

unsystematic and unselective data-collecting that we owe the most charming and significant bits of information. Instead of a complete list of dervish convents and shrines we have a long and interesting story about Şeyh Mahmud of Urmia and his execution by Murad IV; instead of a survey of all the crops grown along the Tigris a charming narrative of the refined nightly banquets held there.

CHAPTER TWO

THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF DIYARBEKIR
AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION
OF THE PROVINCE IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

MARTIN VAN BRUINESSEN

In quoting a *qanunname* of the *eyalet* of Diyarbekir, Evliya draws our attention to one of the peculiarities of this province: the existence, besides "ordinary" *sancaqs* with centrally appointed *sancaqbegis*, of two varieties of *sancaqs* with hereditary, more or less autonomous, Kurdish rulers, the *hükümet* and the *ocaqlıq*. For a long time, large parts of Kurdistan were thus to be ruled indirectly—the last of these chiefdoms were not brought under direct control until the 1830s. There were two obvious reasons for this form of indirect control. The first of these had to do with the geographical position of Kurdistan: it was a frontier, behind which there was the enemy state Iran, ever willing to support rebellious Ottoman subjects. If a Kurdish ruler fell out with the Ottomans, he would be welcome in Iran. Many of these Kurdish rulers enjoyed the unquestioning support of tribesmen, who would in such a case follow them to Iran or—even worse—rebel against the Ottoman government and declare their district a part of Iran. In the *Sharafnama*, the history of these Kurdish chiefdoms that was written towards the end of the 16th century, we find several examples of Kurdish rulers who actually did defect to Iran—one of them being its author, Sharafuddin of Bitlis, himself. It was in fact precisely because Shah Isma'îl attempted to rule directly, while Sultan Selim promised a form of autonomy, that most Kurdish rulers, after the battle of Çaldıran, formally submitted to the latter and expelled the former's troops.

The other reason was that direct control and taxation of these mountainous districts would in many cases cost the state more than they could be expected to bring in as revenue. Only places of strategic or economic importance were always to be ruled directly (with very few exceptions, such as strategic Bitlis). The number and size of the Kurdish chiefdoms however, as well as the degree of their autonomy, varied considerably in the course of time, depending on the strength of the central government, the energy and ambitions of provincial governors, and the internal

strength of the chiefdoms (which were often weakened by rivalries within the ruling families)¹.

II. a *Molla Idris Bitlisi and the incorporation of Diyarbekir into the Ottoman Empire*

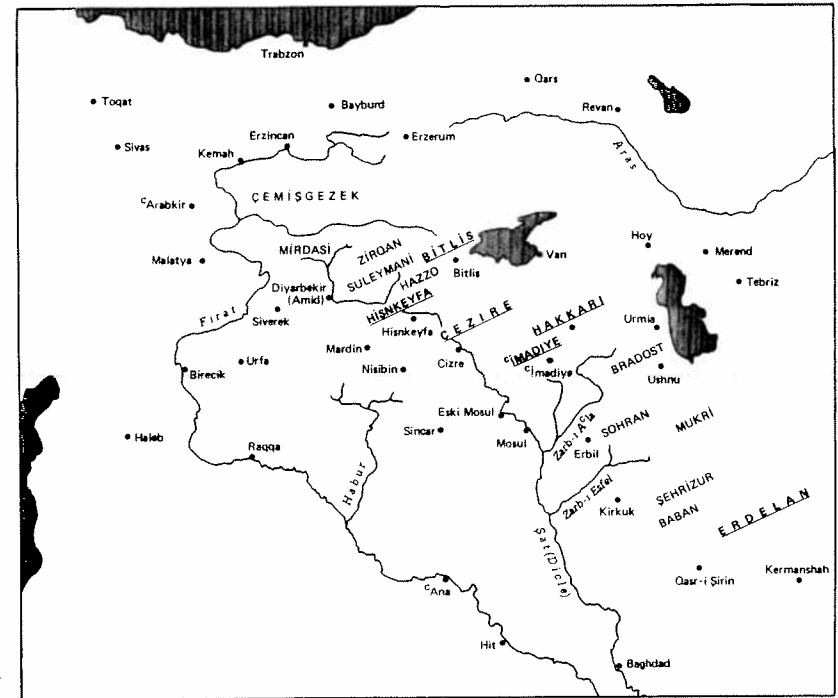
In the first decade of the 16th century Shah Isma'îl had succeeded in wresting Diyarbekir (and the other parts of Kurdistan) from the hands of the last Aqqoyunlu governors. Not trusting the Kurdish rulers (most of whom were Sunnis), he had placed their districts under the control of centrally appointed governors belonging to his most loyal *Qızılbaş* tribes. Cities, towns and castles were occupied by *Qızılbaş* garrisons. There are very few indications as to the loyalties of the local population. Later events showed that in greater Çemişgezek (i.e., Dersim), in and around Mardin, to the northwest of Lake Van and especially between Cizre and Mosul, there was some local support for the Shah, and there may have been *Qızılbaş* sympathizers among the common folk all over the province; but the vast majority of the Kurds were probably staunch Sunnis².

