



ÇUKUROVA ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ

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MENEMENCİOĞULLARI'NIN KÖKENİ

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Özet

Menemencioğulları 18. ve 19. yüzyılda Çukurova'da önemli rol oynamış bir a'yân ailesidir. Menemencioğulları'nın Çukurova'ya ne zaman ve nereden gelmiş oldukları konusunda farklı görüşler bulunmaktadır. Aile tarihini yazan Menemencioğlu Ahmed Bey, Menemen taraflarından geldiklerini düşünmektedir. Faruk Sümer ise İç-il sancağında yaşayan Bozdoğanlar'ın bir kolu olduğunu savunmaktadır. Aile bölgedeki asayişsizliklerin bastırılmasında aşiret süvarileriyle devlete yardımcı olmuşlardı. III. Selim döneminde Çapanoğlu Süleyman Bey'in Bozok sancağında güç kazandığı yıllarda Çukurova'da Hasanpaşazâdeler ve onların yanı sıra Menemencioğulları a'yân ailesi olarak ortaya çıkmıştı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Menemenci, Habib Bey, Ahmed Bey, Hasanpaşazâdeler, Çapanoğulları

THE ORIGIN OF MENEMENCIOGULLARI

Abstract

Menemencioğulları is a local notable (a'yan) family that played significant role in Çukurova in 18th and 19th centuries. There are different points of view about when and from where Menemencioğulları came to Çukurova. Menemencioğlu Ahmet Bey, who wrote the history of family, thinks that they came from Menemen region. However, Faruk Sümer argues that they were a division of Bozdoğanlar, who were living in İç-il sanjak. The family helped the government to suppress the unrest the region with tribal cavaliers. In the reign of Selim the Third, when Çapanoğlu Süleyman Bey gained power in the Bozok sanjak, Hasanpaşazadeler together with Menemencioğulları arised as local notable (a'yan) families in Çukurova.

Keywords: Menemenci, Habib Bey, Ahmed Bey, Hasanpaşazadeler, Çapanoğulları

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THE ORIGIN OF MENEMENCIOGULLARI

Menemencioğullari emerged in 18th century in Cukurova, was a significant Turcoman (Türkmen) tribe, which played an important role in the region throughout 19th century. The name of the tribe was mentioned as *Melemenci* in the archival documents dated 1778 and 1791. Although it was mentioned as both *Menemenci* and *Melemenci* in the 19th century documents, it is obvious that *Menemenci* began to be used more commonly.²

Discussions on the name of the tribe are a bit due to the difficulty to find out where its origin comes from. According to Menemencioğlu Ahmed Beg (or Bey), who has written *Menemencioğulları Tarihi* (History of Menemencioğullari), their oldest grandfather Habib Chelebi was living in a town on the north of Izmir called *Menemen*. Later, however, he moved to Adana with his 15-20 relatives by taking all their movables with them. People called this migrant group Menemenli (one from Menemen) because of the particular name of their former hometown but it began to be called Menemenci later in time.³

According to Faruk Sumer its name is coming from the food named *melemen* rather than the town *Menemen*. If they have taken this name just because they are from Menemen, then the name would be written and called as *Menemenli* or *Melemenli*.⁴ The notes have been dictated by one of the family members in 1861 should also be significant, though, Sumer's etymological approach is reasonable.⁵ There is no such account in the history of the family telling about anyone who likes the food *melemen* very much. So, argument for the town Menemen seems to be truer to us. The rumor telling that the tribe had come to Anatolia with Suleiman Shah, the founder of Seljuk State, and settled down around Karaisali is depended on the information in a writing named *Soğancizade Tarihi* (History of Sogancizade).⁶ Ahmed Beg the author of *Menemencioğulları Tarihi*, have seen the writing and got this information from Ishkodrali Mustafa Pasha (Mustafa Pasha of Ishkodra), who was the governor of Adana in 1850-51. Nevertheless, we cannot find the writing in any sources, nor, the information mentioned here match with the Menemen argument of Ahmed Beg. On the other hand, the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia has not taken place during the time of Suleiman Shah in the end of 11th century but right after the migration wave in 1255, if we check it out in terms of historical truth.⁷ In *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi* (History of Ashikpashazade) it is mentioned that the place around today's Karaisali was assigned as winter quarters, and Tekfur Beli (Tekir Yaylasi; *eng. Plateau*) and An-nahsha in Gulek were assigned as summer pasture for Kara Isa Beg.⁸ Indeed, we see also in the first Ottoman tahrir records about the region that Kara Isalu tribe was surviving as two separate groups.⁹ Sevindik Beg, whose name was seen often in 1537, on the other hand, was one of the grandsons of Kara Isa Beg and his son Sultanshah has been holding Budandı village of Kızıldağ valley as a *zeamet*, while his other son Isa has been holding a *timar*.¹⁰ In 1519, there was a

² In BOA, *Cevdet Dahiliye*, 16909, A, B, C no. 1192 /1778 and 17063-A, B, C no. 1211/ 1796 dated documents; BOA, *Cevdet Zaptiye*, 670-A, 1206/ 1791 dated documents and those we hold, it is mentioned *Melemenci* for 45 times; especially in the 19th century documents it is mentioned *Menemenci* for 42 times.

³ Menemencioğlu Ahmed Bey, *Menemencioğulları Tarihi*, ed. Yılmaz Kurt (Ankara: Akçağ Press, 1997), 7. (After here MT).

⁴ Faruk Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, 3rd ed., (Istanbul, 1980), 196.

⁵ MT, 6-7.

⁶ MT, 6.

⁷ Faruk Sümer, "Çukurova Tarihine Dair Araştırmalar (Fetihden XVI. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar)", *DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi (TAD)*, I/1 (1963), 1-113.

⁸ Aşık Paşazâde, *Aşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*, İstanbul 1332, p. 226; İbn-i Kemâl, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*, VIII. Defter (Transcription), ed: Ahmet Uğur, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Press, 1997), 88.

⁹ BOA, TD.69 (1518) Adana, Sis, *Tarsus Mufassal Tahrîr Defteri*, 218,235.

¹⁰ BOA, TD, 177 (1537) Adana, Sis, *Tarsus Mufassal Tahrîr Defteri*, 238, 241; Yılmaz Kurt, *XVI. Yüzyıl Adana Tarihi* (16th Century Adana History), (Ankara: Hacettepe University Social Science Institute, History Department, PhD dissertation, 1992), 40.

