

# The Ottoman State and Descendants of the Prophet in Anatolia and the Balkans (c. 1500-1700)<sup>1</sup>

Hülya Canbakal<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

Throughout the Islamic world those claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad (T. *seyyid/şerif*, pl. *sadat/şraf*) were (and are) accorded a special status. This article shows that the process of *teseyyüd* ("seyyidization") not only took place through official awards, but also through appropriation. In the Ottoman Empire registers thus began to be kept of officially recognized *sadat*. The examination of these, largely un(der)studied, sources argues that the state sometimes employed its capacity to *seyyidize* for (cultural) political purposes. The article also sheds valuable light on Ottoman policies vis-à-vis tribalism and nomadism.

Dans le monde islamique entier un statut spécial était (et est) accordé à tous ceux qui revendiquent descendance du Prophète Mahomet (T. *seyyid/şerif*, pl. *sadat/şraf*). Dans cet article on explique que le processus de *teseyyüd* ("seyyidisation") se passait non seulement par attribution officielle, mais aussi par appropriation. Dans l'Empire ottoman on a commencé ainsi à tenir des registres de *sadat* officiellement reconnu. L'examen de ces sources largement sous-étudiées démontre que l'État parfois usait de son autorité de 'seyyidiser' pour des fins politiques (culturelles). Cet article jette en même temps une lumière de grande valeur sur la politique ottomane quant au tribalisme et au nomadisme.

## Keywords

sayyids; Balkans; Anatolia; Ottoman Empire; nomadism; tribalism; Safavids; Kızıldaş

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank my assistants Bilge Özel, Mert Onur and İ. Tevfik Karatop, and Cemal Toksoy of İSAM library and Ayhan Işık of the Meşihat Archives, without whose help this article would have taken much longer to finish than it did. Special thanks to Ayfer Karakaya-Stump for making her dissertation available to me and sharing her profound knowledge of Alevi history as well as to Nevena Gramatikova for sharing the findings of her fieldwork in Deli Orman with me.

<sup>2</sup> Hülya Canbakal is Assistant Professor of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, of Sabancı University, Orhanlı - Tuzla, 34956 Istanbul, Turkey; [hcanbakal@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:hcanbakal@sabanciuniv.edu).

Throughout Islamic history, descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad (T. *seyyid/şerif*, pl. *sadat/eşraf*)<sup>3</sup> have been venerated, and they enjoyed a variety of privileges in all parts of the Islamic world. Therefore, belonging to 'the People of the House' (*Ahl al-Bayt*) invariably conferred prestige and often wealth. Furthermore, *sadat*'s power tended to extend to whoever honored them and championed their well-being. In some historical settings, however, the House of Muhammad assumed additional significance so that a great many people, commoners and rulers alike, claimed to have descended from it. Rulers' claims were linked with state-making and political competition while civilian claims too could be linked with political processes in a variety of ways. For example, the proselytizing dervishes in medieval India whose fictive descendants came to constitute a virtual caste claiming Muhammadan nobility did not have a political project per se, but the confessional and social space they colonized eventually served several state-builders in the region.<sup>4</sup> In late medieval Anatolia and the Balkans, something similar happened. Early claimants of the title were *sufi* mystics who were instrumental in conquering the lands where the Ottoman state was to emerge.<sup>5</sup> An important difference was that *seyyidship* in Ottoman territories never became entrenched in as rigid a social hierarchy as in India. Yet, Ottoman territories, too, saw fictive claims of Muhammadan nobility as early as the sixteenth century and in increasing numbers thereafter. Thousands of Ottoman subjects claimed descent from the Prophet's House, some buying or stealing certificates, others bribing officials, or forging genealogies.

The Ottomans called false claims of Muhammadan nobility *teseyyüd*, literally meaning 'to feign nobility' or self-ennoblement. According to the ruling elite's own account of the matter, *teseyyüd* was a unilateral phenomenon, a transgression by ordinary people. Transgression though it indeed was, of the purity of the noble line to say the least, the state indirectly contributed to *teseyyüd* by provoking a defensive reflex among its subjects against religious, fiscal and administrative consolidation. Furthermore, it can be argued that *teseyyüd* emerged as a strategy of defense and resistance because, paradoxically, the state officially granted certain privileges and

---

<sup>3</sup> I use modern Turkish spelling for Ottoman-Turkish terms and names according to the *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (Istanbul, 1968), and transcribe quotes according to the IJMES system.

<sup>4</sup> Roy 1983: 58-70; Wright 1999: 649-59.

<sup>5</sup> Kılıç 2000, 2005.

immunities to sadat. Secondly, it is also possible that the state manipulated the title for purposes of patronage when political exigency so required, as in a distinct way, in the sixteenth century. The Ottoman term 'teseyyüd' falls short of capturing these multiple dynamics behind the claims of seyyidship; hence my proposal to coin the new term 'seyyidization', which invokes the double sense of self-ennoblement and ennoblement by the state. This dual sense applies to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Anatolia and the Balkans more than any other part of the empire or other period because judging by the Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf,<sup>6</sup> it was during these two centuries that the Ottoman state aspired to maintain direct control over the sadat in these two zones, if partially. While claims of seyyidship were not limited to any particular social, ethnic or religious group, as studies on later periods indicate, the study of these registers suggests a strong link in this zone between Ottoman policies and seyyidization on the one hand, and tribalism and the Alid challenge on the other.

### *The Source*

This study is based on Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf, an underutilized, important source for studying sadat of the Ottoman realm.<sup>7</sup> Yet, they are limited in a number of ways partly reflecting the limits of Ottoman territorial control. First, Nakibüleşraf registers offer no vision of local conflicts and power struggles that propelled seyyidization in different regions and periods.<sup>8</sup> Secondly and more importantly, although they offer an all around view from the *cihannüma*<sup>9</sup> of Istanbul, where the imperial marshal stood, that view does not extend very far, normally, not further than the core lands of the empire, i.e. the eastern Balkans and Anatolia, largely excluding the area to the east of Sivas and Adana. Therefore, Kurdish sadat

<sup>6</sup> *Nakibüleşraf Defterleri* (Registers of the Marshal of the Descendants of the Prophet): henceforth ND. For information on the collection, see below and Appendix I.

<sup>7</sup> To my knowledge, only Rüya Kılıç has used the Nakibüleşraf Registers so far.

<sup>8</sup> The registers can be useful for local studies too but they have to be treated with caution. For example, incorrect binding can shuffle records from different places, or leave some lists incomplete. Therefore, they have to be supplemented with other sources. For an example of shuffled records, ND # 30/28b; 31b-32a (Ayntab and an unidentified town); and an incomplete record, ND # 25, which lists only seven sadat in Ayntab in 1695 while the town's court registers tell us that only two years later, the number of officially recognized sadat in the town was 352 (Court Register # 48A/167-61, 1697).

<sup>9</sup> Rooftop belvedere.

are largely left uncovered.<sup>10</sup> By the same token, we do not encounter Arab sadat in the Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf either. Thus, it would appear, affairs of the sadat in Eastern Anatolia as well as the Arab provinces were managed locally, if by appointees of the capital in some important provincial centers. Deputies (*kaymakam*) of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf in the provinces kept track of the sadat in their region without having to get approval from the capital.<sup>11</sup> This diversity in the degree of central intervention conformed to the general pattern of Ottoman administrative practices. It was further reinforced by the fact that the Arab provinces had longer and well-established traditions of managing the Muhammadan pedigree. Furthermore, places of historical significance such as Mecca, Karbala, Najaf and Baghdad certified genealogies also for claimants from Anatolia,<sup>12</sup> and this signified not a division of labor but competition with Istanbul for the authority to designate Muhammadan nobility. This study focuses on the area over which Istanbul claimed and exercised direct authority.

The Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf are limited in their chronological scope as well. They start with records of the first Nakibüleşraf Mahmud Efendi (1495/96-1536/37), and last until the end of the empire, but with a major gap extending roughly from 1695 to 1874. In other words, they leave out a very important and lively period in the history of seyyidization in the Ottoman realm. Thanks to pioneering studies by Bodman, Rafeq, Batatu, and later, Ph. Khoury, Schatkowski Schilcher and Winter,<sup>13</sup> we know that the popular demand for the title peaked in some of the Arab provinces in the eighteenth century, and remained high at least part of the nineteenth century. Such may have been the case in Anatolia as well.<sup>14</sup> As for the records from 1874-1923, they tell more about Ottoman administrative reforms than sadat of the realm or seyyidization. In any case, the way the Ottoman state tackled the question of (religious) nobility in this period is related to its new visions of citizenship, Islamic modernity and Sunni orthodoxy, and these topics fall in an area of expertise I am hardly

---

<sup>10</sup> See Gezik 2004: 147-76.

<sup>11</sup> Winter 1992: 186, 193-96; Ze'evi 1996: 73-74; Salati 1992: 27; Bodman 1963: 99.

<sup>12</sup> ND #19/4a; Birdoğan 1995: 140; and Karakaya-Stump 2008: 165-66 on the continued autonomy of the notable seyyid families in Najaf and Karbala.

<sup>13</sup> Bodman 1963; Schatkowski Schilcher 1985; Rafeq 1968; Masters 1991: 151-58; M. Winter 1985: 17-41.

<sup>14</sup> Eighteenth-century court records from various towns reveal a high number of urban residents who bore the title. For example, for Mardin, see Özcoşar 2006; for Tokat, Duman 1999; for Kayseri, Tok 1996, and for Ayntab, Canbakal 2009.

qualified to write about. Therefore, what follows will be limited to the registers dealing with the period 1495-1695.

## I. Seyyidization: An Attempt at Periodization

The Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf reveal four distinct periods in policies adopted by the imperial center towards sadat of the realm: these are, roughly, 1495-1658, 1658-1695, 1695-1874 and 1874-1923. Each period was marked by a different style of control and intensity of certification as reflected in the number of people officially recognized in Istanbul as descendants of the Prophet and those identified as impostors. As for the people's side of the story, i.e. vicissitudes of the actual claims of Muhammadan nobility, these can be followed in the Registers only indirectly and with an uncertain degree of accuracy because the degree of overlap between claims and certification is not clear.

### 1500-1658

Judging by the extant Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf, consistent efforts to identify, certify and register the sadat of the Ottoman realm started early in the sixteenth century. These efforts paralleled the spread of other kinds of surveys and regular registers that served to control resource and status allocation.

Complaints about seyyidization started not long after. One finds an intimation of a tension regarding false claims in a quatrain interjected in a fatwa attributed to *şeyhülislam* Ebussuud Efendi (1545-74):

*Nesebden 'ucub iden gâyet gâbidir*  
*Tutalım kim ânuñ nesli nebidir*  
*Meger da'vâsını isbât iderse*  
*Ânuñ fażlı yöğise ecnebidir<sup>15</sup>*

Whoever takes pride in pedigree is a fool  
 Let us assume s/he is of the Prophet's family  
 Even if s/he proves her/his claim  
 If s/he has no virtue, s/he is not of the family.

One also finds reference to false claims in early registers of the 'Important Affairs' (*mühimme*) from the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Orders

<sup>15</sup> Rossi 1954: 13.

