

AN UNDATED DEFTER OF KAPUAGHA KAYIŞ MUSTAFA AGHA'S WAQF FOR MADRASA (DÂRU-L HADÎS) IN ISTANBUL

Kapuağası Kayış Mustafa Ağa'nın İstanbul'da Medrese (Dâru-l Hadîs) Vakfına Ait Tarihsiz Bir Defter

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Abstract

The waqf had a considerable role in the foundation and development of settlements in the Ottoman Empire. Wealthier individuals would invest a section of their capital they had acquired in a sharia-approved manner into economic, educational, religious and cultural advancement of towns in all parts of this vast state. One of them was Kayış Mustafa Agha, a *kapuagha* at the Ottoman Palace at the turn of the 17th century. Mustafa Agha was born in the area of the town of Ljubinje, Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he had a mosque built, and where he had also erected a maktab and other waqf buildings, establishing thus a new kasaba. In Istanbul, where he spent most of his life, he had a dâru-l hadîs type madrasa built, which was for centuries maintained from the funds of his own waqf. This paper presents a muhasebe defter of his waqf showing that the means for the work and maintenance of the madrasa and the adjacent facilities were acquired through renting the waqf houses (*hâne*) and land properties (*arsa* and *bostân*) in Istanbul.

Key words: Kayış Mustafa Agha, waqf, madrasa, Istanbul

Özet

Osmanlı Devleti'nde yerleşimlerin kurulmasında ve gelişmesinde vakıfların önemli bir rolü olmuştur. Bu geniş devletin her yerindeki varlıklı kişiler, şeriata uygun bir şekilde elde ettikleri

sermayenin bir bölümünü kasabaların ekonomik, eğitimsel, dini ve kültürel gelişimine yatırırlardı. Bunlardan biri de 17. yüzyılın başında Osmanlı sarayında kapuağa olan Kayış Mustafa Ağa idi. Mustafa ağa, Bosna-Hersek'in Ljubinja kasabası bölgesinde bir cami yaptırdığı ve burada bir mekteb ve diğer vakıf binalarını da diktirerek yeni bir kasaba kuran bölgede doğdu. Ömrünün büyük bir bölümünü geçirdiği İstanbul'da, asırlar boyunca kendi vakfından temin edilen dâru-l hadîs tipi bir medrese yaptırdı. Bu bildiriye, medrese ve civardaki tesislerin bakım ve onarımının İstanbul'daki vakıf evleri (hâne) ve arsaların (arsa ve bostân) kiralanması yoluyla elde edildiğini gösteren bir vakfının muhasebe defteri sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kayış Mustafa Ağa, vakıf, medrese, İstanbul

About Kapuagha Kayış Mustafa Agha and his waqf

In the centuries-long history of the Ottoman Empire, the waqf had an instrumental role in the urban and cultural development of many of its parts. With the aim of attaining the good pleasure of God and to be remembered as well doers, many influential and powerful individuals, but also people from other social status, men and women, would invest a section of their capital they had acquired in a sharia-approved manner into economic, educational, religious and cultural advancement of the Ottoman towns and villages. One of them was Kayış Mustafa Agha, a kapuagha at the Ottoman Palace at the turn of the 17th century. He had a mosque built, maktab, and other waqf facilities, having thus founded the Ljubinja casaba in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Istanbul, where he spent most of his life, he had a dâru-l hadîs madrasa built, which was for centuries maintained from the funds of his own waqf.¹ This paper presents an undated muhasebe defter of his waqf showing that the means for the work and maintenance of the madrasa and the adjacent facilities were acquired through renting the waqf houses and land in Istanbul.²

Kayış Mustafa Agha was one of the many individuals who had reached the various parts of the Ottoman Empire through recruitment (*devşirme*), for

¹ Elma Korić, "Utemeljitelj Kizlaragine džamije u Ljubinju Kajiš Mustafa-aga sin Mahmudov, kapuaga na osmanskom dvoru u Istanbulu, i njegov vakuF", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, vol. 67/2017, Sarajevo, 2018, pp.193-218.

² İstanbul, Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), TSM.A.d 7467.

schooling or some other causes, spending thus most of their lives away from their birthplace. Some individuals would be appointed to administrative, military, and other positions like sanjak beys or beylerbeys in the regions of their origin, while others would remain in different posts at the Ottoman palace after schooling and would not return to their birthplaces.

Among selected young men, those who had a pleasing physical appearance, in addition to intelligence, would be selected for the palace services. After schooling that took place at the old and new palace in Edirne, and then in the Galata and Ibrahim Pasha's palace in Istanbul, the recruits were trained for military, administrative and other services, depending on their talents and inclinations. The sultan himself would select those who were to be trained for the service at the New Palace (the Topkapı Sarayı), and they were called Gilmânân-i Enderun.³ In the known documents, Kayış Mustafa appears as a *gulam-i der* in August 1570, then as a *saray ağası* in September 1574. In 1580 he was promoted to the position of *kilercibaşı*, and then in 1582 he became a *hazinedarbaşı*. After the death of the famous Gazanfer Agha in 1603, he became a *babussaade aga* or *kapuagha*.⁴ Apparently, the assumption is true that he was originally from the Ljubinje area in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since he left his mosque, a maktab and other buildings there.⁵ In his waqfiyye he left precise instructions on how to manage his waqf whose facilities were located in Istanbul and Ljubinje.⁶

The first version of his waqfiyye in Arabic was recorded in the *sijil* of the Istanbul Qadi from 1594. Mustafa was named *reis-i hazînin*, which is the Arabic equivalent of the Ottoman term *hazinedarbaşı*.⁷ The *mühimme defter* of 1593

³ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, TTK, Ankara, 1945, p. 301-308.

