

## THE JELALI ABAZA HASAN REBELLION AND ITS REFLECTIONS ON KAYSERI

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### ABSTRACT

In this paper centered on the reflections of Abaza Hasan Rebellion on Kayseri, the Kayseri Ser'iyeye Registries have been used as the main resource, and the effects that the Rebellion of Jelali Abaza Hasan left on Kayseri have been investigated in accordance with the documents having been found out here. The people who supported this rebellion in Kayseri, what kind of jobs they had, and the confiscatory goods of those having taken part in the rebellion have all been studied in this study. The support to the rebellion given by the Janissaries whom the State charged them to protect the sanjaks and provinces across the boundaries has been discussed along with the material and spiritual costs that the rebellion caused.

### Introduction

In the aftermath of Seyh Jelali Rebellion in 1519, the bandits and the simple brigands revolting against the State were called Jelali. Since the Jelali Rebellions were suppressed with the immediate assassination of their leaders, they were never long-lasting. From the late 16<sup>th</sup> to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, these rebellions went on intermittently. Having benefited from the fact that the state was at war on two separate boundaries, these bandits destroyed the villages, the towns and even the cities<sup>1</sup>.

As a societal phenomenon, the banditry seems to have been a method of response which was carried out by those having encountered with some injustice and tyranny from the State. Besides this aspect of the matter, not only the kind of response that ordinary men showed, but also that of the state officials on the high ranking displayed when they were exposed to injustice in any way was literally in the form of banditry. These people preferred to tyrannize over the public with the people they gathered around themselves. Likewise, while Abaza Hasan Pasha was one of the most senior officials of Ottoman State, he revolted against the State due to the

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<sup>1</sup> Karen Barkey, *Eşkıyalar ve Devlet, Osmanlı Tarzı Devlet Merkezileşmesi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 1999, pp. 157-158.

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injustice he was himself exposed to and then carried out an act of oppression and tyranny with the power he gathered on his side over the public in the country.

Throughout this study, the janissaries in Kayseri who tyrannized over and robbed the people having actively taken part in the Rebellion of Jelali Abaza Hasan, and some from the local people who were voluntarily or forcedly supporters of the rebellion have been investigated. We have seen that the janissaries in Kayseri gave a considerable support to this rebellion. Just following the assassination of Jelali Abaza Hasan, his supporters were also killed one by one. All the properties they had were confiscated by the State. In addition, the whole properties of those who were detected to have taken part in the rebellion but could not be found anywhere were included into the process of state confiscatory. Besides the state officials in the quarters and villages of Kayseri, there were some having supported this rebellion within the subject. The issue of taking part in the rebellion did not always occur in accordance with the people's own wills. The people from the Jelali groups urged the persons both from the military class and from the *reaya* (tax paying subjects) to take part in the rebellion by the force of gun. The fact that some members of Jelali Abaza Hasan's group left there can be found out in the records. The people in Kayseri who took part in the rebellion collected a great amount of money and food from the public. The great quantity of the properties having confiscated by the State and the fact that these properties were repurchased by the wives and children of those who took part in the rebellion is a kind of indicator of how a huge amount of money they collected in an unjust way from the public. Thus, this rebellion affected the public in both material and spiritual regards.

In the period when the rebellion began, the Ottoman State was busy with the military campaigns both to Crete and Poland. The rebellions within the country in this period caused some extra problems for the State, which waged a war outside the country, and increased the work load of the soldiers and the tax amount to be taken from the public. In the farman to have been sent, it was required that the military units - including *sipahi* (cavalry at the porte), *janissary*, *korucu*, *oturak*, *cebeci* (armorers), *topçu* (artillerymen), *acemi ođlan* (rookie or cadet) and the other groups- having stayed at their headquarters without attending the expedition mentioned above sweep the tyrants reaching at their regions and allow them collecting *zahire* (cereal)<sup>2</sup>. Those who would not attend any campaign in that year were charged with suppressing the rebellion.

<sup>2</sup> Kayseri Ser'iyeye Sicilleri (KSS) Number 68, p. 23

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## 1. LIFE OF JELALİ ABAZA HASAN