Turkmen group named Cecelu living around the Çiçelu (Chechalu) constructing the core part of Karaisali town.¹¹ Depending on all these information, we can say that Menemencioğullari had not been in Cukurova until 18th century, and had no relationship with Kara Isa Beg.

According to information reported by Menemencioğlu Ahmed Beg, Habib Chelebi and his tribe had most probably come first to İç-il (İçel) and then by moving to Adana they had settled down in Solaklı and Sari Mehmed Telli, named *Nefs-i Menemenci*, at the same time. Ahmed Beg somehow supported Sumer's argument by stating that "Today (1861), Menemenci tribe was consisting of a few thousand of families, and most of which had come from İç-il and some other places".¹² Since it is impossible to have such a big amount of population increase from 15-20 to 1500-2000 families during a hundred years period, we should accept the fact that some other people from outside joined the tribe. Besides accepting that some groups joined the tribe from İç-il, Ahmed Beg tries to explain it with the argument of participant groups had come with "real ancestors". However, he also confesses that the rumor is not proved by an exact document through saying that the Turks were not so much caring about family records just like Arabs.¹³

In 1708, Topallı Community (Topallı Cemaati)¹⁴ living in Dundarlı village of Adana was banding and killing people. Cherkas Hasan Pasha¹⁵ put Habib Chelebi (Çelebi), coming from Menemen, in order to punish the tribe.¹⁶ Although it is not mentioned here clearly, we realize that Habib Chelebi was ordered as "*silâhkeş süvari*" (armed cavalry).¹⁷ Having been ordered as striking force under the command of the governor of the area these soldiers of the tribe got rid of *raîyyet resmi* and may also had some amount of salary. Accordingly, "*mâhiyyelü süvâri askeri*" ("paid cavalry") mentioned in some documents proves it to us.¹⁸ Governors of the provinces were having mercenaries called *sekbân askeri* (sekbân soldier) or *sarica sekbân* in order to meet their needs. In the region, the name for infantries, in this sense, was *hayta askeri*.¹⁹

To grasp the struggle between *a'yân*s (local notables) and tribes in Cukurova thoroughly, it is necessary to know the semi-nomadic Turkmen structure of the region in 16th century and its effects on the governance, well. On the contrary to many districts of Anatolia, 84 % percent of people in Adana were living as semi-nomad even in 1572. Although there were 85 villages in Adana in 1521, the number of village in 1572 was 47 because of social movements originated from Safavids after 1526.²⁰

¹¹ BOA, TD. 69 (1518), 242.

¹² MT, 7.

¹³ MT, 7.

¹⁴ There is no community mentioned in 16th century *tahrir defters* named Topallı.

¹⁵ Ahmed Beg, mentions the governor as Cerkesi Hama Pasha (MT, p. 9). The mentioned pasha should be Hassan Pasha, who had been the governor of Maras and Konya in the years 1706-1707 and known with the epithet Hacıkıran and from Cerkes origin. See: Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî II*, 6 vol., ed. Nuri Bayraktar, trans. Seyit Ali Kahraman, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Press, 1996), 639.

¹⁶ MT, 9-10.

¹⁷ BOA, *Cevdet Dahiliyye*, 16909-A, 17 R 1192 / May 15, 1778 dated document. Melemenci, Cerid, and Tacirli tribes banding around Adana would be made settle down in an appropriate area and registered to be official subjects by being "dismissed from armed cavalry".

¹⁸ BOA, HAT-462/22638-1, 4 Safer 1245 / August 5, 1829 dated document; HAT-310/18307 numbered document.

¹⁹ MT, 69: Mustafa Pasha "sent his chief steward Matharacıoğlu to Karaman and Konya and recruited many soldiers called *deli* and *hayta*". Although the word *hayta* was used as a label during the time of Ottomans for military group living and ordered on frontiers and metaphorically means the man without a business to do, (see İsmail Parlatur, *Osmanlı Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, Ankara: Yargı Press, 2006, 607), it is apparently seen that it was used for "mercenary" in 19th century.

²⁰ Yılmaz Kurt, *Çukurova Tarihinin Kaynakları III 1572 dated Adana Sancağı Mufassal Tahrir Defteri*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Press, 2005), LXI.

During the settlement of the tribes in Cukurova in the end of 17th century, most of semi-nomads were registered to *Ifrâz-ı Zu'l-kadriyye Mukâta'a*.²¹ After a short period of time, we see the Adana mukâta'a under the responsibility of former governor-general of Adana and new *Miru'l-hacc* (Emir of Hajj) Mehmed Pasha in 1698-99.²² In 1192/ 1778, Menemenci Community was paying their taxes to *Yörügan-ı Adana and Tarsus Mukâta'as*.²³ In other words, Menemenciogullari were in a position of *mukâta'a re'âyâsi* (subject of mukâta'a), who were not be able to reach such power enough to buy mukâta'a before Adana *governors* and *mütesellims** yet. After a short period of time, Menemenciogullari would become *Bereketli Ma'deni re'âyâsi* (subject of Bereketli mine) through leaving the position of *mukâta'a re'âyâsi*.²⁴ In return of this, the tribe would carry 1000 *yük*** ore and 500 full camels of wood to the Mine in a year in exchange for their salary; otherwise, they would pay 30.000 *ghurush* neyr in a year.²⁵ Being *Maden Re'âyâsi* (subject of the Mine), would help the tribe to get rid of many taxes like *salma* and *avarız* and provide a political freedom.

After the time of Habib Beg there might be a dark period in the history of the tribe. Or Habib Beg should have been as the leader of the tribe for 50 years. Famous with the epithet of Kör Boybegi, Ahmed Beg I ²⁶ was the leader of the tribe in 1170 (1756-1757) and living around Gokran location of Kosun *qaza* of Tarsus with about 200 houses loyal to him.²⁷ Boz Osman succeeded to him was executed by Çelik Mehmed Pasha²⁸, who had been the governor of Adana in 1764, due to the complaints of people in Adana and Tarsus.²⁹ Since Osman Beg a bachelor was executed in his early age, Ahmed Beg III's father Ahmed Beg II was accepted as the leader of Menemenci tribe.

