

## HOW DID THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION PACIFY THE LAST REMNANTS OF THE SOLDIERS OF QARAMANIDS AFTER 1468?

### Osmanlı Yönetimi, 1468'den Sonra Karamanlıların Askerlerinin Son Kalıntılarını Nasıl Pasifleştirdi?

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#### Özet

Bu makalede Osmanlı yönetiminin Karamanoğulları ordusunu oluşturan askeri grupları pasifize etme politikası ele alınmaktadır. Fatih Sultan Mehmed'den on altıncı yüzyılın sonuna kadar diğer Osmanlı padişahlarının bu gruplara karşı izlediği politika ana hatlarıyla özetlenmektedir. Fatih Sultan Mehmed 1468 yılında Karamanoğullarına ait toprakların büyük bir kısmını ilhak ettiğinde Karamanlı askerleri Osmanlı yönetimi tarafından nasıl asimile edildi? Bu makale, esas olarak Osmanlı arşiv belgelerine dayanarak bu soruyu cevaplamayı amaçlamaktadır. Mehmed, ilk tedbir olarak Karamanoğulları ordusunu oluşturan göçebeler arasındaki aşiret bağlarını kopardı. Balkan, Karadeniz ve Ege kökenli kulları (kul veya gulam) Karaman vilayetine getirdi. Karamanlı yanlısı askerlerin bir kısmı gönüllü olarak Osmanlı ordusuna katıldı. Osmanlı yönetimini kabul etmeyen Karamanlı taraftarlarının ve göçebelerin büyük bir kısmı İran'a göç etti. Osmanlı-Memluk savaşlarında Mısır'ın yanında yer alan asker ve göçebelere karşı da pasifleştirme politikası uygulandı. İkinci olarak Osmanlı gücü, Konya'ya atadıkları şehzadeler aracılığıyla göçebeler arasında hissedilmeye çalışıldı. Batı Anadolu'dan Karaman bölgesine yeni askerler getirildi. Yerel aristokrasi ile yeni gelen Türkmenler arasındaki mücadeleye başka

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askerler de eklendi. Osmanlı yönetimi göçebelere ağır vergiler yüklemekle kalmamış, onları yerleşik hayata geçirmeye de çalışmıştır. Osmanlı yönetimi bu göçebelerin çoğunu bir yüzyıl içinde asimile etmeyi başardı. On altıncı yüzyılın sonunda Karamanlı yanlısı olup Osmanlı yönetimine karşı çıkan göçebe neredeyse yoktu.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Osmanlılar, Karamanlılar, Göçebeler, Tımarlar, Konya, Anadolu, Türkiye

### Abstract

In this article, the policy of the Ottoman administration to pacify the military groups that formed the Qaramanids army is discussed. From Mehmed the Conqueror until the end of the sixteenth century, the policy followed by other Ottoman sultans against these groups is outlined. How were the soldiers of Qaramanids assimilated by the Ottoman administration when Mehmed II the Conqueror annexed most of the land belonging to the Qaramanids in 1468? This article seeks to answer this question, based mainly on Ottoman archive documents. As a first measure, Mehmed II broke the tribal ties between the nomads who made up the Qaramanids army. He brought the servants (*kul* or *gulam*) of Balkan, Black Sea and Aegean origin to the province of Qaraman. Some soldiers who were pro-Qaramanids joined the Ottoman army voluntarily. Most of the Qaramanids supporters and nomads, who did not accept the Ottoman rule, migrated to Iran. During the Ottoman-Mameluke wars, a policy of pacification was also applied against the soldiers and nomads who sided with Egypt. Secondly, the Ottoman power was tried to be felt among the nomads through the princes they appointed to Konya. New soldiers were brought from western Anatolia to the Qaraman region. Other soldiers were added to the struggle between local aristocracy and newly arrived Turcoman. The Ottoman administration not only heavily taxed the nomads, but also tried to bring them into a settled life. The Ottoman administration succeeded in assimilating most of these nomads within a century. At the end of the sixteenth century, there were hardly any nomads who were pro-Qaramanids to oppose the Ottoman rule.

**Key Words:** Ottomans, Qaramanids, Nomads, Fiefs, Konya, Anatolia, Turkey.

Turkish historian the late Faruk Sümer (1924-1995), who was an expert on the history of the Qaramanids, says that the lands of the Qaramanids Principality (1256-1474), a Islamic state that dominated the Central Taurus of Turkey and always remained in opposition to the Ottomans, was taken under control by the Ottomans in the year of 1474. Qaramanid Pir Ahmed's brother Qasım Beg lived in the town of Silifke under Bayezid II (1481-1512), Ottoman Sultan. After his death in 1483, Mahmud Beg, one of the sons of Turgud, was declared an independent ruler in the region of Ichel by the notables of the Qaramanids. However, when he held the Mamelukes in the Ottoman-Mameluke wars (1485-1491), he was forced to flee to Aleppo in 1487, with the force of the Ottoman soldiers. Some soldiers and nomads of the Qaramanids went to Iran to contribute to the establishment of the Safavid state.<sup>1</sup>

When Mehmed the Conqueror annexed Akshehir and its environs in 1468, he approved the fiefs of some begs of Yapa, Samaghar and Turgud, such as Pirsün Beg.<sup>2</sup> But some Turgud Begs, such as Omer Beg, the son of Turgud, fled to the city of Tarsus to fight against the Ottomans.<sup>3</sup> The deceased Professor Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr (1928-2022), who had studied the history of the Ottoman province of Qaraman, states that in 1468, the Ottoman administration took the fief of Mirza Qaramani, but left the mansion of Ali Beg, the son of Yapa, the commander of Akshehir, as per the agreement.<sup>4</sup> It has been determined from an Ottoman archive document of end of the fifteenth century that some soldiers of Qaramanids entered in the service of the Ottomans in the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (1444-1481). She has discovered a contemporary record of a soldier from the Qaramanids took refuge in the Ottomans during the Qaramanids from the Archives of Ottoman in Istanbul (MM 567, p. 57). According to this document, dated November 5, 1488, an Ottoman soldier named Mehmed from the town of Qaraman stated that he had taken refuge in the Ottomans before the Qaramanids state collapsed and claimed that the taxes of a village of town of Laranda, a capital of the Qaramanids, were officially his own. As a result of the examination from the official documents from Qaramanids, the taxes of this village was again allocated to him by the Ottoman administration.<sup>5</sup> She also states that Mehmed II (d. 1481), Ottoman Sultan, the conqueror of Constantinople, broke the nomadic structure in the province of Qaraman and that the old cavalrymen (*sipahi-i köhne*) with fiefs in the service of

<sup>1</sup> Sümer (2001), "Karamanoğulları", *DLA*, 24, Istanbul: 459

<sup>2</sup> Erdoğan (2015), *1466 Tarihli Akşehir Mufasssal Defteri (Metin ve İnceleme)*, Ankara: 13-15. Pirsün was a short form of Pir Hasan Hüseyin as personal name, in Turkish.

<sup>3</sup> Sümer (2021), "Turgutlular", *DLA*, 41, Istanbul: 420-421.

<sup>4</sup> Beldiceanu, (1985), *XV. Yüzyıldan XVI. Yüzyıla Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tımar*, Translated from French to Turkish, by M. Ali Kılıçbay, Ankara, Teori publications: 20, 81.

