THE REGISTER OF EXPENDITURES OF MURAT IV'S BAGDAD CAMPAIGN

MEHMET İNBAŞI*
(Erzurum)

This study analyses the expenditures made during Sultan Murat IV's (1623–1640) Bagdad campaign. Bagdad was under the rule of the Safevi state during that period. The Ottomans lost Bagdad as a result of Bekir Subaşı's revolt. Sultan Murat's Bagdad campaign started on April 8, 1638 and lasted 191 days. There are a lot of documents concerning the campaign in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul. Data in the register of expenditures number 169 were evaluated in this study. It is known that during such campaigns the taxpaying population had to deliver food to the Ottoman army in the form of *nüzül* and *sürsat*. Among these, barley, flour, bread, *peksimet*, butter, and honey take the first place. They cost 2,824,523 akçe in 1638, this being only a part of all expenditures.

Key words: Bagdad, Murat IV, Osmanlı, Safevi, sürsat, nüzül, barley, bread.

Bagdad is a city that caused a great competition and conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Safevi state in Iran. The city, which was also important for religious aspects for both states, also possesses strategic significance.

Bagdad was the place of long struggles between Safevids and Ottomans from 1508, when the Safavi ruler Shah Ismail captured the city, to 1534, when Suleiman the Magnificent conquered it. Being on the trade routes made Bagdad an important city for Ottomans in their competition with Europe. Suleiman led a campaign to Bagdad after he had conquered Tebriz in the Irak campaign; and since the residents of Bagdad were opposed to Mehmed Han, the governor, the city surrendered to Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha. Suleiman came to Bagdad on December 1, 1534, had mausolea built at the graves of Abdülkadir Geylani and Ibn Hanifa, and set up large pious foundations during his stay there. With the Amasya treaty in 1555, it was officially accepted by Iran that Bagdad was an Ottoman city until the reign of Murat IV.

During the reign of Sultan Murat IV, Bagdad was captured by the Safavids on November 28, 1623 as a result of the revolt of Bekir Subaşı. Ottomans fought several times to get it back until 1638, but they could not conquer it.¹

^{*} Mehmet İnbaşı, Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Atatürk University, Erzurum, Turkey. Tel. 90+442 2311681, e-mail: minbasi@hotmail.com

¹ Baysun (1970, pp. 205–207). Halaçoğlu (1991, pp. 433–435).

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Sultan Murat IV made the necessary preparations to conquer Bagdad. The Bagdad campaign started with Grand Vizier Bayram Pasha's crossing the Bosphorus to Üsküdar on March 7, 1637. Sultan Murat IV went to Üsküdar on April 8, 1638 and set out on the Bagdad campaign. Bagdad was besieged by Murat IV himself, and after 40 days of fighting, it was conquered on December 25, 1638. Sultan Murat IV who stayed in Bagdad for a while left the city after various public works had been initiated, on January 24, 1639, and came to Istanbul on June 10, 1639. Thus, Sultan Murat IV's Bagdad campaign lasted 191 days.²

Several studies have been made on Sultan Murat IV's Erivan and Bagdad campaigns. Among other things, chronology of the Erivan campaign in 1635 was compiled.³ A *menzilname defteri* recorded under the number 14357 in the Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler Kataloğu of the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, which contains information about the halting places of the army during the campaign in question was also published.⁴ There is also a valuable study on the structure of the army and its ways of fighting during the reign of Murat IV.⁵ Besides, there are works on the grain transfer during the Bagdad campaign.⁶

In this study, the register of expenditures containing certain kinds of expenses for the needs of the army during Sultan Murat IV's Bagdad campaign, from *Rebiülevvel* 26, 1047/August 18, 1637 to *Ramazan* 10, 1047/January 26, 1638, is focussed on.⁷

Before taking into consideration the register in question, we must give some brief information about *nüzül* and *sürsat*, the main points of this study.

Nüzül means landing at a place. As a military economic term, it expresses the provision and transfer of a certain amount of grain to a place for the food supply of a military troop. That most of the orders given by the divan-i hümayun for nüzül and sürsat were addressed to kadis, that nüzül, sürsat, and iştira were delivered by the kadis to the place ordered, that kadis were responsible for the above-mentioned taxes required for the food supplies of the army, and that the tevziat made by the government through judicial districts (kaza) show that the responsibility for this matter was

² Sahillioğlu (1993, pp. 54–55). Murphey (1979, pp. 152–153).

³ Ünver (1952, pp. 547–576).

⁴ Sahillioğlu (1993, pp. 43–81). For military halting stations (*menzil*) see, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (hereinafter BOA), Başmuhasebe Kalemi 1047. II. 15 (hereinafter D.BŞM.); Feridun Bey (1275, pp. 408–411).