People of Karaisali complaining about Ebulhadiogullari, called Ahmed Beg to Karaisali. Ahmed Beg had come to the place and settled down in Eskiköy in the opposite of Kevabih village. Some people from Ebulhadiogullari and Hamza Aliogullari were caught and executed. These successes of Ahmed Beg helped him to become more famous and led many families from İç-il to join the tribe.³⁰ This joining shows that the tribe was not consisted of an absolute blood relationship but became larger with the joining of the people seeking for security and economic welfare. The joining was sometimes to get rid of *re'âyâ taxes*. Accordingly 54 registered *re'âyâ* of a *zaim* (zeamet holder) named Ahmed Said in Anamur *nahiye* (township) escaped and through going down to Tarsus district applied to the regional *a'yân* named Toroğlu.³¹

²¹ Ibid, 428-29; TD.114 (1572), *Adana Mufassal Defteri*, 171a II, 171aIII. This *mukâta'a* (land loaned someone in return of certain amount of money in order to be cultivated) with high amount of income was held by Kapudân-ı Derya voyvodası (kind of Admiral) Ali Efendi in 1691.

²² BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver*, 04473, 4. Mehmed Paşa, whose full name is *Bayram Paşa-zâde el-Hac Mehmed Paşa bin Derviş Ağâ*, established 9 endowments in Adana between the years 1702-1711. See. Mustafa Alkan, *Adana'nın Bütüncül Tarihi Çerçevesinde Adana Sancağı Vakıflarının Analizi*, - A research Based on TÜSOKTAR Database -, (Ankara: Gazi University Social Science Institute, Unprinted Phd Dissertation, 2004), 72.

²³ BOA, *Cevdet Dahiliyye*, 16909-A, 13 Z 1192/ January 2, 1779 dated document.

* Officers under the command and responsibility of governors and/or governor-generals, during whose absence they took the responsibility of ruling.

²⁴ BOA, *Cevdet Darphâne*, 488-3, Fî 21 B. (Receb) year 1208/ February 22, 1794 dated document.

** Word used for a certain amount of weight in the Ottoman Empire.

²⁵ BOA, *Cevdet Darphâne*, 3002-1, 9 Ş 1217 / December 5, 1802 dated document.

²⁶ Since there were 3 different men named Ahmed Beg (grandfather, son, and grandson) we showed them as I, II, III. in order to avoid from confusion.

²⁷ MT, 12.

²⁸ Çelik Mehmed Paşa, in the years 1754 and 1764 have been the governor of Adana for twice and died in 1765 (*Sicill-i Osmanî*, IV, 1047), therefore, the execution should be during his second governorship in 1764. Ahmed Beg points the execution (MT, 18) in 1190/ 1776.

²⁹ MT, 16.

³⁰ MT, 19.

³¹ BOA, *Cevdet Dahiliyye*, 5579, 19 Muharrem 1183/ May 25, 1769 dated document.

It was during the rule of Ahmed Beg II a disagreement occurring frequently between semi-nomads and people of village took place. When villagers of Şihlar and Bereketlu, who were attacked by Bahrili tribe, complained to the governor of Niğde, a group of soldiers was dispatched to Bahrili tribe. Since Bahrili tribe escaped and disappeared, the governor of Niğde attacked on Menemenci tribe, which accompanied Bahrili tribe. Nabi Beg the brother of Ahmed Beg was caught as injured and taken to Niğde. Nabi Beg passed away in Niğde sometime later due to his injury. Ahmed Beg blaming Şihlar and Bereketli villages as the cause of this event attacked on these villages and killed many people. Karci Ahmed Beg *mütesellim* of Adana was angry due to the event, so, he had the house of Ahmed Beg in Eskikoy burnt.³² Ahmed Beg, for that reason, began to live in Çiceli (today's Karaisalı) consisted of 5-10 families and a few *medrese* (religious educational institution) by constructing a mansion and buildings.³³

When Battal Pasha³⁴, the governor of Adana, attacked on Ahmed Beg with the soldiers gathered from tribes, his soldiers were defeated and turned back to Adana. Tribal cavalries looking for '*paylaşka*' (enough to satisfy) followed them and plundered. Although it was enough to call as an apparent uprising for Ottoman *vak'anüvists* (officers recording events), it was natural consequence of the victory they plundered through Adana and got booty from the Menemencioğullari point of view, after such an exact victory against their "enemy". However, Ahmed Beg still paid 20.000 *ghurush* in return for the losses to get over the problem due to his fear that the government may investigate it.³⁵

An *a'yân* holding the rule of a certain region was trying to help men familiar/close to him to be appointed as rulers to neighboring districts and *qazas* in order to empower himself in the region. Since Adana is 40 km far from Tarsus, Adana *mütesellims* were claiming Tarsus as their natural expansion territory and wishing a governor ruling in Adana familiar and/or close to themselves. Accordingly with the death of Büyük Toroğlu Gök Ağa, *mütesellim* of Tarsus³⁶, his brother Mustafa Ağa and son Küçük Ağa struggled for the position. Menemencioğlu Ahmed Beg, supported Küçük Ağa and helped him took the position. Mustafa Ağa, on the other hand, was supported Karci Mehmed Ağa, *mütesellim* of Adana, and Kelinoğlu Kelağa from Tarsus *a'yân*.³⁷ Ahmed Beg attacked on Mustafa Ağa (or Aga), who became Tarsus *mütesellim* by kidnapping Küçük Ağa, and plundered Tarsus. Because Tarsus had been the *mâlikâne* (estate) of *Valide Kethüdasi Yusuf Ağa*, complaints of people of Tarsus led easily announcement of an imperial order for the execution of Ahmed Beg.³⁸ However, Ahmed Beg threatened people of Tarsus and Mustafa Ağa, which made them to had a decision to get it over in return of paying 50.000 *ghurush* by Ahmed Beg for the "cost of expenses".³⁹

³² BOA, *Cevdet Zaptiye*, 670/b, 12 Ramadan 1206/ in May 4, 1792 dated ferman it mentions that Karci Mehmed Ağa and Ahmed Beg attacked on Tarsus together. See. Yılmaz Kurt, "Menemencioğulları İle İlgili Arşiv Belgeleri I", *Belgeler*, XXI/25 (2001), 85-187.

³³ MT, 20.