<sup>16</sup> Lütfi Paşa's *Asafname* (1539-41) also reveals an awareness of the phenomenon and recommends that usurpers be eliminated according to "old registers". However, the relevant passage here is probably a later addition because the oldest known copy of the *Asafname* (1606) does not have this paragraph. Furthermore, it is unlikely that there were any

against false sadat appear to have become more frequent in the 1570s, revealing, already back then, a sense of concern on the part of the imperial center.<sup>17</sup> They spoke of impostors who relied on forged certificates and “favoritism of the grandees,” and several of them depicted the impostors as evildoers (*ehl-i fesad*) or rebels. As the number of impostors began to trouble the state, ironically, the number of sadat certified by the Imperial Nakibüleşraf also increased. (Figure 1; Appendix I)

Between the early decades of the sixteenth century and the 1570s, the number of sadat who were annually ‘ennobled’ by the Imperial Nakibüleşraf rose from 15 to 22, a modest number that can be attributed to the gradual establishment of the office.<sup>18</sup> But in 1576-1584, the number of people certified annually was about 80. The next upsurge was during Allâme Mehmed Efendi’s tenure (1629/30-1634): 173 (or 255)<sup>19</sup> people were certified annually. This was precisely when Aziz Efendi, an imperial bureaucrat, vehemently complained about the extent and consequences of seyyidization, and gave an estimate of 300.000 for the false sadat of the realm. Subsequently, the certification activity of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf subsided for more than a decade, only to be followed by another upsurge in the fateful year of 1648. The number of certified sadat rose from 5-30 a year to 176 (or 194).<sup>20</sup> It is possible that this sharp rise was linked to the regular process of title renewal effected upon the accession of sultan Mehmed IV. Of all the episodes of intensive certification, this appears to be the only one that can be associated with the accession of a sultan.

---

“old registers” during Lütfi Paşa’s time. Akgündüz 1990-96: 6: 257, 275. See MD 3: 1: 407/904, dated 1559; 1: 492/1114, dated 1559. Also see MD 5: 1: 79/183, dated 1565. The earliest Register of Important Affairs (1544-45) has no reference to seyyidization. Sahillioğlu 2002.

<sup>17</sup> BOA, MD 26/167/417, dated 1574; MD 28/119/287, 1576; MD 7: 1: 352/723 (1567); 2: 189/1567 (1567); 3: 157/2291 (1567); MD 12: 2: 254/1188 (1571-72). Also MD 33/76 (1577) cited in Yüksel and Köksal 1998: 7; Refik 1932: 30-31, orders dated 1571, 1572.

<sup>18</sup> ND # 1 (1495-1539) and # 2 (1536-1572?). ND # 2 is not dated but labelled after the second nakibüleşraf Muhterem Efendi (943-980/1536-1572). Annual averages are obtained by dividing the total number of names authenticated by a given nakibüleşraf by the length of his tenure. For details, see Appendix II.

<sup>19</sup> The first figure is taken from summary (icmal) records, the latter is from hüccet records.

<sup>20</sup> The first figure is taken from icmal records, the latter is from hüccet records.

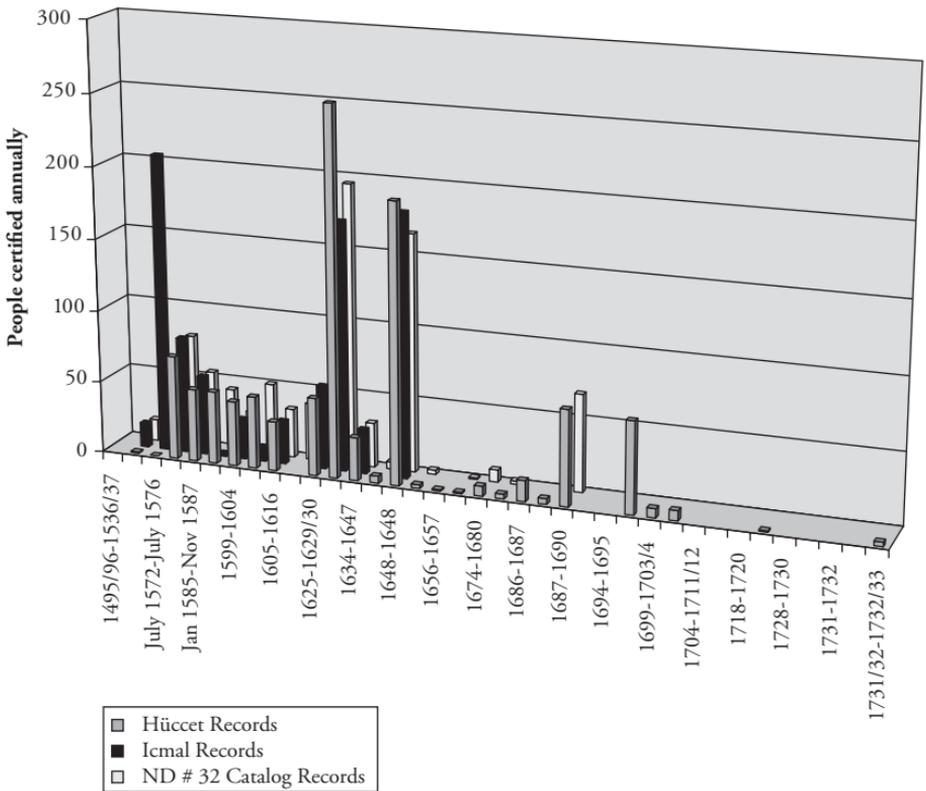


Figure 1: Changes in Certification Activity\*

\* Based on ND ## 1-32. The series are drawn from three different kinds of registers: registers of title deeds (*hüccet*); registers of name lists (*icmal*); and ND #32 which is a mega-catalogue of sadat certified until 1686. The three series often match one another closely.

\* Time intervals are based on individual registers.

### 1658-1695

The second half of the seventeenth century was marked by a peak in imperial surveillance over the sadat. Record-keeping became more rigorous and five general inspections were held starting in 1658. Inspection of the sadat was not a new idea. Like Lütü Paşa a century earlier, Aziz Efendi too had recommended in the 1630s that a survey be held in order to distinguish the true sadat from impostors,<sup>21</sup> but the administration did not act upon

<sup>21</sup> 'Aziz Efendi 1985.

the suggestion until the second half of the seventeenth century. The cycle of inspections started with Köprülü rule. Failure of the Abaza Hasan Paşa rebellion in 1658 occasioned a pervasive and bloody campaign to purge Anatolia of his supporters. The state also took this opportunity to inspect all pseudo-*askeris*, military men and sadat alike, demote them back to the status of ordinary tax-payers, and collect the tax arrears. This was the only occasion on which imperial inspectors made their way into the Arab land. Aleppo and its vicinity were also surveyed because Abaza Hasan had been captured and killed there.<sup>22</sup> Around the same time, nakibüleşraf Kudsizade Efendi surveyed the sadat in Rumeli.<sup>23</sup>

Among the subsequent inspections, only Osman Efendi's can be dated with certainty. This was the largest inspection ever held, covering 12,000 people in Anatolia and the Balkans. It was probably no coincidence that it overlapped with the Ottoman-Habsburg War (1683-1699), one of the most exacting wars in Ottoman history. During the war, the state carried out several inspections either to identify the military manpower at its disposal or the taxable population, and both tasks required distinguishing the askeri from the *reaya*, a formidable endeavor in view of the permeability the Ottoman estates had acquired since the sixteenth century. Thus, the fiscal emergency was intertwined with the task of restituting the social and political order, and vigilance against sadat was linked with this dual task. It is highly likely that the other two inspections were also undertaken during the Ottoman-Habsburg war.<sup>24</sup>

The outcome of the inspections varied. In some locales, all claimants were able to retain their title, as in Özi in the western-most zone subject to central supervision. Here, sadat in districts with a very large seyyid population kept their title. In some locales, a few lost their turban, and in others, a great many. For example, in Aleppo, 300 out of 596, in Ereğli-Karaman, 298 out of 541 claimants were demoted.<sup>25</sup> Sadat of the Province of Sivas

<sup>22</sup> ND # 30, 21b. There are separate entries for Aleppo and a few other places in the region also in ND # 25 (1695), but the record contains very few names and appears incomplete. On İsmail Paşa's inspection, see Uzunçarşılı 1994: III/I: 367-68.

<sup>23</sup> 1658-59 by İsmail Paşa; 1658-59 by Kudsizade Mehmed Efendi; 1674-80 or 1686-87 by Esadzade Efendi; 1680-86 by Emir Cafer Efendi; 1695 by Hocazade Osman Efendi.

<sup>24</sup> The inspection in ND # 24 covers the Balkans. If it was undertaken during Es'adzade Mehmed Efendi's first tenure (1674-80), then it can be associated with the war against Poland (1672-76).

<sup>25</sup> Compare Salati 1992: 37, where the author suggests a population of 345 for the Alepan ashraf.

were the least successful in their claims of title: 1,045 out of 1,260 claimants lost their turban.<sup>26</sup> (Table 1)

**Table 1: Inspections in the Seventeenth Century**

	1658-59		1674-87		1674-87	1695
	ND #19	ND #30	ND #24	ND #27	ND #28	ND #25
Successful claimants	5,660	2,664	3,460	2,514	30	12,015
Failed claimants	73	1,171	12	925	166	20
Total	5,733	3,835	3,472	3,439	196	12,035

This period also saw a dramatic decline in regular certification. (Figure 1; Appendix II) Consequently, the number of certified sadat stabilized in most places. Yet, it continued to rise, for example, in Dimetoka (from 651 to 989), in Konya (from 253 to 647), in Ayntab (from 148 to 352), and Hacıoğlu Pazarı (from 106 to 275) in the course of the four decades after the first inspection of 1658.<sup>27</sup> Why inspections discouraged new claims in some districts and not others needs to be studied separately.

### *1695-1874*

Osman Efendi's inspection of 1695 was the last to be recorded in the Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf, and possibly, the last to be undertaken by the imperial center. Regular certification activity too nearly came to a complete halt in the eighteenth century. There are very few records from this period and they are dispersed randomly in the seventeenth-century registers.<sup>28</sup> As noted earlier, however, we know that seyyidization continued in the eighteenth century in several parts of the Empire.<sup>29</sup> For example in Silistre, the number of sadat rose almost three fold from 1698 to 1715.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the Province of Sivas, see Canbakal 2005: 253-271.

<sup>27</sup> Based on ND ## 19, 30, 24, 27, 28, 25 in chronological order, and Ayntab Court Register #48/A167-61 [1697]. The figures for Hacıoğlu Pazarı are from 1670-80 and 1695.

<sup>28</sup> According to a record, dated 13 Şevval 1165 (1752), there were 36 registers in the "chest of revered pedigree," and one of these was the register of nakibüleşraf signatures. Thus, this catalogue of signatures aside, there were 35 registers in all, of which two seem to be missing. ND # 32/181a.

<sup>29</sup> Rafeq 1977: 65-66; Özkaya 1985; Barkan 1966: 8-9; M. Winter 1992: 186, 191.