When in 1514 Sultan Selim's armies marched eastward against Shah Isma'îl, the latter's governor at Diyarbekir, Muhammed Han Ustaclu, withdrew with his troops. The inhabitants of the city opened the gates and declared their allegiance to the Ottomans—an act for which there was no immediate military necessity since Diyarbekir was not on the Ottoman armies' route. The sultan's subsequent victory at Çaldıran may have convinced Kurdish rulers of the wisdom of gaining his favours. The decisive factor in winning the Kurdish rulers for the Ottomans however is said to have been the efforts of the great Kurdish statesman and scholar Idris Bitlisi³. Molla Idris was the son of Şeyh Husamüddin, a very influential sufi and religious leader. Idris himself had previously been a secretary to the Aqqoyunlu ruler Ya'qub, Uzun Hasan's son, and had later entered Sultan Selim's service. During the Iranian campaign he had been in the latter's intimate company. When logistic problems forced the sultan to retreat from Tabriz to Anatolia for the winter he had the idea of consolidating his victory by diplomatic means. He despatched Molla Idris to the chief Kurdish rulers, in order to persuade them to expell all

¹ See Bruinessen 1978, 145-248 for a survey of the relations between these chiefdoms and the central state.

² The most important sources for this period however, Idris Bitlisi himself, his son Ebü 'l-Fazl, and Sharafuddin of Bitlis, were Kurds themselves and may have exaggerated the extent of the Kurds' Sunni ardour in order to dispell any doubts as to their loyalty to the House of 'Osman.

³ All historians, however, lean heavily upon Idris' own account (in his own *Selîmnâme* and in Ebü 'l-Fazl's *Zeyl-i Heşt Bihîst*), so that the relevance of Idris' activities may have been over-stressed.



Map 1

Kurdish emirates in the 16th century (after the *Sharafname*) The emirates whose names are underlined had a history of independence and enjoyed a high degree of autonomy

Qızılbaş from their territories. Idris was quite successful: he visited the ruling lords of the Mukri, Bradost, Baban and Soran (see Map I) and persuaded them to join forces against the *Qızılbaş* in the Urmia region. Later they also purged Erbil of *Qızılbaş*. Next, Idris went to 'Imadiye and Cizre, whose rulers made formal submission to the sultan (and later slaughtered many *Qızılbaş* in the triangle Cizre-'Imadiye-Mosul). Idris continued to Hizan and Bitlis, forming new alliances of Kurdish rulers, who jointly reconquered Bitlis for Şeref Han, a scion of the traditionally ruling family, that had been deposed by Isma'îl, Other Kurdish rulers who had been deposed by the shah similarly reconquered their traditional dominions: Hisnkeyfa and Si'ird, Sasun and Hazzo, Ataq and Mifariqin, Palu and Egil⁴.

⁴ N. Sevgen, "Kürtler III", BTTD sayı 7, 1968, 57-61 (containing a long report by Molla Idris to the sultan); Sadettin IV, 245-51; Hammer, GOR II, 432-4; Bidlisi (Charmoy's tr.) II/1, 294-8; Hüseyin, *Bedayi'*, 450-453.

Further West, however, the *Qızılbaş* were still quite strong. After the battle of Çaldıran, in which Muhammed Han Ustaclu had fallen, the shah had appointed the latter's brother Qara Han as Diyarbekir's new governor, and had sent orders to the *Qızılbaş* regiments still at Hisnkeyfa, Mardin, Urfa and Ergani to support Qara Han in reconquering Diyarbekir. Soon after, a large *Qızılbaş* army laid siege to the city. The citizens sent messengers to the sultan at Amasya but help was slow in coming; the Ottoman armies were not capable of reacting quickly, being tied up in other operations. In the summer of 1515, however, the *beglerbegi* of Erzerum, Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa, was sent to relieve the city. Molla Idris meanwhile had mobilised a large Kurdish army, by moulding an alliance between the rulers of Çemişgezek, Palu, Çapaçur, Bitlis, Hisnkeyfa, Hizan, Cezire (Cizre), Sasun and some others. The two armies together first routed Persian reinforcements that were sent to Qara Han by way of Çapaçur; then they marched to Diyarbekir, being joined by more Ottoman troops coming from Amasya under Şadi Paşa. On the arrival of these superior forces, Qara Han's troops fled towards Mardin, and Diyarbekir was relieved (mid-September 1515)⁵. Mardin was conquered soon after, but the decisive victory over the *Qızılbaş* took place only in the following year, in a battle near Qoçhisar (Qızıldepe). It was again the Kurdish rulers and their tribal armies that played the most crucial part in this victory⁶; they were richly rewarded by Bıyıklı Muhammed Paşa, who had meanwhile been appointed as the first Ottoman governor of the *eyalet* of Diyarbekir, and who would later cultivate good relations with the Kurdish *mirs*, *begs* and *hans*.

II. b *The administrative division of Diyarbekir and the privileges of the Kurdish rulers*

The newly constituted *eyalet* of Diyarbekir contained all the new acquisitions to the south of Erzerum and Sivas. Thus it included all Kurdish chiefdoms of some importance, with the exception of Kelhor, Erdelan, Baban, Şehrizar and Mukri, which either preferred to stay with Iran or attempted to remain independent of both empires. All the chiefdoms were ruled again by scions of their old established dynasties. These rulers' obligations vis à vis the sultan seem initially not to have been narrowly defined. "Loyalty" may have been all that was required of

⁵ Sadettin IV, 252-65; Hammer, GOR II, 436-7; Tansel 1969, 78-81 (all based on Ebü'l-Fazl); Hüseyin, *Bedayi*⁶, 453b-455a. Hasan Rumlu gave a diverging account: *Ahsan at-tawarikh* (trl. Seddon) II, 75-6.

⁶ N. Sevgen, "Kürtler IV", BTDD sayı 8, 1968, 47-52; Sadettin IV, 265-71; Göyünç 1969, 18-34; Tansel 1969, 81-90.

them. In a frontier zone, after all, political (and military) allegiance is more important than the regular payment of taxes.