³⁴ Battal Pasha or Battal Hüseyin Pasha was the older son of Canikli Ali Pasha (Ali Pasha of Canik). In 1786 he has been the governor of Aleppo and then Damascus, died in 1801. See.: Rıza Karagöz, *Canikli Ali Pasha*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Press, 2003), 146; *Sicill-i Osmâni*, II, 718- 719; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV/ 1, 2nd ed. , (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Press, 1978), 609-612. When Keki Abdi Pasha was ordered to attack on Küçükalioğlu he was appointed to the governorship of Adana with single *tuğ* (Turkish standard that symbolizes a rank used in the Ottoman Empire): BOA, HAT-195/ 9697; HAT-190/ 9142; HAT-193/9452. The widow daughter of Imamzade, who had been married Battal Pasha before, married Ahmed Beg II, as his third wife and they had a son named Mustafa Beg. See: MT, 41.

³⁵ MT, 22-23.

³⁶ *Mütesellim* was the title used for officers substituting governor in district and/or in province. See. Musa Çadircı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*, Ankara 1991, 236.

³⁷ MT, 24.

³⁸ MT, 25.

³⁹ MT, 27-28.

During the establishment of *Nizam-ı Cedid* army by Sultan Selim III one of the supporters of him in every aspect was Cabbarzade (Çaparzade, Çapanzade) Suleiman Beg, who was Bozok *mutasarrıf* (holder of Bozok).⁴⁰ Thanks to this Suleiman Beg became a respectable and authoritarian one through Central Anatolia from Trabzon to Adana. In July 1794 he ordered Dervish Mustafa Ağa one of his men as *mütesellim* of Tarsus. In the late 1794, on the other hand, he charged Hasanpashazade Ahmed Beg as the *mütesellim* of Tarsus, and then he took charge of the emin (a kind of state official) position of Bereketli and Bozkır mine himself.⁴¹ In 1798 he was “in such a rank of another or second Sultan for the feudal formalities of the time”.⁴²

When complaints of people of Adana and Tarsus about Ahmed Beg II began to be heard loudly, Cabbarzade Suleiman Beg the most trusted *ayân* was ordered. Cabbarzade gave 25.000 soldiers to the order of his *kethüda* Abdullah Beg⁴³ and dispatched him to Bayezidogullari in Maras and Menemencioğullari in Adana. Hasanpashaoğlu Ahmed Beg, *mütesellim* of Adana, was a supporter of Abdullah Kethüda. Ahmed Beg raised the number of his soldiers to 5.000 through taking soldiers from *Tekeli* and *Ebulhadi* tribes in Karaisalu and Dünderli *qazas*. Ahmed Beg was defeated in the battle and took shelter in Milvan Castle. After Abdullah Kethüda had fired *harem* and *selâm* parts of Menemencioğullari in Çıçeli village and turned back to Bozok, Ahmed Beg became the leader of the tribe again.⁴⁴

Ahmed Beg was murdered in the year 1797-98/ 1212⁴⁵ by a bodyguard named Pish Hasan from Karsantioğlu tribe. The ceremony to decide on the new leader of the tribe was somehow representing a tradition of thousands years. According to the traditions of the time Hacı Habib Beg, who was a candidate for the leadership (*boybegi*) of the tribe in his 15, became the leader by buying a fur from his mother and wearing it in the presence of all the tribe.⁴⁶

The state was honoring those who got such a mission with the service rank of *kapıcıbaşı*⁴⁷, and by doing so, establishing a group connected to the military. *Kapıcıbaşılık* (position of *kapıcıbaşı*) was the first step to move the military and if they were died or accepted as *fermânlı* (one with an imperial decree) all his properties were seized by an official assigned from Istanbul. Accordingly, after the murder of Ahmed Beg II by Pish Hasan, an official had come from Istanbul for the seizure of his properties. Nevertheless, the official was convinced and 7000 *ghurush* was paid to the state for the properties of Ahmed Beg and his estate assets was also turned over to his family.⁴⁸ The value paid for the properties of Ahmed Beg agitated the family deeply.⁴⁹

⁴⁰ İ.Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. IV/ 1, p. 612.

⁴¹ İbid.

⁴² *MT*, p. 29. Besides being the *mutasarrıf* of Bozok, Çaparoğulları (Çapanoğulları) was holding some other additional positions of *mutasarrıf* in 5-6 different places. See: Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ayânlık*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Press, 1994), 5 and 138.

⁴³ Abdullah Beg should be Abdullah Pasha, who was executed by Yusuf Pasha due to the turmoil in Adana when he was *mütesellim* of Adana in 1785. See: Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-ahbâr*, ed. Mücteba İlgürel, (İstanbul İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Press, 1978), 343 and 351; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, 3rd vol., (Istanbul: 1292), 460.

⁴⁴ *MT*, 32-34.

⁴⁵ In *MT*, 38 the date of the event was mentioned as 1214/1799-1800. However, it is 1212/ 1787-98 on the tombstone of Ahmed Beg II in the courtyard of the Karaisalı (Çıçeli) mosque.

⁴⁶ *MT*, 43.

⁴⁷ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, II, 2nd ed., (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Press, 1971) 168.

⁴⁸ *BOA*, *Cevdet Dahiliyye*, 1138-A, B, 3 Safer 1215 / May 27 1800 dated documents.

⁴⁹ *MT*, 44.

Hasanpashaoğlu Ahmed Beg and Menemencioğlu Habib Beg helped Cabbarzade Mustafa Beg in the fight with Canikli Ali Pasha (*Trabzonlu Hazinedaroğlu*) in Canik.⁵⁰ After the fight when Habib Beg was back to Yozgat, he got the permission for a counter attack on Karsantiogullari and once he turned back to Adana began to attack. Thus, Menemencioğullari got their influential position back, which they lost once through revenge attacks.⁵¹

Once it was ordered by an imperial decree to gather *mirilü* (one with state property) soldiers from Adana, a man named *Kaba Celil* was assigned as *binbaşı* (commander) and had come to Karaisalu town. It was during the registration process for the soldiers after they settled tents near *Hatipoğlu Degirmeni* that Hacı Habib Beg made a sudden attack in the night and helped Kaba Celil to escape. Menemencioğullari did not let any soldiers to go to registration for the state order. Although Hasanpashazade was uncomfortable with this situation, he could not do anything.⁵²

