioned that it was a tradition for tribal forces in the early period to wear red headgear to designate their Turkmen nature, and the members of the *yörük* organization wore the same kind of headgear. This detail provides another clue about the continuity seen in this process. The deportation and voluntary entry of *yörüks* into Rumelia was a fact of the post-conquest period. The existing human resource was used by the state in periods following the conquest of the region, when the army was no longer relying on villagers and semi-nomads as temporary

forces. For this reason, the usage of *yörüks* as an auxiliary force must be seen as a continuation of existing traditions, rather than simply accepting the idea that the state sought to make use of the existing *yörük* population in the region. The increase in population may well have affected the number of *ocaks* in the organization, yet to simply ascribe this process to the wish to make use of the large *yörük* population would be to underestimate or even ignore the role of tradition in the Ottoman state system.

In sum, it is clear that, in the initial phases of the Ottoman movement into the Balkans, *yörüks* played an active role on the frontiers. Considering the fact that the frontier *begs* were the commanders responsible for the Ottoman expansion onto European soil in various directions, the role of *yörüks* in this process can be appreciated more fully and more accurately.

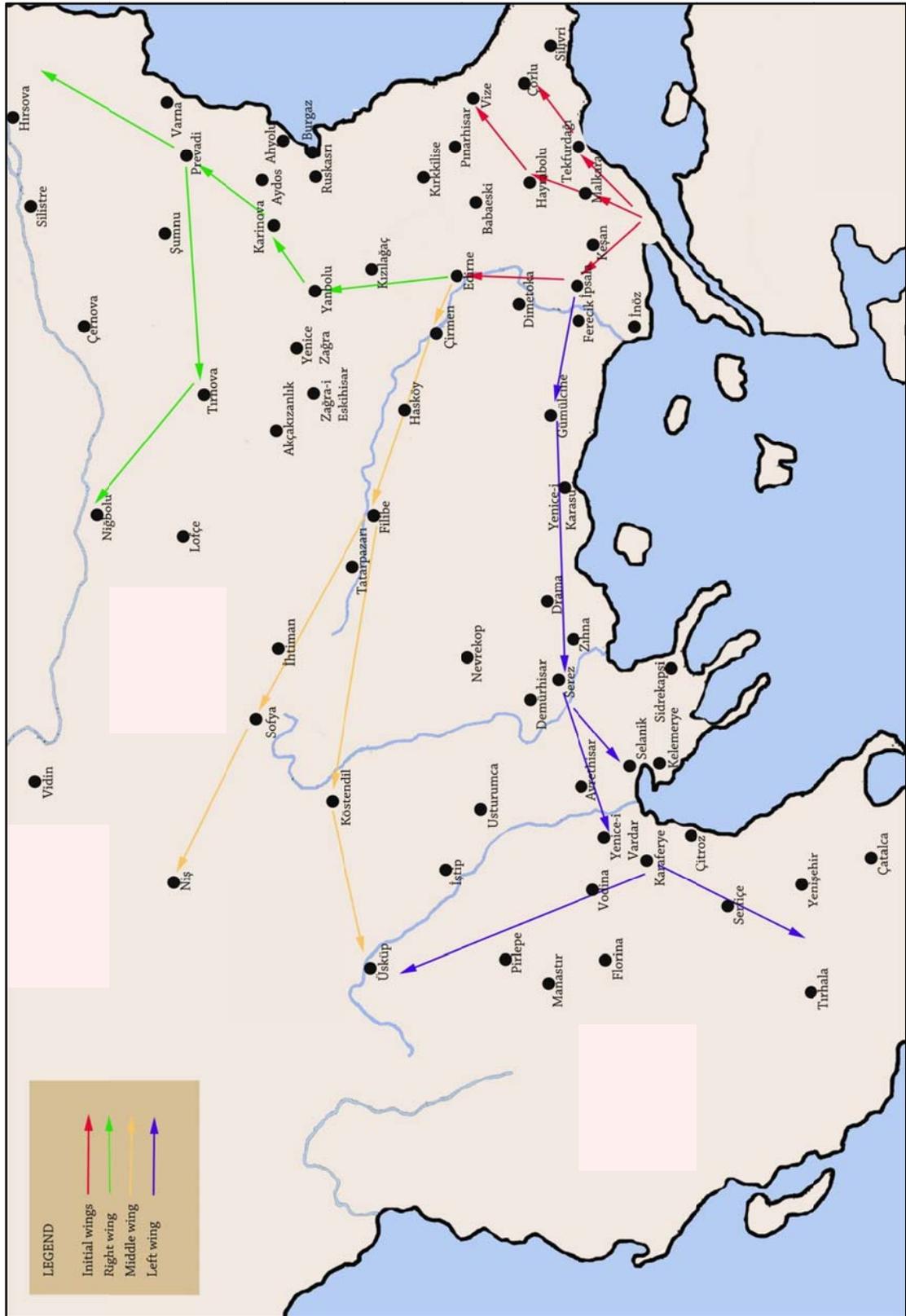


Figure 9 - Routes of the Ottoman movement in the Balkans

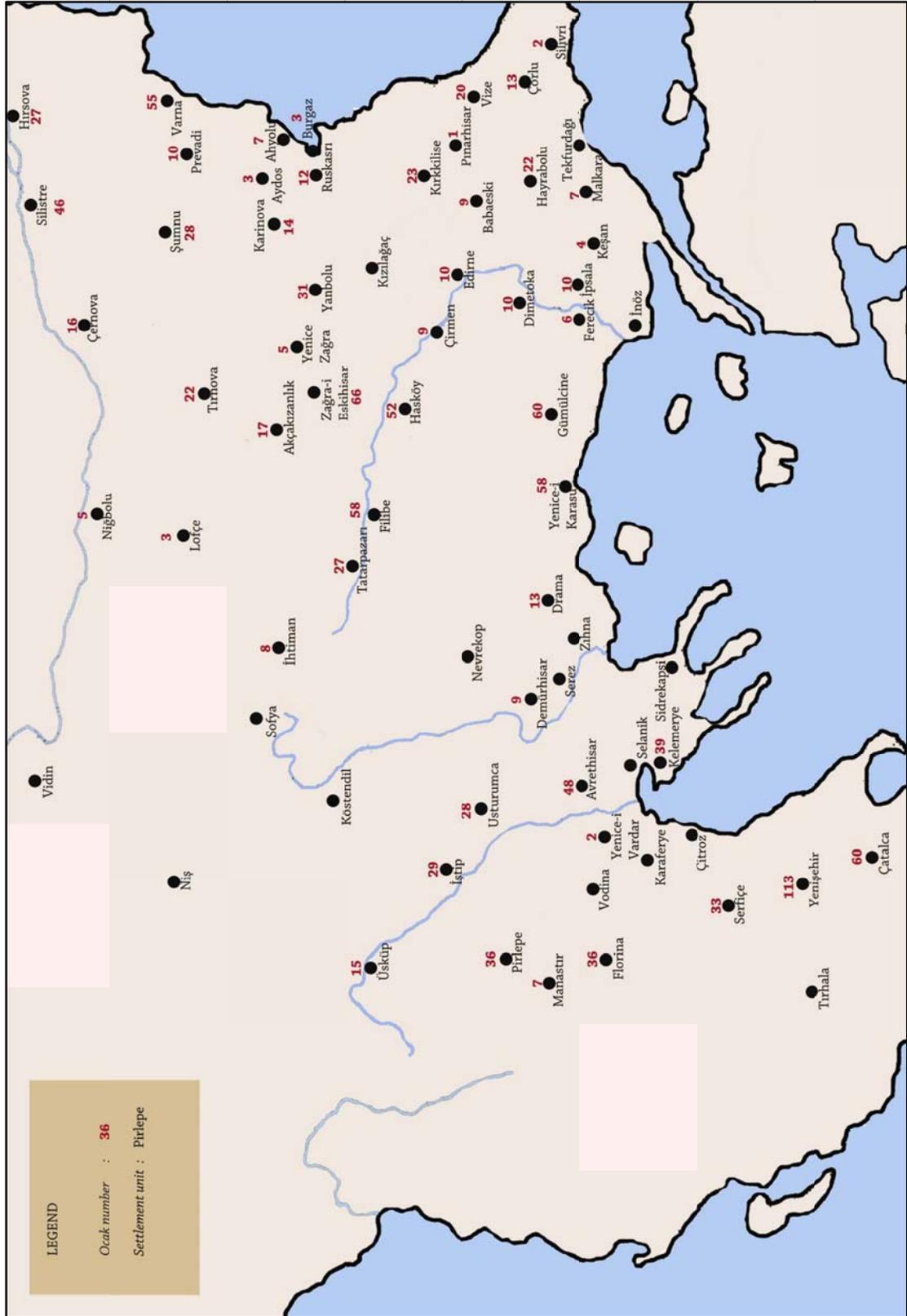


Figure 10 - Distribution of yörük ocaks according to 1544 registers³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ Compiled according to İnbaşı's table of the distribution of yörük ocaks in 1544; İnbaşı, "XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bulgaristan'daki Yörük Yerleşmeleri," 182.

4.2. Other Auxiliaries and the Yörük Organization

In terms of the conditions which led to their foundation processes, the *yaya-müsellem* and *voynuk* organizations bear a remarkable resemblance to the *yörük* organization. For this reason, it would be beneficial to provide details concerning the origins of these institutions. Having initially appeared as active combat forces, they too were turned into auxiliary forces in time and came to perform the same services as the *yörük* organization.

The roots of the *yaya-müsellem* organization are said to lie in the mercenary soldiers recruited from among villagers during the Seljukid period.³⁵⁷ These were called *haşer* or *kaşer*. They were paid daily, and cultivated their lands during peacetime. This practice was put into effect during Osman Bey's reign for situations in which the tribal forces might not be sufficient. In Orhan's time, Alaeddin Paşa organized the army, and these voluntary and temporary forces recruited from among villagers were turned into permanent forces in return for certain benefits. However, the actual organization of the *yaya-müsellems* was effected by Çandarlı Kara Hayreddin Paşa. It was decided that, during times of war, the state would recruit mercenaries from the villages both as infantry (*yaya*) and as cavalry (*müsellem*). These soldiers would be paid daily so long as they were fighting. During peacetime, they would cultivate farms given them by the state. They would reside in *sancaks* and wear white headgear (*ak börk*). They were organized according to the number of *sancaks*, yet were considered a part of the central army (*hassa ordusu*). Before the death of Süleyman Paşa, it was decided to reorganize the central army.

³⁵⁷ Halime Doğru, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yaya-Müsellem-Taycı Teşkilatı (XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü Sancağı)* (İstanbul: Eren, 1990), 2-8.

In parallel with this, a cavalry army called *sipah zümresi* was formed to replace the *müsellems*, while the *yayas* were replaced by *azabs*. “The infantry *azabs*, who were equipped with bows and arrows, constituted a *militia portalis* rather than a real group of mercenaries, because they received their military kit from – and were sent to the campaigns by – a certain number of taxpaying *re’aya* families.”³⁵⁸ Unlike *yaya-müsellems* soldiers, these two new armies would dwell in the center and, in this way, the period of waiting for soldiers in the countryside to gather would be avoided. Moreover, they were professionals, their only occupation being fighting. As a result, the *yaya-müsellems* groups began to be disregarded. This was a period of transition. Their transformation into auxiliary forces actually came about when the Janissaries were integrated into the Ottoman army. In the first years of Murad I’s reign, the status of *yaya-müsellems* groups was finally determined with certainty: they would no longer be paid salaries, yet they would be exempt from the *rüsum-i şeriyeye*, thus possessing full military (*askeri*) status. Now, however, they would function as auxiliary forces.

The *voynuks* are another organization that should be mentioned in conjunction with the *yörüks*. The root of the word *voynuk* is Slavic and means “soldier”.³⁵⁹ It designates the members of an organization that consisted of non-Muslim cavalry. They were among the minor dignitaries of their society who had land of their own prior to the Ottoman conquest in the regions of Serbia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. The utilization of existing nobilities in lands conquered

³⁵⁸ Gábor Ágoston, "Ottoman Warfare, 1453-1826," in *European Warfare, 1453-1815*, ed. Jeremy Black (London: Macmillan, 1999), 122.

³⁵⁹ Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986).

by the Ottomans is a well-attested phenomenon.³⁶⁰ The *woynuks* are especially good examples of this process.

The *woynuks* were especially useful to the sultans before the Ottoman state developed a fully-centralised, multi-functional military apparatus of its own. In newly conquered lands along the empire's expanding Albanian and northern Balkan frontiers during the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, *woynuks* provided an essential complement to the timariots whose numbers were still insufficient to perform both offensive and defensive military functions.³⁶¹

The *eşkünçi Eflaks* were another organization which can be categorized together with these organizations.

It should be mentioned that *yayas* and *müsellems* were organized in *ocaks*, just like the *yörüks*. However, the number of people in these *ocaks* was not the same, changing over time. Muzaffer Arıkan explains a *yaya-müselleme ocak* in this way:

It was a unit consisting of a *yaya* and a *yamak*. They cultivated a farm in return for their salaries. As for the extraordinary levies, they were responsible for a certain service. They were considered military due to their duties and their exemption from taxes. These were all valid for the *müsellems* as well.³⁶²

This organization is similar to *yörük* organization in some ways. Both were an active part of the Ottoman army in its early phases. In time, both were demoted to auxiliary forces. *Yayas* and *müsellems* were given land in return for their services, while *yörüks* were exempted from extraordinary levies in return for their services. Both were organized around a unit called the *ocak*, though the number of people in these *ocaks* was different. Their similarities can be seen in *mühimme* entries, which

³⁶⁰ Halil İnalçık, "Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hıristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri," in *60. Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle Fuad Köprülü Armağanı* (İstanbul: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1953).

³⁶¹ Rhoads Murphey, "Woynuk," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd Edition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill).

³⁶² Muzaffer Arıkan, "Yaya ve Müsellemlerde Toprak Tasarrufu," in *Atatürk Konferansları* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975-76), 175-176.

include orders for their services. In many of these entries, the members of both organizations are addressed together owing to the fact they were sent for the same services. In one *mühimme* entry dated 1568, *yörüks* and *müsellems* are noted as both performing the service of mining coal in Rudnik: “*emr mücebince yörükler subaşıları eşküncileriyle ve livâ-i Çirmen müsellemleri Yenibâzâr ve Alacahisâr’dan yüz otuz nefer kömürçiler gelüp zikrolunan hizmete mübâşeret olunup...*”.³⁶³ Another entry from the same year shows this connection even more clearly: “*Pozape yayalarını defter-i cedîd-i hâkânîye Yanbolı yörükleriyle ma’an kaydeyleyesin ki, bir mahalde hizmet düşdükde min-ba’d defter mücebince Yanbolı yörükleriyle eşüp edâ-i hizmet ideler*”.³⁶⁴ The fact that they performed the same services was to such an extent that they were ordered to be registered together, even though they represented different auxiliary groups. This proves that they were not considered separately in the eyes of the administration.

4.3. Structure of and Changes in the Yörük Organization through Regulations

The organization of *yörüks* constitutes a significant yet little studied area. Organized in a similar way to other auxiliary components of the Ottoman army, such as the *yaya-müsellems*,³⁶⁵ the *yörük* organization requires closer study in terms

³⁶³ July 20th, 1568; 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976/1567-1569) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]. 273, entry 1724.

³⁶⁴ September 20th, 1568; 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976 / 1567–1569) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]. 83, entry 2126.

³⁶⁵ See section “4.2. Other Auxiliaries and the Yörük Organization” for details. On *yaya-müsellems* organization, see Arıkan. and Halime Doğru, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yaya-Müsellems-Taycı Teşkilatı: XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Sultanönü Sancağı* (İstanbul: Eren, 1990). For their similarity, İnalçık, “The Yörüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” footnote 18, 125.

of its extension among the *yörük* population in Rumelia. The organization is thought to have encompassed the entire *yörük* group in the region, as the registers were compiled solely for this reason. This fact, together with the emphasis placed on the military character of the organization, resulted in an incorrect assumption of militarization. This, however, seems to be more the *façade* than the reality. This part of the study will attempt to assess the nature and true extent of militarization among the *yörüks* in Rumelia.