In fact, the first tax register (*defter*) of Diyarbekir, made in 1518, does not mention any of these Kurdish chiefdoms except Çemişgezek (where temporarily there was a centrally appointed *sancaqbegi*) and unimportant Çermik. The *eyalet* consisted of 12 centrally governed *sancaqs* that were all peripheral to Kurdistan proper (see Table I). The obligations of the Kurdish rulers towards the governor in Diyarbekir or towards any of the *sancaqbegis* must have been nominal at best.

A decade later, the *defters* made a sharp distinction between the directly and the indirectly governed parts of the *eyalet*: the former consisted of 10 *sancaqs*, the latter (called *vilayet-i Kürdistan*) of 7 major and 10 minor emirates (each of which was called *eyalet*)⁷. The degree of autonomy at this time is not clear; succession was theoretically to remain within the ruling families, but there are no indications as to whether or not the emirates paid any taxes to the central or provincial treasury.

After Sultan Süleyman's Iraqi campaigns and the gradual consolidation of the eastern provinces, several new *eyalets* were formed. Many *sancaqs* that had originally been part of Diyarbekir were then transferred to other *eyalets*, so that Diyarbekir became more manageable in size. At the the same time central control of the Kurdish chiefdoms seems gradually to have increased, although this was certainly not an irreversible trend. Several chiefdoms that had become "ordinary", directly governed, *sancaqs* later again reverted to more autonomous status, as may be seen in Table I. The *Sharafnama* is an excellent source for studying this process. As an example one might take the emirate of Çemişgezek. Its ruler Hacı Rüstem Beg had sided with Shah İsmâ'il, and was executed by Sultan Selim I when he finally surrendered. A centrally appointed governor took his place. When, however, Hacı Rüstem's son Pir Hüseyin made his formal submission to the sultan, the latter restored him as Çemişgezek's hereditary, autonomous ruler. When Pir Hüseyin died after a long reign, his sixteen sons quarrelled, and Sultan Süleyman I intervened in the succession. He also had a fiscal survey made, and had the revenue of the town of Çemişgezek, the poll-tax of the non-muslims (*harac*), the sheep tax (*'adet-i aġnam*) of the entire district, as well as the entire revenue of some villages and sub-districts (*qarye ü nahiyeye*) that looked promising, incorporated into the imperial domains (*havass-ı hümayun*). The remainder was divided into two *sancaqs* (Mazgırd and Pertek) and fourteen *ze'amets* and *timars*, so that there was something for

⁷ Kunt 1978, 130-1; Gökbilgin 1979, 26-7. The major emirates (*ümera-i 'izam*) were Cezire, Bitlis, Hisnkeyfa, Sohran, Hakkari, Çemişgezek and İmadiye.

Table I. Kurdish chieftoms and the administrative division of the *eyalet* Diyarbekir

	1518 ^a	1527 ^b	1540 ^c	1568-74 ^d	1578-88 ^e	1632-41 ^f	Evlıya I ^g	Āyn-ı Āli ^h	Evlıya II ⁱ
<i>Major emirates</i> ^k				----- remained in Iran -----					
Ardalan				to Iran-to <i>eyalet</i> Van					
Hakkari									
ĀImadiye									
Bitlis			■	to <i>eyalet</i> Van	●	■	■	■	●
Hisnkeyfa			●		■	■	■	■	●
Āezire (Bohtan) ^l			■		■	■	■	■	●
Gurkil									
Fıniq									
<i>Minor emirates</i> ^k									
Sohran		□							
Āemişgezek ^m	●	□			●	■	■	■	●
Mecengird (Mazgird)				?	●	■	■	■	●
Pertek				●	●	■	■	■	●
Sagman				●	●	■	■	■	●
Mirdasi ⁿ		□		□	□	□	□	□	
{ Egil		□		□	□	□	□	□	
{ Palu		□		□	□	□	□	□	
{ Āermik	●	□		□	■	■	■	■	●
Hazzo ^o				●	●	■	■	■	●
Sasun				●	●	■	■	■	●
Erzen									
Zirvan ^p		□							
Gürdükan				□	□	■	■	■	●
Ataq									
Tercil									
Milhrani									
Hizan									
Hançük									
Genç				●	●	■	■	■	●
Āapaqçur		□		□	□	□	□	□	
Qulp				□	□	□	□	□	
Süleymani ^r									
{ Milfariqin									

Table I. Kurdish chieftoms and the administrative division of the *eyalet* Diyarbekir (*continued*)

<i>Sancaqs that are not also Kurdish chieftoms</i>	1518 ^a	1527 ^b	1540 ^c	1568-74 ^d	1578-88 ^e	1632-41 ^f	Evlıya I ^g	Āyn-ı Āli ^h	Evlıya II ⁱ
Amid	●								
Mardin	●								
ĀArabkir	●								
Kığı	●								
Harput	●								
Ergani	●								
Siverek	●								
Ruha (Urfa)	●								
Bire	●								
Raqqa	●								
Suruc	●								
Cammasa									
Deyr ü Rahba									
Beni Rabi'a									
Mosul									
Eski Mosul									
ĀAna ve Hit									
Habur									
Sincar									
Aqçaqal'e ^s									
Nisibin									
Si'ird									
Masyum u Tur									
Hüsnru									
Ahakis									
Dasini									
Zaho									
<i>Nomadic sancaqs:</i>									
ĀAşayir-i Ulus (Boz Ulus)	●								
ĀPesyan u Pozan	●								
ĀAşayir-i Beni Tay	●								