After the death of Hasanpashazade Ahmed Beg in 1810/ 1225, Menemencioğullari had come down to Adana in order to congratulate their brother in law Hasanpashazade Mehmed Beg for his appointment as the *mütesellim* of Adana. Küçükoğlu in Tarsus was defeated by a group of 3.000-5.000 soldiers supported by the new Adana *mütesellim* in the place called *Kümbed* and run away. Shabanoğlu Hacı Ahmed Ağa was ordered as *voivode*⁵³ to Namrun. Since others looking for a position as *mütesellim* run away, new voivodes were ordered for Gökceli, Ulaş, Tekeli, Mezidli and Elvanlı townships.⁵⁴

In this golden age of *a'yâns* (notables) and *mütesellims* in which the control of central administration over the periphery weakened, when someone got the position of "*mütesellim*" in certain place he immediately sent his *voivode* as local ruler to neighboring *qazas* and *nahiyes*. When people in *qaza* of Şücaeddin⁵⁵ in Niğde complained their *voivode* Deli Hasan to Menemencioğulları, Shabanoğlu Hacı Ahmed Ağa one of their best men was sent to Şücaeddin as Menemencis' *voivode*.⁵⁶ We have seen the same Shabanoğlu Hacı Ahmed Ağa above as the *voivode* of Namrun.⁵⁷

When Habib Beg became the *mütesellim* of Tarsus, he assigned his brother Hacı Nabi Beg to the tribe as *boybegi* (leader of tribe).⁵⁸ He, under the command of a *delibashi* (*delilbashi*) and a *haytabashi*, migrated from one place to another with his retinue which included 700 or 800 men. Because of famine Europe experienced at that time, paying 46.000 *ghurush*, French ships could buy wheat from Tarsus and the vicinity of Tarsus, and by means of this trade with Europeans Menemencioğulları made more money and got big mansions to be constructed in Çiçeli village which within a-two-year period turned into a town.⁵⁹

Local *begs* (rulers) who got the control of towns in rural areas under the title of *a'yâns* and *mütesellims* while sometimes fought against state powers sometimes fought against each other.

⁵⁰ In *MT*, 47, although this struggle was mentioned between Cebbarzâde Süleyman Beg and Trabzonlu Hazinedârôğlu, it is not the case. When Hacı Ali Paşa, *muhassıl* (one who gather taxes on behalf of the state) of Canik attacked on Çapanoğlu after the military expedition on Russian in 1768, the state supported Çapanoğlu Mustafa Beg. Suleiman Beg, the brother of Mustafa Beg, who was murdered by his serfs in 1782 (1196), became mutasarrıf in Bozok. See: R. Karagöz, *Canikli Ali Paşa*, 44 and 96- 101; İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV/1, 609- 612.

⁵¹ *MT*, 51.

⁵² *MT*, 52.

⁵³ Substitutes of *mütesellims* in towns were called "*voivode*" in that time. The common meaning of the word *voivode* was official assigned by one, who had bought a *mukâta'a*, in order to execute works in that *mukâta'a*.

⁵⁴ *MT*, 58.

⁵⁵ *Qaza* of Şücaeddin is in Ulukışla district of Niğde today. See: Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, (Ankara, 2006), 487.

⁵⁶ *MT*, 51-52.

⁵⁷ *MT*, 136.

⁵⁸ *MT*, 60.

⁵⁹ *MT*, 59.

Bayburdlu Hasan Ağa, a feudal ruler in Ereğli, after the defeat in the fight against the powers under the command of Çarhacı Ali Pasha⁶⁰, governor (*vâli*) of Konya province, escaped to the town under the control of Menemencioğulları. But when Menemencioğulları did not yield Bayburdlu Hasan Ağa, who was a refugee according to traditions, to Çarhacı Ali Pasha, a fight occurred and the forces of Konya ruler was defeated. Adana and Tarsus *mütesellims* who were relatives at the same time got huge amount of booty.⁶¹ Another version of this story is like this: Çarhacı Ali Pasha had been sent to fight against Sarıcaoğlu, *a'yân* of Bursa, Yenişehir and İnönü, in 1812. When Sarıcaoğlu was defeated, he escaped to Adana, live under the protection of Hasanpashazade Ahmed Beg.⁶² It was, indeed, referred to his family in the story Ahmed Beg narrated in his diary with a different name.

Belenli (Beylanlı) Mustafa Pasha was assigned to Adana as the ruler of province in 1812.⁶³ Even when Mustafa Pasha came to Adana with his retinue which included 50-60 men, all authority was in the hands of *mütesellim* Hasanpashazade Mehmed Beg. Mustafa Pasha did not interfere in any matters during the following two-year period. When he saw the discontent against the *mütesellim* among the *eshraf* (notable) of Adana, he prepared a plan to cause an enmity between Adana and Tarsus *mütesellims*. He had said that “*I got the mukâta'a of Tarsus, while you got that of Adana*” to Hasanpashazade. Menemencis made many efforts to not lose their *mütesellim* position in Tarsus but they were defeated to the forces of Karaca İbrahim near the Baltalı village placed between Adana and Tarsus.⁶⁴ Hasanpashazade Mehmed Beg realized that he did wrong when Mustafa Pasha, after getting more powerful position in Tarsus, sent his *mütesellim* to Adana.

When Mustafa Pasha's power reached its zenith in Adana and Tarsus, he got a *ferman* (Sultan's order) from Istanbul to execute both Hasanpashazade Mehmed Beg and Menemencizade Hacı Habib Beg; and he recruited *hayta* and *deli* soldiers from Karaman and Konya. However, until Mustafa Pasha gathered his around 15.000 soldiers, Mehmed Beg and Menemencizade Hacı Habib Beg stored food, clothing and arms they needed in Milvan castle in Karaisalı through which they could resist to the possible attacks of Mustafa Pasha against them.

That a Menemenci cavalryman, upon the order of Osman Beg, tied a package of fabric to his horse's saddle and invited the tribe members to the castle is look like continuation of a tradition according to which Sultan Alparslan before the Manzikert War in 1071 tied his horse's tail with his hands. The message which had been given by crier was like this: “*those who take such things as their fate should accept to take their shroud in their saddle*”.