<sup>5</sup> Beldiceanu-Steinherr,(1973). "Un transfuge qaramanide auprès de la Porte ottomane: réflexions sur quelques institutions", *JESHO*, 16/ 2-3: 164.

the Ottomans were the cavalries who owns fiefs (*sipahi*) of the Qaramanids rule.<sup>6</sup> Also she says that after annexation of the Qaraman state (1474), Mehmed the Conqueror tried to break the nomadic organizations so that these begs would turn away from him and not join other emirs. He made the lords into fiefs who could be dismissed or sent anywhere. This caused great discontent.<sup>7</sup>

It is understood from a *daftir* belonging to Ala'iyya, one of the important castles of the Qaramanids, on the Mediterranean coast, dated 1475, that after the castle of Ala'iyya was captured by Mehmed the Conqueror in 1471, the Ottoman soldiers of Balkan origin were deployed here by the Ottoman administration. The old local aristocracy belonging to the Qaramanids was almost abolished. In 1475, the most important Ottoman ruler in Ala'iyya was Özgüroğlu İsa Beg, a governor of the Western Anatolia of the Ottomans, who was of Albanian origin. In addition to the Muslims of Balkan origin, Albanian, Wallachian, Serbian (Laz) and Hungarian soldiers who were pro-Ottomans were also given fiefs in Ala'iyya. A fief evolved in Ala'iyya for only one pre-Ottoman person, Kemal Beg, the son of Yapa, who belonged to the Qaramanid dynasty. He insincerely swore allegiance to the Ottoman administration.<sup>8</sup>

Professor Faruk Sümer says that as the Ottoman administration reduced the amount of fiefs of the remaining Qaramanid soldiers, they rebelled against the Ottoman administration in 1500-1501. Upon this, they declared Mustafa Beg, who was the nephew of Qaramanid Qasım Beg, who lives in Iran, as independent ruler of the Qaramanids. With the death of Mustafa Beg the Qaramanid in Egypt in 1513, the political demand of the Qaramanids towards the Ottomans came to end.<sup>9</sup> In this case, what happened to the soldiers of the Qaramanids who remained in Anatolia? How did the Ottoman administration assimilate these soldiers into its own military system? If the Ottomans assimilate these soldiers into their systems, is it possible to document this situation? In this article, we will look for an answer to this problematic.

### The Army of the Qaramanids

Most of the contemporary sources on the army of the Qaramanids have not reached our time. We can obtain information about the military units of Qaramanids as it is reflected in the Ottoman archival documents and literary

<sup>6</sup> Beldiceanu-Steinherr, (1987). "A Propos des Tribus Atceken (XVe-XVIe siècles)", *JESHO*, 30/2: 154, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Beldiceanu-Steinherr, (1994). "Atceken", *DIA*, 4: 49.

<sup>8</sup> Erdoğan, (2013). *Fatih Sultan Mehmed Zamanında Ala'iyye Sancağı. 1475 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i İcmal-i Vilayet-i Ala'iyye*, Konya: 34-35. In 1530, no soldiers from the old aristocracy of the Qaramanids remained in the sanjak of Ala'iyya.

<sup>9</sup> Sümer, (2001). "Karamanoğulları", *DIA*, 24, İstanbul: 459

texts. Both the Ottoman chronicler Neshri (d. 1520), in his *Cihannuma*<sup>10</sup>, and the *Divan* poet Ahmedi (d. 1413), in his *Iskandarnama*<sup>11</sup>, describe the 1387 Ottoman-Qaramanid war (Frenkyazısı) in their works. According to these sources, the army of the Qaramanids consisted of the military units Tatar, Turkish (Turcoman), Varsak, Turgud, Bayburd, Samaghar<sup>12</sup>, Cayghazan (Caghazan), Tula, Barambay, Ahi Tabarruk, Savcı Agha, Sugha<sup>13</sup>, Kazan and Tosbugha. On the other hand, the Ottoman army was Timurtash, Firuz Beg, Hoca Beg, Eyne Beg, Cavush Beg, Ilyas Beg, Saruca Pasha, Müstecab, Timurtash-ı Seferihisar, Qutlu Beg, Yakup Chelebi, Kara Timurtash, Inecik Balaban, Tovuca Balaban, Sarach, Köstendil, Laz (Serbian) and Prince I. Bayezid's military units. The soldiers from Qastamonu, Qarasi, Eghirdir, Kütahya from Ottoman Anatolia and Serbians from the Balkan were employed in the Ottoman Army by Murad I. (1362-1389). Most of the Ottoman commanders bore the title of *subaşı*, a military rank in the Ottoman army.<sup>14</sup> In the *Şikari* History, which was the official history of the Qaramanids, copied in the sixteenth century, the names of the nomads who made up the army of Qaramanids were as follows: Kurdish, Turkmen, Tatar, Mongolian, Greek, Bulgarian, Kosunoghlu, Turgudoghlu, Qayaoghlu, Oghuz Khan, Ata Beg, Devlet Shah, Kökez Beg, Gücer, Firuz Beg, Babuk Khan, Qutlu Beg. Most of them were local aristocrats who were politically opposed to the Ottomans. Also, according to *Şikari*, the soldiers of Qasım Beg, one of the last begs of the Qaramanids, consisted of the following nomads: the sons of Kosun, Elvan, Oghuz, Firuz, Gücer, Emledin Beg, Turgudoghlu, Bayburd, Bozdoghan, Ashık Mukbil, Kökez, Qaya, Emir Shah, Qutlu Shah, Hocanti.<sup>15</sup> All of these are either the name of the nomad or the name of the tribal master.

The late Faruk Sümer lists the great nomadic groups on which his dynasty was based as Turgutlu, Bayburdlı, Oghuzhanlı, Hoca Yunuslu, Hocantı, Bozkırlı, Bozdoghan, Bulgar, Iğdir, Begdili and Yuvalu. According to him, especially the Turgutlu played an important role in the history of the Qaramanids. The state's governorship position was generally in the hands of this nomadic group. It was known that Pir Hüseyin Beg from the great nomads of Turgud, a confederation of supporters of the Qaramanids, living as nomads in the steppes between Konya and Salt Lake, and always opposed to the Ottomans, had many social facilities built in and around Konya. The nomads of Bayburd living in the south of Ereghli and east of the town of Qaraman belonged to Bayburd Beg.

<sup>10</sup> In 1493, the history of Ottoman was presented to Bayezid II.

<sup>11</sup> This was one of the earliest dated Ottoman histories in verse, completed by Ahmedi in 1390.

<sup>12</sup> Samaghar was one of the Ilkhanid amirs of Anatolia. Mongolian soldiers of the Ilhanids and some Seljuk remnants of Central Anatolia joined the army of the Qaramanids.

<sup>13</sup> To me that word is probably Savgha.

<sup>14</sup> İnalçık, (2021). *Osmanistik Bilimine Katkılar*, Istanbul: 308-310.

<sup>15</sup> Sözen, (2005), Sakaoğlu, Necdet (eds.). *Şikari Karamanname*, Istanbul: index.

During the reign of Bayezid II and Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512-1520), Ottoman Sultan, there was a judgeship called Bayburd in this area. Oghuzhanlu, a crowded nomadic group, lived in Anamur and Selinti (Gazipasha) of the Taurus. It is determined that the Hoca Yunuslu lived in the east of the Turgud township of the Hocantı nomads, which probably took its name from the city of Hucend in Turkestan, around Gülnar. The Bozkırlı nomads, named after a *Beg*, lived in Tashlık Silifke. Since it was crowded, some of the nomad migrated to Kochisar, near Ankara. The Bozdoghan nomads living in the Silifke region was also crowded and was located in and around Kochisar during the time of Bayezid II. Bozdoghans, who migrated to Chukurova, made this region their home and supported Ottoman prince Ahmed (1465-1513), one of the sons of Bayezid II, who was fighting against Yavuz Sultan Selim. *Bulgar* is the name of the steep and high region that falls to the south of the Taurus Mountains. The Turkish community, who live in the low places around this mountain in winter and go up to this mountain in summer, is known as Bulgarlı. It is known that Igdir lived in Mut and Gülnar, a branch belonging to Begdili lived in Gülnar, Yuvalı in Anamur and Shamlu in Tashlık Silifke of the Taurus. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Mongolian nomads living in Ishaklı, Ilghın, Begshehri and Nighde came under the rule of Qaramanids. After the Ankara war in 1402, Timur took most of these Turkmenized Mongols to Turkistan. Among those left in Anatolia, there are also nomads belonging to Mongolian chiefs such as Samaghar in Ilghın and Celayir in Aksaray of Anatolia. During the Qaramanids service, there were some nomads named Tarsus Turkmens in Mamluk sources, and in Ramazanids, such as Kushtemür, Kosunlu, Urungush, and some nomads that took their names from their begs.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Last remains of the soldiers of Qaramanids**

