

On the Çırçıp: Yesterday and Today*

On Wednesday, the 7th of February 2007, in the *ilçe* Ceylanpınar of Şanlıurfa Province an accident took place in which ten for the most part young persons drowned in the “Çırıp”. Much sympathy was expressed in the media. Alevis in particular recalled Dede Garkın who had lived at this spot where the old caravan route from Aleppo to Mosul crossed over the Çırçıp. And here as well was situated the battlefield on which in 1516 the incorporation of the region of Diyarbakir into the Ottoman Empire was sealed. Today this is where Highway 400, known as a new “Silk Route”, goes on to Iran and Iraq.

1 The Çırçips

The river name Çırçıp (Djurdjib)¹ designates at least three larger streams and water courses which, instead of flowing in a single riverbed, draw a network of wadis (*dere yatağı*) from the mountain rises southward through the plain where they are conveyed to a valley that today constitutes the headwaters of the Western Khabur, the only perennially flowing tributary of the Euphrates in Upper Mesopotamia. In the summer these are wadis with little water; in the winter, however, they contain great volumes of water and are transformed into torrential rivers.

The most important of the Çırçips, the Great Çırçıp (on different maps: Büyük Çırçıp, Büyükcircipsuyu, Djurdjub, Curcup Deresi, Syr. Jarjab), arises in the *ilçe* Viranşehir on the southern slope of the 1938-meters-high Karaca Dağ, an extinct volcano, that like a headland looks down on the plain. The surface of its summit is a flat grassland surrounded by jagged basalt rocks.² Its slopes stretch a great distance south; on them at the end of the 1980s, amid stony meadows, green watered fields flourished where – as in Ottoman times –

* Translated by John O’Kane.

1 In Carl Ritter (*Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen, oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie. Die Erdkunde von Asien. Band VII. Zweite Abtheilung. Das Stufenland des Euphrat- und Tigrissystems*. Berlin 1844, p. 255), the Çırçıp is recorded (mistakenly) as the western Dschagschak or Djachdjack.

2 Sinclair, T.A.: *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, Vol. IV, London 1990, pp. 177-78.



MAP 1

mountain rice was cultivated.³ From the 1158-meters-high Kaletepesi (Kel Tepesi?) emerges another Çırçıp, the İbrahimiye Çırçibi or Arslanbaba Deresi. From the Gözelem Tepe (447 m) descends the Beşmağaralar Deresi which is perhaps the Djirdjib Abu Daradj that Max von Oppenheim described as at first flowing southward through a deep carved-out valley and then, due to a barrier of rock, swerving in a right angle to be redirected eastward. A small Çırçıp, Küçük Çırçıp, appears to flow still further to the south-west toward Ra's al-ʿAyn.⁴

The Çırçıps flow chiefly toward the south. In a valley, where hundreds of springs arise, in the present-day *ilçe* Ceylanpınar, the Büyük Çırçıp leaves the national territory of Turkey at a border village that had earlier been named after the river (Büyükçırçıp; now Yeşiltepe and Aydoğdu), near the train station Gürpınar. After its entry into the national territory of the Arab Republic of Syria, the Çırçıp, which is now called Jarjab, flows on further through part of the Mesopotamian plain. South of Ra's al-ʿAyn, near as-Safih, it flows into the Great (Western) Khabur from the left.

2 Two Caravan Routes from Urfa to Diyarbekir

There were two west-to-east routes for caravans and armies that went from Aleppo to the east.⁵ The northern one ran around the volcanic mass of the Karaca Dağ⁶ to Siverek. At the beginning of the 20th century this road, the forerunner of the present-day Highway 360, was only used to a limited extent by motor vehicles because it was strewn with basalt rocks. To the left, stretched the desolate fields of broken and disintegrating lava; to the right, climbed ter-

3 Göyünç, Nejat & Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter: *Land an der Grenze. Osmanische Verwaltung im heutigen türkisch-syrischen Grenzgebiet im 16. Jahrhundert*, İstanbul 1997, pp. 37, 51 and 115, with illustrations 9 and 10. The authors travelled in the region in 1988 and 1991.

4 This impression is conveyed by modern tourist maps. The position of the riverbeds in the 1960s can be seen on the map in Nejat Göyünç *xvi. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı*, İstanbul 1969. On the other hand, it seems as if Göyünç and Hütteroth 1997 consciously avoid using the name Çırçıp. The earlier literature on "the 'Wadi al-Djirdjib' which has not much water in it" is found in Honigsmann, E: "Ra's al-ʿAyn or 'Ayn Warda" in: *EI VIII* (1995), p. 434.

5 Both routes are shown on Map 11 in Tavernier, Jean- Baptiste: *Les six voyages de Turquie et de Perse*, with introduction and commentary by Yerasimos, Stéphane: Introduction et notes, Paris 1981, 1; Map 2 in Bruinessen, Martin van & Boeschoten, Hendrik: *Evlîya Çelebi in Diyarbekir*, Leiden-Cologne 1988.

6 Sinclair, T.A.: *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, Vol. III, London 1989, pp. 408-09; Bruinessen, Martin van: "The Ottoman Conquest of Diyarbekir", in Bruinessen, Martin van & Boeschoten, Hendrik: 1988, pp. 36-37.

race upon terrace up the mountain from where the lava had flowed down.⁷ From Siverek the road continued to the traffic hub Kara Amid (Diyarbakir, Diyarbakır) with branches in the direction of Bitlis or to al-Cazira (Cizre) in the direction of Mosul.⁸

The older, southern route made use of the Roman or Byzantine highway which went from Edessa (Ruha, Urfa, Şanlıurfa) through the Tektek Dağ via Viranşehir over bridges⁹ to the former Dunyasir (Koçhisar, Kızıltepe),¹⁰ Nisibis (Nusaybin), al-Cazira and Mosul.

