

FROM NOMADISM TO SEDENTARY LIFE IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA: THE CASE
OF RIŞVAN TRIBE (1830-1932)

A Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis presents an overview of how the Ottoman Empire established its relations with nomads and how it managed to administrate the settlement of nomadic tribes. The aim of this thesis is to analyze the dynamics that made the sedentarization of nomadic tribes necessary in the 19th century with particular reference to the settlement of Rıřvan tribe in Central Anatolia, more specifically in Haymana. In this respect, the effects of this settlement on the population structure and settlement geography of Haymana are examined. The thesis also deals with the challenges the newly settled nomadic Rıřvan tribesmen faced such as the settlement and adaptation problems in the sedentarization process and afterwards. Lastly, the factors that affected and extended the sedentarization process are analyzed in comparison with the experiences in the other Middle-Eastern examples of sedentarization and settlement processes.

Key words: Tribe, nomads, sedentarization, adaptation, Haymana, Fırka-i Islahiye, Tanzimat

ÖZET

ORTA ANADOLU'DA GÖÇEBE HAYAT'TAN YERLEŞİK HAYATA GEÇİŞ: RIŞVAN AŞİRETİ ÖRNEĞİ (1830-1932)

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Bu tez, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun göçebelerle olan ilişkisini ve göçebelerin iskânını nasıl yönettiğini genel bir çerçeve içerisinde sunmaktadır. Bu tezin amacı, 19. Yüzyılda göçebelerin iskânını zaruri kılan dinamikleri, Rışvan Aşireti'nin Orta Anadolu'ya, özellikle Haymana bölgesine iskânı örneğinden hareketle anlamaya çalışmaktır. Ayrıca Rışvan Aşireti'nin bölgeye iskânının, Haymana'nın yerleşme coğrafyası ve nüfus yapısı üzerinde yarattığı etkiler bu tezde incelenmektedir. Bu tezde ayrıca yeni iskân olmuş aşiret mensuplarının iskân sürecinde ve sonrasında yaşadıkları zorluklar ve adaptasyon sorunları ele alınmaktadır. Son olarak iskân sürecini etkileyen ve uzatan faktörler, Orta Doğu'nun diğer bölgelerinde iskân ve yerleşik hayata geçiş sürecinde yaşanan örneklerle karşılaştırılarak incelenmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Aşiret, göçebeler, iskan, adaptasyon, Haymana, Fırka-i Islahiye, Tanzimat

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The population structure of the Ottoman Anatolia changed greatly during the nineteenth century in terms of ethno-religious composition. Population influx into Anatolia due to the migration from the Balkans and Caucasus and the settlement of nomadic tribes in different regions of the Anatolia brought this change. Two unprecedented institutions of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, namely *Fırka-i Islahiye* and *İdare-i Umumiyye-i Muhacirîn Komisyonu*, were established to deal with the newcomers and their organization. The migration from these troubled regions was a new phenomenon; however, sedentarization of nomadic tribes was not. There had always been some nomadic groups in the empire that abandoned their nomadic way of life and became settled either voluntarily or by coercion.

Nomads had constituted a considerable portion of the Middle Eastern societies and had been very influential in Middle Eastern politics and economy until the emergence of modern nation states. They were even powerful enough to determine the establishment and destruction of ruling dynasties. The founding dynasty of the Ottoman Empire was also coming from nomadic origin and the nomadic character of the state in the formative period contributed greatly to Ottoman expansion. As a matter of fact the land that the empire was founded on and

“controlled for centuries, from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf, cut across one of the five major areas of nomadic pastoralism in the world.”¹ However, before the Turkish influx into Anatolia there was no true nomadism there. In order to create long-lasting presence in the newly conquered lands, one of the most efficient policies for Ottoman Administration to use was to settle nomadic tribes there. Following the Ottoman conquest of Thrace and the Balkans mass migration of semi-nomadic Turkomans into these regions changed the demographic structure of the newly conquered lands.²

Nomads had constituted a considerable part of the Ottoman society from the emergence of the state until almost its end. Especially starting from 11th century until the conquest of Anatolia the nomadic population especially in Western Anatolia increased tremendously. Even the rate of increase of nomadic population surpassed that of sedentary population in the 16th century. Population growth rate, for instance, among nomads from the period 1520-35 to 1570-80 was 52% in the Western Anatolia, while general population growth rate was only 42%.³ Their number according to estimations constituted about 27 percent of the total population in Anatolia as late as 1520s proves a considerable nomadic presence in Ottoman geography. This rate was much higher especially in Eastern Anatolia and in the Arab provinces.⁴

Presence of this amount of nomads had some certain effects on the empire. At the early stages of its history, state benefited from “continuing mobility of the large

¹Resat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 4.

² Halil İnalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, editors Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 35.

³ Ibid., 34.

⁴ Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire*, 18.

numbers of imperial subjects to a great deal.”⁵ Furthermore, nomads’ contribution to Ottoman economy was indispensable for the state. This was why they were given certain privileges and allowed to function to some extent autonomously in the imperial system. Besides their participation in agricultural production in some occasions, state’s dependence on them in some sectors like wool and hide production and transportation displays a contrary picture of their reflection in the archival sources in which they were portrayed as mainly troublesome people. Exports of these two products from Anatolia and Balkans to Europe had constituted two important revenue items for the Ottoman economy from fourteenth to twentieth century. Furthermore, they were also main suppliers of animal and animal products. The state also benefited from them as a potential source for the imperial army. Especially until the establishment of Janissary corps, nomads were a considerable reservoir for the Ottoman army.⁶ Especially in the Balkans, their role as soldiers was significant. In 1691, nomads in Rumeli were given a new legal status and were organized as military units. The name given to them by the central authority was *evlad-ı fatihan*.⁷ However, following the period of imposition of *devşirme* system their importance in the imperial army decreased. Lindler contents that as the state’s dependence on them as military units decreased, all the laws and regulations that concerned to keep them under control, “either to sedentarize them or to circumscribe their migration within a predictable, “settled routine.”⁸

In spite of their vital importance in the empire in certain respects, the Ottoman government had usually considered some nomadic groups in certain regions

⁵ Ibid., 54.

⁶ Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Mediaeval Anotolia*, (Bloomington: Research Institut for Inner Asian Studies, 1983), 51.

⁷ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Asiretlerin İşkâni*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık ve Kitapçılık, 1987), 4-5.

⁸ Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 51.

as a threat to the central authority. Therefore, they were subject to forced settlement. Bayezid I and Mehmed I, because of their attempts to centralize the state, were “historically known as enemies of the nomads.”⁹ However it seems that compared to later policies concerning the nomads’ situation, these attempts were diverse in nature as the reasons behind it were different, and inefficient in result.

Starting with the turn of the 16th century the Ottoman central administration began to take this issue seriously and the sedentarization of nomads gained momentum. The change in the Ottoman policy towards nomads must be evaluated from two angles. It must first be questioned why the state did not dwell on this matter seriously before that time? Then it must be questioned what led the state to focus on this matter. In fact, the answers to these questions are closely related. Given that Celali Rebellions broke out across the empire that led to a tumultuous period and at a time when the empire was fighting the neighboring rivals, it was inevitable that the rulers did not put much emphasis on the sedentarization of the nomads.¹⁰ Secondly, many villages and agricultural fields became abandoned due to the rebellions and chronic banditry as well as the increasing tax burdens, as a result of continuing military expeditions. To give an example, at the beginning of 17th century all the 36 villages of Haymana, the region chosen as the case study of this thesis, had already been completely abandoned.¹¹ Thereby the answer of the second question becomes clear. Considering the state’s dependence on agricultural economy and taxes, it had a

⁹ Halil İnalcık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role” in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 106.

¹⁰ İlhan Şahin “Nomads” in *Encyclopaedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (eds.), (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 438.

¹¹ Mustafa Akdağ, “Celali İsyânlarından Büyük Kaçgunluk, 1603-1606”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, II/2-3, Ankara, 1964, 1-49. Also see Oktay Özel, “The Reign of Violence: The Celalis, c. 1555-1700”, in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead, (London-New York: Routledge), (forthcoming).

vital importance to repopulate these abandoned lands and to reopen these lands to agriculture.¹²

During the nineteenth century, the state followed a more systematic policy to settle nomadic tribes. Especially during the Tanzimat period, this policy gained momentum. The Ottoman government stepped into the process of modernization and westernization by the announcement of the Reforms Edict in 1839. Significant improvements and changes were experienced during the period that followed. Political, social and cultural improvements followed the reforms started particularly in administrative and financial spheres. Both administrative and financial reforms directly or indirectly affected the lives of ordinary people including nomads.

The persistent attempts to settle nomadic tribes in this period paved the way for the establishment of *Fırka-ı Islahiye* in 1863.¹³ Failure of the state's attempts until that time to sedentarize nomadic tribes especially in the southeastern Anatolia was the main reason behind the formation of this military unit. In the mean time, consistent population transfer into remaining lands of the empire especially from Crimea necessitated to organize the settlement of these people and to ease their burden of adaptation. For this the *Muhacirîn Komisyonu* was established in 1860, later reorganized as *İskan-ı Muhacirîn Komisyonu* following the 1876-1878 Ottoman Russian War.¹⁴ Finally *Aşair ve Muhacirîn Müdüriyet-i Umumisi* was established in 1916 following the Balkan Wars and this institution managed all the relevant policies concerning nomads and immigrants single-handedly.¹⁵

¹² Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, 32.

¹³ Ibid., 115.

¹⁴ Ibid., 119.

¹⁵ Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası (1913-1918)*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 60-61.

Establishment of these institutions proves the state's determination in achieving a stable and fully settled and "civilized" society without any turmoil within the borders caused by uncontrollable people. Furthermore by taking lessons from the previous unsuccessful sedentarization attempts, the government seems to be avoiding earlier mistakes. Thus, while sedentarizing nomads the state officials tried not to repeat past policies that brought no lasting solution. These were probably the most important distinguishing features of the policies concerning the nomadic elements in the 19th century. Another distinctive feature of the 19th century sedentarization attempts was that nomads were ordered to be settled in their winter or summer pastures.¹⁶ Thus they were not allowed to go any other places and their movement was kept under control.

Even though nomads made up a significant part of the Ottoman society, they never succeeded to be a popular field of study for Ottoman historians. The reason for this might be the relative difficulty in researching the past of nomads. Thus, nomadism in the Ottoman Empire remains as one of the least studied topics in Ottoman historiography. There are few articles and books written in this area and majority of them have dealt mainly with the relationship between the nomadic tribes and the state from the point of view of the state. Recent renewal of the scholarly discussions on the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, which is also a controversial topic, have once more brought this issue on the agenda of Ottoman historiography.

Putting aside the historians who wrote on the role of nomads in the rise of the Ottomans, the first historian who dealt with the settlement patterns and processes of

¹⁶ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, 114.

nomadic tribes in the Ottoman Empire in a conceptualized framework was Cengiz Orhonlu. In his book *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı* he systematically analyzes the state-tribe relations, their socio-economic condition, legal status and state's policies towards their settlement patterns. Orhonlu's student Yusuf Halaçoğlu also studied the topic and wrote a book titled *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*. Nevertheless, this book is far from being an original work as it is almost a simple copy of Orhonlu's book. The only work that explicitly analyzes the Rışvan tribe is written by Faruk Söylemez titled *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret Yönetimi Rışvan Aşireti Örneği*. Though descriptive in general, it is solely based on archival sources; it is therefore extremely useful in showing Rışvans' economic and political conditions.

Another important book, which is worth mentioning, is Ahmet Refik's work on nomadic Turkish tribes in the Ottoman Empire. The title of the book is *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966- 1200)*. Refik's study in essence, is the first study on the nomadic tribes in the empire. However this work is a collection of archival materials that has no analyses of any document. This study was composed of 267 mühimme registers from the years between 1558-1785.

Reşat Kasaba's work titled *A Moveable Empire Ottoman Nomads, Migrants & Refugees* is the most recent book written on the subject. This study analytically examines changes in state's policies towards nomads over time. Thus, it fills the void in the literature. What makes this study even more valuable is that it reveals the state-tribe interdependence that is also ignored in other studies except for those of Tufan Gündüz. However, this study's dependence on mainly to the secondary

sources makes it as a synthetic reevaluation of the already existing knowledge from a different angle.

In addition to the limited number of studies on nomads in the Ottoman Empire, their socio-economic conditions and settlement and post-settlement processes in the nineteenth century is all the more an unstudied topic. Although sedentarization of nomads constituted an important component of demographical change in the 19th century Ottoman Empire, majority of historians working on the population structure of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire focused mainly on migrations from the Balkans, Crimea and the Caucasus. However, it was mainly because of the effects of nationalism, which has made population studies a matter of politics. The majority of such works are “ethnographic” in essence.¹⁷ In short, the sedentarization of nomadic tribes during the nineteenth century is a neglected topic in Ottoman historiography.

The most important study on nomads and their settlements during the nineteenth century is that of Andrew Gordon Gould’s dissertation *Pashas and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and its Impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885*. In his dissertation, Gould covers state policies, their application in settling nomads and their results. He mainly focuses on the Southeastern region of Anatolia for his research area.

The aim of the present study is to understand the sedentarization process of nomadic tribes, reasons and consequences of it and their adaptation process to the sedentary way of life in nineteenth century Ottoman Empire by focusing on Rışvan

¹⁷ Karpat, Kemal H. *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 60.

tribes as the case study. Up to now, the issue of the sedentarization of the Rıřvan tribes has been analyzed from two different perspectives. Aside from the academic sources, which are evaluating the sedentarization of them in the context of Ottoman history, studies of some Kurdish amateur researchers on the Central Anatolian Kurds constitute the other part of the sources that have to be mentioned.

The majority of these researchers live in Scandinavian countries and identify themselves as central-Anatolian Kurds. They published their books and journals in increasing numbers especially after the 1990s, and attracted largely the attention of some Kurdish people who had an interest in their own history but failed to do so among the academic circles. The most important of these publications is the Kurdish quarterly *Birnebun*, which has forty-eight issues up to now since 1997. This journal is published in Sweden and is the first Kurdish journal to deal with the language, history and culture of only Central-Anatolian Kurds.

Nuh Ateř's work published in 1992 in Germany *İç Anadolu Kürtleri- Konya, Ankara, Kırřehir* and Rohat Alakom's *Orta Anadolu Kürtleri* first published in 2004 are two noteworthy studies of local historical works about central-Anatolian Kurds. Nevertheless, these works lack scholarly character. In this respect, the articles of *Birnebun* and these books have a common feature. Firstly, they rely on various sources, which are not evaluated in a scholarly manner. Thus, the texts have no coherence. Moreover, there are many contradictory arguments concerning the dates of the settlement of Rıřvans in Central-Anatolia and the reasons for them.

The most referred sources in these studies are the 19th century travelers and scientists. Among the prominent of these figures is George Perrot who wrote an

article on Haymana Kurds.¹⁸ Perrot, who was a noteworthy archeologist of his era, finished his work in 1865. Researchers of central Anatolian Kurds see Perrot as the father of the Central-Anatolian Kurdish studies by virtue of his work in this field. The great value that researchers attribute to Perrot's work is further proved by its publication in the journal *Birnebn* in its Kurdish translation. Aside from Perrot; James Hamilton, Vital Cuinet, W.M. Ramsay and William Francis Ainsworth were other important travelers and scientists whose works were often cited in these publications.

In spite of their insufficient and often erroneous arguments, these works are worth attention as they show regional population distribution of the people of Rıřvan descent in Central Anatolia and their culture. Furthermore, they are also valuable as they use oral history methods with local people. The use of this method has a particular merit since academic historians working on Ottoman nomads do not usually employ oral history study that would enable them to read the story from the perspectives of the nomads themselves.

Recent developments have increased public interest in history, especially their own family histories. As the field of history became popular due to some TV programs and magazines, people have become more interested to learn their own past. Some researchers who aim to pursue their own family histories have been more prone to use the works of historians especially those of whom that are familiar to themselves through the media. Accordingly, an increasing number of works have been written about tribalism, nomadism and sedentarization, which have a considerable heritage in Anatolia to satisfy the increasing demand. One of these

¹⁸ Georges Perrot, *Kurden Haymanaye*, trans. Fawaz Husen (Stockholm: Apec Förlag AB, 2000).

works is Yusuf Halaçoğlu's six volume set *Anadolu'da Aşiretler Cemaatler Oymaklar*. Not surprisingly, this work has attracted considerable interest especially among nonprofessional researchers and the first edition of the work was sold out in about three months. Furthermore, there is also a web site of this study titled www.anadoluasiretleri.com, which enables people to make their research. For the time being this web site visited by almost one million people.

Since studies about the Ottoman nomads are very few, they are precious in their field. One of the common points of all these studies is that, none of them deal with challenges about the adaptation process of tribe's people, once they started to become sedentarized. Thus, these studies deserve attention just because they reveal general information about the sedentarization process and the relation between the state and tribe.

Any works on nomadic groups in the Middle East and Anatolia require a discussion on the definition and evaluation of the concepts of "tribe", "tribal" and "nomadism". The concept of tribe has been for long a traditional field of study for anthropologists, whereas historians have not put much interest in the subject. In addition, those few, who wrote about it, generally searched the relations between tribes and the state. Thus, the history of tribes mostly remained unstudied. At this point, the approaches taken by anthropologists and historians as well as the tribal system are different in Turkish, Kurdish, Persian and Arabic societies. However, details of this topic will be discussed in later sections giving references to works of some prominent anthropologists like Richard Tapper, Aidan W. Southall, Emanuel Marx and Anatoly M. Khazanov.

The present study consists of five chapters. Chapter One analyzes the relationship between the Rıřvan tribe and state until the Tanzimat period. Unfortunately, as the tribe members had left no written documents as to their tribe, this chapter will mainly rely on the official documentation, thus shows these relations mainly from the state's point of view. This part also examines the efforts of the Ottoman state to modernize itself and centralized with the beginning of Tanzimat, and also analyzes how these processes affected the nomads. Subsequently, the factors that drove the Rıřvan tribe to sedentary life will be analyzed in relation to the geographical conditions of the regions where they were settled.

Chapter Two examines the method and strategy the state employed in the sedentarization of the nomadic tribes. It appears that the state did not pursue a specific uniform strategy in the process for all nomads. In fact, different methods were employed for different tribes across the empire. This is also the case for the Rıřvan tribe. In this chapter, these methods of the state are explored mainly through relying on the archival sources. Another issue this chapter deals with is to show how the places of settlement of the nomadic tribes, specifically, these of the Rıřvan tribe, were chosen. At the end of the chapter, the difficulties these tribes experienced will be analyzed.

Chapter Three, which is a result of an interdisciplinary analysis, tries to explore the post-sedentarization period and the problems of adaptation of Rıřvan tribes settled in Haymana region to sedentary life. This chapter attempts to answer some basic questions related to transition period of newly settled people from their nomadic way of life to sedentary one.

The aim of the entire study is not only to understand the sedentarization process of Rıřvans, but also to reveal how they were influenced by the process itself. From the state's point of view, the process seems relatively easy to be applied for the state could easily make decisions related to the lives of its 'subjects'. However, from the perspective of individuals, there are many challenges such as changing their lifestyles and old habits that need to be acknowledged and studied in-depth. Thus, this chapter attempts to answer the following questions: What were the initial reactions of the tribal groups and their leaders (ađas) to the sedentarization process? How did the social and economic changes following the settlement affect the tribal organization? How did the nomads earn their livings after the settlement? How did the division of labor change in terms of gender in the society after the settlement? In addition, how did this process affect the tribal identity?

CHAPTER II

THE EMPIRE AND THE TRIBE: THE RIŞVAN TRIBE UP TO THE TANZIMAT PERIOD

2.1 Rişvan Tribe: A Historical Overview

Ottoman imperial administration used different terms and names to classify and identify nomadic tribes to easily control them and their taxation. However, the terms to classify and identify nomadic tribes like *Yörük*, *Türkmen*, *Yeni İl*, *Eski İl*, *Bozulus*, and *Karaulus* were not clear-cut. The first three of these names mainly used to refer to Turkish nomadic tribes. The last one, on the other hand, was used for classifying mainly the Kurdish nomadic tribes.¹⁹ However, it will be misleading to evaluate these names which showed solely the ethnic identities of the relevant nomadic tribes.

Even though the origins of the names of *Bozulus* and *Karaulus* are not so clear, it is argued that the Ottoman administrators classified these tribes living in the same region in order to differentiate them from each other considering at least administrative concerns. Gündüz, known for his works on *Bozulus*, asserts that a differentiation between the names was made probably in order not to confuse

¹⁹ Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire*, 21.