As mentioned above, during the early years of the Ottoman state, the *yörüks* played a role as soldiers under the command of *gâzi-raider (akıncı)* families, such as the Evrenosoğulları and Mihaloğulları, in the Ottoman expansion through Thrace and the Balkans.³⁶⁶ The Ottoman movement into these regions was the main thing attracting these groups, owing to the material gains it would provide. Although it was a direct outcome of this early expansion period, the organization of *yörüks* as a separate unit within the Ottoman military structure should be considered as a completely different issue. After this initial stage, the *yörük* organization became an auxiliary force used in times of both war and peace. Organized *yörüks* not only did work in terms of providing supplies, but they also performed local functions as well, such as guarding mountain passes and producing munitions from mines. Thus, the *yörük* organization evolved into a group that was military only in terms of its structure.

³⁶⁶ For Evrenos Beg and his dynasty, see Heath W. Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350-1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2008).; Heath W. Lowry and İsmail E. Erünsal, *Notes & Documents on the Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-I Vardar (Giannitsa)* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2009).; Heath W. Lowry, *The Evrenos Family & the City of Selânik (Thessaloniki): Who Built the Hamza Beğ Câmî'i & Why?* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2010). For Mihaloğulları, see Kiprovska.

The earliest source mentioning the *yörük* organization dates to the time of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481). According to this source, the *yörüks* under discussion here were organized into *ocaks* made up of twenty-four enlisted men (*nefers*) each. One of these (*eşkünci*) was asked to take part in the campaigns, while the other three, *çatal*s, were off-duty *eşküncis*:

Yigirmi dört kişiden biri eşkünci üç çatal yigirmisi yamak ola. Ve mezkûr eşkünci kendü cebelü gönderi demirinde ve yeleninde[?] okında yayında kılıcında kalkanında eksük olmayub müretteb ola. Ve on eşküncinin bir orta bargiri olub bir tenktüri ola. Yörükler eşküncisi çatalı yamakları arpa ve saman sarmak ve hisar yapmak ve gayrı avârıza karışmaya ve eşküne eşen etdüği yıl sâlârlık vermeye şöyle bilesiz.³⁶⁷

The reign of Süleyman I was accompanied by certain changes in the organization. Account (*muhâsebe*) registers compiled in 1529-30, quite early in his reign, represent the first examples of such regulations from the reign of Süleyman. This *kanunnâme* actually was a regulation about the *yörüks* and *Tatars* of Yanbolu, and the regulations within this *kanunnâme* were broadly military in nature, and thus generally about the military organization itself; it is possible to argue, however, that this situation was also valid for the other *yörük* groups in Rumelia. The number of members in each *ocak* is specified as twenty-five in this *kanunnâme*. The number of *eşküncis* has also changed: five of the *ocak* members were considered *eşküncis* and were expected to be on duty in turns. The rest of the *ocak* members were called

³⁶⁷ “Out of the twenty four people, one is to be the incumbent, three are to be the alternatives, and the twenthy are to be the adjuncts. And the mentioned incumbent is to be equipped with his own corselet, and with no lack in his pole, iron, arrow, bow and shield. Incumbents, alternatives and *yamaks* of *yörüks* should be demanded for service by the fief-holder of their residence. Incumbent will not pay his dues for the fief-holder when he is on duty.” This first example of regulations for the organization from the reign of Mehmed is part of the general regulations called “*Kânûn-i Padişâhi*”. The organization and its regulations are clearly identified in the lawcode of Mehmed II, Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 8 vols., vol. 1 (Osmanlı hukukuna giriş ve Fatih devri kanunnâmeleri) (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1990). Before Akgündüz’s compilation, this lawcode was transliterated and published by Barkan, Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Zirâi Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları: 1. Kanunlar*, 387-395.

yamaks, and they were to provide fifty *akçes* to support the *eşküncis* of their *ocak* financially.³⁶⁸

Zikr olan yürükler ve tatarlar defter-i şâhîde bir ocakda beş nefer eşküncidir ve yigirmi nefer yamak olur sefer oldukça yamaklarından avâriz mukâbelesinde ellişer akça alub sefer idenler [iderler?] cürmleri ve resm-i arusları defterde mukayyed olduğu üzere subaşılarnındır sefer vâki oldukça yürük yamaklarından ellişer akça alurlar amma sefer olmayacak almazlar.³⁶⁹

It is apparent that these regulations were valid for some time during Süleyman I's reign, as the *kanunnâme* of the register of the Tanrıdağı *yörüks*, dated 1544, is almost identical to the previous one:

Eşkünci yürük ve tardan yigirmi beş neferi bir ocak beş neferi be-nevbet eşkünci yigirmi neferi yamak kayd olub sefer-i hümâyûn ve hizmet-i padişâhî vâki' oldukda nevbetlü eşkünci yamaklarından 'avâriz-i divâniyye mukâbelesinde kanûn-i kadîm-i sultânî muktezâsınca ellişer akça harçlık alub sefer ederler hizmet ve sefer olmayacak eşkünci yamaklarından nesne almazlar³⁷⁰.

The main common point between these two *kanunnâme* fragments is what the *yamaks* were expected to pay during the campaigns. Together with this, we can also

³⁶⁸ It is clear from the contents of the *kanunnâme* that the *kanunnâmes* of the following decades, included within the *yörük defters*, were codified in accordance with this and the contemporary examples of it. The similarity of this *kanunnâme* both in structure and content with the ones in the first *yörük defters* we have from the 1540s drives us to consider that *yörük defters* must have existed already in the 1510s though there is no material evidence for it.

³⁶⁹ "In the register of sultan, aforementioned *yörüks* and *Tatars* are five as incumbents (*eşküncis*) and twenty as payers (*yamaks*). At the time of campaigns, they attend the expeditions having fifty *akçes* from their *yamaks* in return for extraordinary levies (*avâriz*). As recorded in the register, their fines for crimes and wedding dues are for their military commanders (*subaşıs*). They gather fifty *akçes* from *yörük yamaks* during the time of campaigns, but do not in peace time." This *kanunnâme* on *yörük* organization is overlooked by researchers on this subject, 370 *Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530) - II, Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım*, Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı 2002), 365.(From now on, BOA. TT.d. 370)

³⁷⁰ "Twenty-five incumbent *yörüks* and *Tatars* constitute a unit (*ocak*), out of whom five are registered as incumbent in alternate turns and twenty as payers (*yamak*). In cases of felicitous campaigns and felicitous services, the incumbents whose turns have come should claim their allowances from *yamaks* as required by the ancient sultanic law in return for extraordinary taxes, and give their services. They must not demand anything in absence of war or service." BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yürükân*] 230, f. 1 compare Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 8 vols., vol. 6 (Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri kanunnâmeleri: II.Kısım, Kanunî devri eyâlet kanunnâmeleri) (FEY Vakfı, 1993), 705.

see that the number of members of each *ocak* was also identical. However, another *kanunnâme*, which has been claimed to be from Süleyman I's time as well, can be provided as an example of certain changes being introduced into the organization of military *yörüks*:

Rumelinde yörük ve müselleme yamakları ki her biri ellişer akça verirlerdi. Evvelden sefer olıcak ellişer akça verirkerdi sefer olmayıcak vermezlerdi. Şimdi emr olundu ki sefer olsun olmasun ellişer akça vereler. Ve Rumelinde olan yörüklerin yigirmi dört kişiden bir eşküncü olub üçü çatal yigirmisi yamak ola. Ve mezkûr eşküncü kendü cebelü olub gönderi demiriyle bileği ile ve oku yayı ve kılıcıyla müretteb ve mükemmel ola ve eşküncinin bir orta bargiri ola. Eşküncü ve çatal ve yamaklarına arpa ve saman ve hisar yapmak teklif olunmaya ve eşküncü eşdüğü yıl avâriz vermeye ammâ eşmediği yıl verür.³⁷¹

This regulation has a character distinct from that of the other regulations on the *yörüks* in the Balkans. The decrease in the complement of each *ocak*, though only by one person, is one of the obvious changes.³⁷² This part of the regulation seems to be taken directly from the regulations of Mehmed II, as such details as the military equipment of the *eşküncis* and the number of members in each *ocak* are identical. There are some differences, however. The main change in this regulation is the apparent expectation of a levy from the *yamaks* every year, even when there is no

³⁷¹ "Yörük and müselleme yamaks used to pay fifty akçes only during the time of campaigns, otherwise they did not use to pay the amount. From now on, they are to pay fifty akçes no matter whether there is campaign or not. And out of twenty-four yörüks in Rumelia, one is incumbent, three are alternates for them, twenty are yamaks. And the aforementioned incumbent must be fully equipped by his pole, iron, arrow and bow, sword and a moderate horse of his own. Incumbent, alternates or yamaks should not be demanded for any service in the fief they reside. Incumbents must pay his extraordinary levies when there is no campaign.", *ibid.*, 343.

³⁷² Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the number of *yamaks* in each *ocak* was increased to twenty-five, making the number of an *ocak* thirty because the amount did not suffice for the *eşküncis* anymore. This situation clearly seems to be a reflection of the devaluation of *akçe* and the consequent inflation; see ... In the seventeenth century, another radical change in the levy on these *ocaks* occurred. The amount began to be spared for the central treasury, apart from those which were registered as the incomes of seraskers and ceribasis of these *yörük* groups. The note scripted on the last folio of the *defter* compiled for Tanrıdağı *yörüks* in 1641 clearly expresses this fact: "Zikr olan Tanrıdağı nâm-i diğer Karagöz yörüklerinin her bir ocakda olan eşküncilerinden üçyüz ve yamaklarından yüz akça ki her bir ocağı dörder bin olur vech-i meşruh üzere her sene miri için tahsil olunugelmegin şerh virildi", BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 774, f. 56.

ongoing campaign or any other duty to be accomplished by *eşküncis*. This regulation has survived only partially, attached to the Rumelian provincial code of law (*Rumeli eyâlet kanunnâmesi*), and so the exact date of this particular piece is unknown. It is not possible to speculate about the reasons behind such a major change, due primarily to two issues: the decision to gather a levy every year and the fact that this regulation survives only in the Topkapı Palace archives. Nonetheless, it is still possible to hazard a few words on the possible reasons behind such a drastic change. The first point that can be put forward as a possible reason for this change is the Hungarian campaigns and, as a result, the increasing need for auxiliaries.³⁷³ In fact, one might consider these long campaigns as an excuse for the *yamaks* not to pay their share to the *eşküncis*, as the former would already be under a heavy burden whether or not there was a campaign. However, it is also possible to argue that this move aimed at encouraging *eşküncis* simply by indicating that the contributions would be continuous, even after the end of the campaigns. We may, on the other hand, consider another possibility in light of the transmission of the regulations to provinces through the Ottoman bureaucratic system. It is possible that this regulation, with the changes mentioned above, remained in the central administration. As there is an apparent difference between the *yörük* registers from the time of Süleyman I and the regulation under consideration here, which is said to be from the same era and is found in the Topkapı Palace archives, it is not possible to crosscheck these sources. In other words, there is a distinct possibility that this regulation was never put into effect. The validity of this speculation,

³⁷³ The campaigns were realized in 1521, 1526, 1529, 1532, 1541, and 1566; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, 5 vols., vol. 2 (M. 1513-1573, H. 919-981) (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971).

however, cannot be determined, owing to the absence of judicial records (*kadı sicils*), in which it would be possible to see local copies of the provincial regulations for this part of Rumelia up until the end of the seventeenth century. The final *defter* of the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* from the sixteenth century, written in 1591, provides another explanation. It reads:

[D]eften-i şâhîde eşkünci yörük ve tatarda yigirmi beş neferi bir ocak beş neferi be-nevbet eşkünci yigirmi neferi yamak kayd olunub sefer-i hümâyûn ve hizmet-i padişâhi vâki' oldukda nevbetlü eşkünci yamaklarından 'avâriz-i divâniyye mukâbelesinde kânun-i kadîm muktezâsinca ellişer akça harçlık alub sefer iderler hizmet ve sefer olmayacak eşkünci yamaklarından nesne almazlar.³⁷⁴

This piece essentially repeats the *yörük registers' kanunnâmes* from the 1580s, thus strengthening the idea that the regulation regarding the *yörüks* from the Topkapı Palace archives is either a simple exception or a temporary solution to a specific problem. Gökbilgin, however, argues that the changes in the number of members in each *ocak* over time must have been an outcome of a need felt by the central administration. This need, however, was not actually conveyed to the *yörük* groups.³⁷⁵

As for regulations on the military nature of the *eşküncis*, there exists one detailed *kanunnâme* excerpt. Compiled by Koca Nişancı Celalzâde, this *kanunnâme* is from the time of Selim II (r. 1566-1574). It is a collection of central and empire-

³⁷⁴ "In the register of sultan, twenty five of *eşkünci yörüks* and *Tatars* constitute a unit, out of which five are registered as *eşküncis* serving in turns and twenty are registered as *yamaks*. At the instances of campaigns or services, the *eşküncis* whose turn has come get fifty *akces* from their *yamaks* levied in return for extraordinary taxes as fulfilled according to the old law. When there is no service or campaign to attend, they cannot demand anything from *yamaks*." BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 631, f. 4.

³⁷⁵ Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, 42.

wide regulations.³⁷⁶ In it, the situation of *yörüks* as both a social and a military group is established through nineteen detailed items. This is the single most comprehensive compilation of regulations on the organization. The law items related to the military organization of *yörüks* are as follows:³⁷⁷

Yörük eşküncileri ve yamakları ulakdan ve suhradan ve doğancıdan ve sekbândan ve hisar yapmaktan ve salgundan ve cerehordan ve azebden ve arpa ve saman salmaktan ve bi'l-cümle mecmu'-i avâriz-i divânî ve tekâlif-i 'örfiyyeden mu'âf ve müsellemler olurlar ve eşküncilerin nevbetü nevbetince eşdirirler.

Pîr ve ma'lûl olmadan yerine kimesne eşdürmez. Pîr ve ma'lûl olıcak subaşısı ve çeribaşısı ânı görüb fi'l-vâki' pîr ve ma'lûl olduktan sonra eger oğlundan ve akvâmından eşmeğe kâbil var ise kadı mektubı ile getürüb ma'lûlün yerine kayd ettirüb eşdürür. Kayd etdürmeyince eşdürmez. Tâ ki mâbeyninde illet ve muvâza'a olmaya.

Eger oğullarından ve akvâmından eşmeğe kâbil olmaya, yamaklarından kâbil olanı yazdura.

Ve kendüler cebeleri ile tuğlğa ile ve kılıçları ile bilek ile ve sökülerile ve yaraklarıyla bile eşerler. Ve eğenlerine çuka fisdon ve başlarına kızıl börk giyerler. Ve her on eşküncide bir orta bargiri olur.

Ve eşdükleri yıl yamaklarından ve şeriklerinden mecâl vermeyüb dürüst ellişer akçe harçlık alurlar.

Bir yıl bahâne ve ta'allül edüb eşmemenin cezâsı nakl-i mekân etdürülür; Trabzon'a ya Mora'ya sürülür. İki yıl eşmeyeninin cezâsı salbdır. Ve ok atmak bilmeyenin parmağı kesilmekdir.

Eşküncinin nevbeti gelicek bu zikr olan yarak ile mükemmel ve mürettib hâzır ve müheyyâ olub kullukların yerine getüreler. Kulluğun koyub ahâr yere gitmeyeler. Ve çeribaşıları hükm-i şerîf vardığı gibi ihmâl etmeyüb bunları hâzır ve müheyyâ ile subaşıları gitdikten sonra evinde kalub te'hîr edüb oyalananları döge döge sürüb çıkaralar.

Ve çeribaşı dahi cebesiyle ve tuğluğasıyla ve sâir düşman yarağıyla varub hizmet şerâitin yerine getüre.

...

Rumelinde olan yörüklerde âdet budur ki, yigirmi dört kişide biri eşkünci olub üçü çatal yigirmisi yamak ola. Ve mezkûr eşkünci kendü cebelü gönderi demüründe ve bileğinde ve okunda ve yayında ve kılıcında ve kalkanında eksük olmayub müretteb ola. Ol eşküncinin bir orta bargiri ola. Eşkünci çatallarına ve yamaklarına arpa ve saman ve

³⁷⁶ Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 8 vols., vol. 7 (Kanunî Sultân Süleyman devri kanunnâmeleri, Kanunî devri eyâlet kanunnâmeleri (III), II. Selim devri kanunnâmeleri, II. Selim devri merkezî ve umûmî kanunnâmeleri) (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1994), 220-221.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 227-228.

hisar yapmak yokdur, avârıza katılmaz ve eşküne eşen eşdiği yıl avârız vermez.

Generally speaking, these regulations draw up a list of demands from the members of the organization. Their military equipment is expected to be complete. In addition to these demands, *eşküncis* are admonished by the central government to attend campaigns and told that they will be punished if they do not perform their services. The last item mentions the structure of each unit (*ocak*). Although, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the military responsibilities of the *yörük* organization were less and they were used for such services as construction and repair along with other communal services, their military nature seems to have remained intact throughout. Because they were auxiliary forces with no actual combat responsibilities, the items about their war equipment must have been related to their own defense during campaigns.