After the death of Mustafa Beg, the last Beg of Qaramanids, in Egypt in 1513, most troops of the Qaramanids existing in Anatolia had to accept Ottoman sovereignty. The late Ottomanist Halil İnalcık (1916-2016) correctly states that most of the fiefs in the province of Qaraman of Ottomans were left in the hands of the local *sipahis*, former cavalymen belonging to the Qaramanids. He writes that the former great nomadic chiefs of Turgud, Yapa, Kökez, Emleddin and Adalu militarily and politically belonged to the Qaramanids were given fiefs and

<sup>16</sup> Sümer, (2001). "Karamanoğulları", *DLA*, 24, Istanbul: 459. Although Lindner mainly studied the nomads of Central Anatolia of Ottomans, he misread most of the nomadic group's names. He wants to explain the opposition of these nomads to the Ottomans within the framework of the Shikari. He interprets the measures taken by the Ottomans on these nomads as a punishment. The terminology he uses is also different. Lindner, L. Paul (2000). *Ortaçağ Anadolu'sunda Göçebeler ve Osmanlılar*, translated from English to Turkish: by Müfit Günay, Imge publications, Ankara.

great fiefs (*zeamet*) all over the province. These former nobles who declared their loyalty to the Ottomans were left in their places. The Qaramanids soldiers who were caught in the war by Ottomans were killed.<sup>17</sup> Again, he says that the Ottomans followed a conservative policy in Anatolia and the vast majority of the local aristocracy of the Qaramanids and small fiefs in 1519. Their children were also given the shares from the fiefs by the Ottoman administration. The principal families of the Qaramanids, such as Kökez, Teke, Samaghar, Yapa, Eghirdir, Ucharı, Bozkır, Yasavul Musa, were the chiefs of their own regions in that years. These nomads used to form the army of Qaramanids. According to İnalçık, the only way to establish Ottoman dominance in the Qaraman province was to give fiefs to the chiefs of these nomads. Because the local aristocracy of Qaraman had strong tribal ties and had a tendency to flee from Ottoman rule. They had a common cause with the shahs of Iran and Egypt. This practice was a part of the Ottoman process of assimilation of this local aristocracy.<sup>18</sup>

An examination of an Ottoman *daftar*, belonging to the province of Ottoman Qaraman, dated 1494, shows that the confederations of Turgud, Samaghar, Yapa, Mandu and Bozkırlu accepted Ottoman sovereignty and retained large fiefs granted by the Ottoman administration in their own regions. In 1494, the most important taxes in the region of Saideli of Konya were allocated to Erdoghdi, the son of Turgud, as a large fief. The Samagharoghulları were also given fiefs in İlghın, by Bayezid II. Hacı Beg, Ali Beg and Murad Beg who were belonging to the Samaghars were the most important Beks of the İlghın region. Veyis Beg from the Yapalu family, had agreed to join the Ottoman soldiers in exchange for collecting the taxes of his nomads, Yapalu. When Bayezid summoned him to the army, he promised to come to the battlefield together with his 15 soldiers and other war materials, along with the troops of Qarahisar. Mümin Beg from the great nomads of Mandu also accepted the Ottoman authority. In return, he received fiefs from the area of Nighde. Beks from the great nomadic group of Bozkırlu also received fiefs from the Ottoman administration from the region of Kochisar. Most of the soldiers deployed in active fortresses in the Qaraman province were Islamized soldiers from the Balkan regions, especially from the area of Bosnia, Manastır and Morea. Alaüddeve Beg (d. 1515), the son of Zülkadir, Bayezid's father-in-law, who won the victory by acting together with the Ottoman forces in Chukurova in 1494 against the Mamluk Sultan Qaitbay (d. 1496), also accepted the big fiefs (totally 63.470 akchas) that given from the sanjak of Qarahisar, on the condition that he participate in the Ottoman campaigns.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> İnalçık, (2017). *İki Karanın Sultanı, İki Deniz'in Hakanı Kayser-i Rum Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han*, Türkiye İş Bankası publications, İstanbul: 214.

<sup>18</sup> İnalçık, (1954). "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, 2, 1954: 118-119.

<sup>19</sup> MAD 567, dated 1494 (899): 97, 140, 144



Examination of an Ottoman *daftar* (MAD 15287), dated 1501, shows that the great nomads such as Bozkırlu and Bozdoghan did not obey the Ottomans. Their resistance to Ottoman rule continued. In 1498, large fiefs in the areas of Nighde and Karacadagh were taken from their old owners (possibly Qaramanid supporters) for no reason and given to Halil Beg (1485-1513), a Turcoman ruler of Ramazanids.<sup>20</sup> In an Ottoman document, dated 1501, it was stated that Chelebi, the son of Bozdoghan, who had a fief from Begshehri, was a traitor (*hain*). Hence his fief was taken from him. Again, it was stated by Prince Shahinshah that Erbudak, the son of Bozkırlu, who had a fief from the area of Gülnar, betrayed the Ottomans, and his fief was taken from him. The control of the Qaramanid nomads was given to Prince Shahinshah and his entourages.<sup>21</sup>

During Lutfi Pasha's governorship of the province of Qaraman in 1525, a census of Ottoman soldiers was made in the province of Qaraman.<sup>22</sup> The results of this census have reached our time (TT 392).<sup>23</sup> From the available data from the *daftar*, in the province of Qaraman, the fortresses of Konya, Laranda, Kayseri, Nighde, Mundos, Lula and Qarahisar were militarily active. Other forts in the region had lost their military significance. In these forts, military servants were usually stationed in 1525.

The troops of the province of Ottoman Qaraman of 1525 can be classified as follows: Firstly, the children of Ottoman soldiers who participated in Mehmed the Conqueror's (1432-1481) military expeditions were assigned fiefs from the Qaraman. The Ottoman administration still seems to have not forgotten the fame of the soldiers who participated in Mehmed's Constantinople and Qaraman campaigns. In 1525, the sons and grandsons of these former soldiers are seen

<sup>20</sup> MAD 15287: 5. 'Mezkur zeametler sahiplerinden bila-sebep alınup Ramazanoghlu Halil Bege emr olunup berat-ı hümayun icün tezkire verildi tahriren fi 13 Shavval 903 (4 June, 1498)'. (The aforementioned large fiefs were taken from their owners for no reason. These were given to Halil Beg, the ruler of Ramazanids. He was given the official document (*tezkiye*) for the granting of the Sultan's *berat*. This note was recorded on June 4, 1498).

<sup>21</sup> MAD 15287, dated 1501: 5-9.

<sup>22</sup> In 1523, the province of Ottoman Karaman consisted of the following cities and regions: Konya, Turgud, Bayburd, Eskiil, Belviran, Ereghli, Begshehri, Seydishehri, Akshehir, Ilghın, Ishaklu, Hamidabad, Nighde, Qarahisar-ı Develü, Urgüb, Andighi, Sucuaddin, Aksaray, Kochhisar, Kayseri, Ichel, Silifke, Ermanak, Karitash and Gulnar. Isparta and Burdur regions were also counted as the province of Qaraman in administrative and military (TT 118). In 1525, the Ottoman province of Qaraman consisted of the following regions and cities: Konya, Aladagh, Laranda, Eskiil, Belviran, Ereghli, Begshehri, Akshehir, Seydishehri, Ilghın, Ichel, Silifke, Qaritash, Ermenak, Gülnar, Selindi, Aksaray, Ishaklu, Nighde, Urgüb, Andughı, Scucuaddin and Kayseri. Although the districts of Marash, Elbistan and Zamantı were not from the province of Qaraman in military and administrative, they were written in the *daftar* of the province of Qaraman (See. TT 392: 1-2).