Bozulus with *Karaulus* living in the borders of 16th century Diyarbakir. In the same way, a similar differentiation of names was made between *Eski-il* of Konya and *Yeni-il* of southern Sivas.²⁰

Orhonlu, on the other hand, evaluates these terms from a different angle. He claims that *il* and *ulus* were constituting the top ring of the administrative separation of tribal units. Respectively, the terms of *aşiret*, *boy*, *oymak*, and *oba* identify smaller social organizations. The *Bey* would head the *boys* or *oymaks*. In appointing a *bey* to a *boy*, the central organization exerted the greatest influence. Those appointed as *boy beys* were given a charter (*beylik berati*). In the appointments of other *aşiret beys*, the central government had a direct influence.²¹ However, the case of the Rışvan tribe was exceptional. In the Rışvan tribe, the election of the *aşiret beyi* was strictly overseen only by the tribe aristocracy.²² This situation is also surprising by showing the power of the Rışvan tribe at that period.

The term *Yörük*, unlike the words given above, was used only to address nomads. However, it was not used to identify the all nomads living in the Ottoman Empire. There are a few views about the origin of the word *yörük* and with which nomads this word identified. These views maintain that *yörük* did not show any ethnic origin. Nevertheless, there are varying views on the question if the word *yörük* suggested any life style, a legal term, or an administrative term. Çetintürk said that *yörük* suggested a legal term.²³ Sümer asserts that *yörük* refers to a way of life.²⁴ To İnalçık, on the other hand, it was an administrative term. He mentions that “Yürük

²⁰ Tufan Gündüz, *Anadolu’da Türkmen Aşiretleri Bozulus Türkmenleri 1540 - 1640*, (Ankara: Bilge Yayınları, 1997), 44.

²¹ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda*, 14-15.

²² Ibid.

²³ Salahaddin Çetintürk, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yörük Sınıfı ve Hukuki Statüleri", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, (1943), volume II. I, 109.

²⁴ Faruk Sümer, "XVI. Asırda Anadolu, Suriye ve Irak’ta Yaşayan Türk Aşiretlerine Umumi Bir Bakış", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, (1952), volume V. XI, 511.

was originally an administrative word commonly used for nomads of various origins who arrived in Ottoman-controlled lands during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and who, over time, appropriated this name for themselves.”²⁵

As already noted at the beginning, there has been a lacuna about Ottoman nomads and those few studies still lacked in details. Given that there is still inconsistency over what the term *yörük* indicated in a full sense shows the gap in this field. Another argument in this debate concerns in which regions nomads were named *yörüks*. Çetintürk, versed on this subject, suggested that *yörüks* lived only in Rumelia.²⁶ On the other hand, Sümer calls *Turkomans* and *Yörüks* those living in Anatolia, Syria and Iraq, then he puts that those living in eastern and northern Kızılırmak were *Turkomans*, and those living in its west up to Rumelia were *Yörüks*.²⁷ Another argument on this subject comes from a renowned traveler Ramsay. He mentions about *yörüks* as a different race living in Anatolia. He claims that *yörüks* were living in many parts of Asia Minor. Despite Turkmen tribes’ preference of living in the great plateaus, *yörüks* were mainly met in mountainous areas.²⁸

The conclusion of these debates shows that the Ottoman administration did not discount the identification and classification of the tribes over which it hardly gained control. Given that, there is no consistency in the archival documents about the classification and naming of tribes of the same period justifies this argument. There are also cases that the same tribe referred in archival sources as *yörükân-ı etrak* or *yörükân-ı ekrad*.

²⁵ İnalçık, “The Yürüks”, 103.

²⁶ Çetintürk, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda”, 109.

²⁷ Sümer, “XVI. Asırda Anadolu”, 511.

²⁸ W.M. Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey During Twelve Years’ Wanderings*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), 105.

To put briefly, the Ottoman Administration generally had used basic administrative concerns while classifying nomadic tribes instead of placing much emphasis on such tribes' own identity claims and definitions. These administrative concerns aimed to facilitate the management of tribal units. Because of these concerns, the Ottoman administration set up different institutions and used different means to deal with them. Tribal confederations, as a reflection of this policy considered being as an administrative unit and thus they were having their own rulers and judges that were equivalent to their counterparts living in provinces.²⁹ However, there were also cases that tribal units formed confederations of their own. In the nineteenth century Iraq, for instance, tribes formed confederations because of the lack of security and intertribal conflicts.³⁰

The aim of the Ottoman officials in classifying the nomadic tribes in terms of administration units was facilitating the ways of taxing them. Nomadic tribes were classified according to the geography that was allocated to them for their animals to graze. In this classification, tribes were legally classified according to the legal status of the land which could be a *timar*, *zeamet* or *has*, they use for winter and summer pastures.³¹ In some cases *has* lands of the Sultan were given as *mukataa*. In this case, the administration of the *mukataa* was handled by *voyvodas* appointed. *Voyvodas* were also known as *Türkmen Ağası*.³²

Voyvodas were chosen either from among the men of *Sancak Beyi* or from the members of tribal dynasties themselves. In this selection, a common mutual

²⁹ Andrew Gordon Gould, "Pashas and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and its Impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885", (Ph.D. University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), 15.

³⁰ Ebubekir Ceylan, "Carrot or stick? Ottoman tribal policy in Baghdad, 1831–1876", *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 3, (2009), volume II, 171.

³¹ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, 16.

³² Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 109-110. Also see Onur Usta "Türkmen Voyvodası, Tribesmen And The Ottoman State (1590-1690)", (M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2011).

agreement was also sought. These *voyvodas* used to work like state officials. They had some basic duties. Firstly, it was their task to collect the taxes through the leaders of tribes. In addition, they proposed positions to new tribe leaders. *Voyvodas*, as officials of the Ottoman state, represented the state in the provinces. Thus they announced the state orders (*ferman*) so official matters would go smoothly. *Voyvodas* also provided security and order. In this case, they took upon the task to reconcile tribes fighting each other. In return for their service to the state, they got 25% of the tax they collected.³³

Another pivotal duty of *Voyvodas* was to keep other tribal elements away from their tribes.³⁴ This shows that the central administration pursued the protection of tribal structure and the status quo of their tribes. In the same way, it was among the duties of *voyvodas* to provide protection for tribesman who were poor or those who could not pay for the tax of that year.

As it was stressed by Findley “the period 1603–1789 has been characterized as one of decentralization and weakening state power. Yet the formation of new provincial power centres may have signified instead the emergence of new interlocutors between state and society and the creation of denser centre–periphery linkages, at least until the late eighteenth century crises provoked a trend back towards centralization.”³⁵ This remark leads us to a different spot that Western European states strengthened by breaking power of established local forces and

³³ Abdullah Saydam, "19. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Aşiretlerin İskanına Dair Gözlemler" in *Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Yörtürk Vakfı, 2000).

³⁴ Gündüz, *Anadolu'da Türkmen Aşiretleri*, 110.

³⁵ Carter Vaughn Findley, "Political Cultures and the Great Households" in *Cambridge History of Turkey III: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 65.

institutions, while the Ottoman Empire tried to stay strong by incorporating and legitimizing local power units into the system.³⁶

Negotiation was the key word for incorporation and legitimization of local powers into the system. Nomads were one of the important sides of this negotiation process. By signing *nezir akti* with the state, nomads or other power units were obliged to act within the framework of law and order by guaranteeing the submission of criminals to the state or otherwise paying a considerable amount of money instead of it.³⁷

It is possible to evaluate Rıřvanzades as one of these interlocutors. This tribal dynasty was one of the most renowned families in eastern Anatolia and titled as the *mukataa voyvodası*. They ruled more than two centuries in Marař, Malatya and Besni *malikanes* and among these emerged powerful rulers such as Halil Pasha, Ömer Pasha, Mehmet Pasha, Süleyman Pasha and Abdurrahman Pasha holding the title of *mirmiran* between the years of 1650-1850. Their power in the region was impressive during this period. Even the state was careful in getting involved in local politics and ignored Rıřvanzades' unjust rulings and activities in the region. Furthermore, from a document dated from 1742 it is seen that Rıřvanzade family members were holding both the posts of Adana Beylerbeylięi and Malatya Sancaęı Mukataası.³⁸

The reflection that the Ottoman Empire adopted such an administrative division appeared first in the issue of taxation of the mentioned tribes. According to this calculation, big tribes were classified as holders of *has* whereas smaller ones

³⁶ Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 1.

³⁷ Iřık Tamdoęan, "Nezir ya da 18.Yüzyıl Çukurova'sında Eřkıya, Göçebe ve Devlet Arasındaki İliřkiler", *Kebikeç*, (2006), volume 21, 138.

³⁸ Jülide Akyüz, "Osmanlı Merkez-Tařra İliřkinde Yerel Hanedanlara Bir Örnekle Rıřvanzadeler", *Kebikeç*, (2009), volume 27, 84.

were taxed with smaller units. Rıřvan tribe, which had high population, registered as the *Valide Sultan Hassı* with a budget of 45,000 *Akçe* in the 18th century.³⁹ Tax revenues from the Rıřvan tribes were also known as *Rıřvan Hassı* and it was forbidden for any other tribes to partake in *Rıřvan Hassı*.⁴⁰

The influence of the Rıřvanzades as an important feudal force continued into the 19th century. As evidenced in a document dated 1810, Rıřvanzades still controlled the *Malatya mukataası*.⁴¹ However, from the late 18th century to the early 19th, complaints were made that Rıřvan tribesmen were not paying their taxes regularly. This led to the exclusion of the *Rıřvan mukataası* from the *Valide Sultan Hassı*.⁴²

Söylemez's work on Rıřvan tribe gives a good amount of information about their condition in the 16th century. Söylemez points out that their name is seen in the first *tahrir register* prepared in 1519, following the conquest of Malatya and Kahta by Yavuz Sultan Selim.⁴³ As this work reveals the personal and place names of the Rıřvan tribe, which settled in the Adıyaman district of Kahta and Marař of Malatya in the 16th century were recorded in details in the Ottoman *tapu tahrir registers*. There are three main registers he drew on for this work. The oldest one is the one dating back to reign of Yavuz Sultan Selim which is dated 1519. This register contains the *mufassal* records of the Besni, Kahta, Gerger and Hısn-ı Mansur districts of Malatya. On the other hand, other two registers, recorded during the Kanuni

³⁹ Ibid., 89.

⁴⁰ Ahmet Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Ařiretleri (966-1200)*, (İstanbul: Endurun Kitapevi, 1989), 124.

⁴¹ Akyüz, "Osmanlı Merkez-Tařra", 93.

⁴² Ibid., 95.

⁴³ Faruk Söylemez, *Osmanlı Devletinde Ařiret Yönetimi Rıřvan Ařireti Örneęi* (İstanbul: Kitapevi, 2007), 12.

Sultan Süleyman, are again *mufassal registers*. They date 1524 and the 1536, both containing records of the nomadic tribes.⁴⁴

In the Ottoman Empire, it is observed that the number and names of the tribes within a tribal confederation varied from time to time. That is to say, there were no binding laws concerning which tribes would be the members of which tribal confederation. This was also true for the Rışvan tribe. In the works written about the Rışvan tribe, it is seen that the tribe names and numbers within the tribal confederation were not clear since the 16th century when the first available sources on the Rışvan tribe were written. Even in the works of the same researcher written at different times, there were inconsistencies about this definition of tribe names and numbers. In Söylemez's article based on primary sources, the number of *cemaats* within the confederation was given as fifteen in the first half of the 16th century. Similarly, Akyüz also gives the same number.⁴⁵ The *cemaats* of the Rışvan confederation in the 16th century were the following: Hacı Ömerli Cemaati (also registered as Kaytanlı), Kellelü Cemaati, Hıdır Sorani, Celikanlı, Mülükanlı, Mendubanlı, Zerukanlı, Boğrası Cemaati, Rumiyanlı, Mansur Cemaati, İzdeganlı, Mansurganlı, Karlu Cemaati, Rışvan Cemaati, and Çakallu cemaati.⁴⁶ There were some other tribe names included in the Rışvan Confederation as shown in the records of the later periods. Among these tribes, the name of Dımışklı was seen since the first half of the 16th century as shown in another study by Söylemez.⁴⁷

The *cemaats*, whose names were mentioned under the Rışvan confederation in officials records from the later periods were Bereketli, Belikanlı, Benamlı,

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Akyüz, "Osmanlı Merkez-Taşra", 81.

⁴⁶ Faruk Söylemez, "Rışvan Aşireti'nin Cemaat, Şahıs ve Yer Adları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (2002), volume 12, 40-41.

⁴⁷ Söylemez, *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret*, 27.

Cudikanlı, Dalyanlı, Hacabanlı, Hıdıranlı, Hosnisin, Mahyanlı, Nasirli, Okçuyanlı, Sevirli, Sinkanlı, Şeyhbalanlı, and Terziyanlı.⁴⁸ Söylemez's book also covers other tribes such as Dımışklı, Hacılar, Hamitli Cemaati, Bektaşlı Cemaati, and Köseyanlı Cemaati. This inconsistency shows that in the 16th century, the information about the Rışvan tribe was scarce and/or available sources were not evaluated carefully. The names of the tribes which settled in the central Anatolia in the 19th century will be given in the following pages.

The tribes mentioned above lived overwhelmingly in Malatya and Adıyaman as well as in a region extending from northern Syria to Sivas. These tribes, mentioned in the archival documents as nomads, were following transhumance way of nomadism in this geography. The tribesmen of the Rışvan tribe in 16th century Malatya were known to be engaged also in agriculture.⁴⁹ As for those names of tribes of the Rışvan confederation that became known in the 18th century were Dalyanlı, Hamdanlı, Hacı Musa, Hamo, Bereketli, Benamlı, Cudikanlı, Rudikanlı, Mahyanlı, Belikanlı, Bazıklı, Dumanlı, Hacebanlı, and Mesdikanlı. These tribes were leading a nomadic way of life in this area.

There are a variety of practices to name nomadic tribes in the Ottoman Empire. Some tribes were called by the name of the central occupation the tribesman became expert at. Others, on the other hand, were called by the name of the places they lived in. For instance, the Esbkeşan tribe took its name for its members raised powerful horses.⁵⁰ Similarly, tribes in the province of Baghdad whether nomadic or not took their names from the occupation they were busy with. For example Arabic

⁴⁸ Söylemez, "Rışvan Aşireti'nin", 41.

⁴⁹ Akyüz, "Osmanlı Merkez-Taşra", 81.

⁵⁰ Hasan Basri Karadeniz, "Atçekenlik ve Atçeken Yörükleri" in *Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Türkmenler Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Tufan Gündüz (ed.), 1st ed. (Ankara: Yörtürk Vakfı, 2000), 184.

name *Filih* was referring to peasants, *ma'dan* used for marshdwellers, *shawiyah* for the people of the sheep and *ahl-al-ibl* was referring to people of the camel.⁵¹ On the other hand, Ankara Yörüks were called by this name since they lived in Ankara region. There were also those tribes named Dulkadiroğulları, Ramazanoğulları, and Danişmendliler who had been *Beyliks* in Anatolia before the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire.⁵² What is noteworthy here is that we know these nomadic tribes by the name the state had given to them. From these studies, it is impossible to know how many of these tribes self-defined themselves.

There are a variety of views as to where the name of the Rışvan tribe came from. These views vary according to scholars who debate the ethnic origin of this tribe. One of these views suggests that the name of the tribe was attributable to a certain head of the tribe. To argue this point further, the name of Rışvan is said to have been originated with the Arabic word "ırşa" meaning someone running fast and using weapon cleverly.⁵³ However, given that there is no word "ırşa" in the Arabic language, this argument has no sound basis. Another suggestion as to the origin of the name Rışvan is that this name was a compound word for Reş, which means black in Kurdish, and the Kurdish plural form *-ân*.⁵⁴

There are different usages of the name Rışvan in standard Turkish. For instance, as evidenced by the interviews with the members of the Rışvan tribe, the words Rışvan, Rışan, Reşan, Reşian, and Reşi were derivatively used. These names are also mentioned in the work of Cevdet Türkay titled *Başbakanlık Arşivi Belgeleri'ne Göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*.

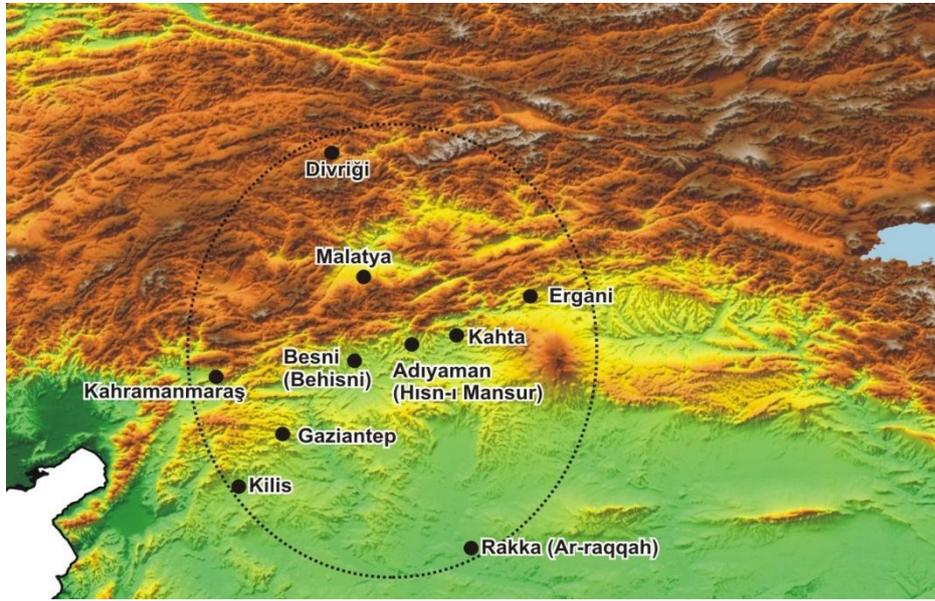
⁵¹ Hanna Batutu, "Of the Diversity of Iraqis, the Incohesiveness of their Society, and their Progress in the Monarchic Period toward a Consolidated Political Structure", in *The Modern Middle East* (California: University of California Press, 1993), 505.

⁵² İlhan Şahin, *Osmanlı Döneminde Konar-Göçerler* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2006), 116.

⁵³ Söylemez, *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret*, 11-12.

⁵⁴ Nuh Ateş, "Halikan ve Reşvanların Kökeni Üzerine Bazı İpuçları", *Birnebun*, Spring 2003, 59.

However, in this work based on archival documents, Türkay seems to have ignored that all these names were actually referring to one single tribe that is Rışvan. However, these people of *Reşi*, *Reşi Ekradı*, *Rışan*, *Rışvan*, and *Rışvanlı* lived in the same places known as the historical settlement area of the whole Rışvan Tribe. These places are Rakka, Maraş, Bozok Sancaks, Hısn-ı Mansur and Behisni districts that are in southeastern Anatolia.⁵⁵ From the information at hand it is understood that Rışvan tribes were living in a wide geography covering Southeastern Anatolia and North Syria in 16th century.⁵⁶



Map I: The Geography where Rışvan tribesmen overwhelmingly lived in the 16th century

2.2 Modernization, Centralization and the Reasons of Sedentarization

Nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire was characterized by the attempts of westernization, centralization and modernization. Tanzimat regulations compromised

⁵⁵ Cevdet Türkay, *Başbakanlık Arşivi Belgelerine göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Oymak Aşiret ve Cemaatler*, (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1979), 633-636.

⁵⁶ Söylemez, *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret*, 20-37.

mainly bureaucratic, military and fiscal regulations had effects on all segments of society including nomads. The increasing rate of the sedentarization of nomadic tribes was also closely related with the aims of the Tanzimat reforms. For example, in one of the official documents I have used for my study it was written that “the Kurds mentioned were settled into provinces and villages; after then, given that they were bound to the settled people’s code and the regulations of Tanzimat legal practices, they were to be treated within the legal framework in the same way as all other people were treated and again they were to be treated as regards their property, life and honor just as other people were treated.”⁵⁷ In the same document, another striking point was claim that as the Rışvan nomads is sedentarized they became subject to reforms (*dahil-i Tanzimat olmak*).⁵⁸ These words are the best summary of the reform initiative’s direct influence on nomads.

In the article of İlhan Tekeli about the population displacement and settlement, it is seen that there were important changes in these two concepts in the 19th century. According to Tekeli, unlike that of expanding boundaries in the Classical period, the effects of the shrinking geographical boundaries were much more important. In this approach, the encouragement of the state for the sedentarization was directed at remaining lands still held after the wars rather than newly acquired lands. The second difference, on the other hand, was directly related with the Tanzimat reforms which brought new regulations concerning state-individual relations and property rights. Finally, the fact that the Ottoman economy became more influenced by the capitalist world order also created new approaches to the

⁵⁷ “...ekrâd-ı merkume kazâ ve kurrâlara iskân olunmuş ve bundan böyle ahâli-yi meskune hükmüne girüb dâhil-i tanzimat olmuş olduklarından bunların haklarında sair ahâli misüllü mu’amele olunması ve mal ve can ve ırzları hakkında sair ahali misüllü tutulması ve bunlara şimdilik köylerde sığınacak müretteb birer hâne virilüb kendülerinin zira’at ve felahata alışdırılması ve haklarında komşuca mu’amele olunub ayrı ve gayrılık idilmemesi...”, BOA, İ.MVL 00142.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

migration politics. Thus, some changes occurred in the state's efforts to legitimize migration during the 19th century.⁵⁹ In this thesis, these changes will be looked at in detail in the related chapters.