⁵ Murphey (1979, pp. 152–153, 155).

⁶ Two separate *defters* were published about the provisioning of the Bagdad campaign. One is a *sürsat zahire defteri* (BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri, 4347). It starts with the following sentence: "Defter-i zahire-i sürsat-i kaza-i mezkurin ki beray-i ordu-yı hümayun der menazil-i merkumin teslim şudegan beray-i asakir-i islam der hin-i reften-i sefer-i Hazret-i Hüdevendigar an canib-i Bağdad-ı bihiştabad be-mübaşeret-i Mustafa el-hakir emin-i nüzül-i hümayun el-vaki fi 23 Zil-hicce sene 1047". The other *sürsat defteri* (BOA, Kamil Kepeci tasnifi, 2583) bears the following title: "Defter-i sürsat-i kaza-i mezburin der menazil-i mezkurin beray-i Hazret-i Hüdavendigar der sefer-i hümayun an canib-i şark der zeman-ı düstur-i ekrem ... Bayram Paşa ki ba-evamir-i şerife ihrac şude fermude el-vaki fi 20 Şaban sene 1047". The content of these books was evaluated by Güçer (1964, pp. 164–228), Şahin (1982, pp. 227–236).

⁷ BOA, D.BŞM 169.

put on the *kaza*s directly. The ratio determining the contribution of each tax unit (*avariz hane*) and of a whole judicial district to the food supply of the army fighting on the front was not a fixed amount. This ratio changed with the wheat yield in the area and the number of soldiers fighting. *Nüzül* was generally collected as flour and barley. Barley was directly used for the army animals, and with the flour the army was free from problems related to the weather.⁸

Coming to sürsat: Apart from the flour and barley obtained from the residents, the provisioning of the army during its progress to the front was also an obligation of the local population. For this reason, the military path, the halting stations, and places of short repose were determined before the army's setting out, and the amounts of flour, bread, barley, sheep, butter (revgan-1 sade), honey, hay, straw, and wood to be consumed by the troops and the animals at each menzil were calculated, then kadis were ordered to provide these. This responsibility in kind of the residents during the march of the army was called sürsat. As a word, sürsat means the transfer of a certain amount of food to a place and selling it to the troops. It was as old as nüzül, and it was imposed on the Ottoman subjects for military purposes, but it was different from nüzül in that it was a liability compensated by payment and was not an absolute responsibility. The judicial districts through which the army passed had to deliver sürsat in kind as the species of goods were prescribed to them. The districts far from the military road paid their liabilities in cash. Kadis receiving the order to take sürsat grain to the required place collected the food from the residents, loaded it to the animals obtained, and with mostly himself at the head of the caravan or a person he appointed transported the goods to the required place before the army reached there; there he delivered the flour, bread, barley, honey, butter/oil, straw, and wood to the nüzül emini of the army, and the animals to be slaughtered to the ganem emini. After the delivery the kadi was given a receipt (temessük) showing the delivery. Collection officers from the capital city were sent to those kadis who were to pay the value of sürsat in cash. The money for sürsat was deposited generally to the army treasury, or to the hazine-i amire if the Sultan was at a campaign, and it was spent for some other expenses of the war.

The register of expenditures mentioned above is of 22 pages of 13×37 cm. It contains the records made by the *nüzül emini*¹⁰ Mustafa Agha for expenses at the places the army passed through in Sultan Murat IV's Bagdad campaign.

The first title in the *defter* specifies its content and the period it covers: "Accountancy notes of *nüzül emini* Mustafa Agha in the time of Grand Vizier Bayram Pasha, between 28 *Rebiülahir* 1047 and 10 *Ramazan* 1048". On the second page, we read a somewhat more detailed description where the name of the *defterdar* Mehmed Pasha is also mentioned.

⁸ Güçer (1964, pp. 69–70, 76).

⁹ Güçer (1964, pp. 93, 98).

¹⁰ Nüzül emini is the term defining the official determining of the halting sites of the army and preparing accommodation for the troops during a campaign.

¹¹ BOA, D.BŞM 169, p. 1.

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Expenditures are summarised as 2,829,950 *akçe* which were spent for the barley, bread, flour, honey, butter, rice, and other foodstaff that the army needed in the period 6.5 months before *Şevval* 15, 1047/March 2, 1638, when the Sultan's tent was erected in Üsküdar for the campaign until January 26, 1638 that is two days after the Sultan left the conquered city. At the end of the *defter*, this sum is recorded as 2,829,959 *akçe*, what is a negligible difference, but the correct figure is somewhat less: 2,824,532 *akçe*.