Next to Silistre, Alakilise and Eski Cuma in Nigboli also experienced a rise, if on a modest scale. In Alakilise, 31% of the households (11.6% in villages) and in the town of Eski Cuma 10.7% (20% in villages) were counted as descendants of the Prophet in 1752.<sup>30</sup> These figures suggest a level of seyyidization comparable to Damascus, where the number of sadat is estimated to have increased from 14.3 to 22.5% of the urban population in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Evidence from south-eastern Anatolia, particularly the city of Ayntab, indicates that by the end of the century, almost all urban grandees were seyyid and sadat in general played a major role in regional politics all the way from Maraş to Aleppo.<sup>32</sup>

The Imperial Nakibüleşraf continued to dispatch warnings to the provinces instructing deputy nakibüleşrafs to prevent usurpation of the title, but judging by the collection of Nakibüleşraf Registers, he was no longer involved in the proof and certification process. The delegation of the deputy nakibüleşrafs, who were often drawn from among the local elite, resonated the relocation of authority in the provinces in general, characteristic of the eighteenth century. It is, of course, possible that the former system of certification through the Imperial Nakibüleşraf was substituted by an alternative mechanism of central control, that is, apart from the registration of sadat receiving stipends from the central treasury, which continued. Such a mechanism as there may have emerged is yet to be discovered.

At the same time, this shift in the locus of authority to designate sadat may have been less significant than it appears because even when the imperial center was involved in the certification process, even in the central lands of the empire, proving descent may have been fundamentally a local matter. Witnesses and communal recognition, including hearsay, had always been very important in the process of proof and they continued to be.<sup>33</sup> An interesting court case from Mardin, running on 1761-62, indicates that claimants could prove descent by witness testimony alone, and

---

<sup>30</sup>) Şimşirgil 2002: 239, 249, 252.

<sup>31</sup>) Establet and Pascual 1994: 128; Parveva 1998: 166. It should be noted that Parveva's figures are based on tax records and diverge greatly from those found in the Nakibüleşraf Registers of the same period. I am grateful to Rossitsa Gradeva for translating this text into English for me.

<sup>32</sup>) Canbakal 2006, 2009; Bodman 1963; Raymond 1989.

<sup>33</sup>) Bottini 1999: 351-73; Kılıç 2000: 141; Düzdağ 1983: 82; Haykel 2002: 194-225. Also ND # 27, 2a; # 28, 10b. For technical aspects of the process of certification and role of the local authorities in the process, see Canbakal 2006.

thereby challenge and overrule the authority of the deputy nakibüleşraf as well.<sup>34</sup>

### 1874-1923

As noted earlier the last six registers in the collection of Nakibüleşraf Registers do not really tell us about seyyidization, bottom-up or top-down. Nor do they say anything about how many people were currently certified in different parts of the empire, except for those sadat in Istanbul who received stipends from the imperial treasury in 1901-1906, 500 people in all.<sup>35</sup> The registers clearly indicate, however, that the imperial center was determined, like never before, to oversee the overseers. Appointments to the office of deputy nakibüleşraf at district (*kaza*) level were made centrally and recorded. Eastern and south-eastern Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Mecca, Medina, and the Yemen were now brought under imperial supervision. Historical strongholds of an Alid aristocracy and loci of authority over Alid pedigree, Karbala, Najaf and Kazimiya, too, were now given Ottoman nakibüleşrafs.<sup>36</sup> The extant registers trace the appointments from 1874 to 1903/1904,<sup>37</sup> and the payrolls, until 1912.<sup>38</sup> Ordeals of the following wars, probably bolstered by priorities of the Union and Progress rule, spelled the end of all systematic attempts of control. Sporadic correspondence between the Imperial Nakibüleşraf and his deputies in the provinces continued until 1923.

## II. Seyyidization: An Attempt at Localization

The earliest Nakibüleşraf Register that can be used for purposes of localization dates from 1576, when residential information began to be recorded with some consistency. Therefore, this section focuses on the period 1576-1695, for which we have fairly reliable information about the places of residence or origins of the sadat.

<sup>34</sup> Özcoşar 2006: 20-21.

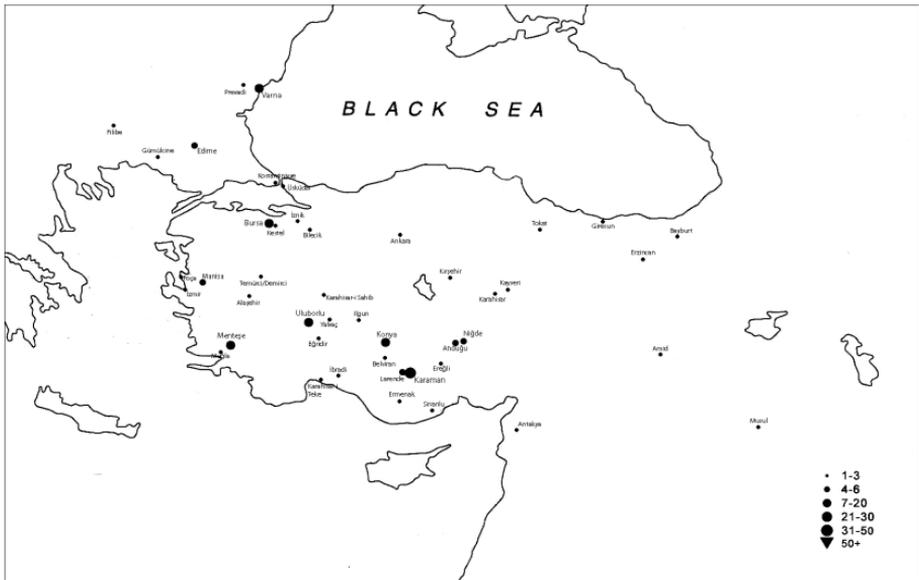
<sup>35</sup> ND # 37.

<sup>36</sup> ND # 34: 22. There are also two references to Cairo which predate all other records from this period (1265 AH) and stand out as the only records concerning Egypt. ND # 35: 166, # 36: 246.

<sup>37</sup> ND ## 34-35.

<sup>38</sup> ND # 36.

Settlements with very high rates of seyyidization were located in four provinces: Karaman, Özi, Anadolu and Sivas. According to registers from 1576-1634, seyyidization by imperial sanction was at its highest in Karaman, Özi and Anadolu: 70-80% of the certified sadat lived in these three provinces.<sup>39</sup> In Karaman, the sub-provinces (*sancak*) of Konya (especially Ereğli) and Niğde, and the district of Karaman, in Anadolu, the sub-provinces of Hamid and İçil, and the district of Bursa, and in Özi, the sub-province of Silistre (especially Şumnu and Umurfakih) and Nigboli (especially Alakilise, Herazgrad, Ruscuk) were particularly prominent. The following locations were also of some significance in terms of seyyidization: Saruhan, Menteşe and Aydın in Anadolu, Edirne (especially Dimetoka) in Rumeli, Varna in Silistre, and the district of Giresun in Trabzon. (Maps 1-3)<sup>40</sup>

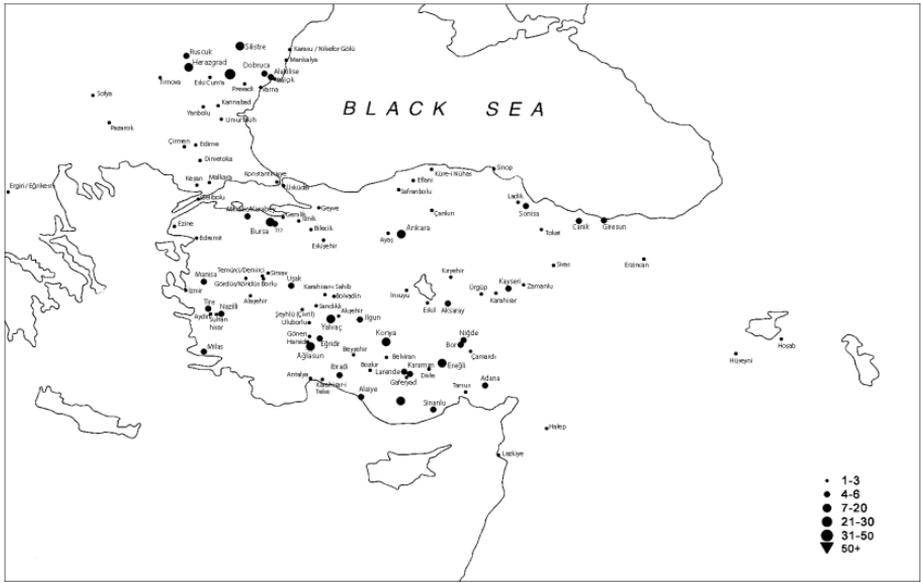


Map 1: Geographical Distribution of Title Deeds (1576-1584)<sup>41</sup>

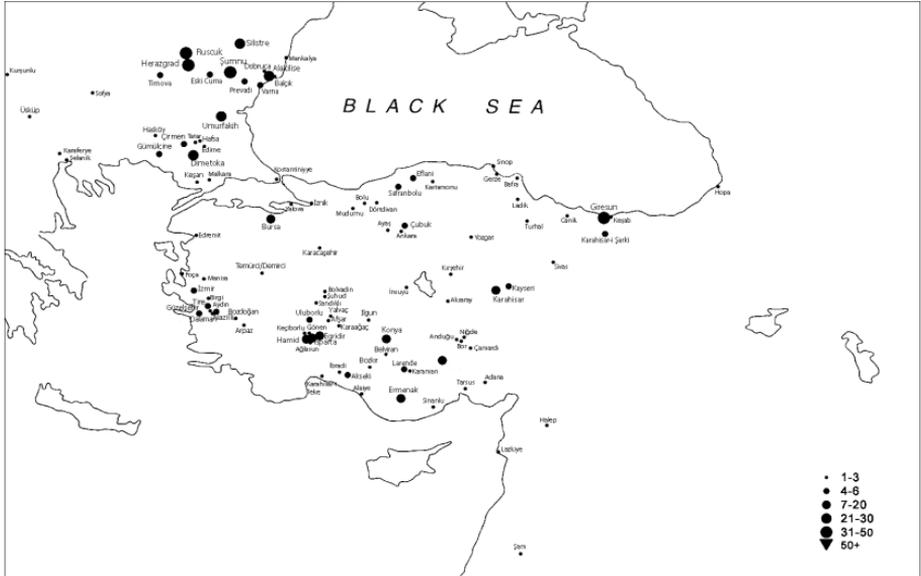
<sup>39</sup>) Based on ND ## 19, 30, 24, 27, 28, 25 in chronological order.

<sup>40</sup>) The following maps are based on ten selected registers from the period of 1576-1695. They represent one third of the whole collection and follow one another with intervals of about two decades. Places that cannot be identified due to the presence of more than one place with the same name have not been included. Places of origin are combined with places of residence in Maps 1-3. A few entries that involve Tunisians (3), Egyptians (2), Akkermanians (2) and one Yenipazarian have been omitted.

<sup>41</sup>) Based on ND # 3.