Table I: *Legend and notes*

- a. After a defter quoted in *Yıllık*, 67.
- b. After defter no. 5246, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, as summarized by Kunt (1978, 130-1). The list is identical with that of defter no. 10057 as summarized by Gökbilgin (1979, 26-7). Since the names of the begs were given it was possible to correct a few misreadings of the names of emirates by comparison with the *Shahnama*.
- c. Unnamed defter, quoted in *Yıllık*, 67.
- d. Maliye Ahkam Defteri 563, as summarized by Kunt (1978, 142-4).
- e. Defter Kamil Kepeci no. 262 (Kunt 1978, 162-4).
- f. Defter KK 266 or Cevdet, Dahiliye no 6095 (Kunt 1978, 191-2).
- g. The first list given by Evliya (199^v, 2-9).
- h. *Qavanin-i Al-i 'Osman* (ed. Gökbilgin), 30-1.
- i. Evliya's second list, with the *has* of the *mirs* (199^v 15-22).
- k. As classified in the *Sharafnama*: major emirates (all of which are listed in this table) are those whose rulers at one time or other had money coined and the *khutba* read in their own name. These were, in the 16th and 17th centuries, not necessarily the largest and strongest, but still the most prestigious emirates. Of the minor emirates only those are listed that are mentioned in the defters of Diyarbekir.
- l. Cezire had, in a distant past, been divided among three branches of the ruling family. Gurkil and Fınıq, at the eastern and western marches of the emirate, respectively, remained in practice often subjected to the central Cezire proper (*Sharafnama*).
- m. Autonomous Çemişgezek was after the death of its last strong ruler, in the 1530s, divided into three sancaqs Mecengird, Pertek and Sağman, the status of which changed several times. The name Mecengird is probably a mistake of the *Sharafnama*'s author: the castle of this name was located east of Erzerum. We assume he meant Mazgird, which once did belong to Çemişgezek.
- n. The ruling families of Egil, Palu and Çermik claimed common descent. The last common ancestor however flourished in the 11th century, and there were no special relations between the three dynasties any more in the 16th century.
- o. Sasun and Hazzo are two names for the same emirate; in the course of the 16th century the former name gave way to the latter. Erzen was a district originally belonging to Hisnkeyfa that was by Sultan Selim I given to the ruler of Sasun-Hazzo (*Sharafnama*).
- p. The Zirqan (or Zirqi) ruling family split, in the 15th (?) century, into four branches, residing in Tercil and Ataq (which together formed the central part), Derzini (not mentioned in defters) and Gürdükan. Uzun Hasan added the district of Mihrani to the domains of the ruler of Tercil (*Sharafnama*). In the 16th and 17th century a district named Zirqi is sometimes mentioned; Evliya saw the castle of Zirqi near Garzan (to the northwest of Si'ird) (IV, 221^r, 16).
- q. This family had originally established itself at Hançük, a sub-district of Genç. Uzun Hasan added Çapaçqur to the family's dominions. It was the ruler of Hançük who reconquered Çapaçqur, Genç and Aqçaqal'e from the hands of the Pazuki (a Kurdish *Qızılbay* tribe). In the defter of 1527 it is the then ruler of the Suveydi dynasty who is mentioned as Çapaçqur's autonomous lord. A generation later, Çapaçqur had come under direct control but the family had inalienable rights over Hançük and Aqçaqal'e. It is not clear whether they or another family ruled Genç (*Sharafnama*).
- r. The Suleymani ruled the remains of the Marwanid state. Qulp and the upper reaches of the Batman river were their central dominions. After the defeat of the *Qızılbay*, a member of the family ruled for some time in Mifariqin. This was then brought under direct control, and he was given inalienable rights to Qulp. Some years later, a relative temporarily held Mifariqin (*Sharafnama*).
- s. This is probably neither the Aqçaqal'e mentioned under q. above, nor the present town of that name south of Urfa, but a district near Nisibin (as Evliya stated, 199^v, 4).

- t. The *Sharafnama* mentions these tribes (as Besyan u Pucyan u Zilan) as unruly subjects of the Suleymani at Qulp and Mifariqin. Cf. note 32 to the translation.
 - : *liva* or *sancaq*. With the implication that these are governed directly, i.e., by a centrally appointed *sancaqbegi*. In Evliya's second list and the list of 1568-74 some *ocaqlıqs* may have been subsumed under this category.
 - : *ocaqlıq*. The term first appears in the list of 1540, and it is not really clear whether it means the same as "eyalet" in the 1527 list. In the defter of 1632-41 the term "ocaqlıq" does not occur; the symbol there stands for "liva-yı tabi'-i Ekrad", which seems to mean the same.
 - : in the last lists (1632-41, Evliya and 'Ayn-ı 'Ali): *hükümet*; in the first five lists: *eyalet*.
 - *: mentioned (by Evliya) as a lesser chiefdom of unclear status.

The terms used to designate autonomous Kurdish chiefdoms are not the same in all lists, and probably the precise designation of each term changed over time.

each son. The sancaqs, *ze'amets* and *timars* were to remain hereditary in their families. When however the three youngest sons, who had received very moderate fiefs, had come of age, they succeeded in recovering much or all of the districts that had been made into imperial *has*. One of them became the hereditary ruler of Sağman, the two others acquired large *ze'amets*. In 1597, when Sharafuddin finished his chronicle, all three branches of the family, at Mazgird, Pertek and Sağman, were still in full control of their districts⁸.

This example shows that, by the mid-16th century, there were *ze'amets* and *timars* in some of the Kurdish emirates, like in the "ordinary", Ottoman sancaqs. There was, in this case at least, an important difference: the fiefs were held by *local* aristocrats, whose title to them was *hereditary*.