Most of the goods bought from residents or transferred from other halting places were made ready before May 8, 1638 and prepared on the way where the army would pass.

Adding up the individual items, it can be ascertained that 81,473 Istanbul $kile^{14}$ of barley was bought from various sources during the Bagdad campaign. The monetary value of this amount recorded in the register is 2,009,175 akçe. The halting stations and monetary value of the barley¹⁵ are shown in Table 1.

As seen in Table 1, the amount of barley coming from various halting places was 81,023 Istanbul *kile* but was recorded as 81,473 kile in the *defter*. There is a difference of 450 *kile*. Likewise, the cost of barley was recorded as 2,009,175 *akçe* in the *defter*, but it must be corrected as 2,003,155 *akçe*. Here, the price of barley per *kile* changes; 12, 20, 28, 30, 32, and 40 *akçe*; 380 *kile* of it cost 12 *akçe* per *kile*, 58,512 *kile* 20, 760 *kile* 28, 1,864 *kile* 30, 4,932 *kile* 32, 12,624 *kile* 40 *akçe*, and about 2,000 *kile* cost different amounts. Most of the barley was obtained from the region of Akdağ, Kastamonu, Çankırı, Kayseri, Maraş, and Antalya. Güçer notes that the difference in the price of barley is related to the geographic situation of the place it was bought. Actually, the barley costing 20–40 *akçe* in the Bagdad campaign came from judicial districts in front of the Toros mountains, and 45–50 *akçe* on and from behind the Toros. ¹⁶

The price of bread and flour bought at various halting stations in the Bagdad campaign is as follows (see Table 2).¹⁷

As seen in Table 2, 524,172 *akçe* were spent for bread, and 4,770 *akçe* for flour, total 528,902 *akçe*. The figure in the register for bread is 525,632 *akçe* and for flour, 4,070, total 529,702 *akçe*. There is a difference of 800 *akçe* between the amount in the *defter* and our calculation.

Finally, 291,333 *akçe* were recorded for honey, butter/oil, rice, and other consumption needs of the army, but our calculation shows a value of 289,133 *akçe*. The sum total for these at the end of the *defter* is 290,660 *akçe*. ¹⁸

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    BOA, D.BŞM 169, pp. 2-3.
    BOA, D.BŞM 169, p. 22.
    A kile of barley is 22.25 kg in Istanbul kile. Hinz (1990, p. 51).
    BOA, D.BŞM 169, pp. 3-4.
    Güçer (1964, pp. 106-107).
    BOA, D.BŞM 169, p. 4.
    BOA, D.BŞM 169, pp. 4, 22.
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Table 1

Station (menzil)	Sancak	Barley (kile)	Gross Value
Arslanlı Obası	Birecik	550	22,000
Arslanlı	Kilis	972	31,240
Godi	Şeyhler	969	38,760
Kilis	Kilis	459	18,360
Kınık and Barşivan	Antalya	2,020	63,040
Kınık Köprüsü	Antalya	1,060	25,040
Damal	Şehri	7,330	146,600
İncesu	Develi	632	25,280
Develi	Develi	483.5	19,340
İncesu	Karahisar	252	10,080
Anbar Viranı	Kayseri	75	3,000
Allah Verdi	İncesu	147.5	5,900
Taf and Adabaşı	Ürgüb	1,208	48,320
Çekrek Suyu	_	348	10,440
Göksu	_	2,029	72,460
Eserler Suyu	Akdağ	853	34,120
Çekrek Suyu and Öyük Dedeli	_	2,568	77,055
Çukur Kuyu and Göksu	_	487	19,400
Berdi Köy	_	646	19,360
Kastamonu and Kangırı	Kastamonu-Çankırı	45,000	900,000
Maraş	Maraş	2,000	100,000
Özer	_	1,800	72,000
Asalu(?)	_	164	6,560
Kayseri	Kayseri	7,170	198,800
Adana	Adana	1,800	36,000
Total		81,023	2,003,155

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Table 2

Station (menzil)	Sancak	Bread	Flour
Arslanlı Obası	Birecik	-	1,770
Arslanlı	Kilis	4,800	_
Godi	Şeyhler	_	2,400
Antalya	Antalya	135,405	_
Kilis	Kilis	1,610	560
Kınık Köprüsü	Antalya	3,410	_
Bar-şivan	_	3,800	_
Ser-çınar	Kayseri	13,691	_
Karahisar	Develi	13,014	_
Oba	_	45,000	_
Ahmed Paşa	_	3,510	_
Çeyrek Suyu	_	6,900	_
Göksu	_	6,177	_
Öyük	_	8,150	_
_	_	198,000	_
_	_	66,266	_
_	_	3,633	_
Çorak Suyu	_	3,506	_
Eshab-1 Kehf	_	2,300	_
_	_	5,000	_
Total		524,172	4,730