⁴ Ezgi Dikici, "Eunuchs and the City: Residences and Real Estate Owned by Court Eunuchs in Late Sixteenth-Century Istanbul", *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 3 (2021), p. 12.

⁵ Bosnian folklore remembers that he was originally from the village of Žabica near Ljubinje. Hivzija Hasandedić, *Muslimanska baština u istočnoj Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1990, p. 109.

⁶ The patron of the construction of the mosque and maktab in Ljubinje, as well as the madrasa and other buildings in Istanbul, is Kayış Mustafa Agha, a white court eunuch *babüssaade aga* (*kapuagha*) of the Ottoman court, and not the chief black court eunuch *darüssaade ağa* (*kızlaragha*) Mustafa Agha, as Evliya Çelebi stated. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, VI Kitap, haz. SeyitAli Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Istanbul, 2002, p. 245. Cf. Elma Korić, "Power broker at the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul: Darüssaade ağası Hacı Mustafa Ağa", *Ottoman Istanbul V*, ed. Feridun M. Emecen et al., Istanbul 29 May University, Istanbul, 2018, pp. 811-834.

⁷ "Sâhibü'l-hayrât ve'l-hasenât Reis-i hâzînin-i sultâniye...". *Istanbul Kadi Sicilleri*, 12. cilt, "Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi (21 Numaralı Sicil 1002-1003/1594-1595)", ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, ISAM, Istanbul, 2011, p. 225, hüküm 245. According to Uzunçarşılı, three treasuries (*hazîne*) existed at the Ottoman Court, first supervised by the *hazinedarbaşı*, second by the *hazîne kethüde*, while the third treasury was kept in the private chambers of the sultan. The sultan's treasury, which, in addition to money, contained also other valuables, was sealed by the Sultan Selim I seal. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, TTK, Ankara, 1945, p. 79.

contains an order (*hüküm*) by which the sultan himself gives permission to issue a *muafname* and to establish the town of Ljubinje, and Mustafa was mentioned as "...my current *başinederbaşı*, pride of the chosen and the close ones..." (*...bâlä başinedârbaşım olan iftibâru-l havâss ve-l mukarrebîn...*).⁸ In this period, a *başinedar* was part of the household of the sultan's palace in Istanbul.⁹ He was always in the immediate vicinity of the sultan, both in war and in peace. In the late 16th century, a *başinederbaşı* would earn a daily wage of 60 akçe. The promotion would lead him to the title of *kapuağa*. On the occasion, a walnut-shape turban (*mücevveze*) would be placed on his head.¹⁰

A special sample of Kayış Mustafa Agha's waqfiyye was issued in 1606, after his death. It is preserved in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. A digitalized black and white copy of the waqfiyye is preserved in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. We learn from the text that Kayış Mustafa Agha intended a portion of his fortune for the construction and maintenance of a mosque and maktab in Ljubinje, in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second portion of his fortune he intended for the construction and maintenance of madrasa and for some other purposes in Istanbul.¹¹

A 1606 waqfiyye reads that Kayış Mustafa Agha was the chief white eunuch (*kapuağa*), i.e., the *bâbüssaâde ağa* at the end of his life, which was one of the most influential positions at the Ottoman Palace for which white eunuchs, primarily of the Balkan or Caucasus origin were selected. The office of the *kapuağa* was placed next to the main gate or the Gate of Felicity (*bâbüssaâde*). The *kapuağa* was the contact between the sultan and the outside world, and it was through him that the sultan gave permission to enter the gate and access the internal palace (*Enderun*), and would send his orders to the government. The *kapuağa* also held the rank of the vizier and would stand next to the grand vizier and the sheikh al-Islam at ceremonies. He earned a daily wage of 100 akçe.¹² The *kapuağa* supervised some 70 mosques in the Ottoman Empire. Among other things, he would also be in charge of supervising and training the cadets at the Edirne imperial school, preparing them for their duties.¹³ The official title denoting

⁸ BOA, MHM 71/670.

⁹ Mehmet İpşirli, „Kapı halkı“, TDV *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, cilt 24, İstanbul, 2001, p. 343-344.

¹⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 318.

¹¹ BOA, TŞMA.d 6965.

¹² Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 355; Halil İncılık, „Kapı Aghası“, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Volume IV: Iran-Kha. Leiden: Brill, 1978, p. 570.