3 Dede Garkın, Türkmens, Alevilik⁵

At one of the bridges on the southern highway, at the point where it crossed the Çırçıp, there once stood the Sufi lodge (*zaviye*) of a Türkmen shaykh by the name of Dede Garkın. Of fundamental importance for our knowledge of his *vita* are hagiographical reports, one of which stems from Elvan Çelebi in 1358-59.¹¹ The dates of the shaykh's birth and death remain unknown. What can be said is that Dede Garkın was a disciple of Abu l-Vafa Tac al-'Arifin (d. 501/1107), an Iraqi Sufi of partly Kurdish descent, and that he entered the region with the Iraqi Türkmens who from the 11th century immigrated into what was then Byzantine but later became Seljuq Upper Mesopotamia.¹²

It is possible that Dede Garkın is not his actual name but that of his Oguz tribe, the Karkın. The Karkın (Garkın, Karkun, Kargun) joined with the Aleppo Türkmens who gradually divided into a sedentary group and a group of nomads.¹³ Dede Garkın, also called Ulu Garkın, was influential because of his

7 Wigram, W.A.: *The cradle of mankind. Life in Eastern Kurdistan*, London 1922, 2nd edition, p. 13.

8 A good sketch of the stages of the road Urfa – Diyarbakir – Cizre is found in Niebuhr, Carsten: *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und den umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778; reprint of the editions of 1774-78 (Copenhagen) and 1837 (Hamburg) with added preface by Dietmar Henze, Graz 1968.

9 Göyünç, Nejat & Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter: 1997, p. 53, were shown remains of bridges from earlier times.

10 Ritter, Carl: 1844, pp. 366 and 373; Göyünç, Nejat & Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter: 1997, pp. 41 and 130; Groot, A.H. de: "Koçhisar IV", in: *EI V* (1986), p. 248.

11 Erüenal, İsmail E. & Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar (eds.): *Menâkibu'l-Kudsîyye Fî Menâsibi'l-Unsîyye*, Ankara 1995, pp. xl-xlii.

12 Woods, John E.: *The Aqquyunlu. Clan, Confederation, Empire*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976, pp. 40 and 237, ftns. 11 and 12.

13 Sümer, Faruk: *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)*, Ankara 1972, 2nd edition, pp. 312-14; on the list of Karkın villages (pp. 439-40) in İskilib (Sancak Çorum) are Dere-i Karkın and Karkın -Dere.

asceticism and his fear of God; his teachings won him numerous adherents; the latter wore distinctive buckskin caps. The *dede* won the approval of the Turkish prince of the region, referred to by Elvan Çelebi as “sultan” – there were several of them in Upper Mesopotamia at the beginning of the 12th century¹⁴ – and the prince donated seventeen villages to him. As shaykh of the Vefaiyye, Dede Garkın was regarded during his lifetime as a guarantor of orthodoxy. His preaching and performing miracles resulted in a popular religious movement. One of his “four hundred” *halifes* was the ascetic shaykh of the Türkmens, Baba Ilyas. By the latter presenting himself as a “Messenger of God” (*Resulullah*) his entry into the Muslim heterodoxy of Anatolia was completed.¹⁵ And Baba Ilyas’ disciple was Baba Ishak who originated from Syria and led the great Baba’i revolt which shook the Seljuq state in 1240.¹⁶

Up to now the places where Dede Garkın lived are thought to have been Ablustain/Elbistan and Maraş, but he could also have chosen his residence along the southern caravan route, that still flourished in his day, and been buried there. After the upheavals caused by the Mongols, the Confederation of the Akkoyunlu had its central region in Diyarbakir.¹⁷ Today the memory of Dede Garkın’s activity still lives on in the area of the Çırçıp, and likewise a Shaykh İbrahim is named as his *halife* whose place of origin is supposed to have been İbrahimiye, not far from the Çırçıp.

The religious movement kindled by Dede Garkın and others like him found its ecstatic continuation in the Kızılbaş-Safawiya. Its leaders became saints of the Alevilik, that “religious syncretism” which under the influence of the Kızılbaş-Safawiya would lead to the formation of a new heterodox current of faith.¹⁸ The Safawid Cunayd, who would transform the Safawid order into the

Is Dede Garkın meant? In 1766 Carsten Niebuhr learned from his friend Dr. Patrick Russell in Aleppo of a tribe “Dede Garkın” with a thousand tents in the region of Aintab (Gaziantep).

14 Felix, Wolfgang: *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1981, pp. 131-82; Sinclair, T.A.: 1990, IV, pp. 31 f.

15 Sümer, Faruk: op. cit.; Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Marjinal Sûfilik: Kalenderiler*, Ankara 1992, p. 64. In *Turcica* 31 (1999), pp. 549-53, Martin van Bruinessen gives an overview of the broad field of research on heterodox Islam in Anatolia in his book review of Mélikoff, Irène: *Hadji Bektach: un mythe et ses avatars*, Leiden 1998.

16 Karamustafa, Ahmet T.: “Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia”, in: Lewisohn, Leonard (ed.): *Classical Persian Sufism: from its Origins to Rumi*, London/New York 1993, pp. 175-83, with earlier literature.

17 Sinclair, T.A.: 1989, III, pp. 385-405.

18 Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina & Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara & Otter-Beaujean, A.: *Alevism in Turkey and comparable syncretistic religious communities in the Near East*, Leiden 1997.

heterodox Shi'ite Kızılbaş movement supported by Türkmen tribes, resided – around 1456 – for three years in Diyarbakir. When Cunayd's grandson, Shah İsmail, annexed Diyarbakir in 1507/08 and installed Muhammad Khan Ustaclu as governor, remnants of the Akkoyunlu Confederation, Turkish and Kurdish tribes,¹⁹ both partially belonging to the Boz Ulus, were living relatively undisturbed on Karaca Dağ.²⁰ Still in 1526 three shaykhs were registered for tax purposes in the village Dede Garkın.²¹

Shah İsmail endeavoured to incorporate in his empire regions outside Iran where he had followers. This in turn drove Kurdish princes into the arms of the Ottoman Sultan who promised them autonomy.²² When Sultan Selim had destroyed Shah İsmail's army at Çaldıran (on 23 August 1514), the latter turned over the Safawid province of Diyarbakir to his brother-in-law Kara Khan Ustaclu, the brother of Muhammad Khan Ustaclu who had died in the battle. In order to defend what remained of the province, he laid siege to Amid whose inhabitants had gone over to the Ottoman Sultan. In the summer of 1515, Selim I conferred on Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa,²³ the *Beglerbegi* (Governor-General) of Erzerum, the task of relieving the siege of Amid.²⁴ In fact, Kara Khan had to