In the 19th century, the Ottoman administration was against both nomadism and tribalism that were closely interrelated subjects, because the increase of agricultural output was deemed very important in an agriculture-based economy. Thus, the involvement of nomadic people in agriculture in sedentarized life would benefit the state. Tribalism, linked closely with nomadism, was aimed to be omitted by the state as it was conceived as one of the main obstacles on the modernization attempts.⁶⁰ Because tribal units had a considerable amount of power in their hands, thus state had difficulties keeping them under control.

There were several ways that the Tanzimat reforms influenced nomadic tribes. As is well known, Tanzimat reform had mainly three aims. These were providing people with the security of life and property, enforcing military, and setting up a new system for the modernization of taxation. These three basic aims of the Tanzimat Edict inevitably led to sedentarization of nomads. One of the aims of this study is to understand the ways in which these intentions influenced nomadic tribes. The efforts of sedentarization of nomadic tribes were seen in every phase of the empire, but as this thesis will demonstrate, the Tanzimat reforms along with new parameters in the nineteenth century accelerated this sedentarization process.

Tanzimat period was also marked by the efforts to centralize the state. By the time Tanzimat edict was proclaimed, the power of the local administrators was at its peak and many of them were acting almost independently. In fact, as mentioned

⁵⁹ İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskân Sorunu" in *Göç ve Ötesi*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008), 141-150.

⁶⁰ Gould, "Pashas and Brigands", 170.

before, this situation poses a different face of state's authority that by keeping local forces responsible for security and order in the periphery. Tribe leaders were also included in this category. However, misuse of this power by local rulers increased peoples' discontent with the central authority.

As the shift in the balance of power occurred in the 19th century, the sedentarization of nomadic tribes took on an unprecedented importance in the eyes of Ottoman administrators. A considerable attention thus was especially paid to Rışvan and Afşar tribes, which were the two biggest and most influential tribes of the era. A *nâzır* to control the winter pastures of these tribes was appointed; thus, they could be prevented from acting independently. Given that these *nazırs* were elected from the tribe leaders, this shows the administration's aim of gaining these tribesmen to the centralization process.

Ottoman Empire was an agrarian empire throughout its history and majority of its revenue directly and/or indirectly was coming from the agricultural taxes. Furthermore, the vast majority of the population in a similar way was dealing with agriculture. However, the internal problems like *Celali* rebellions and deterioration in the *timar* system which emerged at the end of 16th century resulted in gradual destruction and abandonment of many agricultural areas. Still, during the last two centuries of its history, almost the four-fifths of the population sustained their lives mainly depending on land, and the importance of agriculture for the Ottoman economy during the nineteenth century increased as the Ottoman Empire incorporated into the European World-economy. By the middle of the nineteenth

century two direct taxes on agriculture –the tithe and the land tax- constituted almost forty percent of all tax revenues in the empire.⁶¹

Although agriculture persisted to be a great part of the Ottoman economy in the nineteenth century, some changes in the politics of economy occurred. Normally, the economy of the Ottoman state predicated on a provisionalist approach. Agricultural production output that met the necessities of the subjects was thus important for the order to be maintained across the empire. As long as this order was maintained, the state operated in almost a consistent manner. However, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the agricultural output fell short of providing the increasing demands of both internal and external markets.

Along with many things that changed in the nineteenth century, the politics of economy of the state also changed face. The three basic features of the Ottoman economic mind during the classical age economics; provisionalism, fiscalism and traditionalism disappeared in the nineteenth century. Thus, the economy became foreign-oriented and economic relations changed.⁶² As the Ottoman economy lost these three basic features, it was no longer a closed economy to foreign effects. Thus, products for domestic market, rather than just being consumed in the empire, were also launched in foreign markets.

The main reason for the change in the Ottoman economic policy stemmed from the effect of European economies on the Middle Eastern economies. During the nineteenth century, the influence of European economy on the Middle Eastern Economies increased tremendously. In fact, throughout the century Ottoman Empire

⁶¹ Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 128.

⁶² Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, 7th ed. (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2010), 94-95.

incorporated into the world economy as a periphery and became a supplier of cash crops for the European markets. This demand around the world also led to the commercialization of the Ottoman agriculture.⁶³

With the transition to commercial agriculture, the nature of agricultural production has also changed. Ottoman farmers now worked for the market economy rather than working to meet their own necessities. However, we cannot explain the shift to commercial agriculture in the Ottoman Empire only by looking at the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world economy. It is without doubt that the demand for agricultural products in Europe led to this situation. Nevertheless, the increased demand in the domestic market in the nineteenth century also speeded the shift to commercial agriculture. On the other hand, newly developing transportation opportunities also increased the extension of wheat both in the domestic and international market. All these developments contributed to the increased agricultural production and an increase in the size of the sown fields.

This transformation in nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire led to the provision of the necessary fund for the modernization and survival of the Ottoman state from the agricultural revenues.⁶⁴ Agriculture, which had been the most important income source of the Empire for centuries, grew in importance even further in this era. However, lack of sufficient work force constituted the most important problem on the attempts of increasing agricultural production. In 1831, the population of Ottoman Anatolia was nearly six million.⁶⁵ Thus, much of arable land in the empire was underpopulated. Even for example in 1907, the amount of land

⁶³ Donald Quataert, "The Commercialization of Agriculture in Ottoman Turkey", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, I/2 (1980), 39.

⁶⁴ Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia, 1876-1908", (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), 9.

⁶⁵ Charles Issawi, *The Middle East Economy Decline and Recovery* (Princeton, N.J: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995), 91.

under cultivation in Ankara only constituted 7.6 percent of the total land of Ankara and it was only 6.9 in Konya, 11.2 in Adana.⁶⁶

Briefly, the Ottoman soil by this time had become a provider of wheat for increasing demand in the West. Contrary to traditional protectionist policies, which prohibited export of grain and raw materials, now export of agricultural products had become profitable and thus desirable.⁶⁷ The best example that displayed Anatolia's transformation to commercial agriculture was seen in the Çukurova region in the 19th century. During the period this marshy region, which was frequented by only nomads until the second half of the nineteenth century, became a significant center for cotton producing because of the rapid development of commercial trade. In fact, the first step to commercial agriculture in this region dated back to the years between 1832-1840. In the Adana region under the İbrahim Pasha's administration, attempts were made to increase the cotton production, as it was the case in Egypt.⁶⁸ The role of nomads in this process would be summarized with the following sentences:

The forced settlement and attendant policies represented a corrective to the ever anomalous position of nomads in the Ottoman socio-political formation. Tribes were indeed an ill-fitting element in the straightforward relationship of exploitation that the state had with its subject sedentarized population. Whatever political reasons the central state might have had for this kind of direct intervention, settling tribes was the first step to the later development of agricultural commercialization. The second step was to settle immigrants.⁶⁹

After the region was recovered by the Ottoman administration, cotton production increasingly continued. Marshy areas in Çukurova region were dried, a five-year reduction in taxation was introduced, and cottonseed was delivered to

⁶⁶ Tevfik Güran. "Osmanlı Tarım Ekonomisi, 1840-1910" *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2008), 65.

⁶⁷ Gould, *Pashas and Brigands*, 4.

⁶⁸ Meltem Toksöz, "Bir Coğrafya, Bir Ürün, Bir Bölge: 19. Yüzyılda Çukurova", *Kebikeç*, (2006), volume 21, 98.

⁶⁹ Meltem Toksöz, "The Çukurova: From Nomadic Life to Commercial Agriculture, 1800-1908" (Ph.D., Binghamton University, 2000), 88.

farmers. At the same time when demand for cotton decreased due to the American Civil War, international events and production balances were seen to have affected the Ottoman market.

Another effect of this transformation on the Ottoman Empire was the construction of railways. Since the 19th century, the railway sector, which grew and expanded greatly, was the most popular sector attracting foreigners with their fifty-two percent shares. At that time, the economic contribution of railways to the regions where they were built was huge. Thus, in the late 19th century, residents in Ankara also demanded to have railways in their city. They were so aware of the contribution that they even considered working in the construction of the railways free of charge. Two main factors played a role behind this phenomenon. Firstly, railways enabled peasants to sell their product at higher prices in a considerable variety of markets. Secondly, they suffered from famines from time to time due to the insufficiency of the transportation means. Actually, the inauguration of Ankara railway in 1892, which was started to be built on 1889, created the expected result. With the completion of the railway, the lands in the region gained value and so increased the production and prices. According to the records submitted from the then British Consulate, a %50 increase in agricultural products and a %50 to %100 increase in their prices was realized. Moreover, the very same records also reveal that, whereas Ankara's total export was 295,000£ in 1884, this amount reached to 521,000£ in 1887.⁷⁰

Practical reasons played their role in the selection of places to construct railways. When the places that railways were built in are analyzed, it would be seen

⁷⁰ Suavi Aydın, et al., *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005), 230-234.

at deciding where to build railways rather than geographical condition, the places with high density of agricultural production were taken into consideration.⁷¹

The shortage of labor for agricultural production was one of the main problems that the state had to find a solution. In this century, while the population in the periphery decreased, that of the cities tended to increase.⁷² Thus to overcome this shortage of labor in the agricultural regions, nomads had to be sedentarized. In the Adana region, for instance, *Fırka-i Islahiye* was founded in order to sedentarize nomads by coercion. With the increasing potential of Çukurova region for cotton production, demand for a seasonal workers also increased, since cotton-production sector was conducive to employing seasonal workers. This demand in Çukurova led overseers to pick seasonal workers from mountainous regions of Çukurova. However, in the near future, seasonal workers from East Anatolia to Çukurova also increased.⁷³ By the year 1890, an amount of 12,000 to 15,000 seasonal workers were working in this region.⁷⁴

The state was well aware of its dependence on agriculture for many reasons. In the nineteenth century, agricultural production was thought as the most crucial component of the recuperating economy. In the path to increasing agricultural production, Ottoman Empire took some other measures on agriculture. First, a Ministry of Agriculture was established.⁷⁵ One of these measures was founding

⁷¹ İlber Ortaylı, "19.Yüzyıl Ankara'sına Demiryolu'nun Gelişi Hinterlandının ve Hinterlanddaki Üretim Eylemlerinin Değişimi", in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1984), 210.

⁷² Donald Quataert, "The Commercialization of Agriculture", 39.

⁷³ Toksöz, "Bir Coğrafya", 105.

⁷⁴ Gould, *Pashas and Brigands*, 199.

⁷⁵ Kemal Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History*, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2002), 347.

agricultural school in an imperial farm in 1847 to increase agricultural production capacity.⁷⁶

Given that agricultural production was not sufficient due to shortage of labor, another alternative to overcome this problem was considered. It was to settle and employ foreign citizens on the Ottoman soil. To further this aim, it was planned that these people would be granted agricultural plots and they would be partially exempted from the tax. With this aim, the Ottoman state had announcements published in some important western newspapers to attract the attention of foreigners.⁷⁷

Another important measure was the proclamation of 1858 Land Code. It was prepared by a commission headed by A. Cevdet Paşa. According to the general conception, it was one of the modernist codes ever prepared during the Tanzimat period. This Land Code arranged the particulars of *miri* lands (the land solely belongs to the state). However İslamoğlu claims that during the 19th century the very meaning of *miri* changed. While *miri* status was formerly weakening state's claim over the revenues of lands distributed among different groups, now in the 19th century state's control over the land revenues increased to the detriment of these groups.⁷⁸

According to Barkan, who evaluated this land code for the first time, the code should be evaluated as one of the reforms brought by the Tanzimat period. In the course of its preparation, the land code of 1858 is seen to be relevant to the law regulating the welfare of the state. The codification was done with full consideration

⁷⁶ Roger Owen, *The Middle East in The World Economy* (New York: Methuen & Co., 1981), 63.

⁷⁷ Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman*, 347.

⁷⁸ Huri İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858" in *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, Roger Owen (ed.), (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 27-28.

of the internal dynamics of the Ottoman State. In this sense, it becomes clear that the land code of 1858, including of its pre-arrangement period, was the most successful and absolute outcome of the Tanzimat period.⁷⁹

The most debated issue about the 1858 land code was whether it recognized private property on land or not. Ortaylı contends that this land code brought about individual property on the land.⁸⁰ Arıcanlı, on the other hand, deals with the issue of property right of land in a much more reasonable manner. To him, the concept of private property was a western one and thus falls short of explaining it thoroughly in its own terms.⁸¹ Thus, defining property rights in its importance for the practice of it in the Ottoman Empire is more relevant to discuss whether the land code of 1858 granted property rights on land or not.

Recent studies on the legal side to the 1858 Land Code with its political and economic causes and results enable us to see better this issue. One of these studies is Quataert's article. According to Quataert, thanks to land code, people entitled to titles of lands were eligible to till the lands of the state.⁸² The titles mentioned here are not used in the sense, as we know it today. The title at that time was granted only for tilling the land but the property rights belonged to the state. What Quataert suggested is that the title mentioned was not a document of property rights on land, but a document showing that the titleholder was a tenant there and he paid the amount proposed by the state. Why were the titles granted? As these lands were tilled

⁷⁹ Ömer Lütü Barkan, "Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi" in *Tanzimat 1*, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999), 322-323.

⁸⁰ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 2003), 216.

⁸¹ Tosun Arıcanlı, "19. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Mülkiyet, Toprak ve Emek" in *Osmanlı'da Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım*. Trans. Zeynep Altok, Çağlar Keyder, Faruk Tabak (eds.) (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları) 1998, 128-138.

⁸² Donald Quataert, *The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914* in "An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914, Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (eds.), (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 856.

in the past without titles, what was the reason behind the title? The answers to these questions will reflect both why this land code was prepared and show private property rights of the period.

The land code of 1858 was not only a legalization attempt of the time. It was not started as a prerequisite for modernization. Largely, it was started due to the state's internal dynamics. At the same time, this practice not only systematized legalization of the land code but it had practicalities as well. According to Quataert, it aimed to strengthen the center's control over the lands by eliminating *ayans*' control on them; thus, the agricultural output would be increased. This is seen in the case that titles were granted to those who tilled the soil without formal recognition of untilled lands, thus, would produce. Similarly İslamoğlu claims that the land code of 1858 reformulated state ownership in land and consolidated its control over it.⁸³

Another important aim of this legislation was to sustain stability and to till the land, telling who was to be taxed, and to increase the income of tax. In fact, the code, in the final years of the Ottoman state, failed to provide radical changes in the tradition of the land tenure. However, by entitling sheiks and *ayans* the tithes the state provided entrepreneur farmers with a legal background. At the same time, through the tithes granted to small-scale farmers, it supported the idea of land tenure.⁸⁴

Although there are many articles contradicting one another about the intentions of the state in preparing such a code, one of them reveals best why this code was started. The argument of this article is in line with that of Quataert to a

⁸³ Huri İslamoğlu, "Towards a Political Economy of Legal and Administrative Constitutions of Individual Property", in *Constituting Modernity Private Property in the East and West* Huri İslamoğlu, (ed.), (London: I.B.Tauris, 2004), 19.

⁸⁴ Quataert, "The Age of Reforms," 856.

large extent. By all accounts, the state, which was gradually losing its control over the land to *ayans* and local notables, through this initiative aimed to restore its authority. Furthermore another underlying reason behind state's intentions of regulating the status of land, in close relations to other anticipated benefits of it, was to increase its revenues by sustaining the increasing agricultural production. In addition, the state aimed to guarantee the rights of tilling lands of the small-scale farmers who would not assumed to be a potential threat to itself.⁸⁵

Briefly, the land code aimed to establish direct government control of the land and to keep as much land as possible under production. With the new regulations that this code had brought, nomads could not claim any land. After the establishment of this new code, the only way for nomads to hold land was to become sedentarized. For example, with the efforts of the *Fırka-i Islahiye* in Adana, nomads were given the title deeds of the land they would cultivate. As the land to be sown was abundant in this region, nomads were given freely these lands.⁸⁶

We see in the studies that with the sedentarization of tribes, the state hoped to increase its tax revenues. There were some reasons why the bureaucrats were in this expectation. First of these was that it was easier now to take tax from the newly settled tribes which now had permanent residences. The archival documents reflect this expectation more clearly. For example in an 1830 document, it was stated that the Rışvan tribe was bound to pay 23,000 *guruş*. In the rest of the document, besides the 23,000 *guruş*, with another 30,000 *guruş* added, a total amount of 53,000 *guruş* was not thought to be unpayable by the tribe in the case of they were sedentarized.

⁸⁵ E. Atilla Aytekin, "Hukuk, Tarih ve Tarihyazımı: 1858 Osmanlı Arazi Kanunnamesi'ne Yönelik Yaklaşımlar", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi, Türk Hukuk Tarihi Özel Sayısı*, (2005), volume. 3, no. 5, 736.

⁸⁶ Gould, *Pashas and Brigands*, 199.

Thus, with the sedentarization of this tribe, a double amount of income was expected in result. Another interesting point here is that the tribe paid this amount by collecting from settled people.⁸⁷

Another reason for the necessity of sedentarization was the aim of providing security and law. Almost all of the primary and secondary sources state the disorder and the problems that nomads were creating. The reality of these claims was undeniable. During nomads' moving from summer pasture to winter pasture the effect of their bad behaviors on settled people was one of the most important security problems of the century. Negative impacts of nomads on settled people showed itself in different ways. While settled people were sometimes robbed of their life and goods, large herds of tribes also harmed the sown lands of these settled people.

This tension persisted every year between nomads and the settled people in the Ankara region. As seen in a document from 1830, it is interesting that the Rışvan tribe created problems in the Central Anatolia especially during the summers when it was the harvest time.⁸⁸ Furthermore, in another document complaint about the same problem was mentioned as the "tribesmen who went out of their winter settlements during the springtime created problems for villagers settled on the tribesmen's path."⁸⁹ Continuous struggle between the nomads and the settled people was one of the most observed tensions that the state had to find a solution for. In this struggle, nomads had the advantage against the people living in villages or other settlement places. Their mobility gave them a considerable advantage in this fight. However, when the state exerted its authority on tribesmen, the commodities that settled people were robbed of were returned to their owners. These goods were listed by the state in a

⁸⁷ BOA, İ.MVL, 00338.

⁸⁸ BOA, İ.MVL, 00338.

⁸⁹ BOA, İ.MVL., 452/22389.

record book. In this book, it is seen that tribesmen robbed settled people of nearly everything from animals to many other goods including weapons.⁹⁰

The problems caused by nomads in this period led to anxiety among the settled people. This was one of the reasons of the scarcity of population in these areas. Thus, by pacifying tribes by force and lessening their power, the state again tried to provide security and order in the region. This also resulted in the repopulation of the region.⁹¹

In the period when the Tanzimat was proclaimed, in many places of Anatolia, especially in northern Syria and Iraq, the power of the state was weak. This was also observed in Ankara, the region this thesis focuses on as a case study. One of the reasons for this lack of power on the part of the state was the problems nomads created and the security problems which resulted in the depopulation of villages. Especially in the pre-Tanzimat years, the problems created by the nomads became acute and unbearable. Thus, the most important new development of the Tanzimat was providing the security of life and property of people.⁹²

With the start of the 19th century, the reform attempts were needed in the field of military. Besides the modernizing attempts of the army, the increasing demand for manpower of the army was tried to be supplied by recruiting nomads into army. Deringil summarizes the reasons behind this policy by these words: "As external pressure on the Ottoman Empire mounted from the second half of the century, the Ottoman center found itself obliged to squeeze manpower resources it had hitherto not tapped. Particularly nomadic populations, armed and already

⁹⁰ BOA, İ.MVL., 00142.

⁹¹ Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, "Land Division and Settlement in Inner Anatolia" in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 22.