Because of his great efforts at having suppressed the Kara Haydaroglu uprising, Abaza Hasan, one from the *kapıkulu* (janissary guards) cavaliers related under the Silahtar Division, was appointed as an agha (vaivode) of all the Turkomans in Anatolia. Having considered his dismissal not depending on any reasonable reason, he captured the area between Gerede and Bolu by having revolted against the State. Upon he did so, the armed troops of the former bandit Katircioglu were charged to quash his uprising, but could not achieve. In the aftermath of his victory, Abaza Hasan, having attempted to collect taxes by force from the public, began to think of İpsir Pasha as a candidate to grand vizierate and even intended to walk to Istanbul just for this purpose<sup>3</sup>. Though having been persuaded to obey the order in exchange for the position of Turkoman Agha, he was later imprisoned in Yedikule due to some complaints about himself. Thanks to the fact that Bahayi Efendi became the Sheikh-ul Islam and also his aid, he was released from jail (1652). The administration of the sanjak Ohri was given to himself through him. When Ipsir Pasha, one of the Abazas, was appointed as grand vizier by Mehmed IV, he called him. Till the execution of Ipsir Pasha, Abaza Hasan was always loyal to him, withdrew towards Anatolia with the soldiers from his remaining army and took again his office of Turkoman Agha (1655). Abaza Hasan later settled in Aleppo<sup>4</sup> and he gave so damage and behaved so cruelly in Syria that Divanı Humayun intended to proclaim that he was a 'fermanlu'. In the farman with a date of Safer 1066 (December 1655) on sent to Hasan, Grand Seigneur of Karaman, it was required to set off for a military campaign to Aleppo in order to remove Seydi Ahmed, Abaza Hasan and İpsir Pasha who often visited Aleppo Castle in the region and to take the situation under control. Thus, the soldiers in Kayseri which was within the boundaries of the Province of Karaman were charged to suppress this uprising and departed for Adana<sup>5</sup>. However, Grand Vizier Suleyman Pasha re-approved his office and charged him with the defense of the Straits of Canakkale. He was assigned as a governor to Diyarbakir. He rebelled two years later and marched by commanding a considerably significant army with the pretext of demanding Grand Vizier Koprulu Mehmed Pasha's dismissal. By considering that Koprulu made more than a thousand sipahi and much more janissaries execute, they remarked that they would not set off without dismissing the grand vizier. In the course of

<sup>3</sup> Mücteba İlğurel, "Abaza Hasan", *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V.1, p.10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Nicolae Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, V.4, Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul 2005, p.75.

<sup>5</sup> KSS Number 60, p. 139

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this march, they did not allow plunder, but put some taxes changing from 10.000 kurus to 20.000. They forced the Kadi of Bursa to go to the Sultan's Office. Sultan Mehmet hotly addressed the kadi so: "*The Polish King got away from this gaza, though he was a non-Muslim. Those say that they are Muslim and the servants of the Sultan of Islam. Is this situation fitting in with Ahl-i Islam for those who get scared of dying caused by the delusion of the Satan and beguiled so many people for such a movement? Previously did I send him an order about his mercy and giving up. Provided that they give up such an act of sedition by fearing to march as far as here, they take part in the defense of Baghdad, or do their best in their office by dissolving their groups. Is not obeying Ulu'l Amr something to do with Islam? Otherwise, swearing on God, I will kill all by not leaving even one survived. Indeed I would kill you, but an envoy cannot be blamed for his mission*"<sup>6</sup>.

After having threatened Bursa, he absolutely defeated Murtaza Pasha, who was sent against himself, around Ilgin because Murtaza's 30.000 soldiers disobeyed him<sup>7</sup>. However, he caught in a trap which was set for him, and when he attempted to negotiate in order to lay down arms after having arrived in Aleppo from Ayintap, he was assassinated by Huda<sup>8 9</sup>.

## 2. THOSE HAVING TAKEN PART IN THE REBELLION FROM KAYSERI AND THE COST OF THE REBELLION ON KAYSERI

The Rebellion of Abaza Hasan was suppressed in 1659. Within a year just following the assassination of Abaza Hasan, the fact that ten thousands people who supported the uprising, no matter they were criminal or innocent, were then executed can be understood from the official records<sup>10</sup>. In the aftermath of the assassination of Abaza Hasan, some farmans requiring the execution of those people both having taken part in and supported the rebellion were issued. The State confiscated all the properties of both the ones who were executed and who were escapee at that time. Based on the records in Seriyye Sicilleri, a total of 95 people from Kayseri have been seen to

<sup>6</sup> N Joseph Von Hammer Purgstall, **Buyuk Osmanlı Tarihi**, Volume:6, Ucdal Nesriyat, Istanbul, p. 38-39.

<sup>7</sup> Mehmed Halife, **Tarih-i Gilmânî**, Prepared by Kamil Su, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayını, Istanbul 1976, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Huda: It means 'by deception'

<sup>9</sup> VI. Huart, "Abaza", **İ. A.** V.I, p. 5-6; Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, **Silahdar Tarihi**, Devlet Matbaası, Istanbul 1928, p. 152-155.

<sup>10</sup> Ahmet Mumcu, **Osmanlı Devletinde Siyaseten Katl**, Birey ve Toplum Yayınları, Ankara 1985, p. 124

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have taken part in the revolt of Jelali Abaza Hasan. Their names are the following:

Mehmed bin Hussein (Alaca Mescid Quarter), Boyaci Ahmed Aga, Mahmud (a servant of Boyaci Ahmed Aga), Abdulkерim Bese, a janissary (Molu Village), Bekir ibn-i Musa, a janissary, Hussein bin Al Hac Abdi Bese, **Hussein bin Al Hac Ali, the Celebi's father**, Durmus Bese (Selman Quarter), Ebseroglu Ali Bese (Tasgincik Quarter), Saban Bese (Merkebcі Quarter), Ali Kamal Bese ibn-i Seyfullah, Kazaz Abdulalim oglu Hussein Bese, Abdalbaki, Cakiroglu Ahmed, al-hac Ebu Bekir oglu Dervis Bese, Kazgancı Mehmed Bese, Abdulkерim ibn-i Ali Bey (Sarkıyan Quarter), Abdusselam, Kalaycı-zade Murtaza (Yuvalı Village), Hasan Bese and Suleyman oglu Mehmed Bese, Ebu Talib oglu Mustafa Bese, Mehmed Bese oglu Omar Bese, Yusuf (Tatar Quarter), Zahiracı Ali Bey oglu Ahmed Bey, Kor Hussesin (Gesi Village), the Kalaycı-zade Mehmed Aga's son Murtaza, Ibrahim, Cakırzade Ahmed Bese from the janissary unit, Hacı Abdulnebi, Hacı Mehmed oglu Orak Saban, Macit oglu Halil, Al Hac Es-Seyyid...Abdurrahim, Al-Hac Hacı Burak Bese (Hacı Arap Quarter), Hussein (Cami-i Kebir Quarter), Kara Said, Halil Bey, Saclı oglu Mustafa, Burunsuz Hussein Aga, Celebi Osman, Budak, Ali, Bayram (Tavlusun Village), Mustafa (Gurcu Quarter), As-Seyyid Omar, Saban Bey, Abu Bekir oglu Abbas, Celeb Osman, Kaba Bednaloglu Mustafa, Kalender oglu Halil, Al-Hac Ahmed, Sefer, Kadri, Murtaza (Sultan Quarter), Muhammed, Bayram (Tavlusun), Hussein (Isbıdın), As-Seyyid Omar (Ahi Quarter), Ahmed oglu Mehmed (Hunad Quarter), Ali (Molu Village), Samed (Hisayunlu), Receb (Hunad Quarter), Abdurrahim (Kapan Quarter), Acar oglu Halil, Halid (Cami-i Kebir Quarter), Osman (Tepecik Quarter), Omar (Sealdı), Al-Hac Abdi (Kebe Ilyas Quarter), Al-Hac Murad oglu Veli (Kebe Ilyas Quarter), Selim(Cami-i Kebir Quarter), Uzun Turhan oglu Hussein, Ibrahim (Darsiyak Quarter), Samli Mustafa (Eski Bezazistan Quarter), Hacı Mehmed oglu Orak Saban (Mukremin Quarter), Kabasakal oglu Mustafa (Merkebcі Quarter), Al- Hac Sefer (Mancusun Village), Musa oglu Ibrahim (Guluk Quarter), Dimiddereli Ibrahim, Hasan, Yusuf (Tatar Quarter), Abdulkadir (Hunad Quarter), Parmaksız Ahmed (Hasbek Quarter), Koca (Cami-i Kebir Quarter), Solak Hussein (Cami-i Kebir Quarter), Abbas (Kalenderhane Quarter), Solak Mustafa (Gesi Village), Sunduk (Gesi Village), Ibrahim (Gurcu Quarter), Ayne oglu Murad, .. Bese, Abdusselam bin Ferhad, Yusuf (Tatar Quarter), Ibrahim (Darsiyak Village), Kalaycı-

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zade Mehmed Aga, Kara Seydi (Islamlu Distict), Mutevelli (Cukuroglu Mehmed Aga)<sup>11</sup>.

A farman was issued about the fact that Murtaza Pasha, having been charged to suppress the revolt of Jelali Abaza Hasan and assigned as serasker, was to collect *sursat* cereals from the Kayseri public for the soldiers. In order to meet the needs of Murtaza Pasha's army, a sursat tax of 15.000 *Istanbulian kile sair* (barley), 30 *kantar* (steelyard) *revgan-ı sade* (pure butter) and 2.000 sheep was put on the Kayseri public. It was determined that a kile of sair was 40 *akce* (Ottoman monetary unit), a sheep per was 170 *akce* and a *kantar* of *revgan-ı sade* was 4300 *akce*<sup>12</sup>. A total of 1.069.000 *akce* was collected from the Kayseri public as sursat tax. For the purpose of meeting the needs of the Ottoman army which were charged to take the rebels under the control, the Kayseri public had to pay an extra tax of 1.069.000 *akce* over the others they had already paid. This tax was the one demanded only from the Sanjak of Kayseri. Murtaza Pasha collected some sursat tax at each sanjak which he passed through. This proved that what a great amount of money was spent so as to suppress just an uprising.

Just before the assassination of Abaza Hasan, in a farman issued in 1658, after it was stated that some accommodation cost about 300 *akce* from each of 509.5 *avarızhane* in Kayseri was required 'as it was usual' for the years of 1659 and 1660, it was again demanded to collect another tax for meeting the needs of six troops of janissary and kapıkulu which were all charged to sweep the Jelali bandits. It was decided to collect an accommodation tax of 600 *akce* per, by a rise of 300 *akce* to the usual accommodation cost, 300 *akce*, which was determined to be counted for the years of 1659 and 1660<sup>13</sup>. Eventually, a total of 305.700 *akce* accommodation tax was additionally paid for the purpose of suppressing the uprising. However, taking account of the fact that the people in the same region would also pay sursat tax, the 150 *akce* of 600 *akce* tax having collected from each house was repaid to the tax-payers<sup>14</sup>. In order to suppress the revolt of Jelali Abaza Hasan, 1.298.275 *akce* was collected in Kayseri.

<sup>11</sup> KSS Number 70, pp.5, 12, 13, 20, 22, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 59, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 75, 89, 94, 95, 96, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 137, 144, 181, 188, 189,

<sup>12</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 112-113.

<sup>13</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 180.

<sup>14</sup> KSS Number 70, p.181.

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### 3. PROFESSIONAL SITUATIONS OF THE PEOPLE HAVING TAKEN PART IN THE REBELLION OF JELALI ABAZA HASAN

The remarkable majority of those who took part in the uprising consisted of the janissaries. While some janissaries were clearly mentioned in some of the records, some others were implied to have been a janissary by the title 'Beşe'<sup>15</sup> they used. The title 'Beşe', a softened form of the word 'Paşa', was used with the adjectival word 'Racil (by walking)'. Putting the title 'Beşe' into the end of the original names of especially the janissaries was something that took the form of tradition, which referred to the foot soldiers among the kapıkulus such as *janissary, topcu, cebeci, bolukbasi, cavus*<sup>16</sup>. There were some people who bore the title 'Solak'<sup>17</sup> among the rebels. The 60<sup>th</sup>, 61<sup>st</sup>, 62<sup>nd</sup> and 63<sup>rd</sup> ones of 'Solak' janissary jemaat *ortas* (equivalent to regiment) were called 'solak'. They did the task of bodyguard units belonging to the Sultan<sup>18</sup>. Kethudayeri<sup>19</sup> Yusuf Aga also took part in the uprising, who was one of the commanders at Janissary Ocagi<sup>20</sup>.

The person who was the *mutawalli* of the bridge situated at Kesikkopru also took part in the uprising. The villages of Cukur, Germir and Amarat within the boundaries of Kayseri existed on the lands which were dedicated to the repair of Kesikkopru near Sivas. The mutawalli of these villages was Cukuroglu Mehmed Aga. He escaped by having joined the forces of Jelali Abaza Hasan who would be all executed based on the farman. Since the mutawalli was escapee, it was required that the crops having collected from these villages be kept in a secure place under the control of a reliable man and the

<sup>15</sup> KSS Number 70, pp. 29, 31, 34, 52 and the others (See for those having taken part in the uprising)

<sup>16</sup> Said Oztürk, **Askeri Kasamsa Ait Olan On yedinci Asır İstanbul Tereke Defteri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil)**, Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayını, İstanbul 1995, p. 123.

<sup>17</sup> KSS Number 70, p.132

<sup>18</sup> Oztürk, **Ibid.**, p.124

<sup>19</sup> Kethuda yeri: a title given to one assisting and substituting any kethuda. The best – known kethudayeri was the one who substituted the kethudabey at Janissary Unit (the most superior rank leading that of Janissary Aga). Apart from this, the most superior chief of Kapıkulu Cavaliers in the places with the exception of the governmental centers is called kethudayeri. (Mithat Sertoğlu, "Kethüdayeri", **Osmanlı Tarih Lûgati**, Enderun Kitabevi, İstanbul 1996, p.183.; Kethudayeri was mostly busy with recruiting and providing the equipments for the soldiers (Mehmet Beşirli, **Orta Karadeniz Kentleri Tarihi I Tokat (1771-1853)**, Gazi Osman Paşa Üniversitesi Yayını, Tokat 2005, p.101)

<sup>20</sup> KSS Number 70, p.188

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money obtained from these crops be dedicated to the repair of the bridge<sup>21</sup>.

Apart from those mentioned above, some ordinary men without any title gave support to this revolt. The State also confiscated the properties of these people by having considered them a military unit because they were directly a part of an armed group against the authority. As stated above, the people who were capable of using a weapon - the majority were the soldiers of the State- caused the public to encounter with some problematic situations in both material and spiritual regards together with themselves by having supported the revolt of Jelali Abaza Hasan. Besides this military unit of the State, some *aghas* who were the leaders of other local regions, and some noble men supported this uprising.

#### **4. THE EXECUTION OF THOSE HAVING TAKEN PART IN THE REBELLION OF JELALI ABAZA HASAN AND THE CONFISCATION OF THEIR PROPERTIES**

##### **a. The Application of Confiscation Style**

Confiscation has been often used as a concept with two-fold meaning. One is that private property is seized in the name of the State or the Sultan without any payment for its worth. In the other sense, the confiscation takes place when the properties which are banned with the laws are seized by the State<sup>22</sup>. The whole state organization and the society in the Ottoman Empire consist of two basic classes in general terms. One of them is *reaya*, and the other one is military class. The confiscation towards the wealth the members of military class possessed became a customary application. The confiscation about the reaya's wealth never occurred. However, when the reaya died without any inheritor, his wealth was transferred into state treasure. Notably, from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the wealth of the class called *ayan* began to have been confiscated. Though not included into the military class, it gained a military character because having been recognized by the government and accordingly having increased its influence and power in the course of the time. Their wealth was also included into confiscatory processes. The fact that their stance against the State seemed to have been a considerable power resulted in such an application<sup>23</sup>.

Though the scope of the confiscation showed variations related to some details such as the crime of the executed person and

<sup>21</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 127

<sup>22</sup> Mehmet Ali Ünal, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Müsadere", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Number: 49, August 1987, p. 95

<sup>23</sup> Ünal, Ibid, p. 102

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the personality of the statesman who died a natural death, the application of confiscation was often extended over his all properties. Nonetheless, in order to help them maintain their lives easily, an adequate amount of property was allocated for the spouse and the children that the guilty man left behind. Even on some occasions, it was seen that a kind of salary was paid to them. On the other hand, if the dying man owed anyone, all his debts were paid with his properties which were confiscated. Besides this, if this man had some receivables, the money was included into 'miri mal'<sup>24</sup>.

The confiscation included all the properties of the executed person, but in the process of confiscatory operations, the properties belonging to the wives, the children, if not any, the other inheritors of the executed person's could not be seized anyway. In this case, the confiscatory application was only limited to the personal properties of the executed person. This principle about the private ownership was absolutely performed. Only the movable goods, real estates and the receivables that the criminal possessed were subject to confiscatory process<sup>25</sup>.

The confiscatory procedure in the country was often implemented under the supervision of the local *kadis*, and the sanjakebeyi and beylerbeyi, which were known as 'Ahl-i Orf'<sup>26</sup>.

#### **b. The Confiscatory Properties and Selling Procedure**

In those farmans having sent to the sanjaks and provincial centers, it was required that the transportable food and properties belonging to the bandits of Jelali Abaza be sent to Asitane-i Saadet, and the money obtained from those impossible to be transported after being sold on auction at Suk-i Sultani be sent to Hazine-i Amire<sup>27</sup>.

The fact that the people whose properties were confiscated by the State were economically in good conditions proved that they never had financial troubles. The wealth of these people seemed much more than that of ordinary men. If to have a glance at the distribution of wealth, it can be easily seen that the military class had a little more wealth. The wealthy people from the public took part in the uprising. Thus, we can make an assumption that the people having took part in the uprising did not do so due to their economic problems.

<sup>24</sup> Unal, *Ibid*, p. 102

<sup>25</sup> Mumcu, *Ibid*, p. 155

<sup>26</sup> Unal, *Ibid*, p.102

<sup>27</sup> KSS 70, p. 12, 13

The categories of the properties forming the wealth were the following: real estate, cash, the receivables, slaves and *cariyas*, mounts and pack animals, merchandise, household goods (such as plates, shallow frying pans, rugs, felts, carpets, books, cushions, cauldrons, buckets, saucepans, cloth, sacks), clothing, jewellery, weapons and sets of weapons, sets of horse, some equipments, books and food.

Among them, the names of the owners and the titles of the books are the following: Ahmed (Hasbek Quarter) (Kelam-ı Şerif), Kalaycızade Mustafa (the book's value is 225 akce), Koca (Cami-i Kebir Quarter) (the book's value is 210 akce), Parmaksız Ahmed (Kelam-ı Şerif 450 akce, Turkic Story Book, 100 akce), Kabasakaloglu Mustafa (Merkebcı Quarter) (Kelam-ı Şerif 1800 akce, Muhammediye 850 akce), Selim (Cami-i Kebir Quarter) (Kutub 12 volumes 600 akce), Al-Haj Murad oğlu Veli (Kelam-ı Şerif 1100 akce), Osman (Tepecik Quarter) (Kelam-ı Şerif 320 akce)<sup>28</sup>.

There were some kinds of weapons among the confiscated properties. A rifle and a pistol belonging to Kethudayeri Yusuf were all worth 50 akce, and Boyaca Ahmed's three rifles were worth 1200 akce<sup>29</sup>.

Some real estates such as houses, lands, gardens and *manzih* were confiscated. The capital obtained from these real estates after all were sold was then transferred into the treasury. Apart from these, when the person who was subject to confiscatory had some receivables from anybody, they were all included into *miri* ma (State property). For instance, in Zilhicce 1069 (or on 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1659) the bandit named Kalaycızade Murtaza had receivable of 889 *esedi kurus* from Murad Bey, and this capital was seized for *miri* from Murad Bey<sup>30</sup>. The money which had a worth of six *kantars* (quantial) 14 *batman* rice, which was originally Kalaycızade Murtaza's but Murtaza gave it Molla Ali as debt, was given for *miri*<sup>31</sup>.

The properties of 95 persons in Kayseri were confiscated by the State. The total amount of capital confiscated from these persons was 2.113.782 akce and 169.773 kurus (Since the monetary equivalence of some bandits' properties were not recorded, only the sums mentioned in the documents for Kayseri were added. Thus, it can be said that much more capital than the amount to be mentioned

<sup>28</sup> KSS Number 70, pp.186, 134, 131, 129, 123-124, 119, 118

<sup>29</sup> KSS Number 70, pp.188, 130.

<sup>30</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 139

<sup>31</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 141

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was transferred into the treasury). Based on the farman mentioned before, an *esedi kurus* was equal to 81 akce<sup>32</sup>. Accordingly, 169.773 esedi kurus was equal to 13.751.613 akce. A sum of 15.865.395 akce was transferred to the state treasury. For Murtaza Pasha, who was charged to suppress the uprising, and his soldiers, the public in Kayseri paid the sursat tax, totally equal to 1.069.000 akce, which was literally one-fifteenth of the confiscated properties.

The confiscated properties, along with their quantities and their values, belonging to several bandits are given below:

**Table 1: The confiscated properties of the bandit named Abdusselam in Hisayunlu**

Quarter		
Properties and Estates	Number	Values in <i>akce</i>
The worn prayer rugs	1	300
The small sidelong carpets	1	400
The worn center-sides mats	1	500
The multi-colored <b>skirts</b>	1	200
The worn <b>beledi</b> beds	1	100
The worn small Usak carpets	1	500
The legged pan	55	3000
The pie trays	1	100
The dough basins	3	500
<b>The glass...</b>	5	300
<b>The curtain of ...</b>	1	500
A worn Bursa-made pillow	2	300
Kazgan (boiler)	1	200
The saucepans	2	300
The buckets	1	100
The round trays	1	200

<sup>32</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 180

The worn sidelong carpet with jadestones	1	100
The worn 12 tents of ....	1	1.000
The middle carpets	1	300
The churns of water	2	300
The basin of <b>washing hands</b>	1	100
The worn <b>sagir</b> carpets	2	500
The worn middle mats	1	500
Ivaz nam Gulam	1	5.000
An estate in Hisayunlu Quarter	1	50.000
The other estates in Hisayunlu Quarter	1	9.700
The other estates in Hisayunlu Quarter	1	9.000
The other estates in Hisayunlu Quarter ( <b>Mehmed</b> )	1	9.000
The other estates in Hisayunlu Quarter	1	700
The estate of Alagoz in Kethuda Quarter	1	8.500
The estate of Tomarzalı in Kethuda Quarter	1	8.000
The estate of Cansız in Selman Quarter	1	8.500
The estate of Seladi	1	8.000
The garden in Karacaviran	1	9.000
<b>The crop giving</b> estates in the village of ...	1	5.000
<b>The crop giving gardens</b> in the village of Kumalı		25.000

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<b>Double</b> in front of the village	1	5.000
The shares of a manor in the village of Sarı Fakihlu	5	20.000
The shares of a manor in the village of ...	12	25.000

Total: 240.000 akce<sup>33</sup>

**Table 2: The confiscated properties of the bandit named Hasan in the village of Darsiyak**

Properties and Estates	Number	Values in <i>akce</i>
The house house with a stable downstairs		1.200
The ruined garden	1	1.400
The <b>kita</b> of garden	1	1.500
The pieces of land in the village of Talas	2	800
The land of clover at <b>Koprualti</b>	1	1.000
The <b>head</b> of ox	3	500
The pan without any legs	6	300
Saucepan	2	150
Fry	1	20
The basins and ewers for water	1	180
The worn beds	1	50
The worn <b>yemeni</b> duvet	2	150
The worn pillow	2	50

Total: 8.000 akce<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> KSS Number 70, pp.118-119

<sup>34</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 189

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**Table 3: The confiscated properties of the bandit named Musaoglu Ibrahim in Guluk Quarter**

<b>Properties and Estates</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Values in akce</b>
The <b>cit</b> duvet	2	105
The <b>dimi</b> bed	2	120
The worn rug	2	140
The dimi pillow	2	30
The double cushion	3	50
Saucepan	1	80
The small <b>kazgan</b>	1	30
Fry	1	20
Bucket	1	50
Clothes	1	25

Total: 800 akce<sup>35</sup>

The properties which were often used in the houses in daily life, and the real estates such as house, garden and field were included into the confiscatory procedure. All the goods that the bandits possessed were sold.

The new owners of the properties which were sold on auction houses were occasionally mentioned in the documents. We have seen that the properties of some 27 rebels were re-purchased by their wives, children, siblings or sons-in-law (Table-4). Indeed, such a process of repurchasing the properties in exchange of a great amount of money proved that they were in good conditions in economic sense. Besides this, the situation evokes a kind of suspicion on whether they embezzled the money having collected from the public. The latter scenario is highly possible because the women could not inherit such great money from their fathers in terms of the general conditions of the period. Looking at the table, it can be easily realized that the properties for sale were mostly repurchased by the members of that person's family.

<sup>35</sup> KSS Number 70, p.125

**c. The complaints of those not having been participants in the rebellion of Jelali Abaza Hasan about the confiscatory procedure on their properties**

Though they did not take part in the uprising, the fact that the properties of some people were seized by the confiscatory officials is among the matters which came to court<sup>36</sup>. Just after they proved that the property belonged to theirselves, what they possessed was returned to them.

Though the nomadic Turkomans living in Kayseri and around did not support the revolt of Abaza Hasan Pasha, their properties were attempted to be confiscated by the state officials as if they had taken part in the uprising. For instance, the properties of those affiliated with the community of Sandıklı were sought to be confiscated on the basis of the same reason, but then it came out that they were done something injustice<sup>37</sup>. Likewise, as a consequence of the case sued by Halil oğlu Mehmet against Yusuf Aga who was in charge of confiscating the properties belonging to Jelali Abaza Hasan and his servants in case he does not join four goats and 44 sheep among those confiscated properties into the state treasury, the court decided to take this right from the hands of Yusuf Aga, demonstrating the innocence of Halil Oğlu Mehmet, a nomadic Turkoman (the document dated August 1659)<sup>38</sup>.

