

KARAŞAR, AN ALEVI-BEKTASHI SETTLEMENT IN BEYPAZARI (ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE)

BEYPAZARI'NA BAĞLI BİR ALEVİ-BEKTAŞI YERLEŞİMİ KARAŞAR
(İDARİ, EKONOMİK VE SOSYAL YAPI)

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Abstract

Karaşar is an example of the settlement of Alevi-Bektashi Turkmen groups in Anatolia during the early Ottoman period, and the earliest records of Karaşar date to the 15th century. In the Ottoman period, Karaşar was administratively located at the intersection of the borders of the provinces of Hudavendigâr, Kastamonu and Ankara, and historically always remained a part of Beypazarı. Karaşar, which had a considerably higher population compared to a classical village settlement, became a subdistrict to which other villages around it were connected in the 19th century. In the Republican period, Karaşar became a town, and although it maintained this status for many years, today it is a town consisting of several neighborhoods.

This study evaluates the economic and social structure of Karaşar, an Alevi-Bektashi settlement, on the basis of data from *tahrir*, population and *temettuat* books in the Ottoman Archives. In addition, the smuggling and banditry issues that have taken place in the history of Karaşar have been emphasized. The evaluations based on archives and research works are also supported by oral history data in Karaşar. This study is also important in terms of comparing the information in archival records with the information that is the product of the local memory.

Key Words: Ottoman, Turkmen, Alevi-Bektashi, Beypazarı, Karaşar.

Öz

Anadolu'da erken Osmanlı devrinde meskun **düzene geçmiş** Alevi-Bektaşî Türkmen gruplarının yerleşimine bir örnek teşkil eden Karaşar'a ait en eski kayıtlar 15. yüzyıla tarihlenmektedir. Osmanlı döneminde idari açıdan Hudavendigâr, Kastamonu ve Ankara eyaletlerinin sınırlarının keşişiminde kalan Karaşar, tarihsel süreçte hep Beypazarı'na bağlı kalmıştır. Klasik bir köy yerleşimine nazaran nüfusu oldukça fazla olan Karaşar, 19. yüzyılda etrafındaki diğer köylerin bağlandığı bir nahiye haline gelmiştir. Cumhuriyet döneminde belde olan Karaşar, uzun yıllar bu vasfını muhafaza etmiş olsa da bugün birkaç mahalleden oluşan bir kasabadır.

Bu çalışmada Osmanlı Arşivi'nde tahrir, nüfus ve temettuat defterlerinden elde edilen veriler temelinde bir Alevi-Bektaşî yerleşimi olan Karaşar'ın ekonomik ve sosyal yapısı üzerine değerlendirmelerde bulunulmuştur. Bunun yanında Karaşar tarihinde yer etmiş kaçakçılık ve eşkıyalık meselelerine dikkat çekilmiştir. Arşivlere ve tetkik eserlere dayalı değerlendirmeler Karaşar'da yapılan sözlü tarih verileriyle de desteklenmiştir. Bu çalışma arşiv kayıtlarındaki bilgilerle yereldeki sözel hafızanın ürünü olan bilginin kıyaslanması bakımından da önem arz etmektedir.

Araştırma Makalesi / Künye: YAŞAYANLAR, İsmail. "Karaşar, an Alevi-Bektashi Settlement in Beypazarı (Administrative, Economic and Social Structure)". Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi, 112 (Aralık 2024), s. 309-322. <https://doi.org/10.60163/tkhebvva.1542467>

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı, Türkmen, Alevi-Bektaşî, Beypazarı, Karaşar.

Introduction

Karaşar¹ is a village located 30 km north of Beypazarı, a district of Ankara today, between the mountains at an altitude of 1200-1300 m above sea level. It is surrounded by the districts of Kırbrışık in Bolu and Kızılcahamam in Ankara to the north, Gdl in Ankara to the south-east and Uruş to the east. Karaşar, where pine forests become denser as it extends towards Eđriova and Karagl, the lower slopes of the Bolu mountain range, is mostly on bare land (Şener, 1970, 46). Located between three large hills named Erenler, Gynk and Kaş, Karaşar is a plateau where land use is limited due to the increase in slope, roughness and elevation as it moves towards Eđriova and Karagl (Kaytanbıyık, 2009, 14). In the northern parts, agricultural areas are decreasing, and an upsurge in forest areas is observed due to the increase in precipitation. As a result, animal husbandry and forestry activities have become widespread in the region (Trkan, 2014, 318, 321). In summer, the people of Karaşar migrate with their animals to Çukurren, Belenova, Kuycak, Eđriova and Sarialan plateaus where pastures are abundant and return to their villages towards the end of August (Kaytanbıyık, 2009, 14; Şener, 1970, 47).

Karaşar is a classical Turkmen settlement, but it is also a town known for its Alevi-Bektashi identity. Although the stories indicate that the inhabitants of the town came from East Turkistan to Khorasan and then to Anatolia, it is not possible to prove this with historical data. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that the Karaşar people were one of the groups among the nomadic Turkmens who settled in Anatolia early. The main purpose of this study is to reveal the administrative, economic and social structure of Karaşar as a Turkmen settlement through the *tahrir*, population and *temettuat* records in the Ottoman Archives. Apart from these registers, the data obtained from other archival materials were supported by field and oral history studies conducted in Karaşar. Karaşar's Alevi-Bektashi identity and belief motifs are not included in the scope of the study.