⁹² Musa Çadırcı, "Tanzimatın İlanı Sırasında Anadolu'da İçgüvenlik", *AÜDTCF, Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* (1980), volume 8, no 24, 45.

possessing the military skills required now became a primary target for mobilization.”⁹³ With the sedentarization of tribes, it was aimed to meet a great part of need for work force. For this reason, soon after the sedentarization their population was counted, and those meeting the criteria for military service were chosen. For example, the count and the name of those eligible for soldiering among the Haremeyn in Bozok in 1842 and Tabanlı, Hacıyanlı and Türkanlı tribes in Ankara were asked from local authorities.⁹⁴

In order to supply its increasing demand for soldiers, the Ottoman state also targeted the nomadic tribes. However, the nomads met this aim of the state with resistance. For example, during 1850 when the Crimean War continued, the Ottoman administration decided to recruit soldiers from the Bedouin tribes. However, the Bedouins became discontented with this decision. Thus, state’s policies of forcible military recruitment among the Bedouins tribes in Southern Palestine and strict control over agricultural production and taxation culminated in refusal of state’s authority by the Bedouins.⁹⁵

As the force of the nomadic tribes were weakened accordingly, the number of soldiers recruited from these tribes also increased. During my interviews, for instance, the elderly said that for the Balkan Wars, WWI, Yemen and the War of Independence, 72 men from their village became martyrs. A person called *Taco* went to Yemen and since he stayed here a very long time, he was not recognized by anybody except an old woman when he returned to his village.⁹⁶ Even though the interviewees do not have knowledge about the earlier periods, it is still probable that

⁹³ Selim Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery: The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (2003), volume 2, 311.

⁹⁴ Saydam, "19. Yüzyılın", 221.

⁹⁵ Yasemin Avcı, "The Application of Tanzimat in the Desert: The Bedouins and the Creation of a New Town in Southern Palestine (1860–1914)", *Middle Eastern Studies*, (2009), volume. 6, 971.

⁹⁶ Ahmet Özbek, (Haymana, 2011).

soldiers recruited from these villages might have been called to duty in the Ottoman army.

Moreover, troubles that nomadic tribes created in the 19th century necessitated state's hiring of soldiers to deal with troublesome nomads. This meant that state afforded some of its military power to this business. For example, the governor of Ankara, Vecihi Paşa, asked for hiring 265 cavaliers in 1855 as measure against problematic Rışvan and Afşar tribe.⁹⁷ However, in 1855 the Ottoman Empire was in war against Russia, thus it is arguable that the problems that the nomads caused were unbearable for the state.

As can be seen, no single factor can be named that necessitated sedentarization of tribes. To summarize, it is seen that central authority has benefited from the settlement of nomadic tribes in many aspects. These benefits as a whole are closely intertwined like a spiral triggering one another. The main aim of sedentarization was strengthening of central authority along with easing the tension between nomadic tribes and settled people and safeguarding one of the central aims of Tanzimat period, ensuring safety of life and property of citizens. Thus, the need to recruit military in order to prevent negative impacts of nomads on settled people would be eliminated. Another reason for the sedentarization was the state's desire to increase tax revenues. The difficulty of collecting taxes from nomads is a known issue from the Ottoman historiography. Together with the switch to settled life, the levying of taxes would be facilitated and the rate of taxes would be increased.

⁹⁷ BOA, İ.MVL. 338/14614.

2.3 The Geography of Settlement: An Overview

There emerges an interesting picture when we analyze which regions the Rıřvan tribesmen were sedentarized in. This study focuses on the sedentarization of Rıřvan tribesmen only in the Haymana region. 16th century Ankara along with Kütahya, Mentese, and Hamit Sancaks were the regions, which attracted most nomads in Anatolia. Especially in the second half of the 16th century, the density of the nomadic population increased more. According to Barkan's assessment, nomadic households in the Ankara region during this period reached 23,911.⁹⁸ When we observe that the population of the Ankara region from the late 16th century to the early 17th century averaged between 23,000 and 25,000⁹⁹, a striking fact comes up which suggests that the nomadic population of Ankara at least four times outnumbered the settled population.

Haymana, with its intense nomadic population was different from the other regions of Ankara in terms of administrative governance. While other regions of Ankara registered according to *kaza – nahiyeye* classification, Haymana region is excluded from this classification in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ According to 1523/30 *Tahrir Registers* 318 *cemaats* were living in Haymanateyn.¹⁰¹ During the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, Ankara Sancağı was composed of 741 villages, 339 mezraas, 113 çiftliks 21 yaylaks and 466 yörük cemaati. On the other hand, 325 yörük yurdu of Ankara was in Haymanateyn.¹⁰² The nomadic tribes here were known as the

⁹⁸ İnalçık, "The Yürüks", 105.

⁹⁹ Özer Ergenç, *16. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), 54.

¹⁰⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ankara ve Çevresindeki Arazi Mülkiyetinin ya da İnsan-Toprak İlişkilerinin Değişimi" in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1984), 64.

¹⁰¹ Emine Erdoğan, Ankara'nın Bütüncül Tarihi Çerçevesinde Ankara Tahrir Defterleri'nin Analizi (TÜSOKTAR Veri Tabanına Dayalı Bir Araştırma), (Ph. D. Gazi Üniversitesi, 2004), 71.

¹⁰² Ergenç, *16. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, 55.

Haymana taifesi.¹⁰³ For this characteristic of it, in the classical age, the Haymana people were under the rule of Yörük Kadılığı for their legal matters. However, in the 17th century, Ankara Kadılığı was assigned to handle the legal cases of nomads of Haymanas when these two Haymanas became a *nahiye* of Ankara kazası.¹⁰⁴ Haymana region was registered as Sadrazam Hassı.¹⁰⁵

According to the Tahrir Registers of 1523/30, the nomadic population in Haymanateyn was 37,887. This number constituted 62.98 percent of the whole nomadic population in Ankara Sancağı. Besides, the number of Haymana taifes continued to increase. In about 40 years this number reached to 52,730. However their proportion to whole population in Ankara decreased to 48.31%.¹⁰⁶

Haymana taifesi of all the Ankara yörüks were the one most involved in animal husbandry besides agriculture. Agricultural output in the Büyük and Küçük Haymanas had become very advanced at the end of the 17th century. Bakers in order to provide Ankara with bread were buying wheat from the environs of Ankara. The tax of *öşr* taken from this wheat was sold in the cities where agricultural output was scarce. Bakers in the Büyük and Küçük Haymana bought a large part of wheat and barley. In 1598-1599, 1,306,666 kg wheat and 653,444 kg barley were grown which provided one-fourth of Ankara's need. This amount also made up the one-fifth of agricultural area of this region.¹⁰⁷

When we analyze the places where the rest of the Rışvan tribesmen settled in central Anatolia, it is seen that besides the Haymana plain, *Cihanbeyli plain*, *Bozok*

¹⁰³ Emine Erdoğan, "Ankara Yörükleri (1463, 1523/30 ve 1571 Tahrirlerine Göre)" *OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi)*, (2005), volume 18, 123.

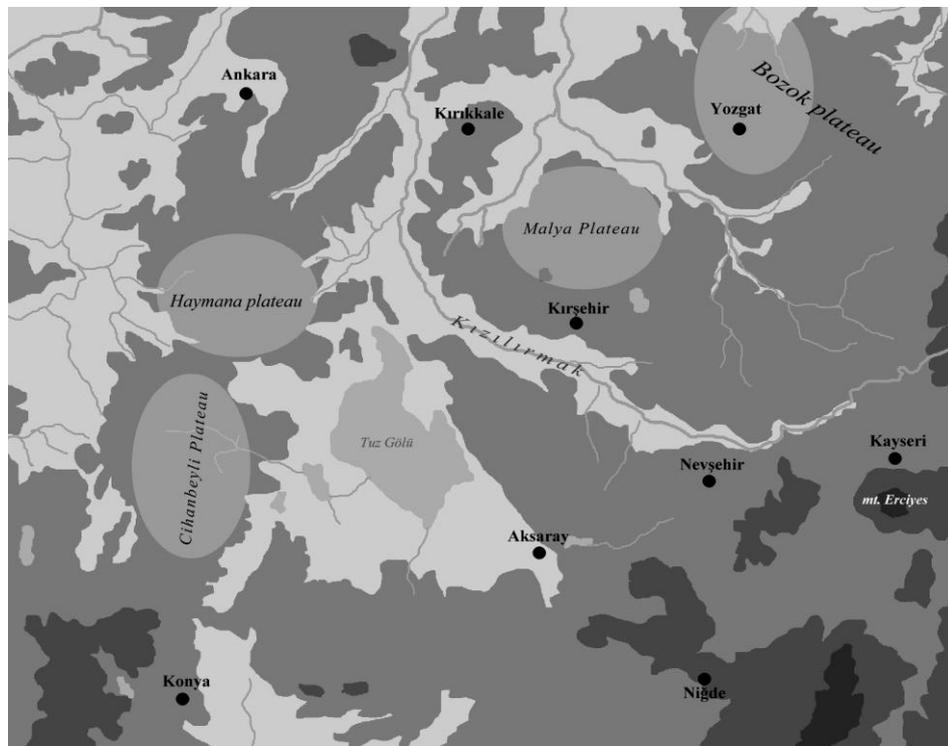
¹⁰⁴ Hülya Taş, *XVII. Yüzyılda Ankara* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2006), 34.

¹⁰⁵ Rifat Özdemir, *XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Ankara* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1986), 139.

¹⁰⁶ Erdoğan, *Ankara'nın Bütüncül*, 109.

¹⁰⁷ Ergenç, *16. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, 55.

plain and today's *Malya plain* in Kırşehir were all allocated to tribes for sedentarization. A common feature of these plains was that they were suitable for nomadic life and available for hosting nomads in great numbers. Furthermore, population density in these regions was considerably low at the first half of the 19th century. Whereas in many parts of Ankara population density increased due to regular sedentarization since Seljukid period, peripheries of Ankara like Kırşehir, Yozgat, Polatlı and Haymana regions hosted for a long time nomadic population. The reason for this situation was that Haymana, Tuz Gölü and its environs, Kırşehir, and Bozok plateau were suitable areas for the nomadic tribes moving in this transhumance network. The map below shows the main settlement places of nomadic tribes during the nineteenth century. The settlement geography of Haymanateyn will be analyzed in details in the following chapter and a map showing the settled villages added to the appendix.



Map II: Main settlement areas in Central Anatolia

As there no tax survey for Ankara at the first quarter of the 19th century, we can not determine the number and names of villages in the Ankara Sancağı.¹⁰⁸ However, in a 1781 archival document, we can see the data which enables us to understand the settlement pattern of the Haymana region. As this document shows ongoing conflicts and the pressure of bandits (kaçguncu levandât taifesi) resulted in depopulation of the region. For example by the year 1782, it was claimed that from 170 villages only 19 villages remained populated because of ongoing troubles that bandits caused.¹⁰⁹

As seen, the low population density made these regions attractive for settlement. As Zafer Toprak has mentioned, in terms of the development of the economy, the most necessary element for the Ottoman state was the population. In comparison to 19th-century world population statistics, the Ottoman lands were in shortage of labor capital except in the Balkans. Thus, by the method of sedentarization of nomads, these lands would be peopled and also the shortage of labor would be minimized.¹¹⁰ This motivation for the sedentarization process will be looked at in detail in the following pages.

¹⁰⁸ Özdemir, *XIX. Yüzyılın*, 139.

¹⁰⁹ BOA, C.ML., 22109.

¹¹⁰ Zafer Toprak, "İktisat Tarihi" in *Türkiye Tarihi 3 Osmanlı Devleti 1600-1908*, Sina Akşin (ed.), (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2005), 235.

CHAPTER III

STATE STRATEGIES IN SETTLING NOMADIC TRIBES IN THE 19th CENTURY: THE CASE OF RIŞVANS

3.1 The Process

Large tribes in Anatolia have always been seen as a problem by the Ottoman State. The state considered the nomadic tribes potentially disloyal and rebellious subject, and briefly they were almost uncontrollable. Therefore, sedentarization of nomadic tribes was usually considered for the benefit of the state. However the sedentarization was not a simple affair, because early attempts to settle these tribes have often failed. Therefore, the Ottoman state had to give a special importance to this project.

In 1842, the Ottoman state prepared a regulation (*kanunname*) and made a decision that nomadic tribes must be settled in their sheltered places where they and their flocks go in winter or in the places which they used for summer pastures. This act determined the places where nomads should be settled.¹¹¹ Geography of Ankara was suitable for nomadic way of life. Thus, there were several nomadic tribes in Ankara, especially in Haymana region. Four major nomadic tribes in Ankara, namely

¹¹¹ Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda*, 113-115.

Yeniil, Cihanbeyli, Afşar and Rışvan, were sedentarized within the scope of centralization attempts of the state during the Tanzimat Period.¹¹²

Hütteroth asserts that the Kurdish tribes Rışvan, Cihanbeyli, Canbegi and Şıhbızın moved to Ankara at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the same way, other sources that deal with the nineteenth-century Ankara region including those mentioned and referred to previously indicate that Rışvan tribesmen were wintering in central Anatolian plateaus from early nineteenth century onwards.¹¹³ The people of this region, on the other hand, think that their arrival in the region dated back to much earlier times. Uçak, likewise, a local researcher on the Haymana region, quotes that the people of this region were claiming that their ancestors moved to Haymana from Adıyaman, Besni, Süvarili district 250 years ago.¹¹⁴ Seyyah Kandemir, on the other hand, points out that the Kurdish tribes he saw in Haymana had settled in this region in 1846.¹¹⁵

All these claims show that there was not a definite date for the Rışvan tribe's settlement in Central Anatolia. We cannot suggest therefore that the Rışvan tribe as a big tribe confederation might have settled with all its members in same specific place at the same time. Thus, it is necessary to emphasize that these tribes, which were aimed to be sedentarized by the state, completed their settlement processes with the passage of time. An archival document from 1859 shows that almost 500 households of the Rışvan tribe settled in Haymana region in 1848.¹¹⁶

¹¹²Yonca Köksal, "Local Intermediaries and Ottoman State Centralization: A Comparison of the Tanzimat Reforms in the Provinces of Ankara and Edirne (1839-1878)" (Ph. D. Columbia University, 2002), 277.

¹¹³Aydın, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*, 217.

¹¹⁴Halil İbrahim Uçak, *Tarih İçinde Haymana* (Ankara: Haymanalılar Yardımlaşma ve Tanışma Derneği, 1986), 155.

¹¹⁵Seyyah Kandemir, *Ankara Vilayeti* (Ankara: Başvekalet Müdevvenat Matbaası, 1932), 246.

¹¹⁶BOA, İ.MG 0279, p 47.

The majority of the primary sources used in this thesis belong to the years between 1830 and 1850. An interesting point derived from these sources shows that the Ottoman state was preoccupied with the sedentarization of the Rıřvan tribe in this 20-year period. The question here is since when this tribe sheltered in winter in the plains of Central Anatolia? From the information it hand, it can be assumed that it was since the beginning of the 19th century. The Rıřvan tribe at the beginning of the nineteenth century wintered in the regions of Konya and Ankara, while, in summer, they settled in Uzunyayla and Habeř regions near Sivas.¹¹⁷ In the middle of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, the tribesmen extended from Bozok, Ankara, Kayseri, Kırřehir to Tokat and Sivas regions.¹¹⁸

According to the Ottoman archival documentation, the first serious attempt to sedentarize the Rıřvan tribe was made in 1830. In this year, tribe leaders and headmen from Ankara and Konya were invited to the center to be notified of the sedentarization decision of the state. Among those invited, leaders of Atmanlı, řeyhbezenli, and Rıřvan tribes went to the center to discuss the sedentarization issue. In this discussion, they were notified that they would be settled in Sivas. However, the Rıřvan leaders, discontent with this decision, stated that if they were shown other places in Konya and Ankara they would consent to be sedentarized. We see that Cihanbeyli, Mikaili, Heciyanlı, Terkanlı, and Seyfhanlı tribes would not obey to this order of the Ottoman state.¹¹⁹

In order to understand the process of sedentarization of nomadic tribes it would be beneficial to understand how state and nomadic tribes perceive each other and what kind of relationship they had. As is well known, nomadism was still a

¹¹⁷ BOA, HAT 446/22289- İ.

¹¹⁸ BOA, İ.MVL 00142.

¹¹⁹ BOA, HAT 446/22289- İ.

prevailing way of life in the nineteenth century Middle East. Changing international conjuncture of the 19th century, which favored centralization and modernization, made it essential for the state to reevaluate its policies and attitudes towards nomads. Thus with the centralization attempts, the state's perception of nomadism had become a more intolerant one. During the nineteenth century, state authorities were more prone to view tribal society as inferior, disobedient, troublesome and considered their way of life against civilization. Thus, it was necessary to civilize them.

However, it should be noted here that, throughout its history Ottoman ruling elite inclined to define all ethnic, religious or nomadic groups who acted against the state's authority in stereotypical words that conveyed strong negative impressions. Nomads that behaved against the state's authority were in most cases described with almost similar words. "Bandit" was the most common word that was used to classify trouble-making nomads in the empire. Moreover Ottoman administration probably in all periods of its history had a tendency to claim that all the trouble-maker nomads were by nature prone to banditry or any other crimes. For example in a document dated 1729, state's perception of nomads as they were inherently prone to committing crime is clearly seen by these words: "...*kabail ve aşayirin bihikmetillahiteala hilkat ve fitratları şekavete mecbur ve nihadü tabiatlerinde bagyü fesad mestur olduğına binaen...*"¹²⁰ In the same way, a similar language was used for the problem-creating Rışvan tribe in 19th-century Central Anatolia. They were accused that "...*bu senelik fukaranın üzerinden te'addiyatları alakaderi'l-imkan*

¹²⁰Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 178.

*men' u def' olunmuş ise de mukteza-i cibiliyetleri üzere şekavetkarlıktan fariğ olmayup...*¹²¹

The tension between the nomads and settled populations was one of the complaints that the state always had to deal with throughout its history. In all the conflicts between the two parties, nomads were often considered potentially responsible by the state authorities. Besides, nomads' relative autonomous way of life and their detachment from the central authority clearly positioned them at the periphery. This position was generally strained their relations with the center and this tension constituted an important subject of Ottoman political and economic life.

Şerif Mardin points out that “the clash between nomads and urban dwellers generated the Ottoman cultivated man's stereotype that civilization was a contest between urbanization and nomadism, and that all things nomadic were only deserving of contempt.”¹²² However, it is arguable that this thought prevailed among other ruling elites in the Middle East geography. Nomadic tribes in the 19th century - Middle East were generally perceived as being completely against the civilized society and as being naturally prone to rebellion and banditry.¹²³ Similar approach was observed also in Russia and China, where nomadism was seen entirely against the “civilization”¹²⁴

In the Ottoman Empire, anyone or any group who resisted central authority was considered brigand. Considering the nomads' way of life as they were acting in a considerably independent manner and being far away from state's direct control,

¹²¹ BOA, HAT 452/22389.

¹²² Şerif Mardin, “Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?”, *Daedalus*, (1973), volume 1, 170-171.

¹²³ Sarah D. Shields, "Sheep, Nomads and Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Mosul: Creating Transformations in an Ottoman Society", *Journal of Social History*, (1992), volume 4, 775.

¹²⁴ Caroline Humphrey and David Andrews Sneath, *The End of Nomadism?: Society, State, and the Environment in Inner Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1999), 193.

they, from the state's point of view, deserved this title. For example, when the nomadic *Tacirli* tribe resisted settlement order of the central authority in 1691 it was promptly stigmatized as bandit. This was actually a typical attitude during that period.

During the nineteenth century there occurred some changes on how the Ottoman state described and legitimized itself and how positioned herself against various religious and ethnic identities in the empire. The modernization process of the nineteenth century led the empire to redefine itself and to create a notion of the pre-modern. Makdisi claims, "Ottoman modernization supplanted an established discourse of religious subordination by a notion of temporal subordination in which an advanced imperial center reformed and disciplined backward peripheries of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire. This led to the birth of Ottoman Orientalism."¹²⁵

Indeed the elite bureaucrats of Istanbul saw themselves as the modernizing face of the empire; they described periphery and the people living there as backward and pre-modern. Makdisi is right in arguing, "the defining political discourse was no longer one of religion and heresy (which had to be alternatively accommodated or suppressed) but of backwardness and modernization."¹²⁶ Thus, the aim of Tanzimat reforms was to integrate all segments of society and all the provinces of the empire into a unified Ottoman modernity. Nomads, on the other hand, in this circle were classified as the most pre-modern population of the empire.¹²⁷

Deringil, on the other hand, draws a parallel between the colonial practice in India and the new stance the Ottoman administration developed against nomadism.

¹²⁵ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", *The American Historical Review*, (2002), volume 3, 769.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 780.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 779.