The *qanunname* quoted by Evliya (almost identical with that compiled by 'Ayn-ı 'Ali) makes a distinction between two types of Kurdish emirates. One is qualified as [*yurdluq ve*] *ocaqlıq*: succession to office remained within the family, and in theory the ruler could not be deposed by the sultan or provincial governor. In practice, however, there were many exceptions to the latter rule⁹. In these *ocaqlıqs* there were *ze'amets* and *timars*, whose holders had the normal military obligations, and they were included in the fiscal surveys, which suggests that some of their revenue accrued to the state.

The second category is called *hükümet*—a term that does not yet occur in the 16th-century defters, but is mentioned in that of 1632-41. In the *hükümet*s there were no *timars* and *ze'amets*, and whatever taxes their rulers

⁸ Bidlisi (ed. 'Abbasi), 219-30; Charmoy's translation II/1, 6-16.

⁹ Thus Bitlis' ruler 'Abdal Han was deposed by the governor of Van, Melek Ahmed Paşa, as Evliya related in detail (IV, 267^v-275^r), although Bitlis was a *hükümet*. 'Abdal Han was however succeeded by one of his sons, who was first elected by a council of local notables and then officially instated by Melek Ahmed.

levied from their subjects were entirely theirs; the central treasury received nothing. The only obligation of these *hükümet*s' rulers was, according to the *qanunname*, to participate in military campaigns. Now it is obvious that the *qanunname* copied by Evliya is from an earlier date than his visit; in fact, its compiler (or compilers, if it was Evliya himself who combined two such works) used data from different periods: the two lists of *sancaqs* do not agree. Comparison of these lists with those of *defter*s of various dates (see Table I) shows that they are not from the time of Sultan Süleyman I but from the late 16th or early 17th century. Evliya's first list is almost identical with that of the 1632-41 *defter*; the second seems to be incomplete.

II. c *The autonomous sancaqs in the 17th century*

The actual degree of fiscal and administrative autonomy of the *hükümet*s and the *ocaqlıqs* in Evliya's time may for the above reasons have been different from the terms of the *qanunname*, and there are some indications that this was in fact the case. Evliya visited Palu, Genç, Egil, Hazzo and Cizre (the capital city of Cezire), and they were all still *hükümet*s then. They seem however not to have been entirely exempted from fiscal obligations, since Evliya was sent to Palu and Egil by Melek Ahmed Paşa in order to requisition fodder (fol 197^v). This is also borne out by the registers relating to Sultan Murad IV's Baghdad campaign of 1637-8, which were published by Güçer (1964). In order to provision men and horses in the huge army train, stores of bread or flour and of barley had to be collected along the route the army was to take. Two special taxes were levied to this end, the *nüzül* and the *sürsat*. The first was an *avarız* tax: each *avarızhane*, the tax-paying unit, had to pay a fixed amount in kind and bring it to designated storehouses; the provinces too far away from the armies' route paid an equivalent sum of money. The *sürsat* originally consisted of obligatory *sale* (of barley and bread). In practice however, payment seems not, or only partially, to have been made so that they were in fact levies as well. The districts too far away from the army's route were obliged to pay a sum of money instead. Unlike the *nüzül*, the *sürsat* was demanded as a lump amount from each *sancaq* or *qaza*, its division among the population being the responsibility of local authorities. In 1637-8 then, the *hükümet*s—which had never been surveyed, and where no division into *avarızhanes* had been made — did not pay the *nüzül*, but Egil, Palu, and Hazzo did have to pay *sürsat*. Cezire and Genç, however, apparently remained exempted from this tax. As may be seen from Table II, the *sürsat* was considerably higher than the *nüzül*, and exemption from the latter must have been a rather mean-

Table II. *Nüzül* and *sürsat* levied from Diyarbekir's *sancaqs* during Sultan Murad IV's Baghdad campaign of 1637-8 (in *kiles* (bushels) of barley and wheat flour)

sancaq	number of <i>avarızhanes</i>	<i>nüzül</i>		<i>sürsat</i> (requested amounts)	
		barley	flour	barley	flour
Hiskeyfa	188.5	565.5	188.5	5000* ^c	250
Cezire	—	—	—	—	—
Çemişgezek	100	3000	100	1500	250
Mazgird	108	—* ^a	—* ^a	1500	150
Pertek	133	—* ^a	—* ^a	1500	200
Sagman	130	—* ^a	—* ^a	1000	200
Egil	—	—	—	3000* ^c	200
Palu	—	—	—	5000	200
Çermik	69	207	69	1000	100
Hazzo	—	—	—	1300	200
Ataq	45	135	45	600	100
Hani	60.5	181.5	60.5	1000	100
Tercil	—	—	—	2000	200
Mihrani	14	—* ^b	—* ^b	500	50
Gürdükan	—	—	—	500	100
Genç	—	—	—	—	—
Çapaççur	49	—* ^a	—* ^a	1000	100
Qulp	70	—* ^b	—* ^b	1000	100
Mifariqin	—	—	—	2000	200
Amid	797	2391	797	8000	600
Mardin	—	—	—	5000	200
Birecik-Tell Gevran	137	411	137	1500* ^c	200
Savur	104	312	104	1500* ^c	150
Harput	238.5	717.5	238.5	2500	200
Ergani	129	387	129	2000	100
Çüngüş	113	339	113	1500	150
Siverek	89	267	89	1500	100
Eski Mosul	185	—* ^a	—* ^a	—	—
Sincar	75	155	53	—	—
Aqçaqal ^c	—	—	—	5000* ^c	300
Nisibin	—	—	—	2000	200
Si'ird	40	120	40	500	100

Compiled from the data in Güçer 1964, 182-3, 198-200, 226-8. Districts have been arranged in the same order as in Table I. The taxes were not uniformly delivered; as marked by asterixes:

*^a *nüzül* requested but not delivered in kind, some compensation in money, however, given.