¹³ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 357; İncılık, „Kapı Aghası“, p. 570-571; Metin I. Kunt, „Ottoman White Eunuchs as Palace Officials and Statesmen (1450-1600)“, in: *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500-1800)*, ed by. Juliane Schiel, Stefan Hanß, Chronos Verlag, Zürich, 2014, p. 329.

highly esteemed court officials such as the *dariüssaade ağa* and the *babiüssaade ağa*/the *kapuağa* stated: “The pride of the chosen and the close, trustworthy and reliable support of rulers and the sultan, by decisions honourable and dignified, the current agha of my court”.¹⁴

In addition to being *kapuağa*, Mustafa Agha was also a *basodabaşı*, i.e., a supervisor of one of the most significant chambers – the private chamber of the sultan, and that was also considered one of the most respected positions at the imperial court. A *basodabaşı* would prepare the sultan’s clothes, would always walk with the sultan. All other servants from the sultan’s private chambers were under his supervision.¹⁵ The fact that Mustafa Agha performed two functions simultaneously at one point could perhaps be brought into connection with the practice introduced by Gazanfer Agha. After the death of his brother Cafer, who was the sultan’s *basodabaşı* from 1577, Gazanfer Agha assumed his position and performed two functions simultaneously from 1582 to 1603, during the reigns of sultans Selim II, Murat III and Mehmet III.¹⁶ Kapuagha Gazanfer Agha is considered the most significant chief white eunuch of the Ottoman Palace in history. He was influential to the extent that the only way to end his reign was assassination.¹⁷ Gazanfer Agha was killed in a riot on 6 January 1603. He was beheaded together with the chief black eunuch, Osman Agha. The Venetian *bailo* wrote that “their heads rolled up to the feet of Sultan (Mehmet III) like a black and a white pearl.”¹⁸ Kayış Mustafa Agha assumed Gazanfer Agha’s posts of *kapuağa* and *basodabaşı*.

¹⁴ *İftihârü'l-bavass ve'l-mukarrebîn, mu'temedü'l-mülûk ve's-selâtin, muhtârü'l-izcî ve't-temkîn bi'l-fi'il Dâriü's-sa'âdetim/Bâbü's-sa'âdetim ağası...ağa*. Mubahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)*, İstanbul, 1994, p. 104.

¹⁵ The *basodabaşı* was chosen among the white court eunuchs and sometimes among the young men schooled in Edirne. In the 16th century, the *basodabaşı* would earn 60 akçes per diem and would receive five times that sum annually for clothes purchase. Apart from that, he had an estate in Rumelia that earned him 300 ducats annually (a ducat was worth about 50 silver akçes at that time). The *basodabaşı* kept one of the four seals of the sultan. When the Ottoman chronicler Rasheed ranked the white aghas of the imperial court, he placed the *babiüssaade ağa*/the *kapuağa* first, and the *basodabaşı* second. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, p. 340-342.

¹⁶ Maria Pia Pedani, “Safiye’s Household and Venetian Diplomacy”, *Turcica*, 32, 200, 9-32, p. 14-15.

¹⁷ Pedani, *Safiye’s Household*, p. 14-15; Fleisher, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, p. 72.: Eric Dursteler, “Fatima Hatun née Beatrice Michiel: Renegade Women in the Early Modern Mediterranean”, in: *The Medieval History Journal*, 12, 2 (2009), p. 355-382.

¹⁸ Pedani, *Safiye’s Household*, p. 24.

We see in Mustafa Agha's waqfiyya that, among other, he intended 800,000 akçe for the construction of a Daru-l hadis type madrasa in Istanbul.¹⁹ The structure of the madrasa was to be built firmly, of lime and stone, domed and containing eight rooms.²⁰ Apart from that, the waqfiyya stipulated that an educated sheikh was to be appointed to the madrasa, and his qualifications were described in detail. He was to teach fiqh, hadith and other sciences. He would receive a daily wage of 15 akçe from the funds of the waqf. Furthermore, the sheikh was to select seven of the most talented and motivated students as teaching assistants, and they would earn a daily wage of 3 akçe. The madrasa was also to have a gatekeeper (*bevvâb*), tasked with locking the door at night and unlocking it in the morning. It appears that the same officer was tasked with cleaning the facility and he earned a daily wage of 2 akçe.²¹

The past historiography also mentions that the same waqif had a madrasa built during the reign of Sultan Murat III, cca. 1590-1591, in the Sirkeci quarter of Istanbul. The madrasa was in the Hudavendigâr street, opposite the Karaki Huseyin Çelebi Mosque²² and at one point it contained 12 rooms.²³ One of Kayış Mustafa Agha's documents concerning the Istanbul madrasa was written by waqf mutevelli Mehmet. It is a defter of expenditures for the repair of the madrasa dome, from 1840. The document reads that 17 domes were reconstructed within the madrasa complex of the deceased esteemed Kayış Mustafa Agha: 13 domes were covered in lead (*kurşun*), a collapsed dome above a room, a dome over the fountain and two other domes. The total expenditures, according to the waqf's accountant were 1,300 *kuruş*.²⁴

Kayış Mustafa Agha's madrasa is mentioned in an 1869 list of Istanbul madrasas under number 146. At that time, the madrasa had 24 (19) enrolled

¹⁹ *Daru-l hadis* initially denoted the first specialised educational institution for the study of the hadith, and was established in the 6th c. (Hijrah) in Damascus. The *Daru-l hadis* madrasa was part of an educational complex established in Istanbul by Sultan Suleiman the Lawgiver. The mudarris of the *Daru-l hadis* madrasa earned 100 akçes per diem, unlike the mudarris in other madrasas who would earn 60 akçes per diem. That reflected the rank of this type of the madrasa. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmîye Teşkilatı*, TTK, Ankara, 1965, p. 34.

²⁰ BOA TSM.A.d 6965, 14b.

²¹ BOA TSM.A.d 6965, 19a-19b.

²² The Karaki Huseyin Celebi Mosque is located in the Hudavendigâr street, Sirkeci quarter of Istanbul. It was erected in 1483 and has been renovated several times. Nurcan Sefer, Zeynep Ahunbay, *Eminönü'nün Haliç Kıyı Bölgesindeki Vakıf Kültür Mirası'nın 1920-2015 Arasında Geçirdiği Onarımlar ve Uğradığı Kayıplar*, İstanbul, 2015, p. 95.

²³ Ali Cengiz Üstüner, "İstanbul medreseleri", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları*, sayı 142, şubat 2003, p. 38.

²⁴ BOA TSM.A.e 828 of 1840 (the original TSMA No: 7420/30)

students, and subjects taught were also mentioned.²⁵ When the main street was expanded in 1870s, the madrasa rooms parallel to the street were torn down and rebuilt.²⁶ A document from a later period bears witness to the interventions on the madrasa, and it also includes a map with marked tram rails and outer walls of the madrasa that were marked as an obstacle to the tram rail construction, hence, they were torn down.²⁷ In 1913, the building was sold to the Hejaz Railway and was later nationalised. In 1914, the remaining five rooms were torn down, together with the washing room, the ghusl room, and the ablution room. An inspection conducted in 1918 determined that the remaining seven rooms housed those who had lost their homes to fire.²⁸ Kayış Mustafa Agha's madrasa was torn down in 1938.²⁹

Book of income and expenditures of the Mustafa Agha's waqf for the madrasa in Istanbul

There are archival documents on income of the waqf intended for the madrasa from which we find out about the way in which funds were generated for the functioning and the maintenance of the madrasa, as well as for the salaries of the employed and for the reconstruction.³⁰ One of such documents is the defter of Kayış Mustafa Agha's madrasa, year unknown.³¹ This defter is entitled: "The Income Defter of the Madrasa of Kayış Mustafa Agha, the Former Agha of the Gates of Felicity, in the Karaki Street in Istanbul" (*Defter-i akârât-i medrese-i merhûm Kayış Mustafa ağa, ağa-i Bab-i ssa'âde sâbik der mahalle-i Karaki der İstanbul*). The year when the defter was written remains unknown. The defter consists of two meticulously written pages. As previously mentioned, income for the

²⁵ Mubahat Kütükoğlu, "1869'da faal İstanbul Medreseleri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, vol. 7-8, İstanbul, 1976-77, p. 294.

²⁶ Sefer-Ahunbay, *Eminönü'nün Haliç Kıyı Bölgesindeki Vakıf Kültür Mirası*, p. 97.

²⁷ BOA BEO 1331/99813 (No. 2, 3 and 4); (1317 S 19/June 1899) Soğukçeşme kurbunda Kayış Mustafa Medresesi'nin tamiri.

²⁸ Sefer-Ahunbay, *Eminönü'nün Haliç Kıyı Bölgesindeki Vakıf Kültür Mirası*, p. 97.

²⁹ Kütükoğlu, "1869'da faal İstanbul Medreseleri", p. 345.

³⁰ Apart from the documents presented in this paper, we managed to find the following document concerning the madrasa from a later period: BOA TSM.A. e. 828/29 (original: TSM.A 7420/30 - March 1840); BOA A. AMD 43/94 (April 1853); BOA A. MKT.NZD 73/50 (February 1853); BOA BEO 1331/99813 (Evkaf, Dahiliye, 98892- June 1899); BOA BEO 1737/130211 (October 1901).

³¹ BOA TSM.A. d 7467. There is another similar defter from 1111 Hijra year (1699-1700 c.e.) that provides an insight into the income from renting the waqf rooms, houses, shops and gardens, as well as expenditures in that year. BOA TSM.A.d 3678/2 from 1111 Hijra year (*Kapı Ağası Mustafa Ağa Medresesi Evkafı'nın oda, hane, dükkân, bahçe ve bostan kiralardan gelen varidatı ve bocalarının vezâifi ile sair müteferrik masrafları*).

maintenance of Kayış Mustafa Agha's madrasa was to be generated through renting of the waqf property. The defter indicates that those were properties, houses and land that belonged to the said waqf, all rented to certain private individuals, and the income from that vast property was intended for the madrasa in Istanbul. The first page mentions the names of the persons to whom the waqf facilities were rented, as well as the rent money. The following page mentions the names of the persons who rented the gardens and the amounts they paid for rent. Houses were rented for 15 to 60 akçe, large houses for 100 akçe, high-yield vegetable gardens were rented for 100 to 500 akçe per month, and a large vegetable garden was rented for 650 akçe. All these estates were located in the Istanbul quarters such as Karaki, Ağa çayırı, Langa, Balat, Salma Tomruk, Yedikule. Since the rent for gardens costed more than the rent for houses, it can be assumed that those were highly productive vegetable farms and gardens that generated significant income. The defter contains accounting records for one year. This source shows that the waqf income for the maintenance of the madrasa was generated by renting 39 houses, one field and five gardens, and the monthly income was 3,186 akçe, i.e., 38,232 akçe annually, as shown in the defter. From that sum, a daily amount of 106 akçe was intended for salaries and current expenses of the madrasa, which was 3,186 akçe per month and 38,160 akçe annually, as presented in the following table:

Employee	per diem	per month	per year
Muderris, mevlana Hamza Efendi	58 akçe		
Nazir, esteemed babussaade agha	5 akçe		
Muteveli, Abdurrahman Efendi	20 akçe		
Scribe (<i>katib</i>), Mustafa Halifa	5 akçe		
<i>câbi</i> , Mustafa Efendi	8 akçe		
to Haji Ibrahim for bringing water to the fountain near the said medrese,	2 akçe		
to Ibrahim and Muhammed for bringing water to the "Yedi Kule" fountain	1 akçe		
to Haji Ismail, for directing water from the mountain	1 akçe		
to Mustafa Halifa, the the guardian of the tomb (<i>türbedâr</i>) by the order of the vâkif	1 akçe		
to Muhammed's Muhammed, a librarian (<i>hafîz-i kutub</i>),	2 akçe		
to Muhammed's Ibrahim, an extraordinary trustee (<i>mu'temed</i>)	3 akçe		
	106	3,180	38,160

Table 1. Expenditures for daily, monthly and annual salaries of the waqf employees.

In addition, this amount also helped cover expenses to the tune of 2,680 akçes for the regular cleaning and maintenance of the madrasa, the schooling process and other necessary expenses such as repairs on fountains and inside the madrasa during that year.

Activity	expense
cleaning and maintenance of the madrasa	180
usual expenses	1,000
usual schooling expenses	300
expenses related to the usual repairs of fountains and in the madrasa	1,200

Table 2. Expenses related to the functioning of the madrasa, the schooling process, maintenance and repairs.

The last annotation in the defter leads to the conclusion that the waqf earned 38,232 akçe that year, while expenditures of the waqf maintenance were 40,840 akçe. Since the expenses exceeded income by 2,608 akçe, it was decided that the water system and the madrasa would no longer be repaired. But it seems that later some of the aforementioned waqf facilities were still maintained from the funds of this waqf. An 1714 document mentions a water supply system in the Kavaklıdere district that was part of Kayış Mustafa Agha's waqf. That same document mentions that the waqf also included a madrasa and a fountain in the Hâce Paşa district, as well as a fountain near Yedikule and the Kapuçı fountain in the Eyüp district.³² Furthermore, in the Yedikule district of Istanbul there is a fountain near the Hacı Evhad Mosque with an inscription indicating that it is one of the structures from the Kayış Mustafa Agha's waqf. On the ornamental board, in the middle of the semicircle indicating the setting sun, the inscription reads: "Maşallah". Underneath it, there is another inscription: "Sabib-ül hayrat vel-hasenât Babüssaâde Ağası sâbık merbûm Kayış Mustafa Ağâ, 1228". The year 1228 (1813) is probably indicating the date when the funds from his waqf were used for the last time to repair the fountain. The fountain has a large basin made of dressed stone on one side and of bricks on the other. Since the plaster covering the inside of the basin weakened with time, the internal construction appeared and one can see the internal belt of the basin made of bricks layered in a circle. The niche holds an ornamented marble panel. The basin is now broken, the tap has been

³² Eyüp Sabri Kala et al, *İstanbul su kulliyâtı XXXII, Vakıf su defterleri: Su Tabirleri (1655-1807)*, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2003, p. 54.

broken off, and the water is no longer running.³³ The previously mentioned defter mentions the madrasa fountain³⁴, as well as the Yedi Kule (Seven Towers) fountain. Since the Haji Evhad mosque was located near the Yedikule³⁵, it is possible that this is the very fountain built by the means of Kayış Mustafa Agha's waqf. It is also assumed that the fountain was first built by Haji Evhad himself, only to have been later repaired from the Kayış Mustafa Agha's waqf funds.³⁶

Other Purposes of Kayış Mustafa Agha's Waqf in Istanbul

Mustafa Agha intended in his waqfiyya the funds for many other purposes in Istanbul. He intended that a daily wage of two akçes be paid for 30 young men, the court pages (*ıçoğlan*) of whom 15 were the baltadji (*baltacılar*), **37** the class of palace guards that lived in the New Palace, **38** and other 15 who lived in the saray of Ibrahim Pasha at the Atmeydan.³⁹ Their duty was to assemble once a day and recite a *juz'* from the Qur'an in memory of the waqif and to recite a *du'a* after *khatm*. A daily wage of one akçe was intended for the person who recorded the aforementioned activities. The waqif also intended certain amounts of money for other officers of the court in charge of supervising and advising the said young

³³ http://www.mustafacambaz.com/details.php?image_id=36474&sessionid=5b489b469aabb
Accessed on: 9 March 2023

³⁴ A tarih on the construction of the fountain alongside the babussaade aga Mustafa Agha's madrasa (*Çeşme-i medrese-i bâbüssa'ade Mustafa Ağâ*) from 1590/91 by the author Fedâî was recorded in: Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarâî, *Mecmûâ-i Tevârih*, haz. Fahri Derin, Vahid Çabuk, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, İstanbul, 1985, p. 282.

³⁵ The Haji Evhad Mosque is located in the Yedikule district of İstanbul. It was built in 1585 and is one of the last works of the architect Mimar Sinan. Initially, the complex consisted of a mosque, a khangah and fountains. Semavi Eyice, "Haci Evhad Camii: İstanbul Yedikule'de XVI. yüzyıla ait cami", TDV *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, cilt: 14, İstanbul, 1996, p. 472-474.

³⁶ Mustafa Özdamar, „Namazgâhlar”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XX, Ankara, 1988, p. 226.

³⁷ The baltadji (*baltacılar*) were officers of the Ottoman Palace who initially cleared the way by their axes (Turkish: *balta*) for the Ottoman army; they would also drain swamps, erect tents, transport goods, etc. After the conquest of İstanbul they became the principal squad of the court officers in the Old and the New Palace. Later, squads of the baltadji were formed in Edirne as well, at the Galata and Ibrahim Pasha's court. They performed various duties inside and outside of the court and they were tasked with guarding the sultan and the princes. They were directly connected to *dariüssaade ağâ*. Abdülkadir Özcan, „Baltacı”, TDV *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, İstanbul, 1992, p. 34-35.

³⁸ Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire or Yeni Saray (New Palace) is the name of the Topkapı Sarayı in İstanbul, unlike the Old Palace located in the Beyazıt district. Cf.: Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "Topkapı Sarayı", TDV *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 41, İstanbul, 2012, p. 256-261.

³⁹ Ibrahim Pasha's palace in İstanbul at the edge of the Atmeydan square is one of the most impressive private courts in the city. It was built by Pargalı Ibrahim Pasha in the 16th century. See more in: Semavi Eyice, "İbrahim Paşa Sarayı", TDV *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 21, İstanbul, 2000, p. 345-347.

men.⁴⁰ In addition, once every two years 8,000 akçe were intended for a man of high moral virtues familiar with the hajj rituals to perform the hajj and to visit the tomb of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Medina, meriting *sawab* (reward) to the waqif's soul.⁴¹ He named Ali the son of Abdullah, his freed slave, the waqf mutevelli, earning a daily wage of 20 dirhems. After his death, capable and honest men were to be named the mutevelli, so that they could contribute to the waqf management. A scribe was appointed to financially manage the waqf. He was well familiar with the accounting and the laws and he earned a daily wage of five dirhems. Two cabi would receive a daily wage 5 akçes each.⁴² The waqf nazir was appointed the current officer of the Door of Felicity (*şâbitan fi Bâb-i ssa'âdeti sultâniye*) and he received a daily wage of five dirhems. He was tasked, among other things, with supervising the management of the waqf at the beginning of every year, to keep the bookkeeping records (defters) and to spend the waqf income for repairs on the waqf facilities.⁴³ Waqif also appointed two repairmen charged with the repair and maintenance of two public roads, one in front of his house in the Karakedi (should be: Karaki) street, near the Nöbethane area of Istanbul, and one in the kasaba of Karamursel. They each received a daily wage of two akçe. The income from the store in Üskudar was intended for the maintenance of a bridge that he had erected, as well as a road next to it.⁴⁴ The very end of the waqfiyya lists the names of witnesses, including the officers of the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul.⁴⁵ Mustafa Agha ordered a tomb (türbe) to be built in the Eyüp district, and a türbedar to be appointed that would receive a daily wage of two akçe.⁴⁶ He died in Istanbul somewhere between January 1604, when according to M. Süreyya he retired, and December 1606 when his waqfiyya mentioning him as deceased was legalized.⁴⁷ His tomb with marble pillars was located at the Eyüp cemetery but no longer exists.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ BOA *TSM.A.d* 6965, 15a-16b.

⁴¹ BOA *TSM.A.d* 6965, 16b-17a.

⁴² BOA *TSM.A.d* 6965, 18a-18b.

⁴³ BOA *TSM.A.d* 6965, 20a-21b.

⁴⁴ BOA *TSM.A.d* 6965, 17a-17b.

⁴⁵ BOA *TSM.A.d* 6965, 27a-27b. One of them was Osman Agha, the principal treasurer in Enderun; Muhammed Agha, the court procurement officer; Mevlana İsmail Çelebi, the son of Ibrahim, known as Dede; Mustafa Agha, a muteveli, etc.

⁴⁶ BOA *TSM.A.d* 6965, 17a.

⁴⁷ Süreyya, Mehmed, *Sicilli Osmani*, vol. 4, eski yazıdan aktaran Seyit Ali Kahraman, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 30, Istanbul, 1996, p. 1136.