He sees that this was also a colonial approach. Moreover, the discourse “the civilizing motif” by the Ottoman administration for this aim is very similar to the “White Man’s Burden”, a discourse invented by the British administration to justify their presence in India.¹²⁸

In the 19th century, a paradigm shift occurred regarding how the Ottoman Empire described and positioned itself against different religious and ethnic identities. Whereas in the preceding eras, it was the tight control and obedience of divergent elements that was of utmost importance for the state bureaucrats, as 19th century arrived, state assumed a civilizing mission for itself. It is possible to get insight about this mission and how it is fulfilled from the proclamation delivered in the Arab provinces:

It is inevitable that the Ottoman state will meet its obligation to reform the affairs of subjects in accordance with the order of the Ottoman state and its laws, which are based on the Islamic shari'a. Therefore ... the state begins with counsel and lenient and friendly treatment, and the appointment of officials to all regions, and has started to propagate the goals of this policy; if this policy of counsel and advise bears fruit [so be it], but if not, there will inevitably be recourse to force, and soldiers and artillery will be sent against those who oppose the state, particularly those who have distanced [themselves] from civilization and settlement, and have remained in a state of savage ignorance and nomadism.¹²⁹

In the previous chapter, the reasons that led to the sedentarization of tribes were analyzed in details. The harms they had caused on settled people and their lands were stated as one of the reasons. Especially, in the 19th century, nomadic tribes were largely connoted with inappropriate behavior. Nomads were known for the crimes they committed ranging from murder to rape.¹³⁰ As a reaction to this, the state

¹²⁸ Deringil, “They Live in”, 318.

¹²⁹ Makdisi, “Ottoman Orientalism”, 790.

¹³⁰ “...Bozok ve Kırşehir ve Ankara ve Haymana kazâlarında kışlânîşin olan Rıvân ve Terkânlı ve Heciyânlı ekrâd eşkiyâları mevsim-i baharda yaylağına azimetlerinde sancağımız derununa uğrayub kurrâlarımızın civârlarına şedd-i hıyâmbirle hayvanâtlarını ahâli-i fukarânın mevrû'âtlarına salıvirüb ekinlerini külliyyen itlâf ve ihlâk eylediklerinden gayri fukarâ-yı ra'iyetin davâr ve esb ve

developed a pejorative approach against them in parallel with its civilizing mission. Most of the archival sources used in this thesis comprise similar stances.

Another point worth mentioning in this respect is the emphasis placed by Ottoman bureaucrats on the tendency of nomads to commit crimes expressed by the words: *Mukteza-yı cibilliyetleri üzere*.¹³¹ From this discourse, we can observe that Ottoman bureaucrats viewed all nomads potentially as usual suspects regardless of whether they committed a crime or not. Therefore, we can imply that the Ottomans were not only against individual nomadic tribes but were entirely against nomadism and tribalism.

As seen, the discourse against the nomads developed during the Tanzimat period was different from that of the classical age. Even though in both periods, nomads were called bandits, during the Tanzimat with the sedentarization a discourse of civilizing these nomads was invented and used with those earlier missions of providing security and order. In an archival document, it may easily be seen: “Such a challenging and costly handling of the tribes named Rışvan, Badıllı and Cihanlı which in fact comprises twelve tribes has been settled down without any display of force. Any likelihood of harm on their part has been prevented; in the same way, they have been civilized. Finally the security of life, property and honor of people living in this region has been guaranteed.”¹³²

hayvânatlarını cebren kahren sevk ve alenen hânelerinden mâl ve eşyâlarını nehb ve gârât eylediklerinden mâ'adâ katl-i nüfûs ve sefk-i dimâye ve fukarânın ırzlarına varıncaya kadar günâ gün tasallut ve ta'addîyâte ibtidâr ve mürur-ı ubûr iden ebnâ-yı sebîle müdâhale ve ta'arruza ictisâr itmekde olmalarıyla...”, BOA, HAT 445/22278-İ.

¹³¹ BOA, HAT 452/22389.

¹³² “...bihamdihi te'âlâ bunca külliyyetlü ve gâile-i azime nev'inden olan Rışvân ve Badıllı ve Cihânlı ta'bir olunur on iki boy aşiret bervech-i suhulet kimsenin burnu kanamaksızın iskân olunarak ibadullah şer ve mazarratlarından korunmuş ve kendileri de insâniyet tarikine girmiş...”, BOA, İ.MVL 0042.

3.2 Methods

Many factors led to sedentarization of the nomadic tribes. In some cases, tribes became sedentarized voluntarily while in other cases they became sedentarized by force. However, there were also cases where tribes became sedentarized by using both mediation and coercion. There were, of course, some differences in the results of the voluntary sedentarization and forced sedentarization. In this thesis, as the Rıřvan tribe was sedentarized by both force and to some extent by negotiation, the outcomes of the forced sedentarization are evaluated.

It is known that throughout the Ottoman history, the state developed different methods in order to sedentarize tribes. In this study, which ones of them were used in the 19th century will be pointed out. It is noteworthy here that not only one method was used in the sedentarization process. In many cases a mix of cautions were taken to facilitate the process. To name these methods, one of them was the kidnapping of tribe leaders or other prominent men of tribes. This was evidenced to be prevalent in the 18th century ukurova. There are records that it was implemented against 44 tribes who resisted sedentarization in 1748 in this region.¹³³ In these events of kidnapping it is easy to see how important tribe leadership was for the unity and order of tribe.

It has been observed that the same methods were used against nomadic tribes in 19th century Middle East. In the beginning of the century, it was recorded as a modernization success how Egypt, under Mehmet Ali Pařa, evolved. The methods Mehmet Ali Pařa used for sedentarization of Bedouins yielded a great success in a

¹³³ Tamdoęan, "Nezir ya da", 145.

short time and took place at least fifty years earlier than that in Syria and Iraq.¹³⁴ What is interesting here is that across the Middle East, almost the same methods were used to sedentarize nomads. However, differences in their application arising from domestic issues resulted in different outcomes. This will be dealt with in the following pages.

Here is a point to be underlined. In the 19th century, Mehmet Ali Paşa implemented very successfully the incorporation of nomadic tribes into the center, as seen in the example of Bedouins, a method recurrently implemented by the Ottoman government during the classical period. On the other hand, in the Ottoman case, the power of tribes was reduced by the use of force and exiling the leaders of tribes or by simply imprisoning them. In southern Palestine, in the 1860s, when the use of military force proved futile, in the 1890s, methods that are more rational started to be used.¹³⁵

In the early 19th century, the Ottoman government began to reconsider its policies concerning nomads and their sedentarization. In an age of centralization and modernization of the state that defined all other political agendas as well, many decisions regarding nomads were also taken. One of the ways of the Ottoman state to sedentarize tribes was sending leading men of these tribes into exile. This was a method especially used in the Çukurova region where sedentarization efforts were mostly concentrated. In this region, of the Kozanoğlu tribe, that resisted the central authority in the fullest sense, some 62 leading men were exiled. Of this reported number, 10 was known to have been sent to Tripoli, 8 of them to Damascus, 7 of

¹³⁴ Reuven Aharoni, *The Pasha's Bedouin Tribes and State in the Egypt of Mehemet Ali, 1805-1848*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 79.

¹³⁵ Avcı, "The Application", 969.

them to Istanbul, 5 of them to Sivas, and 1 of them to Yozgat. In 1881, 34.475 piasters were given to members of feudal families who were in exile.¹³⁶

Nomads in the Ottoman Empire were given some degree of autonomy and freedom of mobility. In the earlier pages, it has been noted which mechanisms the state employed to allocate tribes with such an autonomy and freedom of mobility. However, with Tanzimat, the view of the state of the nomadic tribes and their leaders also changed. The state began to think of dissolving tribe leadership (*aşiret beyliği*) since the end of 1843 in parallel with the centralization attempts of Tanzimat reforms. However, considering the troubles this plan might cause, it was deferred until after the sedentarization of the tribes was complete.¹³⁷

The importance the state placed to the sedentarization of nomadic tribes in the 19th century was evident in its efforts to sedentarize them. As a matter of fact the state had never before in its history taken this issue as seriously as it was in the 19th century. Fırka-i Islahiye, which was a unique institution in Ottoman history, had a very special task, which was to sedentarize nomads. For Fırka-i Islahiye to carry out its mission successfully against the tribes armed with a menacing way, it needed a strong army. The state did not hold itself back from financing huge amount expenditure in this aim.

It is known that during the 19th century, the state used its army to expel the bad behaviors of the tribes and to sedentarize them. For the sedentarization of tribes, soldiers from the Anadolu and Rumeli armies were sent upon them. However when the central government could not send soldiers, local administrators used their own funds to recruit soldiers. This was especially the case during the times of war. For

¹³⁶ Gould, *Pashas and Brigands*, 200.

¹³⁷ Saydam, "19. Yüzyılım", 223.

example, the governor of Ankara in 1855 wrote that he could provide 200 soldiers to make sure nomads would not cause any trouble for the settled people since the central administration could not do so due to the ongoing Ottoman-Russian War (Crimean War). Another noteworthy point in this document is that nomadic tribes in the Ankara region created fewer problems in 1855 compared to previous years. Still, it was underlined that it was necessary to take precautions against these tribes.¹³⁸

However, this problem could not be tackled only through military precautions. The Ottoman state assigned everybody from local administrators to settled people some tasks to overcome this matter. *Imams* and *muhtars*, from the local administration units, in this process, were assigned to prevent unsuitable and unwanted attitudes of the newly settled people or they were tasked to notify *müdür* and *kazameclisi* under necessary conditions. It was also among the duties of *müdür* and *kazameclisi* to prevent newly settling people from escaping to other places and to make them stay in their villages. What was expected of the already settled people, on the other hand, was to be friendly to their new neighbors and help them in practicing agriculture.¹³⁹

At the end of the 19th century, *Aşiret Mektepleri* (Imperial School for Tribes) were established in 1892 as another step towards taking the tribes under control. In parallel with all previous precautions, the leading teenage boys of the tribes were raised patriotically with an Ottomanist sense of duty. This policy especially targeted the sons of leading tribal chiefs from Arab and Kurdish provinces.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ BOA, İ.MVL.00338.

¹³⁹ BOA, İ.MVL. 452/22389.

¹⁴⁰ Eugene L. Rogan, "Asiret Mektebi: Abdulhamid II's School for Tribes (1892-1907)", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (1996), volume 1, 84.

Sedentarization of tribes cost highly for the Ottoman Empire. Besides the precautions taken for their sedentarization, there were also efforts to adopt these people into settled way of life and to prevent them from leaving the places they were newly settling in. The most important of these efforts was to build private houses and other necessary buildings for them. With this development, nomads who had for long lived in tents would now be made accustomed to living in houses, thus becoming adaptable to civilization (*medeniyete ısındırılmak*).¹⁴¹

One of the steps taken by the state to accelerate the sedentarization process of nomadic tribes was building mosques in the newly established villages. The reason behind this policy was the state officials' awareness of the weakness of the religious sensitivity of nomads. Thus, it seems that by increasing the importance of religion in the lives of the nomads, state officials aimed to facilitate their control by taking religion's role in keeping people under control. However, implementation of this policy without considering sectarian differences created some problems in return.

From Bent's observations:

The Turkish Government is anxious to get the Yourouks to settle in some of the more favourable localities on the southern slopes of the Taurus, where a few of the wretched hovels have been erected, but the Yourouks resent the idea, and doggedly refuse to have a mosque or a Hodja. We saw several attempts to thus bind them, but they resent the idea and the mosque falls into ruins. Their religion is a truly pastoral one, and impregnated with much secrecy though amongst them we never saw traces, as with the Takhtagees, of the Ali worship. They are, however, quite distinct from the Mohammedans, for they weep over a corpse, deck it with flowers, and give wine at bridal festivities Sacred trees by the side of the pathways are hung with rags¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ BOA, İMG 0279, S47

¹⁴² Theodore Bent, "The Yourouks of Asia Minor", *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1891), 274.

3.3 Problems

For many nomadic people, sedentarization process became very difficult and painful. There are historical proofs that out of life conditions and parallel natural processes, some nomads became sedentarized by their own will. However, it should be mentioned that the results of forced sedentarization were overwhelmingly unsuccessful. This was also true in the case of the sedentarization of the Rıışvan tribe. Although, the process of sedentarization of this tribe started at the beginning of the 19th century, it took longer time than expected. What led to this result was that rather than conciliation, coercion of settlement by the state was used.

The first reaction of the Rıışvan tribe against the sedentarization was resistance. Some other tribes led by Afşar tribe also resisted this attempt at sedentarization by abandoning the places where they were settled.¹⁴³ Besides these, they also used other means to avoid sedentarization. One of the most striking of these was their efforts to avoid this process by giving bribes. The amount of the bribe changed according to whom it was offered and for what reason. It is seen in the archival documentation that the Rıışvan tribesmen were ready to give a big amount of money from a thousand to two thousand-kese *akçe* in order to avoid sedentarization. The efforts of tribes who were reluctant to be sedentarized are well evidenced in this document: “These (newly settled Rıışvan nomads) are ready to leave anything but their families and children...”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ BOA, İMG 0279.

¹⁴⁴ “*Ekrâd-ı merkume ba'zı me'murin ve sâirlerine akçeler ve develer ve aletler virüb aldatmak ve sonra ahâlıden iz'âf-ı müzâ'afını almağa alışmış olduklarından eğerçi müşârünileyhe dahi pek çok şeyler arz idüip hattâ iskânlarından sarf-ı nazar olunmak üzere bir-iki bin kise akçe vermeğe ve iyâlleriyile çocuklarından mâ'adâ ellerinde bulunan şeyleri bırakub gitmeğe bile razı olacakları derkâr ise de olmakule şeyleri kabul şöyle dursun huzurlarında lisânlarına bile aldırılmayup söyleyenleri tekdîr idüb iskân olunurlar ve halkdan aldıklarını yerlü yerine virirler hırsızlarını teslim iderler...*” BOA, İ.MVL. 452/22389.

The power of the Rıřvan tribe, and its relations and alliances with other tribes defined its relations with the Ottoman state as well. For example, Kuzu-Güdenli and Harameyn tribes, which were in a close alliance with the Rıřvan tribe, after the sedentarization of the Rıřvan tribe, re-evaluated their position in the eye of the state and decided to become much more obedient.¹⁴⁵

As mentioned earlier, the state concentrated on the sedentarization of the Rıřvan tribe especially during the 1840. However, it is not possible to say that these tribes became settled in the true sense until the first years of the Republican era. Ortaylı mentions that řıhbızınlı and Rıřvan nomads became settled in Ankara only after railroads were constructed.¹⁴⁶ However Seyyah Kandemir's account of Ankara shows that the process of sedentarization for these nomads continued into the Republican era.¹⁴⁷

In the same way, this process also took a long time in the Çukurova region. As in the case of sedentarization process of nomads in Central Anatolia, the central government had failed to enforce nomads to adopt permanent settled way of life in the Çukurova region. In both cases, these problems arose because local administrators did not really care for the necessities of these tribes. In the sedentarization of tribes in Adana and in its afterwards, nomads had experienced many difficulties. The governors appointed to this region did not take nomads' needs into consideration at all. The most successful of these governors appointed in the 19th century was Abidin Pařa. Because he "realized that force alone could not settle the tribes on a permanent basis."¹⁴⁸ Thus, Abidin Pařa eased the sedentarization of

¹⁴⁵ BOA, İ.MVL 00142.

¹⁴⁶ Ortaylı, "19. Yüzyıl Ankara'sına", 211.

¹⁴⁷ Kandemir, *Ankara Vilayeti*, 246-249.

¹⁴⁸ Gould, *Pashas and Brigands*, 164.

nomads by using the increased agricultural efforts through conciliation. He aimed Muslim population, both refugees and nomads, to get involved in agricultural production.¹⁴⁹

As seen in these two examples, nomadic way of life became obsolete neither in Çukurova nor in Haymana even after the sedentarization. However, what needs to be underlined here is that in these two regions, different elements played role in the persistence of the nomadic way of life. As Gould points out “migration was not merely a matter of cultural psychology or economic adjustment but was a necessary to the physical survival of the population of the Çukurova”.¹⁵⁰ Because the climate and nature of the Çukurova region during that period did not allow people spend their summer in places by the sea. Moreover, since the marshy areas could not be dried up until that time, malaria threatened people’s lives. On the other hand, the Haymana region was more favorable for settlement for its mild climate. Then the economic reasons rather than the climate led to a slow sedentarization process in this region.

The increasing agricultural potential of the Adana region presented people with more suitable conditions who would involve in agricultural work. Agriculture could now substitute for tribes’ subsistence on animal husbandry. In the Haymana region, on the other hand, animal husbandry persisted to be the main income source. Similarly, during the 19th century, nomads in Mosul continued their nomadic way of life, where the lack of opportunities in agriculture resulted in this consequence.¹⁵¹

If any comparison is made, in the Çukurova region, when the marshy areas were dried up and the importance of trade increased, the process of sedentarization

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 165.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 173

¹⁵¹ Shields, *Sheep Nomads*, 775.

took shorter here than in the Haymana region. In the year 1871, cotton production of Adana had increased at an unprecedented amount.¹⁵² Without doubt, the increased agricultural potential of the region led to a serious demand on land holding there. Here it is noteworthy that the tribes, sedentarized through Fırka-i Islahiye also competed for land holding. Among these, those who contributed to the efforts of Fırka-i Islahiye were rewarded. For example, the Dervişağazade of the Kozanoğlu tribe was given the Harmancık and Satı estates for their cooperation with the Fırka-i Islahiye.¹⁵³

While debating the problems encountered during the sedentarization of tribes, two related questions should be answered. First of these is why sedentarization efforts at different regions resulted in different consequences. The second, why the transformation to the sedentary way of life achieved at different times. As mentioned above, the duration of sedentarization in Adana was shorter than it was in Haymana. Adana in this period experienced an agricultural boom, while in the Central Anatolia, the agricultural output had relatively lower tendency to rise. Thus, in this region animal husbandry was still more profitable business compared to agriculture.

The basic element in the adaptation process was economy. This was proved also by other examples. In Egypt, for instance, the sedentarization of Bedouins was initiated much earlier, and these efforts in the end yielded more success. The observations of Baer in this matter were very accurate. To him, the central administration under Mehmet Ali Paşa of Egypt took the sedentarization of nomads more seriously and shorter. On the other hand, in the Arabian Peninsula under the Ottoman administration, there was a partial authority gap. Mehmet Ali Paşa granted

¹⁵² Toksöz, *The Çukurova*, 216.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 219.

nomads the full authority upon the land they were settled, while in the Ottoman case, it was unclear in which status lands would be given.¹⁵⁴ In fact, the uncertainty of property rights on the land created some disputes among individuals all around the Çukurova region and some of these disputes lasted until the Republican era.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, in Haymana, it was not clear what was the status of land to be granted to nomads.

Baer shows the evolution the Egyptian agriculture in the 19th century underwent as the reason for another differentiation.¹⁵⁶ The increased capacity of agriculture in the region led to the fact that agriculture became profitable business and parallel to this, lands increased in value. Bedouins, thus, were more willing to become sedentarized. It was also the same in the Çukurova region. The efforts of sedentarization in this region, compared to other regions, became more successful. In this case, it may be suggested that in regions where conditions were good, sedentarization proved profitable although it seemed difficult at its beginning.

3.4 Settlement Geography and Population

As mentioned earlier, population structure of Anatolia changed during the nineteenth century to a great deal. Several elements contributed to this change. One of these, without doubt the most neglected one, was the sedentarization of nomads in Anatolia. In parallel to this change, settlement patterns of Anatolia also changed. Hütteroth summarizes the residential structure of nineteenth-century Anatolia as follows:

¹⁵⁴ Gabriel Baer, "Some Aspects of Bedouin Sedentarization in 19th Century Egypt", *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series (1957), volume 1/2, 97-98.

¹⁵⁵ Toksöz, *The Çukurova*, 221-222.

¹⁵⁶ Baer, "Some Aspects", 98.

Until the middle of the 19th century, there had not been any noteworthy new settlement in the greatest part of Anatolia for 350 years. A dense net of villages did exist in the best period of the Ottoman Empire (15th, 16th centuries), as still existing tax registers (Mufassal Defterler) testify. Yet these settlements decayed about 1600 in the course of Celali revolts (Akdağ, 1963). Derelict villages and abandoned fields dominated, at least in the plains, in the *ovas* (basins), and in hilly parts of the country. In mountain valleys a great number of villages remained intact. The level steppe was then dominated by Turkoman nomads and semi-nomads (Turgudlu, Yünaklu, Atçeken, Hotamış, etc.). Since about 1800, a number of Kurdish tribes (Cihanbeyli, Reşvan, Sihbizin, etc.) began to immigrate at the instigation of Ottoman governors. Although about 1700 settlements may have been attempted, as has been reported from other parts of the Ottoman Empire (Orhonlu 1963), no noticeable success seems to have been achieved.¹⁵⁷

İnalçık, on the other hand, gives a precise time: “at least two-thirds of today’s villages and nine-tenths of the cultivated lands of inner Anatolia were established only in the period after 1860. Until then, no noteworthy new settlement had occurred in the greater part of the country.”¹⁵⁸ Archival sources some of which I have already referred to in the previous pages also prove these observations. My findings on Haymanateyn region shows that especially during the second half of the 19th century, a great change was observed in terms of population structure of the region. Both sedentarization of nomads and the establishment of migrant villages increased the population density of the region and the number of villages. As the aim of this study is to understand sedentarization process of Rışvan Tribesmen, I only focused on this aspect. However the table below, in spite of not being accurate due to inconsistencies between the archival sources, is still very useful to understand the whole Picture:

<p>1781 (19 Villages)</p>	<p><i>“Naib-i mumaileyhin bu defa dersaadetime varid olan ilamı mefhumunda Medine-i Ankara civarında vakı Haymanateyn Kazası’nda sakin reaya ve beraya Meclis-i Şer’e varub kaza-i mezbur ezkadim göçebe şürutu ile mukayyed ve yüz elli aded kurra ile bir kaza iken bundan akdem kapusuz levendât eşkiyası tasallutuyla perişan ve elhaleti hazihi ondokuz karye kaldıklarından başka bu ana değin vuku bulan sefer-i hümayunlarda kaza-i mezburdan hinta mübayaası matlub olunmuş değil iken doksan iki ve doksan senelerinde eyalet-i mezbureden mübayaası tertib olunan hintadan kaza-i mezburun sehmine isabet eden bin yedişer yüz kileden salifüz-zıkr iki</i></p>
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¹⁵⁷ Hütteroth, "Land Division", 21.