Disregarding variations, the *yörük* organization as depicted in the provincial codes of law and the regulations in the *yörük defters* can be described as follows: an auxiliary force organized in *ocaks*, with each *ocak* consisting of 4-5 *eşküncis* (those who attended campaigns or performed various imperial duties) taking turns on duty, as well as 20-25 *yamaks*, who were expected to provide the amount of cash necessary for the subsistence and equipment of those who were on active duty.

These laws concerning the organization and the responsibilities of its members clearly portray an ideal. But there are indications that the actual situation was not so ideal, as we can see when these regulations admonish people to attend campaigns. Apart from this, there are certain entries in *mühimme* registers which provide fragments showing the actual situation as well as the attitude of the central government towards such cases. Concerning these entries, it can be generally said

that avoiding service and failing to fulfil one's obligations was not uncommon in the second half of the sixteenth century.

4.4. Extent of Militarization: A Revision of General Perception

The *yörük defters* dating from 1544 to 1675 for different *yörük* groups in Rumelia were sporadically compiled, only so as to have a registration of these groups that could be used primarily for military, and consequently fiscal, purposes. Calling these registers *defter-i yörükân*, however, gives the impression that these *defters* were a register of all *yörüks*. The final implication is that all the *yörüks* in Rumelia had a military character. In fact, the fiscal surveys – that is, the *mufassal tahrir* and *evkaf* registers of the region – contain records not only of *yörüks*, but also of other taxable elements, and thus give us an idea as to whether the Rumelian *yörüks* as a whole were military or not. These registers ultimately permit a better understanding of the scope of militarization among the *yörük* population through the marginalia noted down for *yörük* households. In these marginal notes, it is possible to see information on the head of a *yörük* household, indicating whether he was *eşkünci* or *yamak*. A significant portion of *yörük* households registered in these surveys, however, have no such marginal notes indicating their status. This fact clearly suggests that it would be wrong to consider all *yörüks* in Rumelia as being of a military character.

An article by Čiro Truhelka was the first study to consider the military aspect of *yörüks* in Rumelia and the scope of this military aspect.³⁷⁸ Truhelka's

³⁷⁸ Truhelka, "Über Die Balkan-Yürüken." For a general evaluation of the early accounts and studies on the semi-nomadic groups by European researchers in the Ottoman Rumelia and their nature, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, 1-13.

article is based upon an evaluation of the regulations put out concerning the *yörüks* of Rumelia during the reign of Süleyman I. His evaluation of these regulations, however, is based only on those sections concerning these groups' way of life and consequent taxation. In terms of the military aspect of the *yörük* population in the region, Truhelka's article catches only a glimpse of the broad picture, falling short in terms of the actual point. Quoting from a *kanunnâme*, he states that a son of a *yörük* (the term suggests the military *yörüks* here) would be considered a *yörük*, and that the local commander (*subaşı*) of a group could not interfere with the other groups. At the same time, the registration of a *yörük* in another organization and in any other settlement would not directly mean that he was no longer a *yörük*.³⁷⁹ Apparently, Truhelka accepts expressions indicating *yörük* status and restrictions regarding them as regulations placed on a social group. After an examination of the regulations regarding the *yörüks* of Selanik, he assumes that these *kanuns* were designed for newly settled *yörüks* who were named according to the region they chose to settle in. The main motivation for settlement, according to Truhelka, was the low land tax (*resm-i çift*) as compared with that of villagers.³⁸⁰ Although, in connection with this low land tax, Truhelka considers *yörüks* relatively insignificant within the financial system of the Ottoman state, he still sees them as having been

³⁷⁹ Truhelka, "Balkan Yürükleri Hakkında," 272.

³⁸⁰ "Yürük ... senelik ancak 12 akçe, ve yarım çiftlik ise 6 akçe ödüyordu, ve rayaları [*reâyâları*] pek sıkın bütün diğer vergilerden muaftır. O güne kadar yalnız Yeniçerilere ait olan bu imtiyaz, serbest bir müslüman köylü sınıfının doğması için çok müsait şartlara malikti, ve Balkan yürüklerinin, ya göçebe-çobanlıktan tamamilen vaz geçmelerine, yahut çiftçi olarak yerleşip daimi köyler kurmalarına, yahutta hayvan beslemeyi çiftçilikle birlikte ancak periodik bir göçebelik halinde devam ettirmelerine sebep oldu, ki bu suretle göçebe hayat, en eski Yürüklerin de yerleşmesiyle yavaş yavaş ortadan kalkmağa başladı; ve bu suretle köylerin büyük bir kısmı onlara izafeten Yürüklük namı altında tanındı." Ibid.

in a better socioeconomic condition as compared to villagers³⁸¹. In his view, the main reason for the presence of *yörük subaşıs* and the military chiefs (*seraskers*) of separate *yörük* groups was administrative, and central Rumelia had one *serasker* settled in Selanik.³⁸² Salâhaddin Çetintürk and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin are considered the first two researchers to look directly at the military aspect of Rumelian *yörüks*, which they did, almost simultaneously, as early as 1943.³⁸³ Çetintürk gives a general outline of the military organization of *yörüks* by introducing the *yörük* registers; and, in direct contrast to Truhelka, he suggests that *yörük subaşıs* and *seraskers* had concrete military roles as chiefs of the *yörük* groups in Rumelia.³⁸⁴ The ultimate problem with Çetintürk's article is his tendency to accept all the *yörüks* in Rumelia as active members – whether as *eşküncis* or *yamaks* – of the military organization.³⁸⁵ Gökbilgin's study,³⁸⁶ however, indicates that it is not possible to claim all *yörüks* as having been a part of the military organization.³⁸⁷ Published soon after these two

³⁸¹ Ibid., 271.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Gökbilgin presented a paper in the third Turkish History Congress in November 1943 on the social and military organization of Rumelian *yörüks* Gökbilgin, "Rumeli'nin İskânında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler." In the same month in 1943, Çetintürk's article on *yörüks*' organization appeared, Çetintürk. Although these two studies were contemporary, the general tendency is to refer to Çetintürk as the first researcher on the military organization of *yörüks* in Rumelia.

³⁸⁴ Çetintürk does not refer to Truhelka in his article.

³⁸⁵ Çetintürk: 111-115.

³⁸⁶ Gökbilgin's paper is based on his thesis for the associate professor title he prepared in 1942. In the paper, he mentions that the detailed data on the population and the amounts extracted from these groups were given in detail together with the review of regulations on them in his recently completed study without giving its title, Gökbilgin, "Rumeli'nin İskânında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler," 655. Yet, it is obvious that it was his thesis. And his noteworthy monography is a reviewed and expanded form of his thesis, Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*.

³⁸⁷ "Bu kanunnameler ordu içinde ve ordunun geri hizmetlerinde muayyen bir vazifesi olan, diğer askerî sınıflar gibi bir sınıf haline gelmiş bulunan yürüklere mahsustur." Gökbilgin, "Rumeli'nin İskânında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler," 652. In the same paragraph, while discussing the distinction between legal and ethnic connotations of the term *yürük*, he mentions that these groups came out of the Turkish ethnic group named as *yürük*. Once more he implies that the organization came out of these

studies, the second part of Ömer Lütfi Barkan's article on deportation as a method of Ottoman settlement and colonization puts special emphasis on the *yörük* population and its prominence in deportation to the region of Rumelia.³⁸⁸ In his study, Barkan also clearly mentions that all of the *yörüks* in Rumelia were not a part of the *yörük* military organization.³⁸⁹

Gökbilgin's outstanding monograph, *Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân*, can be seen as the first study to present comprehensive and detailed information about the *yörük* population in Rumelia. As the title of the book indicates, this study focuses on the organization of the *yörük* and *tatar* groups in Rumelia and their changing roles and conditions within the administrative and military mechanism of the Ottoman Empire over time. Gökbilgin's work introduces the *yörük defters* and states that these sources will be vital material for future researchers. While it is true that Çetintürk also mentions these sources briefly in his article, it is Gökbilgin's study that makes actual use of these sources to underline the realities of this organization and its transformation over time.

Conversely, these primary studies have established the broad assumption that all *yörüks* in Rumelia were members of the aforementioned military organization, despite the fact that this assumption was actually denied by Gökbilgin. Subsequent studies dealing with the *yörüks* in Rumelia directly or indirectly and appearing in the decades after these initial studies, unfortunately based their arguments on the

yörük groups, which does not require all the members of groups to be an active member. Since the paper was on the *yörüks*' role on the settlement and Turkification of Rumelia, Gökbilgin does not touch upon the structural analysis of the organization much.

³⁸⁸ Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler [Part 2]."

³⁸⁹ "...(Rumeli'ndeki *yörük*lerin büyük bir kısmının tâbi bulunduğunu aşağıda göreceğimiz) askerî bir teşkilâta tâbi...", *ibid.*, 70.

aforementioned assumption.³⁹⁰ The basic reasons for this lie in how these early studies, especially Gökbilgin's, introduced the *yörük* registers to researchers and in the rather unfortunate naming of the registers. Once the registers had been called "*yörük defters*", it was taken for granted that all *yörüks* had been registered in them and thus been enlisted in the organization. In Ottoman diplomatics, however, the usage of similar terms with various different meanings in different contexts is by no means unknown. The term *yörük* is no exception to this: "The word '*yörük*' was originally used as a general administrative-financial term in the Ottoman chancery to refer to all groups leading a nomadic way of who had immigrated to western Anatolia and the Balkans."³⁹¹ While initially it meant all such groups, over time, a differentiation developed within the Ottoman chancery concerning the usage of the word "*yörük*" in Ottoman Rumelia: after some time, the term also came to designate the military auxiliary units formed from these groups.³⁹² The main problem lies in

³⁹⁰ Çubuk, 434.; İnbaşı, "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri."; İnbaşı, "Rumeli Yörükleri."; Kellner.; İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544-1672)*. As stated previously, I have not seen this monography because I am told by İnbaşı himself that there is no copy of it, either in full or in draft form, and his article "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri" is a summary of it. For this reason, I have confidently added his book among the studies which assume all *yörüks* in Rumelia as military. Armağan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçerler." Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, 56.

³⁹¹ İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role," 102. The literal meaning of the word is derived from the verb *-yürüme* or *-yörümek*, which means to walk, move. Thus, *yörük* literally means the one who walks, who moves, designating their way of life. See *ibid.*, 101.

³⁹² Kellner perceives the usage of the term as a military group as its primary meaning, Kellner. Latif Armağan seems to have misinterpreted the whole point, stating that the term was originally meant to signify an ethnic group and their way of life and it was transformed into a legal term. His expressions for the *yörüks* in Rumelia reveals another example of it as he claims that the the term *yörük* only meant a military group while it meant an ethnic group in Anatolia: "Anadolu'da *Yörük* sözcüğü etnik bir grubu ifade ettiği hale, bu sözcük Rumeli'de yeniçeriler, azablar veya doğancılar gibi askeri bir sınıfı ifade etmekteydi.", Armağan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Konar-Göçerler," 144. İnbaşı is another researcher who sees the usage of the term only as a military connotation for Ottoman Rumelia; İnbaşı, "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri," 153. The missed point in these studies is the fact that in Rumelian context, *yörük* as a term meant both the ethnic group and their way of living and the military organization. The existence of the military organization among *yörüks* did not remove the socio-ethnic connotation of the term as it can be observed in the registers of the region. Therefore, there is a common point in the term's connotation with the Anatolian context that in both cases *yörük* mean the ethnic group and its way of living.

the fact that the term “*yörük*” was not used exclusively in one of these meanings; on the contrary, it was used simultaneously in both its older, more general sense – indicating the semi-nomadic social group – and in its newer sense of a specifically military organization, with these distinct usages even occurring together in the same official document.³⁹³ This double usage, therefore, is the crucial point, and it is precisely the source of confusion for today’s researchers. It seems that the best way to overcome these complexities is to firmly determine the structure of *yörük* military formations. As mentioned above, the registers of these groups have been called *yörük defters*. However, these registers, cover only the list of incumbents (*eşküncis*) and the *yamaks* paying for their expenses. The word *yörük* as used in the name of these registers indicates a particular part of the *yörüks* as a separate organization with a separate chief (*subaşı-zâim*). The administrative division and categorization of these groups from which an auxiliary military quota was enrolled were what was registered in these *defters*. One sentence in the *kanunnâme* concerning the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* is remarkable in this sense: “*Yörük ze’amet-i serbestiyye ve rüsûm-i serbestiyyesine sancak begleri ve gayri dahl eylemek hilâf-i emirdir.*”³⁹⁴ Clearly, this sentence means that any governor of a province (*sancak*) or others cannot interfere in this free fief and free taxation unit of *yörüks*.³⁹⁵ Such an action would be literally against the law. The term “*yörük ze’ameti*” in this sentence indicates what the case actually was. Here, the term indicates the administrative

³⁹³ See İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role."; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*.

³⁹⁴ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 230, law item 14. Compare, Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 706.

³⁹⁵ Here, the term *serbest* (free) means to be under the direct control of its governor and to be free from any interference of other officials in terms of administration and fiscal matters of these groups.

unit. The administrative-military chief of this group of *ocaks*, which were necessarily recruited from the *yörüks*, would receive payments from certain *yamaks* within the administrative unit as his income.³⁹⁶ The group of *yamaks* are expected to pay for the income of the chief and the *ocaks* within his command create a separate unit of administration. The *yörüks* registered as *eşküncis* and *yamaks* as a part of this unit were scattered throughout Rumelia, though with each separate formation relatively nearby, probably so as to make mustering easier when needed. Thus, it is certain that calling this group of *yörüks* “Tanrıdağı *yörüks*” had no special meaning apart from being an administrative unit, which was not confined to and did not have any geographical borders. Although it is possible to get the impression that some of these groups were named after their tribal ties, such as the Naldögen *yörüks*,³⁹⁷ it nonetheless seems more sound to argue that the underlying aim in naming these groups was to establish them as a separate administrative unit. This aim, however, was usually affected through the groups’ geographical distribution.³⁹⁸ It should also be stated that such groupings with administrative and military aims were not done exclusively for the organization of *yörüks*. In Anatolia, the province of Yeni-il was formed from the Turkmens of the area between Sivas and Haleb, and the reason for establishing Yeni-il was so as to place these Turkmens within an

³⁹⁶ Payments of a separate group of *yamaks* other than the *yamaks* of *eşküncis*, registered to complete chief’s income.

³⁹⁷ Although this group of *yörüks* were transliterated as Naldöken in literature, the correct form of this word seems to be Naldögen. It is because of the fact that this is a combined word consisting of *nal* and *dögen*. *Dögen* means someone who hammers, *döven* in contemporary Turkish. Barely, they were named after the occupation they have, to produce horseshoe. To compare the etymology of this word with the verb root of *-öğünmek/-övünmek* (to glory) would clarify the correct usage of this word.

³⁹⁸ Çetintürk: 110. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, and others in various pages.

administrative unit.³⁹⁹ The *yörük* groups were not named according to the administrative-military units in which they resided, but rather by their social connotations as a *yörük* organization, thus creating the impression that the term *yörük* was synonymous with the members of the organization in question.

There are also certain other points that should be mentioned concerning the impact of Gökbilgin and Çetintürk's studies, specifically concerning the view that all *yörüks* were included in military groups. Çetintürk admits that the term *yörük*, once specified as an ethnicity or way of life, was later transformed into a legal term.⁴⁰⁰ As such a military organization of *yörüks* and their registration as a military group existed only in Rumelia, however, he concludes that all *yörüks* in Rumelia were a part of this military organization as *eşküncis* and *yamaks*.⁴⁰¹ It is with this in mind that Çetintürk interprets both the general and the more specific regulations in the *kanunnâmes*. Moreover, he mentions in his calculation of the *yörük* population that there were *yörüks* who were not registered as *eşküncis* or *yamaks*, together with the old, women, and children.⁴⁰² His general evaluation of the *yörüks* remains, on the other hand, reliant on the *yörük defters*, and thereby tends to give the impression that the *yörüks* were all defined as a military group in Rumelia.

Gökbilgin's study on the *yörüks* in Rumelia, however, provides a clearer evaluation. The part of his work that is relevant to the issues discussed in the present study concentrates not only on the presence of *yörüks* in Rumelia as a social

³⁹⁹ İlhan Şahin, "XVI. Yüzyılda Halep ve Yeniil Türkmenleri," in *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler: İncelemeler - Araştırmalar*, ed. İlhan Şahin (İstanbul: Eren, 2006), 156.