<sup>23</sup> This *daftar*, TT 392, is dated 1525. (*mezbur Mahmud Qaramanın benamlarından olup Belgrad seferin bile etdiği...*, 24 Cemazielevvel sene 931 (19 March, 1525): 106).



saving fiefs in the province of Qaraman.<sup>24</sup> For example, in the sanjak of Begshehri, we can identify four such fief-holders (see, below, List 1). The fathers of these soldiers were the servants (*kul*) of Mehmed the Conqueror such as falconer (*bağdar*) and *boza*-maker.<sup>25</sup>

List 1: A List of fief holders from the sanjak of Begshehri of the province of Qaraman in 1525 (Source: TT 392, Istanbul: 109-136)

The name of fief holder	why was he given a fief	Amount of fief (as asper)
Hasan Beg	A district governor of Begshehri	Not yet calculated
Musa Beg, the son of Turgud	The son of Turgud, one of the notable's rulers of the province of Qaraman of Ottoman.	120.082
Ali Beg	Old treasurer of the fiefs of the province of Qaraman of Ottoman.	68.053
Qasım Beg	Active treasurer of the Qaraman province	48.297
Hüseyin Beg, brother of Nasuh Beg	Military commander ( <i>miralay</i> ) of Begshehri	35.733
Davud Beg, the son of Timurtash	An officer whose duty it was to inscribe the sultan's imperial monogram ( <i>nishancı</i> ) of Prince Shahinshah	35.490
Yunus Kethuda	Military commander ( <i>silahdarbashi</i> ) of Prince Shahinshah	21.886
Minnet Chelebi	A steward of Zülkadıroğlu Ali Beg	21.141
1-Latif 2-Bubekir	1-The son of Hasan Beg, senior secretary of Prince Shahinshah 2- The son of Sinan Beg, senior secretary of Prince Shahinshah	20.996
Mehmed, Yusuf, İbrahim, Vafer, Emre, Hüseyin	Sons of the cavalymen	20.000
Ahmed Chelebi	The son of Ali Beg, a former treasurer of Qaraman province	16.916
Pir Hasan and Ahmed	Old cavalries of Qaraman province	13.337

<sup>24</sup> TT 392: 109 (mezkur Mustafanın babası sultan Mehmed kullarından olup Gedük Ahmed Pasha bile vilayet-i Qaraman'a geldükde tımara çıkub fevt olduktan sonra...). (Mezkur Ahmedin babası Sultan Mehmed kullarından olup tımar tasarruf ederken fevt olmağın.. TT 392: 120).

<sup>25</sup> Maker of boza, a kind of beverage made of fermented millet.

Piri	Military commander of the cavalrymen of Prince Shahinshah	11.579
Piri, Mustafa and Ümmet	His father was from Zülkadiriye province. A fief was granted to him from Istanbul. After his death, this fief was given to his sons.	11.290
Yusuf, Qasım, Hüseyin, Shirmerd, Mahmud	Sons of the cavalryman	11.176
Mehmed, the son of Turgud	One of the well-known men of Qaraman province.	10.859
Hasan	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah, an Albanian	10.662
Ali	The son of <i>Divan</i> clerck Mehmed <i>Katip</i> of Prince Shahinshah	9436
Suleiman, the son of Shaban Cavush	Military commander of Seydishehri. Military commander (Odabashi) and protector correspondence ( <i>mekatib emini</i> ) of Prince Shahinshah	9253
Hudaverdi	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	9091
Ahmed	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah, a saddler	8806
Tanrıvermiş	Military commander of the countryside of Begshehri. One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	8792
Süleyman	His father, Yaralu Ali, was one of the servants of Mehmed the Conqueror	8639
Ali, the son of Solak Yakup	A the son of the servants of Mehmed the Conqueror	8187
Mustafa	His father was a servant.	8110
Memi, the son of Ulaş	One of the military commanders of Seydishehri. One of the sergeants of Prince Shahinshah.	8070
Mehmed, the son of Subaşı	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	7981
Ali	The son of Nasuh Chelebi, an inspector of large fiefs of Qaraman province	7785
Ahmed, the son of Hasan Cavush	one of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	7732

Cavush Hasan	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	7715
Mahmud	Head tailor ( <i>ser-bayyatin</i> ) of Prince Shahinshah, a servant	7690
Mahmud, the son of Lachin	A prominent person ( <i>mütefferika</i> ) of Prince Shahinshah	7664
Yaghmur <i>Kethuda</i>	A steward of <i>silabdars</i> of Prince Shahinshah	6950
Yusuf	His father was one of the sergeants of Prince Shahinshah	6728
Cavush Mehmed, the son of Turfal	His father was one of the well-known men of Qaraman province. He entered into the services of Prince Shahinshah. He received a salary ( <i>ulufe</i> ) from prince. His son, Mehmed was a steward of the sergeants.	6678
Hamza and Nebi	Sons of cavalryman of Qaraman province	6600
Ahmed and Hazır, the son of Fele	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	6430
Dur Hasan, the son of Turgud	His father used to save the sanjak	6272
Rüstem, the son of Shirmerd	One of the servants of Mehmed the Conqueror. A person who trains birds of prey ( <i>bağdar</i> ).	6227
Musa and İsmail, sons of Alpagud	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	6167
Ali	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province. Given by Shadi Pasha.	6078
Ferruh	One of the well-known men of Qaraman province	6071
Ali, the son of Iskender	The son of director of <i>silabdars</i> of Prince Shahinshah	6060
Hamza and Ahmed, sons of Shamsaddin Beg	Their father was one of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	5807
Balı, the son of Amirza	The son of the cavalryman. Given by Husrev Pasha	5806
Osman	He has long been a fief-holder. <i>Bağdar</i> .	5773
Ahmed and Mustafa	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah. Given by Shadi Pasha	5714

Hacı, the son of Turfal	One of the well-known men of Qaraman province.	5393
Mahmud, the son of Abdullah	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	5350
Sadi, the son of Rüstem	The son of the cavalryman.	5286
Shah and Oruc, sons of Seydi Ali of Lachin	Given by Husrev Pasha due to the death of their father.	5281
Ishik, the son of Turfal	He came to Qaraman province from Anatolian province to receive the fief.	5021
Divane Güneri	One of the well-known men of Qaraman province	4992
MAhmud	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	4959
Hüseyin, the son of Mustafa	Given a fief in the time of Prince Shahinshah	4940
Halil, the son of Bozkırlu	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	4871
Edhem	The son of the cavalryman.	4852
Cavush Hüseyin	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	4718
Nasuh	Military commander ( <i>silahdar</i> ) of the Palace of Istanbul.	4602
Davud and Süleyman	One of the well-known men of Qaraman province. Given by Shadi Pasha	4515
Davud	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	4512
Mezid, the son of Avliya	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province ( <i>kadim sipahi</i> )	4350
Cemshid	One of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province	4234
Mehmed, the son of Dede	Given by Husrev Pasha due to the death of their father during Celali Uprising	4218
Mehmed	His father was one of the well-known men of Qaraman province.	4100
Yusuf	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah, a laundryman	4027

HOW DID THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION PACIFY THE LAST REMNANTS OF THE 13  
SOLDIERS OF QARAMANIDS AFTER 1468?  
(OTAM, 57/Bahar 2025)