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- 19 Sümer, Faruk: 1972, pp. 175-77. The appearance together of Türkmen and Kurdish tribes in Seljuk Anatolia has been known for a long time; cf. Flemming, Barbara: *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien [...] im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 41-43; İnalçık, Halil: "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role", in: *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, p. 97; and Bruinessen, Martin van: "Aslımı inkar eden haramzadedir! The Debate on the Ethnic Identity of the Kurdish Alevi", in: Kehl-Bodrogi, Krisztina & Kellner-Heinkele, Barbara & Otter-Beaujean, A.: 1997, p. 9.
- 20 Bruinessen, Martin van: "The Ottoman Conquest of Diyarbakir", in: Bruinessen, Martin van & Boeschoten, Hendrik: *Evlîya Çelebi in Diyarbakir*, Leiden-Cologne 1988, pp. 27-28, 35 and 41.
- 21 Göyünç, Nejat: 1969, p. 61. The *zaviye*, which was shown to Göyünç as a *ziyaret*, should be thought of as a lodge of the shaykhs; see here below fn. 69. It could be a pious establishment from the Akkoyunlu period, such as the few that Göyünç describes for Mardin (1969, pp. 119-22).
- 22 Allouche, Adel: *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict*, Berlin 1983, pp. 90-99; Bruinessen, Martin van: 1988, pp. 13-28.
- 23 Bacqué-Grammont, Jean-Louis: *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins. Contributions à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'orient islamique de 1514 à 1524*, İstanbul 1987, pp. 157 and 162-63; Idem: "Mehmed Pasha, Bıyıklı", in: *Eİ2 VI* (1991), pp. 992-93. According to Faruk Sümer, he was an Akkoyunlu Turk: *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü (Şah İsmail ile Halefleri ve Andolu Türkleri)*, Ankara 1976, p. 39.
- 24 İlhan, M. Mehdi: "Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa'nın Doğu Anadolu'daki Askeri Faaliyetleri", in: *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara 21-25 Eylül 1981, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, II. Cilt, Ankara 1988, pp. 807-18; Bruinessen, Martin van: 1988, p. 16.

abandon the siege of Amid in mid-September 1515. He marched south to join forces with groups of Türkmens of Diyarbekir at Birecik. However, Bıyıklı Mehmed cut off his route.

4 The Battle between Koçhisar and Dede Garkın

On Rabi' 11 922/May 1516 – in the plain between [Eski] Koçhisar and Dede Garkın (also called Karkın or Karghandede) on the southern caravan route – the battle took place in which the Safawid troops were defeated by the Ottoman-Kurdish army.

The Safawid army, one of the best that Shah İsmail still had, with little infantry and no artillery, depended entirely on the Kızılbaş-Türkmen tribal cavalry. Among them was a Türkmen tribe with whom the sister of Shah İsmail and her whole female entourage, dressed in cavalymen's clothes, are said to have fought. Kara Khan Ustaclu divided his troops into two groups. His right wing was to attack the Kurdish cavalry, his left wing was to attack the Ottoman right, avoiding completely the Janissaries and the artillery.

Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa stood in the middle with two thousand Janissaries and his cannons. His right wing was made up of the cavalry of fief-holders from Anadolu and Karaman. The Kurdish princes and their tribal armies, which the Kurdish statesman Idris Bidlisi had supplied him with, were positioned on his left wing where they played a decisive role.²⁵

The Kızılbaş army was almost entirely annihilated. Its remnants dispersed, most of them into the plain toward Sincar. The Safawids Kara Khan and his generals Turmuş Khan and Husayn Khan Şamlu fell in battle. İsmail's sister managed to flee via Tell Afar to Mosul and from there to Kirkuk and Tabriz.²⁶

After the battle of Dede Garkın/Koçhisar, a few of Diyarbekir's fortresses still remained in the hands of the Kızılbaş, in particular Ruha/Urfa which was quickly conquered.²⁷ The immediate consequence of the battle, however, was the capture of Amid. Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa, who occupied the city in September 1516, became the *Beglerbegi*, Governor-General, on November 5th. The Kurdish allies were richly rewarded; consideration was shown for their Shafi'ite school of jurisprudence.²⁸

25 Bruinessen, Martin van: 1988, p. 16, with bibliography.

26 Hammer, Joseph von: *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II, Pest 1828, p. 446, following Italian historians and authors of reports; for details concerning the battle see Göyünç, Nejat: 1969, pp. 25-28, 32, 34, and 42.

27 Bacqué-Grammont, Jean-Louis: 1987, pp. 166 and 322, and fn. 651 on p. 200.

28 Bruinessen, Martin van: 1988, p. 16. In the Paşa-Sancak there were even three Kurdish princes: *ibid.*, p. 25, fn. 14.

The Battle of Eski Koçhisar has its place in history.²⁹ From a distance, the Ottoman-Safawid confrontation appeared to be a “Turkish-Iranian” conflict.³⁰ Nationalistic Turkish historiography saw “the unity of *Turkey* as assured” due to the victory.³¹ The “victory of the *sunna* of Anatolia over the Shi’a of Iran” was emphasized: at Çaldıran the foundation was laid, at Eski Koçhisar the roof was set in place.³² The wide-spread declaration and interpretation of a specifically Kurdish loyalty to the *sunna*, on closer consideration, goes back in fact to Idris Bidlisi who had negotiated the alliance of leading Kurdish families with the Ottoman Sultans. In the meantime, it has been pointed out that not all Kurdish tribes that were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire were firm Sunnis.³³ Similarly, it is clear that they were not all followers of the extreme Shi’ite pro-Safawid Kızılbaş.³⁴ Whoever wished to avoid being pursued like the latter was well advised to behave loyally to the Sultan.³⁵

5 The Passage of Armies along the Northern Route

Despite the losses in human life that persecutions of the Kızılbaş entailed, Selim I was able to accomplish his military goals: his troops had scarcely defeated the Safawid army at Dede Garkın and Koçhisar, when in August 1516 they fought the decisive battle against the Mamluks which made possible the Ottoman entry into Cairo on January 1517.