⁴⁰⁰ Çetintürk: 109.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 111.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 112.

group, but also on the legal-administrative regulations of the *yörük* organization, while also touching upon the connection between the two. Additionally, a detailed description of the various groups is provided in parallel with the *yörük defters* and the *kanunnâmes* they contain.⁴⁰³ As for the differentiation between those *yörük* groups who were part of the military organization and those who were not, Gökbilgin clearly states that it is not possible to claim that all *yörüks* were a part of the military-administrative organization:⁴⁰⁴ “It was frequently reported to the chiefs and *yörük* registrars that it was necessary to complete the complement of units by registering the *serbest haymânes* as *yamaks* when there were not enough *yamaks* in those units.”⁴⁰⁵ Obviously, there were persons who were not yet assigned to a unit of the *yörük* military organization, despite already being of military age. Therefore, it was a fact that such unregistered households did exist. Completion of the complement of the *ocak* units by drawing on previously unregistered *haymânes*, which seems to be what Gökbilgin and Çetintürk are referring to, is clearly expressed in certain entries in the central registration records (*mühimme defterleri*),.

In one of these, the situation is stated in the following way:

[Y]örük taifesi tâ'un olmakla ekserî fevt olub eşkünci yamaklarından cüz'î kimesne kalub haymâneleri dahi vefâ eylemeyüb eşküncileri yamakları fakir ü kalîl olub hizmet dahi ziyâde olub hizmete kudretleri olmayub birkaç nefer dahi ziyâde yamak ta'yin olunmasın bildirmişsin imdi her ocağa beşer nefer yamak yörük tevâbi'inden yazmak emredüb buyurdum ki...⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, especially between 19-167.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 40, 52-53.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁰⁶ 12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979 / 1570-1572) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]. 383, entry 572. Compare Refik, 13, entry 25. Düzbakar quotes this entry of *mühimme* without referring to the military nature of *yörüks*, Düzbakar: 69.

Although the main concern in this entry is not the organization itself, it still reveals the fact that there were some persons lacking in the units and that they were compensated for through the use of free *yörüks*. “A significant number of *yörüks* in Rumelia were tied to such an organization with military concerns and the men beneficial to this organization were enrolled as *eşkünci* and *yamak*. At the same time, there were ‘off-the-register’ *yörüks* and they were called ‘*haymâne*’. In cases of need, they were appealed to as well and the gaps in these units were filled by them.”⁴⁰⁷ The non-registered *yörüks* were seen as a reservoir for the military organization. They were officially left outside, but, when needed, it was not unusual to have them introduced into subsequent registers. The military chief had direct control over the registered *yörük* groups; the unregistered, however, were free from his control. At this point, one crucial detail should be stated in terms of evaluating the connection between unregistered *yörüks* and the *yörük* organization: every year, these non-registered *yörük* households paid fifty *akçes* to the military chief, or, in the case of unmarried *yörüks*, half that amount. This tax was called *resm-i haymâne*,⁴⁰⁸ and it was a part of the military chief’s income. The amount that the married *yörük* paid was equal to that of the *yamaks* in the units. The only variance was that what *yamaks* paid was provided for the needs of the *eşküncis*, while the *haymânes*’ taxes were collected for the military chiefs. We do not know whether or not the *yamaks* all represented married households. If they did, there would be no

⁴⁰⁷ Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, 52-53. In general usage, *haymâne* is used for unregistered semi-nomadic/nomadic elements and means the taxpayers who were not registered in the previous register, as *hâric ez-defter*. Here, it refers to *hâric ez-defter* households again, yet only those of *yörük defters*.

⁴⁰⁸ As it is the case with *hâric ez-defter yörüks*, here, too, this phrase is used to designate the extraction taken from *yörüks* who were not registered as *yamak* or *eşkünci* in *yörük defters*, therefore not connected with *resm-i haymâne* of unregistered *yörüks*’ extraction recorded in the classical surveys.

difference from the payers' point of view. It is mentioned in the *kanunnâmes* that both were levied in return for exemption from the '*avâriz-i divâniyye*, or extraordinary taxes. Looking at the issue from another angle, it is possible to claim that the state was collecting the extraordinary taxes from *yörüks* through such means. The frequency of such taxes cannot exactly be determined for the sixteenth century, but we know that in some cases the fifty *akçes* collected from *ocak* members were transferred to the central treasury. An edict was sent to the military chief of the *yörük* group of Selanik in 1585 as a response to his inquiry about the practice for the year in question:

Selânik yörükleri subaşıasına hüküm ki âdem gönderüb zikrolunan yörüklere bu sene-yi mübârekede hidmet mi teklif yoksa bedel akçesi mi alınur deyü bildirdiğin ecilden sene-yi sâbıkada olduğu üzere bedel akçesi alınmak emir idüb buyurdum ki vardıkda bu bâbda ihmal etmeyüb sene-yi sâbıkada cem' olundığı üzere bedel akçesi⁴⁰⁹ cem' idüb südde-i saadetimde hızâne-yi âmireme teslim eyleyesin fi 11 s 993⁴¹⁰

Mentioning the situation of the previous year, the quote also indicates that this was not an especially unusual practice.

Some other entries from the *mühimmes* show us that the *yörüks* within the organization were not satisfied with their situation. While they performed certain duties, they did not receive the proper compensation. The *eşküncis* did not pay their sheep tax while on duty either, resulting in possibly the only positive outcome for

⁴⁰⁹ The phrase "*bedel akçesi*" is used to designate the amount to be sent to the central treasury in return for the service to be given by the incumbents.

⁴¹⁰ "As order for the military chief of Salonica *yörüks*; upon the occasion that you have sent your man inquiring whether duty or compensation money for it will be demanded, as applied last year, I decree you to collect compensation money for this year, too. As soon as my edict arrives, you are to act accordingly without any delay, and collect the compensation money as last year, and hand it over to my noble treasury in my door of felicity", Refik, 53, entry 100. It is noted that in return for the duty, *bedel akçesi* was extracted from *Vize yörüks* as well in the same year. Gökbilgin states that this situation became permanent quoting from Koçi Beg; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, 44.

this situation. Ahmet Refik's edition of entries from the *mühimme* registers on the *yörüks* also provides numerous examples on this issue.⁴¹¹ Basically, the *yörüks* did not want to do the required service and so did their best to find a way out. They wanted to get out of the organization and not to serve when it was their turn. In one particular case, the military chief of the Naldögen *yörüks* was notified through a repetition of the command for his group to perform their duties in the renovation of Özi castle.⁴¹²

The collection of the *haymâne* tax as a financial support for the chiefs of these *yörük* groups was noted as a separate entry in the *yörük* registers. The amount to be collected is usually stated as 25 *akçes* for the unmarried (*mücerred*) and 50 *akçes* for the married (*müzevvec*) householder. Apparently, this kind of separation between married and unmarried for *haymâne* households was a minor detail for the registrars, as the amount specified is recorded only as a total sum in certain *yörük* cases,⁴¹³ while the separation is detailed in others.⁴¹⁴ The amount of tax from the *haymânes* in the 1591 record for the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* for the *zâ'im* is noted as 7,900 *akçes*.⁴¹⁵ There are 200 *haymâne* households in this record. According to the registers, 116 households were married households while 84 were unmarried households. Another detail that this record provides is that these *haymânes* were

⁴¹¹ To mention a few of them; entry 10: Selanik *yörüks* abstaining from service (March 9th, 1566), entry 23: Vize *yörüks* not attending to the campaign of Ejderhan (March 1st, 1570), entry 41: Naldögen *yörüks* not arriving to the mine in Bac in time (June 14th, 1574);, Refik, 5, 12, 22. There are many other examples in various pages.

⁴¹² Ibid., 2, entry 3. Ahmet Refik, entry 3.

⁴¹³ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 225, f. 4, BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 230, f. 8; Both of Tanrıdağı *yörüks*, and dated 1544.

⁴¹⁴ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 631 ff. 15-17, dated 1591.

⁴¹⁵ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 631, f. 15.

from the district (*kazâ*) of Yenice-i Karasu. There were 44 *ocaks* in this *kazâ*, totaling 1,100 *yörük* households. Given that there were 200 *haymâne* households in Yenice-i Karasu, it would be sensible to assume that the other *kazâs* also had *haymânes*. Overall, this situation suggests that the number of *haymânes* was not always or specifically recorded in these *yörük* registers. Rather, the register included the number of *haymânes* whose tax amount would be added to the income of the *yörük subaşı*. Apparently, the registration of *haymânes* varied in the *yörük defters*: some mentioned the householders' name, as in the register in question, while others simply noted down that it was to be included in the *subaşı*'s income. Nevertheless, it is possible to claim that none of these *defters* included all the *haymânes* of the relevant *yörük* group. Their inclusion was limited to those who were expected to contribute the income of the military chiefs. In other words, *haymânes* who were not included in the register of income of the chiefs were exempt from payment of the fifty *akçes*. Considering the fact that the missing numbers of *yamaks* were compensated for by the *haymânes*, it would be easy to conclude that the state was concerned with *haymânes* only insofar as they contributed to the incomes of those who ruled or served it. It should also be emphasized that there were different practices for different *yörük* groups. In the case of the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* – possibly because of their large number – the registration of *haymânes* as *yamaks* seems to have remained at low levels.⁴¹⁶ The existence of *haymânes* only in terms of fiscal concerns can be observed in the regulations as a noteworthy point of change over time.

⁴¹⁶ See the relevant part of the *kanunnâme* of Tanrıdağı *yörüks* of BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 631 in "APPENDIX – F:

At this point, it would be convenient to provide an overview of the fiscal registers (*tahrir defters*) of the region where the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* primarily resided. Yenice-i Karasu is one of the *kazâs* where it is possible to observe a significant number of them. In 1529, the *yörük* population in the *kazâ* was 732 *hânes* and 65 *mücerreds* (unmarried households), making 797 *nefers* in total. Among these 797 households, only 4 were recorded as *eşküncis* and 113 as *yamaks*, of which 98 were logged as *hânes* and 15 as *mücerreds*.⁴¹⁷ According to these numbers, only 15 percent of the *yörüks* in this *kazâ* were registered as part of the military organization in 1530. In 1568, it is noted that, in the same *kazâ*, there were 23 *nefer eşküncis*, 94 *nefer yamaks*, and 1,123 *yörük nefers* without any organizational affiliation. Thus, out of a total of 1,240, only 9 percent of the *yörüks* were militarily associated, with the rest unaffiliated with the military organization.⁴¹⁸

The proportions of another *kazâ* in the same region may help us understand the situation more clearly. In Drama, the *yörüks* of the hamlet (*mezra'a*) of Demürçi Ören are only mentioned as “*etrak tâifesi ziraat eder*”, without their households being provided. In the same manner, the *yörüks* in the Kırılı *mezra'a* are not mentioned by name, but rather, in the phrase “*hâricden dahi ekilub*”, are referred to by the word “*hâric*”, meaning they were not present in the previous register or were not registered within the mentioned settlement. This, however, may well refer to the settlers of neighboring villages. Households who were engaged in agricultural activity within a fief were subsumed under the term “*hâric*” in regulations, whether they were settled peasants or semi-nomadic *yörüks*. Apparently, the main point of

⁴¹⁷ BOA. TT.d. 167, ff. 20-29. Although the numbers given here are checked through each village entry, as is the case with all *tahrir* studies, these numbers cannot be said to be absolute.

⁴¹⁸ TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 187 ff. 58a-91b; TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 577, ff. 21a-55b.

differentiation was not being recorded within the village of a fief-holder (*sipâhi*),⁴¹⁹ and it is for this reason, the term *hâric* does not provide enough evidence on this issue. At this point, a comparison of the analysis of *yörük defters* with the analysis of the classical *mufassal tahrirs* may help us in understanding such cases. The hometowns of *yörüks* were recorded in *yörük defters* as marginal (*derkenar*) notes above their names. From these notes, it is possible to calculate the number of military *yörüks* in a specific village or region, keeping in mind that it is impossible to reach wholly exact values. Through an overall analysis of the *yörük defters* of western Thrace, however, it is possible to claim that a significant number of the *mezra'as* recorded in the *mufassal tahrirs* can be dated in chronological proximity to the *yörük defters* insofar as they had few or no taxpayers listed. The *mezra'as* of Demürçi Ören, Kırılı, and Bük can be looked at as places that illustrate this situation:

<i>mezra'a</i>	1529 Drama <i>mufassal tahriri</i> ⁴²⁰ TT. 403 & 374	1544 Drama <i>yörük defteri</i> ⁴²¹ TT. 230	1568 Drama <i>mufassal tahriri</i> ⁴²² KK. 194	1586 Drama <i>yörük defteri</i> ⁴²³ TT. 1008
Demürçi Ören	no population record “etrâk tâ'ifesi	26 <i>yamaks</i>	<i>yörükân:</i> 10 <i>hânes</i> 4 <i>mücerreds</i>	57 <i>yamak</i>

⁴¹⁹ Oktay Özel, “XV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kırsal (Zirai) Organizasyon: Köylüleri ve Köyleri” (M.A., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1986), 101-117.

⁴²⁰ Demürçi Ören: BOA. TT.d. 403, f. 1; Kırılı: BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 112; Bük: BOA. TT.d. 374, f. 36.

⁴²¹ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 230, ff. 13-18. This number covers *yamaks* registered under the title of Drama only, which means there may be *yamaks* from this *mezraa* within the register of other regions.

⁴²² Demürçi Ören: TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194 f. 328; Kırılı: TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 229-230; Bük, TKGM. KKA. TT.d. 194, f. 224.

⁴²³ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 1008, ff. 119-135. The situation here is the same with the number in BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 230.

	<i>zira'ât ider</i> "			
Kırlı	2 <i>hânes</i> ⁴²⁴	33 <i>yamaks</i>	<i>yörükân:</i> 32 <i>hânes</i> 82 <i>mücerreds</i>	43 <i>yamaks</i>
Bük	no population record "haricden <i>yörükler zira'ât</i> <i>idüb</i> "	8 <i>yamaks</i>	no population record	55 <i>yamaks</i>

In connection with these tables summarizing the situation in these three *mezra'as*, it is of crucial importance to emphasize that it is entirely possible to find these settlement units noted down with the names of other *yamaks* in other *kazâs*. This fact indicates that the number of *yörüks* in 1544 might well be more than the number given here, and thus that the presence of *yörüks* in these settlements on the date given might have been more certain.

Not all *yörüks* in a given settlement or *cemaat* were recorded as *yamaks*. Taking this fact into consideration, the actual number of *yörüks* in 1544 must have been more than the number given in the *yörük defter* in question. Therefore, it is possible to claim that there were a significant number of *yörüks* who were not listed in the cadastral surveys. Because of this, if *yörük defters* are not considered as a complimentary source, the calculation of the *yörük* population will be far from what was actually the case. Taking the *yörük defters* into consideration, however, will change only the estimation of the relative size of the group, rather than assisting in learning the actual population. This raises the question of why there were more

⁴²⁴ Both *hanes* are "bin Abdullah", thus suggesting convert residents, so with no direct relation with *yörüks*.

yörüks in the *yörük defters* than in the *mufassal tahrirs*. Although it is difficult to reach a final answer on this point, certain speculations on this issue can be made. *Yörüks* might have been registered within another district because of their movements. This possibility, however, is complicated by the fact that there were other *yörük* groups living in proximity to these groups,⁴²⁵ and they were registered both in the *yörük defters* and in the detailed cadastral surveys. Their particular way of life might be seen as the reason for the relative invisibility of these groups. Those absent from the *mufassal tahrirs* might be *yörük* groups whose livelihood was based solely on animal husbandry, in contrast to those who are visible due to some degree of agricultural activity. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the state's reliance upon semi-visible groups was more connected to the intention to safeguard existing agricultural activity and its fiscal results. This method also enabled the state to register the number of *yörüks* needed by not distracting the semi-settled ones, and thereby to keep its source of revenue untouched. Here, it should be mentioned that there were *yörüks* labeled as *eşkünci* or *yamak* among the *yörüks* listed in the classical surveys, either within a particular settlement unit or as a separate tribe. Overall, it is apparent that the state's tendency in terms of the registration of *yamaks* must have involved those *yörüks* who were on the move, and this makes one think that there was a much larger *yörük* population than it is possible to calculate.