Hızır	His father was one of the servants of Mehmed the Conqueror. A <i>boğa</i> maker	4018
Seydi Ali Cavush	The son of servants of Prince Shahinshah	3948
Karagöz, the son of Abdullah	A sergeant of Mehmed Beg, the son of Prince Shahinshah	3920
Cavush Mehmed	Given him a salary by Prince Shahinshah	3900
Mehmed, the son of Saruhan	One of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	3738
Seydi Mahmud Cavush	A the son of cavalryman.	3712
Hızır	His father was one of the well-known men of Qaraman province. Given by Shadi Pasha	3626
Ahmed, the son of Zeyne	The son of cavalryman. Given by Shadi Pasha due to the death of his father used to own large fief	3622
Fethullah	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	3580
Hasan	One of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province	3556
Cavush Piri	He came from Anatolia province to Qaraman to receive the fief.	3517
Latif	By way of the homeland ( <i>yurd</i> )	3498
Ilyas	Cavush, He came to Qaraman province from Anatolian province to receive the fief.	3490
Hacı Ali and Ali	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	3444
Piri, the son of Karagöz Sofu	The son of the servant.	3413
Mehmed, the son of Subashi	Given on the condition of taking soldiers to Ottoman army	3408
Calabverdi	The son of the cavalryman	3339
Ahmed Adalu	One of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	3320
Kılıc, the son of Divane Yusuf	One of the well-known men of Qaraman province.	3199
Kara Ahmed, the son of Barkık	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	3085

Ahmed	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah, a bread maker.	3041
Mehmed, the son of Ömer Hacı	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	3019
Mustafa, the son of Hacı	The son of one of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province.	3008
Shahraman, the son of Inehan	The son of cavalryman	2999
Behzad	His father was one of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2999
Iskender	One of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2992
Omer Seydi, the son of Mehmed	One of the cavalrymen of Qaraman	2924
Ergaib	One of the bandsmen of Prince Shahinshah	2873
Budak, the son of Abdi Beg	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province. Given by Shadi Pasha	2838
Hüseyin, the son of Mustafa	His father was one of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	2836
Kara Nasuh	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	2833
Iskender	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah, in the musical band of Ottoman army	2802
Arslan	The son of cavalryman. Given by Husrev Pasha	2800
Katib Ali	One of the servants of prince Shahinshah	2772
Calabverdi	His father was one of the cavalryman of Qaraman province. Given by Husrev Pasha.	2751
Güvenc, the son of Emir	one of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2742
Ayas	One of the servants of Prince Shahinshah. A blacksmith.	2739
Emre, the son of Bahadır	One of the Cavalries of Qaraman province	2675
Mustafa <i>Bostani</i>	A steward of military commanders of Prince Shahinshah	2669



Mustafa	His father was servant of Mehmed the Conqueror. His father also participated in the Qaraman campaign by Gedik Ahmed Pasha.	2640
Ergeldi	Bandsman, a fief-holder	2532
Ali Balı	The son of the cavalryman	2513
Shahruh, the son of Bozkırlu	His father was one of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2492
İbrahim	one of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2482
Yunus, the son of Hamza	One of the well-known men of Qaraman province. Given by Husrev Pasha	2421
Mahmud, the son of Mukaddem	One of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province. Given by Husrev Pasha.	2414
Pir Mehmed, the son of Ali	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2400
Hasan	His father was one of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	2346
Ahmed	His father was one of the servants of Mehmed the Conqueror.	2319
Hızır, the son of Kızık	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2263
Mehmed, the son of Selim	His father was one of the cavalrymen of Qaraman province	2042
Sheyhi	His father was a the son of the commander (Agha) of cavalrymen of Mehmed Beg	2011
Emir, the son of Güvenc	A cavalryman of Qaraman	2002
Nazlı, daughter of Piri, Aydoghmush, Dorum, Yakup	By way of the homeland (yurd)	1967
Hasan, the son of Hüseyin	One of the old cavalrymen of Qaraman province	1914
Mezid, the son of Divane Yusuf	His father was one of the servants of Mehmed the Conqueror	1855
Ali Beg	Old treasurer	1280

Secondly, the Ottoman administration gave fiefs from the province of Qaraman to the children of the soldiers who participated in the campaigns of

Selim II to Tabriz (1514), Egypt (1516-1517) Calali<sup>26</sup> (1519) and as well as Beograd<sup>27</sup> (1521) by Suleiman the Magnificent. The commanders of the Celali campaign (1519), Shadi Pasha, governor general of Rum province, and Husrev Pasha, governor general of Qaraman province, gave fiefs from the province of Qaraman to the Ottoman soldiers participating in this campaign.

Third, after the death of Prince Shahinshah, the son of the princes of Bayezid II, an Ottoman governor of Qaraman province after Cem Sultan (1459-1495), in 1511, his servants were given fiefs from the province of Qaraman. In 1525, Shahinshah's former entourage was still influential as Ottoman soldiers in the Qaraman. The names of the Shahinshah's servants are clearly written in this *daftir*. More than sixty servants of the prince were given fiefs from the regions of Konya, Aladagh, Laranda, Begshehri, Seydishehri, Belviran and Ishaklı of the Qaraman province (see, below, List 2). Among the servants were Muslim Albanians and Circassian. In addition, a few servants who were in the service of the Prince Mehmed, the son of the Prince Shahinshah, were given fiefs from here.

List 2: Servants of Prince Shahinshah (Source TT 392, pp.2-298)

The names of the servants of Prince Shahinshah	Their official duty
Hayreddin	The clerk who recorded the Prince's treasure
Seydi	His father was one of the servants of the Prince.
Pir Ömer	His father was one of the servants of the Prince.
Emirze	His father was one of the servants of the Prince.
Seydi Gazi	The the son of the chief doorman of the Prince.
Hızır Shah	One of the <i>aghas</i> of the Prince.
Mustafa	His father, Sinan Beg, was the <i>nishancı</i> of Prince.
Hacı Sinan	The the son of the <i>Garip Yigbitle Aghası</i> of Prince.
Ahmed	Cooker of Prince.
Qasım	Master of the horse ( <i>Imrabor</i> ) and chief gatekeeper ( <i>kapıcıbaşı</i> ) of Prince.
Hacı Sinan Beg	Chief falconer ( <i>Shabincibashi</i> ) of Prince.
Ilyas Agha	The commander of Sekbans (Sekbanbaşı) of Prince.
Ibrahim	His father, Hacı Sinan Beg, was the head of the doorman of Prince.
Miri Chelebi	His father, Ishak Beg, was a the treasurer of the Prince

<sup>26</sup> TT 392: 108 (mezkûrun babası kadimden tımara tasarruf edüp Celali seferinde fevt olup...).

<sup>27</sup> TT 392: 105 (mezbur Mahmud Qaramanın benamlarından olup Belgrad seferin bile edip...).