⁴⁸ Mehmet Nermi Haskan, „Eyüp Türbeleri“, *Eyüp Tarihi*, vol. 1-2, Istanbul, 1993, 147-299, p. 181. This publication assumes that he died in 1613. On the other hand, H. Hasandedić concludes that he died in 1623, most probably on the basis of the data from Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*. Hasandedić considered that Mustafa Agha is the same person as Haji Mustafa

Summary

The waqf played a significant role in the formation and development of settlements in the Ottoman Empire. Wealthier individuals would invest a section of the capital they had acquired in a Sharia-approved manner into the economic, educational, religious, and cultural advancement of towns. One of them was Kayış Mustafa Agha, who originated from the Ljubinje area, Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he had a mosque built, as well as a maktab and other facilities, establishing thus a new casaba. He also left cash that was used as loan money by the Ljubinje area tradesmen. In Istanbul, where he spent most of his life, he had a dârû-l hadîs madrasa built, which was for centuries maintained from the funds of his own waqf. Funds for the work and maintenance of the madrasa and the adjacent facilities were acquired through renting of the waqf houses (hâne) and land (*arsa* and *bostan*). The defter indicates that the real-estate, i.e., the houses and land that belonged to Kayış Mustafa Agha's waqf, were rented to certain private individuals, and the income from that vast property was intended for the maintenance of his madrasa in Istanbul. The defter mentions the names of the persons to whom the waqf facilities were rented, as well as the rent money and also the names of the persons who rented the gardens and the amounts they paid in rent. The said real estate was located in different quarters of Istanbul. Houses were rented for 15 to 60 akçe, larger houses were rented for 100 akçe, productive vegetable gardens were rented for 100 to 500 akçe per month, while large pieces of land were rented for 650 akçe. The defter contains the balance for one year. Since the expenses exceeded income by 2,608 akçe, it was decided that the water system and the madrasa would no longer be repaired from the waqf funds.

A certain number of documents concerning his waqf – both the Ljubinje facilities and the madrasa and other waqf provisions in Istanbul – have been preserved. The only existing facilities of his waqf today are the mosque in Ljubinje, destroyed and rebuilt on several occasions, and a fountain in Istanbul.

Transcription of the Document (BOA TSMA.D 7467)

Merhûm Kayış Mustafa Ağa der İstanbul

Hüve

Defter-i akârât-ı medrese-i merhûm Kayış Mustafa Ağa, ağa-yı Bâbü's-sa'âde-i sâbık, der mahalle-i Karaki der İstanbul

Agha, the black kizlaragha who died that year. Hasandedić, *Muslimanska baština u istočnoj Hercegovini*, p. 110.

Hâne der uhde-i Mehmed efendî, kâtib-i serrâcîn-i Hâssa, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 60

Hâne der uhde-i Hasan bin İvaz, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Sâlih Ağa, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhdegân-ı Belkîs Hatun ve Fatima Hatun, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 35

Hâne der uhdegân-i Mehmed ve zevceş Sâliha bint-i Abdullah, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhdegân-i Ahmed Beğ ve zevceş Zekiyye Hatun, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 15

Hâne der uhde-i Mehmed bin İbrâhîm, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhde-i İsmihân Hatun bint-i Abdullah, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Mehmed bin Mustafa, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhdegân-i Şahbâz Hatun ve zevceş Abdullah, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhde-i Osmân Beğ, bevvâb-i sultânî, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Mehmed Beğ, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhdegân-ı Râbi'a Hatun ve zevceş Mehmed Beğ, der mahalle-i
mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Fazli bin Sâlih, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Osmân Beğ, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Nûrullah Çelebî, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 60

Hâne der uhde-i Ahmed Ağa bin Ali, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 60

Hâne der uhde-i Meryem Hatun, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 60

Hâne der uhde-i Mehmed Ağa bin Hızır, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 60

Hâne der uhde-i Halîl bin İbrâhîm, der mahalle-i mezbûr
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Ahmed bin Hüseyin, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,⁴⁹
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhde-i Hasan Çelebi, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhde-i Hasan Çelebi, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhde-i Hasan Çelebi, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,
Fî semen 30

⁴⁹ There is a street called Ağa çayırı, in Silivrikapı quarter in İstanbul.

Hâne der uhde-i Şerîfe Hatun, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,
Fî semen 25

Hâne der uhdegân-i Aîşe Hatun ve Mustafâ bin Muslu, der nezd-i Ağa
Çayırı,
Fî semen 35

Hâne der uhdegân-i Süleymân ve zevceş Hadîce Hatun, der nezd-i Ağa
Çayırı,
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhde-i Süleymân bin Ömer, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,
Fî semen 60

Hâne der uhde-i Selîme Hatun, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,
Fî semen 30
Hâne der uhde-i Neslihân Hatun, der nezd-i Ağa Çayırı,
Fî semen 25

Hâne der uhde-i Mustafâ Çelebî ma'a arsa-i hâliyye, der nezd-i bostân,
Fî semen 47

Hâne der uhde-i Ali Ağa ser-bevvâbîn, der mahalle-i Kızıлтаş, der nezd-i
Koska⁵⁰
Fî semen 60

Hâne der uhde-i Hacı Ahmed, der nezd-i Langa-yı kebir⁵¹,
Fî semen 30

Hâne der uhdegân-i Ismâ'îl ve Mustafâ, der mahalle-i Hoca Ali der Balat,⁵²
Fî semen 40

Hâne der uhde-i Yâni, zimmî, der nezd-i Salma Tomruk,⁵³
Fî semen 40

⁵⁰ There is a small street called Kızıлтаş near the Koska street in the Mimar Kemalettin quarter in İstanbul.