¹⁵⁸ Inalcik, *An Economic*, 160-161.

	<i>senede müctema olan üç bin dörtyüz kile huntanın edasına bir vechile kudretleri olmadığım beyanbirle...¹⁵⁹</i>
1844-1845 (42 Villages)	BabaYakub, Boyalık, Börücek, Bürice, Çakal, Çalış, Çayırılı, Çokviran, Çuluk, Deveci, Durandaş (Turantaş), Erif, Eymir, Fırkılı, Gerder, Güzelcekale, Hacı Muradlı, Hacılar, Halaşlı, Ilıca, Kadıköyü, Kara Hasanlı, Karagedik, Karahoca, Karaoğlan, Kızılkoyunlu, Koparan, Oyaca, Pirepınarı, Runkuş, Sarihanlı, Seferi, Süleymanlı, Şerefli, Tacir, Tohumlar, Topaklı, Tutak, Ücret, Velihimmetli, Virancık, Yaraşlı ¹⁶⁰
1859 (15 New Villages) ¹⁶¹	Konakgörmez, Küçükgökgöz, Cihanşah, Kerpiç, Bumsuz, Altunçanak, Karacaviran, Kepenekçi Kalesi, Selametli, Toluntaş, Tevhodor, Kötek, Sarı Halil, Soğluca, Arık ¹⁶²
1893 (134 Villages)	Kadıköyü, Yeniköy, Karahoca, Çayır Kızılkoyunlu, Çalış, Tutak, Güzelcekale, Karacaviran, Gülbenek, Çeltik, Köklerbaraşlı, Kuşini, Selametli, Farklı, Ahiboz, Karagedik, Çakal, Karaoğlan, Karahasanlı, Tahimler, Gerder, Virancık, Yüriyecik, Ornomoş, Culuk, Boyalık, Oyaca, Çemşid, Kötek, Şerefli, Suğluca, Karabıykoğlu nam-ı diğer Şeyh Ahmedli, Sencek, Bitlitoprak, Satanlıtoprak, Adatopraklık, Ilıca, Arif, Deveci, Göktepe, Halaçlı, Dolantaş, Hacılar, Koparan, Velihimmetli, Tobaklı, Çayırılı, Baba Yakup, Kösele, Bolathisar, Kızılcakışla, Şeyhali, Bayburt, Karsaklı, Çanakçı, Yaldızlı, İkiciler, Menteşe, Yüzükutlu, KargalıBekciniz, Karahöyük, Kuşudere-iTürkmen, Macun, Beyobası, Çokviran, Ücret, Pirepınarı, Salsanlı, Hacımuradlı, Sarıhalil, Tekke, Etrek, Koca Hacı, Tacireskitacir, Seferi, Yenice, İkiçalış, Kirazoğlu, Konakgörmez, Tokarkesikavak, Boğazkaya, Tepe ve Yeniyapan, Çatak ma çavuşlu, Kerih, Cihanşah, Yayı, Bumsuz ma Şerefli, Yalınayakma Arşını, Elbeter, Dulviran, Evliyafakı, Gedik, Evcı, Horhor, Karasüleymanlı, Şerefliökgözlü, Katrancı, Yamak Kale, Gedikli, Kaltaklı, Kanlıgöl, Alacak ma İncirli, Tabanlı, Bahçeçik, Yaprak, Eskikişla, Toyçayırılı, Köseabdallı, Sinanlı, Çeltikli, Baltalı, Balçıkhisar, Sairağıs, Büyüksebil, Yenice ma Kutlu Han, Güngöz, Dörtlersarigöl, Karaömerli, Dere, Eskikasaklı, Demirözü, Yeni Mehmet, Hacımuslu, Kayabaşı, Sarıca, Karabenli, Süratli, İnyelikatarıncı, Sebil-i Sinla, Bostan Höyük, Hanım Ana, Yergözü, Kara Kilisa, Edip Dede ¹⁶³

Table I: Villages in Haymanateyn

As it is seen from the table above, there was a clear increase in the number of villages in Haymanateyn during the nineteenth century. Settlement of Rışvan tribes in Haymanateyn was only one factor that contributed to this increase. There were

¹⁵⁹ BOA, C.ML., 22109.

¹⁶⁰ BOA.ML.VRD.TMT Nr. 734, 735, 736, 737,738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1882, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395,1396, 16099, 16100.

¹⁶¹ A comparison of the Temettuat Registers of Haymana of 1844-1845 with the population survey records of Rışvan tribesmen settled in Haymanateyn region of 1859 revealed this number.

¹⁶² BOA, NFS.d.01784.

¹⁶³ Özlem Gülenç İğdi, *Tanzimat'tan Sonra İdari Yapılanmada Ankara Örneği (1842-1908)*, (Ph.D., Ankara Üniversitesi, 2009), 196-197.

two different paths the Ottoman state pursued for the sedentarization of the Rışvan tribe. First of these was establishing new villages in areas where the tribes would be settled.¹⁶⁴ As for the second, it aimed partitioning trouble-creating nomads into already established villages by sparsely distributing them.

We derive some information from an *ariza* sent to the center by the governor of Bozok Vecihi Paşa in 15 July 1849, regarding the households of the Rışvan tribe under his supervision. According to this report, there were 150 households in Budaközü *kaza* of Ankara, 500 households in Çiçekdağı *kaza* of Kırşehir, 150 households in Kağamhisar *kaza* of Aksaray, 150 households in Bankı *mevki* of Sorgun in Bozok, and 1000 households in the Konya plain.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately the name of villages that hosted these households was not mentioned in this document.

On the other hand, in Haymanateyn region, Rışvan Tribesmen were sedentarized in 43 villages in 1859. A table showing these villages added to the appendices. However not all of these 43 villages were not newly established. The population survey of the newly settled Rışvan Tribesmen in Haymanateyn conducted in 1859-1860 gives us a good amount of information to better analyze the sedentarization process. When we compare the names of villages recorded in this survey with the names of villages in Temettuat Registers of 1844-45, names of 15 new villages appear.¹⁶⁶ Thus it is arguable that the number of villages in Haymanateyn at least reached 57 in 1859-1860. Nine of these villages were most probably established for the sedentarization of these people. These villages and the number of households settled were: Konakgörmez having 23 households, Küçükgökgöz having 31 households, Cihanşa having 40 households, Kerpiç having

¹⁶⁴ BOA, İ.MVL. 00338.

¹⁶⁵ Söylemez, *Osmanlı Devletinde Aşiret*, 48-49.

¹⁶⁶ BOA, NFS.d.01784.

According to a population statistics produced in 1880, the population distribution of the Rıřvan tribe was in the following: 300 households in Haymana which contained a population of 2000, 1500 households with a population of 6000 in the Mucur in Kırřehir, and 1200 households with a population of 4700 in Esbkeřan *kaza* of Konya. In the same source, it was recorded that Sivas had 500 households with a population of 2300. In the Bala *kaza* of Ankara, on the other hand, the Hacıbanlı tribe, a member of Rıřvan Confederation, was recorded to have had 130 households with a population of 400.¹⁶⁹ All these surveys show that Rıřvan tribes were sedentarized in different places of Central Anatolia.

However the striking point here to discuss is that we learn from the population survey of Rıřvan tribesmen settled in Haymanateyn conducted in 1859-60 that there were 463 households scattered all around Haymanateyn. However from the records of 1880 it was revealed that there were 300 households in Haymanateyn. The question to be asked here is what happened to 163 households? This inconsistency may be explained by revealing the status of Rıřvan tribesmen who were dispersed in already established villages sparsely. It is arguable that these households probably were not counted as Rıřvan tribesmen in the survey conducted in 1880. Another possible explanation for this inconsistency would be the affects of famine in Ankara which started in 1871. These affects would be studied in the next chapter. However there would be other possible explanations for this inconsistency. To determine what really caused this decline it is necessary to make a detailed archival research.

We know that the Ottoman government, through the sedentarization of tribes, expected to boost its economy, security, order and production. The sedentarization of tribes in many respects benefited the state. However, in different regions, the

¹⁶⁹ Söylemez, *Osmanlı Devletinde Ařiret*, 45.

attempts of state did not go simultaneously and in some regions it failed to enforce immediate sedentarization. Even though new villages were established, houses were built for the sedentarization of tribes, the nomadic way of life persisted until the beginning of the 20th century. Both travels and my interviews that I will refer to in the following pages prove this fact.

When the nomads of the Rıřvan tribes started to have their own houses and villages, some changes occurred in their nomadic life styles. Earlier, the Rıřvan tribe had been leading a nomadic life moving between the summer and winter pastures far away from each other. However, from the middle of the 19th century on, members of the tribe, who now had their own villages, chose yaylaks nearby.¹⁷⁰

The interviews with the local people carry our work into a very different plane. One surprising point here is that old people can explain the degree of their kinship to others in a very clear way. However, asked when they became settled in these regions, they fail to answer consistently; they just give round numbers that they came here about 200 or 300 years ago. The interviews Vahit Duran made with these local people also support this argument.¹⁷¹ Another noteworthy point here is that these people could tell the names of places they came from. These names are the Adıyaman, Kahta, İslahiye, and Gaziantep regions, which hosted a great proportion of Rıřvan tribesmen in the 16th 17th, and the 18th centuries.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ateř, "Halikan ve Reřvanların", 59.

CHAPTER IV

SETTLEMENT AND ADAPTATION PROBLEMS

The aim of this chapter is to understand how the sedentarization process influenced the nomads. From the state's point of view, the process seemed relatively easy to be applied, for the state could easily make decisions related to the lives of its 'subjects'; however, from the perspective of individuals, there were many challenges such as changing their economic activities, life-styles and old habits that need to be understood and studied in-depth.

Here I will try to understand how the nomads adapted to settled way of life. In this regard, my questions at first were as follows: Did ethnic differences have a role in the regions where different tribes were forced to be settled? Which economic and ethnic factors affected the processes of sedentarization and in what ways? How did the social and economic changes following the settlement affect the tribal organization? In what ways did the nomads earn their livings after the settlement? How did the division of labor change in terms of gender in the society after the settlement?

These questions are posed on the assumption that the process of sedentarization was short-lived. However, as I delved into studies further, I saw that the process of sedentarization in fact lasted more than I estimated. Thus, it was necessary to ask new questions in order to understand better how this process developed. This

chapter accordingly seeks to evaluate two different periods. The first part of this chapter deals with the period when the nomadic villages were started to be founded in the Central Anatolia. In the previous chapter it is revealed that these villages were being established at the end of the first half of the 19th century. The second part of the present chapter, on the other hand, deals with the period when tribesmen thoroughly abandoned nomadic way of life. Considering that the interval between these two periods lasted long, it may be suggested that culturally and socio-economically, nomads underwent transformation only gradually.

As it was claimed by Bates “... it is useful to distinguish the large-scale joint settlement of related families (yörük families) from the regularly occurring sedentarization of individual households.”¹⁷² The case of the sedentarization of Rışvan tribe shows that those families which were sedentarized in already established villages melted in those settlements and, as expected, failed to preserve their ethnic, cultural identities and language. From the archival records we know that 131 Rışvan households were scattered in 32 already established villages in Haymanateyn on a piecemeal bases. Therefore, it is arguable that their way of life and culture had changed in a relatively short period of time. On the other hand, those who were settled in their allocated places as a whole preserved their ethnic, cultural identities and languages hitherto to a great degree. They constitute my case study for this thesis.

It has already been examined, how the state settled and/or attempted to sedentarize tribes for its own interests. However, it is still unclear how much the government was sensitive about the necessities and needs of the tribes while

¹⁷² Daniel G. Bates, “Shepherd Becomes Farmer A Study of Sedentarization and Social Change in Southeastern Turkey”, in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* (Leiden: E. J. Brill., 1974), 92.

sedentarizing them. Thus, there was no rationale behind the state's expectation of obedience. Accordingly, we see that many of the tribes resisted sedentarization. However, tribes had to yield in the end given the strong decisiveness of the state with regard to this forced sedentarization.

Without doubt, the most violent conflict between the state and tribe took place in the Kozan region of Adana. This issue has been mentioned previously. The outcomes of the sedentarization and the precautions these tribesmen took against it left an important and rich legacy of poetry and folk music. These songs that people still sing and listen reflect this struggle clearly. An important feature of these songs is that they give clues to the lives of tribes and the governance of tribes.

One of the most remarkable of these poems belongs to a minstrel, Dadaloğlu. Also being a member of the nomadic Afşar tribe, he was an immediate observer of the sedentarization process realized in 19th century. His poems, arriving up until our contemporary age, clearly demonstrate the sedentarization process of Afşar tribe to the Çukurova region and the accompanying problems. These poems also provide clear hints about Afşar tribes' manners, customs and lifestyles when they were nomads, as well as presenting the path they followed during immigration. The cited verses below are indications of how Fırka-i Islahiye submitted their settlement decision to the nomadic tribe leaders:

Adana'ya divan harbi konunca
On yedi bey o celseye varınca
Derviş Paşa iskan emir verince
Kozanoğlu beyliğinden düştü mü¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Ahmet Z. Özdemir, *Avşarlar ve Dadaloğlu* (Ankara: Dayanışma Yayınları, 1985) p.157.

The tribes, for whom the order of sedentarization had been reached, were extremely dissatisfied with the decision. Again, the following verses are a clear illustration of this frustration:

Bütün iskan oldu Aşarlar, Kürtler
Yürekten mi çıkar ol acı dertler
Mezada döküldü boyn'umuz atlar
At vermemiz iskanlıktan zor oldu¹⁷⁴

Derviş Paşa, appointed for the settlement of tribes performed his duty vigorously. However, from Gould's study, we derive that the reform division failed to enforce total year round settlement.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the success of Derviş Paşa and Fırka-i Islahiye administration has stood out in the upcoming years despite causing to an increased anger and hatred among the nomads. The force that Derviş Paşa imposed upon nomads has also reflected on Cevdet Paşa's "Maruzat" in details.¹⁷⁶ Again, Dadaloğlu's poem indicated below displaying us this hatred gives some clues again about the process:

N'olaydı da Kozanoğlu'mn'olaydı
Sen ölmeden bana ecel geleydi
Bir çıkımlık canımı da alaydı
Böyle rüsva olmasaydık cihanda

Neyledik de Hakk'a büyük söyledik
Ne akılla kaşpeleri dinledik
Cahil idik n'ettiğimiz bilmedik
Aciz çıktı bakadımız her yanda

Beyim gelir arkasında bin atlı
Cümlesi de sanki kuştur, kanatlı
Öürsek derdimiz olur (i)ki katlı
Yaryetimi kalırmıydık meydanda

Derviş Paşa gayri kına yakınsın
Böbürlensin dört bir yana bakınsın
Emme bizden gece-gündüz sakınsın
Öç alırız ilk fırsatı bulanda

Dadaloğlu'm söyler size adımı

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 153.

¹⁷⁵ Gould, *Pashas and Brigands*, 171.

¹⁷⁶ Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir 21-39*. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 164-171.

Şimdiden yok bilsin, hasım kendini
Bağlasalar parçalarım bendimi
Yatacağım bilsem bile zindanda¹⁷⁷

Even though the state used military force to sedentarize tribes, it took a great amount of time. The sedentarization process of the Rışvan tribe was not easy, either. This is evidenced in the fact that the sedentarization process of this tribe also took a very long time; however the government appears to have eventually succeeded its goal. In the light of evidence from various sources, we see that even after their settlement, some Rışvan groups still pursued a partial nomadic way of life in Haymana. What is surprising here is that some of these tribes had retained these characteristics until the 20th century. Therefore, which date should we take as the start of the sedentarization of the tribes?

In order to understand the sedentarization process of nomadic tribes and what happened thereafter, it would be useful to look at the pre-sedentarization patterns of their lifestyles and traditions. However, this is not an easy task due to the scarcity of available sources. As is known well, tribesmen failed to pass on written records. Those available as oral histories, on the other hand, mainly deal with the struggles, the problems faced during the sedentarization process. Thus, in order to understand this period better, the observations of European travelers will firstly be used.

The pieces of the mentioned travelers provide us with valuable information about 19th century nomads when they are read in parallel and complementary to each other. According to this, the first point to be emphasized is “what is the most distinguishing feature of the nomadic identity?” As an answer to this question, it

¹⁷⁷ Özdemir, *Avşarlar ve Dadaloğlu, 180-181*.

could be suggested that the nomadic life style has a far more determinant role than the ethnic and religious identities of nomads.

The most striking data that confirms the validity of this information is inherent in Hamilton's work. Hamilton, who travelled all around Anatolia in 1842, gives important hints about the nomads. Especially, his studies revealing the differences of various nomadic groups are valuable in many aspects. Hamilton has written about "four distinct classes" in the country. He categorized these classes as Turkish peasants, Turcomans, Yörüks and Kurds. According to this classification, whereas Turcomans, Yörüks and Kurds are viewed as the closest groups in terms of way of life and religion, Turkish peasants are classified somehow differently than the other three.¹⁷⁸

In this classification, the distinguishing feature that makes three other groups different from the Turkish peasants is the reliance of Turkish peasants heavily on agriculture, and having a permanent residence. Additionally, the fact that they had never lived in tents is also conveyed as a major source of disparity. On the other hand, the other three groups' reliance on animal husbandry and their inhabitation in tents at a certain time in their lives is also mentioned.¹⁷⁹

Hamilton's study is also worth mentioning in terms of displaying the stages of the process from nomadism to the sedentary life. His study conveys the fact that Turcomans were living at houses and they spent whole winter in these houses. Turcomans' economy had also relied heavily on animal husbandry just like other nomads. However, though rare, they occasionally engaged in agriculture. In summer, they moved to summer pastures and spent the summer in the tents they pitched. The

¹⁷⁸ William J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia; with some Account of Their Antiquities and Geology*, vol.2, (London: John Murray, 1842), 219-220.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 220.

remarkable issue at this point is that the *yörük* and Kurdish tribes already leading a nomadic way of life also switched to a settled life after the imposition of the sedentarization decision and adopted a settled life resembling the 'Turcomans' as Hamilton describes it.¹⁸⁰ This chapter analyzes how this process evolved.

4.1 Final Settlement

Haymana region, except from its center, was mainly populated by the nomadic tribes almost until the second half of the 19th century. Although the order about the sedentarization of the Rışvan tribesmen were given in the first half the 19th century, some of the tribe members continued their nomadic way of life for a long time. Travelers' accounts about the Haymana region's demographic structure in the fourth quarter of the 19th century emphasize the dominance of nomadic population in the region. One of these accounts belongs to W.M. Ramsay. Spending twelve years in Anatolia, he gained a considerable knowledge and experience over the region. He mentions, "In the Haimane district, the high-lying plains and hills, south of Angora, several tribes of Kurds live a nomadic and more or less independent life."¹⁸¹

Similar observations were conveyed by Frederick Burnaby. Like Ramsay, Burnaby also met with nomadic Kurdish tribes in the Haymana region. He also points out that nomadic way of life of these Kurds enables them to escape easily from the central authority not to pay tax.¹⁸² However, it seems that the mobility of these tribes was prevented and their power diminished to a considerable degree compared to when Burnaby met them. Ramsay, as visiting the area about twenty

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 220-221.

¹⁸¹ Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, 114.