Map 2: Geographical Distribution of Title Deeds (1605-1616)<sup>42</sup>

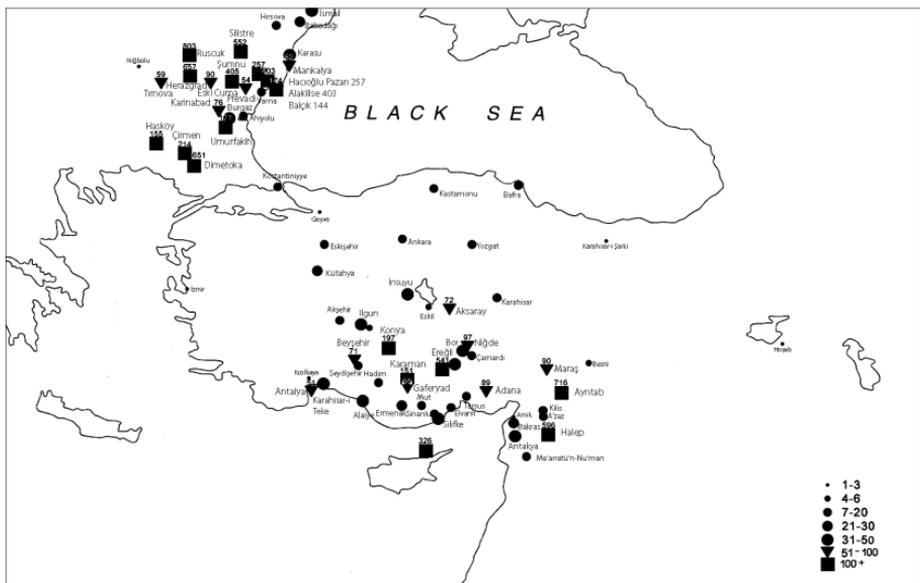


Map 3: Geographical Distribution of Title Deeds (1629-1634)<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Based on ND # 10.

<sup>43</sup> Based on ND ## 13-14.

Later records from the second half of the seventeenth century highlight yet another province as heavily seyyidized: the province of Sivas. As noted above, sadat of Sivas were the least successful in proving their noble pedigree in the inspections. During this period, the districts of Aydos, Herazgrad, Ruscuk and Silistre in Özi, Ereğli and Konya in Karaman, the sub-provinces of Sivas, Tokat and Amasya in Sivas, each had more than 500 sadat. Outside this zone, the district of Dimetoka in Edirne/Rumeli, Manisa in Saruhan/Anadolu, and Aleppo also had more than 500 sadat each. The following also had considerable seyyid presence: Bursa, Ankara, Keçiborlu in Anadolu, Niğde and Kayseri in Karaman, and Alakilise and Çardak in Özi. (Maps 4-6)<sup>44</sup>



Map 4: Geographical Distribution of Title Deeds (1658-1659)<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Maps 4-6 should not be seen as reflecting the chronological spread of seyyidization or sequential addenda to the first three maps. Maps 1-3 are based on title deeds and show the geographical distribution of the seyyidship claims that received recognition in the imperial center. Maps 4-6 are based on inspection records. Therefore, they are by default selective and may reflect the imperial agenda of political retribution or reward.

<sup>45</sup> Based on ND ## 19, 30. 'Impostors' and 'true' sadat are combined since the dividing line between the two is irrelevant for the purposes of this study.



*Whose territory?*

These areas had at least two salient features in common: unorthodoxy and preponderance of tribes. The areas in Anatolia where Shah Ismail's early supporters came from, namely, Sivas, Amasya, Tokat, Teke (Antalya), Menteşe (Muğla), Hamideli, Maraş, Elbistan, Yozgat, and Aleppo were precisely those that scored highest in inspections. Those who played a secondary role as Ismail's supporters were the Çepnis of Canik, Giresun and Trabzon region and Varsaks of İçil and Adana.<sup>48</sup> In available studies on Anatolian Kızılbaş, the Province of Sivas (Rum) clearly stands out with a large population concentration, seconded by the provinces of Karaman, Zulkadriye, Erzurum, Aleppo, eastern parts of the Province of Anadolu, Antalya, İçil, and Çukurova.<sup>49</sup> Findings regarding the distribution of Anatolian Alevi today largely overlap with this picture notwithstanding further migration in the seventeenth century and after.<sup>50</sup> Likewise in Ottoman Europe, the strip of land from Babadağ in modern Romania, down to Dimetoka in Greece, with much of eastern Bulgaria in between (Silistre, Dobruca) is still the land of Kızılbaş. It was within this zone that three of the most revered sanctuaries of the Alids of the eastern Balkans stood: Otman Baba in Hasköy, Kızıl Deli in Dimetoka and Demir Baba near Herazgrad. Hasköy, Silistre, Herazgrad, were populated at the beginning of the sixteenth century by exiles from Yozgat, Konya, Sivas, which had a strong Alid tradition, but Deli Orman already had an older heterodox tradition going back to early Ottoman expansion, or even before.<sup>51</sup>

There was also a significant overlap between areas with a high Kızılbaş population and tribal territory although the two were not congruent. The area between Sivas and Maraş was occupied by Yeni-İl and Zulkadriye confederations, and the area from Maraş all the way down to the Syrian desert was occupied by the Turcomans of Damascus and Aleppo. The Province of Zulkadriye, like Aleppo to the south, had a remarkably high rate of nomadic population during the last two decades of the sixteenth century: 54% and 58% respectively.<sup>52</sup> The westward migration of the tribes

---

<sup>48</sup> Sümer 1972: 330, 174; Kütükoğlu 1962. Hasluck 1929: 1: 172-73 on the Alid tradition in the Principality of Zulkadriye.

<sup>49</sup> Gölpınarlı 1988: 795. Faroqhi 2003: 76-79.

<sup>50</sup> See Andrews 1989: 57, 62, 66, 69, 71, 117, 123-124.

<sup>51</sup> Mélikoff 1992: 105-110; *idem* 1998: 124-25, 148-49; and *idem* 1996: 159-167; Grammatikova 2001: 283.

<sup>52</sup> Murphy 1984: 192; de Planhol 1968: 295-296.

of eastern Anatolia from the mid-seventeenth century onwards implanted a belt of tribesmen from Sivas to Afyon in western Anatolia, with offshoots to Marmara (Balıkesir) and the Aegean coast.<sup>53</sup> Around the same time, Baraks of the Province of Sivas migrated to the Province of Raqqa, where a group of them settled; their descendants are said to be Alevi today. Subsequently, some migrated to İzmir and some to Iran.<sup>54</sup> The Province of Sivas was the land of the Boz Ok. Taurus region was occupied by Uç Oklu and Ramazanlı, while Karaman plain between Cilicia and Konya was the habitat of the At Çeken.<sup>55</sup> In Ottoman Europe, too, every single locality that had a significant seyyid presence lay within the Yörük zone.

### III. An Attempt at Interpretation

#### a. *Cultural Politics of Seyyidship*

Descent from the house of the Prophet was of crucial ideological significance for pro-Safavid groups. In addition to the shah himself,<sup>56</sup> *dedes*, religious heads of the Alid communities (*ocaks*) in Anatolia, claimed to be seyyid, and they continue to do so even though their claim has been put to test by modernity among their followers in recent decades.<sup>57</sup> According to Ocak, the *dedes*' claim of seyyidship did not go any further back in time than the Safavids' own claim of noble descent. It was Ismail himself who instituted the post of *babal dede* as a religious and tribal leader and attributed seyyidship to each, thus tying these leaders to his own person.<sup>58</sup> Thus, direct confrontation with the Safavids imposed on the Ottoman center the task of challenging and undoing these ties while the contested domain of Iraq too had an elite with Alid loyalties to be cajoled.<sup>59</sup> Yet, the competition between the two royal houses over the loyalty of the Kızılbaş was not about mundane politics alone. Millenarianism in sixteenth-century Anatolia was not limited to the Kızılbaş milieu, nor was love of Caliph Ali. As

<sup>53</sup> Sümer 1972: 208-211; de Planhol 1968: 239.

<sup>54</sup> De Planhol 1968: 237, 239-240; Özbaş 1958: ix, 8.

<sup>55</sup> De Planhol 1968: 232; Halaçoğlu 1997: 25-27.

<sup>56</sup> Since the time of Cüneyd (1447-1460), the shaikhs of Ardabil claimed to be descendants of the Prophet. Sümer 1992: 2, 10; Allouche 1983: 38. Melikoff suggests that the seyyidization of the Safavid line may have been finalized under Ismail. Melikoff 1998: 167.

<sup>57</sup> Bumke 1989: 513-14; Yaman <http://www.alevibektasi.org/dedelik.htm>.

<sup>58</sup> Ocak 1996: 251-54; *idem* 1997: 201-202.

<sup>59</sup> Imber 1979: 245-73; B. Kütükoğlu 1962: 11; Kılıç 2000: 120.

Subrahmanyam points out, expectation of a world redeemer/conqueror from the House of Muhammad/Ali had transregional currency from South East Asia to Morocco, and diverse elements of this disposition were shared by Sunnis, commoners and rulers alike.<sup>60</sup> Against the backdrop of interstate competition, rulers were both driven by and capitalized on this heightened receptivity to things Muhammadan.

Ottomans were not immune to the zeitgeist. The care they took for the upkeep of the two holiest places for the Alids, the tombs of Caliph Ali and his son Husayn in Karbala and Najaf may pale in the face of what they did for Mecca and Medina, but care they did take.<sup>61</sup> The office of the Imperial *Nakibüleşraf* was set up under Bayezid II and assumed the task of appointing provincial marshals (*nakibüleşraf kaymakamı*), authenticating claims of Muhammadan pedigree and protecting interests of the *sadat*. Thus, the emergence of regular registers for *sadat* of Anatolia and the Balkans in the 1530s probably signified more than bureaucratization alone. Tax exemptions enjoyed by individual *sadat* may also have turned into blanket rules around the same time while large amounts of stipends were dispensed from the central treasury to prominent *sadat* of the realm.<sup>62</sup> While millennialism later faded away, championship of the Prophet's lineage continued to occupy a crucial place in Ottomans' schemes of legitimacy. If anything, it became more important over time. Concomitantly, in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, *sadat* were incorporated into the ruling elite, *askeri*.<sup>63</sup> Meanwhile, Alid sympathies did not vanish, nor did the ties between shahs and Ottoman subjects.

The beginning of regular records coincided with the Ottoman-Safavid war of 1533-38. The two states were at war also in 1576-90, when Anatolia was shaken by intermittent Alid rebellions beside general Celali activity.<sup>64</sup> Simultaneously, the number of title deeds issued by the Imperial

<sup>60</sup> Mélikoff 1998: 48-49. Subrahmanyam 2003: 129-161; *idem* 1997: 751-55. Also, Fleischer 1992: 159-177; Katz 1998, esp. 199-205.

<sup>61</sup> See Faroqhi 1994: 144; MD 3: 410/909 (1559-60); MD 7: 3: 171/2316, 179/2331, 198/2371, 195/2364, 197/2368 (1568-69); MD 12: 1: 103/119, 401/656, 2: 92/873 (1570-72); Stefan H. Winter 2002: 49-50. For a general review of the Ottomans' commitment to honoring the descendants of the Prophet, see Temimi 1999: 639-647.

<sup>62</sup> ND # 32/189a, dated 1042 (1632/33); also Yüksel and Köksal 1998: 23. Bayezid I had been the first sultan to appoint a central *nakib* for *sadat* in 1400, but the post was not institutionalized. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi 1998: 195; Yılmaz 1996: 135-136.

