

SURPLUS-RECEIVERS (*ZEVAID-HORAN*) FROM IMPERIAL WAQFS: BETWEEN
PHILANTHROPY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ÖZGE ASLANMİRZA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

JULY 2017

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Tlin Gen z
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr.  mer Turan
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Assoc. Dr. Kayhan Orbay
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Do. Dr. Evgenia  nal-Kermeli (HACETTEPE, HIST) _____

Do. Dr. Kayhan Orbay (METU, HIST) _____

Yrd. Do. Dr. Seluk Dursun (METU, HIST) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and ethical conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Surname: Özge ASLANMİRZA

Signature:

ABSTRACT

SURPLUS-RECEIVERS (*ZEVAID-HORAN*) FROM IMPERIAL WAQFS: BETWEEN PHILANTHROPY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

Aslanmirza, Özge

M.A., Department of History

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kayhan Orbay

July 2017, 109 pages

This study examines the place of surplus-receivers in the waqf institutions through their contribution to the philanthropy and the political economy of the 16th-17th century Ottoman Empire. The study specifically focuses on surplus-receivers to reveal who they are, what their place and importance in the waqf, how and on which base they were assigned to these duties and how they can be interpreted in the context of the philanthropy by the examination of mainly the registers of *zevāid-horān* and waqf account books. As complementary sources, the *şer'iyye sicils* (court registers), *waqfiyye* (foundation deed) and *mühimmes* (registers of important affairs), *tevcihs* (officials document of assigning a duty), *arz-ı hal* (petition) are analyzed. The examination and analysis of the sources set forth that the surplus-receivers were composed of variety of people, from poor to the (retired) high-ranking officers and they got payment from the budget surplus of the waqf though they were not stipulated in the foundation deed. It is revealed that this group is a mean for providing social security by sustaining high-ranking officers and also a vehicle for providing social welfare.

Keywords: Waqf Institution, Surplus-receiver, Philanthropy, Ottoman Classical Age, Social Welfare

ÖZ

EMPERYAL VAKIFLARDAKİ ZEVAİD-HORANLAR: HAYIRSEVERLİK VE POLİTİK EKONOMİ ARASINDA

Aslanmirza, Özge

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Kayhan Orbay

Temmuz 2017, 109 sayfa

Bu çalışma, 16. Ve 17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda zevâid-horân kesiminin vakıf kurumlarındaki yerini hayırseverlik ve politik-ekonomiye olan katkıları yönüyle incelemektedir. Özellikle üzerinde durulan nokta, zevâid-horân kesiminde kimlerin olduğu, vakıf içindeki yerleri ve önemleri, bu kesime nasıl girmiş oldukları olmakla beraber bu sorular ışığında hayırseverlik bağlamında nasıl yorumlanması gerektiği öncelikli olarak zevâid-horân ve vakıf muhasebe defterleri ışığında açıklanmaktadır. Ek kaynaklar olarak da çalışmada kadı sicilleri, vakfiye, mühimmeler ve arz-ı haller analiz edilmiştir. Kaynakların incelenmesi ve analizi sonucunda zevâid-horân kesiminin ihtiyaç sahibi insanlardan yüksek rütbeli kimselere kadar uzanan geniş bir yelpazeyi kapsadığını ve bu kimselerin aslında şart-ı vakıf olmamasına rağmen vakfın bütçe fazlasından ücret aldıklarını görmekteyiz. Bu anlamda, bu grubun hem sosyal refah hem de sosyal güvenlik amacına hizmet eden bir araç olduğunu ifade edebiliriz.

Buna ek olarak bu çalışma, hayırseverlik çalışmalarına zevâid-horân kesimini ekleyerek literatürdeki boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Vakıf, *Zevāid-horān*, Hayırseverlik, Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi, Sosyal Refah

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and above all, my deepest gratitude is to my thesis supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kayhan Orbay who helped me find my way on the convoluted path of 16th and 17th centuries Ottoman Empire with his infinite patience and support. His support and trust to his student is the foremost motivation for me.

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Evgenia Kermeli-Ünal for her incomparable support and invaluable suggestions during the process of writing my thesis. I never forget her advice and wisdom impacting my life positively.

I would like to express my gratitude to Assist. Prof. Dr. Selçuk Dursun who allocated time looking over my thesis and providing motivational support.

I would like to thank also Prof. Dr. Seçil Karal Akgün for her support. Her teaching on how a prospective historian should conduct research was inspiring.

I would like to offer my thanks to Assoc. Prof. Hatice Oruç. She helped me to understand the language of the documents and we were able to muddle through them. Her guidance was priceless.

Gürer Karagedikli was also encouraging during the process of writing my thesis. His comments on using the archival sources and providing strong literature were rather significant and valuable.

The Turkish Historical Foundation (Türk Tarih Kurumu) was very supportive in both helping me to use their library and providing me funding to conduct my master thesis.

I would like to express my gratitude to Özgen Özcan who was always ready to delve into the documents I struggled with and helped me to get through them. I will never

forget her selfless support. Her solutions to my problems in the process of writing my thesis, her motivation and valuable comments were incomparable and priceless.

Selin Deniz, my encouraging sister has been a valuable supporter when I felt down and she is the one giving support to endure the ups and downs of writing a thesis. Our coffee time was a recollection of moment, a full of spirited creativity.

My gratitude to my family is endless. Their support and love made the completion of this thesis possible. My beloved husband, Burak Aslanmirza, has been the greatest support for me to get through the difficulties of writing a thesis. His emotional and intellectual stance was a significant reinforcement for me.

Last but not the least, I am grateful to the officers of the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* both in Ankara and İstanbul, *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* and the *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi* for their kind attitude to me and their support whenever a problem occurred.

To my grandfathers who watch over me in their cloud abode

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. THE CONCEPT OF PHILANTHROPY.....	9
2.1. Philanthropy in Different Contexts.....	15
2.2. Waqfs Institution in a Philanthropic Context.....	23
2.3. Philanthropy through the Prism of Waqf Institution and of Legitimization.....	23
III. TREATING HETEROGENITY: ZEVAID-HORAN.....	26
3.1. Getting Acquainted with <i>Zevāid-horān</i>	25
3.2. Procedure in Waqfs for <i>zevāid-horāns</i>	40
3.3. Familiar <i>zevāid-horāns</i> : A So-Called “Family Company”.....	49
3.4. High-ranking <i>zevāid-horāns</i> and Some Inferences about Payment Structure.....	51
IV. CONCLUSION.....	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	73
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX 1.....	83
APPENDIX 2.....	84
APPENDIX 3.....	85
APPENDIX 4.....	86
APPENDIX 5.....	87
APPENDIX 6.....	88

APPENDIX 7.....	89
APPENDIX 8.....	90
APPENDIX 9.....	91
APPENDIX 10.....	92
APPENDIX 11.....	93
APPENDIX 12 TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	94
APPENDIX 13 TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU.....	109

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To give away money is an easy matter and in any man's power. But to decide to whom to give it, and how large, and when, and for what purpose and how, is neither in every man's power nor an easy matter¹

It has been always overwhelming to study on the long-sustained institutions of charity and the permeating nature of their acts vis-a-vis the mechanisms of sovereignty. Their acts are responding to the basic human motivation and more often than not, ensure the continuity of a long-lasting empire. Thus, it is intriguing to examine the mechanisms of charity, to explore its purpose and ponder on the sources discussing it. Besides the historical implications, it is also important to understand the very idea of “giving” to others² since this act can be a tool for state to legitimize its power over the society, also, to help the needy. With these considerations, the main purpose of this study is to reveal the place of surplus-receivers in the waqf institutions, also, their contribution to the philanthropy and the political economy of the 16th-17th century Ottoman Empire. This study has two important aims. Firstly, the surplus-receivers described in the thesis is an addition to the literature of Ottoman philanthropy. In fact, there are many studies on Ottoman philanthropy. For example, Amy Singer studied on the Ottoman beneficence and the other charitable activities of the waqf of Hürrem Sultan (in Jerusalem) by utilizing from different sources like *ahkām* registers, foundation deed

¹ Aristotle, *Giving Well: The Ethics of Philanthropy*, eds. Patricia Illingworth, Thomas Pogge, and Leif Wenar, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 3.

² René Bekkers & Pamala Wiepking, “A Literature Review of Empirical Studies of Philanthropy: Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving”, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 5., 2010. This article discusses the motivations behind people's charitable act and it is a good source for understanding why people have an intuition for providing to the needy.

and *defter* series of Topkapı Palace Archive. Mark R. Cohen examined poverty and charity within the scope of religion and its impact on charitable activities. Michael Bonner focused on the definition of the poor in Medieval Muslim society and how these poor were represented vis-a-vis Islamic law and hadiths. Norman A. Stillman studied charity and its relation to waqf institutions. There is also compilation of studies on charity in monotheistic religions introducing the different and similar practices across these religions.³ All of these studies shed light on the philanthropy in different aspects by touching on diversified opinions and documents. On the other hand, this thesis focused on the philanthropy by introducing the surplus-receivers to the literature utilizing additional and varied archival sources. Thus, probably the first question to be asked is why the surplus-receivers are important to study about. Their composition is of different people in terms of their status. For example, there are the poor, women, disabled people whereas there are also retired local governors. They are significant since there is no detailed research about their function both in the waqf and in terms of philanthropy. Thus, this thesis will help us understand their function with regard to social welfare. The surplus-receivers' documents in the archives, often ignored, can provide information on these beneficiaries of Ottoman philanthropy, and they also provide a different perspective, facilitating thus the examination of the act of philanthropy. In addition, one can see how social security is attained through the examination of the high-ranking officers in the group of surplus-receivers. Yet, before the detailed analysis of the surplus-receivers and their context in philanthropy and political economy, a glimpse of the period's atmosphere can be beneficial.

Albeit the array of questions the 16th and 17th centuries generate setting aside the philanthropic activities, it is primarily crucial to understand the general atmosphere of the era. This study approximately covers the years from 1550 to 1650, which is

³ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence, An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, State University of New York Press, 2002; Lev Yaacov & Miriam Frenkel eds. *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2009; Mark R. Cohen, "Introduction: Poverty and Charity in Past Times." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2005, pp. 347–360; Michael Bonner, "Definitions of Poverty and the Rise of the Muslim Urban Poor", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1996, pp. 335–344; Norman A. Stillman, "Waqf and the Ideology of Charity in Medieval Islam", in *Hunter of the East: Studies in Honor of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1, *Arabic and Semitic Studies*, edited by I. R. Netton, Leiden, Brill, 2000, pp. 357–72.

considered as the “Crisis and Transformation” period of the Ottoman Empire. It is the time that encompasses both the affluent period of the Empire and the so-called stagnation or a transformation period evolving throughout the 17th century.⁴ Briefly, the new military developments of Europe and the monetary/fiscal crises are some of the fundamental issues that preoccupied the Empire.⁵ In addition, raising money for military campaigns led to taxes being collected privately, that was also accepted as an indication of decentralization.⁶ These are only some of the problems that the Empire had to cope with. There is also a debate among the historians as to whether the population pressure of the 16th century lead to a demographic crisis in the 17th century.⁷ Another important factor was the Celali rebellions across Anatolia and Northern Syria, which affected the Empire both socially and financially.⁸ As a consequence of the Celali attacks, many villages were deserted by its inhabitants who suffered financial losses due to disruption in agricultural production.⁹ The rebellions also affected the *sipahis* who had difficulty in collecting taxes such as the *çift resmi*, that subsequently harmed their position and strength.¹⁰

⁴ Halil İnalçık, “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600”, in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, with a general introduction by H. İnalçık, eds. Halil İnalçık with Donald Quataert, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 1.

⁵ Suraiya Faruqi, “Crisis and Change, 1590-1699”, in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert, Part II (1600-1914), New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 411-636.

⁶ Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁷ Oktay Özel, “Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The ‘Demographic Crisis’ Reconsidered”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2004, 183-205.

⁸ Oktay Özel, “The Reign of Violence: the *Celalis*, c.1550-1700”, ed. Christine Woodhead, in *The Ottoman World*, London-New York: Routledge, 2011, 184-202.

⁹ Mustafa Akdağ, “Celali Fetreti”, *Ankara Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, v. 16, no.2, 1958, p. 88.

¹⁰ Ali Rıza Gökbunar, “Celali Ayaklanmalarının Maliye Tarihi Açısından Değerlendirilmesi”, *Yönetim ve Ekonomi*, v. 14, no. 1, 2007, p. 12.

In the atmosphere of change and disorder, the waqfs, as the long-standing institutions of the Ottoman Empire, were a landmark for local development and an indicator of changes.¹¹ In addition, there are cultural and social implications in need of a detailed examination. In the current study, the primary sources are the registers of *zevâid-horân*, *şer'iyye sicils* (court registers), *waqfiyye* (foundation deed) and *mühimmes* (registers of important affairs), *tevcihs* (officials document of assigning a duty), *arz-ı hal* (petition) and the waqf account registers. In this study, the main source is waqf account books, which provide a list of waqf personnel and beneficiaries together with accounts of their payments due daily and in lump sum. These archival documents are important as they provide us with detailed frame of the Ottoman Empire's approach towards institutionalized philanthropy. Thus, these sources will be examined in the context of philanthropy and the focus will be on the surplus-receivers.

All these sources are important in understanding the operation of the waqf and gaining insight into the processes in a specific context. It might be considered that examining the waqf account books leads to the assumption that these documents pertain only to the economy of the waqf since they refer to items such as the payments to the waqf staff, incomes and expenses, and repair costs.¹² However, they are also useful in deducing various socio-economic aspects of the Ottoman Empire and providing answers to questions raised about the society. Thus, the focus should not only be on the monetary issues such as who was paid, how much they received or tracing the

¹¹ Kayhan Orbay, "Economic Development of Imperial Waqfs: A Study in the Institutional and Local Economic History in the Transformation Period", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Vienna, 2006, p.1.

¹² For the studies regarding the use, problems and the importance of sources, see: Daniel Crecelius, "The Organization of Waqf Documents in Cairo," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1971, pp. 266-277; Stanford J. Shaw, "Archival Sources for Ottoman History: The Archives of Turkey", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 80, no. 1, 1960, pp. 1-12; Elena Grozdanova, E. Radushev, Sv. Ivanova and R. Kovachev, *Inventory of Ottoman Turkish Documents about Waqf Preserved in the Oriental Department at the St St Cyril and Methodius National Library Preserved in the Oriental Department at the St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Part I, Registers*, Sofia: St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, 2013; Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı Arşivlerinin Türk ve Dünya Tarihi İçin Önemi, Osmanlı Arşivleri ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Sempozyumu*, İstanbul, 1985; Kayhan Orbay, "Structure and the Content of the Waqf Account Books as sources for Ottoman Economic and Institutional History," *Turcica, Revue D'Etudes Turques*, v. 39, 2007, p. 3-48.

economic fluctuations of the waqf, but also attention should be paid to the marginal notes (*derkenār*). These notes are essential in inducing social and operational inferences to be made concerning the waqf institution. Also, the surplus-receivers composed a variety of people from divergent levels of society. Their inclusion in the catalogues of surplus payments followed a certain procedure. It has to be noted that apart from specific account books, there are plenty of sources existing in a variety of archives, which upon examination reveal the important characteristics of these people.

There are two pivotal records for the study: *zevāid-horān* (surplus-receiver) accounts and *vakıf muhasebe defteri* (waqf account register). In this thesis, the significance was given to the *zevāid-horān* (surplus-receivers) registers. These are found in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri* (BOA), in the category of *Maliyeden Müdevver* (MAD), also, in *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* under the same category. Most of these accounts are registered under their own separate heading in the waqf account books. Surplus-receivers found in the waqf account book itself, are registered under the heading of *ihrācāt-ı sāire* section (other expenses) after the permanent staffs of the waqf. I utilized the account books and surplus-receivers' books of the Imperial Waqfs:

MAD 6482 [İstanbul-1006 (1597)] belonging to the Waqf of Hagia Sophia Mosque,
MAD 5847 [(Edirne-1003 (1594)] belonging to the Waqf of Sultan Murad,
MAD 7336 [İstanbul-1006 (1597)] belonging to the Waqf of Sultan Süleyman
MAD 5017 [Bolayır-Gallipoli- 1011 (1602)] belonging to the Waqf of Süleyman Pasha
MAD 5231 [İstanbul-1016 (1607)] belonging to the
MAD 6778 [Bolayır-Gallipoli (995:1004-1586: 1595)] belonging to the the Waqf of Süleyman Pasha
MAD 6236 [İstanbul- 1001 (1592)] belonging to the Waqf of *Eyyüb el-Ensārī*
MAD 512 [Edirne-1005/1006(1596/1597)] belonging to the Waqf of Bayezid II+Sultan Murad
MAD 5513 [?- (1070- 1659)] belonging to the Waqf of Sultan Bayezid+Sultan Murad,
MAD 4503 [İstanbul-(1004/1595)] belonging to the Waqf of Süleyman the Magnificent,

MAD 5708 [(İstanbul-(991/1575))], belonging to the Waqf of Süleyman the Magnificent,

MAD 1329 [İstanbul-(1079:1668-1080:1669)] belonging to The Waqf of Gevher Han Sultan

Additionally, I used the published *mühimme* record, number 73. Different unpublished *mühimme* records were examined from the section of *Ali Emir-i*¹³ *Ahmed I* (AE.SAMD.I) in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*. From the Topkapı Palace Archive, I found a document containing the surplus-receivers of the Waqf of Bayezid [Amasya (1002/1593)]. Additionally, the court record of Üsküdar is examined in order to find the glimpse of procedure related to them. In addition, there is also another useful source, the *māliye ahkām* registers¹⁴ that contain decrees related to economic issues. However, given the limitations of time, these sources were not utilized. The usage of these records could facilitate a study on surplus-receivers from diversified geographies enhancing thus our understanding of the function of surplus-receivers and of waqf procedures.

As noticed from the aforementioned sources, the period of the study is roughly stricted to the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. The limitation of the archival sources lies on the fact that surplus-receivers are mostly found in this

¹³ *Ali Emirî* was a librarian, literature researcher and historian who born in 1857, Diyarbakır and died 1924, İstanbul. His name was given to this classification since being the head of committee that organizing this dissection.

¹⁴ These registers contain the decrees and code of laws coming forth *Divân-ı Hümayûn*. If the decree is related to important state affairs, they are called *ahkâm-ı mühimme* while the decrees given as a result of a request are called *ahkâm-ı şikâyet*. For further studies about *māliye ahkām* registers see; Feridun M. Emecen, “Osmanlı Divanının Ana Defter Serileri: Ahkâm-ı Mîrî, Ahkâm-ı Kuyûd-ı Mühimme ve Ahkâm-ı Şikâyet”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol. 3, no. 5, 2005, pp. 1-34; Halil İnalçık, “Şikâyet Hakkı: Arz-ı Hal ve Arz-ı Mahzar'lar”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları, The Journal of Otoman Studies*, no. VII-VIII, 1988, pp. 33-54; Naide Şimşir, “Ahkâm Defterleri'nin Tarihî Kıymeti ve 107 No'lu Ahkâm Defteri'ndeki İzmir ile İlgili Hükümler”, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2015, pp. 357-390; Ramazan Günay, “Osmanlı Arşiv Kaynakları İçerisinde Ahkâm Defterleri: Gelişim Seyri, Muhtevası ve Önemi”, *Journal of Süleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences*, vol. 1, no. 17, 2013.

period and it is more convenient to support with different sources. It can be regarded as the initial steps of the studies including the in-depth analysis of this sources.

The records of the surplus-receivers show that they included the destitute (poor, orphan, etc.), retired or suspended officers and women. The surplus-receivers are receiving payment, or received food, if they belonged to the *cerre-horān* group) despite the fact that this group is not mentioned in the foundation deeds of the related waqf/waqfs. When a group contains a high number of surplus-receivers or consists of different people coming from diversified status, they are allocated specific headings that distinguish them: *cemā°at-i mevāl-i 'izām*, *cemā°at-i mevāl-i zādegān*, *cemā°at-i sādāt ve meşāyih*, *cemā°at-i sulehā-i müteferrika*, *cemā°at-i sipahiyān*, *cemā°at-i havātin*. These headings are also important because they present a hierarchy among them with regard to payment. High-ranking officers get more benefits whereas women get less. Moreover, categorizing surplus-receivers according to their status is more accurate in waqfs with large budgets like *Süleymāniye Camii İmāreti* or Hagia Sofia. They also contain a large number of surplus-receivers.¹⁵

Apart from specific surplus-receivers' books, the waqf account registers also mention this group of people. They were registered under a separate heading, mainly, following the waqf employees' records and in most cases, they are not as detailed as the surplus-receivers' registers. However, the waqf account registers are important since they can be compared with the surplus-receivers' books to check consistency. It is not easy to find the surplus-receivers' account registers that match the related waqf account. In that context, it is useful to find a matching account book of the surplus-receivers within two-or three years period preceding or following the specified date since they can cover an interval of up to a hundred years.

In the registers of this group of people, surplus-receivers of varied waqfs are registered collectively. For example, one of the registers is undated and it includes the surplus-receivers of Sultan Süleyman Waqf (Manisa), the Waqfs of Gazi Sinan Paşa, Haseki

¹⁵ Since the structural side of the surplus-receivers is elaborated here, meaning of these headings was not mentioned and they will be indicated in following chapters.

Sultan (Jerusalem), Ali Paşa, İskender Paşa, Evliya Paşa (Üsküdar), Hafız Ahmet Paşa, Hüseyin Ağa (İstanbul), Yakup Ağa¹⁶. They were written by a scribe single-handedly. Only by looking at the discourse and writing style determines the register's date to sometime in the 16th or 17th centuries. A similar style of record is followed in an account book dating back to 1017-1019 (1608-1609). At the end of this account book, the surplus-receivers of the Waqf of Darü'l-Hadis (Sultan Murat), Selim II, Sultan Murat (Bursa), Bayezid Han (Amasya), Mevlevi, Gülbahar Hatun (Trabzon) are recorded, collectively. It seems that this record was kept centrally as the triple seal on the document reveals.¹⁷

In the introduction part, certain information about the general atmosphere of the 16th and 17th Ottoman Empire has been given. In addition, I will give brief and elucidatory information about the characteristics of the archival sources essential to answer questions about philanthropy and the waqfs in the Ottoman Empire from perspective of surplus-receivers. The period covered by the sources and the founders of waqfs will be mentioned, too. In Chapter III, the definition of philanthropy, its implications in different societies will be discussed and its institutionalized form will be examined. In addition, the similarities in philanthropy within wide-ranging societies will be presented through specific examples. The importance of waqf as a philanthropic institution will be described there. Chapter IV contains the data and their interpretations from the waqf account books, surplus-receivers' account books, *telhis*, *mühimme* registers and published court registers. The detailed depiction about surplus-receivers and their procedure of appointment will be discussed. In Chapter V, the constituted framework of philanthropy in the light of surplus-receivers will be discussed.

¹⁶ A. DVN. 00126.00059.

¹⁷ MAD 5214.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF PHILANTHROPY

2.1. Philanthropy in Different Contexts

As the root of the word suggests, philanthropy means “love of mankind” and “benevolence”.¹⁸ Its ultimate goal is to help people and improve their lives. Though it shares the similar meaning with the word ‘charity’, philanthropy suggests more wider meaning in today’s understanding since it is perceived as being systematic and continuous.¹⁹ This phenomenon is a universal one going beyond religion, culture and place. In other words, philanthropic activities have taken place from East to West over a very long time by contriving different cloaks from mostly religious to traditional within wide-ranging of countries. It was also a crucial institution for the states striving to find a solution to the problem of poverty in order to sustain the welfare of the society.²⁰ But the ultimate goal that of helping people remains the same. In Christianity, philanthropy is based on *caritas* meaning “love of others”. Contemporary Russian philanthropy is related to *tzedakah* meaning giving gifts to other people. In Arab countries or the Indian subcontinent, also, in the Ottoman Empire, the *zakat* concept became prominent. *Dana*, meaning generosity and giving, is prominent in

¹⁸ A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English, 2013 by forgotten books, Walter W. Skeat, London, p. 388, also the root of the word is Greek *philanthrōpia*, and first known use is circa 1623, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/philanthropy>.

¹⁹ Aaron Terrazas, Kathleen Newland & Roberto Munster, “Diaspora Philanthropy: Private Giving and Public Policy”, *Migration Policy Institute*, 2010, p. 4.

²⁰ Mark R. Cohen, “Introduction: Poverty and Charity in Past Times”, in *Poverty and Charity: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2005, pp. 347-360; Peri, “Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy,” 167.