1. Administrative Structure

The earliest record available for Karaşar is the Ankara *Tahrir* Registry dated 1462.

1 In the earliest records of present-day Karaşar, the *tahrir* registers, the name of the village is mentioned as Korşar. The fact that the name of the village is clearly written as Korşar in these records, the earliest of which dates back to 1462, is probably related to pronunciation. Karashar in East Turkestan under Chinese rule was recorded by a priest in the 7th century under the name A-ch'i-ni. This name was actually transliterated directly from Sanscrit into Chinese. The Sanscrit usage of Karashar is Agnideśa, and the word "agni" in this name means "fire" (Yıldırım, 2011, 55). Therefore, it is obvious that Karaşahr or Karaşehir in its old usage does not have the meaning of "black city/town". Karaşar, in Uyghur, probably means "city/city of fire", a name used in relation to the sun. The fact that the Karaşar people used this name with a similar pronunciation when they came to Anatolia from Turkestan explains the name of the village as "Korşar" or "Kor city" in early records. The fact that the name of Karaşar/Karaşehir/Karaşehir in East Turkistan and the name of the village of Karaşar in Beypazarı have the same sound features is also important in terms of explaining the possibility that the origin of the Karaşar people is based on East Turkestan (İlimli Usul, 2016, 306). At this point, it is also relevant to mention the issue of "Karaşallılar", which is passed down from the past in the village. There is a legend that the founders of the village were called "Karaşallılar" because they wore black clothes and tied black scarves on their heads when they came from Khorasan, and that this name turned into Karaşar over time as the name of the village (Şener, 1970, 48; Kaytanbıyık, 2009, 1; Mehmet Grlek, interview, October 3, 2019; Rıza Gkmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Mehmet Bayraktar, interview, October 3, 2019; Cafer Gngr, interview, January 15, 2020; Ali Dođan, interview January 15, 2020). However, it is clear from the above deduction that the name of the village is not related to the wearing of black clothes, i.e. "karaşal".

In this register published by Muzaffer Arıkan, the village of Korşar is mentioned in a place called Derelü (Arıkan, 1958, 42). As it is understood, at this date, Karaşar was a village under the Liva of Ankara. In the *Hudavendigar Livasi Tahrir Register* dated 1487, published by Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Enver Meriçli following this book, the name of the village is again mentioned as Korşar, but it is now a settlement unit of the Liva of Hudavendigar, administratively subject to Beypazarı (Barkan and Meriçli, 1988, 714). In the 1521, 1530 and 1573 *tahrir* registers, the name of the village is also mentioned as Korşar and it continues to be subordinated to the District of Beypazarı in the Liva of Hudavendigar (Barkan and Meriçli, 1988, 714; 166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu, 1995, 106).

In the 1830 Beypazarı District Population Register, the name of the village is clearly written as “Karaşar” and it is administratively connected to the State of Hudavendigar (NFS.d., 1389²). In the 1840 Population Register and the 1845 *Temettuat* Register, the name Karaşar is also clearly written as “Karaşar” and the village is still administratively connected to the Beypazarı District of the State of Hudavendigar (NFS.d., 1390³; ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353⁴). With the provincial organization in 1867, the borders of the old states were changed and new provinces were formed. In this context, Beypazarı was no longer a part of the Province of Hudavendigar and was annexed to the Province of Ankara. Therefore, Karaşar also became administratively attached to the Province of Ankara. When the yearbooks of Ankara Province, which were published 15 editions between 1871-1907, are analyzed, it is seen that Karaşar was affiliated to Beypazarı District during these years.

Karaşar, which was located between dense forests and high hills, had become a frequent destination for deserters and highwaymen, and they led to the deterioration of public order in the region. For this reason, the organization of a directorate in Karaşar, which was known for its loyalty to the government, was put on the agenda in 1892 (DH. MKT., 1919/18). This directorate, with Karaşar as its center, also included other villages in the vicinity (İ.DH., 1299/28, Lef 1). Decided on May 18, 1892 by the Council of State, this issue was submitted to the sultan by the grand vizier on November 9, 1892, and with the sultan’s decree issued on November 10, 1892, Karaşar officially became a subdistrict center (İ.DH., 1299/28, Lef 2). The monthly salary of the town director to be appointed to Karaşar would be 500 piasters, while the salary of the clerk who would work as a secretary would be 200 piasters. In addition, 40 piasters was allocated for the rent of the building where the director would reside and which would also be used as the directorate, and 10 piasters per month for stationery expenses (DH.MKT. 2024/106; BEO 107/7964; DH.MKT. 2032/88).