<sup>63</sup> See decree dated December 1628 in Uzunçarşılı 1988: 125-26 and Canbakal 2006.

<sup>64</sup> Kütükoğlu 1993.

Nakibüleşraf doubled. A sharper increase occurred later in the 1630s: Baghdad had been taken by the Safavids in 1624 and the two sides were again at war. Under those circumstances, it would appear, political exigency overlapped with religious commitment in shaping Ottoman policies regarding Muhammadan pedigree. Recognition of the claims of seyyidship would have served as a medium of patronage and cooption especially where love of 'the House' was likely to turn into an Alid political cause. There is some evidence to that effect.

First, trying to get leaders of the Kızılbaş tribes to change sides through offers of grants and gifts was among the tactics of containment used by the Ottomans.<sup>65</sup> Secondly, several Alevi leaders today have in their family collections certificates of seyyidship issued in Istanbul, which deserves more attention than it has received so far.<sup>66</sup> In fact, the presence of a reference in the first Nakibüleşraf Register to the seal of Tahmasb followed by a patently Alid couplet also suggests the circulation of documents between the two rival capitals.<sup>67</sup> In the same register, we see many Turcoman and pro-Safavid names, such as Turkish names compounded with 'Şah', suggesting that a good many Alid tribesmen may have been recognized as seyyid already in the 1530s, i.e. during the war against the Safavids. Also, the fact that a small group of Abbasids, i.e. descendants of the Prophet on paternal side, were identified separately in the second register intimates that the rest were purportedly Talibids, i.e. Muhammad's and Ali's direct descendants.<sup>68</sup> Distinctions within the Muhammadan pedigree, including the 'seyyid-şerif' distinction, later disappeared.

<sup>65</sup> Savaş 2002: 139-144; also *idem* 1992: 25, 62.

<sup>66</sup> Birdoğan 1995: 140-41, 205-65; Karakaya-Stump 2008: 31-32. Nevena Grammatikova also reports title deeds of seyyidship issued in Istanbul and held by the Kızılbaş in Bulgaria today. Private communication. See her dissertation, Grammatikova 2007.

<sup>67</sup> ND # 1: 40a. The reference is not easy to interpret. It reads: "Copy of the seal of Tahmasb / In such a situation as the people of the East and the West might be helpless / Ali bin Abu Talib would be my savior (*Şüret-i muhr-i Tahmāsb / Dar ān hālat ke darmānand khalq-i mashriq va maghrib / buvad dastam be-dāmān-i 'Alī bin Abī Ṭalīb*) The passage is located at the top of the page and followed by miscellaneous notes including the circumcision dates of the sons of Suleyman I. Karakaya-Stump demonstrates that Anatolian Kızılbaş continued to receive certificates of appointment and other documents from the shahs until the late seventeenth century. Karakaya-Stump 2008: Chapter 4.

<sup>68</sup> ND # 2, dated 984 (1576/77). Also see the cadastral survey of Anatolia (1528) in Akgündüz 1990-96: 5: 19, for a separate list of the descendants of House of Abbas. Onomastic examination of the whole collection until 1695 (involving nearly 53,000 people and 952 male names) lends some support to the Alid identity of the claimants. For example,

To recapitulate then, these various pieces of evidence point to a possible convergence between the claims of Muhammadan nobility and its recognition. Namely, it seems likely that while actively persecuting the Kızılbaş, the Ottomans also tried to displace the Shah's authority by derailing the ties of loyalty that he had created between tribal leaders and himself. This would have amounted to the recognition of an Alid aristocracy (of dede lineages) in Anatolia.<sup>69</sup> Centralization and political realignment in Iran later in the seventeenth century, the symmetrical rise of Twelver orthodoxy in particular, would have helped the Ottoman policy of containment by weakening the messianic and revolutionary passion of the Anatolian Alids.<sup>70</sup> Recent studies on Ottoman Shiite communities during this period indicate that the attitude of the Ottoman center towards non-Sunnis was not hostile but varied between accommodation and ambiguity as long as the latter remained apolitical and made no public claims challenging the legitimacy of the Ottoman order.<sup>71</sup>

Having suggested possible Ottoman complicity in the spread of false claims of nobility, let us underline that this interpretation rests on a macro approach to the evidence at hand. Namely, about 30,000 seyyid entries from 1576-1695 involving 30 different sub-governorships and districts have been used to obtain the maps presented here. This method denies a face to these 30,000 people. Therefore, the interpretation offered remains hypothetical until a detailed study of the registers, supported by other sources, especially about dede lineages, provides further evidence. Until

---

naming patterns among sadat in eastern Balkans and Rumeli had a distinct bias for Ali, Hasan and Hüseyin as opposed to Muhammed, Mustafa, Ebu Bekir, Ömer and Osman. We still observe the same bias in modern Turkey in provinces known to have a large Alevi population. Yet, the sadat of Anatolia to the west of Sivas display an opposite tendency: the names of the Prophet of Islam and the first three caliphs were more popular among them. While sadat in eastern Anatolia escaped the radar of the Nakibüleşraf Registers, sadat living in rural and smaller settlements in the province of Sivas preferred Alid names as opposed to sadat living in cities of the province, who did not. It is also noteworthy that among people who 'failed to prove' their pedigree in the late seventeenth-century inspections, Alid names were relatively more popular. In other words, the inspectors were possibly more scrupulous in examining Alid sympathizers. In brief, onomastic study of the material at hand proves to be suggestive but inconclusive by itself. For a detailed discussion, see Canbakal 2005: 258-69.

<sup>69</sup>) According to Melikoff, *başbabas*, counterpart of dedes in Bulgaria, do not have to have Alid/Muhammadan pedigree today. Melikoff 1992: 109.

<sup>70</sup>) Babayan 2002: esp. 349-366; Faroqhi 1992: 17.

<sup>71</sup>) S. Winter 2002: 46-54; Salati 1992.

such time, one could also speculate that the state indeed had a role in the apparent overlap between the geographical distribution of sadat and that of the Kızılbaş, but in a different way, namely, by promoting alternative frames of loyalty and belief to address and coopt Alid sensibilities in regions where they remained high. Patronage of Halvetism as a most Alid Sunni order was one such strategy adopted by the Ottoman state.<sup>72</sup> Another one was the promotion of a new Bektaşism starting with Balım Sultan in 1501. This is probably more relevant for the question considered here because the Çelebi branch of Bektaşism claims descent from Balım Sultan and Hacı Bektaş, who is presented in his hagiography as seyyid.<sup>73</sup> Needless to say, none of these strategies of cooption, if this is indeed what the Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf are telling us, are mutually exclusive.

#### b. *Nomadism and Tribalism*

State centralization and consolidation was a process that affected all subjects, if in diverse ways. The response too was diverse. Grievances of the transhumant tribes of the realm partly overlapped with those of the Kızılbaş of Anatolia, but Sunni tribes too had reasons to complain. Expansion of agriculture, loss of service-based privileges (due to the gradual elimination of the tribal militia in particular), marginalization of the tribal elites and forced settlement (*iskan*) are known to have contributed to the alienation of tribes in Anatolia and the Balkans.<sup>74</sup> The overlap between tribal territories and the distribution of seyyidship claims according to the Nakibüleşraf Registers suggests that challenges facing tribalism and transhumance were among the factors that propelled false claims in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Possibly, they continued to play such a role well until the nineteenth century.

The following fatwa by the chief mufti Abdullah Yenişehirli (1718-30) encapsulates this situation:

<sup>72</sup> See Clayer 1994.

<sup>73</sup> Velayetname, which refers to Hacı Bektaş as seyyid, is dated to 1481-1501. This coincides with the emergence of the office of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf. However, Karakaya-Stump cites an earlier text, *Tabaqat* by al-Wasiti (d.1343), which also recognizes Hacı Bektaş as seyyid. Karakaya-Stump 2008: 91-92, 96. For the branches of Bektaşism, see Öz 1997: 232-40.

<sup>74</sup> Kafadar 1995: 138-50.

If Zeyd argued with Amr of the venerable sadat and embarrassed him saying “I collect *bennak* [tax] from your father, O Turk,” what should be done to Zeyd?<sup>75</sup>

One can identify four layers of insult in this instance. According to the offender, ‘Amr was not of noble blood but an impostor; he was a Turcoman, whose father had possibly just settled, and his family was poor since his father had to pay the farm tax at the lower rate deemed for landless peasants. Finally, the offender belonged to the elite, the estate of tax-collectors, and ‘Amr did not. This particular fatwa probably referred to the circumstances following the forced settlement of 1691, but it could well apply to earlier episodes of settlement too.

Tribes in Anatolia are known to have claimed seyyidship at various points during the period covered in this study. Some tribes did so when approached by tax collectors in the seventeenth century, as was the case also in Arab lands.<sup>76</sup> The exemption granted to sadat from the sheep tax (*ağnam*) no doubt constituted a special incentive for pastoralists to claim seyyidship.<sup>77</sup> Others claimed seyyidship in order to resist collective service obligations or forced settlement in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>78</sup> Thus, among the *derbendci* (guards of mountain passes) communities, for example, the clan of Kozanoğlu, later *ayan* of the northern Çukurova region, was one of those that resorted to seyyidship. In the inspection of 1658, a branch of the clan in Sis was found to hold forged certificates attributed to nakibüleşrafs Muhterem Efendi (1495/96-1534/35) and

<sup>75</sup> “*Zeyd sādāt-ı kirāndan ‘Amr ile çekişdükte ben seniñ babañdan bennak alurım bire türk diyüp ‘Amra ar lāhik olsa Zeyde ne lāzım olur? El-cevāb: Tā’zīr.*” Abdullah Efendi Yenişehirli 1266 AH: 147, also 151 for a direct reference to teseyyüd.

<sup>76</sup> Orhonlu 1987: 26, 81; Thieck 1992: 152, on Kurdish tribes between Aleppo and Birecik; Bodman 1963; M. Winter 1992: 188.

<sup>77</sup> Barkan 1943: 32; Barkan 1966: 436, 439. According to these undated firmans, there was no upper limit to the number of sheep that were tax exempt whereas in another undated firman, the exemption applied up to 150 sheep. Özkaya 1977: 61. Some of such discrepancies were regional. Compare Barkan 1943: 328 and Özkaya 1977: 38. On tax exemptions of the sadat in general, see Kılıç 2000: 123-124; Yüksel and Köksal 1998: 11; Pulaha and Yücel 1988: 45; law codes of various provinces and other legal material in Akgündüz 1990-96: 9: 405; 7: 21, 39, 62, 45, 155, 286, 294, 713; 6: 194, 624; 5: 18, 96; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu 1994: 536; Barkan 1943: 1: 278-289; Inalcık 1996: 38-39; Acun 2002: 126-127, 131. Acun argues that sadat’s exemptions were gradually reduced to avarız.

<sup>78</sup> BOA, MM 12/2:78/844, dated 1571-72; Halaçoğlu 1997: 59; Özkaya 1977: 130. For attempts to avoid military service while maintaining tax privileges in the sixteenth century: Gökbilgin 1957: 51; Dođru 1990: 51-52.