Hindu and Buddhist cultures. In addition, Confucianism follows the Chinese tradition of giving in the way of altruism and treating others humanistically.²¹

To put it in the beginning, early Christian philanthropy was influenced by ancient Hellenism and became part of the Byzantine and the Mediterranean culture²². These civilizations embraced an idea of philanthropy both connected to ethical understandings and religious issues. They cared for the ones who are needy or destitute establishing a bound within their societies.²³ There are examples of the *Byzantium* hospices that caring for the sick, the elderly, mothers, and children, orphanages, homes for the blind, homes for aged aiming at social welfare.²⁴ They are similar to Islamic hospitals in that sense. Furthermore, these hospitals also had medical and educational aims.²⁵ By this way, especially in outstanding centers, like Bursa, Edirne, İstanbul,

²¹ Joan E. Spero, "Charity and Philanthropy in Russia, China, India, and Brazil, United States of America", 2014, *The Foundation Center and WINGS*, p.1.

²² Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Origins Of Christian Orthodox Diakonia: Christian Orthodox Philanthropy In Church History", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, v. 52, 2007, p. 2.

²³ For further information about philanthropy in ancient times, see: Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968; William Byrnes, "Ancient Roman Munificence: The Development of the Practice and Law of Charity", *Rutgers Law Review*, v. 57, No. 3, 2005, p. 1043-1110; John A. McGuckin, "Embodying the New Society: The Byzantine Christian Instinct of Philanthropy", in *Philanthropy and Social Compassion in Eastern Orthodox Tradition: Papers of the Sophia Institute Academic Conference*, New York: Theotokos Press, 2009; Susan A. Ostrander & Paul G. Schencish, "Giving and Getting: Philanthropy as a Social Relation", in *Critical Issues in American Philanthropy: Strengthening Theory and Practice*, ed. J. Van Till and Associates, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1990, p. 69-70; Gabriel Baer, "The Muslim Waqf and Similar Institutions in Other Civilizations", Paper presented at the Workshop on Economic and Social Aspects of the Muslim Waqf, Jerusalem, 1-20 February, 1981; Peregrine Horden, "The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary*, vol. 35, no.3, 2005; Susan R. Holman, *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society*, Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker Academic, 2008.

²⁴ L. Kourkouta & P. Plati & P. Ouzounakis, "The Meaning of the Nursing in Byzantium", *Progress in Health Science*, v. 2, no.1, 2012, p. 176.

²⁵ Yasser Tabbaa, "The Functional Aspects of Medieval Islamic Hospitals", in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, by Mine Ener, Amy Singer Michael D. Bonner, Albany: SUNY Press, 2003, p. 95.

these hospitals served the needy and fostered the image of the founders as benefactors.²⁶ Of course, behind this act of charity lies the influence of Christianity stressing of the doing good deeds, thinking of others, helping the destitute and alms-giving, as in the Islam. These hospitals and other philanthropic institutions were reflections of charity.

The influence of Byzantine philanthropic institutions in the Ottoman Empire is stressed by various scholars. M. Fuad Köprülü stated that waqf-like institutions were present in Byzantium and waqfs do not have purely an Islamic origin, but mostly, they were influenced by Byzantine institutions that were available in Egypt and Iraq.²⁷ This indicates the interaction between institutions of succeeding states where an institutionalized takes form. Besides, the widely known Islamic practices like *zakat* or gift-giving, to be shortly mentioned in the following lines, the centralized form of philanthropic activities is presented by the waqf. Apart from the Islamic tradition of philanthropic activities, a sense of social welfare in Turkish societies were in existence before the emergence of Islam. Examples from the Orkhun Monuments and the *Dede Korkut* stories had abundant examples, urging mercy towards others. In these sources, protecting people from poverty, feeding and caring the poor are important considerations for the Turkish Khans.²⁸

Furthermore, it is inevitable to say that the emergence of Islam in the Ottoman Empire had a visible effect on charitable activities. In other words, it had an impact in terms of providing a suitable environment for philanthropy. Following Islamic prescriptions, the Ottoman society implemented different ways of helping poor like gift-giving, *zakat*

²⁶ Miri Shefer, "Charity and Hospitality: Hospitals in the Ottoman Empire", in *the Early Modern Period, Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, ed. M. Bonner et al., SUNY Press, 2003, p. 121-122.

²⁷ Fuad Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 2, 1942, pp. 7-8 (1-35).

²⁸ Cafer Çiftçi, "Charity and Social Welfare Activities in the Ottoman", in *Fluctuations in the Ottoman Social Order, Reactions to Changes in the Ottoman Social Structure (According to Archival Sources)*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 115.

(obligatory alms)²⁹, *fitr* (an amount of alm needed to be given towards the end of Ramadan), and endowment through waqfs. The state endorsed social welfare institutions, soup kitchens (*imārets*), waqfs, tradesman boxes, avārız boxes, orphan bags and alms stones. The obligatory alm meant that Muslims bestowed certain amount of money to the needy.³⁰ Apart from religious prerogatives redistributed wealth encouraged people to be more generous to each other and fostered economic equality.³¹

Thus, charitable activities across different regions of the world came into existence. Starting by the influence of ancient civilizations with different institutions, they advanced on their way of being more effective and desirable by states. In this way, these institutions covered the humanitarian values of philanthropy, of helping the other, while the states made use of them since they were a good source for establishing legitimization in the eyes of their society. Instead of individual charity, people also had a chance to apply it through institutions. Thus, social integration and social welfare came to the fore.

Fundamentally, waqfs in Ottoman Empire had the same function. They had their own rules under the specific document called the foundation deed³². Following the wishes

²⁹ *Zakat* is both a philanthropic practice and a state tax which is an obligation to God. However, since the discussions about zakat are the beyond the scope of this thesis, it has just briefly mentioned.

³⁰ Chloe Stirk, *An Act of Faith Humanitarian Financing and Zakat*, Briefing Papers, United Kingdom, 2015, p. 7.

³¹ *ibid*, Çiftçi, p. 144.

³² For further studies about *vakfiyes* see, Halil İnalcık, “Osmanlılarda Vakıf ve Vakfiye,” *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Vakıfları ve Eserleri Uluslararası Sempozyumu İstanbul-Edirne*, 9-10-11 Mayıs 2012, Mehmet Kurtoglu (ed.), Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, pp. 11-12; Halim Baki Kunter, “Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri Üzerine Mücmel Bir Etüd”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 1, 1938, pp. 103-129; Hamza Keleş, “Vakfiyelere Göre XV. Yüzyılda Bursa’da İmar Faaliyetleri”, *Gazi Üniversitesi Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2001, pp. 177-188; Hasan Yüksel, “Vakfiye (Türk ve Osmanlı Tarihi),” *Diyanet Vakfı İslam*

of the donor specified in the foundation deed, one can follow where the monies will be spent and see the organizational structure of a waqf (founder, officer taking on different duties in soup-kitchen, mosque and *medrese*, beneficiaries etc.). Thus, it frames the operational practices putting aside the idea of philanthropy. Not only the Ottoman Empire but also other states followed the same principle, according to their own cultural values and social contexts. They were compensating the needs of destitute and offered social welfare through philanthropy. A prominent example is that of England. Coming through the 16th – 17th centuries, philanthropic activities commenced to appear more organized. England after achieving a level of labor productivity related to agriculture due to rapid population growth attained a high-income level. Then, England bent on the issue of poor relief which was regarded as an integral part of economic development. However, before coming to that stage, it is important to note that like in different countries, charitable activities were conducted previously by monasteries. For instance, almsgiving was significant for helping poor people. It was also legitimate since it was thought that helping people was part of a religious prerogative.³³ It was not only an individual practice but also it was reciprocal since the destitute offered the alms-giver a pure prayer to help him/her to reach religious appreciation in the eyes of God, a further blessing after life. To put it simple, it was a good Christian act though it may still raise questions about its benefits since monks' almsgiving did not decrease the number of beggars and they "did their charity in a disorganized way".³⁴ Besides, there was a social fear related to beggars and the destitute as carriers of disease, while the question of who was really poor or not

Ansiklopedisi, vol. 42, 2012, pp. 467-469; Mehmet Şeker, "Vakfiyelerin Türk Kültürü Bakımından Özellikleri", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. VIII, 1993, pp.1-18.

³³Sigrun Kahl (2005). the religious roots of modern poverty policy: catholic, lutheran, and reformed protestant traditions compared. *European Journal of Sociology*, 46, pp. 95-96. For further information about alms-giving practices, see; Aleisha Olson, *Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York, 2010).

³⁴ Neil S. Rushton & Wendy Sigle-Rushton, Monastic Poor Relief in Sixteenth-Century England, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, The MIT Press, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2001, p. 194.

remained.³⁵ Therefore, the enactment of the Old Poor Law came to the stage (1601).³⁶ It is assumed to carry important indications about the “evolution of social institutions in the Western world.”³⁷ Financed by a special tax, destitute people gained a legal right for a monetary and social support. The laws covering poor relief played a significant role in the sense that people, regardless of gender, were subjected to relieve destitute people and all parishes were responsible for the organizing and financing it. From the perspective of the state, it was also a way to maintain social order for preventing burden-shifting and free-riding.³⁸ Another example is Spain. Influenced by the Catholic Church, paupers were sending to the privileged positions and they were believed to pray for their benefactors as to their charity. Therefore, the benefactor had a chance of salvation. This is just the spiritual side of the Spanish philanthropy. Confraternities, which were founded with the idea of serving poor and conducting charitable activities, were rather widespread among the urban population of Spain, more crowded than any other parts of Europe at that time.³⁹

³⁵ Sigrun Kahl, “The Religious Roots of Modern Poverty Policy: Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Protestant Traditions Compared”, *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2005, pp. 95-96.

³⁶ For further details about the Poor Law see, Sydney Webb, *The English Poor Law, Will it Endure?*, London, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 3-32; L. A. Botelho, *Old Age and the English Poor Law, 1500-1700*, United Kingdom: Boydell and Brewer Press, 2004; Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531-1782*, London: The Macmillan Press, 1990; Welfare’s Forgotten Past A Socio-Legal History of the Poor Law, Lorie Charlesworth, Abingdon, Routledge, 2010.

³⁷ Avner Greif & Murat İyigün, What Did the Old Poor Law Really Accomplish? A Redux , *IZA Discussion Paper Series*, Discussion Paper No. 7398, Germany, 2013, p.1.

³⁸ Peter M. Solar, “Poor Relief and English Economic Development Before the Industrial Revolution”, *Economic History Review*, XLVIII, no. 1, 1995, pp. 2-3; Timothy Besley, Stephen Coate & Timothy Guinnane, “Incentives, information, and welfare: England’s new Poor Law and the Workhouse Test”, in *History Matters: Essays in Honour of Paul David*, eds. Timothy W. Guinnane, William A. Sundstrom & Warren Whatley, California: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 245-270.

³⁹ Maureen M. Flynn, “Charitable Ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, v. 16, no. 3, pp. 335-348.

Similar institutions are present in 16th century China, however, understanding Chinese philanthropy is more complicated as it carries a larger meaning. In Chinese, the word which is equivalent to “philanthropy”, “charity” and “benevolence” is expressed with two characters (cishan) where *ci* means “kind, benevolent, benign, charitable, loving, fond, merciful,” also, “maternal” and *shan* stands for “good, virtuous, goodness, good deed, benevolent action.” Furthermore, it also means “to remedy,” and “to relieve.”⁴⁰ In China, there were charitable institutions and organizations which included “clubs that released animals from captivity; benevolent societies, which buried the poor, managed soup kitchens, and distributed medicine; orphanages for abandoned infants; and lodgings for widows.”⁴¹ Moreover, unlike earlier Buddhist monasteries, these institutions were claimed to be completely out of philanthropic considerations. In addition, these institutions were established and controlled by local elites.⁴² Local elites were encouraged to form voluntary organizations to provide people with social welfare activities, especially, when the state was unable to take care of the need of subjects.⁴³

2. 2. Waqf Institution in a Philanthropic Context

Waqfs are known as philanthropic institutions penetrated into the different dimensions of the state. Especially, the Imperial Waqfs are prominent with their sources endowed

⁴⁰ André Laliberté, David A. Palmer, and Wu Keping, “Religious Philanthropy and Chinese Civil Society”, in *Chinese Religious Life*, David A. Palmer, Glenn Shive and Philip Wickeri (eds.), New York: Oxford University Press, 2011 Pp. 140-141. Pp. 139-154.

⁴¹ J. H. Smith, “Chinese Philanthropy as Seen Through a Case of Famine Relief in the 1640’s”, in W. Ilchman, S. Katz & E. Queen (eds.), *Philanthropy in the World’s Traditions*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998, p. 136, pp. 133–168.

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴³ Carolyn Hsu, “Beyond Civil Society: An Organizational Perspective on State–NGO Relations in the People’s Republic of China”, *Journal of Civil Society*, 6:3, 2010, p. 265, 259-277.

by the Sultan and the charitables acts. The purpose may be interpreted as simple as the idea that maintaining an abstract and compelling image of power, influence and integrity. In that perspective, analyzing the waqf in the Ottoman context is a rather demanding and challenging issue since waqfs propagated into social and cultural aspects of the society and extended itself into different aspects of the state. Thus, their various aspects should be studied to reveal the overlooked contributions to the history. Therefore, waqfs span over a long history and the examination of their importance in societies is still undergoing.

The Arabic word waqf (وَقْف) means “to prevent” or “to stop”, “to protect a thing”. Its institutional roots are very diversified and open to different comments. Commonly, waqf is regarded as a pious endowment.⁴⁴ As a juridical term, it means “to devote own’s property as a perpetual trust to some religious or charitable service under specific conditions by separating it out of one’s possession eternally.”⁴⁵ In earlier literature, waqfs are often considered as religious or pious institutions based on the Islamic interpretations.⁴⁶ Significant aspects of waqf like their effect on economy and socio-cultural life are mostly disregarded. However, they did not merely serve to the pious intentions.⁴⁷ They contributed to the social, cultural and economic development

⁴⁴ Ibrahim Mansor, Jahn Kassim, Puteri Shireen, Ali Maisarah, Abdul Latif, Nurul Syala, Zainal Abidin & Nor Zalifa, *Virtual reality in heritage studies and historical reconstruction through animation – A case study of a 16th century university complex in the Ottoman world*, 7th International Conference on Construction Applications of Virtual Reality: October 22-23, 2007, 22-23 October 2007, USA.

⁴⁵ For its definition and brief explanation of its function with general properties with economic interferences see, Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, “vakıf”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 13, İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1986, 153-172, Murat Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to The Present*, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2000; Wilam Heffening, “waqf”, *EI*, vol. VIII, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1987, pp. 1096-1103.

⁴⁶ Halim Baki Kunter also mentioned this perception towards the waqfs and indicated waqfs as a social institution: Halim Baki Kunter, “Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri Üzerine Mücmel Bir Etüd”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 1, 1938, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Hilary Lim & Siraj Sait and Land, *Law and Islam Property and Human Rights in the Muslim World*, Nairobi and London, UN-HABİTAT and Zeb Books, 2006, p. 34.

of the place they had been established. On the other hand, they were passed to changes according to the traditions and structures of society in Ottoman Empire from the beginning from the early Islam to the 19th century.⁴⁸ Before the emergence of Islam, Byzantine, Greek and different societies and cultures developed the idea of philanthropy through an institution.⁴⁹ Most of the time, waqf construction is seen as a requirement for Muslim societies, however M. Fuad Köprülü stressed that the first Islam jurists had difficulty in grounding the foundation of waqfs in the Holy Book (Kur'ân) and the *sunna* of the Prophet.⁵⁰ It is also argued that the Qur'an does not even mention the waqf institution or its legal implications, although there are some inferences and a repeated recommendation to be charitable and helpful to the needy.⁵¹

Most of the historians put forward that waqf institutions improved and extended profoundly during the Ottoman Period. Waqfs are divided into different categories. According to their founder and their aim of establishment waqfs are: the ordinary waqfs which were founded by the public and mostly, they were small ones; the cash waqfs whose “object of the endowment was money; lastly, imperial waqfs which were

⁴⁸ For the history of waqf institution see Fuad Köprülü, “Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekâmülü”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 2, 1942, pp. 12-14; Yediyıldız, Bahaeddin. “Müessese-Toplum Münasebetleri Çerçevesinde XVIII Asır Türk Toplumu ve Vakıf Müessesesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 15, 1982, p. 53; Neşet Çağatay, “Türk Vakıflarının Özellikleri”, in X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. IV, Ankara, TTK Basımevi, 1993, pp. 1615, 1617; Hüseyin Salepci, “Tarih Boyunca Vakıflar”, in II. Vakıf Haftası, 3-9 Aralık 1984, (Konuşmalar ve Tebliğler), Ankara, *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları*, 1985, pp. 108-109; Ömer Yörükoğlu, “Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki, Tarihi, Felsefi Temelleri”, in II. Vakıf Haftası, 3-9 Aralık 1984, (Konuşmalar ve Tebliğler), Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1985, p. 118.

⁴⁹ Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, Müessese-Toplum Çerçevesinde 18. Asır Türk Toplumu ve Vakıf Müessesesi, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 15, p.32; Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence, An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, State University of New York Press, 2002, p. 4.

⁵⁰ M. Fuad Köprülü, Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekâmülü, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no .2, Ankara, 1942.

⁵¹ Kuran, Timur. 2001. “The Provision of Public Goods under Islamic Law: Origins, Impact, and Limitations of the Waqf System”, *Law and Society Review*, vol. 35, no. 4, p. 844; Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence, An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, p. 4.

founded by the Sultan and dynasty members (inc. mother, daughter and sister of the Sultan's) and high-ranking state servants. Imperial Waqfs are larger not only in their size but also in their budget and system of administration, as well.⁵² In this study, some of the imperial waqfs were studied since they are bigger, *külliye* waqfs and surplus-receivers' registers are mainly found in these type of waqfs. In this perspective, in order to understand the importance of waqfs in the context of this thesis, the concept of waqf complex will be explained.

A waqf is a structure containing more than one charitable institutions like *medreses* for educational purposes, mosques serving religious duties, hospitals, soup kitchens offering goods to staff and needy people, fountains, libraries, caravanserais for all to use.⁵³ To properly function, this kind of institution needs a wide range of economic resources. Indeed, waqfs had control on "large revenue sources dedicated to these services. The revenues were derived from agricultural lands, mills, etc. in rural areas, and from the rents of houses, shops, from the operation of inns, public baths and workshops, etc. in cities."⁵⁴ With all of its component and services, they played a crucial role both in social and economic terms. They provided society public, charity and religious services.⁵⁵ Therefore, conducting philanthropic activities is significant

⁵² Kayhan Orbay, "Account Books of the Imperial Waqfs (Charitable Endowments) in the Eastern Mediterranean (15th to 19th Centuries)", *Accounting Historians Journal*, v. 40, 2013, p.37.

⁵³ Fahri Unan, "İstanbul'un Fethi, Fatih Külliyesi ve İmparatorluk", *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 16, p. 84.

⁵⁴ Kayhan Orbay, *The Financial Administration of an Imperial Waqf In an Age of Crisis: A Case Study of Bayezid II's Waqf in Amasya (1594- 1657)*, (MA Thesis), Bilkent Üniversitesi, 2001, p. 3.

⁵⁵ For the role of waqfs and the their contribution in economy and society see, Fuad Köprülü, "Vakıf Müessesesi ve Vakıf Vesikalarının Tarihi Ehemmiyeti", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 1, 1938, pp. 1-6; Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Sosyal Teşkilatlar Bütünlüğü Olarak Osmanlı Vakıf Külliyesi", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 19, no. 219, 1981, p. 264; idem, "Vakıf Müessesinin XIII. Asır Türk Toplumundaki Rolü", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 14, 1982, pp. 2-8; idem, "vakıf", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*; Halil İnalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 47, 79-83;

for the Sublime Porte to exhibit its generosity and welfare in the eyes of society. Also, it has to be stated that these activities of the state were both a part of charity and philanthropy since the state conducted charitable activities through the motivation of philanthropy. In addition, society needs to be considered as a part of the eminent core of the state and high-ranking officials or the Sultan are expected to show their ways of dealing with the society's needs and how they conduct the philanthropic activities.⁵⁶

On the other side, philanthropy is a tool for the “political statement of power and legitimization” of the Sultan.⁵⁷ One who draws attention to this issue is the historian Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, living between the years of 1541-1600. In his book *Mevâidü'n-Nefâis Fi-Kavâidi'l-Mecâlis*, he states:

“...The construction of prayer rooms or mosques or lodges and medreses in the center is not counted as a charity in the eyes of God.

Colin Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud The Islamic Legal Tradition*, California: Stanford University Press, 1997, p. 140; Ali Hikmet Berki, Ali Hikmet Berki, “Hukukî ve İctimaî Bakımdan Vakıf”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 5, 1962, p. 11; Furuzan Selçuk, “Vakıflar (Başlangıçtan 18. Yüzyılina Kadar)”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 6, 1965, p. 22; Süleyman Hatipoğlu, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Külliye”, in *10. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, vol. IV, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993, pp. 1641-1642; Hasan Yüksel, *Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Hayatında Vakıfların Rolü (1585-1683)*, Sivas: Dilek Matbaası, 1998, pp. 153-176; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 2, 1942; Ömer Düzbakar, “Charitable Women and Their Pious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire: The Hospital of the Senior Mother, Nurbanu Valide Sultan”, *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine*, vol.5, no.10, 2006, p. 12; 279-304; idem, “Vakıfların Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Kullanılmasında Diğer Şekiller”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 2, 1942, pp. 354-365.

⁵⁶ Mehmet Babacan, “Economics of Philanthropic Institutions, Regulation and Governance in Turkey,” *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2011, p. 62.

⁵⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, “The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation,” *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. 3, 1985, p. 92; Watenpugh Heghnar Zeitlian, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Leiden: Brill, 2004, p. 11-12.

An intelligent ruler is counted as wise only when he performed charities for good deed... ”⁵⁸

He states that building schools or mosques is not counted as pious deed. Each intelligent ruler knows that pious deeds performed by leaders construct reputation in the eyes of society. However, the Ottoman Sultans conducted good deeds as a result of their power. Particularly in Balkan territories, they provided employment for the waqf itself and took on the expenses or repair of its buildings. For example; The Imperial Waqfs in Edirne, Bayezid II’s waqf, offered employment in the rural Balkans. The waqf employed 8 people in a mosque in Dimetoka and 11 people in another mosque in Malkara. The waqf employed also two persons in a mosque in the town of Megri.⁵⁹

Recent studies have revealed different economic aspect of waqfs. For example, family endowment provided protection to the property of the waqf founder and of the his/her heirs. Family waqfs act as an institution of protecting family welfare by “safeguarding of property and income.”⁶⁰ The founder of a waqf can leave the management of his waqf to any of his off-spring, thus, it sometimes led to problems in terms of the fair distribution of property among all heirs.⁶¹ For instance, in one of the court records,

⁵⁸ “...Pāy-ı taht-ı ma‘mūrede mesācid ve cevāmi‘ bina etmek ve bir dārü’l-mülkü’l meşhūre de havānık ve medāris inşa etmek tahsil-i mesūbāt için olan hayrātdan değildir. Mücerred tekmil-i riyaset ü nām için olan müberrātdan idüğü ma‘lūm-ı her ‘ālim ü ‘ākıldür...” Mehmet Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Mevāidü’n-Nefāis Fi-Kavāidi’l-Mecālis*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997, p. 357.

⁵⁹ Özge Mete & Kayhan Orbay, Institutional Propagation of Imperial Waqfs in Rural Balkans, in the conference of Agents of Faith, June 2015, unpublished conference paper, Bulgaria.

⁶⁰ Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, “18. Asırda Türk Vakıf Teşkilatı”, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* (Prof.Tayyib Gökbilgin Hatıra Sayısı), no.12, 1982, p.188; Mary Ann Fay, “Women and Waqf: Toward a Reconsideration of Women’s Place in the Mamluk Household”, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1997, p. 37.

⁶¹ Murat, Çizakçe. “Awqaf in History and Its Implications for Modern Islamic Economies”, *Islamic Economic Studies*, vol.6, no.1, 1998, p. 49.