Cavush Mehmed	His father was the chief of the sergeants of the Prince.
Hamza	Head of doorman of Prince.
Hamza, a Circassian	One of the servant of the Prince.
Yahya	A <i>Divan</i> clerk of Prince.
Ilyas	One of the servants of Prince.
Davud Beg	His father, Timurtash Beg, was the <i>nishancı</i> of Prince.
Hüseyin Beg	Flag bearer of Prince.
Yunus	Head of <i>silahdars</i> of Prince.
Latif	His father, Hasan Beg, was <i>nishancı</i> of Prince
Bubekir	The son of Sinan Beg who was <i>nishancı</i> of Prince
Mahmud	Head tailor of Prince
Mahmud, the son of Lacin	One of the <i>müteferrikas</i> of Prince
Hasan, an Albanian	One of the servants of Prince
Hamza and Ahmed	Their father, Shamsaddin Beg, was one of the servants of Prince
Iskender	One of the Musical Bands of Prince
Mustafa <i>Bostanî</i>	Steward of <i>silahdars</i> of Prince
Ahmed	Baker of Prince
Mahmud, the son of Abdullah	One of the servants of Prince
Seydi Ali Cavush	The son of the servant of Prince
Kara Nasuh	One of the servants of Prince
Süleyman, the son of Shaban	Man in charge of the rooms of Prince ( <i>Odabashi</i> ) and <i>mekatib emini</i> of Prince
Davud	One of the servants of Prince
Ahmed	His father, Mehmed Cavush, was one the sergeants of Prince
Yusuf	His father, Shaban Cavush, was one the sergeants of Prince
Memi, the son of Ulash	One of the sergeants of Prince
Yusuf	Launderer of Prince
Hacı Ali	One of the servants of Prince
Hüseyin	His father, Mustafa, was one of the servants of Prince
Ahmed	Saddler of Prince.
Katib Ali	Clerck of Prince.
Ali	His father, Iskender, was head of <i>silahdar</i> of Prince
Piri	The commander of Spahis ( <i>Sipahinghlanları aghası</i> ) of Prince
Cavush Hasan	One of the servants of Prince
Ayas	A blacksmith of Prince
Ergaib	One of the Musical Bands of Prince
Musa	One of the servants of Prince

Ali	His father, Katip Mehmed, was a Diwan clerk of Prince
Yaghmur	A <i>silahdarlar kethudası</i> of Prince
Hasan	One of the servants of Prince
Ali Chelebi	His father, Mustafa Beg, was one of the servants of Prince
Arnavud Ali	One of the servants of Prince
Mustafa	His father, Hasan, was a steward for cavalries of Prince
Cavush Isa Balı	One of the sergeants of Prince.
Ali, the son of Iskender	One of the <i>silahdars</i> of Prince
Cavush Mehmed	A sergeant of Prince Mehmed, the son of Prince Shahinshah.
Mehmed	His father was doorman of Prince
Mehmed	His father, Cavush Mehmed, was one of the sergeants of Prince
Hüdaverdi	His father, Ilyas, was one of the servants of Prince
Iskender	One of the servants of Prince
Mustafa	Head of the sergeants of Prince

Fourth, the great nomads of Turgud and Yapa, who were formerly affiliated to the Qaramanids, seem to be the most influential local dynasties in the region of Konya after Lutfi Pasha (d. 1564), who was the Ottoman governor of Qaraman in 1525. Mahmud and Turgud Beks, sons of Turgud, and Musa Beg, the son of Yapa, were still influential in Konya in 1525. They were given large fiefs by the Ottoman administration. Another *daftar*, dated December 1522, shows the amount of the big fiefs given to Musa Beg, the son of Turgud, from Seydishehri as 124,156 akchas. The taxes of 18 villages (Sobran, Yaghluöyük, Derelü, Aghcalu, Gökrekli, Avsharviran, Kürd, Zozumla, Göcebe, Tahir, Karacahisar, Tashaghıl, Avshakçılar, Olberid, Manastır, Boyalu, İghdic, Hisarlık) from the regions of Bozkır and Seydishehir as well as two nomadic groups (Süle and Aghzı Achıklı) were under his control in 1522.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the sons of cavalries and *müsellems*, a kind of Ottoman cavalrymen who agree to participate in battles with cavalry and ammunition in exchange for farm savings, of Seydishehri were militarily dependent on him.<sup>29</sup> The districts of Bayburd and Turgud regions of Konya were in the hands of these two aristocratic families in 1525. It was under Musa and Seydi, sons of Turgud, as well as Musa, the son of Yapa. They promised that this region was their homeland (*yurd*) and that they

<sup>28</sup> TT 118: 170-171

<sup>29</sup> TT 119: 136.

would join the campaigns made by the Ottomans with their own soldiers. Akshehir, Begshehri, Seydishehri and Ilghın regions were also under the control of Omer, Musa, Ahmed, Cafer and Shah, sons of Turgud.<sup>30</sup> In appearance, they seem to have submitted to the Ottoman rule.

The chiefs of the great nomads of Kökez, Adalu and Bozkırlu, who used to be the soldiers of the Qaramanids, held the large fiefs in the district of Eskil of Konya in 1525. The fiefs were given to them as a hereditary inheritance by the Ottoman administration. Ali and Mustafa, sons of Kökez, were the most important begs in this region. One of them, Chelebi, hold a great fief in Ereghli in 1525. Hasan, from the nomad of Bozkırlu, in Eskil; Mehmed, Hüseyin, Qasım, Osman, Ece, Ibrahim in Silifke; Yunus in Aksaray were fief holders. Some of the Bozkırlu Begs also held the district of Kochhisar in their hands. The great nomad of Adalu seems to still have great power in 1525, in Laranda, Eskil, especially in the area of Ereghli. Erdoghdi, Piri, Pir Ahmed, Timurtash, Korkmaz, Chelebi, Kubad, Yazı, Hamza, Hazır, Ibrahim, Osman, Alaaddin, Ali, Budak seem to be the Begs of the great nomad of Adalu in the region of Ereghli under Ottoman rule. Whenever possible, Ottoman administration reduced the amount of their fiefs. Although Ece's father had a large fief in Laranda, Husrev Pasha (d. 1545), one of the governor generals of Rum province of Suleiman the Magnificent, gave a small fief to Ece from the nomad of Adalu, not complying with the hereditary inheritance. Qutlushahs, who were soldiers of Qaramanids in the past, were still fief-owners in Laranda and Ereghli in 1525. Celal, Mustafa, Erhondı, Emre, all of them were among important Begs of the great nomad of Qutlushahs. It can be determining from TT 392 that Teke, Hocendi, Emlüddin, Shamlu, Kürd, Hacı Begler and Zeyneoghulları were still active in the district of Ichel in 1525. While Teke, Bozdoghan, Shamlu, Bozkırlu, Bashara, Shahtemur and Köpeks, all of former local nomadic families, were still dominant in the region of Silifke, Ulaş, Yaghılu and Aktashlar were dominant in the Karitash region in 1525. In Ermenak, the first capital of the Qaramanids, on the other hand, there were Begs belonging to the nomads of Shah, Begdili, Shamlu, Yaghılu and Yapa. Yuva, Begdili, Igdir, Hocendi, Hoca Yunus, Aktash, Yaghılu, Inehan, Bozdoghan, PashaBeg, Bozkırlu, Zeyne, Shahtemur, Hacı Bahaddin and Firuzs were active in the region of Gülnar. While the Sheikhullah Tatars, Bektash, Bulargu, QayaBeg, Köpek, Bozkırlu, Kökezs held the Aksaray region in their hands, the Dündars, Lachins, Kürd, Bulgar, Sunkur Agha, the Qaraman supporter old local big family and nomads, held the area of Nighde in their hands.

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<sup>30</sup> The nomads held these steppes in their hands with three basic legal bases. By way of homeland (*yurd*), title deed (*tapu*) and commitment to send soldiers to the Ottoman army (*eshkinci*). Most of the Qaramanid nomads came to the Ankara region and joined the nomads (*Yörüük*).

The families of Dündar, Kutbüddin, Pasha Beg, Tashkun, Oghuzhan, Hoca Ahmed, Adalu, Kushtemur, all nomadic families with roots dating back to pre-Ottoman, were still present in the districts of Urgüp, Qarahisar-ı Develi and Anduğhı in 1525. The Ottoman administration placed the relatives of the high-level rulers of the Sultan among these former tribal chiefs. The governor of Qaraman, Lutfi Pasha, gave fiefs to his brother, Ahmet Beg, from the districts of Akshehir, and his other brother, Mehmed Beg, from the district of Kayseri.