Besides the situation above, though they did not give support to Abaza Hasan, there were some people who were unjustly treated by having been demonstrated as if they were his servants. For example, four retired janissaries were imprisoned at Kayseri Castler on the allegation that they acted on behalf of Abaza Hasan. They applied to court by stating that they were forced to support him, but they fled at the first opportunity. The information about their **characteristics** from the governorship, and then it was testified that they fled from Abaza Hasan's **house** and lived on their own without giving any harm to anybody. The court made a decision about their release from the prison<sup>39</sup>.

The officials who were in charge of confiscating the properties of the people having taken part in the rebellion of Jelali Abaza Hasan sometimes implemented the same procedure for the properties belonging to the wives of the bandits. At this situation, by

<sup>36</sup> KSS Number 70, pp. 21, 40, 66, 77, 89

<sup>37</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 85

<sup>38</sup> KSS Number ,70, p. 84

<sup>39</sup> KSS Number 70, pp.16-127

applying to the court, the women stated that their properties could not be confiscated anyway since they inherited them from their fathers. For instance, the properties of Al-Haj Hacı Budak Bese, one of the residents in Hacı Arap Quarter, were ordered to be confiscated because he was among the bandits. However, his wife Emine bint-i Abdulnebi proved that the properties in her house belonged to herself. For that reason, the properties in his house were excluded from the scope of confiscatory<sup>40</sup>.

Likewise, Hussein Jelali Abaza living in Cami-i Kebir Quarter escaped just after having taken part in the rebellion. When the officials arrived at his house for the confiscatory procedure on his properties, his wife Ayse prevented them from confiscating the properties in their house by having stated that she had herself inherited all the properties from his father Eyup<sup>41</sup>. In a similar way, Sachoglu Mustafa escaped just following his attendance in the revolt, but then he was executed. His wife Fahri Hatun Hazma proved that she had inherited all from her father when the officials attempted to confiscate the properties in their house<sup>42</sup>.

#### **d. Confiscatory Officials**

In order to confiscate the properties of those who took part in the uprising though they were janissaries, Kapticibasi Yusuf Aga and Besir Cavus<sup>43</sup>, the janissary sergeant of 41<sup>st</sup> division, were charged with applying the confiscatory procedure. Apart from those mentioned, Mustafa Aga<sup>44</sup> and Molla Ali<sup>45</sup> were charged with applying the same procedure about the properties of the ordinary men. Yusuf Aga<sup>46</sup> was charged with recording the properties, supplies and real estates of the Jelali bandits in Karaman, Kayseri, Nigde and around.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The State made his officials in the center of the provinces and sanjaks responsible for suppressing the rebellion by issuing some farmans<sup>47</sup> focusing on the punishment of the bandits of haramzade, saruca and sekban. At this point, the rebels both demanded some taxes from the public and also went on having provoked the soldiers.

<sup>40</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 59

<sup>41</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 60.

<sup>42</sup> KSS Number 70, p.63.

<sup>43</sup> KSS Number 70, pp.140, 167.

<sup>44</sup> KSS Number 70, p. 17

<sup>45</sup> KSS Number 73, p.141

<sup>46</sup> KSS Number 70, p..167.

<sup>47</sup> KSS Number 71, p.100

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While the The Grand Vizier Koprulu Mehmed Pasha's expedition towards Erdel was underway, the appearance of this revolt and the recall of the Grand Vizier led to much less utilization from the success hitherto than it was expected. Just following the conquest of Yanova, he wanted to follow Rakoczy where he intended to build an authority. However, his plan on Rakoczy was achieved later. The *futuh* to be made on European frontiers remained backward for a time, and since the rebellion was underway, all the forces of the State was directed to this revolt. This situation also led to a kind of negligence in the military campaign to Crete.

One of the consequences that the Abaza revolt caused is the gradually losing sense of obedience in the military organization, which had already been observed for a long time. Upon the precautions which was taken by Koprulu Mehmed Pasha in order to regulate the military organization, the *sipahis* rebelled, but later their uprising was suppressed with some strong measures. The *Kapikulu* cavaliers who lost their prestige over those precautions mentioned above could not do useful anything until Mehmed IV was dethroned. On the other hand, *timarli sipahis* began to deteriorate due to the inappropriate decisions from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, and accordingly they lost their former power and dignity in the mid-century, and the ongoing uprisings also increased the degree of deterioration. The disorganized forces such as *levent*, *sarica* and *sekban* whom the viziers and provincial governors supported began to be dominant instead of those mentioned above.

Especially among the janissaries in Kayseri, there were some having supported the uprising. Almost all the rebels were executed just after their arrest. Their properties were confiscated in order to compensate the damage they gave to the State and the public.