Mevlânâ Niksarî Muslihiddin Efendi endowed 5.500 gold to the waqf. Having eliminated the other expenses and charities, it was stated that surplus would be given to his children and grandchildren's children till the end of generation, after that the surplus would be given to poor.⁶²

From the perspective of the state, the waqf can be regarded as an institution which carries an economic and functional burden. A waqf provided educational services by offering *medrese* education, sustained social welfare and framed a structure for people living in the vicinity enabling them to proceed with their lives.⁶³ These wide-ranging opportunities for the neighbors of the waqf is also associated with the poverty alleviation strategy that eventually "empower the poor with education among others and improve their productive capacity."⁶⁴

The waqfs' role on their social and cultural surrounding is much more exciting to trace, although limited sources are available to frame a concrete pattern. However, it is known that they have a demanding responsibility to feed the needy, the destitute, orphans, women and men, employees, passer-bys, the poor and the pious.⁶⁵ These people have a right through official documents to benefit from the *imaret* and eat meals served there in-house by *nâkib-i nân*. As it is a rather an important act for the society, some of the waqfs are explicit about the provision of food, like in the case of the Waqf of Gülbahar Hâtun in Tokat:

⁶² Balat 02, cilt: 11, sayfa: 110, Hüküm no: 111, Orijinal metin no: [21b-1, Arapça].

⁶³ Mary Ann Fay, Women and Waqf: Toward a Reconsideration of Women's Place in the Mamluk Household, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, v. 29, no. 1, 1997, p. 34.

⁶⁴ Farhah binti Saifuddin, Saim Kayadibi, Refik Polat, Yahya Fidan, & Omer Kayadibi, The Role of Cash Waqf in Poverty Alleviation: Case of Malaysia. *Kuala Lumpur International Business, Economics and Law Conference 4 (KLIBEL4)*, 1 (June 2014), p. 276.

⁶⁵ Singer, Constructing Ottoman Beneficence, An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem, p. 40.

“... The Sultan who established this waqf stipulated that regardless of rich or poor, everyone can eat from the soup kitchen of the waqf and no more or less would be offered other than the fixed amount...”⁶⁶

In the foundation deed of the Waqf of Gülbahar Hatun in Tokat, it is specified that regardless of being rich or poor, food prepared in the kitchen of *imaret* should be distributed to the people. In this situation, food distribution is one of the important aspect for the charitable activities conducted through the soup-kitchen of a waqf.

Food distributed was enough to supplement daily diet. It is found out that the standard daily menu of a waqf “consisted of two soups, cooked and served, morning and evening, with bread. Plain loaves of bread (*fodula*) baked from flour, salt, and water that weighed a standard of 90 *dirhems* after baking.”⁶⁷ Amy Singer indicates that there is a line of people eligible to benefit from the imaret of the waqf according to their rank or status in society. These are dignitaries, travelers, scholars, students, proctors, dervishes and the staff of the complex. After all the mentioned people were served, what remained was given to the indigent.⁶⁸ Such distribution would contradict the stipulation of feeding the poor. However, categories of people mentioned before could use the *imāret* by right of official documents called *temessük* or *hüccet*.⁶⁹ Thus, they officially benefitted from the *imāret*.

⁶⁶ “...*Müşārūnileyh vakıf yapan sultan, zengin olsun fakir olsun imārette hazır olanın itcām olunmasını ve vezāif ve ihrācatta tayin olunan mikdardan hiçbir şey tezyīd ve tenkīs edilmemesini şart kıldı...*” BA. Vakfiyeler Dosya No. syf. 405, sequence 158, waqfiyye of Gülbahar Hatun (M.1492).

⁶⁷ Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence, An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, p. 59.

⁶⁸ Amy Singer, “What is the Price of a Free Lunch? The Costs of Serving and Consuming Meals in Ottoman Public Kitchens (*imaret*)”, in *Assistance and Solidarity in Europe from the 13th to the 18th Centuries*, ed. F. Ammannati, Firenze: Firenze University Press, p. 282.

⁶⁹ In the following article, there are examples of fodulahoran registers indicating that men and women beneficiaries benefitted from the soup-kitchen by the imperial certificate: Kayhan Orbay, “Distributing Food, Bread and Cash: Vakıf *Taamhoran* and *Fodulahoran* Registers as Archival Sources for *Imarets*”, in *Feeding People, Feeding Power; Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*, İstanbul, Eren Yayıncılık.

In a wider perspective, waqfs spread Islam in their neighborhoods and led to urbanization.⁷⁰ Also, they informed us about urban development due to their structures. The city of Aleppo, for example, expanded to 9 hectares from the 16th to the 19th century with the establishment and development of four different waqfs. Waqfs revived bazaars and *hans*.⁷¹ Waqfs established in small places not only exploited fertile lands but also provided security against raids.

Finally, waqfs had a redistributive function. In this perspective waqfs were explained as “collecting agricultural revenues from the villages scattered through several regions and channeling them to the town economy where these large waqfs spent their income through purchases in the local markets and through wage payments. Thus, they supported the local production and commerce. They employed a great number of employees in various capacities and transferred purchasing power to them.”⁷² Through this circle both the state and society attained modest welfare.

2.3. Philanthropy through the Prism of Waqf Institution and of Legitimization of Power

Studying philanthropy of this sort is important in order to explain the meaning of philanthropy both in the eyes of society and of the state. When the role of waqf is

⁷⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân Ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar Ve Temlikler I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, sayı: 2, 1942, s. 284-353.

⁷¹ André Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria and the Maghreb*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002, p. 89.

⁷² Kayhan Orbay, *The Economic Efficiency of Imperial Waqfs in the Ottoman Empire*, The XIV International Economic History Congress, 2006. There are also other studies mentioning not redistributive but distributive function of the waqf; Mochammad Arif Budiman, The Significance of Waqf for Economic Development, *Equilibrium*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2014.

considered, philanthropy phenomena cover not only the humanistic side of charity but also present the necessity of a state to sustain its power ramified in the society's economic and social stance.⁷³ Thus, the philanthropy for the state can be regarded as a tool for legitimization and demonstration of power. An obvious question would be, how legitimization is interpreted through this prism. One of the possible and relevant definitions fitting into this context is that "political legitimacy is the subjects' belief in the rightfulness of the ruler or the state, more specifically in their authority to issue commands."⁷⁴ Obedience might not stem out of fear for the fate of the payoffs or personal interests could be related to the "obligation to obey" the superior.⁷⁵ In addition, the endowment of the ruler through the establishment of this kind of institution is a vehicle of public policy to show its prestige and "strengthen the hold of the state on the beneficiary population."⁷⁶

Distribution of waqf surplus allows the Sultan to legitimize his role of being wealth distributer to the society. In that way, waqfs were useful for authorities to enhance their influence on the local population.⁷⁷ The role of the waqf is not restricted to revive the financial surrounding of its location but it actively supported education. Waqf

⁷³ Turan Yazgan, "Sosyal Siyaset Açısından Vakıflar", *IV. Vakıf Haftası (1-7 Aralık 1986)*, Abdülkerim Erdoğan (ed.), Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, pp. 253-254.

⁷⁴ Hakan Karateke, *Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis* in *Legitimizing the Order: the Ottoman Rhetorics of State Power*, ed. Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005, p. 15.

⁷⁵ Rodney Barker, *Political Legitimacy and the State*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p. 11.

⁷⁶ Miriam Hoexter, *Waqf Studies In The Twentieth Century: The State Of The Art*, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 41, no. 4, 1998, p. 476.

⁷⁷ Oded Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy. The Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth-Century Jerusalem," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 35, no. 2, 1992, p. 174.

endowments supported students, faculty and provided for local intellectual activities.⁷⁸ Indeed, the waqf's political importance for rulers to secure power and influence on the society may have become not the prime but a significant trigger for conducting charitable acts.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Robert Duncan McChesney, "Earning a Living: Promoting Islamic Culture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Afghanistan's Islam: From Conversion to the Taliban*, edited by Nile Green, University of California Press, Oakland, California, 2017, p. 96. He mentions the *madrasa* building boom in the territories of Bukhara, Samarqand, and Balkh with the support of waqf institutions.

⁷⁹ Claire Morgan, "Islam and Civil Society: The Waqf." *The Good Society*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2001, p. 22.

CHAPTER III

TREATING HETEROGENITY: ZEVĀID-HORĀN

3.1. Getting Acquainted with zevāid-horān⁸⁰

The term *zevāid-horān* literally is a compound word; *zevāid* (زوائد) comes from Arabic and it means “income surplus” while *horān* (حُرَّان) stems from Persian and it means “receiver.”⁸¹ Although they are not *şart-ı vākıf* meaning they are actually not entitled to any payment in the waqf foundation deed, they are allocated a kind of stipend from the budget surplus of the waqf, monthly. This group of people has a remarkable place in the waqf and composed of variety of people excluding the permanent staffs of the waqf, however, they share some similarities in their procedure of approval in the waqf.

At first, it is perceived as a good way of investing surplus for the needy group of people and high-rankings (especially for the retired ones), some scholars thought that this system was wide open to abuse.⁸² Therefore, surplus-receivers were seen as the “exploiter of one fourth even one third of the salaries of civil servant and official”⁸³

⁸⁰ For those interested in studies mentioning the surplus-receivers, see: Alaaddin Aköz, “XVI. Yüzyılda Şeyh Sadreddin Konevî Vakfı”, *The First International Symposium On Sadraddin Qunawi, Konya*, 20–21 May 2008, pp. 19-27; Cengiz Gündoğdu, “Eyüp’te Medfun Bir Halvetî-Sivâsî Şeyhi: Sivâsî-zâde Abdülbâkî Efendi”, *Tarihi, Kültürü ve Sanatıyla IX. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu*, 13-15 Mayıs 2005, İstanbul, 2005, 314-321; H. Hüsnü Koyunoğlu, “Para Vakıfları: Muhasebe Defterlerine Göre 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul Uygulaması”, *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, v.1, 2008, pp. 253- 303; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerine Ait Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları”, *Belgeler Dergisi*, v. 1, no. 1-2, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

⁸¹ Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-i Türki*, İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1900. “hor” p. 561, “zevâid” in p. 690.

⁸² Sencer depicted the payment allocated to this group as “extravagancy”. Muammer Sencer, *Toprak Ağılığının Kökeni*, İstanbul: Tel Publishing, 1971, pp. 240-241.

⁸³ Ömer Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına ait Araştırmalar, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v. 13, no. 1-2, p. 290. Surplus-

for the reason that they were occupying the position of the permanent staffs of the waqf and created a danger for them.

Surplus-receivers are registered in different headings under the account book of surplus-receivers according to their status in the society. They can be a rather crowded group of people according to the budget and the size of the waqf. For instance, in the Hagia Sophia Waqf, their number was up to 248 people.⁸⁴ Importantly, *Selātin* Waqfs are rather remarkable in the sense that they are able to allocate high budgets for surplus-receivers. For instance, one of the largest waqf of Balkans, *Sultan Murad II*'s Waqf of *Dārü'l-hadis* in *Edirne*, allocated payment for the surplus-receivers that came up to the second highest expense item, of fifty-five members received the total amount of 120.680 akçe. In addition, the same waqf provided forty orphans (*vazife-i eytām*) on salary (they are allocated some payment according to the stipulation of endowment deed of the waqf).⁸⁵ *Eyyüb el-Ensārī* Waqf in İstanbul paid 48 surplus-receivers, seven hundred akçe per year, per person.⁸⁶ In the Waqf of *Gevherhan Sultān*, the yearly payment to surplus-receivers reached up to 182.160.⁸⁷

Although there are tiny differences in the registration of heading, there is a general heading for the surplus-receivers. For example, the account register of the Waqf of *Sultan Süleyman* in İstanbul is indicative of the registration of surplus-receivers. The document is dated to 1595 (A.D.):

receivers are sometimes associated with “the degenerateness”: Nadir Özbek, *Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si 'nde Sosyal Güvenlik ve Sosyal Politikalar*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, Emeklilik Gözetim Merkezi, 2006, p 65.

⁸⁴ In 1597, the number of surplus-receivers in the Waqf of Hagia Sophia reached to 501: İsmail Kandemir, *Ulu Mabet: Ayasofya*, İstanbul: Ekip Matbaa, 2004, p. 170.

⁸⁵ Kayhan Orbay & Hatice Oruç, “Sultan II. Murad’ın Edirne Cāmi ‘-i Şerīf ve Dārü’l-Hadīs Vakfı (1592-1607)”, *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 56, 2013, p. 7-8.

⁸⁶ MAD 6236.

⁸⁷ MAD 1329.

*zevāid-horān-ı evkāf-ı şerife-i merhūm ve mağfürunleh Sultan Süleyman Han
tābe serāhu der mahruse-i İstanbul an gurre-i recebü'l mücerreb sene 1003*⁸⁸

(the surplus-receivers of the waqf of the late and the blessed Sultan Süleyman Han, whose grave is pure and nice, located in İstanbul, on July in the year of 1594/1595)

This entrance depicts the dedicator of the waqf belongs to, its location and the date surplus-receivers' account was recorded. After this heading, surplus-receivers are listed. One sees that surplus-receivers' cadre includes poor and needy people, retired officers, officers recalled to the center awaiting for their next appointment (this is true for local governors of important centers as exemplified in the following pages) and their male/female relatives. These groups may diversify among the Imperial Waqfs most often include all categories. However, in some waqfs, for instance, local governors are not included. In some cases, the waqfs have a general heading for surplus-receivers covering women, people with the title of *Şeyh* and *halife*. Unfortunately, we cannot answer why there is a difference in terms of classification among the waqfs. It may be related to budget of the waqf or the number of a group. Some account books of surplus-receivers, especially the ones belonging to the waqfs of *Sultans* (*Evkāf-ı Selātin*) and prominent officials like high ranking state servants, provide certain similar patterns in terms of structure. For instance, there are headings like *cemā'at-i mevāli-i izām*, *cemā'at-i mevāli-i zādegān*, *cemā'at-i sādāt ve meşāyih*, *sulehā-i müteferrikā*, *sipahiyān* and *havātin*.⁸⁹ At first, comes the *cemā'at-i mevāli-i izām* heading which covers the prominent officials in the duty of state or religious dignitaries as state servants. Under abovementioned heading, one can encounter *imām-ı padişāh*, *çelebi*, *derviş*, *kadiasker-i sâbık* and so on. The second group is the *mevāli-i zādegān*, that

⁸⁸ MAD 5708.

⁸⁹ First samples are taken from the BOA with the entrance number of MAD 4503. This year's account belongs to the year 1003 (1594/1595), page numbers: 13-21, Süleymaniye Waqf. Apart from that, the same, certain headings can be found in Süleymaniye Camii İmareti and other waqfs: Ömer Lütüfî Barkan, "Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti Tesislerine Âit Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585-1586)", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, v. 9, p. 109-161.

also includes high-ranking officials, however, these people's status is not as high as the *cemā'at-i mevāli-i izām*.⁹⁰ For instance, one cannot see local governors under this heading. In that point, it is significant to note that *Mevlānā*⁹¹ or *Derviş* titles do not always refer to religious dignitaries, thus, they are as the ones who belong to religious groups and handle important place in their environment as well as gaining recognition by the state. On the one hand, the *müteferrika*⁹² (متفرقه) class refers to people who are in the service of Sultan and of the viziers and on the other hand *sipāhi*⁹³ (سپاهی) is the mounted troop in Ottoman military. This creates a diversified and discordant picture with the addition of the group *havātin* (خواتین) meaning women. In sum, there is no discrimination based on gender or profession.

More generally, in a surplus-receivers' register of the overall outlook can be seen as below where men and women are registered in a mixed manner with their subjects and their daily allowance. In these registers, the surplus-receivers's allowance showed the daily payment:

Süleyman ibn-i Recep Efendi

fî yevm

5

(Süleyman the son of Recep Efendi, daily 5 akçe)

⁹⁰ In the group of *cemā'at-i mevāli-i izām*, sometimes not only the *kadıaskers* but also *imām-ı padişah* is noticed. They were paid 100 akçe, daily. For the related archival source please see: MAD 4503.

⁹¹ It is important to note that the title *Mevlānā* does not have to be in the meaning of someone who is dealing with the religious duties or the one who reaches a high level in the specific group. It can also be a title for addressing like *efendi*.

⁹² Erhan Afyoncu, "müteferrikā", *İslam Diyanet Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 32, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 2014, p. 184

⁹³ Sipahi was a light cavalryman with the military equipments of composite bow, sword, mace and flail (usually) with spear. For detailed information, see; Mesut Uyar & Edward J. Erickson, *A Military History Of The Ottomans From Osman to Atatürk*, USA: ABC-CLIO, 2009, p. 54.

Şehriyar Hātun bint-i Recep Efendi

fī yevm

10

(Şehriyar Hātun the daughter of Recep Efendi, daily 10 akçe)

Muhammed bin Mustafa kethüda

fī yevm

5

(Muhammed the son of Mustafa the Chamberlain, daily 5 akçe)

Fatma Hātun tābe-i Hasan Çelebi

fī yevm

2

(Fatma Hātun related to Hasan Çelebi, daily 2 akçe)

Derviş bin Muhammed tābe-i Recep Efendi

fī yevm

5

(Derviş the son of Muhammed, subjected to Recep Efendi, daily 5 akçe)

Hasan bin Abdullah peder-i Bayezid Ağa

fī yevm

8

(Hasan the son of Abdullah, the father of Bayezid Ağa)

Derviş Ali mütekā'id

fī yevm

4

(Derviş Ali, retired)

Emine Hātun becāyeş-i Seyyid İbrahim

(Emine Hātun in the place of Seyyid İbrahim)

In the surplus-receivers' entry, one has a chance to see the name of the receiver, how much money s/he gains and other specific information about the certain person. As indicated above some are the son/daughter of Agha or chamberlain, some of them are retired.

Although headings may differ among each other, they have a proper organization which make them easier to follow. For instance, with the entrance of '*an nafaka-i uteki merhūm ve mağfirunleh Vālide Sultān der sakinān der Üsküdar*', one can see the needy people of the *Üsküdar* residents and they might not be counted as surplus-receivers. However, in the referenced waqf account record, they are found on the same page with surplus-receivers registers.⁹⁴ Their amount of payments would not exceed the amount of five akçe per day.

<i>‘Abd’ullah</i>	<i>Halil Veli</i>	<i>Hasan Dede</i>
<i>yevmī</i>	<i>yevmī</i>	<i>yevmī</i>
2	2	5

<i>Mehmed</i>	<i>Fatma bint-i Abd’ullah</i>
<i>yevmī</i>	<i>yevmī</i>
2	2

(Fatma, the daughter of Abd’ullah)

<i>Nur Seher bint-i Abdullah zevce-i Hacı Hızır</i>
<i>yevmī</i>
2

(Nur Seher, the daughter of Abd’ullah and the wife of Hacı Hızır, daily 2 akçe)

<i>‘Ayşe bint-i Abd’ullah</i>
<i>yevmī</i>
2

⁹⁴ MAD 5231.

(Ayşe, the daughter of Abd’ullah, daily 2 akçe)

Nur Seher Hātun el-mezbūr

yevmī

1

(Nur Seher Hatun , aforementioned, daily 1 akçe)

There are also people in the group of surplus-receivers who have physical deficiencies or who left orphan. Depending on the budget of the waqf or the surplus of the budget, sometimes different sums are paid to people who had the same deficiencies. It is difficult to explain this. It may be related to the degree of an acquaintance to the administration or they might come from different economic backgrounds:⁹⁵

Ali Yanka, amā

fī yevm

1

(Ali Yanka, blind, daily 1 akçe)

Cafer, amā

fī yevm

2

Ömer, amā

fī yevm

7

İsmet, amā

fī yevm

2

Yusuf, öksüz

fī yevm

8

(Yusuf, orphan, daily 8 akçe)

Apart from these group of people, there are *‘utekā-i havātin* registered in the Waqf of Gevherhān Sultan⁹⁶. It is the group of women who were released from the service of

⁹⁵ Ömer Lütü Barkan, “Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları”, *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, v. 1, no. 1/2, 1993, p. 305-306; p.353; p. 339.

⁹⁶ D. 1763.

the Sultan. The register belonged to the years of 1079-1080 (1669-1670). These five women are receiving different amount, among a sample of thirty more women. This indicates that after these women were released, if they were unable to live without support and they became poor, the need of payment would be compensated from the surplus of the waqf, though, it could not be generalized to all the waqf since it is the only document that used in this thesis:⁹⁷

‘an cemā‘at-i ‘utekā-i havātin

<i>‘āyşe hātūn</i>	<i>Diğer ‘āyşe hātūn</i>	<i>İftāde hātūn</i>
<i>yevmī</i>	<i>yevmī</i>	<i>yevmī</i>
5	10	8
(daily allowance, 5)	(daily allowance, 10)	(daily allowance, 8)
<i>Semā binti-i</i>	<i>Fermān hātūn</i>	
<i>‘İnānet hātūn</i>	<i>yevmī</i>	
<i>yevmī</i>	2	
15		
(daily allowance, 15)	(daily allowance, 2)	

Surplus-receivers could be disadvantaged with regard to payments made by the waqf since they were not stipulated in the foundayion deed. For instance, although there was no serious back in the payment of salaries to waqf personnel, the number of surplus-receivers receiving money from the waqf of *Gazi Süleyman Paşa* decreased to half beginning of 1606. In 1606, there was a payment of 37.000 akçe to eighteen personnel and there was no payment for the surplus-receivers a total of twenty people. At the end of the waqf account book, we are informed that the amount corresponding to these payments was transferred to the Chief Harem Eunuch treasury.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ D. 1329.

⁹⁸ Kayhan Orbay, “Gazi Süleyman Paşa Vakfı’nın Mali Tarihi ve 17. Yüzyılda Trakya Tarımsal Ekonomisi”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, v. 30, 2011, p. 162-163; 145-181.

In waqfs, when there is a catastrophe effecting the waqf building or when the waqf needs repair and it was in financial trouble, the waqf officers' payments can be cut. In the Waqf of Bāyezîd II in Amasya, there is an interruption in the payment of officers who are the employee in mosque and of some servants:

“From 12 Ramazân 1006 to the end of Receb 1007, the payment of the janitors in the mosque and in the soup kitchen is suspended (following the order of center) because the aforementioned mosque (Waqf of Bayezid II) was damaged by earthquake”⁹⁹

In the record above, it is understood that the payments of the permanent staff of the waqf are not paid due to the earthquake and the subsequent to damage inflicted to the waqf building, increasing thus the repair cost. Actually, in the previous year's (1006-1597/1598) waqf account record, there is a payment to 175 permanent staffs and to 61 surplus-receivers. In 1007 (1598/1599), only 41 employees were paid and there was no payment to the surplus-receivers.¹⁰⁰ Thus, it is seen that the payment allocated to the surplus-receivers was spent to the repair expenses of the waqf.

In 1003 (1594/1595) the Waqf of Sultan Süleyman, cut the payment of surplus-receivers for another reason:

“Decree to the inspector, and the former kadi of Reverend Mecca, ‘Abdü’rraûf [may God raise his knowledge]: a petition was sent to me by the mütevellî of the Waqf of the late and bestowed Sultan Süleyman

⁹⁹ “Be-cihet-i vazîfe-i mezkûrîn ‘an 12 Ramazân sene 1006 ilâ gâyet-i Receb sene 1007 ki vazîfe-i cemâ‘at-i müteferrika-i câmî‘-i şerîf ve hademe-i ‘imâret reft şode fermûde ez ân sebeb ki câmî‘-i mezbûr an zelzele-i ‘azîm münhedim bûde ve vezâ‘îf-i mezkûrîn ber-müceb-i emr-i şerîf-i ‘âlîşân dâde fermûde ani ‘t-tarîhi ‘l- mezkûr” MAD 5847.

¹⁰⁰ Kayhan Orbay, “Financial Consequences of Natural Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Anatolia: A Case Study of the Waqf of Bāyezîd II”, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, v. 15, 2009, p. 9.

Han [may God's mercy, grace and content be upon him] stating [that] there is no food in the storage of the aforementioned soup-kitchen. Also, there is a debt of 1.000.000 akçe. Although, there is no permission to make supply payment, the surplus-receivers demand their money and ask for their payment. Until the storage is filled with food, I command that the payment of surplus-receivers shall be postponed. When the storage is supplied, their payment shall be given, after one or two months and their payment shall be supplied as before. You should be careful as they may abstain from their duty.”¹⁰¹

In broad terms, *Mevlānā ‘Abdü’rraūf*, the former governor of the holy city of Mecca and now an state that he received a petition from the administrator of waqf of Sultan Süleyman mentioning that there is nothing to offer from the cellar of the waqf for providing food and there is a debt of 1.000.000 akçe. As to the situation in cellar, although there is no permission to supply money, surplus-receivers reproach waqf for leaving them unpaid. Upon this occasion, he states that till the provision of food is completed, surplus-receivers will be on impediment for one or two months. Therefore, the surplus-receivers will not abstain from their duty. With these statement, it is mentioned that surplus-receivers have budget cuts during extreme or indispensable conditions. Nevertheless, their payment is still a pivotal issue for the waqf since it is an indication of the gist of social state understanding in the sense that people are tried to be off need for their survival and welfare.