Yahya Efendi (1585-1586/87). They were thus “made reaya.”<sup>79</sup> The derbenci system was heavily strained after the sixteenth century partly due to the violation of the derbenci communities’ tax exemptions.<sup>80</sup> In other words, claims of Kozanoğlus and others like them are likely to have been driven by the urge to make up for these losses vis-à-vis increasing exactions of the imperial center.

Yet, claims of seyyidship among some tribesmen may have been driven by more complicated factors than a reflex against fiscal pressure. The Topuz clan (*cemaat*) is a case in point. Like Kozanoğlus, Topuzlar had branches reported in a vast area: in eastern Rumeli (Sıgla, Vize, Dimetoka) as well as eastern Anatolia (Dersim/Tunceli). According to Türkay, they were Kurdish. At least the branch in Anatolia belonged to the Şeyh Hasanlı, one of the two large tribal groups in the region.<sup>81</sup> As this region was outside the reach of central control, Nakibüleşraf Registers do not say anything about claims of seyyidship among Topuz of eastern Anatolia. In the west, about 250 clan members in Şumnu and Dimetoka were identified as true sadat by the inspectors in 1658. This was a remarkably high figure, comparable to the ashraf in contemporary Aleppo.<sup>82</sup> In addition, Topuzlar were characterized as a ‘hearth’ (*ocak*) and a lineage (*sülale*) in different records, i.e. they were either descendants of a tribal militia hearth<sup>83</sup> or constituted a Kızılbaz hearth headed by a religious patriarch (*dede*), or both. Probably they were both, since tribal identity and Alid lineage continue to overlap in eastern Anatolia today.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> ND # 30: 24a. Kozanoğlus were pastoralists spread along the Taurus range, eastern Karaman, and the region of Aleppo. Türkay 1979: 538.

<sup>80</sup> Orhonlu 1987: 120-21.

<sup>81</sup> They are characterized as “*Ekrad taifesi*” or “*göçebe Ekrad yürükamı taifesi*.” Türkay 2001: 140, 623. Gezik 2004: 147-67; Kılıç 2005: 131-32; 81-82. On Şeyh Hasanlıs’ being “Zaza and not Kurdish,” see *Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı Raporu* (n.d.): 42-43.

<sup>82</sup> ND ## 13-14, 19, 30; Salati 1992: 37. Gökbilgin identifies villages called Topuzlar in Karinabad/Karnabat, Rus Kasrı and Yenice Kızılağaç. Both Karinabad and Rus Kasrı had a considerably large seyyid population. Gökbilgin 1957: 133, 143, 167.

<sup>83</sup> For an example of claims of seyyidship among militia in Rumeli, see Hezarfen 2002: 135-36. The case involves petitioners asking for a reduction in their tax assignment of 1699 arguing that they were descendants of the Prophet and of the “conquerors” (*Evlad-ı Fatihan*). Evlad-ı Fatihan was the name given to the militia of settled nomads in Rumeli which was a version of the old *yaya-müselleme* militia revived on the occasion of the Ottoman-Habsburg war. See, Gökbilgin 1957: 32, 42-48.

<sup>84</sup> Kılıç 2005: 127-34; Gökbilgin 1957: 20-21, 38-39. Özcan 1988: 469-70. I have had a chance to meet a descendant of the Şumnu Topuz, İsmail Topuzoğlu, who immigrated to

Babayan's observations regarding the role played by Alid faith in the sixteenth century in creating blood ties and, eventually, tribes, point to the plasticity of tribal formations, and shed light on this overlap.<sup>85</sup> Likewise, Andrews's work on some Alevi groups in modern Turkey and Nakash's work on Iraqi tribes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries highlight the role of the sadat in providing a tribal genealogy that generated unity and strength. In an episode of structural transformation in particular, Nakash argues, sadat could provide a new locus of authority in support of the tribal chiefs and alleviate the effects of tribal breakdown.<sup>86</sup> It is clear that in order to disentangle the chicken-and-egg equation intimated by Babayan regarding the sixteenth century, two lines of research need to be combined: research on Alids of different leanings in the Ottoman realm and research on the structural impact of migration, settlement and sedentarization on tribal subjects of the empire throughout Ottoman history. Here again, close study of the Nakibüleşraf Registers may prove very useful.

### **(Towards a) Conclusion**

Most of what we know about seyyidization rests on studies on the Arab provinces of the empire, particularly Syria and Egypt in the eighteenth century, although it is known since Barkan,<sup>87</sup> at least, that false claims of seyyidship were not uncommon in Anatolia and the Balkans either. This asymmetry of information about sadat in different parts of the empire reflects a broader chasm among national/regional historiographies of the post-Ottoman world, manifested as it is, in their treatment of center-periphery relations in particular. For example, early scholarship on Arab ashraf saw in seyyidization the cultivation of a cultural and political identity against Ottomans/Turks: a good thing. In various versions of this view, usurpation of the title 'sharif' tied in neatly with the history of decline in

---

Turkey as a young man in the 1930s. He has no memory of seyyidship or Alevism in the family, but remembers his uncle being a Bektaşî. I am grateful to Mr. Topuzoğlu for giving me his time and sharing his memories. On the sadat of Şumnu, see also Evliya Çelebi 1996: 3: 178-179.

<sup>85</sup> Babayan 2002: 353-54.

<sup>86</sup> Andrews 1989: 117, 124-25; Bumke 1989: 512-514; Nakash 1994: 37-39. See also Green 2006: 344-60.

<sup>87</sup> Barkan 1966: 8-9.

direct central control, especially in the eighteenth century. By the same token, it also correlated with the rise of provincial elites many of whom 'turned out' to be ashraf, i.e. members of the largest and most important noble house recognized by the Ottomans. On the other side of the historiographic divide, passing remarks on seyyidization in the literature on central lands of the empire saw the phenomenon precisely as representatives of the Ottoman ruling establishment saw it, i.e. as violation of the social and political order, primarily for purposes of tax evasion: a bad thing.<sup>88</sup> This view too placed title usurpation squarely in the context of decline in imperial control or outright 'decline'.

Reassessment of the period in Ottoman history previously characterized as 'decline', i.e. the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has partly remedied this historiographic polarity in the past two decades. Yet, new approaches to center-periphery relations have not yet produced a composite understanding of seyyidization which was a multifaceted phenomenon whose driving force varied across time and space. The circumstances that engendered Alid claims of seyyidship in sixteenth-century Anatolia were very different from, for example, those in eighteenth-century Damascus or Cairo. Similarly, the identity of the claimants was different. This study indicates that seyyidization started in Anatolia and the Balkans in the sixteenth century, a time presumed to be the height of Ottoman power, and continued in the seventeenth century, a period characterized, first, by provincial centralization, then by the Köprülü restoration.

Creation of the office of imperial nakibüleşraf around the turn of the sixteenth century and the attempt to introduce central registration evoke domestic Alid dissent and rival legitimacy claims of the Safavids as a possible factor that shaped Ottoman policies towards sadat.<sup>89</sup> If Alid leaders began to claim seyyidship around this time, as promoted by the shah, Ottomans' move to monitor claims of seyyidship, whether to protect the purity of the noble line or to make a bid comparable to that of the shah to honor the House, would appear politically sensible. Nevertheless, by examining the Nakibüleşraf Registers alone, especially using the macro approach followed in this study, it cannot be determined whether the Ottoman center indeed manipulated the title deliberately in order to attract Alid loyalties; nor can one say if the sadat we see in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century registers were Kızılbaş leaders or other state-spon-

---

<sup>88</sup>) Compare, for instance, Bodman (1963) and Barkan (1966).

<sup>89</sup>) For a similar interpretation, see Salati 1992: 22-23.

sored Alids, such as the Çelebi branch of the Bektâşîs or another order like the Halvetîs.

Geographical distribution of the certificates issued by the imperial nakibüleşraf also suggests a connection between seyyidization and tribes and transhumance. Despite the possibility of an overlap between Alid and tribal identities in this zone, claims of nobility among tribes need not be attributed to a religious drive alone. Gradual marginalization of the tribes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Ottoman political space was an aspect of fiscal and administrative centralization, against which claims of seyyidship may have been hoped to provide a degree of economic protection and political leverage. The association between claims of seyyidship and the fiscal privileges it provided was recognized by the Ottoman elite as early as the sixteenth century,<sup>90</sup> and undoubtedly this was a prominent factor that propelled seyyidization among other social groups as well. As for its political role, that rested on the title's exceptional source of legitimacy: namely, the House of Muhammad provided a counter claim of nobility. Therefore, it potentially represented a stance and power independent of the Ottoman center, if not against it, and independent of those associated with the center. By the same token, one could surmise that the settlement of the 'servants of the sultan' (*kul*) in the provinces from the early seventeenth century onwards also contributed to the spread of seyyidization among various social groups, particularly the elites, since this administrative change upset the local power relations. This and other alternative dynamics of seyyidization have to be subject of another study comparing Anatolian and Arab provinces.

## **Bibliography**

### *Primary Sources:*

Nakibüleşraf Registers: ND 1-39, Meşihat Archives.

MD 26, 28, Prime Ministry Archives.

MD 3 3 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (966-968/1558-1560)* (Ankara: T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993).

---

<sup>90</sup> In the 1570s, the anonymous writer of *Hırzül-Müluk* complained that "many ignorant urbanites and peasants" wore the green turban in order to avoid taxes and service obligations. More than a century later, Naima made the same point emphasizing the exemptions enjoyed by the false sadat and the protection they extended to their relatives, dependents and "their Turkish peasant laborers." Yücel 1988: 63a/200-201. Mustafa Naima 1281-83 AH: 6: 417.

- MD 5 5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973/1565-1566) (Ankara: T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994).
- MD 7 7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976/1567-1569) (Ankara: T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1997).
- MD 12 12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979/1570-1572) (Ankara: T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1996).
- Sahillioğlu, Halil. ed., Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951-952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri. İstanbul: IRCICA, 2002.
- Ayntab Court Register 48A.

- Abdullah Efendi Yenişehirli. *Behcetü'l-fetava*. İstanbul: Darı't-tıba'at el-'amire, 1266 AH.
- Anonymous. *Hırzül-Müluk*. In *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatına Dair Kaynaklar*, ed. Yaşar Yücel. Ankara: TTK, 1988.
- 'Aziz Efendi. *Kanûn-nâme-i Sultânî li 'Aziz Efendi*, ed. Rhoads Murphy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1985.
- Düzdağ, E. *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*. İstanbul: Şule Yayınları, 1983.
- Evlîya Çelebi. *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu, Dizini*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay. İstanbul: YKY, 1996.
- Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi. *Telhisü'l-beyân fi kavânin-i Al-i Osmân*, ed. Sevim İlğürel. Ankara: TTK, 1998.
- 'Îsâ-zâde Târîhi. ed. Ziya Yılmaz. İstanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği, 1996.
- Mustafa Naima. *Tarih-i Naima*. İstanbul: Matba'a-ı Amire, 1281-83 AH. vol. 6.