Fifth, the soldiers belonging to the Zülkadiroghulları, a Turcoman principality that ruled in and around Marash (1298-1522), which was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1522, were also given fiefs from the province of Qaraman. Sehsuvaroghli Ali Beg's man, Sefer, was given a fief from Laranda. Hasan Beg, a member of the Zülkadirs, was given a fief from Kayseri. Minnet Chelebi, a steward of Zülkadiroghli Ali Bey who was the last ruler of Zülkadirs, was given a large fief from the district of Begshehri as well as to the soldiers who were formerly attached to the Zülkadirs. Their fathers were in the service of the Ottomans while they were hold fiefs in the province of Zülkadir. They and their sons were described as brave soldiers fighting for the Ottomans (*yarar yigbhtler*) by the Ottoman administration.<sup>31</sup>

### The Great Nomadic Group of Yapalu

The great nomad of Yapalu living a semi-nomadic life in the district of Turgud of Konya consisted of more than 30 small nomadic groups (*Aghalar, Dündarlu, Yarashlu, Yakacıklı, Toklucaklı, Gönllü, Mahmudlar, Yurdbegiler (Yakuplar), Delüiler, Alayund, Cavdar (Yeleclü), Daşlak, Köşeler, Sakallı, Nökeran-ı Shah Beg, Germiyan Babshulu (or Yahshulu), Hemsayegan-ı Celal Beg, Hemsayegan-ı Shah Beg, Hemsayegan-ı Kemal Beg v. Yapa, Reyhanlı, Alınyası, Yancılar, Aghabegli, Mundi, Baymsh, Elenderli, Sarekler* etc.) during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. Ottoman Sultan, Yavuz Sultan Selim (d. 1520), exempted from main taxes some of these nomads that accepted Ottoman sovereignty, especially the nomadic group of *Hemsayegan-ı Shah Beg*. The *Nökeran-ı Shah Beg* had agreed to serve the Ottomans. During the reign of Suleiman, the Magnificent, they were assigned as sergeants (*chavush*), the soldiers who participated in Ottoman campaigns by their own means without joining an official military unit (*gureba*), military commander (*ser-asker*) and cavalry (*sipahi*) in the army of Ottoman army. In addition, *Yörüük* elements also entered into this nomad. One of these nomads was assigned to pay taxes for the mother of Prince Shahinshah. The great nomad of *Varsak* also

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<sup>31</sup> TT 392: 130.



accepted large fiefs from the Ottoman administration and they became cavalry. These nomads were exempt from paying agricultural taxes to the Ottoman treasury by Ottoman administration. They used to pay an important tax called *badıheva*<sup>32</sup> to the Ottoman treasure with only the small cattle they kept. In an Ottoman document, dated 1567, it is stated that this great fief was given to Ali, the son of Yapa, as a charity (*sadaka*) from the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul. It was stated in this official document that his sons (Veyis Beg and Ahmed Beg) and grandsons (Ali Beg and Shah Veli Beg) still had the large fiefs. It was stated that if *hemsayegan* (asylum seekers who took refuge in the great begs who recognized the Ottoman rule) are not going to provide soldier to the Ottoman army, they have to pay customary taxes. The basic logic of the Ottoman administration was that since the district of Turgud was the former homeland of the great nomad of Yapalu, the hamlets existing within this border were also under their control. Since their ancestors had controlled these regions for a long time (*kadimden*), the Ottoman sultan officially approved this acquisition by giving them official documents.<sup>33</sup>

### The pre-Ottoman nomadic groups in Qaraman province of the Ottomans in 1530

Some of the pre-Ottoman nomads continued their existence in the countryside of Konya, Begshehri, Akshehir, Laranda, Aksaray, Nighde, Kayseri and Ichel in 1530. There were more than 200 nomadic groups in the districts of Turgud, Bayburd and Eskil of Konya.<sup>34</sup> Most of them were the nomad of Atceken (Esb-keshan).<sup>35</sup> The remnants of Tatar nomads who was from the

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<sup>32</sup> This tax was the general name of many tax groups in Ottoman finance. The tax was to be collected in cases of murder, marriage, capture of slaves, country guard, lost animals, the title deed of house and land, inheritance, and use of new agricultural land from the taxpayers.

<sup>33</sup> Ali Emiri, No. 220: 19-20. (*Cemaat-i Ali Beg veled-i Yapa Astane-i devlet-ashiyandan kendiye sadaka olundu deyü defter-i köhnede mastur elan oghulları Veyis Beg ve Ahmed Beg tasarrufunda bi-bükemi âlempenah hullide mülkubü halıya oghullarından Ali Beg ve Shah Veli Beg elindedir ve hem cemaat-i mezbur cemaatinde dâbil olmadıgı sebebden bi-bâsıl kayd olundu ve cemaat-i mezkûr defter-i atikde dahi bi-bâsıl mukayyeddır amma bemsayegahlık hizmetin etmeyecek rüsum-i örfiyyesin vereler. Mezraa-i Yaylacık ve mezraa-i Düğrek ve Armud tabi-i o der tasarruf-i Ali Beg ve Shah Veli Beg veledan-ı Üveys Beg Yapa'ya kadimden bükem-i padishahiyle evlad-ı Yapa tasarruf edegelmishdir bu yurd-i kadimlerden zıkar olunan mezraaların hududnamesinde mastur olan hudud içinde olan mevazide kadimden ata ve ecdadı tasarruf edegeldüğü üzere mezkûrlar dahi mutasarrıflardır elan ellerinde abkâm-ı sherife-i padishahi ve mukarrernameleri vardır.*)

<sup>34</sup> Erdoğan, (2004), “Konya Civarında 1530 yılında Göçebeler”, In *Ipek Yolu, Konya Kitabı VII, Special Issue*, Caner Arabacı (ed.), December 2004, Konya: 3-12.

<sup>35</sup> For a research on the laws related to the Atceken nomads and the Ottoman laws to be applied in the Qaraman province, see. Beldiceanu, Nicoara and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irene (1968),

Qaramanids were present in the countryside of Akshehir, Ishaklı, Ilgın, Aksaray and Kayseri in 1530. In Ishaklı, there were Kapucu Tatars and Qutlu Bogha Yüzü Tatars. While Mongol Tatars was in Ilgın, Sheyillah Tatars was in Aksaray as well as Boghalu Tatar of Kayseri. In the countryside of Konya, there were Yapalı, Tatars, Varsak, Turgud, Kurdish, Kushtemur, Hocendi, Firuzlu, Atceken and Bayburd nomads. While there were Turcomans in region of Begshehri, there were Emlüddin Beg and Göcer nomads in Laranda. In the Aksaray region (Aksaray, Kochisar and Ereghli), Adalu, Bektashlu, Bozdoghanlu, Bozkırlu, Bulgar, Qutlu Beg, Iğdir and Varsaks were present. While in the Nighde region there were Dünderlu, Varsak and Turkmen nomads, in the Icel region (Gülner, Mud, Anamur, Silifke), there were the great nomads of Begdili, Bozdoghan, Bozkırlu, Iğdirlü, Hoca Yunuslu, Oghuzkhanlu, Shamlu (or Dımashqi) and Yuvalar.<sup>36</sup> The nomads such as Varsak, Bozdoghan, Iğdir and Kökez, which were formerly affiliated to the Qaramanids, were scattered in the Antalya region (*Teke*) in 1530.<sup>37</sup> There was none of these in the Ala'yya region in 1530.