*^b *nüzül* requested but not delivered at all.

*^c less than 75% of the *sürsat* demanded actually delivered.

ingless token as long as *sürsat* had to be paid. Table II also shows that the Kurdish (*ocaqlıq*) *sancaqs* were less obedient in delivering these special taxes than the ordinary Ottoman *sancaqs*—an indication that complete central control over them had not yet been established.

An interesting document, written in 1631 by a certain 'Aziz Efendi¹⁰, shows that there was widespread discontent among the Kurdish rulers of that time because of the encroachments upon their privileges on the part of the provincial governors. This work belongs to the category of *nasihatnames*, books of counsel addressed to the sultan, in which the authors gave an analysis of the political, economic and military decline of the empire and suggested remedies—a genre that flourished in the difficult years of the early 17th century¹¹. 'Aziz Efendi was clearly well acquainted with the situation in the Kurdish provinces, and he saw many signs of decline there, all of which he related to the fact that the Kurdish begs' autonomy had almost become a dead letter. He complained that beglerbegis interfered in the succession after a Kurdish ruler's death, or even deposed Kurdish rulers and appointed outsiders in their stead, and that several of the traditional rulers had fled from their homesteads because they feared being killed by the Ottoman governors. Beglerbegis moreover extorted huge sums of money from Kurdish begs who were theoretically exempted from fiscal obligations. The result of this was, 'Aziz Efendi continued, a dangerous weakening of the eastern frontier. The Kurds were no longer such a formidable barrier against the Safavids as they used to be, and in Hüseyin Paşa's campaign against Hamadan and Dargazin (of 1630) most of the Kurdish rulers had been unable or unwilling to participate. Instead of tens of thousands of Kurdish troops, only a motley seven hundred had appeared. Hüseyin Paşa had, upon returning, retaliated by having several of the Kurdish rulers executed, which had not exactly made the others more enthusiastic supporters of the government. In order to improve the military situation in the East, 'Aziz Efendi suggested that the Kurdish rulers be given their old privileges again: security of hereditary tenure within their families, and protection against financial demands by provincial governors.

It seems that by the time that Evliya travelled through Kurdistan the position of at least some of the Kurdish rulers had improved again. On the occasion of his visits to several *ocaqlıq sancaqs*, Evliya found the hereditary begs strongly established there, and he remarked upon the absence of government interference in the succession of these begs. This

¹⁰ *Qanunname-i sultani li 'Aziz Efendi*. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Ms. Or. Quart. 1209, fol 129-136.

¹¹ The most famous representatives of the genre are Qoçî Beg's *Risale*, Hacı Halifa's *Düsturü'l-âmel* and Mustafa 'Ali's *Nasihatname*. See Behrnauer's translations of the former two and a less well known third one in ZDMG 11, 1857, 111-32; 15, 1861, 272-332; 18, 1864, 699-740, and A. Tietze's translation of the latter: *Counsel for Sultans*, vol. I, Vienna 1979.

could however change entirely with the appointment of a more forceful and ambitious *beglerbegi* in the provincial capital (cf. note 9).

Evliya gave especially detailed information on the five *hükumets* in the province of Diyarbekir. He visited them all and has left interesting accounts of them¹². There were quite noticeable differences in these emirates' statuses, Cezire and Genç being the most independent (which was also shown by their being exempted from the *sürsat*), Egil and Hazzo the ones most nearly brought under central control. These differences were reflected, among other things, in the titles by which the begs were addressed in letters from the central government¹³. In the latter two emirates there were in fact *ze'amets* and *timars*—contrary to the terms of the *qanunname*—and therefore also an *alaybegi* and a *çeribaşı*, officers of the "feudal" cavalry. Although Evliya did not explicitly say so, it seems very likely that the holders of these *ze'amets* and *timars*, and even the *alaybegi* and *çeribaşı*, were local people, as we saw before to be the case in Çemişgezek¹⁴. This "feudal" cavalry, incidentally, seems to have been in addition to the (tribal) troops with which each of the rulers—of *ocaqlıq sancaq* as well as *hükümet*—was expected to participate in the sultans' (eastern) campaigns. This duty in fact constituted these rulers' chief obligation. Although Evliya, like 'Aziz Efendi before him, noticed that the numbers of troops the Kurdish begs had at their disposal were fewer than they had been in the previous century¹⁵, the figures he gave were still considerable. The begs of moderate emirates as Palu and Genç had 2000 and 1000 well-armed men, respectively, while the large and powerful emirate of Cezire alone mustered 20,000 soldiers, arranged in 12 tribal groups. Apart from 'Aziz Efendi's possibly somewhat exaggerated remarks, there are no indications as to how many of these soldiers could actually be mobilized, and how frequently this happened. It is not clear whether any such Kurdish troops participated in Sultan Murad IV's campaign against Baghdad. They were not mentioned in the *menzilname* (Sahillioglu 1965).

Another point of interest is the revenue of these emirates. In the cases of Cezire, Genç and Palu, Evliya explicitly asserted that their revenue

¹² *Seyahatname* III, 222-3 (Palu), 226 (Genç); IV, fol 197^v (Egil), 220^r (Hazzo), 385^r (Cezire). Evliya wrote even more about the *hükümet* of Bitlis, which will not be discussed here because it belonged to Van. See however Köhler 1928; Bruinissen 1978, 195-208.

¹³ Simply "*cenab*" for Egil and Hazzo, "*Cem-cenab*" for Palu, "*cenab-ma'ab*" for Genç, and "*han-ı 'alişan-ı Cem-cenab*" for Cezire.