¹⁰¹ *Sābika Mekke-i Mükerrreme kadısı olub hālā müfettiş olan Mevlānā ‘Abdü’rraūf zīdet fazlühūya hükm ki merhūm ve mağfürunleh Sultān Süleymān Han ‘aleyhū’r-rahmetu ve’r-rizvānın evkāf-ı mezbūre mütevellisi tarafından südde-i sa‘ādetime bir arz-ı hāl sunulub ‘imāret-i mezbūrenin kilārında me’kūlāt kısmından bir nesne kalmadığından gayrı vakfın on yük akçe deyni dāhī olub mevācib-i mu‘ayyenesin vermeğe vakfın müs‘adesi yoğiken zevā’idhorlar vazīfelerin taleb idüb ziyāde tekāzā eyledüklerin bildürüb eğer mevācib-i mu‘ayyenedir ve esbāb-ı kilārdır tedārik oluncaya değin zevā’idhorlar te’hīr etdirülmek için emr-i şerīfım verilmek bābında ‘ināyet ricā etmeğin te’hīr etdürülmek emr idüb buyurdum ki vusūl buldukda emrim üzere ‘imāret-i mezbūrenin eğer mevācib-i mu‘ayyene ve esbāb-ı kilārıdır tedārik olununcaya değin vazīfeye mutasarrıf olan zevā’idhorlar istimālet virüb bir iki ay te’hīr etdüresin sonra vakfın akçesi geldikde mutasarrıf oldukları ‘ulūfelerin kemākān virdirüb ta‘allül ve bahāne etdürmeyesin.” MD73, p. 162, decree no. 280.*

The similar occasion takes place in the same year (1003/1594) addressing to the mütevellî of the Sultan Süleyman's waqf:

*“Decree to the mütevellî of [ingenious] Sultan Süleyman Han:
Although there is no stipulation referring to the assignment of surplus payment, in time, 3.660 akçe were allocated (yearly 20.084 akçe). Apart from the payments of the permanent staff in the waqf of the mosques and soup kitchen, there are other expenses for the maintenance and repair like Kağıthane waterways, eleven aqueducts in rural, more than 300 fountains in İstanbul. In this case, if the surplus-receivers's allocation is continued, it will lead to a burden on the waqf budget. Thus, from now on, if there is a vacant position among the surplus-receivers, there would be no replacement and the payment shall remain in the waqf budget.”¹⁰²*

This document is important for a number of reasons. Although, it is mentioned that surplus-receivers are not subjected to any payment in waqfiyye, 3.660 akçe (yearly 20.084 akçe) was given them within the lapse of time (*mürur-ı zamanla zevâid tarikiyle üç bin altı yüz altmış dokuz akçe ve senevi on üç yük yirmi bin seksen dört akçe olup*). Secondly, their payment was halted to pay for the repair cost of waterways and fountains more than 300 in İstanbul. Thus, since the waqf undertook a wide range of repair, there were no funds for the new-comers of surplus-receivers. Therefore, although the waqf still had a budget to surplus-receivers; it undertook to sustain welfare structures. In that sense, it is understood that the waqf had a responsibility to protect and preserve infrastructure in its locality. While doing so, the waqf decreased

¹⁰² “Merhum Sultan Süleyman Han tabe serâhu evkâf-ı mütevellisine hüküm ki: Müşârun-ileyhin mahruse-i İstanbul'da vâkı olan cami-i şerif ve imaret-i âmiresinin mamulün-biha vakfiyesinde zevâid vazîfesi tâyin olunmuş değil iken mürur-ı zamanla zevâid tarikiyle üç bin altı yüz altmış dokuz akçe ve senevi on üç yük yirmi bin seksen dört akçe olup cāmi-i şerif ve imaret-i âmirenin vezâife mukarrer ve masarif-i lazimesinden gayri Kağıthane su yolları ve taşrada on bir yerde su kemerleri ve su karizleri ve mahruse-i İstanbul'da üç yüzden mütecâviz çeşmelerin tımar ve termimine lâzım gelen ihrâcât cümle-i evkâf-ı mezbureden olduğundan zevâid müstemir olursa külli zaaf müterettib olacağı mukarrerdir diye arz olunmağla min-bâd mahlul düşen zevâid vazîfeleri ahara verilmeyip vakfa kalması”. A.DVNS.MHM. d.073.00236.

the number of people on its payroll. A similar document also indicates a difficult financial situation that effected the surplus-receivers' payment:

*“The mütevellî of the waqf of the late and reverend Sultan Süleyman in İstanbul, Dervîş Ağa, sent a petition saying that there is still a debt of 1.380.000 akçe for the purchase of the waqf and a debt of 1.640.000 akçe for surplus-receivers (in total 3.020.000 akçe) from the terms of former mütevellîs. When the mütevellî of the waqf set to collect the debt, his place was given to others and the waqf became disorganized. Still, there is a need of collecting the debt and it is more suitable to check the debtors in their place. Thus, following the petition of 15 June 1597 for the issue of an Imperial order, a receipt for the issuance of the order was given by the treasury on the same day stipulating that from now on, nobody should interfere with the administration and that two servants are appointed to this effect .”*¹⁰³

This waqf occurred a debt of 1.380.000 akçe due to purchases. To pay the surplus-receivers, the waqf needed 1.640.000 extra akçe which put the waqf into a financially difficult situation.

A similar case in the *mühimme* registers is clearer about the surplus-receivers' payment when there is a financial trouble of the waqf:

¹⁰³ “İstanbul’da vākî merhūm ve mağfūrūnleh Sultān Süleymān Han evkāfî mütevellîsi Dervîş Ağa ‘arz gönderüb sâbıkā mütevellîler zamānından vakfin hālā ihrācāta on üç yük ve seksen bin akçe ve zevā’idhorān vazîfesine on altı yük ve kırk bin akçe duyūn ki cem’ān otuz yük akçe olur ve ummāl zimmetinde dāhî altmış yük akçe bakāyā olub mütevellîler tahsîle çıkduklarında yerleri āhere verilüb ahvāl-i vakf muhtel ve müşevveş kalmışdır hālā varub tahsîl olunmak lâzım olub bu kulları yerlū yeründen görüb tahsîl ve evkāfî tashîh etmek kâbildir lâkin bu kullarınun dāhî yeri āhere verilmeyüb istimālet verilüb ve tahsîle istihdām ve mu’āvenet için iki kapucu ta’yīn olunmak lâzım ve mühimdir bu takdirce in-şā-allahu ta’ālā bakāyā tahsîl olub kat’-i ‘alāka olmak memūldur deyü vech-i meşrūh üzere hükm-i şerîf ricāsına i’lām eylediği sene bin beş Şevvālinin yigirmi dokuzuncu günü ‘arz olundukda min ba’d tevliyyetine kimesne dahl etmemek üzere emr-i şerîf ve iki kapucu verilmek fermān olunmağın mâliye tarafından vech-i meşrūh üzere hükm-i şerîf verilmek için işbu tezkere verildi tahriren fî târîhi’l-mezbūr.” MAD 7336.

“Decree to the the mütevellî of the Waqf of the late and reverend Sultan Süleyman Han, Abdi Çelebi

*Still, the surplus-receivers exceedingly benefit from the waqf and payments become inadequate for the permanent staffs of the waqf and other expenses thus it causes trouble to the waqf. There shall be order of mine stating that thereafter, there shall be no payment given to the surplus-receivers, still, there is payment to them. Thus, I order that there shall be no payment to the surplus-receivers more than daily a thousand akçe and when the payment reached to a thousand akçe daily, there shall never be a payment to anyone.”*¹⁰⁴

There is a strict order with regard to surplus-receivers sent from center to Abdi Çelebi, the *mütevellî* of the Waqf of Sultan Süleyman because surplus-receivers were exceedingly benefitting from the soup kitchen. This situation forced permanent staff to receive less and that was a burden to the waqf. In order to solve this problem, handing over more than 1.000 thousand akçe (daily) to surplus-receivers was prohibited. In this passage, it is mentioned that surplus-receivers jeopardized even waqf officers' salaries. Furthermore, this kind of examples were not only restricted to waqfs in the center. For instance, the Waqf of Bayezid in Amasya was ordered not to appoint anyone to the vacant place of any surplus-receivers.¹⁰⁵ (H. 1002/M. 1593)

The last excerpt from the *mühimme* registers is different from the abovementioned ones. The order sent to the İznik kadi dictates that he should buy horses from the surplus of the waqf at İznik and feed them. The one who grooms them would receive

¹⁰⁴ “Hālā imāret-i mezbûre mahsûlünden zevâ'id-horân ziyâde-i kesret üzere olmağla mahsulü erbâb-ı vezâife ve sâ'ir masârifâ kifâyet eylemeyüb müzâyaka virdüğü sâbıkân 'ilâm olunmayub min ba'd düşeni mahlûl zevâ'id verilmeye deyu emrim olmuş iken ol emr u şerîfime muhalîf geri düşen zevâ'id verilmeğle külli müzâyaka verildiği istima' olunmağın imâret-i mezbûreden min bad günde bin akçeden yukaru zevâ'id verilmeyüb men olunmak emr edüb buyurdum ki vusul buldukda bu babda daimen mukayyed olub imâret-i mezbûreden verilen zevâ'id günde bin akçeliğe erişdikden sonra emr-i şerîfime muhalîf ziyâde asla bir ferde zevâ'id vermeyesiz.” A.DVNS.MHM.00052.00015.

¹⁰⁵ TSMA. D. 5719.

one akçe per horse or surplus-receivers would be dismissed and horses would be taken from different places. In addition, the center demands to learn who these surplus-receivers are and how much many they were given, in detail. Furthermore, different from previous examples, the surplus-receiver is faced not with a budget cut but with dismissal from their duty:

“Decree to the kadi of İznik

*Following upon your letter: since there is a shortage of messengers, you mentioned that horses from the surplus of the waqf at İznik shall be bought and they will be fed and the horse groom would receive one akçe per horse or [alternatively] surplus-receivers would be dismissed and horses shall be bought from different places. However, you did not inform us as to that who the surplus-receivers are, how much payment they will get. Thus, you shall write and inform what about the identity of the surplus-receiver and how much money these people will get in detail.”*¹⁰⁶

In this introductory chapter, the effort was to present the group of surplus-receiver before examining them in wider scope. So far, their distinctive features that distinguishing them from the ordinary officers of the waqf was put forth. Also, a criticism about their payment and their place in the waqf was given from earlier studies to point a different perspective. Since they were subjected to the procedure of the waqf, the number in some selected Imperial Waqfs were offered. To be more precise in terms of surplus-receiver registers in the archives, their account's discourse was mentioned: their separate headings and the system of listing. Furthermore, the people whom the

¹⁰⁶ “İznik kadısına hüküm ki: Mektub gönderüb ulak kesret üzere olmağla reaya mütezahir olub kaza-i İznik’de vakı olan imaretler zevâidinden birer ikişer atlar alınub besleyip ve tımar iden kimesne at başına birer akçe ulufe tayin olunub ve yahud zevâid cihetler ref olunub kırk yerden atlar olunub besleyüb tımar eylemek için emr-ü şerifim verilmesin bildirmişsin amma arz eylediğin cihetler nemekule cihetler olub kaçar akçe olduğunu ve kimler mutasarrıf olduğu i’lâm eylememişsiz imdi buyurdum ki vusul buldukda takayyüd eylemeyüb zikr olunan cihetler nemekule cihetler olub kimler tasarruf eder ne kadar akçe alır tafsili üzre yazub bildirsesüz.” A. DVNS. MHM. 00019.00150.

registers cover were displayed which is very indispensable to understand more about surplus-receivers through the diversified headings. In waqf account books, when it comes to the procedure of the surplus-receivers, when the waqfs were in financial trouble and they in need of a budget cut for some expenses, the first group affected were the surplus-receivers. Their payments were subjected to a cut for a certain time since they are not the official employee of the waqf. In addition, the center put a limit to the payment of surplus-receivers if it was required, or even worse, they could face the threat of being discharged from their duty.

3.2. Procedure in Waqfs for *zevāid-horāns*

Crucial to our understanding is the selection procedure of how beneficiaries acquired their assignment or payment and if they are able to demand a position as being surplus-receiver. To get an answer requires consulting a variety of sources. Waqf/ Surplus-receivers' account books, *tevcih* (officials document of assigning a duty) and *mühimme* registers offer an insight about this procedure.

Although the account books of surplus-receivers are scarce, we can reconstruct the procedure of assignment to their duties, how they gained their position and how they had their payment assigned. Firstly, it is significant to understand how they claimed a payment from the waqf. A petition found in *Cevdet Fonu* in *BOA* reveals that they state poverty and demand payment:

“It is the petition of Sela’had-din Derviş who wishes you well

*He requests 25 akçe as alms from the late Sultan Murad Han Waqf in
Edirne due to extreme poverty. Date: 20 October 1595.*

*May Allah protect our generous and merciful Sultan from all trouble,
... your subject Derviş requests 25 akçe from the the late Sultan Murad*

*Han Waqf in Edirne and a fair amount of food from the soup kitchen
since he was extremely poor....*¹⁰⁷

This petition indicates the request of a position in waqf and food from the Waqf of Sultan Murat Han Camii in return for stating his insolent condition. What is interesting is that the application was done by the *mütevelli* of the waqf, by Derviş Selahaddin. Thus, this document carries clues about the procedure, at least, it helps us to realize and form a frame in order to enlighten this issue. Since the *mütevelli* is responsible for the allocation of the budget surplus by the permission of the center, he would be the one to nominate a recipient or even the person in need might have applied to the waqf for assistance. Also, since the *mütevelli* is an active person in the waqf neighborhood he might have become aware of the needy. After that, he could organize documents indicating the needy and the demand of their money or food as seen in the petition above and he conveys the case to the kadi. If the kadi found this demand reasonable, it went to the Sultan to grant the permission. Perhaps, the chief black eunuch's (*darü'ssade ağası*) submission or the grand vizier's *telhis* to the Sultan might weigh heavily at this point. The role of kadi is still ambiguous and needs further research. However, it is known that surplus-receivers had a kind of title-deed and their document is renewed as to "*cülus-ı hümayun*".¹⁰⁸ It is an important practice since it is known that this procedure is applied for the permanent staff of the waqf, however, in the procedure of surplus-receivers, the same practice is available for them, as well.

¹⁰⁷ "Sela'had-din derviş duacılarının dest-i? Arzuhalidir: Ziyāde-i fakrū'l hal ve kesirū'l-ıyal olmağla Edirne'de Merhum Sultan Murad Han evkāfi zevāidinden yirmi beş akçe vazife-i sadaka buyurulmasın rica ider. Tarih fi 20 Şevval sene 1004. Mürüvvetlū ve merhametlū Sultanım hazretlerinin hakkı sübhānehu ve tealayı vücudu şerifinin hıtta ve kazadan hıfz edilmeğın bu muhallasınızın kadim-i emekdar vacibū'l-reaya ve lazımlū'l himayelerimizden olan iş bu hafız varaka-i ... ki derviş kulları fakrū'l hal ve kesirū'l-ıyal olmağın... fakir ...aziz mübarek başgöz ... halin merhamet ve şefkat idüb mahruse-i Edirne'de vakı merhum sultan murat han camii-i şerif evkaf-ı zevāidinden yevmi beş akçe vazife ve imaret-i amiresinden bir mikdar aş sadaka ... hayr ... olur." AE.SAMD.I.00001.00095.001.

¹⁰⁸ YB. 04. DN: 2, GN: 9, Y: H. 1033 (M. 1623). In the document it is written that Seyyid Esad's (who is the surplus-receiver of the Waqf of Gazi Süleyman Paşa) title-deed was renewed as to enthronement of the Sultan under the same conditions.

There are other applications for people who are unable to sustain their jobs:

*“A Certain Mehmed came and stated that he fell into fire and his hands were burnt. He mentioned that he was poor and unable to perform his duty. Upon his request, he was given 3 para and food from the first vacant place of the surplus-receiver of the waqf and soup kitchen of the late Sultan Süleyman in Damascus”*¹⁰⁹

Mehmed’s reason for asking charity was due to a handicap since his hands were burnt. He added that he was poor, unable to conduct his duty. Upon this, it is ordered that when one of the positions of surplus-receivers became vacant in the Waqf of Sultan Süleyman in Damascus, it would be conferred to him with a salary of 3 para and food. In a similar example:

*“Şerif Hüseyin came and stated that he was poor. It is decreed that when there is a suitable position among surplus-receivers, he shall get it with the order from center to the kadi of Bursa”*¹¹⁰

Şerif Hüseyin claimed insolvency and requested a vacant position among the surplus-receivers. This is part of an imperial order addressing the kadi of Bursa. Thus, when the position is given to a surplus-receiver, the waqf pays attention to the convenience of this position to the person who will be a surplus-receiver.

With regard to the general procedure for gaining the right to become a surplus-receiver, it seems that the Sultan has a right of *tevliyet* (the administration) over the

¹⁰⁹ “Mehmed nām-ı kimesne gelüb ateşe düşüb iki elin acayib olub fakr’ül hāl ve kesbe kadir olmadığın bildirüb ināyet rica eylemeğin Merhum Sultan Süleyman han tabe serāhunun Şam-ı şerifde vakı olan imāret-i amireleri evkāf-ı zevāidinden vazife mutasarrıf olanlardan ibtida vākı olan mahlulünden üç para ve fukarā aşı verilmek buyuruldu.” A.DVNS.MHM.00045.00074.

¹¹⁰ “Şerif Hüseyin gelüb fakirü’l-hāl olduğunu bildirmeğin haline münāsib cihet ve yahud zevāid düşdükde arz oluna deyü Brusa (Bursa) kadısına emr-ü şerif buyuruldu.” A.DVNS.MHM.00045.00080.

Imperial Waqfs. Through this right, he was able to control the budget surplus of the waqf. In other words, the *Sultan* acts as a *mütevelli* of the waqf. He controls the financial sources of the waqf and he decides how to distribute money. This is why the surplus-receivers gained their monies through *berāt*.

A sample from a *telhis* denotes how the ruler decided the payment of surplus:

“Decree that the mudarris of the waqf of Dārü’l-hadīs in İstanbul, retired (beadsman) Zeyni who got daily 100 akçe from the surplus of Süleymaniye and 200 akçe from the reverend tomb (total 300 akçe) was already declared dead. He had an old and weak mother and a sister, they are extremely poor and they demanded a right (a payment) from the vacancy of Zeyni. My great and wealthy Sultan, they might be given a right since they are extremely poor, they have requested a right of a couple of akçe. How much akçe my generous Sultan decides to give shall be informed to the mütevelli of the waqf and the order shall be given by my great and wealthy Sultan. My exalted Sultan, the late Zeyni Efendi always prayed for you and his mother and sister offer their blessing; thus, the order for giving them payment is the decision of our great and wealthy Sultan.

Reply:

20 akçe shall be given to his mother and 10 akçe to his sister”¹¹¹

¹¹¹ “*Telhis – Vezir Yemişçi Hasan Paşanıdır: Arz-ı bende-i bî-mikdār budur ki, Süleymaniye zevāidinden yevmi 100 ve türbe-i şerife zevāidinden 200 cümle 300 akçe tekāüd ile İstanbul’da Dārü’l-hadīs müderrisi olan Zeynī du‘ācıları dār-ı ahrete intikal eylediği ma‘lūm-ı hümayūnları olmuş idi. Mumāileyhin bir pîr ve zaîf validesi ve hemşiresi vardır; gāyetde fakîrler olmağın müşārunileyhün mahlūlunden kifāyet mikdārı vazîfe ināyet olunmasın reca ederler. Devletlū pādīşāhum bunlara vazîfe ammā mezbûreler gāyetde fakîrler olup mahall-i merhamet oldukları ecilden ulemā du‘ācılarında ekser du‘ācıları birkaç akçe vazîfe ināyet olunmasın reca eylemişlerdür. Mürüvvetlū pādīşāhumun kemāl-i ināyetlerinden ne mikdār sadaka buyurulursa işāret-i aliyye buyurula ki devletlū ve mürüvvetlū pādīşāhuma sadaka olmak için mütevelli sine ana göre tenbîh olunup vazifeleri verile; ol bâbda emr-ü fermān devletlū pādīşāhumundur. Sa‘ādetlū pādīşāhum, merhūm Zeynī Efendi pādīşāhumun müstakil du‘ācısı idi vālidesi ve hemşiresi dahı du‘āası alınacak hātunlar imiş; sadaka buyurulmak bâbında fermān devletlū pādīşāhumundur. Reply: Anasına 20 akçe verile ve hemşiresine 10*

The Pasha recommends the payment in the form of alms to the mother and sister of Zeynī Efendi, the mudarris of *Dārü'l-hadīs* in İstanbul. His mother and sister claimed poverty and 20 *akçe* were given to the wife of Zeynī Efendi and 10 *akçe* to the sister. These two people were not directly registered as surplus-receiver; however, they gained their income from the budget surplus of the waqf.

Some accounts become more specific and detailed if the surplus-receiver first gains a right of having payment as seen in the sample below.

Mustafa ibtidā şod

ba hatt-ı hümayun

ber müceb-i berāt-ı Ali Şān

*fī 7 ramazan sene esnein ve elf an mahlul-ı mezbureyn*¹¹²

In the excerpt of the waqf account book above, a certain Mustafa gained his right with an Imperial order (*ba hatt-ı hümayun* - with the order of center). Another important point of this excerpt is that the phrase *ber müceb-i berāt-ı Āli Şān*, meant that he is obliged to pay the expenses of the *berāt* to renew his position. Actually, the position is similar to the permanent staff of the waqf. Through the conferment, the bearer has obligations and legal rights.

In another register, which is a *fodula-horān* (bread receiver) record of the Çelebi Mehmed's waqf, it is understood that there is a budgetary problem. Apart from that, the power of central government decreased in the 18th century since local governors, local *kadis* issued variety of documents which granted rights. As a result, the waqf lost its control over the rising number of the beneficiaries. Ultimately, the center made the

akçe [verile].” Cengiz Orhonlu, Osmanlı Tarihine Aid Belgeler: Telhisler (1597-1607), İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1970, hkm. no.29, pp. 25-26.

¹¹² MAD 6778. Bolayır Süleyman Paşa Vakfı. It is a requirement to note that records are taken from a wide range of examples within these documents. In others, abundant of examples can be seen in similar documents, as well.

allocation contingent on having a certificate from the Imperial Treasury.¹¹³ As in the example below, the kadi and the pashas of Bursa would not keep a record for waqf without the permission of Chief Black Eunuch. Instead, the account of the waqf was given directly to the Chief Black Eunuch, meaning that certificates for gaining right would be done through the Chief Black Eunuch's permission:

"Hasan Efendi the accountant of the Accounting Office of the Holy Cities:

*You shall keep this register safe in the Accounting Office and for the reason that the waqf exigently demands it, from now on, without a petition of the Chief Black Eunuch you shall not register (a new beneficiary) for the vacancies through a petition of judges and pashas of Bursa, and of waqf administrators, even if the waqf administrators issue a certificate anyhow you shall be given by the petition of Chief Black Eunuch and be registered accordingly. You shall be very careful not to disobey the order, (written on) 10 September 1659"*¹¹⁴

Furthermore, although they do not occupy any official cadre in the waqf as indicated in the foundation deed, the surplus-receivers' right is renewed with the order of the central state, when a new Sultan ascended the throne (By looking at the approximate date of the account book, the year comes across the change of the Sultan, from Murat the III to Mehmet the III):

¹¹³ Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy," 171-185.

¹¹⁴ "Haremeyn-i şerifeyn muhasebecisi Hasan Efendi-Evkâf-ı mezburenin işbu defteri muhasebede muhkem hıfz idüb vakfın kemal mertebe zarureti olmağla cümle vâkı° olan mahlulâtı bundan böyle izzetlü darü'ssâde ağası hazretleri arz idüb ve müşârünileyh hazretlerinin arzı olmadıkça min ba'd Bursa kadıları ve paşaları ve mütevelliler leri arzıyla bir nesne deftere kayd eylemeyüb muhkem zabt eylesin şöyleki mütevelliler bir târik ile verirlerse asla muhasebelerine dahil eylemeyüb cümlesi izzetlü darü'ssâde ağası hazretlerinin arzıyla verilüb ve deftere kayd olunub hilâfında begâyet ihtiraz üzere olasin fi 22 Zilhicce sene 1069 (1658/1659)". MAD 5513. The translation of the document was taken from: Kayhan Orbay, "Distributing Food, Bread and Cash: Vakıf Taamhoran and Fodulahoran Registers as Archival Sources for Imarets", in Feeding People, Feeding Power; Imarets in the Ottoman Empire, İstanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, p. 188.