Most of the pro-Qaramanid nomads were assimilated by the Ottoman administration in the late sixteenth century. An Ottoman *daftar*, dated 1583, belonging to the sanjak of Turgud, shows that the name Turgud remained only an administrative term (Turgud-ili), generally the steppe area between Konya, Akshehir, Aksaray and Salt Lake, in the Ottoman bureaucracy. In addition, small nomads affiliated to the large nomadic community of Esb-kshan (*Atceken*) was beginning to settle in the steppe area. They founded small villages or settled in existing villages. They are starting to do grain farming as well as animal husbandry. They also lost a great deal of their old military and political ties. A *daftar* belonging to the sanjak of Turgut-ili<sup>38</sup>, dated 1583, shows that the

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“Recherches sur la Province de qaraman au XVIe siècle”, *JESHO*, 11/ 1: 1-129. On the sharing of the taxes paid by these nomads to the Ottoman treasury (*malikane-divani system in the province of Qaraman*), see. Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “Fiscalite et forms de possession de la terre arable dans l’Anatolie preottomane”, *JESHO*, vol. 19, No. 3, 1976, pp. 232-322. When Rüstem Pasha (d. 1561), the grand vizier of Suleiman the Magnificent, came to the province of Qaraman, he made a serious regulation regarding the taxation of the great nomad of Atceken. He enabled them to pay the tax of the agricultural crops they grew to the Ottoman treasury, as well as the animal tax called *at akcasi*. See. Erdoğan, M. Akif (1993), “Karaman Vilayeti Kanunnameleri”, *OTAM*, 4, Ankara: 497-498.

<sup>36</sup> Özkılınç and others (1995). 387 *Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Karaman ve Rum Defteri (937/ 1530)*, I, Ankara: 41-65

<sup>37</sup> Özkılınç and others (1995). 166 *Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/ 1530)*, Ankara: 86-87. Qaramanid nomads such as spahis of Yapa and Bayburd participated in the 1554 Nakhchivan campaign by Suleiman the Magnificent. In return, they received a raise from the Ottoman administration (Kamil Kepeci, No. 290).

<sup>38</sup> In 1583, the sanjak of Turgut-ili consisted of Turgud, Zengicek, İnsuyu, Kureysh, Eskiil and Bayburd regions TKGMD, No. 149: 2-3.

population of the Atceken also decreased.<sup>39</sup> Another *daftar* of the Akshehir sanjak, dated 1583, shows that the tribal Begs of Yapa, Samaghar and Turgud are no longer mentioned. Their fiefs seem to have been taken away by the Ottoman administration. These fiefs passed into the hands of Siyavush Pasha (d. 1602), possibly of Croatian or Hungarian origin, and Ahmed Pasha, viziers of Sultan Murad III and local military commanders.<sup>40</sup>

As a result, the Ottoman administration started a serious process to assimilate the Qaramanid supporter tribal chiefs by the Ottoman pashas appointed to the province of Qaraman from 1474 onwards. As Beldiceanu states, Mehmed the Conqueror drove away both some of the local population and some of the nomadic begs who were supporters of the Qaramanids from the region. He greatly broke the nomadic bond between them and wanted to sever their ties with the region. Begs and nomadic communities that submitted to the Ottoman rule were left in their places and they were given fiefs from this region. Mehmed the Conqueror brought the soldiers of Balkan and Aegean origin to the province of Qaraman and gave them some of the former begs' fiefs. However, some former local communities that were pro-Qaramanids such as Turgud, Yapa and Samaghar, Qutlushah, Bozkırlu, Bozdoğan, Kökez, Hocendi continued to resist the Ottomans. When they were caught between Egypt, Iran and the Ottomans, they had to follow a hypocritical policy. Some of the nomadic communities that did not accept Ottoman sovereignty went to Iran and participated in the establishment of the Safavid state. The policy of bringing soldiers from the Balkans to the Qaraman region was continued by the following Ottoman sultans after the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror. The newcomers, as a senior soldier, began to be a counterweight to local nomadic communities and begs.

Another policy implemented by the Ottomans was that they tried to establish a balance against the local communities by giving fiefs from the Qaraman region to Zülkadırlu and Ramazanid begs and soldiers who were the pro-Ottoman during the Ottoman-Mameluke wars. In addition to the struggle between the servant origin and the native supporters of Qaramanids, the struggle between Turkmens brought from outside the region and local soldiers who support the Qaramanids was added.

After the establishment of the Safavid state, Ottoman rule were always suspicious of the relations of these nomads with the Safavid and wanted to exclude these Begs from the Safavid propaganda. We can document that in June

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<sup>39</sup> TKGMD, No. 149: 2.

<sup>40</sup> Erdoğan, (1990). "Akşehir Sancağındaki dirliklerin III. Murad Devrindeki Durumu ve 1583/991 Tarihli Akşehir Sancağı İcmal Defteri", OTAM, 1, Ankara: 136.

1512, Safavid Shah Ismail contacted Musa Beg, the son of Turgud. He instructed him to cooperate with Ahmed Aka Qaramanlu.<sup>41</sup> In 1513, some communities from the areas of Turgud and Akshehir had to accept Ottoman sovereignty. These nomadic or semi-nomadic communities formerly Qaramanids supporter, served both Bayezid and Yavuz Sultan Selim, Ottoman sultan, as volunteer soldiers (*gharib*). As determined from an Ottoman archive document, they were Aghızachuklu, Dedigiler, Hacı Turudlu, Hüseyin Beglü, Tazılar, Serhan, Tatar, Gaybiler, Yemenlü, Dalmanek, Qılıçlar, Gönlü, Tugrul Obası, Insuyu, Bayburd, Akkoyunlu, Dünderlu, Kemal Beglü, Qatrancı, Artıklar, Qaymak, Topal Obası, Germiyan Bahşılı, Toy Dünderlu, Dumanlar, Şah Beglü, Balıkhisarlubashı, Bekcili, Qocalar, Ershedli, Balıkhisar Qaldırımı.<sup>42</sup> In 1513, Yavuz Sultan Selim requested Musa Beg, the son of Turgud, to provide military aid to Taceddin Beg, a governor-general of the province of Ottoman Qaraman, during his struggle with his brother, the Prince Ahmed.<sup>43</sup> With the conquest of Egypt in 1517, these nomadic communities were deprived of military and political support. In addition, the Ottoman administration, whenever possible, settled these nomads and increased taxes on them.

Another Ottoman military practice was to give fiefs from the Qaraman region to the Ottoman soldiers from the Western Anatolia region. Although they were few in number, they also became a balancing factor over the former nomadic lords.

The appointment of an Ottoman prince to Konya by the Ottoman administration was also an effective policy. The Ottoman princes had a large entourage, which was generally made up of servants. These people, who had no historical or inherited ties to the Qaraman region, began to take the place of the former nomadic lords over time. This process accelerated after 1513 in favour of these servants from the Balkans, Aegean and Black Sea coasts. In the early periods of the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, the Ottoman administration continued to grant them fiefs from the Qaraman region. Powerful nomads tried to maintain their influence in their region despite the assimilation policy of the

<sup>41</sup> TSMA, No. 745. The Turkish letter sent by Shah Ismail to Turgutoghlu Musa Beg, dated June 1512: (Emir-i azam-ı ekrem Durgut Oghlu inayet ve şefkatimize ümidvar olandan sonra şöyle bilesün kim iftiharü'l-azam ve'l-ayan Ahmed Aka Qaramanlu ol tarafa gönderdük ol sizin ihtiyarlığını kendüye şefkat etsün gerek kim müşarünileyh sözünden ve maslahatından caymasun ve mütabaat ve yardım ona kılsun kim inşallahu teala her ne kim anın murad ve isteği olsa hasıldur günden güne her iş vaki bulsa Ahmed Aka ittifakı ile dergâh-ı muallamıza bildürsünler kim amel etsün gönlü hoş dutsun merhametimize ümidvar olsun tahriren fi Rebiülevvel sene 918).

<sup>42</sup> TSMA, No. 4913

<sup>43</sup> TSMA, No. 3057

Ottoman administration. However, due to this assimilation policy, at the end of the sixteenth century, these former tribal lords completely lost their political and military importance under the Ottoman rule. Thus, over a period of more than a century, the pro-Qaramanids soldiers were assimilated by Ottomans.

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