### Secondary Sources:

- Acun, Fatma. "The Other Side of the Coin: Tax Exemptions within the Context of Ottoman Taxation History." *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1-2 (2002).
- Akgündüz, Ahmet. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleleri ve Hukuki Tablilleri*, 6 vols. İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1990-96.
- Allouche, Adel. *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict, 906-962/1500-1555*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983.
- Andrews, Peter Alford. *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. Wiesbaden: Dr/Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989.
- Aydın, Bilgin. Yurdakul, İlhami. Kurt, İsmail. *Bab-ı Meşihat, Şeyhülislamlık Arşivi Defter Kataloğu*. İstanbul: ISAM, 2006.
- Babayan, Kathryn. *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs. Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2002.
- Barkan, Ömer Lütfi. "Edirne Askeri Kassamına ait Tereke Defterleri, 1545-1659." *TTK Belgeler* 3 (1966).
- . *XV ve XVIncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukuki ve Malî Esasları, Kanunlar*, vol. 1. İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1943.
- Birdoğan, Nejat. *Anadolu ve Balkanlar'da Alevi Yerleşmesi, Ocaklar-Dedeler-Soyağaçlar*. İstanbul: Mozaik, 1995.
- Bodman, Herbert L. *Political Factions in Aleppo, 1760-1826*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1963.

- Bottini, L. "Les descendants du Prophète à Homs: notes en marge." *Oriente Moderno* 18 (1999).
- Bumke, Peter J. "The Kurdish Alevi—Boundaries and Perceptions." In *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, ed. P. A. Andrews. Wiesbaden: Dt/Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989.
- Canbakal, Hülya. "An Exercise in Denominational Geography in Search of Ottoman Alevi." *Turkish Studies* 6, (2005).
- . "On the 'Nobility' of Urban Notables." In *Proceedings of the Conference on The Provincial Elites in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete V* (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2006).
- . "Vignettes of Political Initiative from late Eighteenth-Century Ayntab." Unpublished paper presented at Halcyon Days VII, Symposium titled 'Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire', Rethymno, 9-11 January 2009.
- Clayer, Nathalie. *Mystiques, état et société: Les Halvestis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994.
- de Planhol, Xavier. *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*. Paris: Flammarion, 1968.
- Duman, Yüksel. "Notables, Textiles and Copper in Ottoman Tokat, 1750-1840." Ph.D. diss., State University of Binghamton, 1999.
- Establet, Colette and Jean-Paul Pascual. *Familles et fortunes à Damas, 450 foyers damacaines en 1700*. Damascus: L'Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas, 1994.
- Faroqhi Suraiya. "The Bektashis: A Report on Current Research." *Revue des Études Islamiques* 60 (1992).
- . *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*. Istanbul: Simurg, 2003 [org. Wien, 1981]
- . *Pilgrims and Sultans, The Hajj under the Ottomans*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1994.
- Fleischer, Cornell. "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleymân." In *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein. Paris: La Documentation française, 1992.
- Gezik, Erdal. *Dinsel, Etnik ve Politik Sorunlar Bağlamında Alevi Kürtler*. Ankara: Kalan, 2004.
- Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib. *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*. İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957.
- Grammatikova, Nevena. "Islamic Non-orthodox Trends in Bulgarian Lands." In *History of Muslim Culture in Bulgarian Lands*, ed. Rossitsa Gradeva. Sofia: : International Center for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations, 2001.
- . "Neortodoksalniyat isliam v bulgarskite zemi. Minalo i suvremennost" (Heterodox Islam in Bulgarian Lands, Past and Present). Unpublished PhD thesis. Institute of Balkan Studies, Sofia (2007).
- Green, Nile. "Blessed Men and Tribal Politics: Notes on Political Culture in the Indo-Afghan World." *JESHO* 49 (2006).
- Halaçoğlu, Yusuf. *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi*. Ankara: TTK, 1997.
- Hasluck, F.W. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.
- Haykel, B. "Dissembling Descent, or How the Barber Lost His Turban in Eighteenth-Century Zaydi Yemen." *Islamic Law and Society* 9 (2002).

- Hezarfen, Ahmet. *Rumeli ve Anadolu Âyan ve Eşkıyası, Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri*. İstanbul: Kaynak, 2002.
- Imber, Colin. "The persecution of the Ottoman Shi'ites According to the Mühimme Defterleri, 1565-1585." *Der Islam* 56 (1979).
- İnalçık, Halil. "Osmanlılarda Raiyyet Rusumu." In *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Toplum ve Ekonomi*. İstanbul: Eren, 1996; first pub. *Belleten* 23 (1959).
- Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1995.
- Karakaya-Stump, Ayfer, 'Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah: Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia', Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2008.
- Katz, Jonathan G. "Visionary experience: Autobiography and Sainthood in North African Islam." *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1992).
- Kılıç, Rüya. "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Seyyidler ve Şerifler (XIV-XVI. Yüzyıllar)" Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 2000.
- . *Osmanlıda Seyyidler ve Şerifler*. İstanbul: Kitap, 2005.
- Kütükoğlu, Bekir. *Osmanlı-İran Siyasi münasebetleri (1578-1612)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1993.
- Kütükoğlu, Mübahat S. "Osmanlı Maliyesi" In *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, ed. E. İhsanoğlu. İstanbul: IRCICA, 1994.
- Masters, Bruce. "Power and Society in Aleppo in the 18th and 19th Centuries." *RMMM* 62 (1991).
- Mélikoff, Irène. "La communauté kizılbaş du Deli Orman en Bulgarie." In *Sur les traces du soufisme turc. Recherches sur l'islam populaire en Anatolie*. İstanbul: ISIS, 1992.
- . "Les voies de pénétration de l'hétérodoxie islamique en Thrace et dans les Balkans aux XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles." In *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule 1380-1699*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou. Rethymno: Crete University Press, 1996.
- . *Hadji Bektach: un mythe et ses avatars. Genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Murphy, Rhoads. "Some features of nomadism in the Ottoman Empire: A survey based on tribal census and judicial appeal documentation from archives in İstanbul and Damascus." *Journal of Turkish Studies* 8 (1984).
- Nakash, Yitzhak. *The Shi'is of Iraq*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1994.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar*. İstanbul: İletişim, 1996.
- . "Un aperçu général sur l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Turquie: Réflexions sur les origines et les caractéristique du Kizilbachisme (Alévisme) dans la perspective de l'histoire." In *Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East, Collected Papers of the International Symposium "Alevism in Turkey and Comparable Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East in the Past and Present" Berlin, 14-17 April 1995*, eds. Krisztina Kehl-Bogrodi, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Anka Otter-Beaujean. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Orhonlu, Cengiz. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskanı*. İstanbul: Eren, 1987.
- Öz, Baki. *Bektaşilik nedir? (Bektaşilik Tarihi)*. İstanbul: Der, 1997.
- Özbaş, Ömer. *Gaziantep Dolaylarında Türkmenler ve Baraklar*. Gaziantep: Cihan Matbaası, 1958.
- Özcan, Abdülkadir. "Eşkinci." *DVİA* 11: 470. İstanbul, 1997.

- Özcoşar, İbrahim. *Mardin 195 Nolu Mardin Şer'îye Sicili Belge Özetleri ve Mardin*. İstanbul: Mardin Tarihi İhtisas Kütüphanesi, 2006.
- Özkaya, Yücel. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Âyânlık*. Ankara: AÜDTCE, 1977.
- . *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kurumları ve Osmanlı Toplum Yaşantısı*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1985.
- Parveva, Stefka. "Representatives of the Muslim Religious Institutions in the Town in Bulgarian Lands during the 17th century." In *Myusyulmanskata kultura po balgar-skitezemi. Izsledvaniya* [Muslim Culture in Bulgarian Lands. Studies.], eds. R. Gradeva and S. Ivanova. Sofia: IMIR, 1998.
- Pulaha, Selami and Yaşar Yücel. *I.Selim Kânünnâmesi (1512-1520) ve XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısının Kimi Kanunları*. Ankara: TTK, 1988.
- Rafeq, Abdul-Karim. "Changes in the Relation between the Ottoman Central Administration and the Syrian Provinces from the sixteenth-Century to the 18th-Century." In *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, eds. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University, 1977.
- . *Bilad al-Sham wa Misr min al-fath al-uthmani ila hamlat Nabulyun Bunabart*. Damascus: [n.p.], 1968.
- Raymond, Andre. "Urban Networks and Popular Movements in Cairo and Aleppo." In *Urbanism in Islam*. ed. Yukawa, T. Tokyo: Research Project "Urbanism in Islam" & the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, 1989. vol. 2.
- Refik, Ahmed. *Onaltıncı Asırda Rafızilik ve Bektaşilik*. İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932.
- Rossi, Ettore. "'Çelebi' kelimesi hakkında Ebü S-Suüd'a atfedilen bir fetva." *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*, 1954.
- Roy, Asim. *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Salati, Marco. *Ascesa e Caduta di una famiglia di Asraf Sciiti di Aleppo: I Zuhrawi o Zuhrazada (1600-1700)*. Roma: Istituto Per L'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 1992.
- Savaş, Saim. *XVI. Asırda Anadolu'da Alevilik*. Ankara: Vadi, 2002.
- . *Bir Tekkenin Dinî ve Sosyal Tarihi, Sivas Ali Baba Zaviyesi*. İstanbul: Dergah, 1992.
- Schatkowski Schilcher, Linda. *Families in Politics: Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985.
- Şimşirgil, Ahmet. "The Kazas (Townships) of Alakilise, Rahova, Ivraga, İzladi and Eski Cuma—Subdivisions of the Sancak of Niğbolu in XVIII. Century." *Turkish Review of Balkan Studies* 7, (2002).
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Turning the Stones Over: Sixteenth-century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 40 (2003).
- . "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia." *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997).
- Sümer, Faruk. *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilâtı, Destanları*. İstanbul: TDAV, 1972.
- . *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü*. Ankara: TTK, 1992.
- Temimi, Abdeljelil. "Role des Sadat/Asraf dans l'empire ottoman: quelques considerations." *Oriente Moderno XVIII (LXXIX)* (1999).

- Thieck, Jean-Pierre. "D centralisation ottomane et affirmation urbaine   Alep   la fin du XVIII si cle." In *Passion d'Orient* (Paris: Kathala, 1992).
- Tok,  zen. "130 numaralı Kayseri  er'iyye sicili." Unpublished MA thesis. Erciyes University (1996).
- T rkay, Cevdet. *Ba bakanlık Ar ivi Belgelerine G re Osmanlı İmparatorluęunda Oymak, A iret ve Cemaatler*. İstanbul: İ aret Yayınları, 2001.
- Uzun ar ılı, İsmail H. *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 3/1. Ankara: TTK, 1994.
- . *Osmanlı Devletinin İlimiye Te kilatı*. Ankara: TTK, 1988.
- Winter, Michael. "The Ashraf and Niqabat al-ashraf in Egypt in Ottoman and Modern Times." *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985).
- . *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule, 1517-1798*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Winter, Stefan H. "The Shiite Emirates of Ottoman Syria (Mid-sixteenth-Mid-18th Century)" Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 2002.
- Wright, Theodore P, Jr. "The Changing role of the Sadat in India and Pakistan." *Oriente Moderno* XVIII (LXXIX) (1999).
- Yaman, Ali. "Anadolu Alevilięi'nde Ocak Sistemi ve Dedelik Kurumu." <http://www.alevibektasi.org/dedelik.htm>.
- Y ksel, Hasan and Fatih K ksal. *Osmanlı Toplumunda S d t-ı Kir m ve Nakib le r flar, Ahmet Rf'at Devhat 'n Nukab *. Sivas: Dilek Matbaası, 1998.
- Ze'evi, D. *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s*. Albany, NY.: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Zilfi, Madeline C. *The Politics of Piety, The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*. Minneapolis, MN.: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988.
- (n.a), *Dersim, Jandarma Genel Komutanlıęı Raporu*. İstanbul: Kaynak, 1998 [org. n.d].