*berāt-ı cedid-i sitāde berāy-ı çavuş-u hümayun fî 14 şevval sene erbaa ve elf
(H. 1004/ M. 1595)¹¹⁵*

The following document is broadly consistent with the major frame with regard to change of assignments. In the case of surplus-receivers, they have a right to hand over their duties to the family member as indicated in the passage taken from one of the published court registers:

“This is the decree of the Sultan, having the supreme glory, the holy sign and the brightest tughra in the world and doing favor with the help of God:

Mehmet who was a surplus-receiver with an allowance of two akçe from the Fazlullah Pasha Waqf in Üsküdar (Gekvize) died and one akçe would be given to his son Ahmed by Imperial order and [with the permission] by the kadi -may God raise his knowledge- Mevlana Abdurrahim. I order that he shall be given one akçe instead of his late father and he shall continue praying for my throne.

Date: 15 June 1000. The place: İstanbul.”¹¹⁶

Replacement of allowance materialized in a variety of questions. According to the documents, some people who occupy the position for a certain time. Fundamentally, the procedure came about in different forms: one could die (*müteveffā şod*) and another one replaces his/her place (*becāyeş*), or, one can renounce his right for the duty (*ferāgat*

¹¹⁵ MAD 6778.

¹¹⁶ “Nişān-ı şerîf-i âlişān-ı sāmî mekân-ı sultānî tuğrā-yı garrā-yı cihān sitān-ı hākānî hükmü oldur ki Mahrûse-i Üsküdar’a tâbi ‘kasaba-i Gekvize’de medfûn Fazlullah Paşa zevâidinden yevmî iki akçe zevâid-hor olan Mehmed fevt olup yeri hālî kalmazın yevmî bir akçesi oğlu olan işbu dârende-i fermân-ı hümayûn Ahmed’e tevcîh olunup berât ricâsına kadısı akzâ kuzâtî’l-müslimîn Mevlânâ Abdurrahim -zîdet fezâiluhü- arz itmeğîn sadaka edip bu berât-ı hümayûnu verdim ve buyurdum ki varıp müteveffâ babası yerine zikr olunan zevâidden yevmî bir akçe mutasarrıf olup vâkıfın rûhu ve benim devâm-ı devletim için du’âya müdâvemet göstere şöyle bilesiz alâmet-i şerîfe i’timâd kılasız.” Üsküdar 84, cilt: 10, sayfa: 552, Hüküm no: 1074, Orijinal metin no: [104b-1].

şod) or one can be subjected to removal from duty with his/her own will (*ref şod*). For instance:¹¹⁷

müteveffā şod becāyeş Emine Hātun āmed
fī yevm
3 akçe

In this record, it is understood that one surplus-receiver is dead and another replaced him with a daily allowance of three *akçe*.

Fatıma Hātun
fī yevm
2

*Müteveffā şod ve vazife eş be Mustafa dade ve der Zir mukayyed est*¹¹⁸

In this record, Fatıma Hatun replaced Mustafa with daily allowance of two *akçe* following Mustafa's death.

Sometimes benefits are given in the form of wheat or barley instead of cash. However, such instances are infrequently occurring.¹¹⁹

Sometimes malicious attempts to misappropriate funds led to disputes, like in the register of *Ergene*:¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ MAD 5231.

¹¹⁸ MAD 6778.

¹¹⁹ MAD 6778.

¹²⁰ MAD 6778.

Salih

fî yevm

3

*ref şod be Şeyh Abd'ül-kerim sahibi evvel mukarrer şode ber müceb-i
ez an sebeb ki vefât-ı gayrı vuku bude ba arz-ı Osman Ağa en nazır fî
13 ramazan sene 1004 fî yevm 3*

Apparently, Salih lost his allowance since Şeyh Abd'ül-kerim who was proclaimed dead was actually not dead and he was turned back to his duty with the decree of Osman Agha. A number of options could have led to this misunderstanding. Firstly, Salih was really in need of getting payment since he was poor and declared to waqf that Şeyh Abd'ül-kerim was dead. Then, he might have wanted to be appointed to his vacant place. However, the waqf might have found out that Şeyh Abd'ül-kerim was not dead and his duty was given to him. Hence, Salih might have tried to deceit the waqf. Finally, the waqf might receive an information that Şeyh Abd'ül-kerim was dead and they wanted to replace him.

This chapter focused on the procedure regarding surplus-receivers. It discussed their claims, whether they technically belonged to the need; who was responsible for conferring the right and which type of documents discuss the grant. Although the documents are not explicit about the nature of the need, it seems that jobless, insolent relatives of former dignitaries were among the beneficiaries. As understood from the *telhis* and the *mühimme* registers, the ultimate decision maker is the *Sultan* himself, following the recommendation of the *mütevelli* and the *kadi* since the is the one who carries situation to the *Sultan*. These assumptions are all based on the *telhis*, *mühimme* registers and waqf account books (particularly the marginal notes are rather helpful to see the details). Apart from this procedure, surplus-receivers can leave their place to another and they can be expelled from their duty. Besides, there is a kind of deceit in taking the place of another surplus-receiver. Thus, these occurrences indicate a delicate line between need and greediness.

3.3. Familiar *zевāid-horāns*: A So-Called “Family Company”

It is clear from the document so far that most of the surplus-receivers were either connected to waqfs or their needs were known within the public sphere of the pious endowments. It is easy to think that their public sphere, which is comparatively more restricted than today’s understanding, enable them to have autonomous space and spring up their social identities.¹²¹ Thus, they may have information about who is needy.

In the samples below, some of the surplus-receivers were sons/daughters of a *çelebi* or the wife of a *Derviş*. All those entitled were successively registered in some documents as seen in *Bolayır Süleyman Pasha Waqf*:¹²²

Süleyman ibn Recep Efendi

fî yevm

5

(Süleyman the son of Recep Efendi)

Şehriyar Hātun bint-i Recep Efendi

fî yevm

10

(Şehriyar Hātun the daughter of Recep Efendi)

¹²¹ Cemal Kafadar, “How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern İstanbul”, *Medieval and Early Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen & Evelyn Birge Vitz, LMEMS 20, Brepols: 2014, p. 250.

¹²² MAD 5017.

Muhammed bin Mustafa kethüda

fî yevm

5

(Muhammed the son of Mustafa chamberlain)

Fatma Hâtun tâbe-i Hasan Çelebi

fî yevm

2

(Fatma Hâtun related to Hasan Çelebi)

The structure is the same in the registers of the Waqf of *Süleymāniye* under the heading, *mevāli zādegān*.¹²³

Abdurrahman Çelebi bin Abdü'sselim

fî yevm

10

(Abdurrahman Çelebi, the son of Abdü'sselim, daily payment ten)

Abdü'lhalim Çelebi bin Abdü'sselim

fî yevm

10

(Abdü'lhalim Çelebi, the son of Abdü'sselim, daily payment ten)

The two sons of *Abdü'sselim* received the same payment, daily.

Şeyh Mehmed bin Melih Efendi

fî yevm

20

(Şeyh Mehmed the son of Melih Efendi, daily payment twenty)

¹²³ MAD 4503.

Ahmed Çelebi bin Melih Efendi

fî yevm

20

(Ahmed Çelebi the son of Melih Efendi, daily payment twenty)

Again, two sons of Melih Efendi receive the same payment, per day.

In *Eyyüb el-Ensarî* Waqf, daughters/sons of the surplus-receivers' are identified as referring them as *evlād-ı zevāid* (the son of surplus-receiver).¹²⁴

Mevlānā Bāiz Çelebi evlād-ı zevāid

fî yevm

7

Mehmed Çelebi evlād-ı zevāid

fî yevm

5

Family ties allow the transfer of the right to the offspring of the initial beneficiary. In the examples given above, beneficiaries came from high-ranking status (*mevālî zādegān*). In addition, the sons/daughters are defined as *evlād-ı zevāid* indicating thus a position.

3.4. High-ranking *zevāid-horāns* and Some Inferences about Payment Structure

When it comes to payment, there is a different pattern according to rank and status. In surplus-receivers' accounts and waqf account books, it is apparent that the highest salaries are paid to *kadiasker-i sabık* under the heading of *mevālî-izām*.¹²⁵ Mehmet İpşirli states that military judges were allocated 75-100 akçe daily by the end of 15th

¹²⁴ MAD 6236.

¹²⁵ Mehmet İpşirli, "kazasker" in Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 25, 2002, p. 141.

century and in the beginning of 16th century. Towards the end of 16th century they were allocated daily 150-200 *akçe*. In 17th century, their payments were raised to 250 *akçe*. Some of the military judges were allocated more with the final decision was made by Porte. Lutfi Pasha, as narrated by İpşirli, asserted the necessity of payment to retired military judges. Concordantly, military judges' pensions were paid through the income surplus of waqfs, mostly, from the Hagia Sophia and the Süleymaniye Mosque. Archival sources used in this thesis verifies that the local governors who received higher payment were paid out of the budget of the Hagia Sophia and the Süleymaniye Mosque.

In Süleymaniye İmaretı Waqf, the highest salary of *kadıasker-i sâbık* range from 120 *akçe* to 180 *akçe*:¹²⁶

Mevlânâ Hüsam Efendi

kadı asker-i sabık

fî yevm

180

*‘an gurre-i receb-i îla gâyet-i ramazan sene
erba‘a (1004) üç eşür
12.300*

Mevlânâ ‘Ali Çelebi Efendi

kadıasker-i sabık

fî yevm

180

Mevlânâ Abd’ül-rezzak Efendi

kadıasker-i Brusa

fî yevm

180

¹²⁶ MAD 4503.

There are also the governor generals from the province of Rumeli.¹²⁷

Mevāli-i Memdullah Efendi

Kadıasker-i sâbık-ı vilayet-i Rum ili

(the former governor general in Rumelia)

fî yevm

180

Mevāli-i Abd'ullah Efendi

Kadıasker-i sâbık-ı vilayet-i Rum ili

(the former governor general in Rumelia)

Mevāli-i Muslihiddin Efendi

Kadıasker-i sâbık-ı vilāyet-i Rum ili

(the former governor general in Rumelia)

fî yevm

180

Their high salaries reflect the highest degree of responsibility they had when in active service. Moreover, when they are on duty, it is known that their salaries were rather high. Their daily payment could be up to five hundred akçe (particularly, if they were first-ranking judge of İstanbul or Edirne).¹²⁸

As the other account books of surplus-receivers' supports, they have been in important centres and commerce points as well as religiously eminent places in Ottoman Empire.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ MAD 6482.

¹²⁸ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlılarda Devlet Teşkilâtı ve Sosyal Yapı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991, pp. 15-16.

¹²⁹ MAD 5708.

*Mevlānā Abd'ur-rauf Efendi kadı asker-i sâbık
Mekke-i mükerreme*

fi yevm

50

(the former governor general in reverend Mecca)

Furthermore, these people were *mazul* meaning that they were filling the vacant position of previous surplus-receiver. Thanks to the marginal notes, it is easy to follow who follows whom, where he comes from, where he is appointed to and if there is a change in their payments:¹³⁰

müteveffā şod

mevâcib-i Mevlānā Abd'ur-rauf efendi kadı sabık-ı Mekke-i Mükerreme

fi yevm

5

(Mevlānā Abd'ur-rauf the late local governor of reverend Mecca, dead)

vazife-i Mevlānā İbrahim efendi kadı sâbık-ı Brusa an mahlul-ı

Abd'ur-rauf Efendi

(in the vacant place of Mevlānā Abd'ur-rauf Efendi who is dead, İbrahim
Efendi who was the former local governor of Bursa came)

¹³⁰ BOA, MAD5708. The Waqf of *Kanuni Sultan Süleymān*, pp. 4-5.

müteveffā şod

Mevlānā İslam Efendi

fi yevm

100

el-müşahere

800

*(dead, Mevlānā İslam Efendi, daily 100 akçe, with
the exclusion of regular payment, 800 akçe)*

*vazife Mevlānā Nasr'ullah efendi kadı sabık-ı Yenişehir an 18
cemaziye'l-evvel sene erba ve elf an mahlul İslam Efendi*

*[in the vacant place of Mevlānā İslam Efendi who is died, Nasr'ullah
Efendi the former local governor of Yenişehir replaced (the former) in the year
of 1004 (1595/1596)]*

Mevlānā Muhiddin efendi muarriřzade

fi yevm

?

(Mevlānā muhiddin Efendi, chamberlain)

*vazife-i Mevlānā Mustafa Efendi kadı-i Şam Şerif sâbık an mahlul
muarriřzade ki müteveffā şod*

*(In the vacant place of muarriřzade who died, the former local governor
of Damascus the reverend, Mustafa Efendi)*

The payment of the salaries follows a different pattern and irregularity among the waqfs. For instance, in the Waqf of Bolayır Süleyman Paşa, surplus-receivers were paid regularly, for seven months.¹³¹ Above the lines, the months are indicated. Ditto marks above the months, most probably, show whether the payment of the related month is done or not.

//	//	//	//	//	//	//	
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>	
<i>Şehr</i>			<i>Mehmed bin Receb Efendi</i>			<i>fî yevm</i>	
450						15	

(Mehmed, son of Receb Efendi, daily payment of 15 akçe, monthly 450 akçe)

//	//	//	//	//	//	//	
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>	
<i>Şehr</i>			<i>Süleyman ibn-i Receb Efendi</i>			<i>fî yevm</i>	
150						5	

Süleyman, son of Receb Efendi, daily payment of 5 akçe, monthly 150 akçe)

//	//	//	//	//	//	//	
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>	
<i>Şehr</i>			<i>Şehriyâr Hâtun bint-i Receb Efendi</i>			<i>fî yevm</i>	
450						15	

(Şehriyâr Hâtun, wife of Receb Efendi, daily payment of 15 akçe, monthly 450 akçe)

¹³¹ MAD 5017.

//	//	//	//	//	//	//
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>

<i>Şehr</i>	<i>Muhammed bin Mustafa kethüdā</i>	<i>fī yevm</i>
150		5

(Muhammed, son of Mustafa kethüdā, daily payment of 5 akçe, monthly 150 akçe)

//	//	//	//	//	//	//
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>

<i>Şehr</i>	<i>Süleyman (?) mülāzım</i>	<i>fī yevm</i>
240		8

(Süleymān, lieutenant, daily payment of 8 akçe, monthly 240 akçe)

//	//	//	//	//	//	//
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>

<i>Şehr</i>	<i>Derviş ʿAli, mütekāʿid</i>	<i>fī yevm</i>
120		4

(Derviş Ali, retired, daily payment of 4 akçe, monthly 120 akçe)

//	//	//	//	//	//	//
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>

<i>Şehr</i>	<i>Fazl'ullah Halife</i>	<i>fī yevm</i>
60		2

(Fazlullah Halife, daily payment of 2 akçe, monthly 60 akçe)

//	//	//	//	//	//	//
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>
<i>Şehr</i>					<i>Hayrūnisā Hātun binti-i Hasan Çelebi</i>	<i>fī yevm</i>
60						2

(Fatma Hātun, daughter of Hasan Çelebi, daily payment of 2, monthly 60 akçe)

In these records of payment, each person receives their salary in the same months. The lines above the abbreviations of the months most probably point out that surplus-receivers' payment was done. For the other months, it is not clearly known if the payment was made in lump-sum.

In another record, which offers different pattern of payment included in the same account book, there is the heading as:

cemā^cat-i cerre horān ve zevāid horān-ı evkāf-ı merhūm-ı mezbūr

That means there are people who got payment both as *zevāid* and as *cerre-horān*. Specifically, *cerre-horān* received payment as having wheat or alongside to some amount of money, as well:

Abd'üt-talip

hınta

mudd

1

(Abd'ül talip, approximately taking
One kilo of wheat)

Süleymān bin Mustafa

hınta

mudd

1

(Süleyman, the son of Mustafa,
approximately taking one kilo of
wheat)

Fazlullah Halife

hinta

mudd

6

9 *Baki*
—
mudd
1

(Fazlullah Halife, approximately to receive 5 kilos of wheat, but, approximately one kilo of it cannot be given)

In the last example, it is noticeable that Fazlullah Halife also received 2 akçe daily (which corresponds to monthly 60 akçe) apart from wheat. There is another similar example where the beneficiary received the whole amount.

Hayrūnisā Hātun binti-i Hasan Çelebi

Hinta

mudd

3

//

(Hayrūnisā Hātun, daughter of Hasan Çelebi, approximately receiving 3 kilos of wheat, all of it delivered)

The irregularity of the payment can be spotted among the waqf's surplus-receivers. Nominately, in the Waqf of Hagia Sophia Mosque, different surplus-receivers retain their money with the varied months and if their payment is totally done in the related month, there is a ditto mark above the month:¹³²

¹³² MAD 6482.

//	//	//	//	//	//	//
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>

Mevlānā Mehmed bin Duralettin vaiz-i Cami-i Şerif-i Galata

fî'l yevm

13

(Mevlānā Mehmed, son of the preacher in the Mosque of Galata, daily 13 akçe)

					//	
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>

Mevlānā Şeyh Ahmed Nihadi

fî'l yevm

23

(Mevlānā Şeyh Ahmed Nihadi, daily 23 akçe)

					//	
<i>n.</i>	<i>ş.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>ca.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>Ra.</i>

Mevlānā Hacı Mehmed bin Sinan

fî'l yevm

15

(Mevlānā Hacı Mehmed, son of Sinan, daily 15 akçe)

//

n. ş. b. c. ca. R. Ra.

İbrāhim ve Abd'ullāh ve Abd'ül-hālim evlād-ı Mustafa Çelebi müderris

fi'l yevm

37

*(İbrāhim, Abd'ullāh and Abd'ül-hālim, the sons of Mustafa Çelebi the preacher,
daily 37 akçe)*

//

n. ş. b. c. ca. R. Ra.

Mevlānā Muhiddin Halveti

fi'l yevm

10

(Mevlānā Muhiddin Halveti, daily 10 akçe)

Mevlānā Bostan

fi'l yevm

5

(Mevlānā Bostan, daily 5 akçe)

n. ş. b. c. ca. R. Ra.

Mevlānā Şeyh Muslihiddin Efendi vaiz

fi'l yevm

5

*ziyāde şod
an mahlûl-ı Mustafa bin Mehmed
an gurre-i şehir-i receb sene 1002
fi yevm
5
el-müşāhere
900*

(Mevlānā Şeyh Muslihiddin Efendi, daily 5 akçe)

(Marginal note: In the vacant place of Mustafa, son of Mehmed, in the year of 1593/1594, six month's surpluses was paid, 900 akçe)

In this waqf, as clearly shown the payments were not made every month. Some surplus-receivers received only one-month payment.

In the heading taken from the waqf account book, surplus-receivers, the payment to the surplus-receivers in the time of the mütevellis, Derviş Efendi and Ahmet Efendi, was not done for some reason. Yet, after this heading, the payment of surplus-receivers can be followed. For some, there is the payments of the two months and some of them were paid-off.

In the case of surplus-receivers of the waqf in Edirne, payments were not properly allocated, too:¹³³

¹³³ D. 3568.

					//	//	//	//	//	//
Ram.	Şa.	R.	ca.	c.	Ra.	R.	m.	zh.	za.	Ş.

Abd'ül Murad Efendi

fi yevm

3

(Abd'ül Murad Efendi, daily 3 *akçe*)

	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//
Ram.	Şa.	R.	ca.	c.	Ra.	R.	m.	zh.	za.	Ş.

Seyyid Mustafa

fi yevm

5

(Seyyid Mustafa, daily 5 *akçe*)

Although payment was not properly given in the exact months for any variety of reasons (budget cuts of waqf due to financial difficulty), their payments are made collectively after a while. The register of these payments are given as the heading below. After this heading the surplus-receivers name, duty and payments are listed.¹³⁴

be cihet-i eda-i düyün ve guzeşte-i vezāif-i zevāid horān an zaman-ı Derviş Efendi ve Ahmed Efendi mütevellî yān-ı sâbık

(the payment of surplus-receivers remaining from the time of former *mütevellîs*, Derviş and Ahmed Efendi)

Another possible question to be asked is whether there is a transfer from one waqf to another. Again, in some cases there is an example for such an action:

¹³⁴ MAD 4503.

Muhammed bin İsmail der sakinān-ı İstanbul

fī yevm

5

*be zevāid-i evkāf-ı Sultan Selim Han-ı kadim-i der İstanbul tebdil şode*¹³⁵

Although the reason is not stated in the record, Muhammed, son of İsmail, was transferred to İstanbul. That means he would be receiving his money from the waqf of Sultan Selim in İstanbul. From the information given in the marginal note of this waqf account book, it is revealed that a surplus-receiver does not have to be tied to the waqf he first received payment from but he could change it. Another interpretation might be that the surplus-receiver changed his residence and his payment was transferred to the somewhere closer to his place. Thus, there was a transaction among the waqf members of surplus-receivers. Another example can be found in another waqf: ¹³⁶

Muslihiddin (?) cami-i merhum-u Sultan Bayezid

fī yevm

10

*oğulları Fahreddin feragat
edüb Bala'da kayd olunmuştur*

(Muslihiddin, receiver from the Mosque of deceased Sultan Bayezid, daily 10 akçe. His son Fahreddin, relinquish his position and registered in Balat)

¹³⁵ MAD 512.

¹³⁶ MAD 5708.

There is similar example, as well.¹³⁷

Mevlānā İbrahim Çelebi Piri

fî yevm

9

*Evkâf-ı Ayasofya-i kebir şod
ber müceb-i tezkere-i Hamid
Çelebi*

(Mevlānā İbrahim Çelebi Piri, daily 9 akçe. He was gone to the Waqf of Hagia Sophia with the official certificate of Hamid Çelebi)

Some of the account books of surplus-receivers are more explicit on different groups of surplus-receivers' and in terms of language, it is more accurate than the official language of *siyakat* that used in the waqf account books. One example is the Waqf of Hagia Sophia. Under the heading *cema'ât-i ulemâ ve sahadât-ı zevâid-i tasarruf iden bunlardır ki zikr olunur* (it is mentioned that this group of high ranking people get money from the surplus), a long list of people follows:¹³⁸

Mevlānā

'Ali Çelebi müftü-i İstanbul fetvâ-i akçesinden

bedel-i günde yirmi akçe verilir

(Ali Çelebi, daily allowance 20 from *fetva akçesi*)

¹³⁷ MAD 5708.

¹³⁸ D.10035.