Mustafa Pasha placed his 7.000 or 8.000 *deli* soldiers to Karaisalı, Menemenci and Dünderlı villages and he punished Menemenci with 750, Karaisalı with 500 and Dünderlı with 300 pocket (*kese*) *akcha cerime to pay*. Armenians like Deli Gümüşger from the *re'âyâ* (subject) of Haçin and Kör Bedros, son of Artin were among the best soldiers of Menemencis. However, Habib Beg left the castle furtively after 6 or 7 months and those who left behind the castle inside laid down arms to the state forces.⁶⁵

When an authorized “*hacegan*” came from Istanbul to seize the property of Hacı Habib Beg, who was a *fermanlı* (one with an imperial order), Osman Beg went to the ruler of Adana and accepted his patronage and protection. It was not easy for a tribe to pay a debt with an amount of 300.000

⁶⁰ Ali Pasha became the ruler of Konya province after 1811, and he was fired when he became unsuccessful in the fight against Tekeli İbrahim Beg in 1814. See: *Sicill-i Osmani*, I, 282.

⁶¹ *MT*, 62-63.

⁶² Câbi Ömer Efendi, *Câbi Târihi*, II vol., ed. Mehmet Ali Beyhan, (Ankara 2003), 896-97.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 887. Upon having been assigned to Adana, after about a two-month preparation in Üsküdar he went to Adana in 22 Şaban 1227/ 30 August 1812.

⁶⁴ *MT*, 67- 68.

⁶⁵ *MT*, 114.

ghurush, on which they had an agreement after the calculations and discussions with *Hacegan*.⁶⁶ So family's goods were sold in Adana bazaar. Yusuf Agah Efendi a friend and protector of the family introduced himself as the guarantor for 100.000 *ghurush*, which could not paid by the family, when he heard about the difficult situation the family was in.⁶⁷

Habib Beg, after hiding in a secure place for a while, escaped to Egypt following Aleppo route. On the other hand, Osman Beg had no choice but to have rest! at the residence of ruler (*vâlî*) of Adana province. His little brother Ahmed III had to be sent to Adana, but because he was too young, he was allowed to stay at Hamide Hatun's, his elder sister, house instead of at Adana ruler's residence. Habib Beg told Ahmed III to not kiss hands (a sign of respect) other than those of *vâlî pasha*. Tribal rulers (*begs*) behaved their little brother as he was a *shahzade*. In other words, the influence of local rulers on people was not based only on the political power which was based on wealth but also on a *beg* image/tradition which had been formed through centuries.

Although it was called resting Osman Beg's stay at Adana was a way of giving pledge, which had been applied through the past. Though Hacı Habib Beg, later, was wanted to send one of his brothers to Istanbul "in order to discuss some issues", they gave up on insisting in this because of their fear of Hacı Habib Beg's severe reaction.⁶⁸ The Ottomans took out of pledges like this from Arab sheikhs, Crimean Khans, and Albanian Begs and then educate most of them in Enderun. But in some circumstances those who were hostages in residences of state representatives were to be left alone by their families. In a message, for example, which was sent to Adana governor Osman Beg said that "We had sent there a child. If you made now some remarks unpleasant about him, he gave up on our brother".⁶⁹

Osman Beg's compulsory stay at Adana lasted about two years. In the mean time someone called Kaba Celil had been appointed to Menemenci tribe as *boybegi* (*mîr-i aşiret*); and Sadık Efendi as *voivode* to Karaisalu.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, Menemencis had not been willing to concede. Osman Beg's 50-60 armed men had assaulted Sadık Beg in a fair in Kızıldağ plateau, and Mustafa Pasha the governor informed Istanbul of the events which had occurred in Adana. Upon this Osman Beg departed, together with 13 complainants and 2 servants, from Adana to go to Istanbul where he and his retinue had reached in 18 days. An exaggerated petition about Mustafa Pasha the Adana governor had presented to the Sultan.⁷¹ 1 or 2 days later it was written upon the petition that it seemed that the subjects of the Sultan in Adana had been oppressed by the governor, so investigates the claims and solves the problems, if any.⁷² But precisely at that time Osman Beg caught a Black Death in Istanbul. Since after a short period of time Küçükalioğlu Dede Beg's, one of the well known feudal leaders of the region, cut off head arrived in Istanbul⁷³, Mustafa Pasha became more influential in Istanbul.⁷⁴ While the group which had come to Istanbul together with Osman Beg was waiting for the Sultan's response to the petition they had presented, they were insulted by the Sultan in the palace. Meanwhile, Ahmed Beg (Menemencioğlu Çapur) and someone else lost their lives while suffering from Black Death in a *khan* room. Osman Beg's

⁶⁶ BOA, HAT, 22634.

⁶⁷ BOA, HAT, 461-22624, 27 March 1817.

⁶⁸ BOA, HAT, 19734-G, 2 Rebî'ü'l-âhir 1248/ 29 August 1832.

⁶⁹ MT, 110.

⁷⁰ MT, 118- 119.

⁷¹ MT, 120.

⁷² MT, 121.

⁷³ Şanizâde Ataullah, *Şanizâde Tarihi*, II, (Istanbul, 1290), 347. Event was narrated by Şakiroğlu in a different way: "Dede Beg's cut off head was demonstrated in Istanbul, while his body without a head was burned in Adana in order for a warning to all". See: Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, "Çukurova Tarihinden Sayfalar 1: Payas Ayamı Küçük Ali Oğulları", *DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, XV/ 26 (1991), 133.

⁷⁴ MT, 121.

group had been included 16 complainants while coming to Istanbul, but now when it was returning to Adana only 7 remained.⁷⁵

When Mustafa Pasha completely established his authority in Adana Hacı Nabi Beg fled from Adana to Ereğli. Yusuf Agah Efendi sent a message to Mustafa Pasha through a *kapıcıbashı* who came to Adana that “Menemencizades all were mine, so you did not oppress them more from now on.” *Kapıcıbashı* met with Hacı Nabi Beg in Ereğli and went to Adana together. The governor gave Hacı Nabi Beg a document (“*emân buyuruldusu*”) which would guarantee a secure life within the time period in which he would stay at Adana.⁷⁶ Yusuf Agah Efendi was the most prominent among the statesmen who supported Menemencioğlu family. Financial reasons played the most part behind this support.