The usage of *yörük defters* for such demographic calculations also has an indirect aspect that needs to be considered. In *yörük defters*, *ocaks* are registered according to a division based on *kazâs*. This fact, as one would expect, has led

⁴²⁵ It is possible to see the traces of these groups in the maps of early 20th century. As a possibility, the settlement units named after them can be a phenomenon of later periods, which is a result of their points of stay within their movements. "Rumeli-yi Şahane Haritası," (Dersa'adet: Erkân-i Harbiyye-i Umumiyye Dairesi Beşinci Fen Şubesi Matbaası, 1901), and Güvenç.

researchers to assume that the *ocaks* registered under a particular *kazâ* consisted of *yamaks* and *eşküncis* residing within that district, and this organization within the *defters* can help one estimate the *yörük* population.⁴²⁶ As mentioned above, however, in the case of western Thrace, the proportions of *yörüks* according to the *yörük defters* and the *tahrir defters* do not match. Not all of the *yörüks* in Rumelia were active members of the military organization, and this is the basic reason for such a situation. At this point, we can see another reason to closely examine the *yörük defters* with a new methodological approach. As stated above, in the *yörük defters*, *yamaks* and *eşküncis* were registered with the name of either their settlement or their tribe. Determining the regions of settlement units and classifying them accordingly shows that the division of *ocaks* according to *kazâs* did not exclusively mean that the members of the *ocaks* in a given *kazâ* were from that particular *kazâ*. The distribution of *yamaks* within the *kazâ* of Drama in 1586 can be presented as an example of this situation.⁴²⁷

Table 20 - Distribution of settlement units of *yamaks* registered in Drama in 1586

SETTLEMENT	NUMBER OF INSTANCES	KAZÂ	Explanation
Kuru Dere / köy (1)	22	YK.	
Kiçiler	14	YK.	Kiçi İlyas
Pınarbaşı	13	YK.	
Yassı Ören	8	YK.	
Avşar	7	YK.	
Müsellem köyü	6	YK.	Müsellem İskender

⁴²⁶ İnbâşî seems to have considered these numbers of *ocaks* as a definite indication of the *yörük* population under the title of a given *kazâ*. İnbâşî, "Yeni Belgelerin Işığında Rumeli Yörükleri."

⁴²⁷ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 1008, ff. 119-135. A similar picture comes out when the earliest *yörük defteri* of the region (BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 230 dated 1544) is examined.

Bedirli	3	YK.	
Dokuzlu	3	YK.	
Güvendik[li]	3	YK.	
Havutçiler	3	YK.	
Otmanlı	3	YK.	
Polat	3	YK.	
Takyalı	3	YK.	
Yakublı	3	YK.	
Yörüklü	3	YK.	
Öksüzlü	2	YK.	
Pınarlı	2	YK.	Pınarbaşı
Şahinli	2	YK.	Şahin
Güneli	1	YK.	
Hamzalu	1	YK.	
Kara Mezidli	1	YK.	Mezidli
Kasab Ovası	1	YK.	Kasab Mustafa mz.
Musa ...	1	YK.	Musa Fakılar?
Todor?	1	YK.	Todoriçe?
Dragate?	2	DH.	
Karlı	1	DH.	Susiçe nd. Karlı
Eğri Bucak	5	Selanik	
Selmanlı?	21	G.	
Köseli/ler(1)	12	G.	
Akça Viran/Kayran	9	G.	
Karaağaç	9	G.	
Hacılar	5	G.	
Kozlar/lu/Köy	5	G.	
Tuzcılar	5	G.	
Durali[beg] köyü/ören	4	G.	
İncirli[k]	3	G.	
Yardımlı	3	G.	
Arıcalu	2	G.	Arıcak Şahin
GÜMÜLCİNE n.	2	G.	

Uğurlu	2	G.	Uğurlu Viran
Debbağlar /mh.	2	G.	
Çukur Obası	1	G.	Çukurviran?
Karagözlü	1	G.	
Küçük köy	1	G.	nd.Çiftlik-i Ahmed
Mihal	1	G.	Kara Mihal
Mesinilü	1	G.	Mesini Sarucası
Sofı	1	G.	
Doyran Ören/Viran	3	D.	probably cemaat
Ola	3	D.	
Karacalı	2	D.	Diviçani nd. Karaca?
Orta Bereketli	2	D.	
Demürçi ören	57	D	
Bük /hala Boryan (1)	56	D	
Kavaklı dere/ Kavaklı (1)	50	D	
Kırlı	43	D	
Boyalnova /maa Ak başı (1)	43	D	
Zagoriçe / Mustalı t.	38	D	
Tızmalı	23	D	
Piçova	17	D	
Bazarlı	15	D	
Uzun kapu	15	D	
Şimşirli	13	D	probably cemaat
Bereketli	12	D	
Çelikli	9	D	probably cemaat
Karaca koyunlu	6	D	
Pravişte	5	D	
Rahiçe	5	D	
Hemitli	4	D	probably cemaat
İsmaillü	4	D	probably cemaat
Baraklı	2	D	probably cemaat
Baş Bereketli	2	D	

Bucak	2	D	probably cemaat
Koca Hemitli?	2	D	probably cemaat
Tuhallı?	2	D	
Vole	2	D	
Arab Obası	1	D	
DRAMA n.	1	D	
Edirneçik	1	D	
Gökçeler	1	D	probably cemaat
İncekli	1	D	İncek nd. Değirmen deresi
Kara Balkanlı	1	D	mountain in the north of Drama, probably cemaat
Karamanlı	1	D	probably cemaat
Niholu	1	D	
Tızıklı maa Demürçi ören	1	D	
Hoca Ali Deresi/Köyü/Obası/ Ali Hocalı	23	Avrethisar	Ali hocalar
Davule?	26	?	
S... dere	13	?	
Çıraklı	11	?	
Artuk Obası	10	?	
Mah? Viran	9	?	
Nusretli	9	?	
K/G... Toviçi	7	?	
Dular/lı?	4	?	
Sarı? Dere	3	?	
Seymanlu/k?	3	?	
Çonkaralı? Çongrad?	3	?	
İriceler/lü	3	?	
Kuyrukçular	3	?	
Sarılı	3	?	
Eynehanlı	2	?	probably cemaat

...	1	?	
... köyü	1	?	
...caklı	1	?	
...ciler	1	?	
...lı	1	?	
Adule?	1	?	
Akarca	1	?	
Aslanlu	1	?	
Bostancılar	1	?	
Büyük köy	1	?	
Çoturova?	1	?	
Darıca?	1	?	
Dolas?	1	?	
Doyor?	1	?	
Görkecik?	1	?	
Hbnylü?	1	?	
Kılaguzlar	1	Hasköy	mezraa in Hasköy
Koca Camuslu?	1	?	
Köse Halil	1	?	
Meş... Alan	1	?	
Muhammed ören	1	?	
Saraş Veli	1	?	
Saraşçılı	1	?	
Sarıca	1	?	
Şah kulu	1	?	
Turan ören	1	?	
Tuzculu t. Arda??	1	?	

The total number of settlements according to their *kazâs* is as follows:

DRAMA	YENİCE-İ KARASU	DEMÜRHİSAR	GÜMÜLCİNE	OTHER
454	101	3	90	164

Or, to put these numbers into a chart:

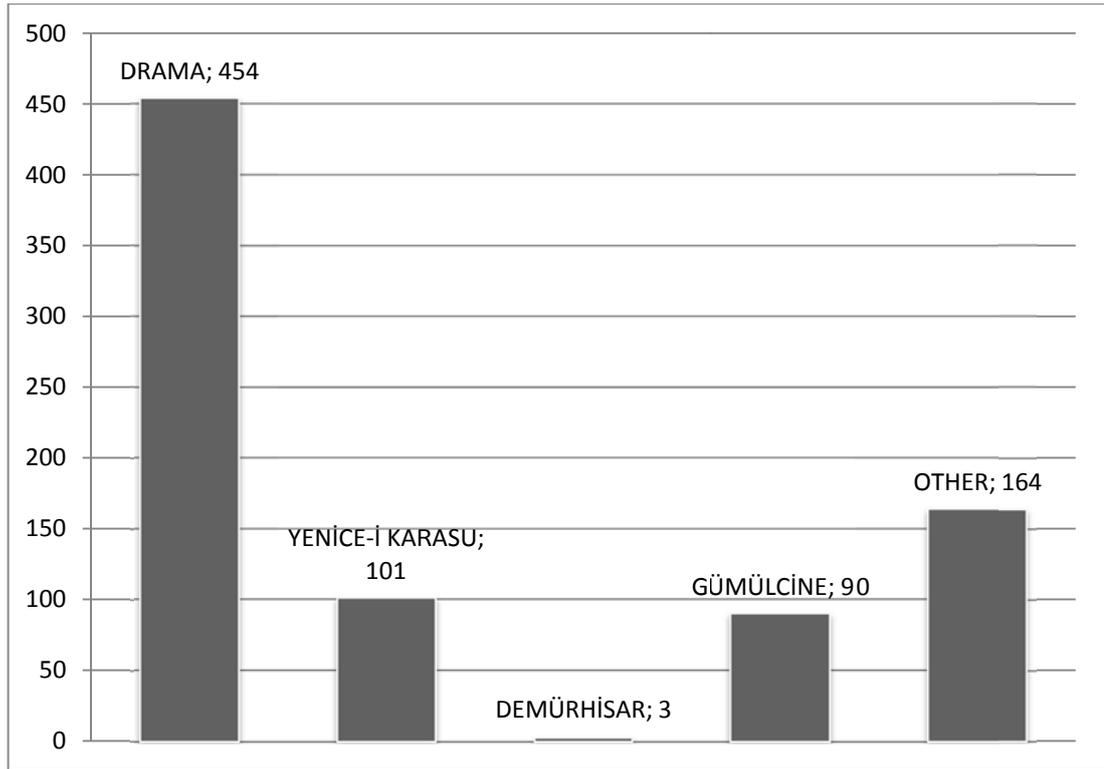


Figure 11 - The distribution of settlements of *yamaks* under the title of Drama according to TT. 1008 dated 1586⁴²⁸

The total number of settlements mentioned in the 1586 *yörük defter* under the title of Drama was 812. Of this total, 358 of the settlements were not actually within the borders of Drama. Apparently, nearly half of the settlement units in this register were parts of other registers. As such, the picture of settlement units registered can be shown with the percentages:

⁴²⁸ As an inevitable consequence of utilizing this kind of Ottoman documents offering indirect demographic and toponomic data, the numbers and percentages given in this chart are exposed to variations and faults to some extent.

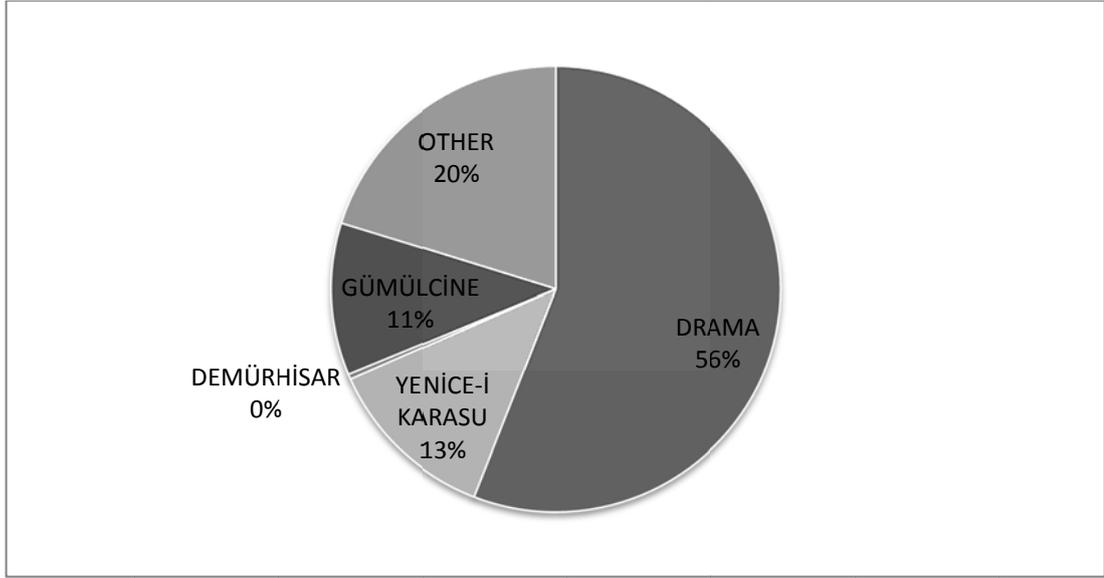


Figure 12 - The distribution of settlements of *yamaks* under the title of Drama according to TT. 1008 dated 1586

There are some *yamaks* recorded as being from the cities of Gümülcine and Yenice-i Karasu as *kazâ* centers. This fact leaves no doubt that the aim behind recording *yamaks* and *eşküncis* according to *kazâs* was not to divide them according to their settlement region. In this respect, it is certain that *yörük defters* do not provide reliable data on the distribution of the *yörük* population. This fact also reveals that the records were organized and compiled according to purpose – here, according to the military organization of *yörüks* – unlike the administrative units in classical *tahrir* registers, which were determined according to geography.⁴²⁹ It should also be stated that, in the *yörük ocaks* of Drama, there could be found not only *yamaks* of neighboring *kazâs*, but also of more distant regions, such as the Kılaguzlar *mezra'a* in the *kazâ* of Hasköy.

⁴²⁹ A similar application of purpose-based administrative units can be seen in poll-tax (*cizye*) registers, Machiel Kiel, "Remarks on the Administration of the Poll Tax (Cizye) in the Ottoman Balkans and Value of Poll Tax Registers (Cizye Defterleri) for Demographic Research," *Etudes Balkaniques* 70, no. 4 (1990). The registration of gypsies as a separate province (*çingâne sancağı*) is another sample of the application. In previous pages, *Türkmens* of Yeniil was mentioned, and it represents an example, too.

Through a comparative examination of the classical *tahrirs* and *yörük defters*, it is possible to argue that the *yörük* military organization was much smaller than has previously been assumed. This argument is specifically valid for the *yörüks* who appear in both of these sources. Although it is not possible to determine the actual rate of militarization, the sources in question strikingly reveal that both military and non-military *yörüks* in the region of western Thrace constituted a significantly greater proportion of the population in the sixteenth century. While non-registered semi-nomadic groups in official documents are a widespread phenomenon connected to the *yörüks*, the military organization of this group seems to have been the main factor deciding whether the *yörüks* appeared in the sources or not. This fact thus adds a noteworthy amount of *yörük* population into a region already known to have been the residence of a significant number of *yörüks*.

4.5. Creating Militaries from non-Militaries: Difference, Correlation, and Its Causes

The presence of non-registered *yörüks* has been mentioned in previous sections. However, the difference and correlation between military and non-military *yörüks* in terms of the structure of the organization is something that requires separate evaluation. As already mentioned, those *yörüks* not recorded in the *yörük* registers were called *haymane* and were used as a kind of reservoir to complete the complement of the *ocaks*. These *yörüks* paid the *resm-i haymane*, which was considered a part of the *subaşı*'s income. In the second half of the sixteenth century, it was decided to change the application of the *resm-i haymane*: rather than registering a certain amount of money under the title of *resm-i haymane*, a new

practice was introduced whereby the certain amount of income for *subaşı*s would be recorded as *resm-i yamak*. This would be possible by registering some *yörüks* as *yamaks* who were off the register. In other words, the amount of the *subaşı*'s income as *resm-i haymane* would not change, but would be turned into *resm-i yamak* with the same amount of money. The regulations do not describe what the aim of this particular change was. However, certain details about the registration of the *subaşı*'s income may shed some light on this issue. As an income for *subaşı*s, the *resm-i haymane* is registered as an amount, but without the details of the taxpayers. Thus, except in a few cases in which the taxpayers were recorded, the register gives only the amount of this income. This fact brings with it some doubts concerning the application of this tax. Because the *yörük defters* did not note the households of those who were unregistered, the number of unregistered *yörüks* in the *yörük defters* cannot be determined. Instead, only a relative proportion can be calculated, as was attempted in previous sections of this study. The obscurity of the numbers involved can be seen as a situation open to potential abuse. *Subaşı*s could, for instance, extract more *yörüks* than necessary, thus using this situation to increase his income. There were attempts to change the regulations concerning the collection of the *resm-i haymane*, but these were quickly abandoned. Certain phrases and expressions found in the *kanunnâmes* compiled together with the *yörük defters* show what happened as a result of changing the process of collection of the *resm-i haymane*.