The first director of Karaşar subdistrict was Mehmed Bey, appointed on December 22, 1892 (DH.MKT. 2033/95). The first clerk of the district was Mustafa Efendi, who was appointed on March 5, 1893 (DH.MKT. 2058/43). After Mehmed Bey resigned in a short period of time, Âlim Şükrü Efendi was appointed as the director on July 20, 1893 (DH.MKT.90/35). Just like the previous director, Âlim Şükrü also resigned within a short period of five months. It is possible to associate this situation with the uncontrollable public disorder in the region. Âlim Şükrü was replaced by Ahmed

2 For the published full text of population register dated 1830, see Bolu Dağına Sirtını Dayamış Bir Türkmen Köyü, 2020, 38-75.

3 For the published full text of population register dated 1840, see Bolu Dağına Sirtını Dayamış Bir Türkmen Köyü, 2020, 76-115.

4 For the published full text of this *temettuat* register dated 1845, see Bolu Dağına Sirtını Dayamış Bir Türkmen Köyü, 2020, 116-173.

Fehim Efendi on November 28, 1893 (DH.MKT. 174/37). Although there is no precise data on when Ahmed Fehim Efendi left office and when a new manager was appointed in his place, it is known that the next manager was Cemal Efendi and Mehmed Tevfik Bey was appointed in his place after serving in this position for a few years. On August 23, 1899, Mehmed Tevfik was replaced by Yusuf Ziya Efendi, the director of Banaz subdistrict (Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara, 1311, 164; DH.MKT. 2237/134). Yusuf Ziya, who remained as the director of Karaşar for a few months, was replaced on November 1, 1899 by Mustafa Kamil Efendi, the director of the Rahofça subdistrict in Kosovo (DH.MKT. 2264/124). Meanwhile, Ali Rıza Efendi was appointed as the clerk of the region (Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara, 1318, 139). After Mustafa Kamil Efendi stayed in Karaşar for more than a year, Ahmed Lütü Efendi became the director (Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara, 1318, 139; Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara, 1320, 152). Lütü Efendi's departure from Karaşar was also due to a reshuffle. Salim Efendi, the director of the Morihova town in Macedonia, was appointed in his place, but Salim did not take office until the end of February 1902 (DH.MKT. 2557/76; DH.MKT., 2590/93). Unlike his predecessors, Salim Efendi worked in Karaşar for two years, and eventually he was replaced on December 1, 1904 by Hadji Salih Efendi, the director of the Çubukabad subdistrict (DH.MKT. 912/47). Mehmed Salih Efendi was the last director of Karaşar subdistrict (Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara, 1325, 142). With the decision dated September 2, 1905, the directorate was abolished and Karaşar's status as a subdistrict was terminated on October 23, 1906 (DH.MKT. 1100/13).

Karaşar, which was demoted to village status after 1906, maintained this position until 1928. Karaşar, which was a village of Beypazarı district of the Province of Ankara during the Republican period, became a municipality in 1928 (Şahhüseyinoğlu, 2002, 18). With the new organization, the villages of Saray, Kösel, Dereli, Haydarlar, Dibekören, Karacaören, Uşakgöl, Doğançalı, Kabaca, Kerban, Karaören, Kemerez (Akçalı), Meneçler and Yiyerler were included in Karaşar (Şahhüseyinoğlu, 2002, 47).

2. Demographic Profile

The earliest dated record containing population data for Karaşar is the 1487 *Hudavendigar Livası Tahrir Register* published by Barkan and Meriçli. According to this book, there were eight households in Karaşar in 1487. Four of these households were *mücerred*, i.e. single, and four were married families with children (Barkan and Meriçli, 1988, 714). Since these records were kept only to identify male taxpayers, they do not include women. Therefore, considering a taxpayer, his wife, and the number of children ranging from one to three, the average population of the village in 1487 should have been at least 16 and at most 24. Secondly, according to the information in the 1521 *Tahrir Register*, there were 25 households in Karaşar, 12 of which were *mücerred* (Barkan and Meriçli, 1988, 714). According to the data in this register, the average population of Karaşar in 1521 was probably at least 51 and at most 77.

In the 1530 account book number 166 -which is not a *mufassal* but an *icmal*- a total of nine households, three of them *mücerred*, were recorded in Karaşar (166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu, 1995, 106). Although this suggests a population decline between 1521 and 1530, this is not actually the case. While a village's population increases linearly over the natural course of time, a sudden drop or rise in numbers can be explained by migration, disease or natural disasters. However, the data in the 1573 *Tahrir Register* invalidates this explanation. In 1573, there were a total of 69

households in Karaşar, 36 of which were *mücerred* (Barkan and Meriçli, 1988, 714). Based on this data, it is expected that the population of the village would have been at least 135 and at most 201 inhabitants. Therefore, it is possible to be skeptical about the figures given in the *icmal* register dated 1530 and to say that these figures are a summary of a detailed register kept during a census between 1487 and 1521.

Unfortunately, there is no other archival record from which we can obtain data on the population of Karaşar, which is expected to be between 135 and 201 in 1573, until 1830. The 1830 Beypazarı District Population Register (NFS.d, 1389) lists 583 males in Karaşar, ranging in age from newborn to 90 years old. These registers were kept as part of the compulsory military conscription that came into force after the abolition of the Kapıkulu system in 1826. The main purpose of the population registers was to identify the male population at the age of military service and to obtain data on individuals who could potentially become soldiers in the future. Therefore, it is not possible to determine the female population of the village from these registers. It is possible to obtain an average population data by multiplying the male population by two or three to account for married, single and widowed women and girls. Accordingly, it is estimated that between 1,166 and 1,749 people lived in Karaşar in 1830.