Menemenci family who trusted in this support did never give up their claim to rule the tribe and region. When Yusuf Agah Efendi’s letter reached at the hands of Kürt Osman Ağa (Maden Emimi), he had no choice but to appoint Hacı Nabi Beg to the tribe as *boybegi*. However, immediately after the complaint petition which was sent to Istanbul by the governor who was worried about the last developments in Adana, a *fermân* (Sultan’s edict) which ordered *begs* of Menemenci family to be exiled was issued.⁷⁷

Approximately at that time Mustafa Pasha was assigned to the governorship of Kars, and instead of him to Adana governorship Cebbarzade Mehmed Pasha⁷⁸ the Konya governor was appointed. In his governorship Menemencioğlu Ahmed Beg III killed Ibish Ağa, son of Celil the rough, older *boybegi*, and his some men. A *kapıcıbashı* who had a *ferman* in his hands came to the mine called Bereketli to judge and pass sentence, if necessary, to those who were responsible for the murder. But all the claimants except for the one, who was guaranteed by Kaba Celil, gave up on their claims. In fact, it was not easy to speak and act against Menemencioğulları before *kapıcıbashı* in the Maden which was under the control of Menemenci family. Menemencizades spent lots of money (*akça*) to prove they were innocent.⁷⁹

Menemencioğulları counter-attacked and sent a petition together with a writ of *qadı* of Maden to Istanbul. Because some groups of people had already gone to complain of Adana governor to Istanbul, Cabbarzade Mehmed Pasha the Adana governor was appointed to the Tokat governorship.⁸⁰ Ağa İbrahim Pasha became the governor of Adana instead of Cabbarzade Mehmed Pasha.

Menemencis who established good relations with the new governor of the city pledged the Pasha to allow Hacı Habib Beg who had fled to Egypt to return. The Ottoman Empire fought against Iran exactly at that time. Ağa İbrahim Pasha conceded to write a petition to Sultan Mahmud II to forgive Hacı Habib Beg in return for 300 soldiers from the Menemenci tribe who would join to the forces of the Pasha to fight in the war against Iran. Mehmed Ali Pasha sent Hacı Habib the Turcoman beg who after his return within a short period of time would be one of the notables of Adana again together with several gifts to Anatolia.

At the time that the construction of residence which consisted of 30 or 40 rooms finished, 2 sergeants (*dîvân çavuşu*) came and brought along with themselves an imperial edict which ordered Hacı Habib Beg to be exiled to Bursa, and Ahmed Beg to Kütahya. The exile to Kütahya was in 1826/1241. Janissary corps had been abolished and so many Janissaries exiled to

⁷⁵ MT, 122.

⁷⁶ MT, 124.

⁷⁷ MT, 127.

⁷⁸ Mehmed Celaleddin Pasha was the Adana governor first in 1819-20 and later in 1823-24. See: Özcan Mert, *XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Çapanoğulları*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., Ankara 1980, s. 68.

⁷⁹ MT, 135.

⁸⁰ MT, 135.

Kütahya, too. The order of execution of janissary officers came immediately after they had come to their place of exile, Kütahya.⁸¹ 2 months later Hacı Habib Beg, too, went to his place of exile, Bursa and his life in exile lasted for 27 months until that his cousin Hacı Mehmed Ağa brought along with himself an imperial edict which completed Hacı Habib Beg's life of exile in Bursa.⁸²

Tribe leaders who lived in Cukurova come together and signed a document (like a document of agreement which signed in 1808) to make the route between Adana and Damascus safe. They wanted Küçükalioglu Mısdık Beg to be released from jail to fight against bandits called "Ekrâd" which threatened the security of Adana-Damascus route and the lives of traders and pilgrims. Although the Cerid and Karalar tribes' leaders and the Uzeyir a'yân Mustafa Beg from the Küçükoğulları family signed the document, there was not any signature of members of the Menemencioğulları family on the document.⁸³ This treaty, on the one hand, aimed at putting an end to the illegal activities of bandits in Çukurova and around and on the other intending to establish an alliance against the Menemencioğulları family. Kelağazade Mehmed Ağa from Tarsus, Hasanpashaoğlu Ali Beg from Adana and Küçükalioglu Mustafa Beg from Payas secretly combined their forces in Adana.⁸⁴ When Menemencis realized what their rival families planned to do, they immediately came to Adana, but now it was too late to take measures to eliminate their rivals.⁸⁵ Menemencis were allowed to leave Adana securely with the help of Adana *eshrafs*.

All the sides reported these developments to Istanbul from their own viewpoints to legitimize their actions throughout the course of these events they had taken. For example, Es-Seyyid Ali Efendi deputy of tax collector (*ma'den emîn nâ'ibi*) in the mine called Bereketli wrote down in his petition he sent to Istanbul that: "Unless Istanbul could prevent Hasanpashazades' injustice and give the stolen animals of the tribe back, re'âyâ who worked in the mine would leave the mine and then the production would stop completely."⁸⁶ This was a serious threat for Istanbul. Furthermore, because Adana was on the pilgrimage route, now the security of life of pilgrims was also in jeopardy.

Despite the fact that Hasanpashazade Hacı Ali Beg paid an amount of 44.000 *ghurush* to Menemencioğulları family for damages his family caused to, Ismail Ağa,⁸⁷ the *mütesellim* of Adana, insisted Hacı Ali Beg to go Istanbul. Hacı Ali Beg gathered 700-800 men his around, killed the *kethüda* (chief steward) of the Pasha and expelled Ismail Ağa from Adana. When Hacı Ali Beg established his authority in Adana completely, all the *imams*, *a'yâns*, *eshrafs* and *esnafs' sheikhs* (artisans) came together and presented a petition to the *qadı* of Adana and complained of Hacı Habib Beg. Since Es-Seyyid Omar Hulusi Efendi, the *qadı* of Adana informed Istanbul that their claims were true; all the petitions sent through Hacı Habib Beg turned to be null, at all.⁸⁸

Esad Pasha became the governor of Adana in 1829. Nevertheless, Hasanpashaoğlu Hacı Ali Beg together with his 200 horsemen did not allow Esad Pasha together with his 50-60 horsemen to advance to Adana and stopped him in Konya, Ereğli.⁸⁹ In the meantime, as a result of Hasanpashaoğlu's efforts inhabitants of Adana were sending petitions to Istanbul. According to these petitions because of the turmoil and shortage Adana province experienced for a few years, people became poorer and they wanted no new governor (*vali*) who would exploit their

⁸¹ MT, 148; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, XII, (Istanbul 1974), 221- 222.

⁸² MT, 150.

⁸³ BOA, Cevdet, Hatt-ı Hümâyûn tasnifi, No: 22379- F- 2.