¹⁸² Fred Burnaby, *On Horseback through Asia Minor*, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1877, vol.1, 173.

years after Burnaby, was told that these nomads were even unruly compared to present time. He writes his observations as follows:

The Kurds of the Haimane had the reputation of being very unruly and dangerous. At one time they were practically independent, and paid no tribute; but now they are more peaceable. It seemed advisable in 1883 to take a zaptieh, in order to have some show of authority, while we were wandering in this district.¹⁸³

Seyyah Kandemir describes the population structure of Haymana in 1932 as follows: “Kurds are crowded in the district. They constitute almost a half of the population. They mainly live in the villages around Bâlâ, Haymana and Cihanbeyli. Although they left tribal way of life and they used to live in villages they spend almost half a year in uplands.”¹⁸⁴ Kandemir also mentions about the different Kurdish tribes in the region.¹⁸⁵ The table below shows these tribes and sub-tribes. However his classification is not accurate.

Tribe	Sub-tribes
Rıřvan	Mısırlı, Karanlı, Çelikanlı, Halikanlı
Şeyh Bızınlı	Horasanlı, Havadanlı, Herfödanlı, Jirdikanlı, Leranlı
Cihanbeyli	Derviřanlı, Gürekli, Tozonanlı
Atımanlı	Gızranlı, Jelikanlı, Davudanlı
Seyfanlı	
Koybanlı	
Terkanlı	

Table II: Name of tribes and sub-tribes in Haymana according to Kandemir's accounts

It is seen that sedentarized nomads named the hamlets and villages on their own. This is also seen in the archival documents that they gave names to the places they would settle in. During my interviews, they told me that the name of Cihanbeyli came from the Canbek tribe. Kulu, on the other hand, comes from Gunde Kulu (Kulu

¹⁸³ Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, 115.

¹⁸⁴ Kandemir, *Ankara Vilayeti*, 246.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 247.

Köy). There were different methods of naming the places they settled in. One of them was that the new place was named after the names of their earlier living places. For example, among Kurds of the region, Gaziantep is named Dülük, which was in fact the name of an antique settlement place in Gaziantep. Inhabitants of Kerpiç village claims that they came from Gaziantep region. An old inhabitant of this village, Bekir Öndeş said that they named a place near their village as Dülük in the same way.¹⁸⁶ It should be pointed here that the main reason for such naming methods was that these villages were new settlements created for/by the nomads forcefully settled. The names of the regions, on the other hand, which were already settled, continued to have their original name.

The same procedure was observed in the sedentarization sites of the Rışvan tribe in the Kırşehir region. In this region, either the names of the existing regions were used; or they renamed these places with the names of their old living places. Another important point here to mention is that a new district (kaza) was established during the reign of Abdülmecit for the sedentarization of nomads in Kırşehir Sancağı. The name of this district was Mecidiye, now known as Çiçekdağ. With time, although some of the names of the first villages changed, people of the region still use the Kurdish names of their villages besides the official names.

4.2 Economy and Agriculture

Economic factors were the main reasons for prolonging the transition period of nomadic tribes to sedentary life. As is known, nomadic tribes were relying primarily on animal husbandry and according to geography, they professionalized in herding

¹⁸⁶ Bekir Öndeş (Haymana, 2011).

sheeps, camels or goats. Thus, their life was shaped according to the needs of their herds that they had to move between their summer and winter pastures.

The economic factor, a reason that retarded the sedentarization process of the Rıřvan tribe, should be dealt with through a two-sided approach. Even though the state had ordered them to involve in agriculture, the nomads could not totally open the fields for agriculture in a very short period and probably majority of them had no experience at cultivating lands. However, each settled household was given a twenty decares of field¹⁸⁷ and it was only in the Republican era that fields were thoroughly opened for agricultural production.

The importance of agriculture for newly settled Rıřvan tribesmen increased only gradually. Their failure in agricultural production in the early years of their sedentary life led state officials to take some cautions. Firstly they were, for instance, exempted for one year from the agricultural taxes and they were given necessary agricultural equipment and more importantly land for cultivation.¹⁸⁸ Archival sources also reveal that they were still expected to have some difficulties even after the state aided them. Eventually in the long run they were expected to get used to agricultural life in the long run. As a matter of fact they were left almost with no alternative to agriculture. Nevertheless as it is revealed from the 462 households only 204 of them were registered as peasants.¹⁸⁹ However we are not sure how many of them dealt

¹⁸⁷ Ahmet Özbek (Haymana, 2011).

¹⁸⁸ “Ankara Eyaleti'nde ve civarında iskan ittirilmiş olan Rıřvan ve Afřar aşairleriyle aşair ve ekrad-ı sairenin devamı-yı temekkün ve istikrarlarıyla suret-i taayyüşleri keyfiyeti henüz layıkıyla hasıl olamadığından olbabda Ankara Valisi devletlü pařa hazretlerinin vaki olan iřaratı üzerine zat-ı atufileriyle olunan muhabere vechile bunlara edevat-ı ziraat tedarikine muavenet ve arazi-yi mukteziyye tahsisi ve irade olunmasına nezaret itmek üzere...” BOA, MKT.NZD. 35.

¹⁸⁹ BOA, NFS.d.01784.

with only agriculture. On the other hand many of them were still busy with animal husbandry.¹⁹⁰

Historical evidences show that transition from nomadic way of life to sedentary life always tough process and required a considerable amount time. Other examples around the Middle East also prove this fact. For many of nomadic tribes those who settled maintained their view of agriculture as a disgraceful work. The experience of Bedouin sedentarization in 19th century Egypt for instance proves this argument. As Baer stresses “they (nomadic tribes of the Egyptian deserts) were given land for cultivation, but instead of settling down to cultivate it, they persisted in their roaming life while leasing the land to fellahin for half the proceeds. This practice was forbidden again and again by decrees of 1837, 1846, and 1851, but some of the Bedouin concerned did not give it up until the second half of the 19th century.”¹⁹¹ Kandemir’s conversation with Kürt Süleyman reflects Rıřvans’ approach towards agriculture, and the similarity of view of agriculture with those of Bedouins’ in Egypt. According to the Kandemir’s accounts, Kürt Süleyman from the Karagedik village hosted him in his tent and mentioned their happiness of living in tents instead of living in houses. Furthermore, Süleyman told him that they could not be peasant.¹⁹²

Besides the psychological dimension of the issue, a noteworthy point here is that animal husbandry was more profitable than agriculture for nomads in Central Anatolia in the 19th century. İnalçık writes: “the persistence of nomadism in the central steppe area, down to 1860, might be due to specific economic conditions. For example Cihanbeyli tribal confederation that raised stock dominated in the northern

¹⁹⁰ For detailed information see Appendix A.

¹⁹¹ Baer, *Some Aspects*, 86-87.

¹⁹² Kandemir, *Ankara Vilayeti*, 251.

part of the inner Anatolian steppe because stock raising was then the most profitable and rational exploitation of this marginal land. The chief of the tribal confederation annually was supplying, under a government contract, 300,000 sheep to İstanbul”¹⁹³

Indeed, this was also true for other neighboring nomadic tribes in the region. As this is the case, the tribes also proved vital in the provision of Istanbul. Oral tradition also emphasizes raising a considerable amount of herds. Several elderly people from the village of Kerpiç in Haymana also underlined their ancestors’ involvement in transportation of a huge number of animals to Istanbul for sale.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, suitability of the Haymana region for sheep raising caught the attention of Seyyah Kandemir. He mentions that within the Haymana region there existed 80,000 sheeps and 50,000 Angora goats. While revealing his observations about Haymana, he also mentions the role of Haymana in supplying the meat demand of Istanbul. He claims that Haymana was the meat market of Istanbul.¹⁹⁵

As already pointed out, the Ottoman state benefited from nomads also in the field of transportation. Among the Rışvan tribes, some were involved in transportation. Camel-raisers were especially suitable for this task. From the records of 1859-60 it is seen that from the 457 Rışvan households settled in Haymanateyn 81 households were engaged in camel-raising activities.¹⁹⁶ The same records also show that especially members of Sefkanlı Cemaati settled in Kerpiç, Konakgörmez and Çihanşah villages were experts in this business. Interestingly, the interviews I conducted in the Kerpiç village shows that people had been still busy with camel raising until 1960s. The elderly people recalled that in the 1960s when they were

¹⁹³ İnalçık, *An Economic*, 160-161.

¹⁹⁴ Ahmet Özbek (Haymana, 2011).

¹⁹⁵ Kandemir, *Ankara Vilayeti*, 245.

¹⁹⁶ BOA, NFS.d.01784.

young, elders of their villages were busy with the transportation of salt from the Tuz Gölü (Salt Lake) and that there were hundreds of camels in their village. They mentioned that their ancestors were transporting salt from Tuz Gölü to the Western coast cities and in return, they were bringing olives, grapes and figs to the Central Anatolia.¹⁹⁷

Minimal importance of agriculture to nomadic tribes who settled in the region in later periods can be compared to those who long been living sedentary life. Animal husbandry preserved its importance for nomads even after their settlement. In Hütteroth's words:

Certainly, there are differences as far as the intensity of cultivation is concerned. A group having farmed for many generations will more easily turn to intensification of agriculture than will a group previously having been nomadic. With the latter, agriculture had not been of higher prestige and therefore its practice with irrigation and plantation was nil. Such differences in intensive cultivation can rapidly vanish; the once established field patterns, however, become a firm part of the cultural landscape for a long time.¹⁹⁸

The fact that nomadic way of life continued even after the sedentarization with some small changes was an advantage for tribes. This provided them with the ability of mobility. For instance, during the famine, which started in 1871 and continued until 1875 in the Central Anatolia, the Rışvan tribe also suffered greatly. Tribesmen living in Konya had to leave their homes due to this famine. Harsh winter conditions led to the loss of herds of tribesmen. Under these severe circumstances, even some of the tribesmen ate the leather of their animals and could only move as far as to Maraş. Here, in order to survive, again some of them had to beg.¹⁹⁹ While the people of these regions suffered from famine and epidemics, nomads' leaving these places shows their relatively high capacity of mobility.

¹⁹⁷ Ahmet Durmuş (Haymana, 2011).

¹⁹⁸ Hütteroth, Land Division, 40.

¹⁹⁹ Mehmet Yavuz Erler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kuraklık ve Kıtık Olayları (1800-1880)*, (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2010), 158.

Today the elderly of the Rıřvan tribe still keeps the memory of the famine of that period. This shows the severity of the famine. Osman Kaya and Ömer Kaya two of the elderly of the Haymana Kerpiç Village said that their ancestors were harshly affected by this famine and in the end it led to a mass migration of people from Haymana to Çukurova.²⁰⁰ However, these interviewees also pointed out that not the whole tribe migrated; some preferred to stay in Haymana. The influence of the famine on the nomadic Kurdish tribes was also observed by Burnaby. He writes: “The famine, however, which devastated the province, was as disastrous for the Kurds as for the Turks. It has left them in a wretched state of poverty.”²⁰¹

Due to famine, the early settlers of the region migrated to near places like Ankara, while the newly settled nomads migrated to farther regions. For example, in the Konya region, 300 tribesmen from the 45 households of the Rıřvan tribe migrated to Marař due to the famine. Similarly, 30 households who were settled in Konya migrated to Pazar village of Hüdavendigâr region. However, these people again faced harsh conditions in their new places. Haremeyn tribe of Ankara with 45 households migrated to the Kelkit region of Gümüşhane with their 150 camels and 1600 animals.²⁰²

The oral data collected from the interviews complement what the written documents say about the famine. The elderly of this village said that some tribesmen migrated to Çukurova due to the famine and returned after a few years. Similarly, some of the tribesmen of Konya migrated to Hısn-ı Mansur, Malatya and Kastamonu due to famine and since the famine in Central Anatolia persisted, they had no

²⁰⁰ Osman Kaya and Ömer Kaya, (Haymana, 2011).

²⁰¹ Burnaby, *On Horseback*, 173.

²⁰² Erler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kuraklık.*, 183.

intention to return their villages in Konya. From this info, we can say that tribesmen were likely to migrate back to Konya.²⁰³

4.3 Relations and Interactions with the Local Population

The relations of nomads with the local people were in general tumultuous. The archival documents provide ample evidence regarding the complaints of the local people about nomads. In the earlier chapters, I already pointed out one of the reasons behind state's attempt to settle nomads was the troubles nomads created and their pressure on local people. In the post-sedentarization records, the goods that nomads robbed from local people were revealed in detail. For example, a list was prepared which showed, along with the Rıřvan tribe in the Bozok region, Okçıyanlı, Terkanlı, Belkanlı, Siganlı, Atmanlı, Mahyanlı and Hecıyanlı Kurds sedentarized in Ankara, Kayseri, Kırřehir, Tokat, and Sivas, robbed local people of their goods. Upon the preparation of this list, it was decided to return these stolen goods to their real owners. In this list, we see that mares, colts, horses, and camels were mostly stolen. In addition, the list includes weapon, cash Money, and rags all of which were goods easy to carry.²⁰⁴

Such adverse effects of nomadic tribes on the settled local people led them to have a negative impression on nomads. Like the state authorities, they considered nomads as troublesome people and this led to animosity between two parties. Reservation of the local settled people about the nomads continued for a considerable time even after their settlement. One example of such hatred between two parties was

²⁰³ Ibid., 186.

²⁰⁴ BOA, İ.MVL 00142.

observed during the settlement process of Rıřvan Tribesmen in Yozgad. Due to the troubles that the nomads created in the region, villagers in Yozgad had a negative impression of nomads, thus they were resentful to being neighbor to them.²⁰⁵

Nomads' way of life led them to create different social relations compared to settled people. As Khazanov points out "the mobility of nomads which limits the development of direct territorial and neighborly links, thus leaving kinship as the best alternative for the expression of social relations."²⁰⁶ Among the Rıřvan tribesmen this kinship ties has continued until today.

As it was mentioned in the preceding pages Haymana region had always been a place that was inhabited mostly by nomads due to its geographical conditions which favored pastoral nomadism. This place became mainly a regular settlement base almost during the nineteenth century. It is known that during the process of sedentarization some conflicts occurred between tribes and clans on the locations of settlement. According to a narrative quoted by Kanođlu, other Kurdish tribes in Haymana region opposed to the sedentarization of Terkanlı in this region tribe as a whole due to the problems they created. At the continuation of this quotation, it was mentioned that in order to prevent Terkanlı tribe's settlement in Haymana, other Kurdish tribes offered bribe to state officials.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ BOA, İ.MVL 00228/7802.

²⁰⁶ Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 2nd ed. (University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 138-139.

²⁰⁷ Necati Kanođlu, "Terikan Ařireti Üzerine", *Birnebnun*, vol. 20, (2003), 73.

4.4 Socio-cultural and Economic Changes

The concept of tribe is one of the most controversial subjects in anthropology. The aim of this thesis is not to delve into the scholarly debate. However, some of these discussions will be useful for this study. As one of the aims of this thesis is to understand socio-cultural changes among the tribe members following their sedentarization, it is necessary to touch upon some of these arguments. First of all, when it comes to the Middle East, the word tribe used as *aşiret* connotes a different meaning from that used in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The political content attributed to this word causes this difference. Shortly, the definitive element in the tribe formation in the Middle East is common political and economic interests rather than common descent.²⁰⁸ Emanuel Marx's description of the term, for instance, also shows this fact:

... at least for the nomadic pastoralists of the Middle East, the tribe can be viewed as a unit of subsistence. It refers both to a defined "territory" controlled by the tribesmen, and to additional areas used by them for subsistence. These "areas of subsistence" are not necessarily used exclusively by members of the tribe, and some areas may actually be controlled by others. The exploitation of pasture and water in an area of subsistence requires a complex system of regulation extending from end to end. This is achieved in many cases by multiple close-knit networks of personal relationships that are coextensive with the territory controlled by tribesmen, and not so much by sets of corporate groups which have too often been viewed as the organizational backbone of the tribe.²⁰⁹

The quotation above mentions about joint tenancy rights on the properties that the tribe possess. However, this classification reveals only one facet of the term tribe. Nevertheless, it is still valuable in terms of defining probably the most important characteristic of a tribe that makes a tribe. As a matter of fact, the most definitive feature of a tribe was that all the members of the tribes held the property right of all

²⁰⁸ Suavi Aydın and Oktay Özel. "Power Relations between Tribe and State in Ottoman Eastern Anatolia" in *Bulgarian Historical Review*, (2006), volume 3/4, 51-67.

²⁰⁹ Emanuel Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Middle East", *American Anthropologist*, (1977), volume 2, New Series, 343-363.

common properties pertaining to the tribe including the pastures and animals. Here it should be underlined that the common property right belonged to the family-clan groups, which also referred to a common social organization.²¹⁰ In the case of the Rıŝvan tribe, this common property right is understood to refer to the concept of "mal".

The Kurdish word "mal" also signifies several other meanings. In the first instance, it refers to a house. Other meanings of the term are "wealth", "fortune" and "family". Furthermore, this word also refers to lineage and to kinship.²¹¹ As the nomadic way of life requires a cooperative way of working, tribe members came together for cooperative activities.²¹² Such cooperative groups constituted a *mal* in the case of the Rıŝvan tribe. Today there are several *mals* in each Rıŝvan village in Haymana. However, with the change of traditional socio-economic structure and decay of clan tribal system, meaning of the term of "mal" narrows. With the change in the nomadic lifestyle, which necessitated tribes' mobilization and cooperative production, common property, one of the meanings that the concept of mal referred to, became obsolete. As Hütteroth mentioned "pastures are open to all of the (nomadic) tribe or subtribe. Therefore it has been logical to suppose that nomads – after having settled- would have taken over this cooperative system of farming and divided their land appropriately."²¹³

During the interviews I conducted in the Haymana region, I noticed that this concept of "mal" is also an important word for Haymana Kurds. I also noticed that

²¹⁰ S. M. Abramzon, "Family-group, Family, and Individual Property Categories Among Nomads", in *The Nomadic Alternative Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Deserts and Steppes* (Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 179.

²¹¹ LaleYalcin-Heckmann, *Tribe and Kinship among the Kurds* (New York: Peter Lang Pub Inc, 1991), 149.

²¹² Albert Hourani, "Tribes and States in Islamic History", in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1991), 304.

²¹³ Hütteroth, Land Division, 20.

the word “malbat” is also in use among the Kurdish people in Haymana in a similar way. This word, which is translated in the Kurdish-English dictionaries as family, in fact refers to a social unit bigger than a nuclear family. The word “malbat” signifies kinship for Haymana Kurds. As for the word “mal”, it no longer signifies joint tenancy rights over properties. However, as the elderly of the tribesmen revealed, this word was still in use until the 1960s to signify common property.

The word “mal” as time passed has lost its meaning of referring to the common property rights in the case of the Rıŝvan tribe. However, it is still used to signify kinship and family ties. However, there is no clear differentiation in the usages of “mal” and “malbat”. These words are used interchangeably. It is necessary here to point out the difference between “mal” and “xani” which also signifies a house. Whereas “xani” referred solely to a physical structure, the word “mal” had wider connotations. The building itself is called *xani* in Kurdish.²¹⁴

Leaving these discussions behind, it would be useful here to discuss nomadism and tribalism. It is obvious that nomadism and tribalism are two frequently interrelated phenomena. In some cases, these two terms were used interchangeably. Hence, it is arguable that transformation of nomads into settled way of life gradually resulted in detribalization. For example, Southall claims, "no tribal society which has lost its political autonomy can continue to be a tribal society in the full sense."²¹⁵ The verification of this argument is also seen in this thesis. However, how long this process would last might differ under diverse conditions. Common interests bind a group and can make them a tribe. Especially for the nomadic tribes it had a vital

²¹⁴ Yalcin-Heckmann, *Tribe and Kinship*, 138.

²¹⁵ Aidan W. Southall, "The Illusion of Tribe", in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation*, Roy Richard Grinker, Stephen C. Lubkemann, and Christopher B. Steiner (eds), (Singapore: John Wiley and Sons, 2010), 84.

importance to work together in harmony to survive. Thus, as underlined by Tapper, “tribalism is more necessary for nomadism than nomadism to tribalism.”²¹⁶ Given that the process of the sedentarization of the Rıřvan tribe lasted relatively a long period, detribalization of it also took comparatively longer time compared to other examples.

The point to be underlined here is which dimension of the tribal structure we are referring to. It is true that when the sedentarization occurred, detribalization came about, but we see that in the collective memory there remains a sense of belonging to the tribe as an important component of the identity. For example, in Haymana nearly everyone knows which villages in Haymana were populated by Rıřvans, Canbegs, řeyhbızın tribes or other groups. Moreover, even if some tribesmen were in close relations with another set of tribesmen, they accused them of having some stereotypical features; or they put that these tribesmen show some certain attitudes. For example in Kerpiç Village, in interviews people said about Terikanlı tribe that its members had been thieves.²¹⁷ Similarly, Kandemir’s accounts show that Rıřvan tribesmen in Karagedik village had been thinking that their tribe was more noble than other tribes.²¹⁸ These two factors show that at least culturally, the consciousness of tribalism still continued.