29 Joseph von Hammer (1828, p. 461) recalled with regard to the Roman Empire: “...(the) rule of Osman in the Near East was only firmly established by means of extending the borders to the Tigris and Euphrates. The Roman Empire as well believed that its rule in Asia was not sufficiently wide and secure until its legions stood on the shores of the Euphrates. Only the latter, not the Tigris, forms the natural boundary of water that holds out the best promise for the two great empires that border upon one another in hostility...”

30 “The bloody battle decided in favor of the Turks; the defeated Persians [...] took to flight in the broad plain of Sinjar and on the roads to Mosul and Kerkuk.” So wrote C. Ritter following Hammer, Joseph von: 1828, pp. 146-47.

31 Sümer, Faruk: 1976, p. 40.

32 Danişmend, İsmail Hami: *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* 2, İstanbul 1971, 23.

33 Bruinessen, Martin van: 1997, p. 8; Idem: 1988, pp. 14-15. A survey, published by the newspaper *Milliyet* on 21 and 22 March 2007, found that 22 percent of the 11,445,000 Kurds in Turkey today describe themselves as Alevi.

34 Halil İnalcık (1993, pp. 100 f.) distinguishes “Kızılbaş” as a designation for pro-Safawid Türkmens from the designation “Yürük” or simply “Türkmen”.

35 Sohrweide, Hanna: “Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert”, in: *Der Islam* 41 (1965), pp. 95-223; Sümer, Faruk: 1976; Gölpınarlı, A.: “Kızılbaş”, in *IA* VI (1955), pp. 789-95.

The northern route via the north edge of Karaca Dağ became a *via militaris* under Sultan Süleyman: he made use of it several times for large troop movements. Of the first two marches stage-by-stage descriptions have been preserved. On the way back from the first Persian campaign “against the two Iraqs” Süleyman came to Amid in October 1535, took up residence there for twenty days and celebrated the Feast of the Sacrifice with his troops.³⁶ The continuation of his march in the direction of Aleppo, more or less following the present-day road Diyarbakır-Siverek, was documented by Nasuh Matrakçı in the illustrated *Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn*. The army marched along the volcano’s northern slopes which are strewn with basalt blocks. As the 15th stage, Nasuh drew “from nature” Kızıldepe on the slope of Karaca Dağ (*Karacadağ zeylinde Kızıldepe*) as a red bulging mountain ridge. Having marched over Karaca Dağ, the army crossed the Akbiñar River; then after passing by Kocagöz depesi, the Cüllab River was forded east of Urfa.³⁷

In 1548, on his second Persian campaign, Sultan Süleyman came from Van to Amid. Once again Bayram was celebrated and they settled into winter quarters: the troops from Rumeli camped in Mardin and those from Anadolu in Urfa. And again Nasuh Matrakçı documented the continuation of the march, indeed in somewhat fuller detail: they marched north of Karaca Dağ to Ruha/Urfa where they arrived on 14 December 1548.³⁸

In 1549, the Sultan marched from Aleppo across the Euphrates. Since he had fallen ill in Elmalu, in July 1549 he allowed himself a period of rest on the *yayla* of Karaca Dağ which offered good grazing for horses and camels. According to Evliya Çelebi, he had a spring named Hamrevat led from Karaca Dağ through a subterranean conduit into the castle of Amid.³⁹ From there at the beginning of October 1549 he moved to the plain named Cülek or Çülek near Amid and then disbanded the army in Aintab.⁴⁰

36 Kappert, Petra: *Geschichte Sultan Süleyman Kanunis von 1520 bis 1557 oder Tabakat ül-Memalik ve Derecat ül-Mesalik von Celalzade Mustafa genannt Koca Nişancı*, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 77.

37 Yurdaydın, Hüseyin G.: *Nasuhü’s Silahi (Matrikçı). Beyan-i Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han*, Ankara 1976, pp. 108-09, fol. 104a below, pp. 104 above and 104b below; op. cit. xxi, 41: *görüerek yapılmışlardır*. On the river Collab (Colab) cf. Sümer, Faruk: 1976, p. 193. Evliya Çelebi was in Culab in 1646. On Cellab in Urfa see İlhan, Mehdi M.: “Urfa and its environs in 1560s”, Wiesbaden 2001, p. 7.

38 Yurdaydın, Hüseyin G. (1976, pp. 172-73) has edited the two itineraries together, the one of 1535 with illustrations and the one of 1548 without illustrations.

39 Bruinessen, Martin van & Boeschoten, Hendrik: 1988, pp. 146-47.

40 Kappert, Petra: 1981, pp. 406b-507a and 409a(?); Danişmend, İsmail Hami: 1971, p. 262.

The fourth march to Diyarbekir of the Sultan, who was affected by illness and old age, was overshadowed by the execution of Prince Mustafa suspected of rebellion,⁴¹ and because of which unrest arose in the army. The Sultan marched from the winter quarters at Aleppo via Birecik – Ruha/Urfa – and once more via the halting-station Kızıldepe (May 1554), i.e. again via the northern slope of Karaca Dağ. On 15 May 1554 outside Amid, due to the vacillation of the soldiers, the Sultan was forced to convene a solemn war-Divan on the parade grounds located by the Tigris (*ordugah Çülek*). In so doing, he succeeded in getting the officers of the Janissaries individually to swear oaths of allegiance to him.⁴² After eight days, the march resumed which in the summer of 1554 would lead to Süleyman declaring war against Shah Tahmasp and finally to the peace agreement of Amasya on 29 May 1555.⁴³

In the south-east, Selim I had conquered the Dulğadır principality and the area of Diyarbekir. In Diyarbekir the first census was carried out in 1518 and the second one in 1540. To begin with, the rural population put up a resistance in the turbulent eastern provinces that were greatly agitated by influences emanating from Persia.⁴⁴ One could only speak of “internal security” after deportations, and after revolts, tribal insurrections and, not least, religious disturbances had been suppressed with the utmost severity in terrible battles.⁴⁵

The border *vilayet* Diyarbekir was at times sealed off from Persia. Such was the case in 1559 when the governor of the province was set in action against Prince Bayezid who had abandoned his residence Amasya and fled with his troops to Shah Tahmasp. In July 1562 Prince Bayezid was handed over and put to death. The summary punishment of his followers, the Yevimlü, only further reinforced the ranks of the discontent; the central government was not successful in suppressing unrest throughout the country. Rather, such unrest would lead to the Celali uprisings that we will mention and which also did not spare Diyarbekir.⁴⁶

41 Kappert, Petra: *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul 1976; Veinstein, G.: “Süleyman”, in *EI IX* (1997), p. 836.

42 Kappert, Petra: 1981, pp. 96 and 448a. On Divans held during campaigns: *ibid.*, pp. 31 f.; Danişmend, İsmail Hami: 1971, p. 288.

43 Hammer, Joseph von: 1828, pp. 321-22 and 326; Veinstein, G.: *EI IX* (1997), p. 836.

44 Yınanç, Refet & Elibüyük, Mesut: *Maraş Tahrir Defteri (1563)*, I, Ankara 1988, xxviii-xxix.

45 See my “Sahib-Qıran and Mahdî (No. 17 in this volume). Göyünç and Hütteroth (Istanbul 1997, p. 124) are too confident in their assumption that in the period of Kanuni Süleyman [...] the power of the Ottoman Empire manifestly grew along with internal security”; cf. Veinstein, G.: *EI IX* (1997), pp. 832-36.

46 Turan, Şerafettin: *Kanunî'nin oğlu Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, Ankara 1961, p. 173; Kappert, Petra: 1976, pp. 146-47 and 151 ff.

6 Taxation on the Southern Caravan Route 1564-1766

In 1564, two years after the last revolt of the local princes, the Ottoman administration once again had the tax revenues registered that were to be collected from the province of Diyarbekir on behalf of the Sultan and the *timar*-holders.⁴⁷

The *Beglerbegi*, i.e. the finance director, was supposed to deliver to the capital the *irsaliye*, the central government's share of the taxes, in the form of cash or natural produce. In the large border province Diyarbekir, for which the term *eyalet* was used from 1591,⁴⁸ the *Beglerbegi* or Governor-General held back a considerable part of the taxes. When he favored his own followers in conferring *timars*,⁴⁹ the central government intervened and ordered an examination of all the titles of *timar*-holders in the eastern provinces. At the time of his appointment in 1585, the new Governor-General had to pledge that for each of the next three years he would pay 20,000 gold pieces into the central treasury.⁵⁰ Evliya Çelebi, who spent a few weeks in Diyarbekir in April and May 1655, reports on the financial bureaucracy of the province.

The villages of Viranşehir, Dede Garkın, Meşuk and Koçhisar lay along the caravan route at approximately equal distances from one another on the edge of the volcanic slopes of Karacadağ and in the alluvial plain. With the help of the Diyarbekir *Defter* of 1564, edited by Göyünç and Hütteroth, and the accounts of the travellers Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (March 1644) and Carsten Niebuhr (spring 1766), with regard to these villages the following picture can be obtained.

The soil allowed the cultivation of wheat and barley; the rivers drove water-mills. The obligations of the peasants and the nomads vis-à-vis their feudal landlords were set forth in the Register of 1564. On produce most of them paid a levy of one-fifth; only Koçhisar and Dede Karkın paid a reduced levy of one-seventh. Having the greatest capacity to pay was the most highly populated Nestorian village Meşuk with 404 persons liable to pay tax.⁵¹ In second place

47 On the earlier registers see Bruinessen, Martin van: 1988, pp. 38-41; İlhan, Mehdi M.: 2001, p. 15.

48 İnalçık, Halil: "Eyalet," in: *EI II* (1965), pp. 721-24.

49 Fekete, L.: *Die Siyaqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, p. 104 (on the right to confer *timars* of up to 4999 *akçes* per year); *ibid.*, pp. 740 and 771 (on *irsaliye*).

50 The *defterdar* had embezzled the *irsaliye* and bribed the incumbent *Beglerbegi*. Fleischer, Cornell H.: *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 1986, pp. 104-05.

51 On Meşuk Köyü see Göyünç, Nejat: 1969, pp. 69 and 153. Today two villages are found here in the *ilçe* Kızıltepe of the province Mardin: Büyük ayrik and Küçük ayrik; cf. KöyKöy Türkiye Yol Atlası 2004, p. 203 A1. Göyünç, Nejat: 1969, p. 60, knew of a Büyük ayrik that

came Dede Karkın. Although with its 183 persons liable for taxation it had fewer tax-payers than Koçhisar, its farmers paid more taxes for wheat than the latter. In third place came Koçhisar (present-day Kızıltepe), and only then in fourth place came Viranşehir which in its tax payments was far behind Koçhisar.

Looking from west to east, in the *nahiye* Viranşehir lay Davudi Garbi, a *timar* with seven persons liable for tax. It was the westernmost village in the *kaza*. Viranşehir itself (Constantina, Tela, Antoniopoli, Maximilianopolis),⁵² *ze'amet* of the *Sancakbeg* and seat of the *na'ib* of the *nahiye*, at the time mostly a field of ruins and Christian graves, had only 33 persons liable for tax on wheat, barley, rice, vegetable gardens and cotton; in addition there were charges for winter fields and hay, as well as for a water-mill (on the Çırçıp?).

Dede Karkın (Garkın, Dadacardin), being *hass* property of the Sultan, was located in the *sancak* or *kaza* Berriyecik in the *nahiye* of Tell Bism. The peasants, sedentary Türkmens of the Karkın tribe,⁵³ as we mentioned, paid more tax on wheat than did Koçhisar; they operated a water-mill and in particular a dyeing works that was taxed 15,120 *akçes*, both these activities indicating that at the time there was a greater volume of water in the Çırçıp which was crossed by a bridge at this point. In 1644, the village (formerly *un gros bourg*) lay in ruins. Only the very long and very well-constructed stone bridge still remained on which one crossed over a river that "was quite wide when it overflowed its banks". Having become cave-dwellers, the local people offered hens, butter and cheeses to travellers who passed through the area.

Near to Dede Garkın, the meadows Ağca Mescid, Ağce Kuru, Ğibal and Kuyucak as well as Ceviz Yeri (a cultivable field, *mezra'a*) and the Döğerlü, a Türkmen clan who like the Karkın belonged to the Bozok and grazed their livestock by Bogan, were taxed a flat rate and fields were allocated to them as *timars*. Kethudalar, to the north of Dede Garkın, counted seven persons liable to taxation, while Yeñice had nine: both were tiny villages that paid tax on wheat and grain.