Mevlānā

Meyrem Çelebi kadiasker-i Gehter-i Anadolu

günde yüz yirmi akçe verilir

(Meyrem Çelebi, daily allowance 20, local governor of Anatolia)

Mevlānā

Nure'ddin İstanbul'un eski kadısına günde yüz yirmi

akçe verilir

(Nureddin, the former local governor of İstanbul, daily allowance 120)

Mevlānā

Turābi vaiz günde kırk akçe verilir

(Turabi, the preacher, daily allowance 40 akçe)

Mevlānā

Muhiddin ki Hoca Hayreddin medresesinin müderrisi olub

tekā'id etmeğin günde on akçe verilir

(Muhiddin, retired *müderris* of the Hoca Hayreddin medrasa, daily allowance 40 akçe)

Şeyh

Muhiddin Karabaş ki iki bağçe-i mescidinde

müteka'iddir günde beş akçe verilir

(Muhiddin Karabaş, retired from the two gardens of maseid, daily allowance 5 akçe)

Mevlānā

Muhiddin Şeyh Bedreddin oğlu Danişmend

mütekā'id günde on beş akçe verilir

(Danişmen, retired son of Muhiddin Şeyh Bedreddin, daily allowance 15 akçe)

Mevlānā

Şeyh Abd'ullah acem günde otuz akçe verilir

(Acem Şeyh Abdullah, daily allowance 30 akçe)

Mevlānā

Muhsin Şirvani acem günde yirmi beş akçe verilir

(Muhsin Şirvani Acem, daily allowance 25 akçe)

Mevlānā

'Abdī-i Galata Camii'nin hatibine günde beş akçe verilir

Mevlānā

Tac'eddin vefākār günde yedi akçe verilir

(Loyal Taceddin, daily allowance 7 akçe)

Mevlānā

Hasan Mu'ayyid Medrese-i Mahmud Paşa günde sekiz akçe verilir

(Hasan Muayyid, from the madrasa of Mahmud Paşa, daily allowance 8 akçe)

Mevlānā

*Meyruz acem Fazıl ve Salih günde on beş akçe
verilir*

(Meyruz Acem Fazıl and Salih daily allowance 15 akçe)

Mevlānā

*Celal Amasya kadısı olub tekā'üd olmuş günde
kırk akçe verilir*

(Celal, the retired chief governor of Amasya)

Mevlānā

*emr-i mütevellî -i evkāf-ı Ayasofya tevliyetten
tekā'üd eyledi günde otuz akçe*

(... retired from the duty of mütevellî of the Waqf of Hagia Sophia)

These entries cover the people of the mufti of İstanbul, the local governor (judge of the army) in Anatolia and the former local governor of İstanbul. Thus, these accounts support the idea that waqfs sustain the payment of high ranking people through their budget surplus. Rather than getting their payment from the state treasury, the waqf provide a good amount of money. The idea behind could be that the state treasury did not have to overstretch its budget. Thus, the waqf acts like a branch of a central bank. Finally, recipients' benefits were registered under the *tekā'id* or *mütekā'id*. These people were either retired or had to leave their duties due to an injury during service. As seen in the entries above these are people from Galata, Amasya and İstanbul, all paid by affluent urban waqfs as more well-off in comparison to smaller ones.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

All things considered, it looks reasonable to assume that philanthropy in the wide sense presents similarities in divergent societies without dismissing the differences, as well. Starting with the alms-giving, a similar activity across societies contributes a lot to charitable activities. There are hospitals for sick and elderly, orphanages taking care of the children. Their ultimate aim seems to be to help the poor, clothe the naked and feed the empty stomach of the needy. However, behind the charitable activities, there are variety of reasons. Firstly, it is the most basic human instinct to help without any return, or at least to expect nothing. Who can resist seeing a person, suffering from hunger or deficiency? This is the root of charitable operations. In other words, individual activities of philanthropy turned into collective institutionalized activities throughout history. The importance and value of philanthropy is reflected in its being institutionalized, a result of the awareness of necessity both on behalf of society and of the state.

The second significant reason behind philanthropy is religious considerations. Religion always demanded people to conduct good deeds, remembering the needy and to spent some of their wealth on destitute. It was assumed that conducting good deeds would provide relief in the afterlife and reward in return for the act. That is why philanthropy was always commemorated with the religious dimensions. For example, in waqf studies, most of the research on philanthropic activities of the waqf was based on religious considerations and citations from holy book. Many studies consider religion as the prime thought behind the establishment of waqfs.

At the root of all, it is luculently seen that in the process of time, most of societies chose the way of charitable institulization, as observed in the Ottoman Empire. Through this perspective, institutalization appears as a powerful tool for both providing charitable activities for the society and an image of the power of center. By

conducting philanthropic activities, a state legitimizes itself in the eyes of society and acquires their merit. Thus, it is an arrangement where both sides benefit. When it comes to the surplus-receivers' condition, though, things are slightly different. This group provides a nice example for a state mechanism working over a philanthropic institution (waqf) and reaching hand to the needy.

From the surplus-receivers' perspective, their importance is evident in their place in the waqf economy. They benefit from a good part in the waqf budget, as apparent in Imperial Waqfs. Their number is high in the Imperial Waqfs since they were established by the Sultan and dynasty members and their income their surplus was high compared to other waqfs. This situation enables Imperial Waqfs to spend more on philanthropic activities, namely, helping the poor and needy. Although, some dimension of the surplus-receivers' procedure is still unclear and still depending on inferences in documents, it seems that the *mütevelli* or any other person knowledgeable of the needy informed the kadi.¹³⁹ If the *kadi*'s position is affirmative, the Sultan was notified and the waqf assigned the benefit. In some cases, if a misfortune detains a person from pursuing his duty, he might be given either cash or food as surplus-receiver. They gained this right through *berāts* from the centre, renewable upon any new enthronement. All this process shows that state offers these people an identity in the society through the waqfs. They provided them with payment for their survival by giving them a label as surplus-receivers. In addition, their procedure is similar to the ones who are the permanent staffs of the waqfs.

According to the records it seems that family ties are important to become a surplus-receiver. Thus, one can assume that in the public sphere people might know who are the needy and made them known to the *mütevelli* of the waqf. Besides, surplus-receivers might leave their place to their sons, daughters and wives with the permission of the waqf and the center. Even, when a surplus-receiver is dead, their family

¹³⁹ In the Ottoman Empire, the demand or the complaints of the people were declared kadi who sent a petition to the centre. Similar to the assigning a payment for surplus-receivers, kadi transferred the request to the centre for the appointment of *duā'gu* and *müezzin*. For related information see; İlber Ortaylı, *Hukuk ve İdare Adamı olarak Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kadi*, Kronik Yayınları, 2016, pp. 21-42.

members (daughter, son or wife) request payment indirectly indicating that they are needy and not able to survive without money. Except from that, in the documents, there are, though few, people who were transferred to other waqfs as a surplus-receiver. This change may open to different interpretations. The surplus-receiver might change his residence. Thus, he got payment from the waqf closer to his residence.

The group of surplus-receivers not only embrace needy or destitute but also local governors (who are retired from their duty or in between appointments) and *mütevelli*'s who were expected to be affluent or former governor in the Ottoman Empire and judges. The examples of surplus-receivers include the local governor of Mecca, Damascus, Bursa, İstanbul. This group of beneficiaries explain why local governors received the highest payments since they were taking positions in important centers. It seems that waqfs played an important role in compensating them. This is not the result of the state's financial weakness but rather it can be thought as a way of conducting on economic circulation to protect the high-ranking status of an officer. The state may have a purpose to sustain good living conditions of its officers. Thus, waqfs became an important local branch of the state and the surplus- receivers' scheme was a mean for providing social aid not only for the needy but also for the high-ranking ones.

In some cases, surplus-receivers are exposed to payment cuts due to the need to repair a waqf (as a result of a catastrophe or need for renovation) or when the waqf is in financial difficulty. Documents depict these cuts. Nevertheless, when the waqf better its economic situation, the surplus-receivers' payment was resumed.

Lastly, it was important for the state to seem generous and wealth-giving. By helping its people in need. The state legitimizes his power over society and received an appreciation. This can count as an exclusive to the state as people assumed that they were taken care by the state and their fundamental needs were met. It was also a way to hinder social disintegration since different groups of people were satisfied. Overall, what seemed or regarded as philanthropy came into existence as a necessity for social order.

All in all, in order to be able to have a more concrete and realistic picture for the role of surplus-receivers' in the waqf and the philanthropy in Ottoman Empire in 16-17th centuries in general, one should turn to *ahkām defterleri*. The decrees in these registers contain stimulating and valuable information about the financial matters which had been petitioned to the Porte. Therefore, important clues about the surplus-receivers' payment or the operation of distributing payment may still found in the pages of these registers.

Finally, this thesis shed light on the subject of philanthropy conducted by waqf institutions to a group called surplus-receivers. In addition, this group played a significant role in waqfs. Their interaction and the role of the state and its legitimization adds another aspect for understanding the surplus-receivers and their place in the society. Further research using diversified sources and fresh questions will elucidate more aspects of this complex web of philanthropic sustainment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

1. Topkapı Palace Archive (İstanbul)

TSMA. D. 5719 (The Waqf of Bayezid in Amasya) (1002/1593)

2. Archive of “Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü” (Ankara)

Waqfiyye of Gülbahar Hatun waqf in Tokat (898/1492)

3. “Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri” (BOA) (Ankara-İstanbul)

“Maliyeden Müdevver” (MAD) Section

	Place Code	Date	Type
1.	MAD 5708	(991/1575)	Account Book
2.	MAD 6778	(995-1004/1586-1595)	Account Book
3.	MAD 512	(1001/1592)	Account Book
4.	MAD 6236	(1001/1592)	Account Book
5.	MAD 5847	(1003/1594)	Account Book
6.	MAD 4503	(1004/1595)	Account Book
7.	MAD 6482	(1006/1597)	Account Book
8.	MAD 7336	(1006/1597)	Account Book
9.	MAD 5017	(1011/1602)	Account Book
10.	MAD 5214	(1017-1019/1607-1609)	Account Book
11.	MAD 5513	(1070/1659)	Account Book
12.	MAD 1329	(1079-1080/1668-1669)	Account Book

2. “Bab-ı Asafi Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri Mühimme Defterleri”

Place Code	Date	Type
1. A.DVNS.MHM.00052.00015	(991/1583)	Mühimme
2. A.DVNS.MHM.00019.00150	(980/1572)	Mühimme
3. A.DVNS.MHM.00045.00074	(989/1581)	Mühimme
4. A.DVNS.MHM.00045.00080	(989/1581)	Mühimme
5. A.DVNS.MHM.d.073.00236	(1003/1594)	Mühimme

4. “Ali Emiri Ahmet I” Section

Place Code	Date	Type
1. AE.SAMD.I.00001.00095.001	(1004/1595)	Petition

II. Published Sources

Court Register of Balat 02, cilt: 11, sayfa: 110, Hüküm no: 111 Orijinal metin no: [21b-1, Arapça]

Court Register of Üsküdar, 84, cilt: 10, sayfa: 552, Hüküm no: 1074 Orijinal metin no: [104b-1]

Secondary Sources:

Books and Articles

Aköz, Alaaddin, XVI. Yüzyılda Şeyh Sadreddin Konevî Vakfı, *The First International Symposium On Sadraddin Qunawi*, Konya, 20–21 May 2008.

Aristotle, *Giving Well: The Ethics of Philanthropy*, eds. by Patricia Illingworth, Thomas Pogge, and Leif Wenar. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Babacan, Mehmet, "Economics of Philanthropic Institutions, Regulation and Governance in Turkey," *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2011, 61-89.

Baer, Gabriel, "The Muslim Waqf and Similar Institutions in Other Civilizations." Paper presented at the Workshop on Economic and Social Aspects of the Muslim Waqf, Jerusalem, 1-20 February 1981.

Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları", *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, I/2, 1964, 235-377.

_____ "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına ait Araştırmalar", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 23/1-2, 1962-63, 239-296.

_____ "Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti Tesislerine Âit Yıllık Bir Muhasebe Bilançosu 993/994 (1585-1586)", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, v. 9, 109-161.

_____ "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vol. 2, 1942, 279-304.

Barker, Rodney, *Political Legitimacy and the State*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990.

Bekkers, René & Wiepking, Pamala. "A Literature Review of Empirical Studies of Philanthropy: Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving", *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 5., 2010, 1-50.

Bonner, Michael, "Definitions of Poverty and the Rise of the Muslim Urban Poor." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1996, 335-344.

Byrnes, William, Ancient Roman Munificence: The Development of the Practice and Law of Charity", *Rutgers Law Review*, vol. 57, no. 3, 2005, 1043-1110.

Budiman, Mochammad Arif, "The Significance of Waqf for Economic Development", *Equilibrium*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2014, 19-34.

- Chloe Stirk, *An Act of Faith Humanitarian Financing and Zakat*, Briefing Papers, United Kingdom, 2015.
- Cohen, Mark R, “Introduction: Poverty and Charity in Past Times”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2005, 347–360.
- Creclius, Daniel, “The Organization of Waqf Documents in Cairo,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1971, 266-277.
- Çiftçi, Cafer Charity and Social Welfare Activities in the Ottoman, in *Fluctuations in the Ottoman Social Order, Reactions to Changes in the Ottoman Social Structure (According to Archival Sources)*, ed. Y. Oğuzoğlu, Harvard University Press, Boston, 2006, 123-181.
- Çizakça, Murat. “Awqaf in History and Its Implications for Modern Islamic Economies”, *Islamic Economic Studies*, vol.6, no.1, 1998, 43-73.
- *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to The Present*, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2000.
- Demetrios, J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1968.
- Erickson, Edward J. & Uyar, Mesut, *A Military History of The Ottomans from Osman to Atatürk*, Santa Barbara, Praeger, 2009.
- Feridun M. Emecen, “Osmanlı Divanı’nın Ana Defter Serileri: Ahkâm-ı Mirî, Ahkâm-ı Kuyûd-ı Mühimme ve Ahkâm-ı Şikâyet”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, v. 3, no. 5, 2005, pp. 107-139.
- Frenkel, Miriam & Yaacov Lev, eds. *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Goffman, Daniel, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 115.

- Grozdanova, Elena, Radushev, E., Sv. Ivanova and Kovachev, R., *Inventory of Ottoman Turkish Documents about Waqf Preserved in the Oriental Department at the St Cyril and Methodius National Library* Preserved in the Oriental Department at the St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, Part I, Registers, Sofia: St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, 2013.
- Günay, Ramazan, “Osmanlı Arşiv Kaynakları İçerisinde Ahkâm Defterleri: Gelişim Seyri, Muhtevası ve Önemi”, *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 1, no. 17, 2013, 9-29.
- Gündoğdu, Cengiz, "Eyüp'te Medfun Bir Halvetî-Sivâsî Şeyhi: Sivâsî-zâde Abdülbâkî Efendi", *Tarihi, Kültürü ve Sanatıyla IX. Eyüp Sultan Sempozyumu*, 13-15 Mayıs 2005, İstanbul, 2005, 314-321.
- Hoexter, Miriam, “Waqf Studies In The Twentieth Century: The State Of The Art”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 41, no. 4, 1998, 474-495.
- Horden, Peregrine, “The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary*, vol. 35, no.3, 2005, 361-389.
- Holman, Susan R. *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society*, Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker Academic, 2008.
- Hsu, Carolyn, “Beyond Civil Society: An Organizational Perspective on State–NGO Relations in the People's Republic of China”, *Journal of Civil Society*, 6:3, 2010, 259-277.
- İbrahim, Mansor and Jahn Kassim, Puteri Shireen and Ali, Maisarah and Abdul Latif, Nurul Syala and Zainal Abidin, Nor Zalifa, *Virtual reality in heritage studies and historical reconstruction through animation – A case study of a 16th century university complex in the Ottoman world*. In: 7th International Conference on Construction Applications of Virtual Reality, 22-23 Oct 2007, USA.
- İnalcık, Halil. “Osmanlı Arşivlerinin Türk ve Dünya Tarihi İçin Önemi”, *Osmanlı Arşivleri ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Sempozyumu*, İstanbul, 1985, 31-47.

-
- “The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600”, in An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914, with a general introduction by H. Inalcık eds. Halil İnalcık with Donald Quataert, New York, 1994, 11-409.
-
- “Osmanlılarda Vakıf ve Vakfiye,” *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Vakıfları ve Eserleri Uluslararası Sempozyumu İstanbul-Edirne*, 9-10-11 Mayıs 2012, Mehmet Kurtoğlu (ed.), Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, pp. 11-12.
- İpşir, Mehmet. *zevāid-horān* İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 7 p., 2002, 547-548.
-
- kazasker* in Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. 25, 2002.
- Joan E. Spero, *Charity and Philanthropy in Russia, China, India, and Brazil, United States of America*, The Foundation Center, 2014.
- John A. McGuckin, *Embodying the New Society: The Byzantine Christian Instinct of Philanthropy in Philanthropy and Social Compassion in Eastern Orthodox Tradition: Papers of the Sophia Institute Academic Conference*, New York: Theotokos Press, 2009.
- Kafadar, Cemal, *How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern İstanbul, Medieval and Early Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz, Titnrhout: Brepols, 2014, 243-269.
- Kandemir, İsmail, *Ulu Mabed: Ayasofya*, İstanbul: Ekip Matbaa, 2004.
- Karateke, Hakan, “Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis” in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetorics of State Power*, ed. Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005, 13-52.
- Keleş, Hamza, “Vakfiyelere Göre XV. Yüzyılda Bursa’da İmar Faaliyetleri”, *Gazi Üniversitesi Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2001, 177-188.

- Keping, Wu & Laliberté, André & Palmer, David A., “Religious Philanthropy and Chinese Civil Society”, in *Chinese Religious Life*, David A. Palmer, Glenn Shive and Philip Wickeri (eds.), New York, Oxford University Press, 2011, 139-154.
- Koyunoğlu, H. Hüsnü, “Para Vakıfları: Muhasebe Defterlerine Göre 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul Uygulaması”, *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, vol.1, 2008, 253- 303.
- Köprülü, Fuad, “Vakıf Müessesesinin Hukuki Mahiyeti ve Tarihi Tekamülü,” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 2, 1942, 1-35.
- Halim Baki Kunter, “Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri Üzerine Mücmel Bir Etüd”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 1, 1938, 103-129.
- Layish, Aharon, "Waqfs" and Şüfî Monasteries in the Ottoman Policy of Colonization: Sulţan Selîm I's "waqf" of 1516 in Favour of Dayr al-Asad,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, vol. 50, no. 1, 1987, 61-89.
- Lim, Hilary & Sait, Siraj, *Land, Law and Islam Property and Human Rights in the Muslim World*, Nairobi and London, UN-HABİTAT and Zeb Books, 2006.
- Maureen M. Flynn, “Charitable Ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, v. 16, no. 3, 335-348.
- McChesney, Robert Duncan, “Earning a Living: Promoting Islamic Culture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Afghanistan's Islam: From Conversion to the Taliban*, edited by Nile Green, University of California Press, Oakland, California, 2017, 89–104.
- Mete, Özge & Orbay, Kayhan, Institutional Propagation of Imperial Waqfs in Rural Balkans, in the conference of *Agents of Faith*, Bulgaria, 2015.
- Morgan, Claire. “Islam and Civil Society: The Waqf.” *The Good Society*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2001, p. 22. Claire Morgan, “Islam and Civil Society: The Waqf.” *The Good Society*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2001, 14-21.

Newland, Kathleen & Munster, Roberto & Terrazas, Aaron. "Diaspora Philanthropy: Private Giving and Public Policy", Migration Policy Institute, 2010, 1-32.

Olson, Aleisha. *Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), University of York, 2010.

Orbay, Kayhan & Oruç, Hatice. Sultan II. Murad'ın Edirne Câmî'-i Şerîf ve Dârü'l-Hadîs Vakfı (1592-1607), *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 56 (2012 / 2), İstanbul, 2013, 1-24.

Account Books of the Imperial WAQFS (Charitable Endowments) in the Eastern Mediterranean (15th to 19th Centuries). *Accounting Historians Journal*, v. 40, 2013, 31-50.

"Gazi Süleyman Paşa Vakfı'nın Mali Tarihi ve 17. Yüzyılda Trakya Tarımsal Ekonomisi", *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 30, 2011, 145-181.

"Orhan Gazi Vakfı'nın Mali Tarihinden Bir: Kesit (1593-1641)" *Vakıflar Dergisi*, v. 38, 2012, 65-84.

Economic Development of Imperial Waqfs: A Study in the Institutional and Local Economic History in the Transformation Period, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Vienna, 2006.

"Distributing Food, Bread and Cash: Vakıf *Taamhoran* and *Fodulahoran* Registers as Archival Sources for Imarets", in *Feeding People, Feeding Power; Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*, İstanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 171-196.

Ortaylı, İlber. *Hukuk ve İdare Adamı olarak Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kadı*, İstanbul, Kronik Yayınları, 2016.

Ostrander, Susan A. & Schencish, Paul G., "Giving and Getting: Philanthropy as a Social Relation", in *Critical Issues in American Philanthropy: Strengthening Theory and Practice*, ed. J. Van Till and Associates, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1990.

Özbek, Nadir, Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si'nde Sosyal Güvenlik ve Sosyal Politikalar, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, Emeklilik Gözetim Merkezi, 2006.

Özel, Oktay. "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'Demographic Crisis' Reconsidered." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2004, pp. 183–205.

Peri, Oded, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy: The Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth Century Jerusalem", *Journal of Social and Economic History of the Orient*, vol. 35, no. 2, 1992, 167-186.

Raymond, André. *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period: Cairo, Syria and the Maghreb*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Saifuddin, F., Kayadibi, S., Polat, R., Fidan, Y. & Kayadibi, O. (2014). The Role of Cash Waqf in Poverty Alleviation: Case of Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur International Business, Economics and Law Conference 4 (KLIBEL4), 1 (June), 272–289.

Şemseddin Sami, *Kamus-i Türki*, İstanbul: İkdâm Matbaası, 1900.

Selçuk, Furuzan, "Vakıflar (Başlangıçtan 18. Yüzyılına Kadar)", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, v. 6, 1965, p. 22.

Sencer, Muammer, *Toprak Ağılığının Kökeni*, İstanbul: Tel Publishing, 1971, pp. 240-241.

Shefer, Miri, Charity and Hospitality: Hospitals in the Ottoman Empire, in the Early Modern Period, Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts, ed. M. Bonner et al., SUNY Press, 2003, p. 121-122.

Singer, Amy, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence, An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, State University of New York Press, 2002.

“What is the Price of a Free Lunch? The Costs of Serving and Consuming Meals in Ottoman Public Kitchens (imaret) in Assistance and Solidarity in Europe from the 13th to the 18th Centuries”, ed. F. Ammannati, Firenze: Firenze University Press, 277-289.

Smith, J. H., “Chinese Philanthropy as Seen Through a Case of Famine Relief in the 1640’s”, in W. Ilchman, S. Katz & E. Queen (eds.), *Philanthropy in the World’s Traditions*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998, pp. 133–168.

Şeker, Mehmet, “Vakfiyelerin Türk Kültürü Bakımından Özellikleri”, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, no. VIII, 1993, 1-18.

_____ *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Mevâidü’n-Nefâis Fi-Kavâidi’l-Mecâlis*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997.

Şimşir, Naide, “Ahkâm Defterleri’nin Tarihî Kıymeti ve 107 No’lu Ahkâm Defteri’ndeki İzmir ile İlgili Hükümler”, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2015, 357-390.

Stillman, Norman A., “Waqf and the Ideology of Charity in Medieval Islam”, in *Hunter of the East: Studies in Honor of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1, *Arabic and Semitic Studies*, edited by I. R. Netton, Leiden, Brill, 2000, 357–72.

Willig, Carla, *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Adventures in Theory and Method*, Buckingham, Open University Press, 2001.

Yazgan, Turan, “Sosyal Siyaset Açısından Vakıflar”, IV. Vakıf Haftası (1-7 Aralık 1986), Abdülkerim Erdoğan (ed.), Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 253-258.

Yediyıldız, Bahaeddin, “18. Asırda Türk Vakıf Teşkilatı”, *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* (Prof.Tayyib Gökbilgin Hatıra Sayısı, sayı:XII), İstanbul, 1982, 171-190.

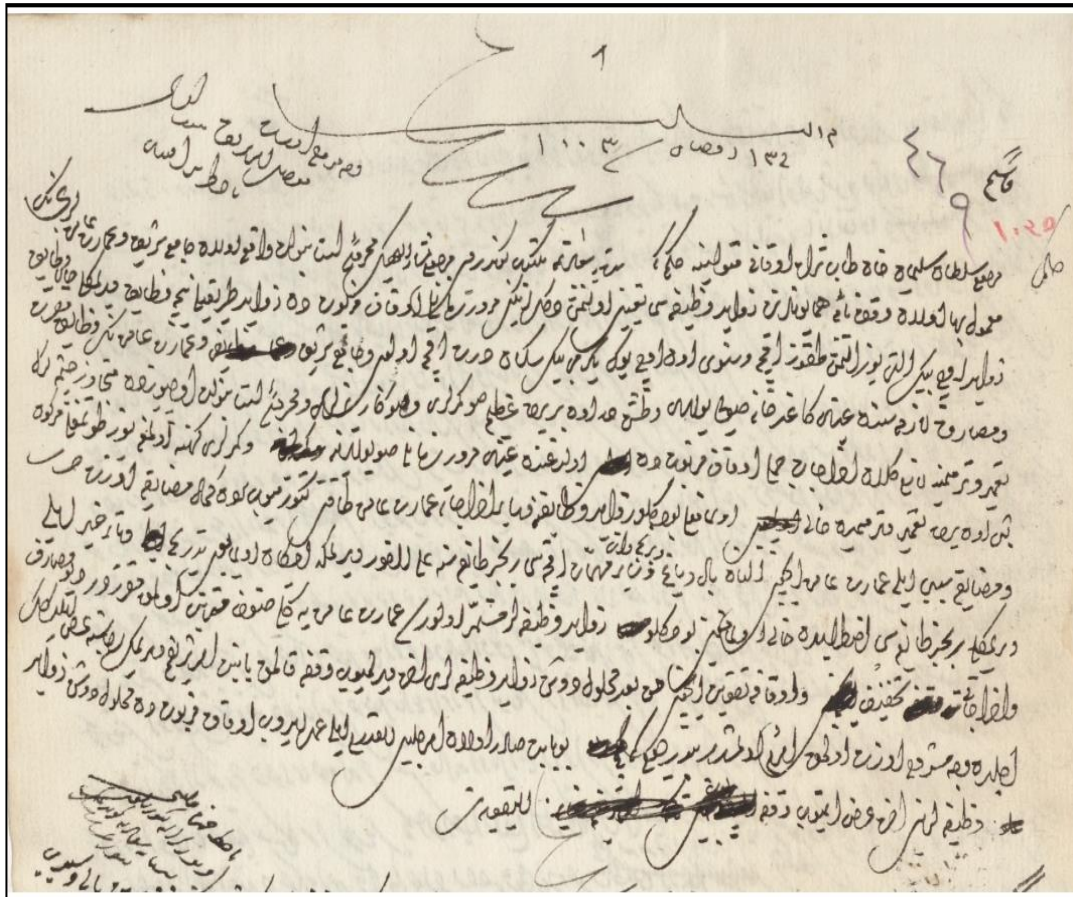
_____ Vakıf Islahatları Lügatçesi, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, M.E.B. Publishing, Ankara, 2003, 55-60.