As the earliest source of regulations, we find a fragment in the *muhasebe* register dated 1530, which clearly includes the results of the detailed registration

conducted around the 1520s.⁴³⁰ Although this fragment draws up an outline of the military organization, it does not mention the situation of *haymanes*. As for the *yörük defters*, the earliest registers for various groups date to roughly 1544. There, the position of *haymanes* is specified as follows: “*yörük taifesinin haric ez-defter olan haymaneleri subaşlarına rüsum-i haymane eda eyledüklerinden sonra teklif-i avariz olunmaya zira rüsum-i haymane bedel-i avariz deyü kayd olunmuşdur*”.⁴³¹ This fragment is from the regulations for the Tanrıdağı *yörük* group. A certain amount of money is specified as *resm-i haymane* income for their *subaşıs*, and this was collected from those *yörüks* who were not part of the organization and included in its registers.

The next registration date which can be identified as a series comes from 1566. On this date, the application of the tax changes. Instead of *resm-i haymane*, from that point on a group of *yamaks* would be registered from among the unregistered. In this way, the amount of income would remain the same, but now registered through *yamaks* instead, with *yörüks* who were paying the *resm-i haymane* now paying the *resm-i yamak*:

Ve yörük tâifesinin hâric-ez-defter olan haymâneleri defter-i kadîmde subaşlarına hâsıl kayd olunmuş idi. Hâliyâ zikr olan yörük tâifesi tahrir olunub âsitâne-i sa’adete arz olundukda rüsûm-i haymâneye bedel mezbûr yörük haymânesinden yamak ta’yin olunmak fermân olunmağın vech-i meşruh üzere defter-i cedîde kayd olundu ki min-bâ’d mezbur yörük subaşları kendülere yamak ta’yin olunandan maâde yörük haymânesine dahl ü ta’arruz eylemeyeler.⁴³²

⁴³⁰ “When the off-the-registers of *yörük* groups paid their off-the-register tax to their commanders, they should not be demanded for extraordinaries since it is recorded that off-the-register tax is in replacement for it.” BOA. TT.d. 370, f. 365. This *kanunnâme* is published by Barkan with the title of “Yürükân Kanunu”. However, two more items were added from another defter from the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁴³¹ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 230, f. 4.

⁴³² BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 357, ff. 5-6 [of Naldögen].

The expressions in the 1566 register dealing with the Ofcabolu *yörüks* are virtually the same as those seen above.⁴³³ *Subaşı*s were told not to put pressure on unregistered *yörüks* concerning the previous collection, as their taxpayers were registered *yamaks*. It can be said that this practice began a few years earlier than the compilation of the mentioned registers, because one 1557 register of the *yörüks* of Vize has an entry for the *resm-i haymane*, at 700 *akçes* for the group's *zaim*.⁴³⁴ As such, it is certain that the practice began some time between 1557 and 1566.

This practice did not survive long, however. The regulations of subsequent registers mention that it did not work as had been envisioned or expected. A detailed outline of the process is provided in an excerpt from the *kanunnâme* of the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* appended at the beginning of the *yörük defter* TT. 1008, dated 1584. This begins with a description of the previous change in the regulation and its manner of application:

yörük taifesinden bazı haric ez-defter olan haymaneleri defter-i kadimde subaşılarına hasıl kayd olunmuşdı haliya zikr olunan yörük taifesi tahrir olunub asitane-i saadete arz olundukda rüsum-i haymaneye bedel mezbur yörük haymanesinden yamak tayin olunmak ferman olunub vech-i meşruh üzere defter-i cedide kayd olundı ki mezbur yörük subaşıları kendülere yamak tayin olunandan maada yörük haymanesine dahl ü taarruz eylemeyeler defter-i atikde mestur idi.⁴³⁵

Having thus described the change, it continues with the decision made on this occasion:

⁴³³ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 354, compare f. 13 and 15 [of Ofcabolu].

⁴³⁴ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 303, f. 3 [of Vize]. Gökbilgin states that the expression of Tanrıdağı *yörüks* in the Arabic title page of this defter must be by mistake; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, 249.

⁴³⁵ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 1008, ff. 3-4 [of Tanrıdağı].

lakin yörük haymanesi ref olunmağla yörük taifesi kendülerin bir tarik ile ahir taifeye ilhak üzere hiyn-i tahrirde kadimi yörük oğulları kendülerden haymane resmi alına gelmemekle na-malum olub her biri bir gayri cinse ilhak olunmuş bulunmağla ocaklar teknilinden hayli meşakkat ü te'ab çekilüb ber-karar-i sabık haymane resmi yörük subaşlarına hasıl yazılmak yörük taifesinin zabt u siyanetinedir vechiyle enfâ' ve evlâ olduğu paye-i serir masir-i hüsrevaniye arz olundukda haymane resmi kemakan mukarrer olub yörük subaşlarına hasıl yazılmak ferman olunmağın ber-karar-ı sabık defter-i cedid-i hakaniye haymane resmi mahsul kayd olunmuşdur.⁴³⁶

The details given in this excerpt are noteworthy in that they reflect the attitude of *yörüks* towards the *yörük* organization. It is stated that the *yörüks* who were previously registered as *haymanes* can no longer be found so as to be registered. This is because they are now registered with other organizations. This clearly suggests that the organization was not seen in a favorable light; on the contrary, *yörüks* attempted, in one way or another, to stay out of it as soon as they could find a chance to do so. The regulation states that being registered as *haymane* is for the good of *yörük* groups, in order to be able to control them and provide for the sustainability of the organization. What needs to be emphasized here is the fact that it did not change the fiscal obligations of *yörüks* whether they were registered as *haymanes* or *yamaks*, since both paid fifty *akçes*. There were, however, two basic differences. Firstly, *haymanes* paid annually but usually remained anonymous. The impression given by the regulations and *yörük* defters is that *subaşıs* would collect the *resm-i haymane* until they reached their incomes from out of this tax. In other words, it can be assumed that any *yörük* who was off the register was liable for the *resm-i haymane*. The sources do not clarify this issue. What comes to mind, however, is that this tax was open to abuse, as the *subaşıs* might well collect from more *yörüks*

⁴³⁶ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 1008, f. 4. The same *kanunnâme* is merged into the initial folios of BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 631 dated 1591.

than necessary to complete his income from the *resm-i haymane*. The basic advantage of being a *haymane* can be seen as the absence of the possibility of becoming an *eşkünci*. However, the fact that the missing *yamaks* were filled out by the registration of *haymanes* as *yamaks* can be seen as representing the possibility, however indirect, of becoming an *eşkünci*. The second difference between *haymanes* and *yamaks* emerges in relation to this situation. *Haymanes* could be registered as *yamaks*, but they might be registered as a member of another organization. They were free to join any other organization, quite unlike the *yamaks*, who had to remain within the organization.

In order to prevent objections to the reintroduction of the *resm-i haymane* and to prevent confusion from arising, the regulation states that any objection to the payment of *resm-i haymane* should be ignored. This is mentioned in the following manner: “*resm-i haymanelerini yörük subaşları alub mutasarrıf olub mukaddeman ref olunmuş idi deyü ferd dahl ü taarruz eylemeye*”.⁴³⁷

As mentioned in previous sections in connection with the extent of military organization among *yörüks*, another way of employing *haymanes* was to fill out the missing complement of *yamaks* in the *ocaks* of the organization. In both entries in the central registries and in the *kanunnâmes* of the *yörük* registers, the need for *yamaks* was stated as being completed through the registration of *yamaks* from among the *haymanes*.

In an entry dated 1567/68,⁴³⁸ a group of *yörüks* registered as *eşkünci* and *yamak* are seen to complain about their situation. They state that they had been

⁴³⁷ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 1008, f. 4.

⁴³⁸ 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976/1567-1569) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]. 121-122, entry 1416.

serving as *eşküncis* and *yamaks* for a long time. In the meantime, many people entered their community, and they remained *haymane*. They claim that their number has decreased as a result of plague, and thus their service has begun to be a heavy burden on them. Thus, through their commander or *subaşı*, they demand to be removed from the organization and suggest that these *haymanes* – consisting of freed slaves, their sons, and converts – should be registered in their place. The central administration responds that none of the people in question should be excluded from the registry and that the complement of the units should be filled out by registering those who have gone unregistered. The central administration is clearly concerned about the organization's being complete, and this concern is allayed by means of *haymanes*.

Increasing the number of *yamaks* in each unit by five *yörüks* proves to be the reason for the registration of *haymanes* as *yamaks* in some of these registers. The example of the Selanik *yörüks*, mentioned above in connection with the extent of militarization, is noteworthy in that it exhibits and emphasizes the role of *haymanes* in this process. In the central registry entry under consideration here, following the statement regarding how the number of *yamaks* in the *ocaks* has decreased due to plague, there is a demand for an increase in the number of *yamaks* in each unit so that the *eşküncis* can meet their expenses for the services they provide:

Mektûb gönderüp; 'yörük tâyifesi tâ'ûn olmagla ekseri fevtolup eşkünci vü yamaklarından cüz'î kimesne kalup haymâneleri dahi vefâ eylemeyüp eşküncileri yamakları fakîr u kalîl olup hizmet dahi ziyâde olup hizmete kudretleri olmayup birkaç nefer dahi ziyâde yamak ta'yîn olunmasın' bildürmişsin.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁹ 12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979 / 1570-1572) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]. 383, entry 572.; Refik, 13, entry 25.

In reply to this demand, the following is noted:

evvelâ tahrîri emrolunan yörüklerin haymânesini teftîş eyleyüp hâric ez-defter ne mikdâr haymâne bulunursa ale'l-esâmî defter eyleyüp dahi haymânedен ve sâyir utekâ vü yörük tevâbi'inden defter-i atıkda olan yamaklarından ziyâde beşer nefer yamak dahi girü ta'yîn eyleyüp defter-i cedîdde yamak kaydeylesin ki, hizmet vâki' oldukda eşküncilerine lâzım olan harcların kânûn üzre vireler; haymânedен ve sâyir yörük utekâsından ve tevâbi'inden kaydeylesin.⁴⁴⁰

In order to complete the number of *ocaks* and to increase their number, the first method is seen to be application to unregistered *haymane yörüks*. It is first demanded that they be registered, and then freed slaves of *yörüks* and *yörüks'* relatives are told to be included in the register as well. The entry does not specify the particular *yörük* group for whom such a regulation was valid. However, since it mentions a general survey of *yörüks*, it may well have applied to all groups.

Although this demand to increasing the number of *yamaks* in the units is dated 1570, the question of increase seems to have actually been dealt with in subsequent years. The “*defter-i cedid*” mentioned in the decision in question seems to have been compiled around the year 1585, since the series of *yörük defters* after 1570 were compiled at around this date. The *kanunnâmes* dated around 1585 for various groups give a detailed narrative of the demand and the regulation applicable to it. Through this regulation, we see that the basic human resource of the organization was unregistered *haymane yörüks*. The situation is described in a copy of the edict issued for Mustafa, the commander of the Naldögen *yörüks*:

umûmen yörük eşküncileri uzak seferlere ve ağır hizmetlere istihdâm olundukları ecilden mezîd-i merhamet-hüsrevânemden beşer nefer ziyâde yamak inâyet edüb her bir ocağın yamağı yigirmi beşer olmak vâki olan noksanların sen [referring to registrar Mustafa] tahrîr ve tekmîl edüb ber-vech-i isti'câl yazduğun defter-i cedîdi âsitâne-i

⁴⁴⁰ 12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979 / 1570-1572) [Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks]. 383, entry 572.; Refik, 13, entry 25.

sa'âdetime götürüb teslim eylemek emr eyleyüb buyurdum ki hükm-i şerîfim vardukda emrim üzere müşârun ileyh muharrir-i sâbıkdan yazduğu defter-i cedîd ile bir cild defter-i atiki alub varub mahallinde subaşılığına [referring to Mustafa, subaşı of Naldögen yörüks] tâbi olan yörük tâ'ifesinin vâki olan oğullarından ve yörük arasına girip mütemekkin olan Anadolu tâ'ifesinden bi'l-cümle kimesnenin yazılı ve nizâ'lısu olmayan haymâne tâ'ifesinden her ocagın yamağı yigirmibeşer nefer olmak üzere müceddeden tahrîr ve tekmîl edüb yazduğun defter-i cedîdi ber-vech-i isti'câl âsitâne-i sa'âdetime teslim eylesin. Ammâ hîn-i tahrîrde onat vechile mukayyed olub hilâf-i cins olan kimesneleri yörüğe halt eylemekden ziyâde ihtirâz eylesin.⁴⁴¹

Here it is stated that the *yörüks* serving in the organization demanded an increase in the number of *yamaks* in the units, and noted that the two basic reasons for this demand were distant campaigns and the difficult duties required to be fulfilled. The requested increase is granted and the commander is told to fill out the lacking members of the units with an additional five *yamaks*. As can be inferred from this text, the central administration wanted the commander to register the *yörüks* without any affiliation so as to prevent any problems which might emerge. It is stated that unregistered *haymanes* should be the source for the registration. Among the *haymanes* are mentioned the sons of registered *yörüks* and those who have come from Anatolia and begun to live with the *yörüks*. As noted, the basic criteria set, by means of the expression "*kimesnenin yazılı ve nizâ'lısu olmayan*", is that they be without any affiliation.⁴⁴²

The same demand for an increase is also noted down in the regulation, compiled in a register dated 1586, for the Tanrıdağı *yörük* group. The reason for the demand is mentioned in the regulation as follows:

⁴⁴¹ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 616, f. 11 [of Naldögen]; compare, Altunan, "XVI. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Rumeli Yürükleri ve Naldöken Yürük Grubu", appendix 2, 176.

⁴⁴² BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 616, f. 11 [of Naldögen].

yörük eşküncileri âsitâneye gelüb hâliyâ seferleri baîd olub ekser zamanda bir senede iki hizmet fermân olunub yigirmi nefer yamaklarımızdan alınacak harçlık bize kifâyet etmez deyü yamakları ziyâde olunmak bâbında inâyet-i ricâ etdikleri ecilden⁴⁴³

Campaigns to distant lands are noted as a basic reason here as well. The heaviness of duties and services mentioned in the edict quoted above is expressed in a different way, but suggests the same meaning. Here, the number of duties in a year is mentioned as two. Because the collection of the *resm-i yamak* happened once a year, to do duty twice seems to have been costly. The heaviness of service is mentioned as being financial in this situation, and the solution offered is expressed as follows:

haymanelerinden beşer nefer yamak dahi ziyade yazılmak ferman olunub bu kulları tekrar yörük ocakları üzerine varub yazmağa imkan olmamağın bi'l-fi'il yörük subaşı olan Sinan sen varub yazub tekmi idüb defterin getürüb teslim idesin deyü hükm-i hümayun virilüb beşer nefer ziyade yazılıub defterin getürüb lakin bazı ocakların haymaneleri bulunmamakla tekmi olunmayub deyü defter-i atikde bu minval üzere mestur bulunub bu kulları her bir ocağı yigirmi beş nefer üzere tekmi idüb defter-i cedit-i hakaniye kayd olundu.⁴⁴⁴

The solution offered here for the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* suggests that the question of an increase in the number of *yamaks* in each *ocak* came onto the central administration's agenda at about the same time. The entry in the *mühimme* register mentioned above must have been sent to the other *subaşı*s of the *yörük* groups. This excerpt from the regulation relating to the Tanrıdağı *yörüks* clearly leads to such a deduction. It is clear from these two examples that an addition to the number of *yamaks* was effected at some point between 1570 and 1585. Thus, the number of *yamaks* in each *ocak* was increased to twenty-five. In this case, it is stated that some

⁴⁴³ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 1008, f. 4 [of Tanrıdağı].

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

units did not have any *haymanes*, and that therefore the number in these *ocaks* would be lacking. For such *ocaks*, the commander is ordered to complete the complement by some other means.

One major question regarding this issue is why a demand for an increase in the number of *yamaks* came onto the agenda of the *eşküncis*. Despite the fact that the duties and services demanded from *eşküncis* were of similar difficulty throughout the sixteenth century, it is noteworthy that such a demand only emerged in the second half of that century. The answer to this question lies in the fiscal conditions of the period under consideration.