¹⁴ Even in the pasha's *sancaq* of Amid, almost two thirds of the *timars* and *ze'amets* were given out to local people immediately after the Ottoman conquest. Among the holders of large fiefs were three Kurdish tribal lords (Ilhan 1981-82, 94-7).

¹⁵ The ruler of Genç, Evliya wrote, in the old days used to put 3000 well-armed men into the field, but the present lord, 'Ali Beg, had only a thousand men at his disposal.

(including, in the case of Cezire at least, the *harac* or poll-tax paid by the non-muslim subjects) accrued to their rulers¹⁶. In Hazzo and Egil, however, the begs were holders of a *has* assigned to them by the sultan, precisely as the rulers of the *ocaqlıq* sancaqs¹⁷. This corresponds of course with the presence of *ze'amets* and *timars* in these emirates: some rough fiscal survey had apparently been made, some villages been set apart as fiefs, other sources of revenue reserved as the beg's *has*. What happened to the remaining sources of revenue (especially the *harac*) remains unclear. The *sürsat* discussed above was the only tax that we know for sure to have been imposed by the central government, but *beglerbegis* may have continued their own extra-legal impositions, to which 'Aziz Efendi referred. Thus, in the register of income and expenditures of Diyarbekir's *beglerbegi* in the year 1670-71, several items of income originated from the *hükumets*, especially from Egil, Palu and Hazzo. About half of these consisted of appointment fees (*tahvil aqçası*) paid by the holders of *ze'amets* and *timars*; the other half consisted of fines. The former taxes were the provincial governor's rights; his collection of fines, however, must have been seen by the Kurdish rulers as an encroachment on their privileges. It must have been even harder for the beg of Hazzo to swallow the fact that he was forced to pay the *beglerbegi* a very high fine (3000 *ğuruş*) for allowing the marauding Eşni tribe to pass through his territory¹⁸.

From the *ocaqlıq* sancaqs the *beglerbegi* received, as from the ordinary sancaqs, the dues on various local products: barley, rice, cloth, grapes, etc., as well as "gifts" for unspecified reasons. Apparently these begs and the ordinary *sancaqbegis* also had to pay appointment fees to the *beglerbegi*. Even some tribal chiefs had to do so¹⁹.

There was one other area of at least nominal government interference: the *qadis* in the *hükumets* were centrally appointed and received their salaries from the central treasury. Like the status of the emirates, the ranks of their *qadis* too were different: those of Cezire and Genç received a daily salary of 300 *aqças*, which meant relatively high status, while those at Palu and Hazzo belonged to the next lower status group, with an income of 150 *aqças*. This probably reflected differences in size of the emirates as well as in their political status.

¹⁶ Thus, in Cezire: "Cümle *ebvâb-ı maḥsûlâtı* Cizre ḥanının ḥâşş-ı ḥümâyünü *qayd* olınmışdır ve cümle *sancağında* olan *kefere* re'âyâlarının ḥaracları Cizre *beğünürdür*"; in Palu: "Eyalet *maḥsûlâtı* kendülerine ḥâşş-ı ḥümâyün *ifraz* olınmışdır"; and in Genç, "cemi-i *ebvâb-ı maḥsûlâtı* *beğine* ḥâşş *ifraz* olınmışdır".

¹⁷ In Egil, "*beğünür* ḥâşşı *taraf-ı pâdisâhiden* 2000 *aqçadır*", and in Hazzo "*taraf-ı pâdisâhiden* ḥâkimünün ḥâşşı --- *aqçadır*".

¹⁸ Kunt 1981, 67 (item 110).

¹⁹ Kunt 1981, 63-78, *passim*, and 52-3.

Cizre was the only one of the *hükumets* in Diyarbekir that had its own *müfti* (it even had four: for each of the legal schools one) and *naqib al-ashraf*. These were probably appointed locally, not by any central authority. Genç referred to the *müfti* and the *naqib* at Bitlis (a *hükümet* in the *eyalet* of Van!) rather than to those at Diyarbekir, which is also an indication of a low degree of centralisation. The *müfti* at Bitlis was moreover appointed by the Kurdish ruler there, and not by the central government as usual. Each of the *hükumets* further had a number of officials with the same titles as those in ordinary sancaqs (*muhtesib*, *şehir voyvodası*, *şahbender*, etc.) but these were all the begs' men, not central government officials. All in all, these *hükumets'* autonomy was still quite considerable in the mid-17th century.

II. d *The position of the nomadic tribes in the administrative system*

All these emirates were essentially political units of *sedentary* Kurds (with a considerable proportion of christian subjects). Some emirates, such as Cezire and Bitlis, also comprised sizeable *nomadic* groups, but such seems to have been the exception rather than the rule. The large nomadic confederacies of Diyarbekir did not belong to any of the emirates. The 16th-century registers mention several tribal confederacies, of which in Diyarbekir the most important was the Boz Ulus²⁰. This was a remnant of the Aqqoyunlu confederacy, consisting of Turkish and Kurdish tribes that wintered in the Syrian desert, and during the summer went to the high mountain pastures to the north of the Murad river, spreading out over an area from Erzincan to beyond Erzerum. In 1540 this confederacy consisted of some 7,500 households, owning altogether nearly two million sheep²¹. It was classified among the *sancaqs* of Diyarbekir, but this seems not to have had any meaning beside a fiscal one. There was no *sancaqbegi*, nor does the confederacy seem to have had a paramount chieftain. The Boz Ulus seems not to have had any military obligations either. The payment of taxes was their major contact with the state. Interestingly, the *qanunname* of the Boz Ulus protected the nomads against over-exploitation by local government authorities and Kurdish rulers²².