Presumably, Kurb al-Mā was located on the caravan route in the *nahiye* Dinabi (on the Çırçıp?), being *hass* property of the Sultan with nine households and yet 197 inhabitants who paid tax on wheat and barley.

When the caravan came to the *nahiye* Sahra-yi Mardin, it had reached the *sancak* or *kaza* of Mardin. On the edge of the volcanic plateau was situated the

was still Christian in 1960 and a Muslim Meşukuk-i ayrik; Göyünç, Nejat: 1969, p. 69 (Meşukuk-i arab, Küçükmeşukuk).

52 Dealt with in detail in Sinclair, T.A.: 1990, IV, pp. 191-93.

53 On the Karkın see Section 3. above.

village Meşkuk or Meşkok (*Cara* in Tavernier),⁵⁴ Meşkinan, present-day Büyük ayrik, *hass* property of the Sultan. Here 404 persons liable to taxation paid the full levy on wheat, barley, vegetable gardens and water-mills. The total population came to 1340 people. The “tax paid by non-Muslims” (*ispence* or *cizye*?) amounted to 10,000. In 1644, a caravanserai was on hand. At the time the local Nestorians, who possessed a shabby church of their own,⁵⁵ were subjects of a few Turkish families.

Another village Karkın, a *timar*, was located near Meşkuk. There 15 persons liable to taxation paid tax on wheat and barley.

The plain before Koçhisar, where so decisive a battle had taken place in 1516, was a twenty-mile-long battle-field.

Koçhisar/Dunaysir (Cousasar in Tavernier; Kodsje hissâr, Gunasser or Dunasser in Niebuhr) was crown property of the Sultan with 202 persons liable to taxation. The total population consisted of 712 persons – the register ignored the “non-Muslims” – and they paid the lower-rate levy on wheat, barley, vegetable gardens, cotton and honey, and once again on a water-mill. In 1644, it was a rather large village without a caravanserai where one came across Armenian and Nestorian Christians who held separate religious services in their own language. The Nestorians, after every service, kept both their old Bibles in the “Chaldean” language in a cupboard (*coffre*) under the ground. Of three large monasteries, two were destroyed except for their church towers, and the third was transformed into a mosque. According to Niebuhr, in 1766 Koçhisar was the residence of a *Sancakbeg* under the Voivode of Mardin.⁵⁶

The Register of 1564 recorded “non-Muslims” without specifying their religious ... denominations or ethnicity,⁵⁷ i.e. Nestorian and Armenian Christians who led a shadow existence, as well as Kurds recognizable by their names, Bektashis (a Bektaş-i Büzürg to the north of Tell Bism) presumably Alevite Türkmens (Dede Karkın), and unmistakable Kızılbaş in the mountainous

54 Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste: 1981, II, pp. 247-48.

55 The “Nestorians” of this region considered themselves to belong to the Eastern Church and not to the Roman Church, toward which at the time they still adopted a sceptical attitude. Cf. Frazee, Charles A.: *Catholics and Sultans. The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, Cambridge 1983, pp. 142-44; Sinclair, T.A.: 1989, III, p. 222.

56 The archive material has been appraised in Göyünç, Nejat: 1969, pp. 61-69 and 153, as well as in Göyünç, Nejat & Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter: 1997, pp. 55, 114-15, 137, 192, 200 and 204. The numbers (of the documents concerned?) are P1 and P35 (Dede Garkın), M1, M31, M52, M92, M134, M150-51. Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste: 1981, II, pp. 247-48; Niebuhr, Carsten: 1778, II, pp. 366-67 (see fn. 8).

57 Göyünç, Nejat & Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter: 1997, p. 127; Bruinessen, Martin van: *Turcica* 31 (1999), pp. 558-60.

district of Mardin.⁵⁸ The Ottoman provincial authorities, as well as the *timar*-holders, were obligated to register and pursue the pro-Safawid Kızılbaş.⁵⁹ What followed were arrests, prosecutions before the courts and condemnation of the Kızılbaş as traitors and heretics, along with semi- voluntary or forced resettlement and flight across the borders. This may be the explanation for why Dede Karkın was deserted in 1644. The Kızılbaş in the 16th century tended to flee into Persia. Later, pressure from the Celali revolt and the reprisals of the government caused the population to emigrate and flee to West-Anatolia.⁶⁰

The authorities exempted from taxes the caravanserais that still existed but levied road tolls (*bac*) on subjects and foreigners. Thus in Koçhisar tolls were paid in order to go to Diyarbekir. Two and a half piasters had to be paid for mule and horse loads.⁶¹ Where Tavernier observes that Sultan Murad IV on his way through in 1638 had a stretch of the road repaired and a bridge built, Niebuhr notes that a castle built at that time had been destroyed by 1766. It was no longer possible to maintain security in the face of the attacks of the nomads, who resisted the government's attempts at settling them, and in the face of the pressure of Bedouin attacks.⁶²

7 Viranşehir and Kızıltepe on the present-day "Silk Route"

Today Sections 26 and 27 of Highway 400 connect Şanlıurfa with Viranşehir, passing through the GAP agricultural complex beneath Tektek Dağı. The ring canal around the Urfa-Harran plain, whose agriculture is in the midst of being transformed by the gigantic irrigation project GAP (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi), in the south-east runs parallel to the national border up to near Mardin.⁶³ In the face of systematic renaming – since 1956 in the Turkish Republic appropriation of the region has been carried out by the *Ad Değiştirme*

58 In the hilly plateau of the mountainous region of Mardin, *Kuh-i Mardin*, Kurdish clan members with Kızılbaş names (Mehmed b. Şahkulı ve gayri, Pir Zeyd ve Şahkulı, Şahkulı b. Şemseddin, Şah kulı and a Kılbaş (sic) keth., tax-payer to a Milli chief) had placed themselves under the protection of the nomad prince, Mahmud Beg.