## Appendix I

### Registers of the Imperial Nakibüleşraf and

The registers are currently located in Istanbul Müftülüğü, Meşihat Archives, but researchers are referred to the İSAM Library (Center for Islamic Studies), where they can consult the microfiche copies of the registers up to ND # 32. For now, one has to work in the Meşihat Archives to consult the rest of the collection. The earlier part of the collection four kinds of registers. The majority are registers of title deeds (*hüccet*) issued by the Imperial Nakibüleşraf (Fig. 2) while another group contains alphabetically arranged summary lists of sadat (*icmal*) (Fig. 3). Another group of registers consists of inspection records from the second half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 4). Finally, there are two registers (ND # 31-32) that may be characterized as “super-catalogues” comprising names of all sadat certified by Imperial Nakibüleşrafs since the first half of the sixteenth century. Of these, ND # 31 covers the period up to 1629/30, and ND # 32 covers the period up to 1686 (Fig 5). There is also an undated register that is a few pages long and contains some draft records (ND # 33). Last six registers dating from 1874-1923 comprise lists of nakibüleşraf appointments, names of sadat receiving stipends in Istanbul, and records of various correspondence between the Imperial Nakibüleşraf and local nakibüleşrafs.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> See also the catalog by Aydın, Yurdakul and Kurt 2006: 38-39.



Fig. 2: ND # 8

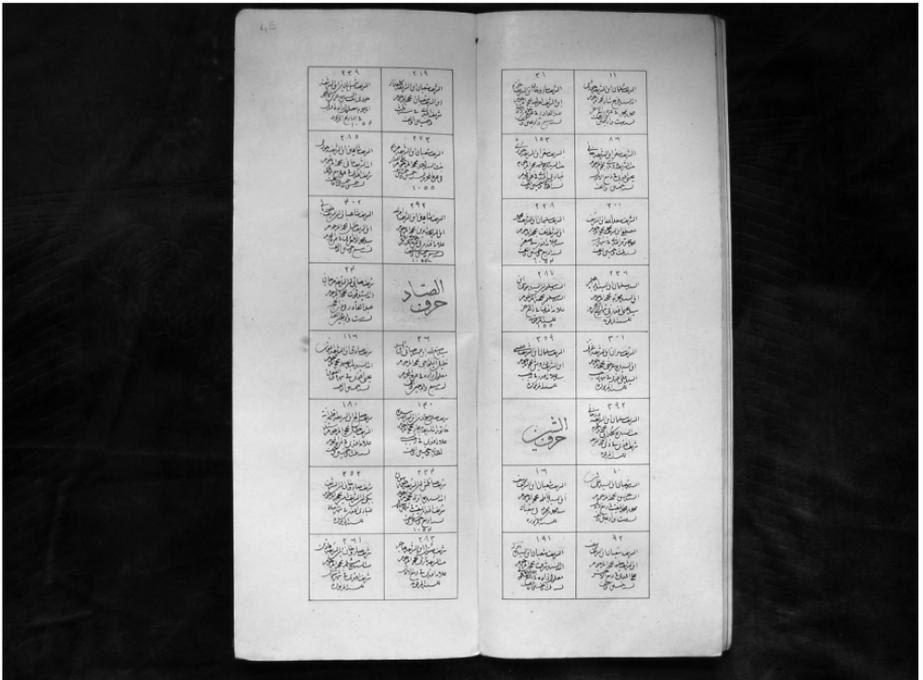




Fig. 4: ND # 12

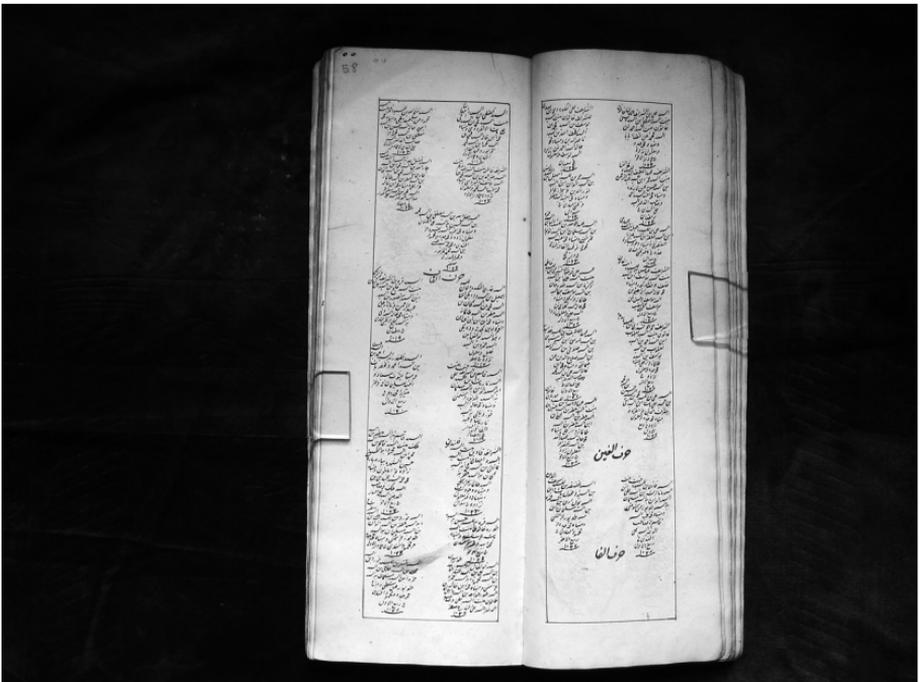


Fig. 5: ND # 32

## Appendix II Certificates issued by Imperial Nakibüleşrafs

Date of Tenure	Nakibüleşraf	Register #	# of certificates	certificates per year	# of names in summary registers	names per year	# of names in ND # 32	names per year in ND # 32
1495/96-1536/37	Mahmud Efendi	1	3	<1	621	15		
1536/37-1572	Taşkendi Muhterem Efendi	2			828	22	563	15
1572-1576	Bağdadizade Hasan Efendi	?						
1576-1584	Ma'lûlzade Mehmed Efendi	3-4	561	72	629	81	610	78
1585-1587	Mirza Mahdum (Muineddin Eşref)	5-6	151	52	144	50	161	56
1587-1599	Keşmirizade Yahya Efendi	7	531	43	28	2	531	43
1599-1604	Abdulkadir Efendi	8-9	229	45	142	28	150	30
1604-1605	Mehmed Nakib (Yavuz Çelebi?)	9	20	50	4	10		
1605-1616	Emir Ali Efendi	10	402	35	346	30		
1616-1625	Kasım Gubari Efendi	?						
1625-1629/30	Şerif Mehmed Efendi	11-12	248	54	267	58		
1629/30-1634	Allame Mehmed Efendi	12-14	1,225	255	830	173	936	195
1634-1647	Ankaravi Mehmed Esad Emir	12, 16	390	30	405	31	406	31
1647-1648	Zeyrekzade Yunus Efendi	12, 17	5	5	5	5	5	5
1648-1648	Nakibzade Mehmed b. Ankaravi Emir	12, 15-16	128	194	116	176	109	165
1648-1656	Zeyrekzade Abdurrahman	18	20	3			23	3
1656-1657	Nakibzade Mehmed b. Ankaravi Emir	15	1	1				
1657-1674	Kuduzade Şeyh Mehmed Efendi	19-20	19	10			19	10
1674-1680	Es'adzade Mehmed Said Efendi	21, 24, 27-28	41	71			49	8
1680-1686	Emir Ca'fer Efendi	23, 27-28	21	3			14	2

1686-1687	Es'adzade Mehmed Said Efendi	21, 27	23	15
1687-1688	Feyzullah Efendi	26	1	4
1687-1690	Abdurrahman Efendi	22	166	66
1690-1694/95	Başmakçızade Ali Efendi			169
1694-1695	Mehmed Efendi			68
1695-1699	Osman Efendi	20, 25	307	75
1699-1703/4	Fethullah Efendi	26	35	8
1703/4-1704	Seyfzade İbrahim Efendi	29	7	5
1704-1711/12	Mehmed Efendi			
1712-1718	Uşakızade Abdulllah Efendi			
1718-1720	Başmakçızade Abdulllah Efendi			
1720-1728	Zeynelabidin Efendi	21	8	1
1728-1730	Zeynelabidin Efendi			
1730-1731	İmadzade Ebu Said Efendi			
1731/32	Bolevizade Mehmed Emin			
1732	Mahmud Dede Efendi			
1731/32-1732/33	Hocazade Ömer Efendi	26	2	2
1733/34	Fethullah Efendi	20	4	4
1736/37-1737/38	Hocazade Ömer Efendi	29	1	1
1790/91-1791/92	Mehmed Faiz? El-Hüseyini Efendi			

### Appendix III

#### Districts with more than 100 claimants in the second half of the seven-teenth century

(Based on Geographical Distribution of Sadat ND ## 19, 30, 24, 27-28, 25)

Province	District ( <i>Kaza</i> or <i>Nahiye</i> )	1658- 59	1670- 80	1695	Province	District ( <i>Kaza</i> or <i>Nahiye</i> )	1658- 59	1670- 80	1695
<b>Adana</b>	Adana + Tarsus			225	<b>Özi</b>	Hacıoğlu Pazarı	257	106	278
	Sinanlu + Silifke			135		Hasköy	155		
<b>Anadolu</b>	Ankara			342	Hezargırad	657	655	627	
	Antalya			149	Ruscuk	819	708	889	
	Bursa			450	Silistre	586	355		
	Karahisar-1			117	Silistre + Çardak			670	
	Sahib Keçiborlu			303	Şumnu	654		344	
	Mağnisa			650	Umurfakih	171	113	109	
	Zağferanborlu			192	<b>Rumeli</b>	Dimetoka	651		985
						Gümülcine			130
<b>Haleb</b>	Haleb	596			Sultanyeri			102	
<b>Karaman</b>	Bor			208	<b>Sivas</b>	Amasya		234	
	Ereğli	541		522		Eyrek		309	
	Kayseri			326		Kazabad		212	
	Kiriş	326				Ladik		162	
	Konya	197		650		Niksar		218	
	Larende	151		147		Sivas		294	
	Niğde Ürgüb + İncesu			449		Sivasili		129	
			148		Sonisa		192		
<b>Maraş</b>	Ayntab	148			Taşabad		124		
<b>Özi</b>	Alakilise	407	182	409	Tokat		422		
	Aydos		604		Artukabad		147		
	Balçık	145		116	Zile		220		
	Çardak	317	218						
	Çirmen	214		176	Istanbul			295	
	Eski Cuma		200		Topuzlar clan in Şumnu	243			