The early phases of the period called “the price revolution”⁴⁴⁵ can be shown to be precisely the process which active members of the *yörük* organization were experiencing. In other words, the devaluation of silver coins and increases in prices must have paved the way for the *eşküncis*’ need for an extra five *yamaks* in their units. To briefly explain the underlying conditions, it should first be mentioned that coinage came to be widely used in the sixteenth century by “large sectors of the rural population”.⁴⁴⁶ This detail is important in terms of understanding the effects of changes in the economic structure. Together with this, “small-scale but intensive networks of credit relations”⁴⁴⁷ were another factor which enabled these effects to become widespread. As such, “prices and inflation had an impact on virtually all groups in Ottoman society”.⁴⁴⁸ The increase in prices and inflation was a

⁴⁴⁵ For a review of literature on price revolution both worldwide and in the Ottoman Empire, see Şevket Pamuk, “The Price Revolution in the Ottoman Empire Reconsidered,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 1 (2001): 69-73.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

phenomenon valid for the whole of Europe. The influx of American silver played a large role in price increases, though it is a debated question whether it was actually the cause of these increases.⁴⁴⁹ The debasement of the *akçe* was a practice put into effect during this period of the Ottoman Empire in the years 1491, 1566, and 1585-86. According to Barkan's calculations, the nominal prices – that is, prices expressed in *akçes* – increased by around 80 percent between the years 1489 and 1573. In terms of grams of silver, the increase in prices amounted to 60 percent.⁴⁵⁰ Pamuk's evaluation, however, indicates a smaller increase in prices. In his view, prices as expressed in grams of silver increased by 43 percent during the period in question. Moreover, as a result of the debasements of 1491 and 1566, the *akçe* lost 12 percent of its silver content.⁴⁵¹ To express this in a different way, according to a table constructed by Pamuk, one *akçe* was 84 percent silver in 1474, with 61 percent silver as its content. The increase in nominal prices was higher than the debasement level. Under such circumstances, the demand for extra *yamaks* becomes more comprehensible. The difficulties of the service must have become harsher owing to these changes in the economy. Despite the fact that the main increase in

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 72.

⁴⁵⁰ Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the near East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6, no. 1 (1975). Pamuk summarizes Barkan's findings and opposes to them claiming that the increases in the prices was not as high as argued by Barkan. Pamuk uses the data of Istanbul he compiled in his book, Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler, 1469-1998 / 500 Years of Prices and Wages in Istanbul and Other Cities* (Ankara, Türkiye: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000). He explains his compilation of price indexes in this way: "This study used data on the prices of standard commodities collected from more than 6000 account books and price lists located in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul. In the first stage of the study, three separate food-price indexes were constructed. One of these was based on the account books and prices paid by the many pious foundations (*vakıf*), both large and small, and their soup kitchens. Another index was based on the account books of the Topkapı Palace kitchen, and the third used the officially established price ceilings (*narh*) for the basic items of consumption in the capital city." Pamuk, "The Price Revolution in the Ottoman Empire Reconsidered," 74.

⁴⁵¹ Pamuk, "The Price Revolution in the Ottoman Empire Reconsidered," 79.

prices and debasement occurred in 1585-86,⁴⁵² it must have been the existing increase in prices that led members of the organization to demand an increase in the number of *yamaks*. It would be an exaggerated assumption to suggest that *eşküncis* had actually calculated their expenses and applied for five additional *yamaks* according to these calculations. However, the increase in the number of *yamaks* in each *ocak* amounted to an increase of 25 percent over a year. In comparison with the economic conditions of the period, this can be considered a fair increase. It should also be mentioned that because the compilation of *yörük defters* was already completed for *yörük* groups in 1584 and 1585, it cannot be related to the debasement of 1585-86.

It is difficult to state clearly whether the application for an extra five *yamaks* for each *ocak* continued in subsequent periods, or whether this even applied for certain groups at all. For the Tanrıdağı *yörüks*, we can see that the register subsequent to the 1584-85 compilation shows twenty-five *yamaks* in each unit.⁴⁵³ Because this register is dated 1591, it gives the impression that it was compiled as a copy of the one dated 1585, but for the very same reason, it is not possible to claim that it is a copy. It might have been prepared in the same manner, and could well have shown similar *ocak* members because so few years had gone by in between. The register of the Naldögen *yörüks* following 1585 and dated 1597, however, shows only twenty *yamaks*, just as it had done previously.⁴⁵⁴ As for the Kocacık *yörüks*, the register dated 1584⁴⁵⁵ shows twenty-five *yamaks*, but there is no other register for

⁴⁵² Ibid., 78.

⁴⁵³ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 631.

⁴⁵⁴ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 685 [of Naldögen].

⁴⁵⁵ BOA. TT.d. [*defter-i yörükân*] 614 [of Kocacık].

this group in the sixteenth century. The *yörüks* of Ofçabolu, Selanik, and Vize do not have registers for the 1584-85 registration; as such, it is not possible to say anything on this issue in connection with these particular groups.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study has evaluated the *yörük* presence in sixteenth-century Ottoman western Thrace through two basic aspects: the *yörüks* as a social group, and the *yörüks* as a military group. Looking primarily at the fiscal registers of the region and at the military registers compiled for the *yörük* organization, their position has been examined and analyzed.

The study began by presenting a general framework of the discussions and opinions concerning such notions as nomadism, pastoralism, mobility, and transhumance, as well as their usages in relation to the *yörüks*' ways of life. It was thus shown that, in almost all disciplines, these terms present a controversial and multivalent picture. What we saw was an emphasis on varieties, even within the same term, as well as the impossibility of finding an all-encompassing term to define all varieties of nomadic life. Within this area, there is a need for the evaluation of *yörüks* by means of just such a broad perspective, in light of the fact that there are so many varieties in their ways of life and mode of subsistence. Their connection with rural/agricultural life as a complimentary component – which has

been noted by some researchers as an inevitable development, especially in the Mediterranean world – is also an issue that needs to be taken into consideration.

In parallel with these discussions, the nature of the *yörüks* as a social group in the region in question was also evaluated. Through the guidance provided by fiscal registers, the *yörüks* were treated in line with the manners in which they had been recorded in the registers. The main objective in classifying *yörüks* according to different manners of registration was so as to provide a more sound analysis, as well as to investigate whether this directly meant a variation in their ways of life. Although the variation was not clear in every case, ultimately it did manage to provide a picture that reflected the actual situation. It was observed that, while some *yörüks* lived as separate *cemaats* (usually with a specific name), others became integrated into villages despite being recorded as a distinctive group, and even exceeding the village residents in number in several cases. In addition, some *yörük* groups were actually recorded as a village, thus underlining the connection between their ways of life and settled life. Some others were seen to have been recorded within a village as individuals. In these cases, there are examples of ways of life resembling both transhumance and sedentary life. While the *cemaat* – effectively a minor version of the tribe (*aşiret*) as a social organization – was observed in the cases of separately registered groups, it is not certain whether many other groups registered together with villages bore this as a distinctive title. The fact that the region of western Thrace was among the initial routes of the Ottoman military movement into the Balkans, and thus the area's initial demographic influx, must have played a role in the fragmentation of the *yörük* groups there. These groups must have divided into smaller groups over time and gradually become integrated

into settlements. In connection with this, agriculture became the basic means of subsistence for a number of *yörüks*, and they consequently became sedentarized. Here, the role of “agrarianization” rather than “sedentarization” was emphasized. On the other hand, it is noteworthy to observe, in the sixteenth century, the presence of *yörük* groups dealing mainly with animal husbandry, and thus adopting transhumance as their way of life, in a region where the Ottoman settlement process had already begun in the fourteenth century. The availability of the region in terms of lands for pastures and in terms of landscape, with both being both close to the sea, were among the reasons for the existence of various ways of life among the *yörüks*. This picture of variety shows some parallels with de Planhol’s research on Pamphylia, especially when the similarity between the two regions in terms of geography and climate is considered.

The fact that the *yörüks* who were registered with the villages in groups constituted the majority of the *yörük* population in the region is a noteworthy detail. This was the result of, as mentioned above, the early demographic influx into the region. Although they continued to engage in animal husbandry, they seem to have become integrated with life in the villages as well. The presence of the term “*oba*” in various placenames in the region reflects the *yörük* nature of these villages. Thus, it was suggested that, despite the fact that a settlement process occurred among the *yörük* population over time, quite a few of them continued their existence as a social group. In a way, *yörük* as a term meant various ways of living in the region.

As another important point, the above analysis of sixteenth-century Ottoman western Thrace by means of fiscal registers suggested, through certain

details in these records, the presence of some *yörüks* who were otherwise not entirely visible. Such a picture leads to the assumption that the *yörüks* occupied a larger place within the demographic picture of the region than is directly evident, as well as the fact that it is not actually possible to find definite numbers for them.

As another dimension in the study, the *yörüks* were evaluated as a military group. Initially, the study questioned the plausibility of the notion in the literature that it was the extensive *yörük* population in Rumelia which led to the formation of such an organization. However, there was no such organization in Anatolia, where there were definitely concentrations of *yörüks* in various regions. In this regard, the nature of the early Ottoman military seems to indicate the real reason behind the formation of this organization. The direction of the Ottoman movement in its early phases was towards the Balkans. This movement was divided into three wings in both the initial movement and in subsequent movements. These wings were primarily led by frontier *begs* such as Evrenos Beg and Mihail Gazi. Their soldiers, who were mainly *akıncıs*, were essentially made up of *yörüks* and Turkmens. The employment of *yörüks* in an auxiliary organization in subsequent periods must have been a remnant of the *yörüks'* being used as a military force in the Balkans. The parallel between the routes of expansion and conquest and the centers of *ocaks* confirms this connection. The similarity between the *yörük* organization and other auxiliary troops, such as *yaya-müsellems* and *voynuks*, is also a subject that requires consideration in this area. Both of these troops were transformed, as were the *yörüks*, into auxiliaries, and they usually served together. Thus, the roots of the *yörük* organization should be sought in the early phases of Ottoman military formation.

As the next step, the regulations (*kanunnâmes*) were analyzed in order to be able to outline the structure of the organization and to see the changes it underwent over time. Although the basic elements did not really change over time, various different practices were introduced, especially in terms of the number of unit members and the taxes collected from them. Studies on the *yörük* military organization have tended to look at the frame of the structure, but without sufficient emphasis on its changes and variations over time.

The extent of militarization is among the most important questions concerning the *yörük* presence in the region and its military dimension. The *yörüks* in Rumelia – as well as in western Thrace – are considered in some of the literature to have been of an entirely military nature. What seems to have led to such a perception was misinterpretation of Gökbilgin’s studies together with the usage of the expression “*defter-i yörükân*” for the registers of these auxiliary groups. However, as revealed in the relevant sections of the present study, that was not actually the case. There were quite a large number of *yörüks* who were not members of the organization. The terms “*hâric ez-defter*” and “*haymâne*” as employed in the regulations are direct signs of this fact. Although the organization recruited its *eşküncis* and *yamaks* from these “unregistered” *yörüks*, the unregistered ones were not considered a part of the organization. Marginal notes found in fiscal surveys (*tahrir defterleri*) declaring their status as *eşkünci* or *yamak* – if they were – is another indication of the actual situation. In this way, fiscal surveys show their importance as a supplementary source.

In parallel with the question above, using the *defter-i yörükân* as the primary sources for militarily associated *yörüks* has led some researchers to assume that the

number of *yörüks* in a region can be determined. In the present study, however, a method little used in the analysis of these registers was used to show that the members of *ocaks* recorded within a certain district (*kazâ*) were not necessarily all from that district. In other words, the *yörüks* registered in *yörük defters* were recorded with their hometowns. Analysis of these settlements reveals that the *ocaks* included *yörüks* from other districts as well. Thus, it can be said that these sources do not provide a reliable number of *yörüks*, even military ones, for a given region, since *yörüks* from other regions are included as well.

Through the points made above, this study has attempted to fill a gap in the questions and issues here under discussion. Despite the fact that there already exist certain important and invaluable studies, the necessity for additional research is most certainly felt. It can be safely argued that there is a significant difference between earlier and more recent studies in the literature in terms of how they handle the sources and the data extracted from them, as well as in terms of presenting analytical results. This is especially valid for case studies. Further studies on the history of the *yörüks* of various regions during the Ottoman period would provide a better and more clear vision of these elements, who the sources at hand ultimately make it rather difficult to distinguish.

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<u>Date</u>	<u>/Number</u>	<u>/Type</u>	<u>/Archive</u>
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1519	TT.d. 70	icmal	BOA.
1529	TT.d. 403	mufassal	BOA.
1529	TT.d. 374	mufassal	BOA.
1557	TT.d. 306	mufassal evkâf	BOA.
1560s	TT.d. 979	mufassal evkâf	BOA.
1562/63	TT.d.341	mufassal evkâf	BOA.
1568	TT.d. 187	mufassal	TKGM. KKA.
1568	TT.d. 194	mufassal	TKGM. KKA.
1568	TT.d. 577	mufassal evkâf	TKGM. KKA.
1613	TT.d. 723	mufassal	BOA.

Defter-i Yörükân

<u>Date</u>	<u>/Number</u>	<u>/Yörük group covered</u>
1544	TT.d. 225	Tanrıdağı
1544	TT.d. 230	Tanrıdağı
1568	TT.d. 1008	Tanrıdağı
1591	TT.d. 631	Tanrıdağı
1641	TT.d. 774	Tanrıdağı
1565	TT.d. 357	Naldögen
1585	TT.d. 616	Naldögen
1596	TT.d. 685	Naldögen
1557	TT.d. 303	Vize
1566	TT.d. 354	Ofçabolı
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http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greece_large_topographic_basemap.svg#file

APPENDICES

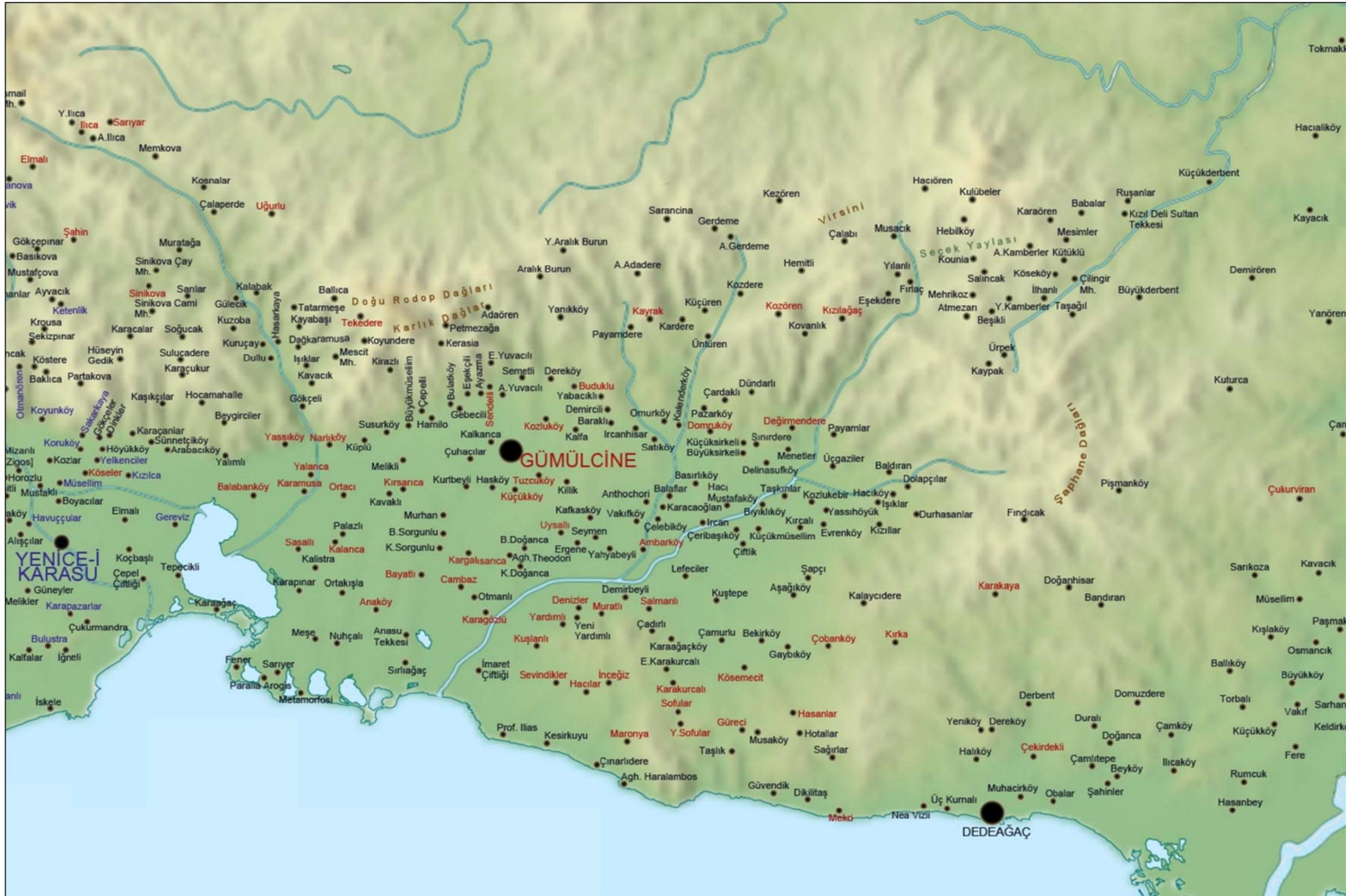
The settlements which could be identified in the 16th century registers are typed with a separate color for each *kazâ*. Since the place names in the following maps are situated according to those of the maps in Güvenç's edition,⁴⁵⁶ the remaining settlements reflect a picture of the late 19th early 20th century.

⁴⁵⁶ Sefer Güvenç, "Mübadele Öncesi ve Sonrası Eski ve Yeni Adları ile Kuzey Yunanistan Yer Adları Atlası = Atlas of Old and New Toponyms of Northern Greece : Before and after the Population Exchange," (İstanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, 2010). See footnote 187 for details.

APPENDIX – A: Identified Settlements in Drama



APPENDIX – C: Identified Settlements in Gümülcine



APPENDIX – E:

Kanunnâme-i Defter-i Yörükân-i Tanrıdağı (1544)

[BOA. TT.d. (*defter-i yörükân*) 230, dated 1544, ff. 1-4]

...Mesela defter-i

şâhide eşkünci yörük ve tataran yigirmi beş neferi bir ocak beş neferi be-nevbet eşkünci yigirmi neferi yamak kayd olub sefer-i hümayun ve hidmet-i padişâhi vâki oldukça nevbetlü eşkünci yamaklarından avâriz-i divâniyye mukabelesinde kânun-i kâdim-i sultâni muktezasınca ellişer akçe harçlık alub sefer iderler hidmet ve sefer olmayacak eşkünci yamaklarından nesne almazlar amma subaşılar ve çeribaşılar her yıl mart ibtidasında alurlar zira bunlar sipahi kısmındandır ellişer akçe üzerlerine hasıl kayd olunmuşdur subaşılar ve çeribaşılar her yıl aldıkları baisten müzevveclerinden ellişer ve mücerredlerinden yigirmi beşer akçe resm-i yamak alurlar. eşkünciler eşdükleri vakit hidmet mukabelesinde almağın müzevvec ve mücerred itibarın etmeyüb ellişer akçe resm-i yamağı tamam alur ve bir yılda iki defa hidmet vaki olsa yamaklar ellişer akçe rüsûmu heman bir kere vireler tekrar hidmet vaki oldu deyü teklif eylemeyeler hidmete varan nevbetlü eşkünciler yamakdan cem' olan ellişer akçeyi taksim eyleyeler madamki yamaklar ellişer akçe rüsümü eda ideler teklif-i avarız hilaf-i emirdir ve cürm [ü] cinayetleri ve resm-i arusiyyeleri ve sayir bad-i hevaları kendü subaşılarınınındır sefer ve hidmet vaki oldukda beş nefer eşkünciden her kangısı eşer ise koyun resmini vermez eşmedükleri yıl üç koyuna bir akçe virürler ve sahib-i özr olan eşkünciler subaşıları marifetiyle bedel tutmak emrdir. Mariz ? hususunda bedel makbul değil denilmeye eşkünciden ve yamakdan ve evladından birisi bir suretle doğancılığa ve toycalığa? veya gayr hususa yazılıb ehl-i berat olsalar yine eşkünciligi ve yamaklığı mukarrerdir ehl-i berat olsalar halas olmazlar. Nihayet beratlarında her ne hidmet emr olundu ise anı dahi eyleyeler berat bahanesiyle bi'l-külliyeye cinsinden ihrâc ihrâc [mükerrer yazılı] olunmak memnudur bunların gibilerün dahi cürm [ü] cinayetleri ve resm-i arusaneleri ve sayir bad-i hevaları kendü subaşılarınınındır ve zikr olan taifeden birisi bir vechle raiyyetliğe ve müsellemlige ve çeltükçilige ve tuzcılığa ve yağcılığa ve kürecilige ve akıncılığa yazılısalar vech-i meşruh üzere cinsinden çıkmazlar şöyle ki vilayet defterinde dahi gayri yere yazılısalar yine eşkünciligi ve yamaklığı eyleyeler ve eşkünci taifesinden bazı pir-i fani veya müflis olub hidmet-i padişahiye iktidarı olmayub ve yerine yazılmağa yarar oğlu dahi olmasa eşküncilikden feragat idüb yamak olub yamakdan yararcası eşkünci oğulları ve karındaşları yamak olmak kanun-i kadimdir ve taife-i mezburenin utekası ve haric vilayetten ve Anadoludan gelüb aralarında te'ehhül? idüb kimesnenin defterine yazılıb ni'zalu olmayanlar ve kapularında teehhül idüb kimesnenin defterine

yazılmayub ve kapularında hidmet ider iken imana gelüb tavattun? idüb kalan Abdullah oğulları yörüğe halt olub eşkünci ve yamak yazılmak kanun-i kadimdir ve yörük zeamet-i serbestiyye [ve] rüsum-i serbestiyyesine sancak begleri ve gayrısı dahl eylemek hilaf-i emrdir meger ki cürm-i galizi olub salbe? ve kat-ı uzva? müstahak olabları hükm-i kadı lahik? olduktan sonra kendü subaşıları marifeti ile şenaat? eyledükleri yerde sancakbegleri ve yerlerine duran ademileri günahlarına? göre siyaset eyleyeler bedel-i siyaset nesnelerin alub salıvirmeyeler ve şol eşkünciler ki emr-i padişahi ile sefer ve hidmet vaki olub nevbetine eşmese siyasetleri kendi subaşılarınınındır sancakbeglerinden ve gayrından kat'an kimesne dahl ü teaddi eylemek hilaf-i emrdir ve yörük la-mekandır ta'yin-i toprak olmaz her kande dilerler ise gezerler gezende olmağla tutdukları yave ve kaçkun her kande tutarlarsa müjdeganesi ve müddet-i örfiyyesi tamam olanların tasarrufu kendü subaşılarınınındır ve resm-i arusane babında dahi bakire ile seyyibe ales-sevabdır toprak itibarı olunmaz ve şol yörük ki göçer konar olmayub bir yerde temekkün idüb çifte ve çubuğa malik olsalar tamam çiftlik yer tutan on iki akçe ve nısf çiftlik tutan altı akçe resm-i çift sahib-i timara vireler ve öşr götürmek harmanları kangı karye sınırında vaki olur ise ol karyede olan sipahi anbarına iledeleler gayri yere iletmeyeler ve çifti olmayan müzevvec yörükler oturdukları karye sipahisine altışar akçe resm-i duhani vireler ve zikr olan taife bir timar sınırında bazı müddet tavattun idüb ziraat eylediklerinden sonra göçüb gayri yere vardıkda sahib-i timar sayir reaya gibi cebri yine getürmeye veya çiftbozan resmi deyü nesne almıyalar zira yörük la-mekan olmağın bunların gibi teklifatdan berilerdir ve eşkünci tatar taifesi dahi bu minval üzere mukarrerdir? ve zikr olan tevaif ecnâs-i muhtelifedir kendü cinsinden gayriya ve müselleme eşkünci ve yamak yazılmayalar ve yörük taifesinin haric ez-defter olan haymaneleri subaşılarına rüsum-i haymane eda eyledüklerinden sonra teklif-i avariz olunmaya zira rüsum-i haymane bedel-i avarız deyü kayd olunmuşdur.

APPENDIX – F:

Kanunnâme-i Defter-i Yörükân-i Tanrıdağı (1594)

[BOA. TT.d. (*defter-i yörükân*) 631, dated 1594, ff. 4-9]

...Mesela defter-i şahide eşkünci yörük ve tataran yigirmi beş neferi bir ocak beş neferi be-nevbet eşkünci yigirmi neferi yamak kayd olub sefer-i hümayun ve hizmet-i padişahi vaki oldukda nevbetlü eşkünci yamaklarından avarız-i divaniyye mukabelesinde kanun-i kadim muktezasınca ellişer akçe harçlık alub sefer iderler hizmet ve sefer olmayıcak eşkünci yamaklarından nesne almazlar amma subaşıları ve çeri başıları her yıl mart ibtidasında alurlar zira bunlar sipahi kısmındandır subaşılar ve çeribaşılar her yıl aldıkları baiseden müzevveçlerinden ellişer ve mücerredlerinden yigirmi beşer akçe resm-i yamak alurlarmış eşkünciler eşdükleri vakit hizmet mukabelesinde olmağın müzevvec ve mücerred itibarı olunmayub ellişer akçe resm-i yamakı tamam alurlar ve bir yılda iki defa hizmet vaki olsa yamaklarından ellişer akçe rüsumı bir kere vireler tekrar hizmet vaki oldu deyü teklif eylemeyeler hizmete varan nevbetlü eşkünciler yamaklarından cem' olunan ellişer akçayı taksim eyleyeler madamki yamaklar ellişer akça rüsumı eda ideler teklif-i avarız hilaf-i emrdir ve cürm [ü] cinayetleri ve resm-i arusane ve resm-i seyyibeleri ve sayir bad-i hevaları kendü subaşılarınıdır sefer ve hizmet vaki oldukda beş nefer eşkünciden kangısı eşer ise ol yıl koyun resmin virmezler eşmedükleri yıl üç koyuna bir akçe vireler ve sahib-i öZR olan eşkünciler subaşıları marifetiyle bedel tutmak emrdir. Mariz hususunda bedel makbul değildir dimeyeler eşkünciden ve yamakdan ve evladından birisi bir suretle doğancılığa ve toycılığa ve eli emirlü sipahi olub veya gayr hususa yazılıb ehl-i berat olsalar yine eşkünciligi ve yamaklığı mukarrerdir ehl-i berat olmağla halas olmazlar. Nihayet beratlarında her ne hizmet emr olundu ise anı dahi eyleyeler berat bahanesiyle bi'l-külliyeye cinsinden ihrâc olunmak memnudur bunların gibilerinin dahi cürm [ü] cinayetleri ve resm-i arusane ve seyyibeleri ve sayir bad-i hevaları kendü subaşılarınıdır ve zikr olunan taifeden birisi bir vechle seraskerliğe ve sipahiliğe ve müsellemlige ve çeltükçiliğe ve akıncılığa ve toycılığa ve yağcılığa ve küreciliğe yazılısalar vech-i meşruh üzere eyleyeler eşkünci taifesinden bazı pir-i fani veya müflis olub hizmet-i padişahiye iktidarları olmayub ve yerine yazılmağa yarar oğlu dahi olmazsa eşküncilikden feragat idüb yamak olub yamakdan yararcası eşkünci oğulları ve karındaşları yamak olmak kanun-i kadimdir taife-i mezburenin utekası ve haric vilayetden ve Anadoludan gelüb aralarında te'ehhül? idüb

kimesnenin defterine yazılmayub ve kapularında hidmet iderken imana gelüb
tavattun idüb kalan
Abdullah oğulları yörüğe halt olub eşkünci ve yamak yazılmak kanun-i kadimdir
mezburun
zeamet-i serbestdir rüsum-i serbestiyyesine sancak begleri ve gayrı dahl eylemek
hilaf-i emrdir meger ki cürm-i
galizi olub salbe? ve kat-ı uzva? müstahak olanları hükm-i kadı lahik? oldukdan
sonra
kendü subaşıları marifeti ile şenaat? eyledükleri yerde sancakbegleri ve yerlerine
duran
ademleri günahlarına göre siyaset eyleyeler bedel-i siyaset nesnesin almayalar
bedel-i siyaset nesnelerin
alub salıvmeyeler ve şol eşkünciler ki emr-i padişahi ile sefer ve hidmet vaki olub
nevbetine
eşmese siyasetleri kendü subaşılarınınındır sancakbeglerinden ve gayrıdan kat'an
kimesne dahl
ü taarruz eylemek hilaf-i emrdir ve yörük la-mekandır ta'yin-i toprak olmaz her
kande
dilerlerse gezerler gezende olmağla tutdukları yave ve kaçkun her kande tutarlarsa
müjdeganesi ve müddet-i örfiyyesi tamam olanların tasarrufu kendü
subaşılarınınındır
ve resm-i arusane babında dahi bakire ile seyyibe ales-seviyedir toprak itibarı olmaz
ve şol yörük ki göçer konar olmayub bir yerde temekkün idüb çifte ve çubuğa malik
olsalar
tamam çiftlik yer tutan on iki akçe ve nısf çiftlik yer tutan altı akçe resm-i çift sahib-
i timara
vireler ve öşr getürmek harmanları kangı karye sınırında vaki olur ise ol karyede
olan
sipahi anbarına iledeleler gayrı yere iletmeyeler ve çifti olmayan müzevvec yörükler
oturdukları
karye sipahisine altışar akçe resm-i duhani vireler ve zikr olunan taife bir timar
sınurında
bazı müddet tavattun idüb ziraat eylediklerinden sonra göçüb
gayri yere vardıkda sahib-i timar sayir reaya gibi cebri yine getürmeyeler
veya çiftbozan resmi deyü nesnesin almıyalar zira yörük la-mekan olmağın
bunların gibi teklifatdan berilerdir ve eşkünci tatar taifesi dahi bu minval
üzere mukarrerdir ve zikr olunan tevaif ecnâs-i muhtelifedir kendü cinsinden
gayriya müselleme ve eşkünci ve yamak yazılmayalar ve yörük taifesinin haric
ez-defter olan haymaneleri defter-i kadimde subaşılarına hasil kayd olunmuşdı
haliya zikr olunan yörük taifesi tahrir olunub asitane-i saadete arz
olundukda rüsum-i haymaneye bedel mezbur yörük haymanesinden yamak tayin
olunmak
ferman olunmağın vech-i meşruh üzere defter-i cedide kayd olundu ki min-baad
mezbur
yörük subaşıları kendülere yamak tayin olunandan maada yörük haymanesine dahl
ü taarruz eylemeyeler defter-i atikte mestur idi lakin yörük haymanesi ref
olunmağla yörük taifesi kendülerin bir tarik ile ahar taifeye ilhak edüb

hiyn-i tahrirde kadimi yörük oğulları kendülerden haymane resmi alına
gelmemekle?
na-malum olub her biri bir gayri cinse ilhak olunmuş bulunmağla ocaklar
tekmilinden
hayli meşakkat ü te'ab çekilüb ber-karar-i sabık haymane resmi yörük subaşlarına
hasıl yazılmak
yörük taifesinin zabt u siyasetinedir vechiyle enfa' ve evlâ olduğu paye-i serir-i
alem masir-i hüsrevaniye arz oldukda haymane resmi kemakan mukarrer olub
yörük subaşlarına hasıl yazılmak ferman olunmağın ber-karar-ı sabık defter-i
cedid-i hakaniye
haymane resmi mahsul kayd olunmuşdur minbaad defterde ismi mukayyed
olmayan yörük
haymanesinin evlü olanlardan avarız-i divaniyye mukabelesinde her sene ellişer
akça
ve maişetleri babaları yanından olan sağır ü emred oğlanlarından maada
müstakil kar u kisbe kadir olanlardan ki evlü olmayub mücerred olalar yigirmi beşer
akçe
resm-i haymanelerini yörük subaşları alub mutasarrıf olub mukaddeman ref
olunmuş idi
deyü ferd dahl ü taarruz eylemeye ve taife-i mezbure ferman-i hümayunla
müceddeden tahrirolunub
defterleri asitane-i saadete geldükden sonra yörük eşküncileri asitaneye gelüb haliya
seferleri baid olub ekser zamanda bir senede iki hizmet ferman olunub yigirmi nefer
yamaklarımızdan alınacak harçlık bize kifayet etmez deyü yamakları ziyade
olunmak babında inayet-i
rica etdikleri ecilden haymanelerinden beşer nefer yamak dahi ziyade yazılmak
ferman olunub
bu kulları tekrar yörük ocakları üzerine varilub yazmağa imkan olmamağın?
b'il-fiil yörük subaşısı olan Sinan beşe sen varub yazub tekmil idüb defterin
getürüb teslim idesin deyü hükm-i hümayun virilüb varub beşer nefer ziyade yazub
defterin
getürüb lakin bazı ocakların haymaneleri bulunmamakla tekmil olunmayub
deyü defter-i atikte bu minval üzere mestur bulunub bu kulları her bir ocağı
yigirmi beş nefer üzere tekmil idüb defter-i cedid-i hakaniye kayd olundu