The 1840 dated Beypazarı Population Register includes the number of households and records 712 men living in 256 households in Karaşar (NFS.d, 1390). When the method of taking three and five times the number of households is applied according to these records, it is seen that the estimated population of Karaşar in 1840 could vary between 768 and 1,280. If double and triple the total male population is used, the population of the village should be between 1,424 and 2,136. The lowest result from the first method is 768, which is only 56 more than the total number of males in the village at that time. It is not possible that there were 56 women living in the village, and this shows that the reliability of the first method is low. In short, the average population of Karaşar in 1840 would have ranged between 1,424 and 2,136.

The 1844 *Karaşar Village Temettuat Register* shows that there were 235 households in the village (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353). *Temettuat* registers are an important source for determining taxpayers, the amount of land, agricultural and livestock activities, and craft production. According to the data in this book, multiplying the number of households living in Karaşar in 1844 by five gives an estimated average population of $\pm 1,175$, which is considerably lower than the average population estimate of 1840. Therefore, it can be inferred that the households in Karaşar had more than five inhabitants.

Karaşar was quite crowded in terms of population during the Ottoman period compared to an ordinary village. This situation continued in the Republican period. The fact that the village was a subdistrict for a while during the Ottoman period must be related to the high population. A similar situation led to Karaşar becoming a municipality in the Republican period.

3. Economic Structure

Karaşar displays all the characteristics of a classical Turkmen village and due to its livestock-based economy, daily life is also affected by this branch of activity. Small herds of cattle, which are fed with dry feed in the corrals during the winter months, are taken out to graze in the pastures instead of the dry feed that is depleted with the arrival of spring. Karaşar is one of the villages that have continued the practice of pasture- winter pasture, an old Turkmen tradition, for many years. With the arrival

of spring, the people of the village went to the plateau with their herds and returned to their villages towards the end of summer. On the plateau, mohair was sheared and coarse wool was spun for knitting socks and underwear. Butter and tulum cheese were made from the milk of the animals, and this material was brought to the village to be consumed in winter (Mehmet Dikmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 2019; Rıza Gökmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Naciye Bayraktar, interview, October 3, 2019; Cafer Güngör, interview, January 15, 2020).

3.1. Farming

Karaşar was built on a hilly terrain, so its agricultural production was not high. According to the *tahrir* records, the average amount of cultivated land in Karaşar was 120 acres in 1487.⁵ In 1521, this amount increased to 150 acres on average, and in 1530 the same amount of land was cultivated. In 1573, the average amount of land cultivated in Karaşar reached 1150 acres (Barkan and Meriçli, 1988, 714; 166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu, 1995, 106). Between 1521 and 1573, the increase in the amount of cultivated land, while the population did not change dramatically, can be attributed to the decrease in the yield per unit of land due to drought (Kuru, 2022, 71-73).

After the *tahrirs*, another source for determining the amount of land in Karaşar is the *temettuat* register. According to the *Karaşar Temettuat Register*, 442 acres of land were cultivated in 1844, while 733 acres of land were left fallow or uncultivated (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353). There is no information about what was cultivated on the land in Karaşar's *temettuat* registers. During the oral history interviews, it was understood that a small amount of wheat, barley and rye were cultivated in Karaşar, as well as vetch for animals to eat (Mehmet Dikmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 2019; Rıza Gökmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Mehmet Bayraktar, interview, October 3, 2019). In 1844, the tax levied on agricultural production was 568.5 kurush (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353).

The produced barley, wheat and rye were mostly milled to make flour. In 1844, 14 households owned water mill (*asiyab*) shares in various sizes (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353). These mills continued to exist in the early Republican period. It is known that there are 3-4 water mills on Değirmendere (Mehmet Dikmen, interview, October 3, 2019).

Today, according to current records, lands in Karaşar are recognized by their names. Karakuz, Kaşyaka, Uzunburun, Mezarlıkaltı, Nallıkaş, Ağıllaryanı, Alıççık, Karşiyaka, Kozbeli, Aşağıçatak, Almaççayırı, Kavacık, Aşağı Kavacık, Yukarı Kavacık, Sığırkuyruğu, Kale, Sulucaöz, Göynük, Koyunlukdere, Beşpınar, Namazladüz, Kirazyeri, Çalıyayla, Öküzçayırı, Karlık, Köyyeri, Kabaarmut and Çal are the lands in Karaşar presently (Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 2019).

3.2. Livestock Farming

Livestock farming is emphasized in Karaşar, where mohair goats, one of the characteristic small cattle of Ankara and its surroundings, are raised. The yarns made of mohair spun from the wool of the mohair goat are first sent to Beypazarı and then sold to the woolen weavers in Ankara (Özdemir, 1986, 236). The woolen cloths made of mohair yarn were produced not only for the needs of the city and its environs,

⁵ In the Hudavendigâr region, the average size of a farm is 100 acres.

but mostly for foreign markets. The woolen goods collected by local and foreign merchants were sold in various cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, Aleppo and Damascus, but most of them were sold to European countries such as Venice and Poland (Ergenç, 2012, 133, 153).