In the first half of the 17th century the Boz Ulus confederacy gradually dissolved, partially, it seems, as a result of the political unrest and the

²⁰ Demirtaş 1949.

²¹ "Kanunnâme-i Boz Ulus", p. 140-4 in Barkan 1943. These numbers included over 2,500 families that had previously belonged to the Zülqadriye confederacy but had moved further east and were for tax reasons reckoned to the Boz Ulus.

²² *Ibid.*

insecurity caused by Iranian military incursions. Groups broke away from the main body of the confederacy and went in search of pastures in Western Anatolia²³. In Evliya's time there was no Boz Ulus any more, but the *Pesyan ve Pozan* that he mentioned may have been among its remnants, together with some of the other nomadic tribes Evliya saw near Çapaçqur and 'Adilcevaz. These tribes were, as the Boz Ulus used to be, taxed by government agents (*emin*) when they were on the move from winter to summer pastures, while moreover some of the Kurdish begs through whose territories they passed continued to demand tolls that had explicitly been abolished in the *qanunname*²⁴. In spite of their occasional marauding, the nomadic tribes do not at all seem to have been the politically dominant factor that they are often thought to have been.

Some of these nomadic tribal groups, and many more sedentary ones that were not important enough to be recognised as *hüküms* or *ocaqlıq sancaqs*, were granted a form of autonomy of lesser status, their ruler receiving the rank of a *za'ım* (holder of a *ze'amet*). According to 'Ayn-i 'Ali, there were in the *eyalets* of Diyarbekir, Van and Şehrîzur altogether over 400 such tribal lords (*mir-i 'aşiret*), whose position was hereditary, and who had the military obligations of a *za'ım*, subordinate to the *sancaqbegi*²⁵. Evliya (199^v, margin) mentioned as such *mir-i 'aşiret* the lords of the Pesyan and the Pozan, the emir of Aqçaqal'e, Hançük and the city of --- (Mihrani?). Some of these little emirates had previously been *sancaqs*: their reduction in status reflected the gradual incorporation of the region into the Ottoman administrative network.

²³ This is attested by several *hüküms* in Ahmet Refik 1930. From one such *hüküm*, of 1022/1613, it is clear that many of the confederate tribes of the Boz Ulus were then roaming around western Anatolia (p. 67-70). See also Demirtaş 1949, 42-6. According to the latter author moreover, important sections of the Boz Ulus had moved to Iran during the 16th and early 17th century (o.c., 38).

²⁴ Evliya, visiting Çapaçqur, mentioned the tribes passing there on their way to the summer pastures, and the toll taken by the beg of that place: "... *Biñgöl yaylasına çıqmaq isteyen Hälitü, Çekvânî, Yezidî, Zâzâ, Zibârî, Lölö, İzölî, Şiqâgî, Kiki 'aşiretlerinden iki yüz biñ adam ile on kerre yüz biñ qoyun ve hayvânâtdan burada bekleyen Çapaçqur beğinin adamları quş uçurmayup 'öşür alurlar*" (III, 226).

²⁵ 'Ayn-i 'Ali, *Qavanin*, 35: *Vân ve Diyârbekir ve Şehrîzur eyâletlerinde ba'z-ı mîr-i 'aşiretler vardır. Lekin sancaqbegi hükminde olmayub zü'amâ maqâmında dört yüzi mütecâvizdir. Tabl u 'alem şahibi degildir. Sancağı beğlerle sefere eşerler. Fevt olduqda mutaşarrif oldığı timar ile 'aşiretliği oğlu yögise aqrabasına virilür. Munqariz olduqda sâ'ir ze'âmet gibi hârice dahî virilür.*

CHAPTER THREE

THE POPULATION OF DIYARBEKIR: ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND OTHER DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

MARTIN VAN BRUINESSEN

III. a *The various linguistic and religious groups living in Diyarbekir*

Diyarbekir had long been part of Greater Armenia, and Evliya's remark that most of the peasants were Armenians (208^v, 2-3) is therefore not surprising. Similarly, many if not most craftsmen of the city appear to have been Armenians. The Armenians, however, by no means formed the majority of the province's population any longer—if they had ever done so¹. Both the rural and especially the urban population were very heterogeneous: there were people of various languages and different creeds, nomads as well as sedentaries. Both Evliya and Katib Çelebi (*Cihannüma*, 441) remarked that Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Kurdish and Armenian were currently spoken in Diyarbekir. To these we may probably add the different Aramaic dialects spoken by the Jacobite and Nestorian christians (who were probably classed as Arabic speakers or Armenians by the Ottoman authors) and Zaza, the archaic Iranian language spoken mainly in the districts astride the Murad River (elsewhere, Evliya spoke of Zaza as one of the Kurdish dialects).

The majority of the province's Muslim population was Kurdish, but in Diyarbekir and the other towns there was a considerable number of native Turkish speakers. Diyarbekir had its own, specific Turkish dialect, close to Azeri, with many words and expressions unique to it. This dialect shows a remarkable stability over time: many words in the lampoon in the Diyarbekir dialect that Evliya copied (207^v) are still used there, and have not been recorded elsewhere.

In general, in this area, the Turks were Hanafi muslims, whereas the Kurds were Shafî'is, while a minority of the Kurds here belonged to the Yezidi sect. Neither Evliya nor Katib Çelebi mentioned *Qızılbaş* (Alevi) among the province's population; there must have been many, possibly even in the town itself, but they probably hid their convictions, for

¹ According to Barkan's calculations from the first Ottoman census records, in the early 16th century only 14% of the population of the province of Diyarbekir were Christians (Barkan 1958, 20; see also below, paragraph III. b.2).