Eventually, those who took part in the revolt of Jelali Abaza Hasan voluntarily or forcedly were punished somehow by the State. However, much of the punishment procedure was again carried out on the public. All the expenses of the army which had been sent against Abaza and his fellows were met with the extra taxes loaded on the public. The continuously ongoing naval military campaign exhausted the public, and the uprisings at home damaged the properties and lives of the people. The fact that ninety-five people took part in the revolt demonstrates us how a great uprising occurred. A majority of ninety-five people above were members of the military units. This situation increased the degree of trouble that the State faced. Though some from the public supported the uprising, we cannot determine any non-Muslim who supported this uprising at that time.

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As a requirement of the policy implemented, the Ottoman State, on one hand, punished the bandits, on the other hand, did so the public who supported them or did not resist against the appearance of banditry, if not supported. The public who was in charge of paying the taxes in order to compensate all the expenses of the state soldiers got depressed both about the destruction of the bandits and the financial requirements of the State. Again the public had to pay the bill of the banditry having occurred in its own lands. As a political requirement, The Ottoman State punished the public so on the land in which the uprising germinated.

**Table 4: The selling of the confiscated properties of those who took part in the uprising to their relatives**

Number	The number of Registry Book	Page Number	Date	The person who took part in the revolt	To whom it was sold	The value of the confiscated properties
1	70	32	27 July, 1658	Hussein Bese	About the fact that the properties of Hussein Bese were sold to his son, Abdusselam	1.400 akce
2	70	32	July 1658		About the fact that he sold the shops and the other estates in the Tekye Onu Bazaar to his son, Veli.	5.000 akce
3	70	32(?)	27 July, 1658	Durmus Bese, from Salman Quarter	About the fact that his confiscated animals were sold to Veli and some were sold to his son-in-law Mustafa Bey	20.000 and 300 akce
4	70	34	29 July, 1658	Ebseroglu Ali	About the fact that his	2.000 akce

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				Bese in Tasgıncı k Quarter	confiscated properties were sold to his son, Mahmud.	
5	70	34	30 July, 1658	Saban Bese in Merkebc i Quarter	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his brother, Ahmed.	8.800 akce
6	70	35	31 July, 1658	Ali Kemal Bese ibn-i Seyfulla h	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his spouse, Rabia.	17.000 akce
7	70	36	29 July, 1658	Kazaz Abdulali m oğlu Hussein Bese	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to Emine, the daughter of Ali.	14.000 akce
8	70	38	30 July, 1658	Abdulba ki	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to their sons, Eyup and Abdusselam.	1.350 akce
9	70	39	2 August, 1658	Cakırogl u Ahmed	About the fact that his confiscated estates in various places were sold to his wife Bali, the daughter of Ahmed, and to his son, Ahmed.	40.000 akce
10	70	41	3 August, 1658	Alibey oğlu Abdulker im from Sarkiyan Quarter	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold his wife Zahide on auction.	10.000 akce
11	70	42	4 August, 1658	Abdussel am	About the fact that his	2.000 esedi kuruş

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					confiscated properties were sold Serife Safiye, the daughter of Al-Haj Ibrahim	
12	70	45	4 August, 1658	Hasan Bese and Suleyma noglu Mehmed Bese	About the fact that their confiscated properties were sold to their wives, Hatime , the daughter if Arife, and Ummuhani, the daughter of Ridvan	2.700 akce
13	70	45	5 August, 1658	Ebu Talib oglu Mustafa Bese	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to Saban oglu Hussein	10.000 akce
14	70	45	3 August, 1658	Mehmed Bese oglu Omar Bese	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his wife, Durdu Hatun	800 akce
15	70	46	7 August, 1658	Yusuf from Tatar Quarter	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his wife Esmâ Hatun, the daughter of Malkoc Bey	10.900 akce
16	70	47	5 August, 1658	Zahireci Ali Bey oglu Ahmed Bey	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his wife Ummu Gulsum, the daughter of Hazma	4.000 akce
17	70	48	4 August, 1658	Kor Hussein	About the fact that the properties of Ahmed, Mahmud,	11.200 akce

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					Mehmed and Kor Hussein living in Gesi were sold	
18	70	48	6 August, 1658	Hussein	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his sons, Eyup and Ibrahim.	12.000 akce
19	70	51	7 August, 1658	Ibrahim	About the fact that some money was taken from his wife HAtun bint-i Kocabey and his dayghter Fahire	8.000 akce
20	70	60	13 August, 1658	Kara Said (escapee)	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his son Saban and his daughters Hatice, Cennet and Nesli.	12.100 akce
21	70	61	14 August, 1658	Halil Bey	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his father Al-Haj Kalender bin Mehmed	
22	70	68	5 September, 1658	Mustafa	About the fact that he inherited some properties to his wife Fahreza Hatun	2.400 akce
23	70	69		Saban Bey	A document showing his properties and estates	2.400 akce
24	70	73	August 1658	Hussein	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to Mehmed	2.600 akce

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					bin Hussein and his sister Saliha Hatun	
25	70	94		Al-Haj Ahmed	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to his wife Rabia Hatun	92.000 akce
26	70	181	1658	Abdusselam bin Ferhad	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to Serife, Safiye bin Al-Haj Ibrahim	160.000 akce
27	70	188	1658	Yusuf (Tatar Quarter)	About the fact that his confiscated properties were sold to Malkoc, the daughter of Esmâ.	

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