The mohair goat's wool has a shiny, draped quality due to the long and smooth fibers of its wool. For this reason, it was primarily used by the upper strata of society. In the tereke books, among the *muhallefat* of the wealthy classes, there are a large number of upper garments sewn from *sofs*. In addition, thinner and second-class woolen fabrics called *shâli* and shirting were also used as underwear. Since the fibers of mohair goat wool are slightly oily, it was also preferred for making raincoats. In addition to being a clothing item, the *Tersane-i Amire* also purchased large quantities of woolen fabrics and *shâlîs* due to their durability. From the 17th century onwards, Europeans used it to make buttons, which were very popular in women's fashion. For this reason, Ankara woolen became a highly sought-after product both in the domestic and foreign markets (Taş, 2014, 60-61).

From the mid-17th century, foreign demand shifted from fabric to mohair yarn, a semi-manufactured material. Since the first buyers of mohair yarn were the artisans of wool weaving in Ankara, the export of this material outside the region was initially prohibited. However, foreign merchants began to buy mohair yarn through various means and export it to Europe via İzmir (Ergenç, 2011, 88-89). Towards the 18th century, Europe's demand for raw materials increased rapidly, and by the end of the century, the commodity traded was largely transformed from *sof* goods to mohair yarn (Taş, 2014, 74). The mohair yarn trade, which continued to be sold illegally even though exports were banned, declined over time as Britain began to intensively breed mohair goats in its colonies in Africa. In the early 19th century, the mohair yarn trade, which was partially banned, caused the coarse mohair yarn produced in Yabanabad, Şorba and Beypazarı to fail to find buyers (Faroqhi, 1985, 254).

Despite the low demand in the foreign market, mohair production in and around Ankara continued. Although there is no source to determine how much mohair was produced in Karaşar, the amount of mohair goats raised in the village can be determined in the 1844 dated *temettuat* records. According to the Karaşar *Temettuat* Register, there were 1355 mohair goats (649 milking and 706 barren) and 479 eanling in the village. At this date, the amount of sheep in the village is higher than mohair goats. There were 2262 sheep, 1359 of which were milch and 903 barren, and 903 lambs (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353). The difference between the number of sheep and goats is probably due to the decreased demand for mohair yarn.

There is also a specialization in mohair goat shepherding in Karaşar. The following statements from the 1907 Ankara Province Yearbook show Karaşar's specialization in mohair goat shepherding: "*The livestock of Ankara sanjak and especially of the towns of Beypazarı, Ayaş, Sivrihisâr and Nalluhân attach the utmost importance to the selection of shepherds for the proper management of their flocks. A herd of a thousand cattle is entrusted to three or two shepherds. The people of Kıbrısçık in Gerede district, Çarşamba in Mudurnu district and Karaşar in our province are engaged in shepherding. Among them, there are many shepherds who are really knowledgeable in their customs and experience. The mohair goat herding is divided into three parts and the herds are organized accordingly, for example, a shepherd who specializes in the management of a herd of grooms and goats (over two years old and neutered) is responsible for the management of a herd of milking goats or eanlings. Although such specialized shepherds are always sought by animal owners, this is not the case*

in all parts of the province and herds are often in the hands of unqualified men. For this reason, the mohair of this district and its subdistricts is always considered to be a good breed in the market and is sold at high prices, and the amount of mohair bought from a goat is high.” (Appendix of the Salname-i Vilayet-i Ankara, Def’a 15).

Besides small cattle, it is known that animals such as cows and oxen were also kept in the village. *Temettuat* records show that in 1844 there were 176 cows in Karaşar, 134 of which were milking and 42 of which were barren. In addition, there were 86 oxen for agricultural production and carrying logs (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353).

The intensity of animal husbandry in Karaşar made it essential for the villagers to practice the Turkmen tradition of going to the pasture. In the spring and summer months, animals need to be fed with fresh grass and there are enough pastures in the highlands for so many small ruminants. The people of Karaşar migrated to Çukurören, Belenova, Kuyucak, Eğriova and Sarıalan pastures in the spring and grazed their animals there (Kaytanbıyık, 2009, 14). Before the migration to the pasture, the plateau paths are cleaned in Nowruz and the journey starts in April. There is no one left in the village during the pasture time, and after August 15, they return (Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 1957). The historical origin of the practice of plateau- winter pasture is also determined from the *temettuat* records. In 1844, 11 households in Karaşar paid a total of 1570.16 kurush in “*kışlakiye*” tax (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353). From this record, it is understood that some households kept winter quarters due to the excess of animals.

During the Republican period, mohair goats continued to be raised in the village, but the number of goats remained below the number of sheep (Mehmet Dikmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 2019; Rıza Gökmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Cafer Güngör, interview, January 15, 2020.) Today, although cattle breeding is mostly practiced, the tradition of going to the plateau is still maintained, and even a plateau festival is held in the first weeks of July in Eğriova.

3.3. Transportation

Transportation is another common activity in Karaşar. In the 1845 dated *temettuat* register, the occupation of 157 heads of households in Karaşar was recorded as “muleteer” (ML.VRD.TMT.d, 353). Mulesmen probably both transported forest products and freight between Beypazarı and Kırışçık. There were 307 mules, ten donkeys and two horses in the village. Although there was no forest product transportation in the Republican period, it is known that transportation continued to be carried out from Beypazarı to Karaşar until the use of cars became widely available (Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 2019, Veli Namlı, interview, January 15, 2020).

4. Public Order Problems in Karaşar

4.1. Banditry

Banditry was one of the biggest problems Karaşar faced in its history. Being far from Beypazarı, which it was connected to, being between mountains and having bad roads caused banditry to become widespread in Karaşar. Especially after the abolition of the Janissary Corps in 1826 and the introduction of compulsory military service in the newly formed army, the incidents of desertion from the army paved the way

for these deserters to go to the mountains and engage in banditry. The first record of banditry in Karaşar in the official records is dated August 2, 1777. Accordingly, Hasan, the son of Kel Hüseyin from Karaşar, together with his henchmen, killed the fathers and other brothers of Ali and Hüseyin from the village and stole their sheep and cash (AE.SABH.I 147/9924). For a long time after this record, there were no incidents reported in archival documents.

A document dated March 14, 1862 states that Çakır and Çobanoğlu Hasan and his brother Halil, who were part of the “*kittai t-tarik*”, or “highwaymen”, in Karaşar, had crossed in front of the inhabitants of Mihaliççik district and usurped their property; for this reason, they were caught by the Major Hurşid Efendi, brought to the district governor’s office and taken into custody, but they escaped at night and came to Obruk village. There, the bandits threatened the villagers and shot at them with guns, but had to flee again when they encountered armed resistance from the villagers. Upon the complaint of the villagers, the local administration became aware of the situation and demanded that the bandit be recaptured (MVL. 627/22, Lef 2).

One of the banditry incidents that occupied Karaşar the most was the problems caused by a bandit named Dede Mustafa with a group of eight people. Dede Mustafa and his henchmen tormented the villagers by extorting livestock and money. The incident for which an arrest warrant was issued for the Dede Mustafa gang took place as follows: Dede Mustafa and his eight followers demanded 50 liras from Battal Hüseyin living in Karaşar, and although Hüseyin said he had no money to pay, they insisted on their demands and finally threatened Hüseyin by shooting his two oxen and left (İ.DH., 1256/98587). Upon this, an order was given to send 100 soldiers to Karaşar. Eight people gathered around the bandit named Dede Mustafa were identified as deserters from Karaşar (DH.MKT., 1899/24). In addition, it was also decided to impose a reward for the bandit’s capture (DH.MKT., 1899/50). This incident also led to the decision to turn Karaşar into a district (ŞD. 2593/36, Lef 1). Karaşar’s transformation into a sub-district must have been thought to facilitate the provincial center’s direct intervention in the region and would also increase internal control.

Dede Mustafa was captured somehow. He was convicted and imprisoned for his crimes. However, while he was in prison, he wrote a petition expressing his regret and sent it to the Beypazarı District Governorate (DH.MKT., 2027/118). The issue of Mustafa’s pardon was discussed at the State Council and the issue was approached positively with the idea that if he was pardoned, he could set an example for other bandits in the region (ŞD. 2607/21, Lef 2). As a result, Dede Mustafa’s crime was pardoned by the sultan’s decree and Mustafa was released (İ.DH. 1301/14, Lef 2, BOA; DH.MKT. 2047/63).

The story of the “five efes”, of which many variants have emerged in the narratives in the village and in previous studies on Karaşar, is essentially the mythologized form of a bandit gang. The common point where the five efe stories, which have different narratives, meet is this: the efes are brothers, and their ascent to the mountains began when one of the brothers kidnapped and threatened to kill the landlord he was working for as a laborer because he could not get what he was owed by the landlord, but later released him when he received the money. The brothers, who had become outlaws for this reason, went up the mountain and started to act as “efes” as the locals called them, coming to the village from time to time to take care of their food and laundry needs and then returning to the mountains. According to the legends, the efes also had a house on the mountain where they stayed. It is said that at first these efes did not molest the women in the village, but then they started to disturb the honor of the

villagers and three of them were killed by knocking them out with opium water, the remaining two escaped, returned a year later and were caught and killed.⁶ The people were so impressed by this story that a folk song called “*Karaşar Zeybeği Türküsü*”⁷ was born. Although the lyrics of the folk song are the same, there are versions in which the order of flow is different and the verses are switched.