In addition, the inhabitants of Haymana, Tepeköy and Kerpiç village that I interviewed know that the Rıřvan tribe was actually a tribal confederation; besides they also know the sub-tribes of the confederation name by name. This also shows their high level of tribal consciousness. During these interviews, the tribal names

²¹⁶ Richard Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians, and Tribespeople" in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East Cover Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, Philip Shukry Houry and Joseph Kostiner (eds.), (London: I. B. Tauris, 1991), 54.

²¹⁷ Ahmet Özbek, (Haymana, 2011).

²¹⁸ Kandemir, *Ankara Vilayeti*, 251.

they told me were Sefkan, Nasırılar, Bilikan, Halikan, Müfkan, Ömeranlı, Jirkan, Okçıyan, Berkati, Molikan, Cüdikan.²¹⁹

As the total sedentarization came about only during the Republican period, today these groups still have some characteristics of the nomadic culture. These nomadic characteristics range from customs and traditions, eating habits, religious ceremonies to economic practices. Furthermore, with the sedentarization of the tribe members some forms of the social hierarchy changed. One of these changes occurred in the concept of the tribal leadership. One of the people I interviewed in Haymana told me that their ancestors had *Mirs* when they were leading a nomadic way of life. However parallel to sedentarisation efforts of the central authority, one of the most prominent members of the each newly established villages were given the titles of *ağas*. He continued that the first *ağa* of their village was Köse Osman.²²⁰ This is also verified by the villagers. Surprisingly, we see the record of Köse Osman in a document of 1859. We understand from this document that Köse Osman came from the tribal dynasty.²²¹ Furthermore, we see that he had signed Rışvan records of the Kerpiç village. We know that until recently *ağas* still existed and they were respected people in the society. For example, in Kırşehir, Mala Baxde, in Cihanbeyli Mala Celep Ağa, and in Ankara Mala Ercan Ağa families were the prominent families of their region.²²² However with the increase of state's authority on these newly established villages *ağas'* power weakened.²²³

²¹⁹ Ahmet Özbek, (Haymana, 2011).

²²⁰ Bekir Özbek, (Haymana, 2011).

²²¹ "Hacı İbrahim oğlu Köse Osman Aşiret hanedanından olup iki çiftle ziraat ve davarlarıyla meşgul olduğu..." BOA, NFS.d.01784.

²²² Ateş, "Halikan ve Reşvanların Kökeni Üzerine Bazı İpuçları", 59.

²²³ Ayşe Yıldırım, "Kaplumbağadan Mir, Şeyhbızın'dan Aşiret...: İki Aşiret Arasında Kültürel Rekabet ve Çatışma" in *Anadolu'dan Etnik Manzaralar: Artakalanlar* (İstanbul: E Yayınları, 2006), 184.

A significant part of nomadic life and a tradition that continued to be important for the Rıřvan tribe in the post-sedentarization period was the high regard of tribesmen for the occupation of shepherdry. The people of the region say that the shepherdry (*řivan* in Kurdish) was important in their culture until recently. There are many reasons why the *řivanlık* was seen as a professional occupation for these people. Contrary to common assumptions, *řivanlık* necessitated expertise and skill. For this reason, the people held that not everybody could be a good *řivan*. As for the skilled *řivans*, they were very important for the owners of big herds. However, in time, as the animal husbandry lost its economic influence in the region, and some different practices were started to be used in this sector, the importance of the animal husbandry and *řivanlık* lessened.

With the start of sedentarization, the position of women in the society also changed. As seen in many different sources, mainly in the travelogues, nomadic women were more integrated into the social life than women in settled societies. Nomadic women would keep themselves visible by men and unlike women of the settled societies, they would not wear headscarf. However, even if nomadic women had more opportunity to become integrated into the social life, they had almost no connection with outside people at all. However as the complete sedentarization was achieved, women in society became more and more invisible in the society and their importance in the society lessened compared to their previous condition when they were leading a nomadic way of life.

This argument was especially true in the Kurdish societies in central Anatolia since Kurdish women had only knowledge of Kurdish whereas their men were bilingual. Kandemir's accounts of his observations in 1832 also verify this argument.

During my interviews, I also got this impression. In the village I visited, old women could not speak Turkish, and those few who spoke had difficulty in doing so.

One of the most prominent features of nomadic societies is family ties and kinship. Thus, patrimonial relations among nomadic families existed, and so did marriages within family members. Until recently, marriages between cousins were prevalent, but this habit became obsolete as the level of literacy of family members increased.

As mentioned in previous chapters, it is known that *ağalık* was important institution in tribal societies. *Ağas* had privileges in their societies. They were at the highest rank. Then, what kind of changes did this important position undergo? In Egypt, sheiks, the tribal leaders became landowners in time. However not just the sheiks of Bedouin tribes in Egypt transformed into big landowners, those in all other parts of the Middle East also obtained large pieces of land.²²⁴

But perhaps the most important factor in the disruption of the social fabric of nomads and semi-nomads was the socio-economic differentiation among the members of the tribe which took place in the course of the 19th century in Egypt. Such a differentiation was made possible by the enormous development of agriculture during that period. The cultivated area of Egypt grew from about 3 million faddans at the beginning of the century to about 5 million faddans at the end of it, while the crop area was enlarged more than threefold, from less than two millions to about 7 million faddans. Through the introduction of perennial irrigation an increasing part of the crop area was planted with cash crops, especially sugar and cotton, whose export grew more than tenfold between the twenties and the eighties and doubled again by the end of the century. The development of cash crops and the rising prices of agricultural products, whose upward trend was stronger than that of most other commodities...²²⁵

The view of education by nomads also changed with the sedentarization. Formerly, they had no chance to get education. Moreover, in some tribes, being educated was discouraged. For example, in Egypt in the 19th century, the children of the Bedouins were not given schooling even after the sedentarization. The reason for

²²⁴ Baer, *Some Aspects*, 91.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 88.

this was that it was believed that schooling would weaken the courage and zeal of fighting of children.²²⁶ In the same way, the literacy rate of Rıřvan members was low. Seyyah Kandemir's 1932 accounts from a dialogue he had with an Rıřvan member Kurd Süleyman reveal the view of education by these people. Kurd Süleyman said that getting education was not condemned; however, once one member became educated, he feared being teased within the tribe. This assertion gives us enough space to make comments. The respond Seyyah Kandemir gave to Kurd Süleyman was more interesting. It was known that the religious side of nomadic tribes was weak.

Nomads had almost no access to conveniences of urban life such as education as mentioned above and also formal religion. Bent's observation on yürüks of Asia Minor gives us some insights about the religious beliefs and practices of nomads in the 19th century Anatolia. Bent's words:

Outwardly, they are all Mohammedans, though in their wild nomad life they never see either a mosque or an imam. Last summer I gave the results of my enquiries into the religious tenets of the Ansairee who dwell in and around Tarsus, and the secrecy with which they enshroud their belief. Investigations amongst the Afshars, the Kizilbashi, and the Yourouks, lead me to imagine that this secret religion is not confined only to the Ansairee, but is the religion of nearly all the nomad races who wander to and from in the mountainous districts between the Mediterranean and the Caspian.²²⁷

In a similar way, Bedouin tribes in 19th century Egypt were also naturally distant from religion. In these societies "imams were brought from the towns for display only, but they themselves had no use for prayers and religion."²²⁸ Here it is necessary to underline that Islam promoted sedentary way of life. In this sense, in

²²⁶ Ibid., 96.

²²⁷ Bent, *The Yourouks*, 269.

²²⁸ Baer, *Some Aspects*, 96.

areas where Islam was accepted, new cities emerged.²²⁹ In this regard the culture of city positioned itself at the other side of the nomadic culture due to the latter's avoidance of religion. While the city became the center of orthodox beliefs, the periphery became the place where people of heterodoxy came together.²³⁰ In fact, the approach of Islam towards nomadism was also negative. For example in the Holy Book Quran it is mentioned that "The Bedouin Arabs are the worst in Unbelief and hypocrisy, and most fitted to be in ignorance of the command which Allah hath sent down to His Messenger."²³¹

Religion was the main component of the "ideological polarization" between the settled people and nomads. As the cities had become the centers of the Orthodox Islam, settled/peasant people strongly influenced by the teachings of the Orthodox Islam. Nomads, on the other hand were perceived as to be poor Muslims who were ignorant of their religion or mainly following heterodox Islam in Anatolian case constituted the other polar.²³²

With the sedentarization, both in the areas of education and religion, the tribes became more interested. Nomads' increasing interest in these fields went in parallel with the process of sedentarization. In Egypt for instance, people have gained religious sensitivity in a short time compared to those in Anatolia because in the previous one adaptation process to settled way of life have taken relatively short time compared to other one. As Baer points out attitudes of Bedouins towards religion seems to have changed during the nineteenth century.²³³ However, members of

²²⁹ Muammer Gül, "İslam ve Şehir", *Muhafazakar Düşünce / Conservative Thought*, (2010), volume 23, 77.

²³⁰ Ibid., 78.

²³¹ The Quran, 9:97.

²³² Richard Tapper, "Holier Than Thou: Islam in Three Tribal Societies" in *Islam in Tribal Societies*, 18th ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 249.

²³³ Baer, *Some Aspects*, 96.

Rıřvan tribe preserved their approach to religion for a long time compared to Bedouins. However, as the sedentarization was achieved in the society, religion's importance increased simultaneously, thus some members of the society went to Konya to get religious education in *Medreses* starting with the 20th century.²³⁴

²³⁴ Bekir Öndeř, (Haymana, 2011).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The structure of modern Turkey's population was almost shaped by the 19th-century population movements. Besides the migration from lost lands, the sedentarization of the nomadic tribes also helped build the population structure of Anatolia. This was especially true in the case of the sedentarization of nomads in the Central Anatolia, Mediterranean and southeastern Anatolia.

The 19th century was the age when the nomads were largely interfered by the state. In this century, the efforts of westernization and modernization was felt in many areas, thus many reforms were initiated on behalf of the Ottoman subjects. One of the societies aimed for centralization were nomads. In this century, the sedentarization of nomads was of vital importance to the state. Apart from the efforts of centralization, the state, through the sedentarization of nomads, aimed to increase the agricultural output, to protect the life and property of its subjects as promised by the Tanzimat Edict, and to increase the source of incomes from taxation; and finally through the sedentarization, the state aimed to recruit soldiers.

Travelers' interest in Ottoman nomads during the 19th century left us a respectable amount of knowledge regarding their social, economic condition and sedentarization process. Some of these travelers were not just interested about what

they saw during their travels. Some of them also tried to learn about how far this process goes. It is possible to see Ramsay's interest in Kurdish nomadic tribes in Central Anatolia by these words "This process (sedentarization of nomads), as I believe, has been going on for centuries, but it has been greatly quickened in recent years both by the policy of government (which tries to discourage and even forcibly to stop nomadism), and by the market growth of the European spirit in this Oriental land."²³⁵

What distinguished this century from earlier centuries in terms of the efforts of sedentarization was that in the discourse of modernization, it was now argued by a large segment of population that nomads were primitive people. To uplift these people, the state can be said to have begun social engineering. Whereas in the Ottoman Classical Age, the state aimed to turn nomads into farmers mainly to prevent their mobility for security reasons, in the 19th century, the state took upon itself the task of civilizing these nomads.

As the sources on nomads were generally written by the state, historians who wrote their works based on these sources revealed to us how this problem was viewed by the state. However, a few historians who approached this issue critically were able to reveal from the eyes of nomads how the sedentarization was realized. Thus, as seen in this study, while we can observe the problems the state encountered during the sedentarization, it is difficult to observe those encountered by the nomads.

Thus, it was necessary to use oral history by listening to what nomads' mothers, fathers, or grandfathers remembered about their past lives. Because of their curiosity about their own history, they told me accounts found by other means. Even

²³⁵ Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, 100-101.

in some cases, the amount of information these people had perplexed me. The reason for their increased knowledge may be the increasing effect of the Kurdish nationalism.

However, besides what they heard from their ancestors, the fact that these people gave accounts of histories, which they discovered with their own curiosity, or what amateur researchers revealed made my job a little difficult. These people revealed some contradictory anachronistic accounts. One of these is the one revealed by Bekir Öndeş, which asserted that the reason for their migration to the Central Anatolia was the dilemma in which the Rışvan tribe found itself between Bedirhan Bey and the Ottoman state during the Bedirhan revolt.²³⁶ In fact, the tribes of the Rışvan Confederation came to the Central Anatolia much before the Bedirhan revolt at the beginning of the 19th century. Another anachronistic account was that the whole tribesmen told in one voice that they came to the Central Anatolia as a result of a systematic exile politics.

The necessity of sedentarization of tribes on the part of the state led to its use of force. The amount of force to be used increased in parallel to the power of the tribes and the benefit to be resulted from their sedentarization. Whereas in order to sedentarize tribes in the Çukurova region, *Fırka-ı Islahiye*, an important military unit, was established, in the sedentarization of the Rışvan tribe, local forces was used. However, in both cases, the methods of persuasion and incentive were also used.

After the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict sedentarization in the Central Anatolia gained momentum. In the Çukurova region, this project started later.

²³⁶ Bekir Öndeş, (Haymana, 2011).

However, the process of sedentarization for the nomads of Çukurova took less time. The reason for this was that the expected outcomes of sedentarization in two regions differed from each other. As emphasized already, economic circumstances were the most vital elements in the sedentarization. In the Çukurova region where the shift to commercial agriculture increased the agricultural output, the sedentarization process was easier. However, the Central Anatolia was more suitable for nomadic life-style as it depended on animal husbandry.

The topic of the sedentarization of nomads was a phenomenon not only seen in the Ottoman state, but also in the Middle East. In all of these examples, similar politics and discourses were developed. However, the efforts of sedentarization gave way to different outcomes in different regions. Even though some comparative studies have been made recently in order to find these differences, there is a gap in this field. In this thesis, it was partly mentioned. The result is that with the sedentarization of tribes, the structure of tribes and the related social and networks changed. Thus, the process of sedentarization gives us some clues about the speed of social transformation.

The process of sedentarization of the Rışvan tribe was relatively longer. Related to this, social transformation was also slower. Thus, among the tribesmen the nomadic culture has been traceable. Afterwards, it has been observed that this society underwent a transformation parallel to that in Turkey. It is noteworthy that even though members of the same tribe were sedentarized in different parts of the empire, they maintained this cultural heritage for a long time.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Rışvan Tribesmen, Villages and Occupations in Haymanateyn Cemaziyelahir 1276 (1859)

1	Karye-i Konakgörmez (Sefkanlı Cemaati) 23 Households	1 Merchant, 7 Peasants, 11 Camel Raisers, 2 Shepherds, 1 Cowman, 1 HENCHMAN
2	Karye-i Küçükgökgöz (Halikanlı Cemaati) <u>Current Name: Şerefligökgözü</u> 31 Households	8 Merchants, 7 Peasants, 9 Camel Raisers, 3 HENCHMEN, 3 Shepherds, 1 Pedlar
3	Karye-i Cihanşah (Sefkanlı Cemaati) 40 Households	1 Merchant, 15 Peasant, 15 Camel Raiser, 5 Shepherd, 1 HENCHMAN, 1 Cowman, 1 Pedlar, 1 Destitute, 1 Died without issue
4	Karye-i Kerpiç (Sefkanlı Cemaati) 44 Households	1 Merchant, 27 Peasant, 6 Camel Raiser, 3 Shepherd, 2 Pedlar, 1 Cowman, 2 Destitute, 2 HENCHMAN
5	Karye-i Bumsuz (Nasırlı Cemaati) 58 Households	4 Merchant, 27 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser, 8 Shepherd, 3 HENCHMAN, 1 Pedlar, 4 Disabled, 1 Cowman, 1 Died without issue
6	Karye-i Altunçanak (Atmanlı Cemaati) 24 Households	1 Merchant, 6 Peasant, 1 Sharefarmer, 3 Camel Raiser, 9 Shepherd, 2 Pedlar, 1 HENCHMAN, 1 Disabled, 1 Died without issue
7	Karye-i Karacaviran (Nasırlı Cemaati) <u>Current Name: Karacaören</u> 33 Households	23 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser, 4 Shepherd, 4 HENCHMAN, 1 Destitute
8	Karye-i Kepenekçi Kalesi (Sefkanlı Cemaati) 27 Households	3 Merchant, 8 Peasant, 6 Camel Raiser, 5 Shepherd, 2 Pedlar, 2 Children, 1 Disabled

9	Karye-i Selametli 16 Households	4 Merchant, 5 Peasant, 2 Shepherd, 2 HENCHMAN, 1 Cowman, 1 Died without issue
10	Karye-i Karagedik (Nasırlı Cemaati) 28 Households	12 Peasant, 8 Camel Raiser, 3 Pedlar, 3 Shepherd, 1 Cowman, 2 Disabled
11	Karye-i Koparan 3 Households	2 Peasant, 1 Shepherd
12	Karye-i Velihimmetli 4 Households	2 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser, 1 Destitute
13	Karye-i Toluntaş 2 Households	1 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser,
14	Karye-i Hacılar 4 Households	4 Peasant
15	Karye-i Hacı Muradlı 2 Households	1 Shepherd, 1 Pedlar
16	Karye-i Börücek 4 Households	3 Peasant, 1 HENCHMAN
17	Karye-i Çayırılı 1 Households	1 Shepherd, 1 Died without issue
18	Karye-i Runkuş 8 Households <u>Current Name: Dikilitaş</u>	2 Peasant, 3 HENCHMAN, 1 Shepherd, 1 Camel Raiser, 1 Cowman
19	Karye-i Halaşlı 2 Households	1 Peasant, 1 Child
20	Karye-i Karaoğlan 3 Households	1 Peasant, 2 Shepherd
21	Karye-i Gerder 4 Households <u>Current Name: Yurtbeyi</u>	2 Peasant, 1 HENCHMAN, 1 Cowman
22	Karye-i Virancık 2 Households <u>Current Name: Örencik</u>	2 Shepherd
23	Karye-i Tevhodor or Tohdor (?) 3 Households	1 Shepherd, 1 Cowman, 1 HENCHMAN

24	Karye-i KaraHasanlı 3 Households	1 Peasant, 2 Shepherd
25	Karye-i Çakal 6 Households	5 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser
26	Karye-i Deveci 2 Households	1 Peasant, 1 Shepherd
27	Karye-i Şerefli 2 Households	1 Peasant, 1 Shepherd
28	Karye-i Kötök 3 Households <u>Current Name: Subaşı</u>	2 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser
29	Karye-i Babayakub 3 Households	3 Peasant
30	Karye-i Çokviran 5 Households <u>Current Name: Çokören</u>	1 Peasant, 4 Camel Raiser
31	Karye-i Pire Pınarı 3 Households	3 Peasant
32	Karye-i Ücret 5 Households	3 Shepherd, 1 Cowman, 1 Henchman
33	Karye-i Oyaca 6 Households	5 Peasant, 1 Cowman
34	Karye-i Boyalık 5 Households	4 Peasant, 1 Cowman
35	Karye-i Çubuk 11 Household	1 Merchant, 6 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser, 1 Disabled, 1 Cowman
36	Karye-i Gargalı 8 Households <u>Current Name: Kargalı</u>	3 Peasant, 3 Shepherd, 1 Pedlar, 1 Cowman
37	Karye-i Sarı Halil 5 Households	4 Camel Raiser, 1 Cowman
38	Karye-i Soğluca 3 Households	1 Peasant, 1 Camel Raiser, 1 Cowman
39	Karye-i Seferi 6 Households	4 Peasant, 1 Henchman, 1 Farmhand

40	Karye-i Arık 3 Households	1 Peasant, 1 Henchman, 1 Camel Raiser
41	Karye-i Kadı ma Yağışmışlı (Yığışmışlı) 5 Households <u>Current Name: Yeşilyurt</u>	3 Peasant, 2 Shepherd
42	Karye-i Karahoca 4 Households	1 Peasant, 1 Shepherd, 1 Camel Raiser, 1 Barber
43	Karye-i Çayır-ı Kızılğanem 2 Households <u>Current Name: Kızılkoynlu</u>	1 Peasant, 1 Cowman

Appendix B: Spatial Distribution of newly settled Rışvan Tribesmen in Haymanateyn (1859-1860)²³⁷

- ➔ Villages densely hosting Rışvan households²³⁸
- ➔ Villages sparsely hosting Rışvan households



²³⁷ This map prepared according to the information derived from the archival document showing the villages settled by Rışvan Tribesmen in Haymanateyn (BOA, NFS.d.01784). In this document it is seen that Rışvan tribesmen in Haymana were distributed in 43 villages. However Kepenekçi Kalesi, Börücek, Tevhodor, Pirepınarı, Seferi and Arık villages are not shown in the map as their current names could not be determined and it is not known whether they still exist or not.

²³⁸ Except Karagedik, these villages were most probably established by the settlement of Rışvan tribesmen.