⁵¹ Probably today a quarter called Büyüklanga in Fatih Municipality in European part of İstanbul.

⁵² Balat is a quarter in İstanbul.

⁵³ There is a street Salma Tomruk in the Dervişali quarter in İstanbul.

Hâne der uhde-i Ezmargad bint-i Marko, der nezd-i Salma Tomruk,
 Fî semen 30

Arsa-i hâliyye der uhde-i Todorî zimmî, der nezd-i Salma Tomruk,
 Fî semen 20

Hâne-i kebîr der uhde-i Bogaz zimmî, der mahalle-i Kefeli⁵⁴, der kurb-i Eski
 Cuma Bazarı,
 Fî semen 100
 Hâne der uhde-i Mahmûd Ağa, der nezd-i İstimâdiyye,⁵⁵
 Fî semen 45

Hâne der uhde-i Sîmo ve Gevher zevceş, der mahalle-i Dülbendci der nezd-
 i Bâb-ı Kum⁵⁶,
 Fî semen 45

2
 Bostân der uhde-i Rukiyye Hatun, der nezd-i Ağa çayırı,
 Fî semen 500

Bostân kebîr der uhde-i el-Hâc Mustafâ, der nezd-i Ağa çayırı,
 Fî semen 650

Bostân der uhde-i İsmâ'îl Ağa ve zevce[er] Aîşe Hatun, der nezd-i el-Hâc
 Evhad câmii,
 Fî semen 167

Bostân der uhde-i Fâtîma Hatun bint-i Mustafâ Paşa, der nezd-i Yedikule,⁵⁷
 Fî semen 167

Bostân der uhde-i Osmân Ağa, der nezd-i Yedikule,
 Fî semen 100

⁵⁴ Perhaps it is Kefeliköy, a quarter in İstanbul in Sarıyer Municipality.

⁵⁵ The name İstimâdiyye mentions a gate near which Topçular Kâtibi Mahmûd had a fountain erected. Cf. E.S.Kala et al, *İstanbul su kâülliyâtı XXXII*, p. 25. Maybe today Samatya.

⁵⁶ Probably Kumkapı.

⁵⁷ Yedikule is the name of the fortress with seven towers in the European part of İstanbul, after which the district of the same name in Fatih Municipality is named.

Cem'an yekun:
fî semen: 3.186
fî sene: 38.232

El-vezâif

Mevlânâ Hamza Efendî, el-muderris, fî yevm 58
Hazret-i Ağa-i Bâbü's-sa'âde, en-nâzir, yevm 5
Abdürrahman Efendî, el-mutevellî, yevm 20
Mustafâ Halife, el-kâtib, yevm 5
Mustafâ Efendî, el-câbî, yevm 8
Hacı İbrâhîm, râh-ı âbî çeşme der nezd-i medrese-i m, yevm 2
İbrâhîm ve Mehemed, râh-ı âbiyân-ı çeşme-i Yedikule, yevm 1
El-hâc İsmâil, râh-ı âbî-i dâğ, yevm 1
Mustafâ Halife, türbedâr bâ-şart-ı vâkif, yevm 1
Mehemed [bin] Mehemed, hâfız-ı kütüb, yevm 2
İbrâhîm [bin] Mehemed, mu'temed, yevm 3
Yekûn
Fî yevm 106
Fî semen 3.180
Fî sene 38.160
'Ani-l ihrâcât fî sene 2.680
İhrâc-i medrese-i mezbele fî sene 180
Harc-ı muhâsebe ber vech-i mu'tâd-ı kadîm fî sene 1.000
İhzâriyye-i câbî berây-ı tahsîl ve icârât ber mu'tâd-ı kadîm fî sene 300
Meremmât-ı râh-ı âb-ı çeşmehâ ve medrese bi'd-defâ'ât-ı lâzım-kerde fî sene
1.200
Yekun
El-vezâif ve mesârif fî sene-i kâmile 40.840
Fi-l izdiyâd-ı harc ani'l-mahsûl 2.608

Vakf-ı mezbûrun bir senede îrâdı otuz sekiz bin iki yüz otuz iki akçe olub ve
vezâif mesârifî kırk bin
sekiz yüz kırk akçe olmağla beher sene muayyen olan masraf ziyâde olmağla
iki bin altı yüz sekiz akçe ziyâde zuhûr eyledüğinden
mâ'adâ sû yollarında ve medrese ve çeşmelerin iktizâlarında meremmâtlarını
mütevellî-i vakf olanlar bi-şarti'r-rucû' kendi
mâlından harc ve sarf idüb mu'accelât ve rusûmât vâkı' oldukda almak
üzere bîkî sultânım hazretleri a'lemdir.

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