59 Sohrweide, Hanna: 1965, pp. 192-95.

60 Sümer, Faruk: 1972, pp. 186-89; Griswold, William J.: *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020/1591-1611*, Berlin 1983; İnalçık, Halil: 1993, pp. 107 and 128, fn. 46; following Sümer, Faruk and Woods, J.

61 Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste: 1981, II, p. 253.

62 Sinclair, T.A.: 1989, III, p. 409: the route had become too unsafe in the 18th and 19th centuries.

63 Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter & Höhfeld, Volker: *Türkei*, Darmstadt 2002, p. 225, with map.

*İhtisas Komisyonu*⁶⁴ – it is interesting how long the names of villages and bodies of water retained an echo of bygone times; until 1928, as indicated in *Köylerimiz*, village names such as İbrahimi maintained themselves in the *merkez nihayesi* of Viranşehir,⁶⁵ as did still another İbrahimi, a Bekdaşı, Maşkok sagır and kebir, and many others.

The (three) Çırçıp, along with the Khabur and abundant subterranean water reserves, belong to the GAP region. For the area of the two Çırçıp in the border administrative district Ceylanpınar the regulation of landed property was brought about in 1990 under the direction of GAP *Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı*. Through courses villagers can acquire a diploma of a master of irrigation (*Sulama Ustası*); the mechanization of agriculture is being pushed forward.

The National Highway 400 (E 90, earlier E 24) is part of the *Türkiye Transit Karayolu*. It goes to Cizre where Highway 430 heads its way via Silopi through the border station *Habur Sınır Kapısı* and on into Iraq. Passing Şırnak, Hakkâri and Yüksekova, National Highway 400 continues to Esendere, the border crossing into Iran (Urmia).

Today Viranşehir (in the province of Şanlıurfa) and Kızıltepe (in the province of Mardin) are located along the 400. The distance between the two district-cities only comes to 75 km, in today's time about an hour and a half by car.

On this stretch of the road, a short way behind Viranşehir and Eser, at the beginning of March 2003 work was begun on a bridge suitable for heavy military equipment. Apparently, the river basin of the Büyük Çırçıp was meant to be crossed. It was the time when preparations were being made for the strategic deployment of *Task Force Iron Horse* (called *Demir At* in the Turkish press) of the Fourth Mechanized Infantry Division of the US Army. Advance parties were busy piling up supplies, the so-called *Iron Mountain* of the division, along Highway 400. Their transport ships were anchored in the Bay of Iskenderun and the Bay of Mersin. But shortly before *Operation Iraqi Freedom* was about to be launched from within Turkey, the landing of the Fourth Infantry Division was cancelled after the Turkish National Assembly gave a no-vote to the relevant government proposition.⁶⁶

64 Öktem, Kerem: *Creating the Turk's Homeland: Modernization, Nationalism and Geography in the late 19th and 20th Centuries*, under: <<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW5/oktem.pdf>> (accessed on 27/11/2007).

65 [Dahiliye Vakâleti]: *Köylerimiz'in Adları*, İstanbul 1928, pp. 354 f.; cf. also Göyünç, Nejat & Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter: 1997, pp. 37-41.

66 Girdner, Eddie J.: "Pre-emptive War: The Case of Iraq", in: *Perceptions. Journal of Inter-*

At Viranşehir the north-south connecting road 905 branches off for Ceylanpınar. Three miles before Ceylanpınar lies the settlement Evrenpaşa Köyü. It was built at the instigation of President Kenan Evren in 1986 for 1800 Özbeks who had lost their home in northern Afghanistan after the invasion of the Soviet troops (December 1974).⁶⁷ The road runs through an immense plain along the huge estates of the Ceylanpınar Farm founded in 1943 (*Ceylanpınar Tarım İşletmesi*) which extends up to the border with Syria. The farm belongs to TİGEM, the General Direction of Farms (*Tarım İşletmeleri Genel Müdürlüğü*). With Ceylanpınar and the farms in Pınar, Beyazkule and Gümüşsuyu, it constitutes the largest government-owned property in Turkey and is the biggest employer in the region. On the other hand, since the 1980s the number of workers it employs has dropped from 4500 to 1235. In place of workers with secure jobs, day-labourers have been introduced who are employed by subcontractors (*taşeron*). In the case of a dairy farm of the TİGEM run by a subcontractor, the employees are young women and children without job security. Hundreds of them are driven to work on TİGEM estates from a radius of many kilometres. Until recently trucks served as a means of transport on whose open load area there was room for seventy to eighty persons in good weather. Since the road accident of February 2007, small buses provide transportation.

On the above-mentioned unfortunate day, the 7th of February, during rainy weather a heavy goods vehicle built in 1973 with license plate 63 SE 107 was conveying on its open load area only forty-three young women and children to their work at a TİGEM plant that processes sheep's milk. Having arrived at the fenced-in, guarded site, the chauffeur attempted to cross the damaged bridge over the "Çırpı" which was swollen from the previous night's rain. The bridge collapsed, the truck fell into the river and turned over on its side. Forty-one people fell from the truck's load area into the water. Thirty-three persons who had clung onto the body of the truck were dragged to land by the local people who rushed to the spot and made use of inflated truck inner tubes and ropes. The chauffeur, after having saved several persons, was himself swept away by the current and drowned along with his wife and other young women and children. Who was to blame for the death of these ten persons? The chauffeur, who had negligently disregarded a warning before the bridge, was dead. The

national Affairs, IX, No. 4, Ankara 2004-2005, pp. 12-13. On the event and the redirection of the Fourth Infantry Division to Kuwait: Philipps, David L.: *Losing Iraq. Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco*, New York 2005, pp. 113-20.

67 Salk, Gundula: "Die türkischsprachigen Afghanistanflüchtlinge in der Türkei", in: *Materialia Turcica* 17 (1996), pp. 69-71 and 76; cf. www.sanliurfa.com/v1/index.php (access on 4/12/2007); www.sanliurfa.gov.tr/valilik/ceylancografya.html (access on 4/12/2007).

subcontractor could refute the reproaches aimed at him: he had put up a warning before the damaged bridge. A major reproach was levelled against child labour, the low wages of the milkmaids and the lack of insurance. Due to this situation, which was problematic for a government enterprise, the particular form of “privatization” and transference to a subcontractor (*taşeronlaştırma*) were held responsible.⁶⁸ Schoolchildren also suffer during the winter floods despite some regulatory adjustments. When the Çırçıp swells and becomes a wide and deep stream, children of the village Yukarı Karataş, who must go to school, take off their shoes and wade through the rushing ice-cold Çırçıp Deresi. In the summer, however, the inhabitants take pleasure in their Çırçıp; in the dry riverbed or wadi (*dere*) they hold picnics.