Yüksel, Hasan, “Vakfiye (Türk ve Osmanlı Tarihi),” *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 42, 2012, 467-469.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:

A.DVNS.MHM.d.073.00236 (A sample from *mühimme* registers)

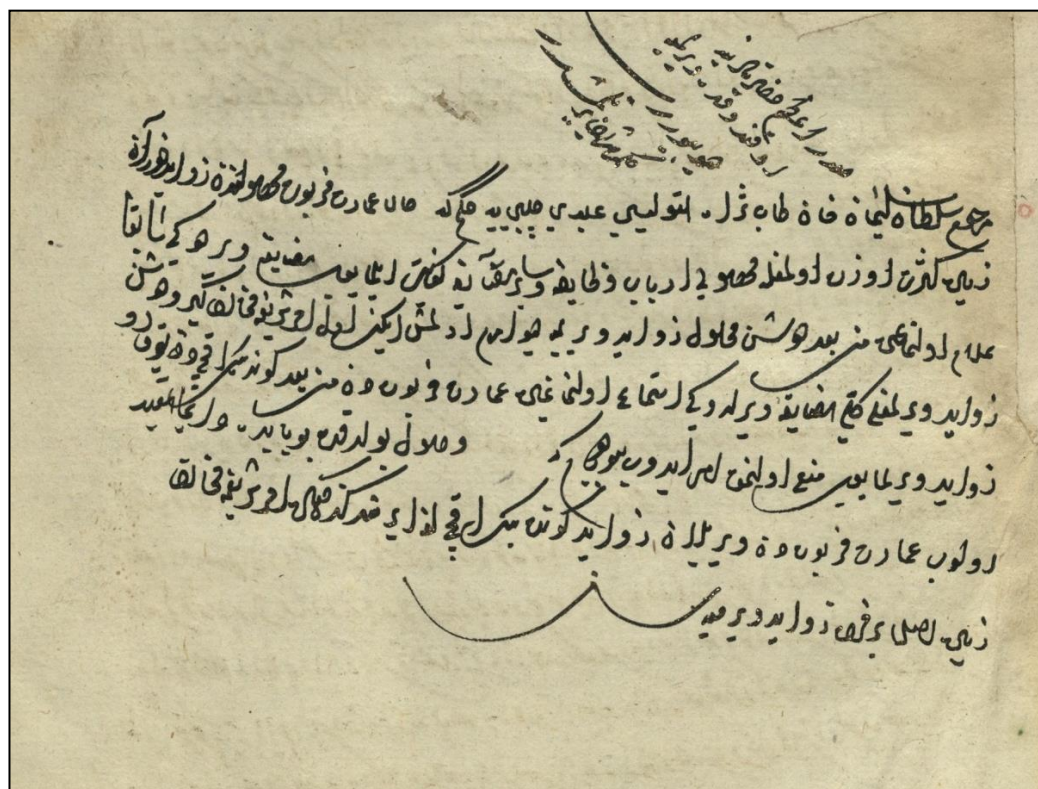


AE.SAMD.I.00001.00095.001 (A sample from *Ali Emir-i Ahmed I*)

84

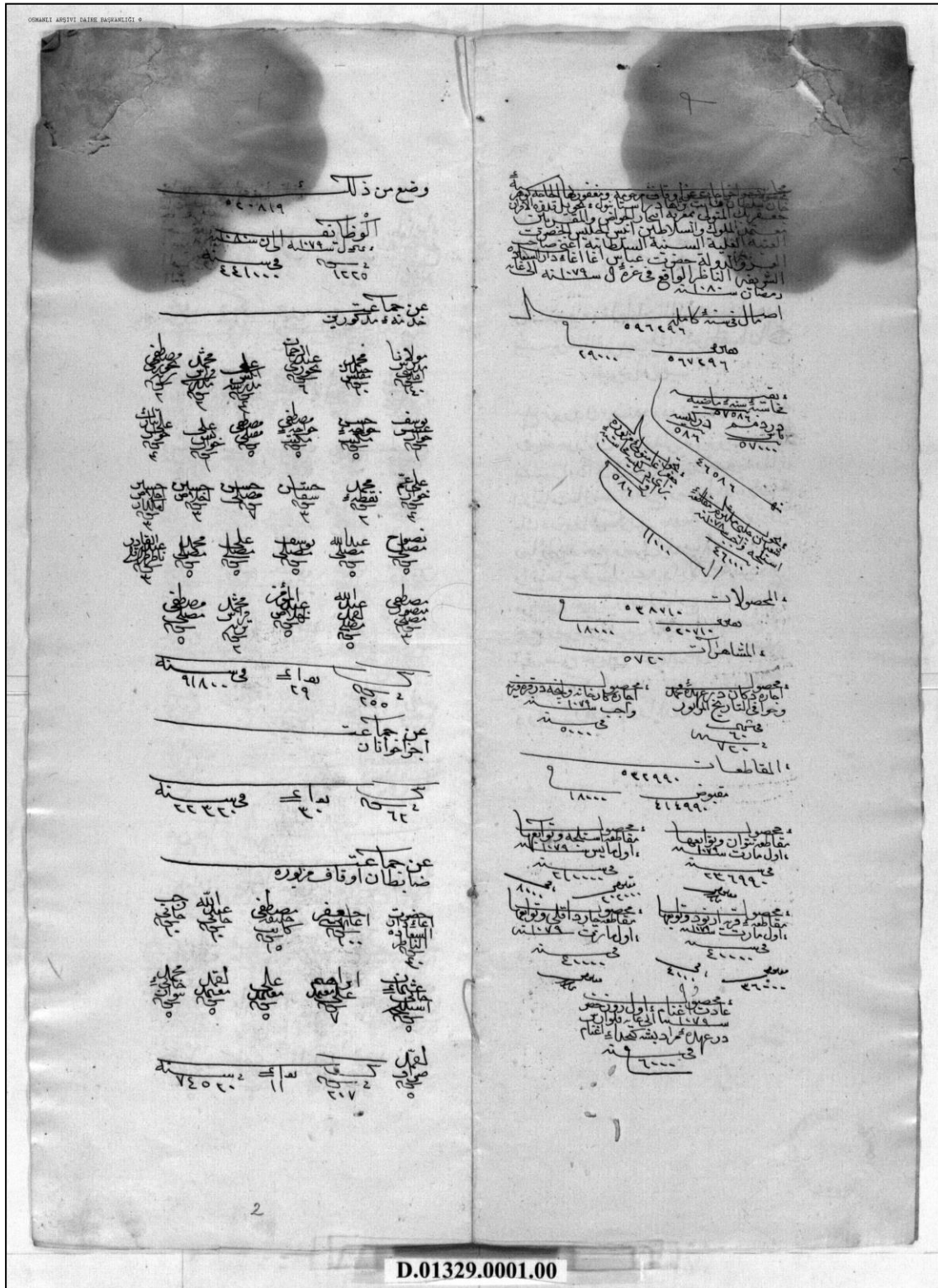
APPENDIX 3:

A.DVNS.MHM.00052.00015 (A sample from *mühimme* registers)



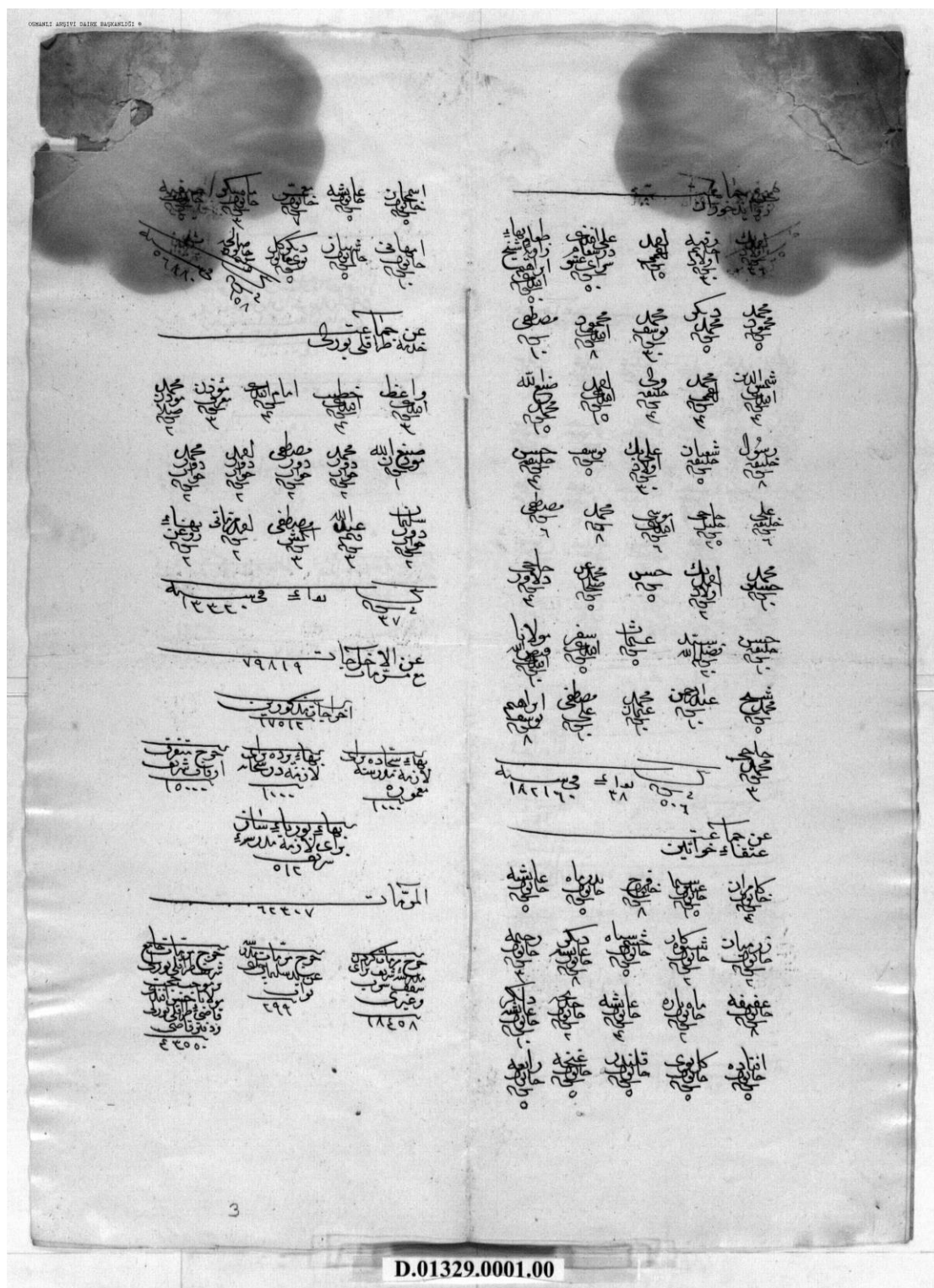
APPENDIX 4:

D.01329.0001.00 A sample from waqf account registers (The Waqf of Gevherhan Sultan, intro)



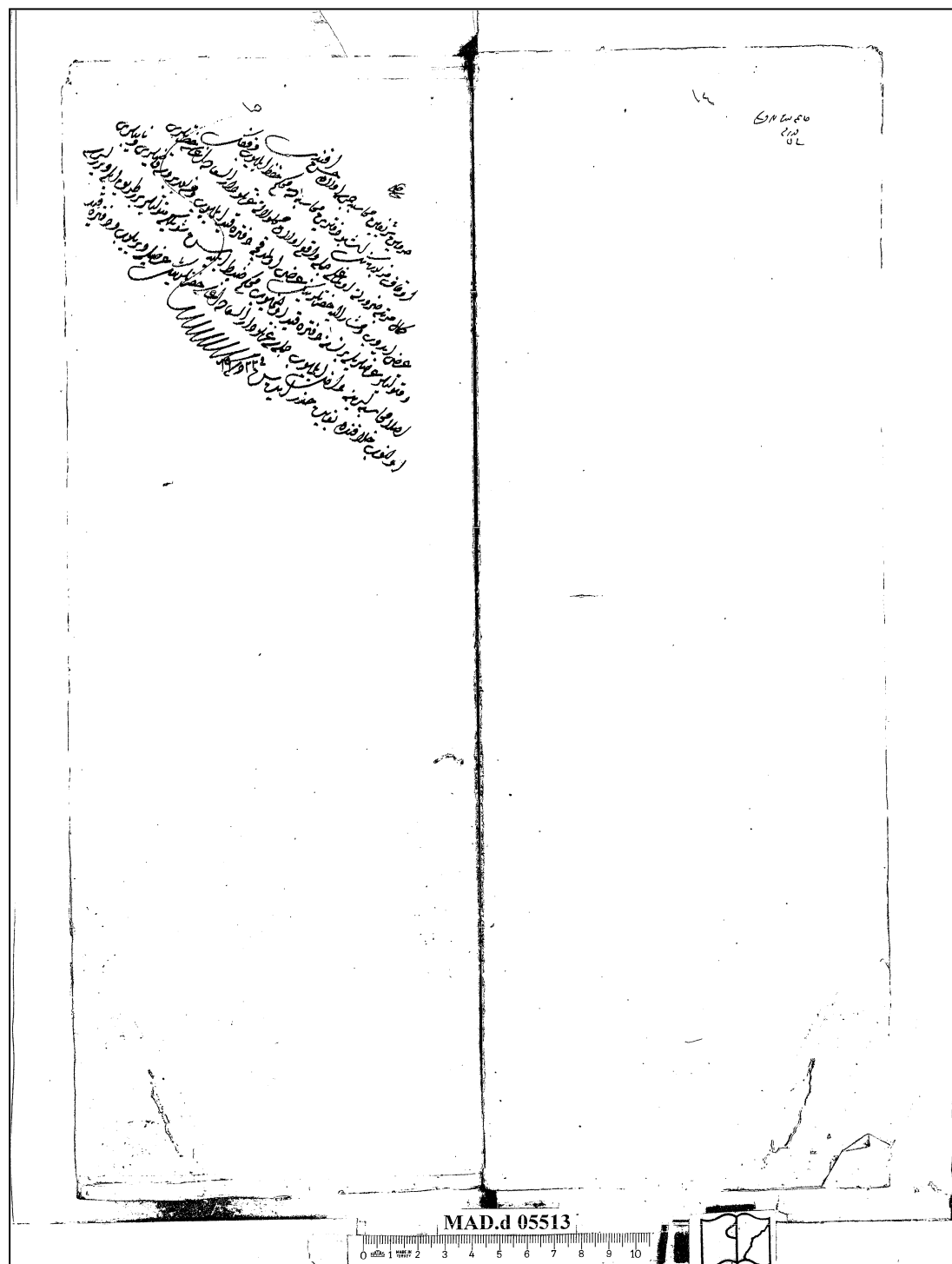
APPENDIX 5:

D.01329.0001.00A sample from waqf account registers (The Waqf of Gevherhan Sultan, surplus-receivers and *utekā-i havātin*)



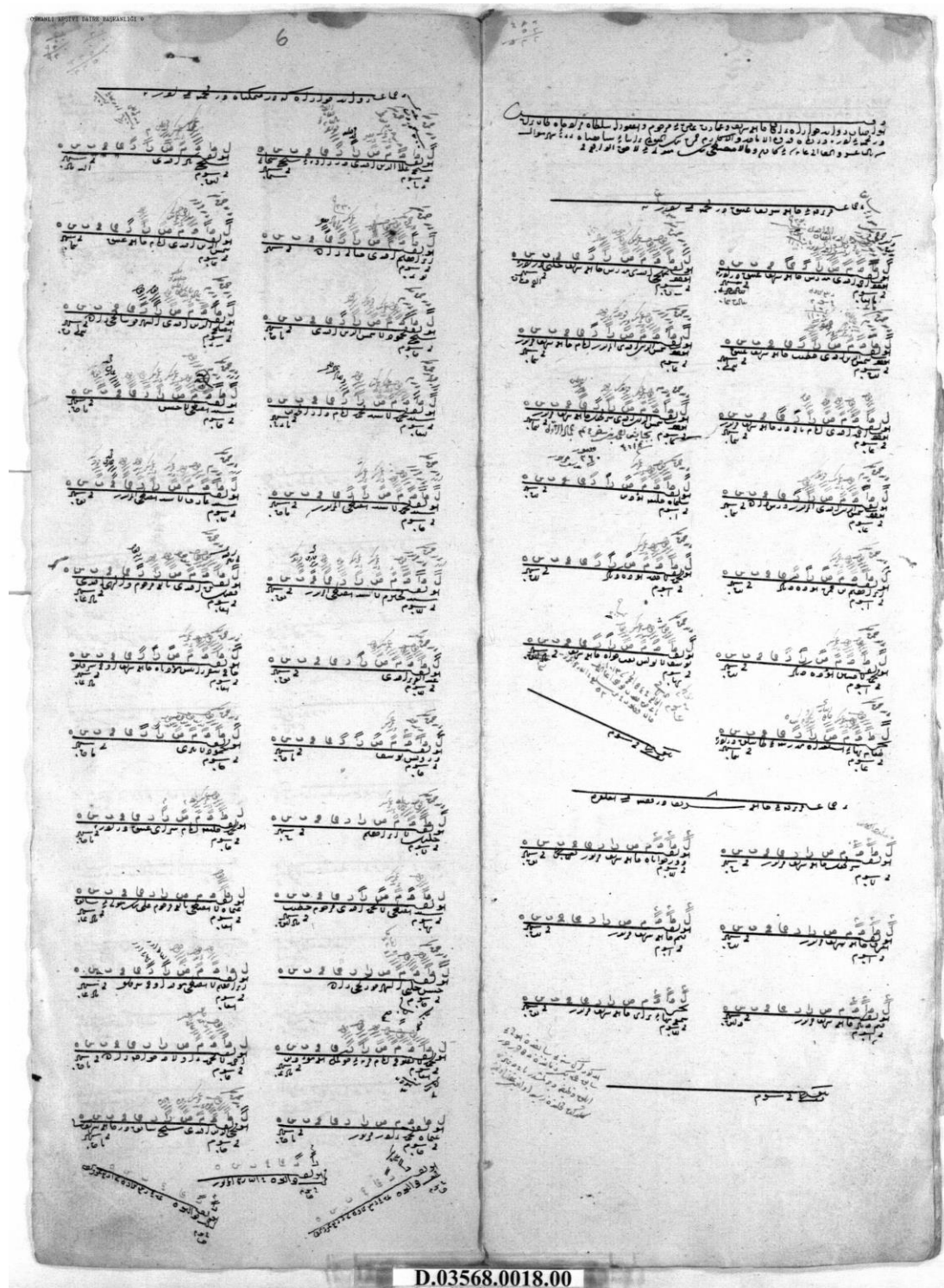
APPENDIX 6:

MAD.d.5513



APPENDIX 8:

D. 3568.



A. DVN. 00126.00059.



A.DVNS. MHM. 00019.00150

[illegible]

TSMA. D. 5719.

D.05719.0001.00

APPENDIX 12

TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

EMPERYAL VAKIFLARDAKİ ZEVAİD-HORANLAR: HAYIRSEVERLİK VE POLİTİK EKONOMİ ARASINDA

Bu çalışma, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 16. ve 17. yüzyıllarında, vakıf kurumlarında daha önce detaylı olarak çalışılmamış bir grup (zevaid horan kesimi olarak adlandırılan grup) üzerinden Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki hayırseverlik ve politik ekonomi uygulamaları üzerinde durmaktadır. Ayrıca bu tez, zevaids horan kesimini daha detaylı inceleyerek ve yukarıda belirttiğimiz hayırseverlik ve sosyal politika bağlamları üzerine oturarak literatürdeki boşluğu doldurmak amacını taşımaktadır.

Çalışmada çoğunlukla birinci el kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. Kaynaklar içerisinde vakıf muhasebe defterleri, bir müfredat defteri olan zevaids horanlara ait muhasebe kayıtları, mühimme kayıtları, arz-ı hal, basılı kadı sicilleri ve telhislerden yararlanılarak belirtilen döneme ait çalışmanın zenginleşmesi ve üzerinde çok yönlü bir araştırma yapılması öngörülmüştür. Birinci el kaynakların yanında, vakıf ve hayırseverlik çalışmaları üzerine ve ayrıca dönemin genel panoraması için Halil İnalcık, Oktay Özel, Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Kayhan Orbay, Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, Miri Shefer, Oded Peri, Furuzan Selçuk, Michael Bonner, İlber Ortaylı,

Gabriel Baer, Norman A. Stillman, Halim Baki Kunter, Fuad Köprülü, Miriam Hoexter, Mark R. Cohen, Cafer Çiftçi, Hakan Karateke, Nadir Özbek, Amy Singer ve diğer araştırmacıların konu üzerine araştırmaları da incelenmiştir.

Tezin giriş bölümü çalışmanın amacı ortaya konulmakla beraber, çalışılan dönem ile ilgili hayırseverlik literatürüne dair bilgiler verilmiş ve kısaca hangi araştırmacının hayırseverliği nasıl ele aldığı ve kullandıkları belli kaynaklar kısaca bir bilgilendirme yapılmıştır. Giriş kısmının ilerleyen bölümlerinde çalışılan dönemin (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar-Kriz ve Dönüşüm Dönemi) bir arka planı sunulmuş ve o dönemde öne çıkan gelişmelerden bahsedilmiştir. Bu arka plan verilirken hayırseverlik üzerinde durmaktan ziyade Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki “Kriz ve Dönüşüm” paradigması üzerinden dönemin genel atmosferi aktarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu dönemde özellikle, Avrupa'daki yeni askeri gelişmeler ve mali krizler Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu meşgul eden konular olmuştur. Bunların yanında İmparatorluğu hem sosyal hem de mali açıdan etkileyen Celali İsyanları ve nüfus baskısı da dikkat çeken durumlar olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu arka plandan sonra tez içinde yer alan kaynaklardan bahsedilmiş, araştırma yapılan arşivler adlandırılmış ve incelenen, ayrıca, çalışmaya koyulan belgelerin arşiv kaynak numaraları verilmiştir. Tezin ikinci kısmında ise hayırseverlik kavramı ve farklı yerlerdeki tanımları ile algınlığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Öncelikle hayırseverliğin ne anlama geldiği, bu kavramın her yerde farklı şekillere bürünse de ortak ve evrensel bir algı olduğu

anlatılmıştır. Bu açıklamalara ek olarak Avrupa'dan farklı örnekler ve uzak doğudan bir örnek olarak Çin'deki hayırseverlik olgusu açıklanmıştır. Bunun yanında, hayırseverliğin kökeni irdelenmiş ve din ile olan bağlantısı ifade edilerek hayırseverliğin nasıl bir izlence takip ettiği ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, vakıf benzeri kurumların Bizans ve Akdeniz medeniyetlerine kadar inen temeli anlatılmıştır. Avrupa ve uzak doğu örneklerinden sonra, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu öncesindeki pratiklere kısaca değinilmiş ve Osmanlı toplumunda hem dini bir gereklilik olarak hem de ayrıca, toplumun içindeki hayırseverlik aktivitelerine dair örnekler verilmiştir. Bu kısımdan sonraki geniş bir alt bölümde, önemli bir kurum olan vakıf üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, vakıf kurumunun İmparatorluk içindeki önemi, vakfin ne olduğu, bünyesinde barındırdığı yapılar ve vakıf kelimesinin kelime anlamıyla beraber ortaya çıkışı ifade edilmiş, gelir kaynakları ve ne gibi hizmetler sundukları anlatılmıştır. Buradan, vakıfların ve daha genel anlamda hayırseverliğin devlet meşruluğunu göstermek anlamında da önemli bir gösterge olduğu ifade edilmiştir. Üçüncü kısımda ise, tezin asıl çıkış noktasını oluşturan zevaid horanlara yer verilmiştir. İlk olarak, kelime anlamına inilmiş, bu kimselerin kim olduğu ve hangi kesimlerden oluştukları, vakıf bütçesi içinde yaklaşık olarak ne kadar ücret aldıkları, sayıları, vakıf muhasebe defterleri içinde nasıl bir açıklamayla sunuldukları ve karmaşık içeriği farklı vakıflardan örnekler ile izah edilmiştir. Bu açıklamaların devamında ise, zevaid horanların vakıf içinde nasıl bir prosedüre tabii tutulduklarına bakılmıştır. Ayrıca, zevaid horan kesimindeki insanların ailevi bağlantıları (görevden

feragat etmeyle aldıkları ücreti vakfın ve merkezin bilgesi dahilinde ve yine belli bir prodesür ile evlatlarına ya da eşlerine bırakmaları) ele alınmıştır. Buna ek olarak, yüksek rütbeli zevaid horanların maaşları, hangi rütbede bulundukları üzerine belgelerle açıklamalarda bulunulmuş ve ardından bu kesime yapılan ödemeler ve ödeme prosedürleri hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Son olarak da zevaid horanların sosyal güvenlik ve sosyal refah anlamında vakıf kurumu üzerinden hayırseverlik ve politik ekonomi üzerine yaptığı katkılar ele alınmıştır.