This folk song about the efes of Karaşar does not portray them as criminals who covet honor, but rather as folk heroes. This situation suggests that there is a problem with the story told about the efes. Although the exact date when the efes lived is unknown, it is understood from the discourses that they existed in the period between 1890 and 1900. It was precisely during this period that the Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered an investigation into the banditry in and around Karaşar. As a result, it was

6 Nedim Şahhüseyinoğlu narrated these stories in an organized form (Şahhüseyinoğlu, 2002, 77-80).

7 *Zeybek misin zeybek donu giyecek*
Katil misin tatlı cana kıyacak
Cahil misin el sözüne uyacak
Koç gibi meydanlarda dönenlerdeniz
Biz ahbap uğruna ölenlerdeniz

Döküldü mü maşrapamın kalayı

Bozuldu mu zeybeklerin alayı

Düşmanları öldürmenin kolayı

Koç gibi meydanlarda dönenlerdeniz

Biz ahbap uğruna ölenlerdeniz

Alıverin martinimi atayım

Atayım da Karaşar'ı katayım

Fırsat verin düşmanları haklayım

Koç gibi meydanlarda dönenlerdeniz

Biz ahbap uğruna ölenlerdeniz

İniverdim Eğr'ovanın düzüne

Çayır çimen çıkıverdi dizime

Beş yüz atlı gelemezdi izime

Yattım uykulardan uyanamadım

Yağlı kamalara dayanamadım

Çadır kurdum Eğr'ovanın düzüne

Nişan taktım bir zenginın kızına

Uyma dedin uydum eller sözüne

Yattım uykulardan uyanamadım

Yağlı kamalara dayanamadım

Korkar idim ayrılıktan ölümden

Kahve içerken fincan düştü elimden

Bilemedim dostlarımın halinden

Yattım uykulardan uyanamadım

Yağlı kamalara dayanamadım

Zeybekleri yaylalarda bastılar

Cepkenini çam dalına astılar

Beş kardeşi bir tahtada kestiler

Vurma Hüseyin'e, kıyman Ali'ye

Kelleleri bahşiş gitti valiye

Hüseyin'in biber gibi behleri

Al kan oldu cepkeninin yenleri

Şan vergi bu diyarın efeleri

Vurman Hüseyin'e, kıyman Ali'ye

Kelleleri bahşiş gitti valiye

Üzengim kırıldı incim bağladım

Martinimi kabzasından kavradım

Anamı nafile yere ağlattım

Yattım uykulardan uyanamadım

Yağlı kamalara dayanamadım.

Compiled by M. Sarisözen in 1945 (TRT Archive as cited in Şener, 1970, 136-137).

concluded that some deserters who smuggled tobacco and committed murders in this way gathered in the vicinity of Karaşar and that deserters joined them. It was requested that the deserters be captured and summoned for military service and the others be arrested (DH.TMIK.M 59/62). One month later, a document was written requesting the arrest of some people from the people of Karaşar for harassing the locals and patronizing the bandits in the neighborhood (DH.MKT.2432/77). In short, some people from Karaşar had been involved in some activities around the village that disrupted public order and they were asked to be caught.

Despite the fact that it is not recorded, it is possible that there was a reward, as in the case of Dede Mustafa. Assuming that the people mentioned in the documents and the efes were the same people, it is possible that it was heralded that money would be given to those who caught the efes or brought their heads. The expression “their heads went to the governor as a tip” in the folk song reinforces the reality of this situation. As a result, the fact that these efes or bandits from Karaşar were killed by the people of Karaşar must have created a sadness that a folk song that will take place in the social memory has emerged. Gülay Mirzaoğlu’s use of the phrase “a folk song written for five brothers who smuggled tobacco, were loved and respected by the people, but lost their lives in an armed conflict” and similarly Süleyman Şenel’s evaluation of this folk song within the scope of tobacco smugglers (*ayıngacı*) folk songs do not fit the context of the story (Mirzaoğlu, [ty.], 85; Şenel, 2005, 365).

Karaşar’s bandit stories did not end with the efes. There are also stories about a bandit gang, led by a bandit named Ethem Bey, who haunted Karaşar during the National War of Independence. It is said that Ethem Bey’s gang would come to Karaşar from time to time, extort the livestock and money of the people and then retreat (Naciye Bayraktar, interview, October 3, 2019). Mehmet Gürlek, who stated that his uncle was a soldier when these raids were taking place and that he returned to the village after being informed about the raids, informed his commander about the situation when he saw that the villagers’ backs were bent due to the raids, and a unit of 100 people was sent here and clashed with the bandits. After this incident, Ethem Bey and his gang never came to Karaşar again (Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 2019).

4.2. Smuggling

Tobacco is the biggest part of the smuggling that started in Karaşar during the Ottoman period and continued in the Republican period. The people of Karaşar, who smuggled *ayınga*, i.e. shredded tobacco, acted in partnership with tobacco producers in the vicinity of Hendek and Düzce for this business. This situation did not change during the Ottoman and Republican periods. The smugglers who went to the vicinity of Hendek and Düzce would buy tobacco in one-kilogram boxes, load it into sacks and return to Karaşar on horseback without using the main roads (Veli Namlı, interview, January 15, 2020). Karaşar was an important region for tobacco smuggling, supplying Beypazarı villages and other nearby districts.

The main reason for the emergence of tobacco smuggling in Karaşar was the seizure of the tobacco revenues of the Ottoman Empire, which began in 1875 when the Ottoman Empire declared a moratorium on the repayment of its foreign debts, and the subsequent seizure of tobacco revenues as one of the sources of income of the General Debt Administration (*Düyun-ı Umumiyye İdaresi*) established to collect these debts. In order to control tobacco production, trade and the revenues generated from

tobacco, the *Düyun-ı Umumiyye* established a monopoly company called *Memalik-i Osmaniyye Duhanları Müşterekü'l-Menfaa Reji Şirketi* (1883). This company subordinated all tobacco producers and sellers in the Ottoman geography to itself, thus establishing a tobacco monopoly (Sağlam, 2007, 105-106; Keskinliç, 1997, 150-151). As a protest against this company, which bought tobacco from the producers at low prices and sold it to them at higher prices, an intense smuggling activity started in and around the tobacco-producing regions of the Ottoman geography (Akpınar, 2002, 305-306). In this context, tobacco smuggling was also observed in Karaşar after 1885.

Smuggling did not only take place in the form of tobacco smugglers from Karaşar, but also smugglers from Hendek and Düzce brought tobacco to Karaşar. A record dated January 21, 1897 states that 19 horsemen from Adapazarı Hendek subdistrict were smuggling 15 loads⁸ of tobacco to Karaşar when they were caught by three Reji guards near Mudurnu and killed one of them, Mustafa Efendi from Bolu, and tied up the other two guards and fled towards Beypazarı (DH.TMIK.M. 26/78, Lef 1). Reji guards were men hired by the Reji company to prevent tobacco smugglers.⁹ When the company was newly established, these officers were not allowed to use weapons, but in time, just like the police and gendarmerie, they were given the right to use weapons, which caused this group to exert intense pressure on the locals (Dığıroğlu, 2007, 103).

In another document dated November 14, 1898, it is recorded that Kör Mustafa from Karaşar was smuggling 13 loads, approximately 1300 kilos of tobacco, when he encountered Reji guards and tied up two of them, while escaping to Ankara (DH.MKT. 2134/39). Mustafa, who was later caught and sentenced to 15 years in prison, escaped from prison, started smuggling again and attacked Reji guards (DH.MKT. 2420/37). Kör Mustafa, who killed İbrahim Çavuş of Ankara during his escape, was caught again and imprisoned (DH.MKT., 2490/91; DH.MKT. 1349/11, Lef 2).

Karaşar must have become so famous for tobacco smuggling over time that the Reji company sent a petition signed by Lambert, the Reji director, asking for an immediate solution to the tobacco smuggling in and around Karaşar, stating that they were unable to control it with the help of rangers and urgently asked the local administration to ban tobacco smugglers with the help of gendarmes and soldiers (DH.MKT.,456/53, Lef 1). Although there is no record of how the Reji administration responded to this call for help, given that the local administration could not even deal with banditry, which was a bigger issue than tobacco smuggling in Karaşar and its environs during this period, it is not possible to say that the fight against tobacco smuggling was seen as a possibility. As a matter of fact, tobacco smuggling continued for many years during the Republican period due to the monopoly and Karaşar maintained its position as a smuggling center (Şener, 1970, 47; Şahhüseyinoğlu, 2002, 149-150; Mehmet Dikmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Mehmet Gürlek, interview, October 3, 2019; Rıza Gökmen, interview, October 3, 2019; Mehmet Bayraktar, interview, October 3, 2019; Veli Namlı, interview, January 15, 2020).

Conclusion

Karaşar, one of the Turkmen settlements that came to Anatolia at an early date and transitioned from nomadic to settled life, is a village of Beypazarı with a large

⁸ A horse load is considered to be 80 okka and 1 okka is 1,282 kg, so 15 loads equals 1,538.4 kg.

⁹ About the Reji guards and their attitudes towards the Ottoman people, see Burak Altunsoy (2022). *Tobacco Smuggling in the Ottoman Empire, Reji Rangers and Their Practices*. Selenge Publications.

population. Located at the intersection of Ankara, Kastamonu and Hudavendigar provinces, Karaşar was in social and commercial relations with all three administrative units. It is possible to say that the population of the settlement increased linearly from the classical period *tahrir* records to the dividend censuses of the first half of the 19th century. It was inevitable that Karaşar, which always had a higher population than an ordinary village, became a district center in its area. Apart from population, another important reason for Karaşar to become a center was the smuggling and banditry activities in the region, which the state had difficulty in controlling. It is possible that the village was turned into a sub-district center with the idea that regional control and administration would be easier.

Karaşar is also important because it is a center where Alevi/Bektashi culture is dominant and where Bektashi dedes and babas were raised. It is not possible to say that the nomadic Turkmen culture was completely abandoned in this settlement. The village inhabitants were much more interested in animal husbandry, especially small cattle breeding, than in agricultural activities. Karaşar's influence on mohair production in the Ankara region cannot be denied. As a matter of fact, the expertise of the people of the village in mohair goat production is confirmed by the sources of the period. The mohair goat and sheep breeding caused the villagers to migrate in the spring to live in the pastures in the summer, and the intangible cultural heritage values of Turkmen culture were preserved in the pastures of the village. The wool obtained from sheep and goats was spun, and butter and cheese were produced from the milk and preserved for the winter.

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