It is understood that beside goods purchased for the needs of the army, some others were sent from various stations. This group of goods can be enumerated as follows:

Barley	51,702	İstanbul kile
Bread	135,000	
Fats	81	vukiyye ¹⁹ kile ²⁰
Flour	522	kile ²⁰
Peksimet	230	kantar ²¹

 $^{^{19}}$ *Vukiyye/ukiyye* is equal to Ottoman *okka* which is equivalent to 1.28 kg (Hinz 1990, s. 51). 20 A *kile* of flour is equivalent to 25.656 kg. 21 A *kantar* is equivalent to 56.443 kg.

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The stations where these foods were secured, their respective amounts, and those who collected them are given in Table 3.

Table 3

Collector	Station (menzil)	Sancak	Barley	Bread	Flour	Fats	Peksimet
Osman Pasha	_	_	22,834	_	_	_	230
Osman Pasha	Sivas	Sivas	873	_	105	81	_
Abdi Agha	Şehir Burnu	Divriği	1,500	_	150	_	_
Abdi Agha	Çorak Suyu	Yeni-il	750	5,000	_	_	_
Mustafa çavuş	Kardaşlar Pınarı	Yeni-il	750	5,000	_	_	_
Mustafa çavuş	Kara Toruk	Yeni-il	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Mustafa çavuş	Gürün	Yeni-il	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Mustafa çavuş	Aşudu Başı	Yeni-il	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Mehmed çavuş	Kaya Pınarı	_	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Mehmed çavuş	Sorban Suyu	Elbistan	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Murad çavuş	Eshab-1 Kehf	Elbistan	1,500	10,000	167	_	_
Murad çavuş	Göksun	Kars ²²	1,500	-	167	_	_
Abdullah çavuş	Baba Köprüsü	Kars	1,500	-	167	_	_
Abdullah çavuş	Karaca Örenik	Sis ²³	1,500	_	66	-	_
Abdullah çavuş	Bögürenli	-	1,500	-	_	_	_
Kerem çavuş	Sirde Aldı	Maraş	1,500	10,000	_	-	_
Kerem çavuş	Cihan Köprüsü	Maraş	1,500	10,000	_	-	_
Kerem çavuş	Gerger Çayırı	Maraş	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Ali çavuş	Aksu	Maraş	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Ali çavuş	İncesu	Behisni	1,500	10,000	_	_	_
Ali çavuş	Dergil	Behisni	1,095	10,000	_	_	_
Sefer çavuş	Ayntab	Ayntab ²⁴	1,500	5,000	65	_	_
Sefer çavuş	Hısn-ı Mansur	_	750	_	0.5	_	_
Sefer çavuş	Rum Kala	-	750	_		_	_
Total			53,302	135,000	887	81	230

The name Kars can be identified with Dulkadir Karsı, or Kadirli.
 It is the district of Kozan at present. See Halaçoğlu (1979, pp. 819, 823).
 It is the city of Gaziantep at present.

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As seen in Table 3, the amount of barley was 53,302 *kile*, the price of bread 135,000 *akçe*, the quantity of flour 887 *kile*, that of fats 81 *vukiyye*, and that of *peksimet* 230 *kantar*. Again, the scribe made some mistakes of count since there is a difference of 1,600 *kile* in barley and 365 *kile* in flour.

According to the *defter*, 81,473 *kile* of barley were bought, 51,702 *kile* transferred, in total 133,175 *kile* of barley were obtained. Our calculation shows that only 81,023 *kile* of barley were bought, while 53,302 *kile* sent, in total 134,325 *kile*. There is a difference of 1,150 *kile*.

The barley obtained for the needs of the army was distributed to the army at various stations. The places, dates, and amount as *kile* are given in Table 4.2^{5}

The amount of barley given to the army was recorded as 88,957 *kile* in the *defter*, but we calculated it as 88,497 *kile*. There is a negative difference of 460 *kile*.

From the above-mentioned total amount, namely 134,325 *kile* of barley bought and transferred 88,497 *kile* were given to the army, and 45,828 *kile* remained. Of this amount, 20,000 *kile* were spared for *miri* camels, 26 25,828 *kile* were recorded as remainder.