⁸⁴ BOA, Cevdet, Hatt-ı Hümâyûn tasnifi, No: 22379- E,

⁸⁵ MT, p. 152.

⁸⁶ BOA, Cevdet, Hatt-ı Hümâyûn, No: 22379- H, November- December 1828.

⁸⁷ Although *Menemencioğulları History* shows Ismail Pasha as the *mütesellim* of Adana, the petition in 27 C.A. 1244 (5 December 1828) had been given by İbrahim Ağa the *mütesellim* of the Adana governor Yahya Pasha. See: BOA, Cevdet, Hatt-ı Hümâyûn tasnifi, No: 22379- C.

⁸⁸ BOA, Cevdet, Hatt-ı Hümâyûn, No: 22379- N.

⁸⁹ BOA, Cevdet, Hatt-ı Hümâyûn, No: 22626, Es'ad Pasha's 15 Muharrem 1245 (July 7, 1829) dated edict.

resources to be appointed to Adana and if to be appointed a new governor to the province, all the inhabitants decided to abandon Adana.⁹⁰

Hacı Habib Beg from the Menemencioğulları family was the *kâ'immakâm* (head official) of the district Tarsus, while Hacı Nabi Beg was one of the *a'yâns* in Adana and Ahmed Beg was the *mir-i aşiret* (*boybegi*) in Karaisalı in 1841. All had excellent residences to live in and attendants who rendered service to them. Menemencis exerted a great influence on the provincial politics. In other words, a Turcoman family's power and authority reached at its zenith in the region and succeeded in passing from *re'âyâ* status to a *beg* one, in spite of the fact that the bureaucracy in Istanbul put obstacles in their way. This means that older *beg* families in Anatolia which the state had prevented from actively participating in the political life for years, now, after the corruption of *timâr* system began to play influential roles in state politics as of being *a'yâns* and *mütesellims*. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha expressed clearly his doubts that it was not right to pass sentence of death to these Turcoman begs.⁹¹

The Ottoman Empire's first *a'yâns* were from the members of wealthy and powerful families in Rumelia. The consent of inhabitants played a crucial role in the election of notables (called *a'yân-ı vilayet*) who would function as a bridge between the *re'âyâ* in any province and the state, Istanbul. But later governors of provinces began to have taken bribes from wealthy and powerful men to appoint them as *a'yâns*. When this system was corrupted, too, *şehir kethüdas* (chief stewards in cities) took notables' places in provinces. But because they were from the middle stratum of the pyramid in the society, they had no or less political and economic power to exert their influence upon *beg* families.⁹² So the notables, especially starting from the Tanzimat period, became, again, influential in assemblies both in *qazas* and provinces, and they got themselves to be appointed to provinces as *mütesellims* and *voivodes* to *qazas*.

The power of Hasanpashazade family in Adana was based on their *mukâta'a* and *malikane* (estate) management. On the other hand, Menemencioğulları family got its power from the tribe's support behind it and its cooperation with statesmen. This family did not have large farms and buy *mukâta'as* and *malikanes* through which it would make more and more money. In fact, statesmen and those who closed to them in Istanbul did not want to lose the control of large *mukâta'as* like the *mukâta'a of Ifrâz-ı Zu'l-kadriyye*. When Hacı Habib Beg died in 1841, he had a large amount of money (480.000 *ghurush*) which indicates how huge the size of this family's economic power was.⁹³

Menemencis had been collecting taxes from *re'âyâ* in the places, where they have been as *boybegi* (tribal leaders), *voivode*, *a'yân*, and *mütesellim*, and most of the time these taxes had been higher than the amount determined by state representatives. Having showed the records which had indicated his expenses, Menemencioğlu Nabi Beg had tried to explain how he had earned his own 55.000 *ghurush*. But most of the expenses which had been written down in the records had been considered as a result of his illegal activities, so he had taken bribes to pay his expenses from *re'âyâ*.⁹⁴ In the appointment of *mukhtar* and *voivode* there was taken "*caize*", but it was not to be considered as bribe. Members of families who got positions in state offices took, except for their official revenues, bribes to pay their expenses from people. What amount of money had been spent while rendering service to provincial governors and their retainers, sergeants (*çavuş*) who had come from Istanbul and men who had brought along with themselves petitions of complaint to Istanbul mostly was not to be documented. For example, when soldiers

⁹⁰ BOA, Cevdet, Hatt-ı Hümayûn, No: 22626- F, the official message (*şukka*) which was sent by the previous *mütesellim* of Adana Kapıcıbaşı İsmail to Esad Pasha.

⁹¹ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, Tarih-i Cevdet, 10, Dersaadet 1309, 217.

⁹² BOA, HAT-211/ 11476, Seyyid Numan Beg's proposal on which there is no time description.

⁹³ MT, 318.

⁹⁴ MT, 312.

from the province of Egypt abandoned, Ahmed Beg who had served to Egyptians had given a horse cost of which had been 30.000 *ghurush* to Hacı Ali Pasha the governor of Konya who had forgiven him as a gift; a valuable horse and another gifts to İzzet Mehmet Pasha the Adana governor and 12 horses to his men as extra gifts.⁹⁵ Therefore, to pay these expenses they had to have found new financial resources.

Any family of *a'yâns*, while establishing relations with state representatives, paid attention to whether those state representatives was actively engaging in the matters in the area of those families' influence. When a *mukhtar* (head of villager) was dismissed, Ahmed III said to Yakub Ağa the head official of the district Karaisalu: "*If you wanted to establish good relations with us, do not interfere with and leave this problem to be solved by us*".⁹⁶ When the *emin* and the *qadı* of the mine Bereketli made a decision, they had to take the interests of Menemencioğulları family into account. Decisions of the *qadı* of the region Bereketli almost all the time were in favor of Menemencioğulları family; and the claimants against this family gave their claims up in the courts. All these are interpreted as that courts, if not in theory, was not free from outsiders' influences upon them in practice. That having sent petitions of complaint to Istanbul to Mustafa Pasha be dismissed from the post of Adana governorship demonstrates how severely were experienced the power struggles in the Empire.

As a result, the Menemencioğulları family's power reached at its zenith, but the source of their power was not large farms they owned and *mukâta'as* and *malikanes* they bought; instead, they rendered service to the state with their armed forces and through their this service, this Turcoman family's members got higher positions in state offices and became richer from day to day.

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⁹⁵ MT, 269.

⁹⁶ MT, 333.

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