Highway 400 crosses the boundary of the *vilayet* Mardin eleven kilometres above Dedeköy.⁶⁹ Near Dedeköy an Alevi- *ocak* named Şeyh İbrahimli (Şihli) is recorded with its centre in the village Merzime.⁷⁰

On Section 28 of Highway 400 is located Kocatepe, a *bucak* of the *ilçe* Derik. The district city Derik (earlier Tell Bism) lies 19 km above the 400. The present-day district city Mazıdağı (earlier Şamrah) lies to the north of Derik.

Kızıltepe (earlier Koçhisar/Dunaysir) since 1975 is located on Highway 400, the new “İpek Yolu”. This link with the overland traffic – all the way into Iraq – has helped the district city enjoy quick growth. To the darker chapters of recent history belongs the story of the shooting of the twelve-year-old schoolboy Uğur Kaymaz together with his father, the truck driver Ahmet Kaymaz, on 21 November 2004 by security forces (they were acquitted on 18 April 2007 by a court in Eskişehir).

68 Günçikan, Berat: “TİGEM’ in Çocuk İşçileri”, in: *Cumhuriyet*, 27 April 2007; Idem: “Kâr Hirsına Kurban Edilen ‘TİGEM’in Çocukları”, under: www.gundemcocuk.org/index (access on 4/12/2007); cf. Özmen, Kemal: Özelleştirme, Kayıt Dışı, İş Cinayeti: 9 Ölü, BİA Haber Merkezi, Şanlıurfa-İstanbul, 8/02/2007, under: www.bianet.org/kategori/cocuk/91592/ozellestirme-kayit-disiis-cinayeti-9-olu (access on 4/12/2007).

69 At the edge of the village Dede Köy that counted 50 to 60 souls and was located on the Büyük Çırçıp (*ilçe* Viranşehir in the province Şanlıurfa), Nejat Göyünç, in the 1960s, saw the remains of the lodge of Dede Karkın; he also found the foundations of the piers of the long bridge over the Büyük Çırçıp. Cf. Göyünç, Nejat: 1969, pp. 25, 42, 61, 76 and 79. The village lies on the border of the province. That the historical remains are located on the eastern bank, i.e. in the *ilçe* Derik of Mardin Province, is clear from *Köy Köy Türkiye Yol Atlası*, 6th edition, İstanbul 2004, p. 202 C2 and Index (“Şanlı Urfa/Derik”).

70 Hamza Aksüt cites (see footnote 73 below) an unpublished, undated dissertation by M. Salih Erpolat (*Diýarbakır Beylerbeyliğindeki Yer İsimleri*); Göyünç, Nejat: “XVI. Yüzyılda Mardin Sancağı”, in: *Alevi Forumu: Arguvan Alevileri*(?); Hamza Aksüt in *Yol*, excerpt from 3 February 2004, p. 45. Further information below in fn. 73.

8 Prospects: Eyalet or Vilayet?

The province of Diyarbekir, as mentioned, was an *eyalet* in the Ottoman Empire, that is to say, the largest administrative unit under a *beglerbegi* (governor-general). In the administration of provinces the old system and its ever-present administrative boundaries are maintained.⁷¹ Even institutions that are active beyond the *vilayet* level such as, for example, GAP, *Devlet Su İşleri* or the railroad and road construction departments effect little change in the system. In the present-day centrally organized and integrated State the governors (*vali*) and the heads of districts (*kaymakam*) are appointed by the Minister of the Interior and have been carefully trained as administrative officials who represent the government and the ministers. The powers of the elected mayors (*belediye başkanı*) are limited; thus the mayor of Ceylanpınar complained that he was concerned for the surviving dependents of the Çırçıp disaster but that he was left on his own “because of the party he belonged to”.⁷²

Since the 1980s, politics on the highest level has been preoccupied with large-scale provincial reform; there has been talk of eight *eyalets* (Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Adana, Erzurum, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, Trabzon). On 1 March 2007, the seventh president, Kenan Evren, who had been living in retirement since 1989, spoke out in *Sabah* in favour of *eyalets*, i.e. regional *valiliks* (*bölge valilikleri*). To be sure, he added, he was thinking of the distant future; at best in twenty to fifty years’ time an *eyalet* system could be introduced.

For the time being, the riverbed of the Çırçıp separates the provinces Şanlıurfa (administrative number 63) and Mardin (47) – on the one side the *ilçe* of Viranşehir (Urfa), on the other the *ilçe* of Derik (Mardin). The bridge of Dede Garkın still exists, though in a ruined state; even the modest remains of a *türbe* are still preserved and continue up until today to attract pious Kurds who revere the site as the tomb of Şirin Dede.⁷³

71 Findley, Carter V.: *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980, pp. 309-13. Findley deals with the Young Turk *General Law on Provincial Administration* of 26 March 1913 which today still provides the basic framework for the administration of the provinces. Cf. also Göyünç, Nejat & Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter: 1997, p. 42.

72 Günçikan, Berat: “TİGEM’in Çocuk İşçileri”, in: *Cumhuriyet*, 27/04/2007.

73 Cf. Aksüt, Hamza (www.aleviyol.com/forum), who visited the *türbe* in 2003. Aksüt, Hamza: *Anadolu Aleviliginin Sosyal ve Coğrafi Kökenleri*, Ankara 2002 (not available to me); Aksüt, Hamza: *Mezopotamya’dan Anadolu’ya. Alevi Erenlerin İlk Savaşı (1240)*, under: www.aleviforum.com/showthread.php?t=8453 (accessed on 27/11/2007); Yalçın, Alemdar & Yılmaz, Hacı: *Kargın Ocaklı Boyu ile ilgili yeni belgeler*, under: www.hbektas.gazi.edu.tr/portal/html/modules.php? (dated 14/04/2006; accessed on 27/11/2007).

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