Table 4

Station (menzil)	Date of delivery	Amount of barley distributed (kile)
Sivas and Yenice Çayırı	_	1,548
Şehir Burnu	7 Rebiülahir 1047	_
Çorak Burnu	9 Rebiülahir 1047	500
Kardaşlar Pınarı	10 Rebiülahir 1047	985
Kara Toruk	11 Rebiülahir 1047	1,500
Gürün	12 Rebiülahir 1047	1,500
Aşudu Başı	13 Rebiülahir 1047	2,000
Kaya Pınarı	14 Rebiülahir 1047	1,000
Sorban Suyu	15 Rebiülahir 1047	1,020
Eshab-1 Kehf	16 Rebiülahir 1047	2,176
Göksun	17 Rebiülahir 1047	1,339
Baba Köprüsü	17 Rebiülahir 1047	1,500
Borucalık	18 Rebiülahir 1047	1,211
Bögürenli	19 Rebiülahir 1047	1,085

²⁵ BOA, D.BŞM 169, pp. 7–13.

²⁶ BOA, D.BŞM 169, p. 22.

Firuz Altı	20 Rebiülahir 1047	1,600
Cihan Köprüsü	21 Rebiülahir 1047	1,500
Gerger Çayırı	22 Rebiülahir 1047	1,485
Gerger Çayırı	23 Rebiülahir 1047	1,000
Gerger Çayırı	24 Rebiülahir 1047	1,000
Aksu	24 Rebiülahir 1047	1,500
İncesu	25 Rebiülahir 1047	1,336
Dölek Çayırı	26 Rebiülahir 1047	739
Ayntab	27 Rebiülahir 1047	1,515
Nemrud	28 Rebiülahir 1047	1,500
Ayntab	29 Rebiülahir 1047	1,500
Ayntab	1 Rebiülevvel 1047	22,834
Buzcu	2 Cemaziülevvel 1047	900
Göde	3 Cemaziülevvel 1047	1,530
Arslanlı Obası	4 Cemaziülevvel 1047	240
Arslanlı Boğazı	5 Cemaziülevvel 1047	1,020
Nizip	_	2,020
Sis	_	1,475
Adana	_	9,357
Sarı(?)	_	2,638
Mirep Pasha(?)	_	2,047
Develi Karahisar, İncesu, and		
Yahyalu	_	1,694
Kayseriyye	_	2,654
Adabaşı	_	515
Taf	_	563
Aksarnı(?)	_	853
Göksu	_	1,655
Çerkek Suyu	-	1,470
Erbük	-	1,032
Zile	-	1,350
Berdi Köy	-	611
Total		88,497

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Coming to bread: it was bought in a value of 525,332 *akçe*, while 135,000 *akçe* were transferred from various places. 660,632 *akçe* were recorded in the register for bread. However, we calculated that only 524,172 *akçe* of bread were bought and 135,000 *akçe* transferred, in total 659,172 *akçe*. There is a difference of 1,460 *akçe*.

For various purposes 61 *kile* of flour were purchased, and 822 *kile* transferred, in total 883 *kile*. Our calculation shows that 887 *kile* of flour were used. All the bread amounting to 659,172 *akçe*, bought and transferred from various places was given to the army, 872.5 *kile* of 887 *kile* of flour were also distributed to the army.

The units for which bread was given and the amounts are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Unit	Date	Quantity
Janissaries	3-23 Cemaziülahir 1047	98,600
Armourers of the Porte	3-23 Cemaziülahir 1047	11,000
The Grand Vizier and his retinue	3-23 Cemaziülahir 1047	74,840
The defterdar and his men	3-23 Cemaziülahir 1047	5,840

It will be understood from the tables and our explanatory notes that about 2,825,000 *akçe* were spent in Sultan Murat IV's Bagdad campaign, in 153 days from *Rebiülevvel* 28 1047/August 20, 1637 to *Ramazan* 10 1047/January 26, 1638. The highest amount of expenditures went for barley. 134,325 Istanbul bushels of barley make 2,988,731 kilos. 88,497 *kile* of it, that is 1,969,058 kilos were given to the army. The amount of money for barley is 2,003,155 *akçe*, which means that one kilo costs 1.01 *akçe*.

887 *kile* of flour were used for the army's needs, that is, 22,757 kilos. Fats were of modest quantity, merely 81 *vukiyye*; since 1 *vukiyye/okka* is 1.283 kilos, it makes 104 kilos

As a result, according to records by one single *nüzül emini*, 2,825,000 *akçe* were spent during Sultan Murat IV's Bagdad campaign. However, this amount includes only a part of the expenditures for the campaign. The total amount of the expenditures can be established by uncovering all the relevant registers.

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Professor Géza Dávid and Dr. Mehmet Takkac for their kind assistance.