Hayırseverlik evrensel bir kavram olmakla beraber dünyanın her yerinde farklı pratik ve uygulamalarla ortaya çıkan ve aslında insan olmanın temelini oluşturan bir mefhumdur. Doğudan Batıya, ülkeden ülkeye belli şartlara göre değişmekle beraber bu kavramın özü, ihtiyaç halinde olan insana ya da insanlara elden geldiğince yardım etmektir. Eski zamanlardan bu yana, bazen sadaka diye tabir edilen bir şekilde, bazen kilise gibi dini kurumlar yoluyla ve hatta çeşitli kanunlarla ortaya çıkan hayırseverlik aktiviteleri giderek kurumsallaşan bir yapıya bürünmüş gözükmemektedir. Örnek olarak İngiltere’de 1601 yılında çıkan Eski Yoksulluk Yasası verilebilir ki bu yasa, batı dünyasında sosyal kurumsallaşmaya bir emsal olarak görünür. Ayrıca, yapılan yardım ve yardımlar sadece bir birey olarak insanda ya da sadece yardımlaşma amacıyla bir araya gelen grupların elinde değildir. Devlete nezdinde de hem devletin kendi meşruluğunu sağlamak hem de halkının refahını artırmak ve bir devlet olarak ihtiyaç sahibi olanı koruyup kollamak adına önemli bir rol biçer. Ayrıca,

hayırseverlik o toplumun lideri için politik gücünü sergilemek ve o gücü meşrulaştırmak adına bir araç olabilmektedir. Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali *Mevāidü'n-Nefāis Fi-Kavāidi'l-Mecālis* adlı kitabında gerçekten iyi niyetle yapılan hayırseverliğin önemli olduğunu vurgularken zeki bir liderin de bunun bilincinde olan kişi olduğunu ifade eder. Devletin üzerine bilinçli ya da bilinçsiz olarak aldığı bu rol, aynı zamanda topluma karşı edinilen bir sorumluluğa da işaret etmekte ve devlet, çeşitli düzenlemeleriyle ve uygulamalarıyla toplum ihtiyacını karşılamaya çalışır. Bunlardan belki en önemlisi de toplum içinde fakir kimselerin karnını doyurmak ve onlara istihdam sağlamak ya da hayatlarını idame etmelerini sağlamaktır. Bu anlamda, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun incelenen dönemde bu hizmetler adına giriştiği çalışmaları yoğun bir biçimde takip edebilmekteyiz.

Örnek olarak fakir kimselere yardım etmek amacıyla verilen fitr, eytam keseleri, avarız sandıkları hayırseverlik adına yapılan hareketler olarak ifade edilebilir. Yalnız, bu çalışmaların belki de en önemlisi, etkisi günümüze kadar birçok değişikliğe tabii tutulsa da, vakıf kurumlarıdır. Çok yönlü olmaları ve etki alanları bakımından vakıflar, ileride açıklanacağı üzere, toplum yapısının birçok alanına güçlü bir şekilde sirayet eden bir özellik taşımaktadırlar. Sadece merkez çevresinde bulunmayan ve Osmanlı topraklarının en uzak köşelerine dahi uzanmış olan vakıflar, kuruldukları mahalde oldukça verimli ve çeşitli aktivitelerde bulunmuşlar ve hayırseverlik anlamında çok önemli adımlar atmışlardır. Başta vakfeden kişinin malını verdiğini işaret eden ve vakıf şartlarını belirten vakfiyede

olmak üzere hayırseverlik mefhumu kendini belli etmektedir. Buna örnek olarak Gülbahar Hatun'un Tokat'taki vakfının vakfiyesini verebiliriz. Koyulan şartlardan birinde, fakir olsun zengin olsun imarette pişen yemeğin herkese verilmesi buyurulmaktadır.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerine çalışmalarda vakıf denildiği zaman genel, ortak algı bu kurumların dini bir temel üzerinde yükseldiğidir. Vakıfların dini bir yönünün olduğu aşikar olmakla beraber çok eski zamanlardan bu yana Bizans ve belki de çok daha geçmiş zaman kadar giden belki farklı isimlerle adlandırılan bir geçmişleri bulunmaktadır. Vakıflar, aynı zamanda, Osmanlı toprağına dahil olan yerleri geliştirmeye ve ayrıca Osmanlılaştırmaya da hizmet etmiş ve kuruldukları yerlere refah taşımaya çalışmıştır. Günümüz çalışmalarında salt dini bir düzleme oturmuş oldukları algısı kırılmakla beraber, vakıfların farklı yönleri üzerinde durulmakta, sosyal ve ekonomik hayata katkıları, kültürel anlamda topluma nasıl ve ne şekilde katkıda bulundukları, kuruldukları yere sundukları altyapı çalışmaları ile beraber ihtiyaç sahibi olanlara sundukları hayırseverlik aktiviteleri ile de bir sosyal yardım kurumu işlevi gördükleri de ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu anlamda vakıflar, kuruldukları yerleri sosyal ve ekonomik açıdan geliştiren ve ilerleten bir kurum haline gelmiş gözükmektedir. Buna ek olarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun 16. ve 17. yüzyıllarında devlet ile vakıf kurumunun sıkı bir etkileşim içinde olduğu görülmektedir. Buna örnek olarak devletin vakfa sağladığı mali desteği ya da para vakıfları denilen vakıfların vergiden muaf olması gösterilebilir.

Dolayısıyla vakıflar, pek çok toplum ve devlet katmanına sirayet eden önemli bir kurumdur. Bu çalışmada da vakıfların salt dini bir temelde yükselmediği, aslında, din, sosyo-ekonomi ve kültür sac ayaklarından oluşan bir yapı üzerinde öne çıktıkları da ayrıca vurgulanmaktadır. Bu noktada önemli olan ve sorulması gereken birtakım sorular vardır ki özellikle arşiv kaynaklarından elde edilen bilgiler ortaya çok daha renkli bir tablo sunmakta ve soruların zenginliğini arttırarak vakıfların ne gibi dinamikler sunduklarını daha iyi anlamamıza yardımcı olmaktadır. Bu anlamda tezde kullanılan vakıf muhasebe defterleri büyük önem arz etmektedir. Vakıf muhasebe kayıtları vakfin deneyimi açısından önemliydi. Muhasebe defterleri vakfin gelirlerini, giderlerini içerir; vakıf mutfağına alınan yiyecekleri, vakfin tamirat masraflarını, vakıf çalışanlarının maaşlarını ve diğer ücret ödemelerini ayrıca vakfin belli teslimatlarını konu edinirlerdi. Bu açıdan bakıldığında iktisadi çalışmalar açısından zengin bir kaynak olmakla beraber bu kayıtlar, sosyal ve ekonomik çıkarımlar ve hatta kültürel incelemelere kadar yayılabilecek önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, bahsi geçen kaynakların daha sosyal incelemeler içinde kullanılabildiğini de göstermesi açısından da ayrıca önemlidir.

Bu tezin de asıl çıkış noktasını vakıf kurumunda, özellikle Emperyal Vakıflarda, zevaid horan adı verilen bir grup insan oluşturmaktadır. İlk olarak Emperyal Vakıfları açıklarsak, bu vakıflar Sultan ya da hanedan mensupları tarafından kurulan, bütçeleri yüksek vakıflardır. O yüzden bu

vakıfların zevaid horan kesimi diğer vakıflara oranla daha geniştir diyebiliriz. Zevaid horan kesimine gelince, hem hayırseverlik algısını anlamak hem de devlet gözünde bu kişilerin olası rolünü görebilmek adına bu kişilerin kimlikleri, sosyal statüleri ve mevkiileri önem kazanırken, aynı zamanda, bu kimselerin kim olduğu, ne kadar ücret aldıkları, hayırseverlik ve politik ekonomi olgusuna nasıl bir katkı sundukları, vakıf açısından ne gibi işlevsellikler taşıdıkları, kendilerine belli durumlarda yapılan kısıtlamalar ve atama prosedürleri ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu nedenle arşiv kaynakları bu çalışma için oldukça büyük bir önem arz etmektedir. Kullanılan kaynakların başında zevaid horan defterleri, vakıf muhasebe kayıtları, mühimmeler, telhisler ve arzuhaller gelmektedir. Bu kaynaklara ek olarak, bu çalışma ihtiva etmese de, mali ahlam defterlerini de ekleyebiliriz.

Vakıf muhasebe defterleri içinde ise, zevaid horan grubu harcama kalemi içinde, vakfın asli görevlilerinden sonra gelmektedir. Genelde, Emperyal Vakıflar içinde, alınan ücretin çokluğu ve ücreti alan kimsenin statüsü burada önem arz etmektedir. Şöyle ki bir yerden başka bir yere atanan (belgelerde kadıaskerlerin göreve geldikleri ya da önceden bulundukları yerler olarak Rumeli, Yenişehir, Mekke, Şam, Bursa gibi yerleri görüyoruz) ve geçiş süresince ücret alan kadıaskerlerin maaşı ayrı bir başlık altında verilmekte iken sözgelimi kadınlar, yine zevaid horan grubu altında fakat kadıaskerlerin kısmından daha sonra yer alırlar. Ancak, zevaid horan kesiminin çok da geniş olmadığı vakıflarda hem emekliler hem de

ihtiyaç sahipleri karışık bir şekilde zevaid horan başlığı altında görülebilmektedir.

Öncelikle bu kişilere atfedilen sözcüğe bakarsak, zevaid horan terimi, Arapça ve Farsça iki kelimededen oluşan ve kabaca “artık yiyen” anlamına gelen bir sözcük grubudur. Bu kimseler vakfın asli görevlisi değildir, vakfın maaş bütçesinden para almazlar ve isimleri vakfın vakfiyesinde geçen kişiler değildir. Bir zevaid horan göreve berat ile gelir. Bu kişiler paralarını vakfın bütçe fazlasından temin ederler. Hatta bu grup, bazı araştırmacılar tarafından bir sömürü grubu olarak görülür çünkü vakfın asli görevlileri daha çok ücret alabilecekken vakfın bütçe fazlası para zevaid horan kesimine verilir.

Özellikle “Emperyal Vakıf” (bu tezde İstanbul, Edirne, Amasya gibi yerlerdeki vakıfların belgeleri kullanılmıştır ancak bunların dışında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde farklı yerlerdeki mühimme kayıtları da örneklendirilmiştir) denilen vakıflarda karşılaşılan bu kimseler, farklı statülerden gelen ve farklı yaşam koşullarında bulunan heterojen diyebileceğimiz bir gruptur. Bu grubun içinde fakir, düşkün, yetim ve ihtiyaç sahibi kimseler olmakla beraber (ama, kötürüm olan kişiler de bulunmaktadır), yeni görev yerlerini bekleyen kadıaskerler ve emekli olan kadıaskerler ve bazı görevliler (sözelimi padişah-ı imam) yani yüksek rütbeli kişiler de bulunmaktadır. Örneklere baktığımız zaman, sözelimi kadıaskerler önemli merkezlere atanma süreçleri içinde bu kesim içinden

cret almaktadırlar. Bunun yanısıra eşitli kazalar yüznden iş gremez halde olan kimseler de vakfın fazlalık btesinden cret ve aş alabilmektedirler. Ayrıca, bu kimselere grevlerinden ıkarılmış olan cariyeleri de ekleyebiliriz. Bu kimseler aldıkları cretin byklğ ve farklı katmanlardan oluřmaları da gz nne alındığında farklı gruplara ayrılırlar. rnek olarak, daha yksek bteli vakıflarda kadıaskerin yerinin yine zevāid horān kayıtlarında ancak ayrı bir başlık altında grlmesini verebiliriz. Yine aynı řekilde, kadınlar da zaman zaman ayrı bir başlık altında yer almaktadır. Bu tablo bize, grubun farklı kesimlerden oluřan, nasıl karmařık bir yapı olduėunu gstermektedir. Bu kiřiler, ayrıca, belli durumlarda cret yerine belli bir miktar gıda (buėday vb.) alabilmektedir.

Bununla beraber, vakıf mali aıdan sıkıntıya dřtğnde ya da vakıfta tamirat gerektiren bir durum olduėunda ve hatta doėal afetlerde vakıf fiziki zarar grdğnde ve bu nedenle bir tamirat harcaması ortaya ıktığında, bu harcamalar iin gerekirse zevaid horan kesiminin creti kesintiye uėramaktadır. rneėin Sultan Sleyman Han Vakfı'nın mtevellisine gnderilen bir resmi belgede, vakfiyede gememesine ragmen zamanla zevaid horanların oluřtuėu ve bu kimselere yıllık yirmi bin akeyi aşan para verildiėi belirtilmektedir. Ayrıca, vakfın asli grevlilerine verilen maařlar (camii alıřanları ve imaret alıřanları belirtiliyor) dıřında Kaėıthane su yollarının tamiri, yerelde on bir su kemerinin tamirātı ve İstanbul'da,  yzden fazla eřmenin yine tamiratının gerektiėi ifade ediliyor. Belgede, zevaid horanlara para ayrılmaya devam edilirse, vakfın mali aıdan

sıkıntıya düşeceği de belirtilen bundan böyle, zevaid horan kesimi içinden bir boşluk olduğunda yerine başkasının alınmaması ve boş kalan yerden kalan paranın vakıf bütçesinde kalması emrediliyor. Bu gibi bir belge, zevaid horan kesimine olan uygulamaların kesinliğine dair önemli bir varaktır. Yalnız zaman zaman, belli nedenlerden dolayı paraları kesintiye uğrasa da, *be cihet-i eda-i düyûn ve guzeşte-i vezâif-i zevâid horân an zaman-ı ... mütevellî yân-ı sâbık*, yani, önceki mütevelliler zamanından kalan borçların ödemesi olarak çevireceğimiz bir başlık altında zevaid horan kesiminin parasının daha sonra kendilerine toplu bir şekilde ödendiğini de görebilmekteyiz. Bunun dışında vakıf, bu kesime verilen paraya bir kıstas getirebilir (merkezden gelen emirle) ve belirtilen miktardan fazla bir ödeme yapılmaz yapıldığında da belgeler üzerinden gözlemlediğimiz kadarıyla uyarı mahiyetinde bir yazı gönderilir. Yine de, birçok vakıf içinde bu kimselerin önemli bir yer tuttuklarını ve kısa ömürlü olmayan bir grup olduklarını Emperyal Vakıflardaki sayılarına bakarak dahi görmek mümkündür. Örnek olarak, Ayasofya Vakfı'nda sayılarının iki yüz kişiyi aştığını görmekteyiz. Bunun yanında, bazı vakıflarda ise zevaid horan sayısının üç ya da beş kişiyle sınırlı kaldığı da görülebilmektedir. Bunun nedeni vakfın bütçesinden kaynaklı olabilir.

Belgelerden takip edildiği kadarıyla bu kişiler *fakr'ül hal* olmaları hasebiyle para ve imaret mutfağından (belgede fukara aşısı olarak da geçmektedir) aş talep edebilmektedir. Mütevellî bu isteği uygun bulursa, durumu bildiren bir arz-ı hali ilgili kadıya gönderir. Bu noktadan sonra

muhtemeldir ki belge, darü'ssade ağasının elinden geçerek Sultan'a ulaşır. Belirtmek gerekir ki normal bir vazifeli şeklinde ücret almamalarına rağmen zevaid horan olarak berat alırlar ve bu berat her padişah değişiminde belli bir ücret karşılığında yenilenir ki gerçekten fakirlik durumundan dolayı bütçe fazlasından para alan kimseler bu ücreti ödüyorlar mı emin değiliz. Bunun yanında, iş göremeyecek durumda olan kişiler de yaşamlarını sürdürebilmek adına bütçe fazlası paradan (talepleri üzerine) alma hakkına sahip olmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, vakıf çevresi içinde de aile yakınlarının çocuklarının ya da eşlerinin bu kesimde yer aldığını görebiliyoruz. Bu kimseler bu kesim içinde olmaktan feragat edip yerini oğluna, kızına ya da eşine bırakabilmektedir. Üsküdar kadı sicilinden alınan bir metinde şöyle geçmektedir: “*Nişân-ı şerîf-i âlîşân-ı sâmi mekân-ı sultânî tuğrâ-yı garrâ-yı cihân sitân-ı hâkânî hükmü oldur ki Mahrûse-i Üsküdar'a tâbi 'kasaba-i Gekvize'de medfûn Fazlullah Paşa zevâidinden yevmî iki akçe zevâid-hor olan Mehmed fevt olup yeri hâlî kalmağın yevmî bir akçesi oğlu olan işbu dârende-i fermân-ı hümayûn Ahmed'e tevcîh olunup berât ricâsına kadısı akzâ kuzâtî'l-müslimîn Mevlânâ Abdurrahim-zîdet fezâiluhü- arz itmeğın sadaka edip bu berât-ı hümayûnu verdim ve buyurdum ki varıp müteveffâ babası yerine zikr olunan zevâiddan yevmî bir akçe mutasarrıf olup vâkıfın rûhu ve benim devâm-ı devletim için du'âya müdâvemet göstere şöyle bilesiz alâmet-i şerîfe i 'timâd kılasız.*” Metinde, Fazlullah Paşa Vakfı'ndan iki akçe zevaid alan Mehmet adlı kişi vefat etmiştir. Bir beratle, hali düşkün olan oğluna berat ile Mehmet'in iki akçelik zevaidinden bir akçesi tevcih olunmuştur. Bu belgede görüldüğü

üzere, ilgili kişiye zevaid bırakma durumu, kişinin kendi iradesinden ziyade yine vakfın bilgisi dahilinde ve izniyle olmaktadır. Bunun yanında, ücret ya da aş alım sürecinde yüksek ihtimalle, müteveli muhtaç kişilerden haberdar oluyor olabilir. Bu da aslında, o dönemde insanların bulundukları mahalde ya da vakıf çevresi içinde muhtaç sahibi kimseleri tanıma ve hatta belki de vakıf mütevellisini bu kimselerden haberdar etme düşüncesine kadar götürebilir. Burada da ilişki ağları ve vakfın bulunduğu mahale nasıl entegre olduğunu tahayyül etme şansına sahip olabiliriz. Yani vakıflar, insanları bir araya getirebilen ve onları çevresinde toplayabilen bir bünyeye de sahip gözükmemektedir. Yine ayrı bir belge olan telhist, Sultan'ın emriyle ölen kişinin annesi ve kız kardeşine yapılan ödemeyi görüyoruz: “*Telhis – Vezir Yemişçi Hasan Paşanıdır: Arz-ı bende-i bî-mikdâr budur ki, Süleymaniye zevâidinden yevmi 100 ve türbe-i şerife zevâidinden 200 cümle 300 akçe tekâüd ile İstanbul'da Dârü'l-hadîs müderrisi olan Zeynî duâcıları dâr-ı ahrete intikal eylediği ma'lûm-ı hümayûnları olmuş idi. Mumâileyhin bir pîr ve zaîf validesi ve hemşiresi vardır; gâyetde fakîrlere olmağın müşârunileyhün mahlûlunden kifâyet mikdârı vazîfe inâyet olunmasın reca ederler. Devletlû pâdişâhum bunlara vazîfe ammâ mezbûreler gâyetde fakîrlere olup mahall-i merhamet oldukları ecilden ulemâ duâcılarında ekser duâcıları birkaç akçe vazîfe inâyet olunmasın recâ eylemişlerdür. Mürüvvetlû pâdişâhumun kemâl-i inâyetlerinden ne mikdâr sadaka buyurulursa işâret-i aliyye buyurula ki devletlû ve mürüvvetlû pâdişâhuma sadaka olmak için müteveli sine ana göre tenbîh olunup vazifeleri verile; ol bâbda emr-ü fermân devletlû pâdişâhumundur.*

Saʿādetl  p di     , merh m Zeyn  Efendi p di        m stakil du  c s  idi v lidesi ve hem  resine dahi du  s  alınacak h tunlar imi ; sadaka buyurulmak b b nda ferm n devletl  p di       dur. Cevap: Anas na 20 ak e verile ve hem  resine 10 ak e [verile].”

Sonuç olarak, bir yandan zevaid horan kesimi vak f i inde hayırseverli in  nemli bir g stergesi olarak yer alırken di er yandan ne kadar ciddi bir prosed rleri oldu unu da g rm    oluyoruz. Zevaid horanların vak f i inde  cret ve yiyecek alması anlamında izlenen s re  berat ile g reve gelebilmeleri ve vak ftan merkeze kadar uzanan bir prosed r zinciri olması, vak fın asli  alı anlarından pek de farklı bir s re ten ge mediklerini i aret etmektedir. Bunun yanında zevaid horanların belki de en farklı  zelliklerinden biri, vak fiyede isimlerinin ge miyor olmasıdır. Ayrıca, sadece fakir kimseleri ya da d    n halde olanları bu kesim i inde g rm  yoruz. Emekli olmu  ya da atama s resi i inde maa larını alan kadi askerleri de bu grup i inde zevaid horan ba lı ı altında g r  yoruz. Bu durum, Osmanlı Devleti i erinde ihtiya  sahibi olanları kapsayan bir tutum izlerken devletin y ksek kademelerindeki ki iler i in de keza  nemlidir. Onların da i inde bulundukları ya am standartlarının emekli olduklarında ya da yeni g rev yerlerini beklerken dahi belli bir d zeyde tutulması bunun bir g stergesidir diyebiliriz. Ayrıca devletin bir sosyal refah sa layıcısı oldu unu da bu  ekilde g rm    oluyoruz. Bunun yanında devlet, sa lamı  oldu u bu pozisyon ile halk i indeki me rulu unu da sa lamla tırmı  g z kmekte ve hayırseverlik faaliyetlerinde bulunarak toplumun saygısını

da kazanmış görünmektedir denebilir. Dahası devlet ve bunun yanında devlet bürokrasisindeki kimseler toplumun devlet kesiminden beklediği, “devletin yardıma ihtiyacı olana yardım etme dürtüsü”nü de karşılamış gözükmektedir. Bunun yanında vakıf, merkezin bir uzantısı gibi hareket ederek bütçe fazlası parayı, merkezin bilgisi dahilinde, oluşturulan zevaid horan kesimine vermektedir ki burada, ekonomik anlamda bir yeniden dağıtımcı işleve sahip olduklarını da görmekteyiz. Tüm bu çerçevede içerisinde zevaid horan önemli bir amaca hizmet etmektedirler. Bu kesim, hayırseverliğin bir uzantısı ve ayrıca yüksek rütbeli kimselere hakkını veren bir konuma otururken devletin meşruluğuna ve sosyal devlet anlayışına da hizmet etmektedir.

APPENDIX 13

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : ASLANMİRZA
Adı : ÖZGE
Bölümü : TARİH

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Surplus-receivers (Zevaid-Horan) from Imperial Waqfs:
Between Philanthropy and Political Economy

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: